Khoe, San, Coloured, controvert or conform:

Physical attributes influencing the formation of cultural identity in "Coloured" women of the Western and Northern Cape

by

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Cape Town

29 November 2023

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my parents who always encouraged me, and especially to my father who inspired me to be an independent thinker and a searcher of knowledge and truth.

This thesis would not have been possible without the stories of all the women, and men, who took the time to tell me their stories, share their lives and open their hearts. Your stories inspired me and carried me through this process.

These are your stories. These are your truths.

This is for you.

Abstract

This study sets out to investigate how physical attributes such as hair texture, the colour of your skin and even body structure, influences one's sense of self and ultimately, how this informs cultural identity formulation. The focus of the study was on women from the Northern and the Western Cape to gauge whether these formulations of cultural identity are also influenced by geographical spaces.

The Khoe and San have been studied, misrepresented, and misinterpreted for many years, to the extent that they have become protective of their time and their information, and rightfully so. This also holds for people classified under the Apartheid regime as Coloured. Racist, derogatory past classificatory terms which refer to Khoe and San persons, still haunt many people to the extent that they have chosen to disassociate from their indigenous ancestry and internalize and embrace the Apartheid classificatory term Coloured. This very same classification and categorisation which today, under the new dispensation, is still used to marginalise people of colour on a racial basis.

In certain communities the Khoisan revivalist movement has seen an uprising in individuals claiming their indigenous Khoisan identity and their rights as indigenous people in the post-apartheid South Africa. This study was performed through oral interviews with over 100 women, and a few men, from various geographical areas and age groups. Data was obtained through focus group, zoom, and telephonic interviews to see how past classificatory systems still persist in a democratic South Africa and whether democracy allows people the freedom to choose how they want to be classified.

It is a study about cultural identity which aimed to hear the stories from the women themselves, providing space for them to talk about their past as women of colour, their present situations, and how both of these affect them and the cultural identity of future generations. Overarching themes that emerged were that of historical traumas related to colonialism, slavery, and apartheid; traumas of having to comply with certain standards of beauty and traumas of place, who we are and our place in the world.

This study showed that discussions regarding something as seemingly insignificant as hair is important. Hair is not just hair. It is a journey, a trauma, a story, and a huge part of our identity to heal from silenced and untold histories. It is a conversation that must be had. It is a story that must be told.

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Nomenclature

Archaeology	the study of human activity in the past, primarily through the recovery and analysis of the material culture and environmental data left behind.
ANC	African National Congress (South African political party)
Baas	the boss or White owner especially of a farm, or of ‘people’
Boesman	or Bushman, an academically derogatory term to refer to San, but in some instances, an individuals self-identify as San or Bushman
Coloured	In South Africa the term “coloured” refers to a phenotypically diverse group of people derived largely from Cape slaves, indigenous Khoisan peoples, and other blacks assimilated to Cape colonial society. Coloureds are popularly regarded as being of “mixed race” and occupy an intermediate status in the South African racial hierarchy. (Adhikari, M. 1991).
COVID-19	Coronavirus disease
DNA	Deoxyribonucleic acid molecule that contains all the information to build and maintain an organism.
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters (South African political opposition party)
Khoisan	a group of languages of southern and eastern Africa that have clicks and that include the languages of the Khoikhoi and San. Khoisan derives from the Nama words for 'person' and 'foragers' and was coined by Leonard Schultze in 1928 as a

	collective term for the Khoi (later known as Khoe) pastoralist and the San hunter-gatherer groups. The term now persists only in a linguistic context, as in “Khoisan-speaking”. (Schlebusch, C, 2010)
Khoe	(also spelt Khoi, Khoikhoi or Khoe Khoe meaning men of men – Indigenous nomadic pastoralist. Nama and Griekwa form a subgroup.
Kroes	kinky hair
ID	Identity Document
Indigenous	inhabiting or existing in a land from the earliest times or from before the arrival of colonists.
San	also known as Bushmen, were historically the foraging nomadic indigenous peoples
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UDF	United Democratic Front (South African Political Party)
Xhosa	Nguni ethnic group whose traditional homeland is primarily the Cape Provinces of South Africa

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When we have more historical biographies of African women than we know what to do with,

when reviewers and undergraduates alike groan,

'Oh my Difference! Not another one!',

at the sight of yet another flower of intellectual effort and empirical application,

in which achievement shall we then take pride?

The necessary deconstructionary housecleaning we had to do

simply in order to be able to tell our stories.

Or the rhythm and the rhyme of the story as it flows uniquely Africa?

We do what we have to do, but we do it because we know it is necessary,

not necessarily an end in itself.

It is easier to destroy than create.

The old proverb, 'it takes a hundred years to grow a tree and only one day to chop it down' still rings true.

The field of African history has long been suffering from severe deforestation of the past,

new, and colonial sort.

We need time to grow new trees!

(Abrahams, Y, 2000, Colonialism, dysfunction and disjuncture: The historiography of Sarah Bartmann, DPhil, UCT)

1 Chapter 1

Introduction

Declaration of the researcher:

Essentially, according to South African law, I am considered a Coloured woman.

I was born in 1979, the second of three children, to parents who both come from the Northern Cape, in the Hantam region. My father, who worked hard to achieve his academic career, due to only starting school at 11 as chores needed to be done on the farm, went on to become a Social Work lecturer at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), and my mother, a primary school teacher. Their occupations, with simultaneous holidays, allowed us as a family to travel around South Africa, as my father wanted us to experience as much as the world had to offer. These were the end days of apartheid. Most of our holidays, however, were spent on the farm owned by my father's brother, in the Northern Cape. The farm is situated approximately 1.5 hours from Calvinia. Even though we travelled a lot, and much emphasis was placed on the importance of our school education, not much was spoken about our history and heritage.

For my primary school years, I attended the St Augustine's Roman Catholic Primary School in Parow, in the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town. The school functioned as a multi-racial school but catered mostly for the Coloured community. Even though we were not a Catholic family, we attended the school, my sister and I, as it was seen as one of the "better" primary schools to attend for Coloured children. My sister, who had been in an Afrikaans class at another school in Bellville South prior to us attending St. Augustine's, was now placed in an English class as my father believed that English would allow us much more opportunities outside of what we knew to be our world in South Africa.

When I was in Standard One (grade three), I asked my father what I was supposed to wear for Heritage Day. As a Coloured person living in South Africa where my heritage and culture wasn't largely shared or known, I was unsure of what was expected of me with regards to the attire of my heritage. Was I to wear a Voortrekker kappie (bonnet) or animal skins? Since there was no Google at the time, my father, ever the scholar, told me to read the encyclopaedia for answers. From that time, I have pondered, questioned, and made work of

researching and discovering my heritage. Am I Coloured, San, or Khoe? Am I and my people, whoever they might be, the result of miscegenation, just a mixture of two ethnic groups? This personal, and social turmoil led to questions within my family, my community, and within myself. Who am I? Am I a product of what my parents said? What my teacher said? What society tells me to be when they see me as nothing more than another Coloured woman?

Leading on from this question was an incident which took place in primary school when we were taught about the Bushmen (as we were taught, they were). The Bushmen were described by their physical features like their skin colour, their body structure, their high cheekbones, even their hair, which was described as short and coarse. Some of the students in the class then pointed at me, laughed, and said that I was a Bushman. That experience caused embarrassment and shame. From that moment, I hated my high cheekbones.

As I grew older and started studying history and heritage, I gained insight into the history of the Bushmen and other indigenous peoples not only in South Africa and Africa, but around the world. Also, when I travelled, even to places within Africa, as close as Namibia and Botswana, the box that I had to tick, whether at the airport or anywhere else to declare who I was, Coloured was not one of these boxes. It was only here, in South Africa, that I was referred to as Coloured.

I questioned the notion of this Colouredness, but I was also not sure how else to define myself other than the way I was defined by my family, my community and society (in South Africa). I was defined by the colour of my skin, the texture of my hair, and my physical shape. When I walked into a room, I was labelled externally before anything was said, or even asked.

This was substandard and therefore I started the search for my own identity. It was in this search that I discovered that many people, especially those classified as Coloured, were on the same journey.

In conversations with colleagues, friends, and even researching social media, I discovered that I was not alone in unpacking issues regarding identity, culture, and how physical features define people. This prompted me to investigate if others, especially Coloured women like me,

were experiencing a similar situation. One if the first articles I read online was by Terry-Ann Adams[1] who interviewed Coloured people about their feelings towards being Coloured and it's relation to Heritage Day. She calls it the nightmare of being Coloured on Heritage Day. She spoke to a few people and when asked about their heritage, the 'automatic' response was to do a DNA test (this response was also given by participants in the study).

One of the responses from people she had interviewed resonated immensely with the study, and was part of the beginning of this journey:

What are your thoughts on coloured identity in 2017?

Farah: *For many years coloured people have never ever been afforded the opportunity to identify themselves, due to the fact that most coloured people are unaware of their own history and that is mostly due to circumstances (Displacement etc). During Apartheid coloured people had to adhere to the same restrictions as black people, however, they were given better opportunities, therefore seen by black people as more privileged than them but less than white people, always 'in the middle'.*

After apartheid coloured people are still effectively 'in the middle'. It is going to take time for coloured people to really understand who they are, especially since most coloured people were classified as coloured due to the area they lived in etc.

What I also discovered was that the story of Coloured identity can be told through hair. Hair is such an important part of assimilation, and of great importance in the Coloured community, particularly for Coloured women.

Hair is so important in Black cultures (here I refer to all people of colour and Coloured in particular). Important to the point that when a woman in a Coloured community gives birth, the first thing people ask is whether it is a boy or a girl and then the next question is, "And how does the hair look?" (this is also accompanied by the skin colour and whether the nose is flat or not). "Black hair is politicised by class and gender. It is also racialized. The vocabularies of hair in black discourses are rich, indicating both the importance of hair and its

[1] The nightmare of being coloured on Heritage Day – Livemag

complex politics" (Erasmus, 1997). I wish that I had read the article by Erasmus from which this quote is taken before my hair was straightened in 1995 for my confirmation. The article is titled: *'Oe! My Hare Gaan Huistoe': Hair-Styling as Black Cultural Practice'*. *Hare gan huistoe* (hair going home) means that your hair is literally going back to its roots. Its kinky unstraightened roots. This was not allowed or acceptable.

This article speaks true to every Coloured (Black) girl's struggle of her hair. But this struggle was not always discussed. You were not consulted about whether you wanted your hair straightened (which was traumatic as it was literally a chemical that burnt your sculp) or not. You were just told things like "*Sit still*", (as you tried to wiggle your way out from in between your mother's, grandmother's, or auntie's knees) or "*Suffer for beauty*" (while the roller bit was piercing into your brain).

This thesis, *Khoe, San, Coloured, controvert or conform: Physical attributes influencing the formation of cultural identity in Coloured women of the Western and Northern Cape* speaks to the conflicts and struggles within people, specifically women, of colour. The first part *Khoe, San, Coloured* refers to how women, specifically in this study, choose to identify themselves, how they are identified by society and government and also, how they would wish to identify themselves should they feel they had the freedom to choose. If an individual chooses to identify as San for example, will they be accepted by the San community if they were not born in the community, or their ancestry does not relate to this community? How would they even begin to understand their ancestry?

The *controvert* (*kroes) or conform* section deals with self-identification, acceptance, coupled with societal and even familial criticism (choosing to go kroes/natural) or going with what we as women of colour were taught, that having straight hair means you are beautiful. Having straight hair, or straightening your hair meant conforming to the norm of what it meant/was considered to be beautiful, i.e., straight is great and white is right. Having kroes/natural hair is a big decision for a woman, not only internally. This is an emotional journey for many women as some believe that if they have kroes hair, they are not beautiful. This belief does not come out of thin air as some girls, and women, have been told that they are ugly because their hair is kroes, or that bad things happened to them in their lives because their hair was too kroes (an example of this is mentioned in Appendix L). So, making that decision, taking that leap despite knowing what will come your way, choosing to kink the conform, how you

were treated because of your hair, what you were said you had to do about your hair, is a conversation that many women did not know they needed to have.

As I am classified as a Coloured woman myself, it thus places me in a position as part of the research as I am personally involved and affected by the subject. It is my lived experience. It must be noted here that my story about how I was made to feel about my high cheekbones, is also mentioned in the study as it was used to guide participants during the discussion/interviews, to help them open up to discuss the topic. By me exposing and being honest about my memories and emotions first, it allowed a safe space for the participants to do the same. It was thus difficult to remain objective during this process and thus I reference myself in the first, second, and third person in the study.

The results of my DNA test is also used in the analysis of the study. The reason for DNA testing being in the study is as a result of many people, especially the women in the study, myself included, constantly searching for identity and belonging, whether it was consciously or unconsciously. Questions of 'who am I?', 'where do I come from?', 'who were my people', 'will the test say Coloured?'. In some cases, there were questions of 'who is my father?'. This was all part of the searching process. Many participants felt that a DNA test could answer all these questions. In this study, I will talk about how the question relating to DNA testing was handled by participants.

This study is deeply relevant to archaeological practice. Archaeology studies the human past through analysing objects such as remains or rock art, but also relies on ethnography drawn from observations of living people to interpret the past, and therefore is complicit in the objectification and primitivisation of black bodies, especially the Khoe and San. This study unpacks identity formation and its consequences on such bodies. The participants are both the subject and the objects whose personal encounters and first-hand experiences of the research is used to make sense of the study.

1.1 Problem statement

For the purposes this study, people of mixed-race origins will be referred to as Coloured spelled with an uppercase 'C' unless it is used with a lower case "c" in the text cited. The word 'kroes', refers to what is colloquially known in Coloured communities as 'kinky' or curly hair.

> "Identity is a powerful organizing presence in social life today—a social fact, or so it would, at least, seem. Whether measured by the amount of energy individuals expend claiming, cultivating, expressing, or bemoaning the lack of it or by the amount of attention devoted to it by institutions that profess to address or are said to reflect popular interests and issues, it is clear that being, in the sense of belonging—to ethnic, national, religious, racial, indigenous, sexual, or any of a range of otherwise affectively charged, socially recognizable corporate groups—is among the most compelling of contemporary concerns" (Leve, 2011: 513).

The sense of belonging in, and being recognized as part of, a particular culture is an important aspect of identity construction and internalisation. However, when your culture, its authenticity and your identity within that culture is questioned, disregarded, and disparaged, not only by the society you live in, but by the government of the country itself, it leads to doubts within individuals, about their place in their family, their community, and society at large.

The subject and significance of identity construction and internalisation in the Coloured community is a very contentious and sensitive one. Often negatively considered to be the 'created race', or 'people with no culture or heritage', Coloureds are seen to be the product of relations between the Dutch Settlers and indigenous Khoe and San women, and later, female slaves that were brought to the Cape. They are seen as neither Black nor White. Coloureds are seen to be the in-between population.

Cornelissen and Horstmeier (2002) categorise identity construction in terms of primordial identity formation, born into a group of us and them, our people, versus a constructivist view, where there is an influence of external forces. The primordial view of identity is defined as one which is a natural construct assigned to an individual or resulting from an individual

being born into a specific family, group, or community which leads to establishment of one's identity. The constructivist view of identity, however, asserts that identities evolve as society and the environment changes. An individual can think of or identify as one "race" or identity, but the world and society around you defines you the minute you walk through the door. Society defines or identifies you by the colour of your skin, the texture of your hair, and, with women especially, by your physique. With Coloured people this initial and historical judgement often presents itself stereotypically, especially with women (Jeftha, 2020).

Your identity is who you are, your inside and not just your outside. It is how you feel about yourself but, in the society we live in, feelings often do not take precedence over initial opinion. We are conditioned, indoctrinated, and told who we are. Based on the colour of your skin, your physical identity is defined for you. However, what you feel does not take preference over having to tick a box which defines your race, which most people, especially those in this study, used to define their identity.

In an interview with Wilmot James in 2007, author and activist Ryland Fisher expressed the dichotomy he faces between his perception of himself compared to how he feels he is being treated and viewed in society as a stereotypical Coloured (Marais, 2012). Society judges' people by looking at them, women even more so than men. You can be a Coloured with a PhD, a lawyer, or a CEO, but until this is established, you are perceived as nothing more than a Coloured associated with the negative stereotypes of having kroes (kinky) or relaxed (chemically straightened) hair (both men and women), promiscuity (for women), no front teeth, having an affinity to alcohol, gangsterism, and drugs.

In 2011, a column by the late Kuli Roberts in the Sunday World sparked outrage, where, amongst other utterances, it was said that "My friend [says] Coloureds—have no front teeth and eat fish like they are trying to deplete the ocean. They making love and leave even the randiest negro (sic) exhausted." Many people vouched for her citing freedom of speech but many, especially Coloured people, and specifically Coloured women, were deeply offended by this statement.

Identities are exercises in public image, as well as forms of personal and emotional organisation. It is within this struggle of how one personally identifies and how the public

identifies one, that internal needs and external perceptions of identities are forged and then internalised through time (Field, 1998). Internal and external perceptions have been forged by societies throughout history, and their impacts are most notably observed in those societies affected by oppression.

The impacts and effects of the painful legacies of slavery are evident in all parts of the globe where slavery was practiced but are particularly manifest in the Western Cape, South Africa, one of the most frequent stations to which slaves were brought and would spend the rest of their lives working (Worden, 2009). This often resulted in the (often non-consensual) mixing of ethnic types (races). Such mixing is often called miscegenation, from the Latin *miscer*, meaning to mix, and *genus*, meaning to class common things together. Miscegenation has happened in many parts of the world where colonialism took place. Hendricks (2001) places this in the historical context stating that not even the colonialists accepted descendants of mixed parentage as white, nor did they place them in the same classification as the indigenous or slave groups, placing them, in the onset of their classification as the ambiguous 'in-betweeners'. They were not Black enough nor White enough, the midpoint of both races.

Living in a democratic South Africa, how then is identity constructed and internalised in Coloured, Khoe, and San women, from their own perspective, focusing on physical features. The study does not wish to perpetuate the classificatory systems of the past but intends to see how much the past persists into the present and future.

1.2 Aims and objectives

- Unpack the construction and internalisation of identity, specifically Coloured, Khoe, and San identity, in post-apartheid South Africa.
- Understand the effects of colonialism, slavery, and apartheid on the identity of the Coloured, Khoe, and San community.
- Examine the historical racial classificatory system of physical attributes and identity, and its effects on Coloured, Khoe, and San women in the Northern and Western Cape.

- Evaluate post-apartheid identity construction of women in Coloured communities in the Western and Khoi/San and Coloured communities in the Northern Cape.
- Evaluate the differences in cultural identity formulation of Coloured, Khoe, and San women between geographical areas, i.e., the Northern and the Western Cape.

1.3 Rationale

Matters regarding the research and questioning of identity politics is not commonly associated with the field of archaeology. When thinking of the study of archaeology, first images that come to mind is studying rocks. However the field of archaeology has changed since the history of a society cannot remain distant from the politics within which it exists. And in order for societies to be thoroughly researched, discussion regarding identity politics must be included in not just the disciplines of anthropology and sociology, but archaeology as well. As mentioned above, this study is a lived experience of the researcher and thus the inward journey for answers gave rise to the research question within the field of archaeology. Though similar studies regarding coloured identity has been conducted such as in Anthropology in Gabie's 2014 thesis on the Katz Koranna Royal house where interviews were conducted with subjects, in English such Jeftha's 2020 research on coloured women, which focuses on literature of the subject, and even in the field of Psychology where Daniels and Damons 2011 study also interviews women, this is however only five women within a specific setting, i.e. Stellenbosch University, very few studies has been done for the discipline oof archaeology to this extent or focussing on identity politics.

Muskell however, as far back as 2002 notes that, "Archaeology shares with anthropology that specific biographical lens through which certain intellectual strands are prefigured-those that are inflected with our own lifetime experiences and preoccupations. Yet part of the reason for our (referring to archeologists) slow development of identity politics might be the lack of personal narrative". Research such as this study benefits archaeology in allowing it to advance to the inclusion of the stories of people in the development of identity studies, in the same breath also using the advantage of the personal narrative of the researcher.

1.4 Identity construction

As previously noted, identity is constructed in the space where you define yourself with your perception of who you are, and the perception of who others think you are. Being born into a particular family, community, religion, or group, as well as physical and cultural attributes, are the defining factors of one's identity formation (Cornelissen & Horstmeier, 2002). Raised in a Coloured, San, or Khoe household, you would be taught what to do and not to do, how to act and behave, and shown the differences between right and wrong in your house and your community. This is more so if you were female not only having to struggle with how you are expected to act in society but also having to deal with gender inequality, racial and sexual discrimination, and, in some cases, the invisibility and silence of women.

Growing up and being raised in that family and community formulates one's perception of self. All people thus have a natural identity, assumed from the start, which is traditionally and culturally determined, and, moreover, fixed upon the individual born into a specific group. Thus, being born Coloured in South Africa, already predetermines how society will view the individual, neither Black nor White, the in-between, more than Black but less than White, aspirations to whiteness, pressure to be respectable or else labelled 'loose', pressures of what you learnt about hair and whether to internalize it, pressures of having to find a suitable partner that will ensure offspring that is accepted (straight hair, high nose, light skin), influencing how they view themselves, therefore determining their identity.

Once outside the protection of the home and community however, one faces the outside world where one is judged not by what you are, but by what you look like. This may include judgement on where you live, the colour of your skin, the texture of your hair, and many other physical attributes. The perceptive projection onto an individual is often internalised, forming the identity of an individual. The more one believes what is being said about your person, the more it is adopted and influences the identification and definition of self.

It is particularly important that the feelings people invest in their sense of self and identity, and how others make them feel about themselves, should be incorporated as an integral part of understanding hybrid identity formation (Adhikari, 2005. It is also crucial to be sensitively aware of the forms of pain experienced by living in-between, through and across the

boundaries and spaces constructed by the apartheid system (Field, 1998/1999). This can be seen in cases where Coloured women perhaps decided not to marry a man who is light of complexion or does not have “good” hair or have decided to let go of their straightened hair, which they were taught would make them more acceptable to society and would also attract a certain kind of man (white), and embracing their natural, yet slightly still societally unacceptable kroes.

1.5 Background of the study

1.5.1 They have arrived: Colonialism and slavery in the Cape: Remembering and forgetting the past

In a well-known joke from the apartheid era, a Coloured tells a Black that he cannot enter an area designated for Coloured people. The black person responds that, God made the White man, God made the Black man, God made the Indian, the Chinese and the Jew, but Jan van Riebeek, he made the Coloured man. The risqué element of the Jan van Riebeek joke is derived from the image of the Coloured people having been conceived through illicit sexual intercourse immediately on the landing of the first Dutch colonists. Coloured people are generally viewed as a product of the interaction between two populations, the X (Black or indigenous meaning Khoe or San) and the Y (Europeans). Archaeologists and anthropologists tend to make a macro distinction between San populations on the one hand, whom they associate with hunter-gatherer economies and Khoekhoe populations on the other hand, associated with sheep and cattle pastoralism (Boonzaier *et al*., 1998), both of those being largely historical entities distinct from, though obviously genetically contributing to, the contemporary Coloured community. There are, however, a number of variables that helped create what is commonly known as the Coloured population, and there is a rising movement in South Africa that these populations are much more than the sum of their genetics.

Due to the negative stereotype of a race created by a sinful and illicit act, as well as the resurgence of the recognition of Indigenous peoples of Southern Africa, many Coloured people prefer to be identified with the Khoe and San population groups. This is particularly evident post-apartheid. In the Northern Cape mostly, and on the upsurge in the Western Cape,

many indigenous peoples who were classified as Coloureds, a category and association which they, post-apartheid, are vehemently discarding, choosing to rather embrace their original indigenous heritage. Here the use of DNA testing is often requested for individuals to prove their identity through a scientific test. The test is their evidence, their proof that even though there is admixture, there will be preference to associate with a group that will be beneficial to the individual, who are in these specific cases, searching for indigenous roots.

Van der Ross (2005) views the situation of the Dutch intermixing with the Khoi as natural intermingling which transpired between the different groups which found themselves living, coming to, and being brought to the Cape. There were many other European sailors that came to the Cape prior to 1652; the Dutch were the first to make a settlement in the Cape. As there were more men that came to the Cape than women, it would seem only natural that these men would seek the company of the women whom they found where they landed. Van Riebeeck came to the Cape with 100 men and 8 women and mixing started soon after with slave women being in high demand once they (imported slaves) started coming in 1658 (van der Ross, 2015). Interactions took place not only between the indigenous women of the Cape peoples, but also with the slave women. In the first few decades after Dutch arrival, there were some marriages between Dutchmen and Hottentot (as they were referred to then) women, and many relationships outside of wedlock between masters and their female slaves (Bloom, 1967). By the 1670s, approximately three quarters of the children of female slaves had white fathers, and these liaisons were the origins of the Coloured people (Bloom, 1967). This demonstrates that the products of these unions were in fact not seen or perceived to be sinful and aberrant, but a "natural act" between two people. The idea of this being natural is not what is projected onto and internalised by the Coloured community as unfortunately, not all these unions were consensual. It is precisely this act, and the progeny thereof, that perpetuates the idea of a sinful and dark history of the Coloured community.

This historically considered sinful act and the creation of the scorned stepchild, holds the threat of the ideology of two essentially pure races forming an 'impure' or mixed race. Sadly, it is this myth of the ordered pure and the disordered impure hybrid which fuelled the apartheid classification system (Field, 1998/1999). This othering was used to maintain the mythical 'pure' race. Even 17th century populations classified individuals according to physical characteristics like hair, skin colour, shape of the nose, and body (Van der Ross,

2005. It is the personal observation of the researcher to detect how the legacy of 17th century rules of classification through physiognomy, which was followed by apartheid classificatory laws, which still continue to this day, affecting how different groups choose to not only classify themselves and others within a certain cultural or racial group, but how the affects and effects of slavery are impelled onto predominantly one cultural group. A group, who still defines itself by physical features and its assimilation to whiteness, judges as well as gets judged by this physiognomic standard.

Through exploring slave ancestry, it should become clearer or easier for those classified as Coloured to know who a section of who their ancestors were, their histories, why they are the way they are culturally, and even why they look as they do. It is only through becoming aware of and acknowledging past atrocities that healing can take place for the Coloured community. Only then can they reclaim the humanity that was denied their slave ancestors, and their descendants can be respected (Wilkins, 2017). The advantage of the hybrid identity construction is that once one becomes aware, outside forces and perceptions can be internalised or discarded. It is through learning about slavery and its impact, that the Coloured community can choose which parts of their history, heritage, and concepts about their culture they wish to embrace.

1.5.2 Apartheid—Divide, denounce, and dealing

The remnants of the past perpetuate today. The segregation instituted through colonialism only intensified and became a classificatory ideology and system under the Apartheid regime, especially for the Coloured community. The Population Registration Act (Act No. 30 of 1950) which divided the races, placing citizens in different racial groups, placed the Coloured in the middle of the three main racial groups referred to in the study, i.e., Black, White, and Coloured. This history reverberates today in the persistent ‘middle ground’ where the Coloured community find themselves as not Black enough and not White enough. Even the wife of the former president F.W de Klerk, Marika De Klerk, classified Coloureds as the leftovers—they are the people who were left after the creation of other nations (McGreel, 2001).

Slavery instilled a classificatory system of racial hierarchies, but with the abolition of slavery, race became increasingly important as a marker of difference, the former slave community and oppressed Khoisan community forming what would be called a ‘coloured’ community, and these theories of segregation formed the basis from which the apartheid system would develop, a legacy which is often overlooked. (Wilkins, 2017).

The apartheid system was constructed around the belief that pure racial, ethnic, and cultural identities were not only real but were a desirable basis for ordering and controlling South Africa. However, at the messy level of personal experience and life strategies, the boundaries and categories of cultural identity are constantly blurred and impure (Field, 1998). The Coloured individual is caught in the in-between, wanting to be White and not wanting to be Black. But if they want to identify with either, neither black nor white accept them (Bloom 1967).

Dannhauser (2006) emphasises the predicament of the position in which the Coloured community was placed. Through personal observation it is noted that the community still struggles today with wanting to be placed with a specific group, discarding any other group that they see as ‘other’ instead of using this opportunity of a common struggle to bring the multitude of communities together. Focusing on the differences in the communities, thus perpetuating the notion of hierarchical ‘pure’ races, acceptance that all cultures are in essence hybrid would not only be more conducive to a more accepting society, but also remove the othering of societal hierarchies.

After the fall of apartheid, the Coloured community was given the political freedom to ’classify’ or associate themselves however they wanted (Adhikari, 2005). But instead of this, Coloureds still feel that they need to find a particular group to fit into, with some owning the Coloured identity, others embracing their slave history and ancestry, embracing the cultural hybridity of all nations that were affected by slavery and colonialism (Van der Ross, 2015). On the other hand, there are the others who are choosing to identify exclusively with being Khoe or San, or as it is referred to, aboriginal, rejecting all others. Van der Ross (2015) states that this new group who do not want to be referred to as Coloured but as Khoi, establishes to claim land and identity, tracing their lineages back to the original inhabitants of the Cape, denying a past, excluding the legacy of slavery that still affects the community to this day.

The classificatory systems of colonialism and apartheid were based quite predominantly on physiognomy.

1.5.3 Coloured creation, classification, and contempt

When dealing with the Coloured identity, one has to be cognizant of the creation and enforcement of the term through the previous apartheid government on the community, and the internalisation versus rejection thereof as many people completely embrace the term while others reject it. The legacy of slavery and apartheid remain within the communities who were classified as Coloured. Misunderstanding and misconception causes hurt and pain, and dealing with the painful legacies of the past can be seen as a form of re-creating, discarding, or accepting the classificatory term.

Researchers classified Coloureds in different classes according to physical features. But this was internalised. Different hierarchical classes existed within the Coloured community, specifically associated with hair. The ‘upper class’ were the ones who had straight hair and resembled whites, the ‘middle class’ had the ‘trappies haar’ or frizzy hair which could be made straight and the ‘lower class’ had the ‘kroes’ hair or ‘boesman korrels’ (Marais, 2012). In the aforementioned terms, kroes refers to kinky hair and boesman korrels to short kinky hair.

1.5.3.1 Racial classifications

Racial classifications have been used throughout the world to force separation amongst racial groups and promote dominance of one group over another. In South Africa, the racial classifications took place as follows[2]:

1. 1652-1838

[2] https://camissamuseum.co.za/index.php/orientation/race-classification

A class and colour classification system was first introduced by the European colonial authorities to divide the population into European, Free-Blacks, Slaves, and Hottentots (Khoe).

2. *1838–1904*

A new system was developed consisting of two categories, namely, Europeans and 'Coloured People of British South Africa'. The latter had three sub-divisions, namely, 'Hottentots/Bushmen', 'Kaffers', and 'Mixed-Other.' Towards the late 1800s sub-divisions were introduced to 'Mixed-Other.'

3. *1904*

The last Cape census recorded the composition of the 'Coloured People of British South Africa' as:

- *1 114 067 Xhosa, Thembu, Tswana, and Sotho;*
- *310 720 Mfengu;*
- *279 662 'Mixed-Other;*
- *85 892 'Hottentots' (Nama, Cape Khoe, Hill Damara, and Korana);*
- *15 682 Indians;*
- *8 489 Cape Malays;*
- *6 289 Griqua;*
- *4 168 'Bushmen' (San);*
- *579 741 Europeans.*

This was the last census using these categories.

4. *1911*

The new census introduced the first Race Classification System of the Union of South Africa which separated people into European, Native/Bantu, and Coloured. The latter assimilated Cape Indigenous Africans who were non-speakers of Bantu languages (Nama, Damara, and Cape Khoe); Korana and Griqua peoples; English-speaking African migrants from outside of the Union; Masbieker African indentured labourers; West African Kroo; East African Seedies; descendants of African-Asian enslaved people; Cape Malays; Indian South Africans; and Chinese South Africans into one new classification called 'Coloured'.

Over 70 African societies speaking Bantu languages were rationalized into 9 Linguistic National Groups and classified as 'Natives'. Later the term Bantu was used and then, from 1977 as a countermeasure against the unity platform of the Black Consciousness Movement, the terms 'Natives' and 'Bantus' were replaced with an ethnocized version of the term 'Black'.

5. 1950

The Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act of the Apartheid Regime defined what it meant to be a white person, a coloured person and a black (native) person.

6. 1959

A fourth Race Classification silo was created for ASIANS who were sub-divided into Indian, Chinese, and Other Asiatic. Those classified 'Coloured' were subdivided into four groups – Cape Coloured (including Nama, Korana, and Cape Khoe), Malay, Griqua, and Other Coloured.

Identity documents were also issued to citizens according to their racial classification, with Black being removed after the creation of the Bantustans[3]:

> *The identity number consisting of 13 digits and appearing on page 1 of the identity document is made up as follows:*
> *(a) The first six digits represent the date of birth of the holder, the first two indicating the year, the next two the month, and the fifth and sixth the day of birth.*
> *(b) The following group (four digits) is a serial number and indicates the sex of the person concerned. If the 7th to 10th digits are 0001 to 4 999 the holder is a female person, and if they are above 5 000 a male person is indicated.*
> *(c) The third group of digits (the 11th and 12th) indicates the person's citizenship and population group as follows:*
>
> *Population Group SA Citizen Non-SA Citizen*
> *(i) White 00 10*
> *(ii) Cape Coloured 01 11*

[3] http://africanhistory.about.com/

(iii) Malay 02 12

(iv) Griqua 03 13

(v) Chinese 04 14

(vi) Indian 05 15

(vii) Other Asian 06 16

(viii) Other Coloured 07 17

(d) The last digit (the 13th) is a control digit forming part of the number.[1]

Figure 1: South African identity documents

There are three essential (although other) categories, i.e., Black, White, and Coloured, assigned to understanding identity in South Africa, i.e., race, of which the most important attribute is skin colour, ethnicity, and assimilation with commonalities of a group according to history, culture, and space or territory (Vermeulen & Govers, 1997).

It is commonly stated that the term Coloured was created during the apartheid regime through legislation such as the Population Registration Act (Act No. 30 of 1950). This was a South African law from the apartheid era which required citizens and residents to be classified according to their race and ethnic group. With Black and White Racial categories being the main two racial groups, Coloureds in the hierarchy, "according to apartheid law, they occupied a space 'between' Whiteness and Blackness, meaning that, by apartheid standards,

they were considered ‘more than’ Black Africans, but ‘less than’ White people” (Metcalfe, 2022). There are known incidents where families were divided when certain family members were classified as white, while others as Black or Coloured. There are even cases of Coloureds wanting to pass as White, or Blacks attempting to pass as Coloured, to enjoy the various privileges that came with each of these classifications.

The apartheid regime both controlled and confused the Coloured citizens, as well as the occasional White citizens who were darker in skin colour or Black people who were lighter. Some of the definitions within the Population Registration Act (Act No. 30 of 1950, 277) of the racial classification are as follows[4]:

> *(iii) “coloured person” means a person who is not a white person or a native;*
>
> *(x)“native” means a person who in fact is or is generally accepted as a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa;*
>
> *(xv)“white person” means a person who in appearance obviously is, or who is generally accepted as a white person, but does not include a person who, although in appearance obviously a white person, is generally accepted as a coloured person.*

These broadly defined terms were what caused many people to be defined as or classify themselves within either of the above-mentioned groups. The “lines” were quite blurred allowing for individuals to crossover.

Taken from the three main racial categories, i.e., Black, White, Coloured, with regards to identity construction, Cornelissen and Horstmeier (2002) state that the apartheid government used the ideologies of race, ethnicity, and space or territory, to essentially justify and implement their apartheid segregation theories by enforcing certain legislations. Race was maintained through Population Registration Act (Act No. 30 of 1950, 277), and ethnicity and space/territory through the Group Areas Act (No. 40 of 1950), which separated racially classified groups into different geographical locations, and many people were forcefully removed from their homes and placed on the outskirts of the city centres.

[4] http://www.aluka.org/

Population Registration Act (Act No. 30 of 1950, 277), defined the Coloured person, by exclusion – he is neither White nor African making Coloureds the in-between. The Immorality Act, 1957, defined a Coloured person as any person other than a White, and therefore includes people of Asian descent, and Chinese South Africans (Bloom, 1967). To add further confusion to the definition of White, a court case in 1954 maintained that "if you appeared white and were accepted as white, you were white". It appears that even those that created the classification of the races were confused themselves (Bloom, 1967). The effects of the apartheid racial classifications still persist today, with individuals and communities still struggling to shake off, come to terms with or accept the all-encompassing singular identity that was, and still is defined as Coloured (Marais, 2012).

While many races could be grouped within a particular racial classification according to racial characteristics, Coloureds were one of the few groups that could often pass between the two groups, White, Black, and Coloured depending on their skin colour and hair texture.

1.5.4 Racial, physical, and sexual oppression and trauma—identity formation in Coloured, Khoe, and San women

Racial hierarchy played a huge role in connecting and associating with the upper (White) and disassociating with lower (Black or Indigenous) classes. Mixed race slaves, who were called Afrikanders perceived themselves to be superior to slaves with no European descent (Van der Ross, 2005). To this extent, the Afrikander slave girl would consider it a disgrace to have a child from a Black man, whether indigenous or slave. The association and assimilation to White and its physical attributes as superior, and Black as inferior, as well as the effects of racial classifications of people according to physical attributes, still persist.

Women with dark skin are also at a disadvantage as the assimilation of white skin being symbolic of beauty and that those of lighter complexion enjoy favouritism and privilege to those with darker skin (Bodenhorn & Ruebeck, 2007). This also included lighter skinned, finer textured haired women, and men, having more opportunities socially as well as economically (Collier-Thomas & Turner, 1994). As a woman with straighter hair and fairer skin, an individual stood a better chance of not only getting a good job, but also getting a

‘good’ husband. Good in this sense meaning not only one that is light or lighter of complexion, as this is a concern with regards to wanting lighter offspring, but as a result thereof, could be able to provide better financially. Real life imitates art as Van Wyk (2006) depicts the inner turmoil faced by a character in a work of fiction, *Shirley, Goodness and Mercy*, noting how physical characteristics and hair assimilation to whiteness and the superiority thereof and the inferiority of blacks. These judgements find expression where a character states that even though someone is dark skinned, they are still good looking and even though their hair is not straight, they are nevertheless pretty. This is further expressed by another character talking about a couple that are to get married, but he is dark skinned and so is she, and commenting on what their child will look like. This depicts how especially in the Coloured community, physiognomy is placed along lines of hierarchy, both for men and women. The closer you are to white, the better and more beautiful you are. This idea and ideal of assimilation to Whiteness and the idea of thinking about how the offspring will look if the partner is dark skinned or does not have straight hair is a subject that surfaces in many of the comments from participants on the subject.

These ideals of having lighter skin, straighter hair, a nose that is not flat, a thin body, are European standards of beauty, which persist and are still being taught to young girls by their mothers. Mothers are often the moral authority in the Coloured home, responsible for passing on family traditions and values, and teaching and maintaining discipline (Field, 1991). Although men were considered the head of the household, this is only in public that this perception needs to be maintained. In the house, however, the woman runs the household (Field, 2011). An example of this is where indigenous, here meaning Khoe and San, households were run by women. The married women were given the term ‘*taras*’ which meant that she was the ruler of the house (McKinnon, 2004). In the Coloured, Khoe, and San household, especially for young girls, they were taught that a respectable girl looks and acts a certain way. In the indigenous cultures, young girls would go through the *hokmeisie* (literally translates into hut girl/initiate) ritual. This is a rite of passage for a girl into womanhood, where she would be taught by the elder women of the community. It taught her respect for herself, respect for her elders, and also to protect herself and her virtue.

However, the lessons learned by young girls of colour (and when I speak here of colour, I refer to black bodies, which includes that of Coloured, Khoe, and San women), as is the case

study of this thesis, are unfortunately not imbued in the minds of men in society. In society, men hold a "higher" hierarchical space to women. In matters of racial class hierarchies, persons of colour hold a lower class to persons who are white. Thus, being a woman of colour places one in a space in society which is vulnerable and unsafe. During the time of colonialism, it was not just the land that was taken, it was the bodies of the women of colour as well, whether they were the indigenous groups who were found at the Cape upon the arrival of the colonists, or the slave women who were brought here as property of the 'masters'. According to Jeftha (2020, p. 94) " The role of sex and sexuality in colonial Cape Town can be considered as deeply entangled with formations around coloured identities and Black bodies. They were not only inferior to whites, and seen as property, but women were seen as overly sexual. The 'irony' however was that white men could do with women of colour's bodies what they wanted and it was not seen as rape, but when Black men slept with white women, it was considered rape and punishable. The rape (as it mostly was) of women of colour, as Jeftha continues, poses the glaring contradiction of colonial thought, illustrated by the constant reproduction of racially mixed babies who were conceived through rape and born as slaves.

The lessons of virtue, as done to the *hokmeisie*, as well as the lessons taught to a certain extent to young Coloured girls, have the extra implication that respectable girls should act, as well as look, like white women. Respectability and shame are significant terms which defined the middle-class coloured experience (Erasmus, 2001). This meant that as a Coloured girl your hair always had to be neat and straight, and your body must look a certain way. For women, especially Coloured women, their physical characteristics and features form a large part of their identity and how they not only interact with other women, whether of their own race or not, but within society at large.

Besides inner trauma that young girls and women of colour had to and still continue to go through, there is the physical trauma of hair. Many times, during holidays young girls were allowed to wear their hair as they wish (wild) but when it was time to go back to school, hair had to look presentable and acceptable, to European standards.

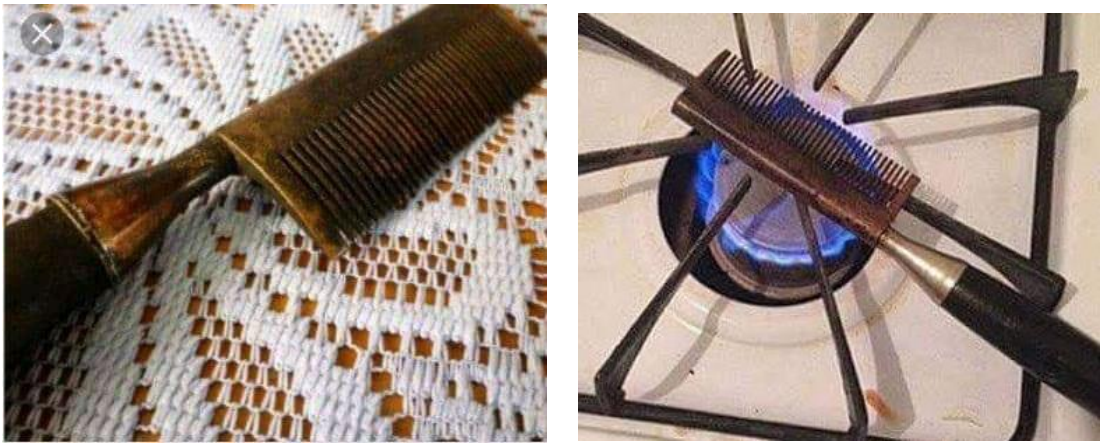


Figure 2: Items used to straighten women's hair.

In an interview with Hugh Masekela (1939—2018), a famous global musician from South Africa, he described how African people's hair (and here African refers to Coloured as well) is "an amazing psychological jigsaw puzzle regarding their identity, image, self-esteem and heritage. This oppressive hair hierarchy is linked to race, the pursuit of straighter hair during apartheid and its hair tests to determine race—…resulting in derogatory terms and splits within communities, and embarrassment and shame over texture" (Netshia, 2017: 119).

It is a catch-22 for Coloured women. Wanting to be perceived as beautiful by associating with and adopting White culture, while at the same time being judged, mostly by other Coloured women, for wanting to be White. "Hair is significant in Coloured communities. It marks you in certain ways, towards blackness or whiteness. On the one hand, it is about the 'privilege' of having straight hair as opposed to "Kroes" hair, but on the other hand, having straight hair meant you were often insulted for thinking you were white, for pretending to be white" (Bester, 1998: 93), and in this sense, elevating yourself above those who do not have straight hair.

There are however also Coloured women who are proud of who they are, embracing their Khoisan and slave ancestry, and also owning and celebrating being Coloured. Two examples of this are the web series, 'Coloured Mentality'[5] where two young Coloured women explore

[5] https://web.facebook.com/colouredmentality/?_rdc=1&_rdr

and promote Coloured culture by hosting web shows explaining and exploring the complexities of the identity. One of the women interviewed surprisingly also talks about the fluidity of identity and how every situation and circumstance defines how an individual would define themselves. The second is the Cape Town Natural Hair Festival, the brainchild of four dynamic Coloured women, which is an event held annually every December where women of all races are encouraged to embrace and celebrate their 'hair-a-tage', owning the lived experience of proudly being a woman. One of the main organizers of this event, the founder of Kroes Rocks[6] also provides her personal insight into the thesis subject.

Women are now choosing to abandon the straight and accept their roots. I mention the importance of returning to roots not only in the form of ancestry and one's definition thereof within the Coloured community, but also in relation to the roots of the Coloured women's hair. Mothers within the Coloured community are notorious for scolding their daughters to not have tangled hair and to straighten their roots. This is considered the only way their hair will look good, and they will be respectable. But some Coloured women today are defying this concept and reclaiming their roots, through their ancestral heritage, and through letting their hair be tangled and natural. "Returning to the moment of entanglement entails an emphasis on hidden histories and on memory, and an acceptance of irreducible difficulty. It comes with an awareness that a return to 'roots' in search of a sense of 'original' blackness or any original identity is impossible. In the case of coloured identities, returning entails reclaiming and living with fragments of origins and entanglement with whiteness, Africanness, East Indianness, in the process of creating new cultural forms, practices and identities which do not have to be coherent and/or complete" (Erasmus, 2001: 24).

[6] http://www.kroesrocks.co.za/

1.6 Activities and tasks undertaken

In order to achieve the objectives of the study on how physical attributes influence the formation of cultural identity of Khoe, San, and Coloured women of the Northern and the Western Cape, the following tasks were done:

- Review of literature from various fields of archaeology, sociology, and feminist theory written on identity studies.
- Draw up surveys to conduct qualitative research with focus groups.
- Identify and contact relevant stakeholders/participants.
- Circulate the relevant questionnaires and consent forms to participants.
- Conduct interviews on the specific issues dealing with the research question.
- Analyse and coordinate the data to answer the research question.
- Complete and submit the research findings to the University.

1.7 Chapter layout

Chapter 1: Introduction, Background, and Research Design

This chapter contains the historical background to the research, the problem statement, aim and objective of the project, as well as some indication to the interviews which were conducted. This chapter contains most of the elements of the research proposal.

Chapter 2: Literature Study: Social Dialogue and Codetermination

This chapter will explain the theoretical framework concerning the research, covering the main themes in the literature with reference to the research topic. It looks at similarities in the research topic as well as the interviews conducted, differences, as well as what came up in the interviews which is not evident in the literature.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

This chapter outlines the empirical research, how it was done, the number of participants, interview questions that were asked, as well as ones that were not asked but came out in more than one interview, as well as challenges experienced.

Chapter 4: Findings and Analysis

This chapter summarises the main findings of the research and provides an analysis to answer the research question. This chapter also provides a graphical representation of the responses from the participants, grouping together similar responses relating specifically to the research, as well as significant findings of the interviews.

Chapter 5: Discussion

In this chapter, the researcher will show how the research conducted applies to how Khoe, San, and Coloured women of the Northern and Western Cape formulate and navigate the cultural identity with reference to past and present issues.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This chapter provides recommendations based on the study and fieldwork, as well as direction for future studies and research of a similar nature.

2 Literature Review

Even though we belong to a global community where rights and freedoms of all humans and indigenous peoples are to be respected and we are all one with the world (Cohen & Kennedy, 2000), here in South Africa we still have to tick a box which identifies our race and our identity. Our identity as South African, and especially that of those classified as Coloured, get lost in the global world and this creates an unexpected effect of wanting to and yearning for locality. Locality within your nation, or within your identity.

This study touches on various disciplines dealing with identity studies, and research was done through literature exploration focusing on the history and impact of colonialism, slavery, apartheid, and post-apartheid on the formulation of cultural identity in Coloured, Khoe, and San women in the Northern and the Western Cape. Here the researcher noted similarities, differences and absences in the literature pertaining to the subject and especially to the interviews conducted.

Within South African, and predominantly in the Western Cape Province, issues of identity among the Coloured population are a contested and heatedly debated topic. People previously classified as Coloured, especially under the Population Registration Act (Act No. 30 of 1950), have either chosen to embrace and celebrate this 'label' as their own, or have vehemently discarded it as an apartheid and colonial construct, choosing instead to embrace that which they feel was taken, sometimes even using the word robbed, from them by the previous apartheid government through the aforementioned act. Their heritage, their culture, their language, their roots, that of their ancestors, the indigenous or first nations people.

The topic of Coloured identity has been studied extensively pre- and post-apartheid. Today, with the advent of the digital age, where everyone with access to the internet can share their voice and opinion, debates are no longer limited to academia. Many people, Coloured and those who to choose to identify themselves as anything else but Coloured due to the strong feelings many people have towards the term, are all contributing vastly to the politics and discourse of Coloured and indigenous (e.g., Khoe and San) identity.

When starting with the literature study of the topic, the traditional form of literature study was adopted through reading studies and research already conducted through theses, papers, and books, as well as newspaper articles and internet posts. However, as previously

mentioned with the dawn of the digital age, and especially during the COVID-19 lockdown period, individuals and groups took to the internet to voice their opinions on various topics, including that of Coloured identity, indigeneity, recognition, and positionality within communities, society, and the world at large. Once the fear of the danger of COVID-19 subsided, there seemed to be a surge of not only online posts of people thinking about the past but also planning for the future where their history, heritage and culture was recognised, whether it be Coloured, Khoe, or San. From the online posts specifically, it was clear that even though a lot had been written about the subject of identity, culture, race, and especially that of indigenous and Coloured identities, further views on what Coloured is (do they exist? Do they have a culture? Is it an apartheid/political construct? Were they a created race?) began to emerge with divergent views on the subject. In 1987, South African novelist and leader of the South African Coloured People's Organisation (SACPO), Alex La Guma is quoted in his response to a newspaper article in *Sechaba* asking, "Is there a Coloured people, or a Coloured national minority, or a Coloured ethnic group? Was there ever? I can say that some people think there is and/or was, others do not, still others are indifferent, and still others are ignorant of the category" (Wallerstein, 1987:17).

Most of the literature studied was from an anthropological perspective like Gabie (2014) who spoke of Khoisan ancestry and Coloured identity. Gabie also used a similar method of data collection for her study by doing interviews with the Katz Koranna house leaders, a few other indigenous leaders, and attended an event which celebrated indigenous identity. From a sociological perspective, Sharp and Boonzaier (1994) when referring to Nama identity talk about how Nama people in the Richtersveld, even though proud of their identity, chose to not 'other' those who do not identify as Nama or are from a different area because as they said, there was no physical appearance, language, or religion which gave grounds to have boundaries between anyone else not identifying as Nama. When focusing on African feminist theory, Diop (2017) talks about how identity, and particularly that of Black women, is formulated by the sense of belonging to a particular ethnic group.

In research done from an archaeological perspective was how the results of DNA testing affected the communities on which the research was done and how oral history and social identity constructs are disrupted or altered subsequent to a DNA test, especially when this is done in indigenous communities where individuals have strong affiliations to the aboriginal

roots. One such instance is found in Henn *et al*. (2011: 5158), "One example, individual SA1 (fig. 3*B*), did not report European ancestry among parents or grandparents, yet displays a fairly high amount of apparent European ancestry". The subject in this example was distressed by the result of the DNA test displaying a high amount of European ancestry as their core identity and how they defined themselves was that of indigenous. In this case, and in many others, results contradicted oral history passed down generationally as well as the identification that accompanied this, which in most DNA testing requests it is to prove African, or more specifically, indigenous South African, Khoe and San, ancestry results.

What has emerged is that many people are 'root seekers', interested in doing DNA testing to discover their roots in the hoes of discovering who they are. This is a dangerous point and participants need to be warned and informed that a DNA test does not reflect who they are as individuals but rather what their ancestral genetic makeup is. Many observers were concerned about the fact that this new genetic information will be given too much authority in deciding questions about an individual's identity (Elliot & Brodwin, 2002). Doing these tests can be both and amazing and disturbing as the participant might not be happy with the result or expect too much from the outcome of the test. In a genetic ancestry testing project called *The Living History Project,* what was found to be most interesting and of great importance was the warning the consent form provided to participants. It warned against using DNA testing to elicit answers as to who they are. The consent form stated as follows:

> "*Does test the tell you "who am I?" While the DNA in your cells is unique to you we are only looking at a very small part of it. It is important to understand that genetic ancestry does not equal "identity". We are only testing for genetic ancestry and won't—for instance—be able to tell you why your eyes are the colour they are or what your children may look like. The tests that we are running do not constitute a genetic fingerprint*". (Foster, 2016: 12)

Although the subject of this study refers specifically to Coloured, Khoe, and San women (and some men), racial classification, slavery, and the effects thereof affect people of colour all over the world. These classificatory systems often lead to feelings of inferiority by the person of colour under the superior person who holds the power to not only make or discard your identity, but also to make an individual believe that they are nothing more than their classification. There were many terms used to define people of colour as well as people of

mixed heritage. The word creole, for example, was used in the Caribbean in the twentieth century to define persons of mixed heritage, especially between Africans and Europeans (Boland, 1998). Before the term African American was accepted as the politically correct term to refer to Americans of African descent, derogatory terms such as the 'N' word and even also the term Colored (spelled differently to that in South Africa) was used (Thomas & Turner, 1994). During the process of racial classification and the creation of terms used to define or name certain races, there is often an erasure of culture, language, and identity. American history shows the superiority of Whites and the inferiority of Blacks and how this legacy continues, but also how the roles of superiority and inferiority interchanges as times change. (Simmons, 2010).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the racial hierarchy as a result of colonial and apartheid classification, especially the apartheid Population Registration Act (Act No. 30 of 1950) placed Coloureds in the eternal in-between. They were Black but higher in the hierarchy than Black people, yet lower than white. Or as Adhikari (2005) so aptly puts it, not Black enough and not White enough. The neither here nor there. Laster (2014) refers to this as the racial limbo of apartheid which continues to this day for Coloured people which leads them to yearn a sense of belonging. Coloureds were not full citizens as the white population were under apartheid law, neither were they full subjects such as those identified as black (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999). The community often suffers from various identity issues, including feelings of inferiority or superiority, or uncertainty of who or what they are. This often stems from Coloureds often being told that they have no ethnicity, culture, or heritage, which was taken from them when they were classified as the in-between race, while superiority issues arise from their position within the hierarchy of racial classification. Gabie (2014) provides an example of this when an ex-member of the United Democratic Front (UDF) previously classified as Coloured, but who considers herself to be Black, was asked by a Xhosa man at a Heritage Day event about her culture and heritage and she talks about searching for it as if it would provide meaning to her life where the question itself made her question herself. This event took place in 1996, only two years into our democracy. Today there are groups proudly celebrating their idea of coloured culture. Groups like *Vannie Kaap* exist to celebrate coloured culture and identity, which is in stark contrast to van der Ross (2005) who said that Coloureds have the least sense of identity. Granted however that van der

Ross's quote was pre-democracy, the fact that Gabie could mention an example in 2014 in her thesis, shows that some of van der Ross's statement still holds true.

2.1 Lasting legacies

The legacies of slavery, colonialism, and especially apartheid affect how communities feel about themselves, identify themselves, and define their place in society.

Erasmus and Pieterse (1999) speak of the Coloured community and the sense of how, even today, "they suffer from 'slave mentality'" (Legassick, 1996; Holidy, 1995) and that coloured communities have to "free themselves 'from the stranglehold of psychological enslavement'" (Williams, 1996: 22, 26) and of the role of slavery in the collective history and partial 'origin' of coloured communities. In the fieldwork part of the study this is very evident by some participants actually referring to stories they were told of their great grandmother (in one particular case) actually being purchased from her owner. Another example of this is where participants still refer to white men as *baas* (boss or master) and white women as *nooi* (madame or mistress). Many of them remember not being able to look at or touch a white person, not being able to go into a particular door at a shop because of the colour of their skin and even though the idea thereof infuriates them, it is very difficult to shake.

Adhikari regarded Coloured people as 'victims of racism, who, to a fair degree, had internalized the values of the oppressors', be they that of slavery or apartheid. The effects of the apartheid racial classifications still persist in the fact that various peoples from various backgrounds, cultures, histories, and heritage were placed, whether they were from slave ancestry or indigenous, Khoe and San, were lumped under a singular identity of Coloured by the apartheid government (Marais, 2012). The term Coloured stripped people of who they were and told them who they were supposed to be, how they were meant to act, where to go to school, and so many other inequalities. That one classification that has not gone away.

2.2 Politics of identity

I want to make reference here to the extremely derogatory ‘joke’ which is mentioned in society (note page 17) and also in the literature referenced. The terms used are those specifically used in the text, but it must also be noted that even though it seems crass and insensitive, this is how blunt society is when referring to race, especially in South Africa. “One of the major effects of slavery in the Cape has been the emergence of the coloured people” (van der Ross, 2005). This statement alludes to the fact that there are pure races and that Coloureds, as a mixture of the two, become the impure, the stepchild of society.

Zimitri Erasmus states that ”coloured identity is not a product of racial mixture as popular wisdom and much academic writing would have it, but a cultural creativity shaped by South Africa’s history of colonialism and white domination” (2001, 16).

The Khoisan Identities & Cultural Heritage Conference which took place at the Iziko South African Museum in 1997, was one of the first attempts of those previously classified as Coloured to grapple with their history and the erasure of the heritage. Indigenous peoples from across Southern Africa were honoured, humbled, and appreciative of the space awarded to them to be able to talk about their history, their pain, and the erasure of their history, heritage, culture, and identity. They spoke for their disdain towards the term Coloured saying that such a thing, such a title, such an identity does not exist. They proudly called themselves Griekwa, Nama, Khoi, and expressed their fear for the next generation in not knowing who they are because the generation of the past and the current generation are presented with an identity they do not want. They feared for their cultures which were erased and their people and languages that were annihilated. Many of these participants were from the Northern Cape. I say this as a result of the findings of the research which point to a deeper indigenous identity in the Northern Cape whereas in the Western Cape, people who were choosing to identify themselves as indigenous, were struggling to gain acceptance while others were using it opportunistically.

The researcher, who is from the Western Cape but whose roots lie in the Northern Cape, was very aware, and made even more aware of these identity matters through the course of the research.

Adhikari (2005) talks of a feeble attempt of Khoisan revivalism. “The evidence indicates that many people… are wrestling with the extent to which they should express their identity as black, as African, as South African, as Coloured, as Khoisan, as descendants of slaves, or whether they should make a stand on the principle of non-racism.” He continues however that the identity remains fluid as people grapple with what it would mean now to be classified as anything other than what they were told. It should be noted here however that this was said by Adhikhari almost 20 years ago and in a recent article Burnett *et al*. (2023) refer to this resurgence as not a way to recreate a past, but to strive towards a constantly changing future.

Bickford-Smith (1994: 289) notes in Erasmus and Pieterse’s paper on *Conceptualising Coloured Identities in the Western Cape Province of South Africa* that the idea of being ‘coloured’ had emerged among freed slaves and their descendants between 1875 and 1910.

> *[b]y the early 1890s, overtly coloured political organizations began to emerge to fight white discrimination and were active among communities of slave descendants in Cape Town…’Coloured’ became an acceptable self-description for many slave descendants in Cape Town to distinguish themselves from ‘natives’ for pragmatic reasons. But also [and significantly] because such distinction made sense at the time in terms of existing kinship, occupational and communal ties, the culture these supported,…”.*

It is interesting to see that the term Coloured was a self-descriptor among slave descendants and that a culture of this ‘identity’ was fostered. The apartheid system however was a regime in which racially classificatory terms were forced on races other than white, placing them in a hierarchy where Coloureds were not white enough to be White and not black enough to be Black. This history of self-classification is not one that is commonly known amongst people classified as Coloured. In none of the participants that were interviewed was there any indication of this knowledge. The reason for it being included in this literature review is to show the absence of narratives in the histories of communities and how narratives of subjugation and hierarchy are promoted.

The Population Registration Act, 1950, defined the *Coloured person*, by exclusion—he is neither White nor African, making Coloureds the in-between. The Immorality Act, 1957,

defines a Coloured person as any person other than a White, and therefore includes Asiatics and Chinese South Africans (Bloom, 1967). To add further confusion however to the definition of White, a court case in 1954 held that "the White group should include a person who in appearance is obviously white or who is accepted as White, except a person who, although in appearance obviously white, is generally accepted as Coloured.

In Cornelissen and Horstmeier's (2002) study of identity construction post 1994, with specific focus on the Western Cape, identity construction is defined as, "how an individual views him/herself, and how others view that individual". Being born into a particular family, community, religion, or group, as well as physical and cultural attributes, are the defining factors of one's identity formation. Raised in a Coloured, San, or Khoe household, you would be taught what to do and not to do, how to act and behave, and shown the differences between right and wrong in your house and your community. This is more so if you were a girl. However, it is once the individual leaves the family or group or community that the beliefs and principles they were raised in and in some cases sheltered from society, comes into question. One such case took place during one of the interviews where one of the participants had never seen a White person before besides on television. She had only grown up around Coloured people and had never questioned who she was or her identity. It was only once she was exposed to other races and cultures that she started questioning who she was, what she had learnt, and whether to either assimilate it or discard it.

As some believe that the term Coloured is an apartheid construct, that during the anti-apartheid and Black Consciousness movement in South Africa, "taking coloured identity seriously was tantamount to endorsing apartheid policies" (Adhikari, 2003). Calling an individual a 'racial classificatory' term which they don't ascribe to or identify with is not only insulting to them, but also holds great sensitivity and anger in many cases.

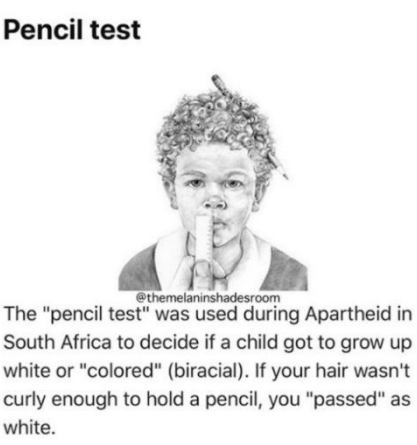
2.3 The fluidity of identity

Adhikari (2003) advises that "coloured identity cannot be taken as given but is a product of human agency dependent on a complex interplay of historical, social, cultural, political, and other contingencies. It is neither ordained by God nor a product of nature as essentialists imply, nor is it a device conjured up by the machinations of white supremacism as

instrumentalists argue. The creation of Coloured identity is also taken to be an ongoing, dynamic process in which groups and individuals make and remake their perceived realities and thus also their personal and social identities". Zimitri Erasmus (2001: 27) advised that race is a socially constructed idea and thus not real (scientifically speaking). She sees coloured identity as the product of "cultural creativity, creolized formations shaped by South Africa's history of colonialism, slavery, segregation, and apartheid". The fluidity of identity was supported by one of the participants of the study when asked to tick the box of her race, she ticked all the boxes advising that she is all and one of the identities at any given time and in every different situation she finds herself in.

2.4 Racial testing

Figure 3: The pencil test



As mentioned previously the Population Registration Act (Act No. 30 of 1950) was a legislation that defined and grouped people according to their race. Race classification however was done in many strange and often dubious ways. The most famous and infamous of these being the pencil test. The pencil test, a racial classificatory system based on physical appearance in order to place individuals into different racial groups of White (although the test was very rarely done on white people), Coloured, and mostly Black.

> "*Hair is significant in Coloured communities. It marks you in certain ways, towards blackness or whiteness. On the one hand, it is about the 'privilege' of having straight hair as opposed to "Kroes" hair, but on the other hand, having straight hair meant you were often insulted for thinking you were white, for pretending to be white*" (Bester, 1998: 92).

The test was administered in such a way that when a pencil was placed in an individual's hair and it fell out, they were White. If it fell out after shaking the head, they were Coloured, and if it stayed, they were classified as Black. Some tests included asking people to say certain

words or asking them what they ate for breakfast or supper. Other humiliating and dehumanizing test included examining the colour of the genitals[7].

Although the quote above is taken from an article, many of the stories of actually having gone through or performing the tests were provided during interviews with participants. With regards to academic research, there has been literature written about racial classificatory systems relating to physical features, especially hair, but not much about the racial classificatory methods of the apartheid system such as the 'pencil test'. Uren (2015)[8] states in an article about the infamous test that, "Every year people were reclassified. In 1984, for example, 518 Colored people were defined as White, two Whites were called Chinese, one White was reclassified as Indian, one White became Colored, and 89 Colored people became Black". One of the questions posed during the interviews was whether participants knew about the test, how they felt about it, and whether they had actually experienced it. During the interviews, responses to these questions were answered and these will be further elaborated on in Chapter 4. Chauke (2020)[9] places it into historical and present-day context noting that hair "has so much meaning, power, identities, and connotations are imbued in it. Hair on a global scale is gendered, racialised, sexualised, deified, and politicised. As such, hair is not just a natural or superficial object, hair is a site of identity formation and contestation, alive with complexity, history, and politics".

The advent of the natural hair phenomenon is dispelling the myth previously taught to Coloured girls that straight is great and kroes (kinky) is terrible. With much of the legacy of Coloured identity based not only on being, but looking, different to other 'races', the issue of hair and beauty standards has gained much needed attention today. This is important to expand on. With issues of white beauty and black otherness, or straight versus dry, damaged hair, it is clear that the legacies of the past are still in the present, but now people are not

[7] https://www.thoughtco.com/racial-classification-under-apartheid-43430

[8] https://mashable.com/archive/apartheid-south-africa-signs

[9] https://mg.co.za/thought-leader/opinion/2020-09-09-the-pencil-test-still-colours-the-rainbow-nation-illusion/

willing to take it as they were forced to. A recent example of this was in 2020 when Clicks, a retail group in South Africa, created an advert for the well-known hair product TRESemmé where images were shown of black and white women with the black women's hair described as dull and brittle and the white women's hair defined as fine and normal. The advertisement sparked an outcry amongst all people of colour, especially women who on an advertisement for the world to see, had their natural hair described as dry and brittle. The Economic Freedom Fighters, an opposition political party in South Africa, were most vocal and took action by torching Clicks stores and forcing many to close down, slamming the advertisement as racist. Although the Clicks retail store as well as TRESemmé apologized for the advertisement, the damage had already been done and had shown how entrenched the definitions of beauty remain in society.

Younger generations of Coloureds (reference is made specifically here to Coloureds as the focus group of the study), are choosing to disassociate themselves with older, traditional hair styles. Instead of accepting the straight, chemically treated, heat altered hair, they are embracing their natural kroes, curly hair. This is not to say that they would prefer to be referred to as Khoe or San in this instance (as these identities are associated with these identities), it is accepting this part of what makes them who they are, as it is not the totality or all-encompassing of who they are, that they choose to accept or embrace. But embracing freedom and liberation from past prescriptions often comes at the cost of ridicule from their own community. It is however a price they are willing to pay, and even though scary in the beginning, they embrace the liberation it provides in the end. However, this is not only seen with the younger generation. One of the participants in the study, who is over the age of 50, has also embraced this journey and the creator of Kroes Rocks also shares her personal journey regarding her hair and how this journey has been helpful and liberating to so many women.

The new women are choosing to accept and embrace who they are today. They respect their Coloured, Khoe, or San identity and heritage and embrace a new future where they are not bound by and burdened by the legacies of racial segregation and systems which dictate to them who they are and how they should look.

They are the embodiment of the quote by Markus Garvey who was born in Jamaica and started the back to Africa movement in America. He was a great advocate for learning about your past and not forgetting your roots, and that is what this generation is doing.

"Take the kinks out of your mind instead of your hair."

3 Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In Cornelissen and Horstmeier's (2002) study of identity construction in post-1994 South Africa, identity construction is defined as how an individual views themselves and is viewed by others. Being born into a particular family, community, religion, or group as well as physical and cultural attributes, are the defining factors of one's identity formation. Raised in a Coloured, San, or Khoe household, you would be taught what to do and not to do, how to act and behave, and shown the differences between right and wrong in your house and your community. In this regard, it was decided that qualitative interviews would be conducted, predominantly with women, to ensure a broad gender specific response for application to this thesis' questions.

The methods that were used to gather data for analysis of the research question was through obtaining a sample of women, and sometimes men, of a certain age category and conducting qualitative research through focus group interviews. Although a scientific study, the purpose of the research was to extract truthful information from participants to attempt to answer the research question. Participants were chosen from different geographical areas in the Northern and the Western Cape. The researcher also felt that since society is conditioned to be in a box, as defined by racial categories, that it be prudent to extract the reasons for responses to racial categories when given the opportunity to self-define.

3.2 The demographic

The demographic make-up of the participants was influenced by chance. Participants were interviewed from the Northern Cape first because that is where the road trip began. Even though most of the participants were women, there were a few men who wanted to take part in the study, which was unanticipated, but nevertheless lent an interesting dynamic to the analysis in terms of how men and women were taught both similar and different lessons with regards to standards of beauty and identity formulation. This could have been an interesting additional component to the study if it had been formulated differently with the purposeful inclusion of men.

There was one participant that identified as Indian. Nevertheless, her feedback on the subject, especially related to standards of beauty and hair, indicated that society does hold a certain standard, no matter the racially prescribed category.

I was not able to obtain interviews from across the desired age groups. This was largely due to the fact that it was the COVID-19 pandemic, which limited who was able to meet, and also that most of the interviews took place during working hours. In the future inclusion of a wider diversity of ages would be beneficial.

Nevertheless, all the women that took part in the study had a story to tell with regards to their history within their families or situations regarding the thesis topic regarding physical attributes. Although hair was the biggest part of the subject, skin colour, facial features, and body structure was also discussed.

3.3 Research design

Discussions were had with individuals dealing with cultural identity issues such as Dr Willa Boesak, to ascertain the interest of the project as well as some of the sensitivities that could be encountered when asking certain questions.

The design of the questionnaire as well as its translation was done with the assistance of former Social Work Lecturer, Professor Frans Kotze who had also done qualitative research in the Northern Cape with women, and who also guided the process in terms of how to handle issues that could be emotionally triggering for participants.

There were very few examples of such questionnaires, especially in the field of Archaeological research, and thus the questionnaire had to be designed by the researcher to ascertain specific responses from the participants to answer the research question.

Interviews were conducted, where available, one-on-one, with ages ranging from 18 to 90, with group amounts ranging from 3 to 12 participants.

3.4 Data collection and methodology

Data was collected through focus group interviews with women where they were, after providing consent, recorded with a video. Prior to each interview, questionnaires and surveys were sent to each person who was available to arrange the interviews in order for participants to familiarize themselves with the thesis topic. They were also sent the release form prior to the interview for them to decide if they would like to take part. These were all face-to-face interviews. All documentation was provided in English and Afrikaans. Data was also collected through Zoom interviews where necessary.

Additional data was sourced from conference presentations (by Dr Allan Boesak on *Chaos in the Blood, 2022*) as well as a Facebook post (by Emile YX? On placing people in boxes – Appendix S) to inform the interpretation of the results.

The bulk of the interviews were thus collected in two ways, i.e., the anonymous survey as well as focus group interviews. This was done with almost 200 women, exact amounts in chapter 4.

Yilmaz (2013) described qualitative research as "based on a constructivist epistemology and explores what it assumes to be a socially constructed dynamic reality through a framework which is value-laden, flexible, descriptive, holistic, and context sensitive, i.e. an in-depth description of the phenomenon from the perspectives of the people involved". Therefore, the project focused on qualitative rather than quantitate research as it allowed a wider range of exploration of how people experience themselves within their own surroundings. It was important for the researcher to make the participant(s) feel comfortable in a space that they were familiar with, surrounded by people they knew. Moving an individual to an unfamiliar place is often uncomfortable, stressful, and not conducive to expressing feelings and emotions. The researcher wanted participants to be at ease, at home, and comfortable in their space with the only unknowns being the researcher, the recorder, and their emotions to the topic. Yilmaz (2013) further goes on to say that the relationship between the knower and the known, or in this case, the researcher and the participant, is to be linked. This was the experience in each interview with the researcher linking personal experiences to the thesis topic, as expressed in the introduction to this chapter, in order for participants to feel comfortable to do the same.

Qualitative research was used in order for participants to lend their own voices to a topic which is often written about and not by them. It was also used to gauge the variety of women in the different provinces and identify similarities and differences between the two geographical areas. Lastly the research approach was used to not only try and understand what participants feel about the subject of identity, and specifically hair, but to try and understand why and how internal and external factors influence their identity.

The anonymous survey requested basic information, as follows:

Age. In order to adhere to the agreed upon age groups and identify how different ages view themselves.

Education. As different social environments and levels of exposure to academia contributes to different thinking and encourages individuals to enquire. Participants that were exposed to tertiary education were much more critical but were also exposed to different cultures in a space where learning and critical understanding was the main objective.

Marital status. This was to determine whether being married or single actually affected how women think about themselves. As the results will show, many married women in the study put their husbands and children first, and divorced women specifically had an empowered sense of identity.

Income. This was to determine whether participants felt comfortable sharing this information and whether one's income made a difference or had an influence on one's identity. This question was also criticized due to the low amounts provided, which was welcomed by the researcher.

Identification. This formed the basis of the interviews that followed. This question was quite difficult to answer for many participants even though they were provided with the following options:

- Brown
- Coloured
- Khoi
- San

- Black
- Other

Many participants inserted their ID number, many did not answer the question at all, and some expressed their feelings. Once all the anonymous surveys were collected, the researcher would talk about the topic and why it is important, following which the interview process commenced with the last question about identity being asked to participants first. This provided participants the opportunity to think about the responses they gave to the question and why they responded the way they did.

Below are the topics/questions that guided the interview process (addendum 22) These questions served as conversational guidelines but at some times all the questions could not be answered or asked as participants brought up matters regarding certain questions prior to them being asked.

- CULTURAL IDENTITY asking specific questions regarding:
  - Racial/ethnic identification
  - Feelings regarding this
  - Awareness
  - Freedom of choice
  - Relevance of identification

- PHYSICAL PROPERTIES / APPEARANCE asking specific questions regarding:
  - Which physical characteristics contribute to cultural identity as a brown or coloured woman (man)?

- FAMILY HISTORY asking specific questions regarding:
  - Transfer of family history
  - Record keeping
  - Investigating family history
  - DNA testing

- FAMILY TREE asking specific questions regarding:
  - Family surnames
  - Knowledge of grandparents and great grandparents' history
  - Family traditions and values
  - Family reunions
  - Written family history

The geographic areas for the interviews were the Western and Northern Cape. In a workshop regarding Free, Prior, and Informed Consent processes with indigenous peoples in Southern Africa, hosted by Resource Africa in 2021, one of the participants made the following statement, "The Western Cape was *where the bomb of slavery and colonialism in South Africa had exploded",* thus making it a melting pot of different races and identity assimilation. It was also decided to include the Northern Cape to establish if there is a geographical difference in perception to the formulation and internalization of cultural identity, the further away one moved from the Western Cape. This was of significance to the study because with the advent of colonialism to Southern Africa, colonists, with specific reference to the VOC (Dutch East India Company) through Jan van Riebeek, settled at the Southernmost tip of Africa, this being Cape Town. When they arrived, this land was occupied by Khoe and San people. The Dutch started 'buying' the land from indigenous people, also wanting the indigenous peoples to work for them. Many of the indigenous people either refused or moved inland.

A small group of men whose field of expertise pertains to indigenous cultures, identity construction, and Coloured culture were also selected to participate in the study to help illustrate the history of, and the construction of identity formulation within, the Coloured community. They were also engaged to help understand the Coloured community's assimilation or disparagement post-1994, and elucidate how men also associate with and assimilate physiognomy.

The aim of the study was to:

1. Understand the construction and internalisation of identity, specifically Coloured identity in post-apartheid South Africa.
   <u>Home, school, university, work</u>

2. Highlight the effects of colonialism, slavery, and apartheid on the identity of the Coloured community.
   Colonialism—Jan Riebeek
   Slavery—Dutch and British
   Apartheid—the ultimate classificatory system
   Us and them

3. Explore the racial classificatory system of physical attributes in identity and its effects on Coloured women in the Northern and Western Cape.
   Apartheid—pencil test (hair), colour of your skin

4. Evaluate post-apartheid identity construction of women in Coloured communities in the Western Cape, and Khoi and Coloured communities in the Northern Cape.
   How much of the past still influences you.

3.5 Difficulties experienced

3.5.1 The COVID-19 pandemic

One of the biggest obstacles experienced relates to data gathering and fieldwork. The impact of COVID-19 and lockdown restrictions made fieldwork, travel, and face-to-face engagements difficult, if not impossible. Fieldwork was set to take place during 2020, but due to the lockdown restrictions and limited movement, the fieldwork only commenced in 2021, with participants wearing masks, temperatures taken, sanitising, and also still adhering to strict protocol. This necessitated finding alternative ways of interviewing women, while trying to survive a worldwide pandemic. These alternatives included recorded telephone conversation, Zoom calls, WhatsApp calls, etc. Tapiwa Madimu (2021[10]) advised that many researchers around the globe were faced with the same dilemma of either resorting to creative

[10] https://kujenga-amani.ssrc.org/2021/09/02/reflections-on-conducting-fieldwork-during-the-covid-19-pandemic/

way to conduct interviews, postpone research, and ride out the wave or completely abandon it.

The researcher was fearful for the lives of the participants planned to be interviewed, in particular, those over the age of 60 as well as the fact that in many of the areas, in the beginning of the lockdown restrictions, there were still very few cases of COVID-19. Cape Town, at one particular time, was considered a serious hotspot and many participants pulled out of the study due to the fact that they did not want to physically interact with anyone from Cape Town.

However, after the cases started subsiding, the vaccination roll-out commenced, and the restrictions eased, interviews could commence but there were still cases where interviews were confirmed but then participants were either in isolation or quarantine. Only one participant refused to come into the venue due to the fact that she had contracted COVID-19 before, and her temperature refused to go down.

The purpose of doing in-person interviews was not only to experience the physical and emotional responses of people while in the same space as them, but also because it is a sign of respect to go to an older person for information, or anything you need, in person instead of asking them, or their information, to come to you. An article in *The Profession* written by a variety of political scientists from universities all over the globe, concludes that field research always requires the balancing of risks—to the researcher and, perhaps more importantly, to research participants—with the broader benefits of the research. The COVID-19 pandemic made those trade-offs clearer and, perhaps, more painful. Even when conducting research remotely, we owe the individuals and communities who participate in our research the same level of care we would offer in the context of in-person research[11].

[11] https://fotini.mit.edu/sites/default/files/images/covid-19-and-fieldwork-challenges-and-solutions%20%281%29.pdf

3.5.2 Distrust of the institution and the field of archaeology

Indigenous communities and people of colour have been studied for many years. Ethnography and anthropology was and still remains important and respected in studies in understanding human behaviour.

However, communities and individuals who have been the subject of studies, often do not feel respected or that their knowledge has not received the recognition it deserves. Students have done research and moved on to become Doctors and Professors while the communities that they studied remain in abject poverty and with no future prospects. Researchers, students, and scientists have taken from communities for years and have not given anything or much in return.

This has caused distrust in many communities, not only for academic institutions, but for museums as well, whose staff have studied and analysed people for hundreds of years. Sarah Baartman, who was taken from the land of her birth, studied, and put on display for years for scientists to prove racist theories. Indigenous people, especially the Khoe and San, were treated as no different than animals to be poked, prodded, and studied. In this thesis, the researcher will refer to her as Sarah and not Saartjie as she is also referred to. The 'tjie' in Afrikaans is sometimes used to denote affection and also smaller size, like a mother would say *my babatjie* (small baby). It is however also used to denote inferiority and subservience. "During the colonial eras and apartheid, the '-tjie' suffix was often used by whites to indicate contempts, belittlement and domination over black people" (Holmes, 2007). The story of Sarah herself and how her body was othered as she was seen as a 'freak of nature' due to her body not conforming to the Western beauty standards, is an extreme case of what many women and young girls have to go through. Teased and mocked for looking 'different', dark skin, different body type, not appreciated for the beauty that she was. Her story and how even women feel about her body, is noted in an interview where she is still mocked, even in death.

This was especially prevalent in the Kalahari where the researcher was directly told as a student of the Archaeology Department of the University of Cape Town, as well as an employee of the Iziko Museums of South Africa, that Bushmen (as the participant referred to himself) have been studied enough by "your kind" with no sharing of results, or any form of reciprocity in return. It was necessary to earn the trust of the participant, and by extension,

the community's. The researcher had previous interactions with the community in a personal capacity and now was coming as the extractor, scientist, and consumer of their knowledge. Earning the trust of any participant, particularly those who felt an injustice done to them as a result of research, is of vital importance.

Research ethics, which is widely used in studies with communities, have been developed to protect the rights of participants but whether the researcher uses it correctly, or even at all, is also questionable. The research ethics code came about as a result violations and abuses of ethical principles by researchers over their subjects worldwide, the most poignant of these being the Nazi war crimes of WWII (Davis & Lachlan, 2017). This is why it was important in this research, for participants to be informed prior to the interview of the topic of the study, the types of questions that would be asked, and also for informed, prior consent to be provided.

In 2017, the San Research Code of Ethics, the first of its kind in Africa, was designed and published. The Code requires all researchers intending to engage with San communities to commit to four central values, namely fairness, respect, care, and honesty, as well as to comply with a simple process of community approval. (Schroeder *et al*., 2019). The Code was created to not only protect the communities, but also to bridge the divide between researchers and the communities they study. Prior to the fieldwork, the researcher contacted the South African San Council, who provide approval for research to take place and this code of ethics, was used and adhered to during the fieldwork process.

3.5.3 Name and surname, race, and language barriers

(Personal encounter by the researcher)

On the very first day of interviews, I introduced myself to the person who was to allow me access to the venue. When I told her who I was, she said that she was looking for a white woman because of my name and surname. The reason for this is that the name and surname are ones that most, if not all, South Africans would associate with an Afrikaner name and surname. The surname especially is very much associated with a white Afrikaans community.

The history of surnames is a very complex one in colonial and even apartheid history. Indigenous peoples and slaves did not have surnames, and many were provided surnames either of the month they arrived, e.g., Mary October, received surnames of ownership, Mary Jansen (the 'sen' being the Afrikaans term for ownership so the indigenous person or slave belonged to Jan), or paternity, e.g. Mary Janson (the same surname but the son relating to the son of Jan). Sometimes, it was revealed, when Coloured, Khoe, or San people had a surname which sounded too white or too much like that of the *baas* (owner), it would be changed. In some instances, people were able to maintain the "White" surname.

When searching for the correct interview venues, directions were provided to the "Coloured" areas, which were on the outskirts of town indicating the effects of the removal of persons of colour in various geographical areas. As mentioned in chapter one, Group Areas Act No. X of 1950, which separated racially classified groups into different geographical locations, many people were forcefully removed from their homes and placed on the outskirts of the city centres. Most of the interviews were also conducted in churches and when the researcher came to the Dutch Reformed Church on the very first day of interviews, the information provided was that it was the incorrect church. When questioned whether it was the Dutch Reformed Church, the researcher was informed that the 'other' Dutch Reformed church is in the 'other' area. Although the receptionist was kind and provided the address, there was a sense of the fact that it should have been known.

Many participants feared that the interviews would be conducted in English. This immediately caused anxiety in many participants. It was only once the interviewer started speaking to them not only in Afrikaans, but in a dialect of Afrikaans that they were comfortable and familiar with, that they felt relaxed enough to open up about the topic at hand.

The researcher was also very aware of her positionally in the sense that she is from Cape Town but has roots in the Northern Cape. It was thus important for the researcher to assure the participants that they were speaking to 'one of their own', an insider from the outside.

3.6 Ethical issues

In 2019, Stellenbosch University conducted a study on woman between the ages of 18 to 64 to assess the cognitive functioning of a sample of 60 Coloured women from the area. The study claimed that the women presented with low cognitive function, significantly influenced by education. Amongst great backlash from the academic community, but especially the Coloured community, the authors eventually decided to retract the study.

The researcher was very aware of this matter and that is why release forms and information about the topic were provided to participants prior to the interviews and all issues and concerns were discussed prior to the commencement of the interview. One of the comments that was made by one of the participants was that she thought she was going to be interviewed by a white person again but was pleasantly surprised when it was finally one of their own. The researcher was relieved to hear this but also concerned as to why the participant would say that, as it suggested that there have been many such interviews and that it was mostly White academics. The topic was also chosen very carefully by the researcher as it is a topic not about others only, but about a lived experience of the researcher as a woman classified as Coloured.

Another concern was the use of racially classified terminology that is concerning to the research community as well as how the use of these terminologies perpetuates the categories. It was important give agency to the participants especially in a society which still defines, classifies, and boxes women, especially the women referred to in the study, as women that will amount to nothing, get drunk and have lots of babies.

However, it was a decision made to be politically correct but also to allow the participants to express their lived experience regarding these categories. Participants, when comfortable in their setting, were very honest about how they were classified, and the words that were used to describe their hair and physical features.

In order for the research and especially the interviews to take place, ethical clearance had to be obtained from the University of Cape Town. Some of the ethical concerns participants had included having their information misinterpreted, having it placed in or used in places they did not feel comfortable with (as sessions were video recorded), and not having access to the study results, which they felt to be very important.

The researcher went through the release form carefully with participants that had questions and ensured that they were comfortable with and understood each question.

3.7 Non-control of the sampling group

As many of the contact persons to source sampling groups were often times men (pastors) as well persons from different racial categories, there were two cases where the focus group included persons not in the selected sampling group. These outcomes were not planned however, these individuals contributed to the scope of the study as they also discussed personal issues that related to hair and colour (of the skin). Also, it was decided to include them as the topic of the study is one that discusses inclusivity and decisions made for individuals regarding their race and identity. These samples were thus included in the study.

3.8 DNA sampling

The last question that was asked in the study was whether participants would want to participate in DNA testing. Many participants were interested as they felt it would provide them with clarity on their ancestry and who they are, and approximately five tests were done. Unfortunately, the tests were inconclusive due to the fact that the tests had to be returned to the lab while fieldwork was still being conducted and it would not reach the destination in the required time.

4 Findings and analysis

4.1 Introduction

During each interview and discussion which took place with the various focus groups, what was of great interest was to note the need in so many participants, to find a sense of self and a platform to speak. As a result of past silences, injustices, and trauma, what emerged is that many people are ‘root seekers’, interested in doing DNA testing to discover their roots, to find out who they are (Foster, 2016).

In contrast to the perceived inner and outer physical conflict of some Coloured women in the Western Cape and their identity struggles, young girls and women in the Northern Cape do not seem to have this problem. The perception appears to be that the disassociation of the negative apartheid classification of Coloured is much more fluid and less internally conflictual. In her speech at the 2012 Mr. and Mrs Khoisan function held in December 2012, the 2011 winner of the Mrs Khoisan encouraged the young people in attendance to be proud of their Bushman, Nama, or Griqua culture, and not to allow people to define them as Coloured (Gabie, 2014).

This chapter will present the findings of the interviews done with women in the Western and Northern Cape to ascertain how physical attributes contribute to their sense of cultural identity.

Interviews took place between 30 August 2021 and 31 August 2022. 30 interviews were conducted but unfortunately only 20 could be used, mostly due to technical snags.

4.2 Results regarding geographical location and age groups

The areas that were covered were the Northern and the Western Cape with 35.38% in the Northern Cape and 64.61% in the Western Cape.

The reason why the number of participants in the Northern Cape is lower than the Western Cape is as a result of the fact that all the interviews in the Northern Cape were done during the COVID–19 period. Either participants could not come into the venue due to high temperatures or areas had to be dropped due to people testing positive for COVID-19.

Age Group	**Amount**
18 – 25	6.9%
26 – 35	11.5%
36 – 55	28.46%

56+	53.07%

Table 1: Percentage of participants in each age group.

The individuals that assisted in obtaining participants for the study usually received contacts with churches and schools. Most of the interviews also took place during the week during working hours. This would then exclude, the majority of the time, working adults between the ages of 18 to 55 years.

Two participants were male. One of which identifies as queer (one-on-one interview) and another that joined in an interview group.

One participant was a woman who identified as an Indian.

4.3 Results regarding identity

0.76% chose to identify as follows

- All
- Beautiful. I don't identify as kullid (slang for Coloured). I don't know if I am a descendant of the Khoi or San, I am human.
- Black
- Coloured Khoi young lyrical genius
- How will I know?
- I am Brown, I am Black, I am African, I am beautiful, I am beautiful, I am creative, the creation.
- Nama
- Other
- Poet/Khoi

All of the above identifications are very interesting, especially the individual who chose to tick all the boxes. The reason for this, in relation to the research question will be discussed in the following chapter.

Further results were as follows:

- 1.53% San
- 1.53% person
- 2.30% as Bushman (with one specifying /Xam)
- 4.61% Khoi
- 5.38% South African citizen
- 24.61% Brown
- 53.07% Coloured

This result shows that the majority of the participants chose to identify as Coloured. However, it must be noted here that the survey questions were asked in the beginning of the interview process.

When asked the reason for the identity groups chosen on the survey, themes we attributed to individual responses:

- 27.69% did not provide an answer.
- 17.69% attributing it to their family, area, and upbringing.
- 13.07 said it is because of government.
- 3.84% said it is because of their skin colour.
- 0.76% said no comment.

From the above data, it should be noted that the response with regards to the reasons why people chose the identities provided on the survey had no answer was the highest amount of 27.69%. This could either be attributed to the fact that as citizens we are generally not allowed the opportunity to question or, this could also be that there are more important matters to consider in life besides why I ticked the box that I did, like household issues, financial issues, etc.

The results show that the second highest reason why participants identified in a certain way is as a result of family and place (17.69%). Being born into a particular family, community, religion, or group as well as physical and cultural attributes, are the defining factors of one's identity formation.

Here is where the governmental forms get completed by the individual, who once 18, can now complete these forms for themselves and the box ticking exercise begins (13.07%).

3.84% attributed their identity to their skin colour. This ties in not only with societal judgement on basing a person's identity on race (the colour of their skin), but also shows how the racial classificatory system of the previous apartheid government is still ingrained in society of which one of the categories was skin colour.

Below is an allocation of the identities chosen according to the different age groups and areas:

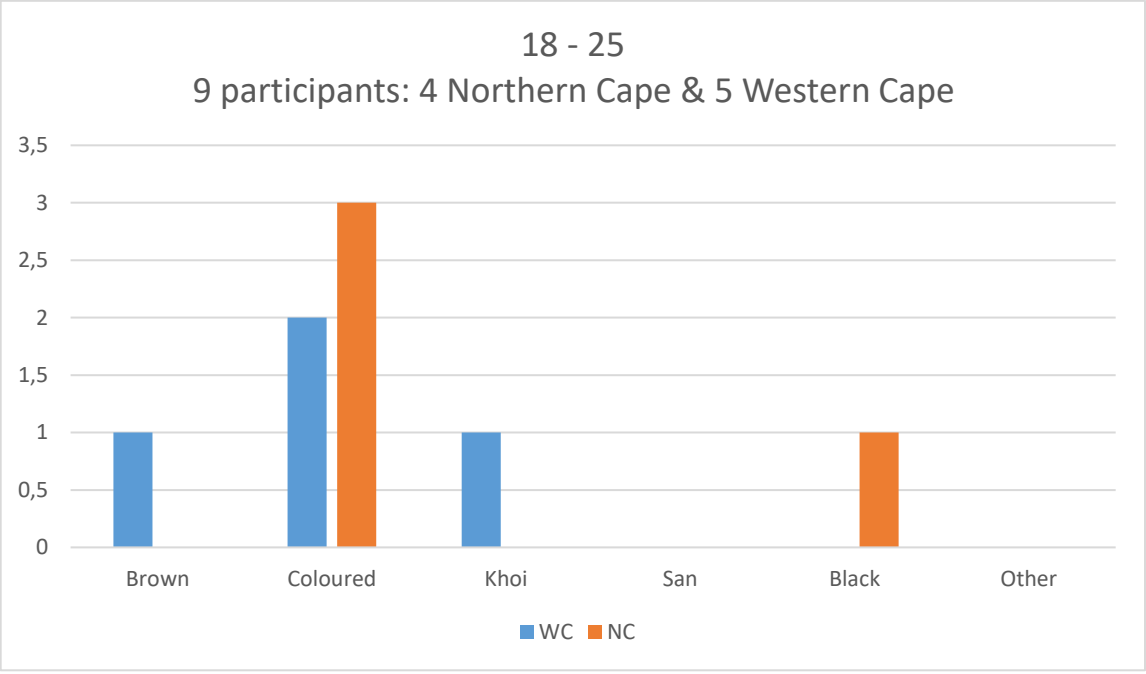


Table 2.1: Identities in the 18-25 age group

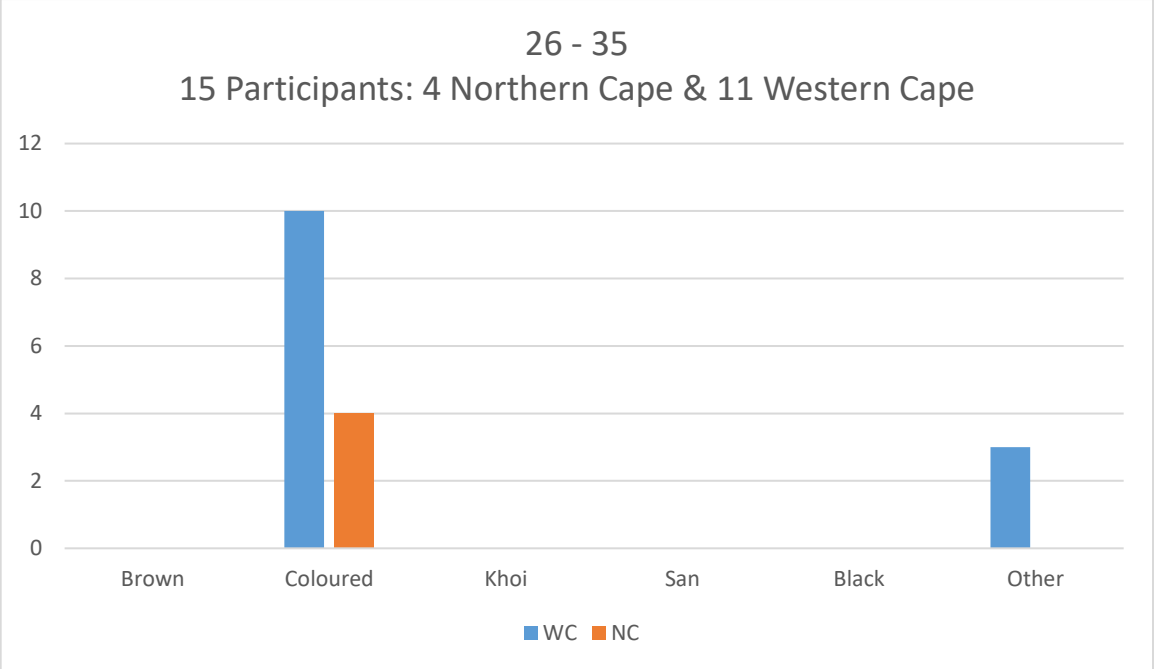


Table 2.2: Identities in the 26-35 age group.

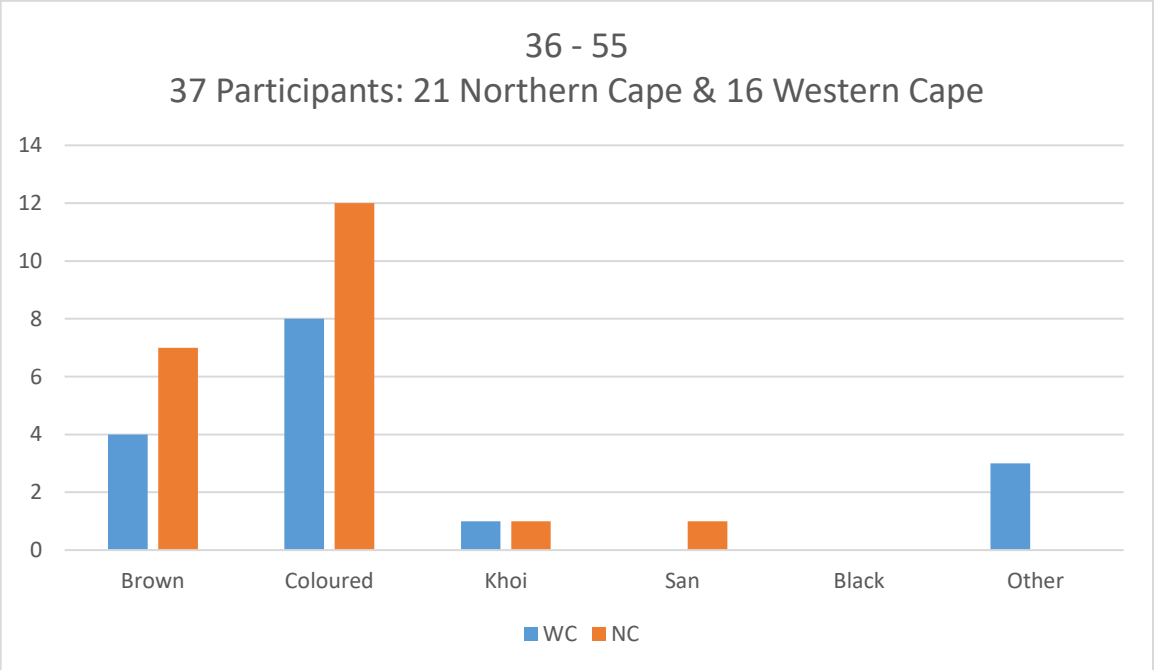


Table 2.3: Identities in the 36-55 age group.

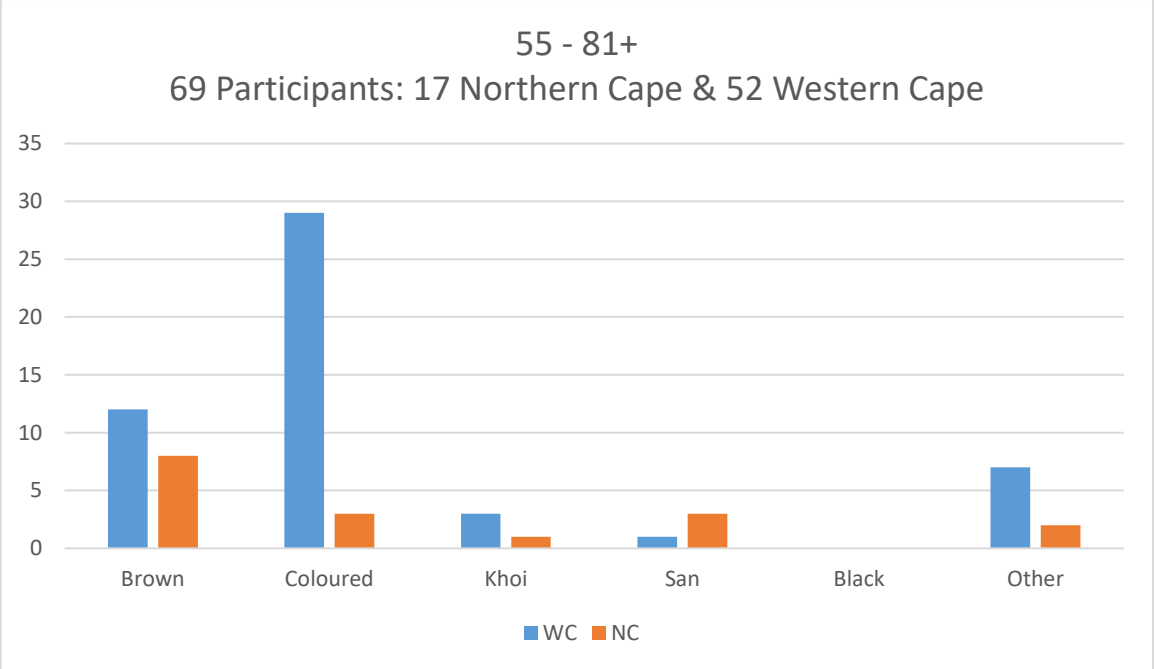


Table 2.4: Identities in the 55+ age group.

4.4 Results regarding interviews

Following the survey, participants were taken through the interview process (conversation). Each interview was then transcribed and from each transcription the data were analysed according to themes which were brought up in the discussion, whether prompted by the researcher through guided questions, or freely, which is, the researcher feels, more relevant to the thesis topic as participants were able to decide for and think for themselves without being told what to say.

These themes were then compared to occurrences in geographical areas to ascertain similarities and differences on the subject themes in the areas where interviews took place. Some of them were quite triggering and emotional, but the honesty of the participants was valued in order to analyse the data obtained.

None of the participants use the word kinky, but rather *kroes* and the term *boesman korrels* is also one of the many words used to describe not only kinky but specifically short kinky hair with long kinky hair being better and more accepted than short.

Participants, especially those between the ages of 50 to 90, remember a time when they were classified in different ways on their identity documents (ID), some referring to themselves as Black, who have saved their ID documents which had changed through the years. Participants who referred to themselves as Black were often those that supported the African National Congress (ANC) movement of Black Consciousness, fighting against racism, referred to themselves as either Black or 'so-called coloured'.

Coding was used to analyse the data into themes. Coding is the transitional middle process between collecting data and analysing data the researcher making sense of and interpreting the data collected (Saldana, 2013). The researcher searched for patterns in the datasets through the lens of cultural identity analysis. The codes provided by the researcher are identified as follows:

- The first two letters of the code CI pertains to the title of the thesis, i.e. Cultural Identity
- The number refers to the appearance of themes as extracted from the interviews
- The final letter is for organisational purposes of the data

Theme	Code
Sexual violence/physical/emotional trauma	CI1B
Seen and not heard (don't tell)	CI2C
Threatening of life/livelihood	CI3D
Terms of description /ID	CI4E
Judgement at birth	CI5F
Descriptions of hair	CI6G
Think of the children	CI7H

History/heritage	CI8I
Standards of beauty	CI9J
Texturism	CI10K
Methods/products of straightening	CI11L
Advice/ailments (IKS)	CI12M
Pencil test and racial segregation	CI13N
Identity	CI14O
Changing of names and surnames and ages (erasure of identity)	CI15P
History of silence/lies to protect	CI16Q
Know your place	CI17R
Stories of hope	CI18S
Phenotype characteristics	CI19T
History/discrimination	CI20U
Us vs them (othering)	CI21V
Coloured culture	CI22W
Khoe/San/Indigenous Culture	CI23X
Religion/bible	CI24Y
DNA	CI25Z
Feelings towards the word kroes	CIA26A

Family	CIA27B

Table 3: The coding of themes

All themes except for CI25Z and CIA26A, were themes that emanated from the interview process. It must however also be noted that CIA26A was not included in the survey or interview questions (which were provided to participants before the time), so as not to pre-empt the discussion or thoughts regarding the topic.

These themes will be discussed in relation to the topic in Chapter 5.

5 Discussion: what does all of this mean?

5.1 Placement of the project

The research described in this thesis was not only a journey for the researcher, but also a journey for each participant about things seemingly as insignificant as hair but noting the absolute significance thereof in the formulation and feelings towards their past, the identity and their future. Just ticking the box (in life and during the research process) was one less thing to think about. This response is however contradictive to the result once the discussion takes place, indicating that when provided the (safe) space and opportunity for dialogue to take place, people have many issues and matters to divulge pertaining to the answer.

As a woman of colour, a Coloured woman born in the last part of the 1970's, the researcher got the end tail of the oppressive apartheid regime. The only memory of apartheid being the smell of burning tires while driving through certain areas to and from school. The teargas cannister that was thrown in close proximity on the way to ballet class. Memories of candles being lit for the political prisoners. Memories of singing, "*We shall overcome*" in the Dutch Reformed Church in Bellville South, while Rev. Allan Boesak preaches freedom and liberation from apartheid.

The researcher was thus sheltered from or didn't know as much of the struggle as many of the participants did.

5.2 Geography and participants

As the title of the thesis states, the research is to ascertain how cultural identity within Khoe, San, and Coloured women of the Northern and the Western Cape is formulated, specifically focusing on physical characteristics, and to see if there is any differences. However, as noted in the previous chapter, there was one participant that identified as Indian and two participants that were male. Another three males were also interviewed via Zoom to obtain their views as "experts" in the field of cultural identity. Discrimination and exclusion are talked about and discussed on a large scale

in this thesis, as, no matter the source, it is relevant to the thesis topic. This is a reoccurring subject which occurs in all the interviews.

The history of land dispossession in South Africa started with the arrival of the Dutch at the Cape in 1652. Although this did not mean that this matter did not arise prior to the arrival of the Dutch. Like the Portuguese, Dom Francisco de Almeida, who in 1510 was killed by the indigenous Goringhaiqua, a Khoi peoples, in Cape Town. With the initial task to set up a refreshment station at the Cape, Jan van Riebeek, under the guise of the VOC, soon realised that meat and vegetable supplies were required. Bartering began with the Khoe pastoralists and as more ships came, more Europeans stayed. The need for land and grazing became of importance and it was during this move in search of land that the first forms of land dispossession took place, first from the Khoe and then later the San.

With labour required, the indigenous Khoe and later San, refused to work for a white master on land on which they previously grazed. Boesak (2022) in his talk (Appendix R) says, “Throughout the centuries of colonial history, there were many things that frightened white South Africans: the indigenous population fighting back when their land was invaded and stolen; the hotnots and the Bushmen who refuse to be enslaved and who fled”.

The first slaves were brought to the Cape in 1658. Slavery instilled a classificatory system of racial hierarchies, but with the abolition of slavery, race became increasingly important as a marker of difference (the former slave community and oppressed Khoisan community forming what would be called a ‘Coloured’ community) and nineteenth-century theories of race aided the entrenchment of racial segregation, establishing the social and intellectual platform upon which apartheid would be constructed (Wilkins, 2017).

The legacy of slavery is often overlooked and how it was “central to the development of patterns of racialised economic and class relations which were sustained, if not entrenched, during the British colonial period, and ultimately resulted in apartheid” (Wilkins, 2017). The apartheid system was constructed around the belief that pure 'racial', ethnic, and cultural identities were not only real but were a desirable basis for

ordering and controlling South Africa. However, at the messy level of personal experience and life strategies, the boundaries and categories of cultural identity are constantly blurred and impure (Field, 1998/1999).

All areas thus chosen in the study were thus not only affected by colonialism and land dispossession but were still suffering the negative effects of apartheid. This was particularly evident from the very first town where interviews were conducted. I was very taken aback and disgusted by the fact that there is still an othering of us and them, a '*ja baas*' (yes boss) mentality between the Coloured and White communities, and also how much the forced removals of people of colour to designated areas still persist.

As part of the study of finding out and identifying who you are, the question of DNA testing was asked and had varied results. Some participants viewed the DNA test as a paternity test, while others saw it as a means to unravel the history and mystery of their past. The question posed to the participants was, "*If you have identified as a particular 'identity?' would taking a DNA test and the results thereof be something you are interested in*?" The need for some participants to have the test done would in most cases, stem from silence and shame within families where the history of who they are is not discussed. For some it would be a solution to differences in looks. To others it would be to prove who they were told they are, e.g., Khoe, San, slave, or European ancestry. To a few participants, the response was that looking in the mirror (the reflection of their features and what they were told) was more truthful than any scientific test.

Be happy to be you[12], a DNA testing website describes their services as, "Unravelling ancestry, embracing diversity and driving biomedical research". This is how the DNA test was explained to participants, showing the differences and similarities of all of us

[12] https://www.mediclinic.co.za/en/corporate/mediclinic-precise/services/mediclinic-precise-ancestry-test.html

as South Africans. It remains to be seen, however, what the response of participants will be when their results are returned.

As stated, none of the DNA tests that were taken on participants were completed in time to be included in this study so only that of the researcher was used. Even though the results were not surprising, with the highest scoring result being European, the rest were pleasing, especially with the maternal haplogroup. It was however not a defining factor in identity formulation for the researcher, but each person will experience the results differently (addendum 23), extract below.

> *MATERNAL HAPLOGROUP L0d2a1*
>
> *GEOGRAPHICAL REGION Sub-Saharan Africa*
>
> *BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE HAPLOGROUP L0 haplogroup is the oldest one in the mtDNA modern human tree, dating around 149.700 years old. It is currently more frequent in groups that conserve a hunter-gatherer way of life, such as Khoe-San and Pygmies. As these traditional groups admixed with the Bantu farmers who migrated from Cameroon region at around 5.000 years ago, towards the entire south of the African continent, L0 lineages are observed in lower frequencies in non-hunter-gatherer groups, and also in the diaspora to the America and Europe. Its sub-lineage L0d was the first to emerge in its diversification, at around 87.000 years ago and is currently more frequent in the Khoe-San groups of Southern Africa, as well as being very common in the Coloured population of South Africa (60-71%) and in other southern African countries (as Angola, Namibia, Botswana, and Mozambique)*

The following is an account of focus group interview analysis. It must however be noted that even though the interviews are referred to as focus groups, some interviews were done by one-on-one interviews. For the purpose of the study it will be referred to as focus groups:

5.2.1 Focus group 1

This video unfortunately was not able to be sourced due to a technical error which occurred with the recording equipment upon analysis of the data. The interview took place with five participants (all women). Ages of the participants ranged from 37 to 62. The main themes that came out in this interview were how people of colour are still treated on farms, stories of names, surnames and birthdates being given incorrectly by the *veld kornet* (field cornet), a South African term for either a local government official or a military officer[13], (this would be a recurring theme and thus noted as CI15P), forced removals and land dispossession, and judgment towards skin colour. Here it was noted by one participant that her skin colour (which is very light of complexion), often gets her into and out of trouble. Because of her skin colour, people think she is White. However, she says that as soon as she opens her mouth they know that she is Coloured.

As this was the first focus group, the discussion of hair, straightening products, and methods as well as feelings towards hair first took place (even though this was not on the questionnaire). Here the *warm kam* (warm comb/fork) was mentioned, how the husband of a participant was advised by his mother to take a wife with straight hair (to think about the hair texture of the children) and how, and this was inspiring, the Miss South Africa at the time, Lalela Mswane, had encouraged one of the participants to go natural.

[13] https://en-academic.com/dic.nsf/enwiki/1880113

5.2.2 Focus group 2

The interview took place with eleven participants with ages ranging from 56 to 76. These women were very prepared for the topic and very excited to talk. The subjects which received the main focus here were the changing of surnames and names and birthdates by the *veld kornets* (field cornets), the use of field medicines in all ailments, and hair. The subject of hair was more prevalent than the topic of skin colour with many women advising that they are happy that the youth of today are embracing their natural curls and not having to go through what they had to go through as young ladies. One woman even said that when her hair was not straightened, she would not allow her boyfriend (now husband) to play with her hair as she felt self-conscious and insecure because he had straight hair and she did not.

The most traumatising story that came from this group was the rape and silencing of women who worked as maids by the *boer/ou baas* (this could either be a white man or the owner of the farm):

> *As ek dink an haar, amper so, julle se nie vir my nie, julle maak nie vir my nie. Dit is na sy deur baie swaaerkry gekom het. En die kind van die wit man gehad het wat sy moes weg gehaardloop het. En natuurlik verkrag deur die wit man. Daai ou boere is sulke ou goeterse gewees.*
>
> *Dit is nou waneer oubaas vir ou meid gehaad het. Jy moet vlug. Onder die tafel. Dan kry ou meid nou n kind, wat ou baas sinne is, dan gee ou baas vir hom n lemoen dat jy kan jou bek hou. Onse mense het baie swaar deurgekom. Jy mag nie praat nie. Jy moet jou mond hou*

> *When I think of her, almost like, you don't tell me, you don't own me. It came after she had gone through a lot of hardships. And had the white man's child she had to run away from. And of course, raped by the white man. Those old farmers were such old bastards.*

> *This is when boss (had) the girl (maid). You must flee. Under the table. Then the old maid now has a child, which the old boss, then the old boss gives her*

an orange so you can keep your mouth shut. Our people have come through very hard times. You may not speak. You should keep your mouth shut.

5.2.3 Focus group 3

The interview took place with ten participants (all women). Ages of the participants ranged from 22 to 63. This was a very excitable group with all participants talking at the same time. They were very open about racial discrimination still taking place not only in their community but also when they visit Cape Town. One of the most interesting stories here is that not only did hair (which is described as *plek bewolk* (partly cloudy) come into the conversation, but terms used to call people of colour like *hotnot* (which is short for Hottentot), *boesman*, *meid* (which also occurred in focus groups 1 and 2), but also physical features such as skin colour and height, as well as body structure. When asked what the signs are of a Bushman, besides the hair, the thighs were also noted, with specific reference made to Sarah Baartman. The gesture did seem in jest, as most of the participants laughed, but the participant who discussed it advised that she is proud of her heritage.

5.2.4 Focus group 4

The interview took place with five participants (all women). Ages of the participants ranged from 18 to 84. The dynamic was interesting here due to the huge age gap of the oldest and youngest participant and the insights provided. There was respect from the younger participant towards her elders, saying this is part of her culture, to respect elders, and thus part of her identity.

There were discussions about what gets told about hair when women want to choose a husband or partner and that they should not want to plait pantihose (nylon stockings used to plait into shorter hair to make it grow), and that he should not be too dark.

The one story that stood out to me was the introduction of one of the participants to race for the first time. She talks about growing up in a Coloured community and only seeing White people on television. She was then sent to an all-White high school and

at one lunch session, she asked for the salt to be passed to her. The salt was passed all around her and not given to her until the one other Coloured girl gave her salt from her table. They did not want to pass her the salt because they said she would make it brown. Her sentiments were:

> *Ek was seker te geshelter in die huis. En toe ek eventually uitgan toe is dit te a shell shock. Ek het nooit so gevoel oor enige ander ras soos hulle gevoel het oor my. Want ek weet dan self nie wie is ek nie.*
>
> *I was probably too sheltered in the house. And when I eventually went out, I was shell shocked. I have never felt about another race the way they felt about me. Because I don't even know myself who I am.*

5.2.5 Focus group 5

The interview took place with eight participants. Ages of the participants ranged from 21 to 70. This group was quite diverse as the levels of education and employment within the group created a dynamic of silence. One of the participants was an educator and the other a university graduate. One of the participants also was a very proud natural girl (wears her hair kinky) which made the topic of conversation flow freely regarding hair from the onset. It took a while for them to 'defrost' but once this took place there was lots of honesty about families (where one sibling is treated differently because of skin colour and hair texture), surname changes, long and short hair, and cleanliness. There was a story of a white family that adopted a Black girl and had to take her to the informal settlement (racially allocated area for people classified as Black) for her hair to be done and how girls used to be kept between the legs of their mothers while their hair was pulled and brushed, all to look 'beautiful'.

The most heart wrenching story here however was of one participant who was still visibly traumatised by her hair due to an incident that had occurred in her past:

> *My experience met hare, ek het dit gehat. Kleintyd het ek aanstoot gekry omdat ek gladde hare het. My maaitjies, toe ons nou jong meisie beginne raak,*

as hier nou ander plek se mansmense kom, dan is ek nie hulle maaitjie vir die naweek nie want die manne vat nou net vir my kante.

My experience with hair, I hated it. When I was younger, I was discriminated (offense) against because I had straight hair. My friends, when we became young ladies, if young men from another area come here, then I am not their friend for the weekend because the young men would just take me (my part).

This participant was still visibly traumatised by this past occurrence in her life which formulated how she feels about herself (internally) and her image externally. This was also the first occasion where it was not the person with kinky hair being discriminated against (as is the general observation) but the person with straight hair.

5.2.6 Focus group 6

This was a one-on-one interview in the Kalahari (one of two) as many of the groups that were arranged for interviews had COVID-19 cases. This interview took place with a woman.

This participant did not complete a survey but her insights into the history of identification and how young girls were taught in the past and how it persists today was insightful. She was happy to talk about the old days, talking about how she needed to treat the White farmer's wife and how the tasks and rules for girls were different than for boys. Girls had to cover themselves to protect themselves from predators to keep their purity. Respect was of utmost importance to your body first, and family and society. She also still spoke Nama and even had a Nama word for *kroes*. She often however switched to Nama which made the interview a bit difficult to understand at times.

With regards to classification, this sentiment was significant:

Die lang hare. Kaapse Kleurling, ons het so gese. Is waar. Dan kom ek terug na dit toe, onthou julle moet vir julle ID's maak, en onthou julle is die Kaapse Kleurling, daar kom dit nou by my terug.

The long hair. Cape Coloured, we called it that. It's true, then I come back to this, remember you must make your ID's, and remember you are the Cape Coloured, there it comes back to me now.

Nee my kind ek het tog geweet dit is nie waar nie. Dit is nie die waarheid nie. Nie in die ou dae, ek hoor net die Kaapse Kleurling, Kaapse Kleurling, toe sien ek dit is die lang haar mense.

No, my child, I knew it was not true. It is not the truth. In the old days I just heard Cape Coloured, Cape Coloured, so I saw it was the long-haired people.

5.2.7 Focus group 7

This was the second one-on-one interview which took place with a male from the Kalahari. He also did not complete a survey but was very eager to talk not only about his history, but especially the important role that women play, his identity as a San man, the power of spirituality and connection to the land and soil, and the importance of preserving his heritage.

He very rarely saw his mother as she had to work on the farm for the White boss. He and his siblings then needed to sit next to the ash heap because they (the boss and his wife) did not want to see the little Bushmen children.

He feels that his language is his culture, and his mother was one of the last speakers of the |Nuu language. His mother was not allowed to speak to them in the language because the farm boss said it was an ugly language and she (his mother) would get scolded for speaking the language until she feared speaking it and stopped speaking it altogether. Even when researchers tried to establish if the language still exists, she was still fearful due to past trauma. The language is what ties him to his culture and his identity:

My moeder taal is van die hoogste belang. As sy pad nie duidleik gemaak word nie, as sy pad nie lig kry nie, wat gan ons word?

My mother tongue is of the utmost importance If its pathway does not receive light, if its pathway does not become clear, what will become of us?

5.2.8 Focus group 8

The interview took place with eleven participants. Ages of the participants ranged from 22 to 59. This was a very interesting group in the sense that this was the first interview where the pencil test was mentioned without prompting. This is also where the situation regarding basters came out very strongly for the first time. Basters, according to the participants, are Coloureds who are lighter of complexion and generally either have an eye colour other than brown and generally also have straight hair. Basters are also considered to be higher on the hierarchy scale than Coloureds because of their proximity to whiteness. Basters also lived in different areas to the Coloureds. It was also mentioned that in school performances, Baster children had to be at the front of the stage while those with shorter, more kinky hair and darker skin either had to be in the back or in a costume covering their face.

The pencil test was done by Coloured people on Coloured children to determine which school they should attend. Not only was the pencil test done, but learners were also asked what meal they had the previous night and depending on the answer (indicating economic status) they would be placed in different schools. Parents were traumatised by this but it was the law, though it was people of colour doing it to children of colour.

It was mentioned that the pencil test was also done to determine whether a worker could sit at the back or the front of the boss's vehicle. A specific incident is recalled following which all participants advise that this situation continues to this day:

My man het altyd n storie vertel van die hond wat voor by die boer gesit het en toe maak die boer n ongeluk. En toe die polisie nou daar kom toe sit die, se maar hotnot, soos hulle vir ons mense gese het, sit toe agter. En toe die polisie vir die hotnot vra, te se hy, var vir die hond, hy het voor gesit.

*My husband always told a story about the dog that sat in front inside the vehicle with the boss, then the boss got into an accident. And when the police came there then the, let's say hotnot, like they used to call our people, sat at the back. And when the police questioned the hotnot, then he said, ask the dog, he sat in front. (*The dog was treated better than the person).

5.2.9 Focus group 9

The interview took place with five participants, four of which participated in a video recording, and one, who for religious reasons was unable to but did submit her survey. Ages of the participants ranged from 40 to 63. This group was different in the sense that the community in which they live celebrates their Nama Culture. One of the participants was a proud Damara/Herero woman who knew her heritage and her culture. Many of them were proud of what they were taught by their parents about their heritage and identified strongly with this as being the main source of their identity. Here, Basters also lived in different areas to the 'other' Coloured community; there were no Black people in the area prior to 1994.

Two incidents which stood out in this interview were the following:

Jy voel eintlik trots om te kies maar hulle het nou gese ek is Kleurling.

You actually feel proud to (be able to) choose but they said we must be Coloured (referring to the government).

So even though the opportunity is provided to make your own choice, it is still a matter of this is what the government said you should be.

Alhoewel ons almal kleurlinge was, was daar ook apartheid in daai kategorie van julle is wie en julle is wie.

*Even though we were all Coloured there was also apartheid in that category of you are this and you are this. (*There are hierarchies according to skin colour).

5.2.10 Focus group 10

The interview took place with seven participants (six women and one man). Ages of the participants ranged from 29 to 56. This was the first group where a male was present in the interview process. It was however interesting to note the dynamic in the beginning of the interview process and how participants started becoming more comfortable about the situation. Issues that arose here also relate to segregated schools and how Coloured students were treated badly.

One aspect that was different about the group was that the town was created for and inhabited just by Coloured people and Black people moving into the area subsequent to 1994 still has an effect on the community. It is an insider/outsider situation where children were taught to fear Black people where they are referred to as 'them'. The Nama word for kroes (gwan) was also referred to.

There were also mentions of field medicine and where it was mentioned for the first time that breast milk can be used to cure ailments like a painful ear.

The incident that stood out most was one of the participants telling the story of a male who gave a female money to buy relaxer to straighten her hair. This is the first time I had heard of such an incident and even though the story was shared in jest, the shock factor of a man giving a woman, who he knew, money in front of other people to buy relaxer to straighten her hair was shocking.

> *Ons dra mos nie meer kroes kop nie. Vat hierdie geld, hier is Spar dan, en gan koep vir jou relaxer.*
>
> *We don't wear kroes anymore. Take this money, there is Spar, and go buy relaxer.*

The great thing about the end of this story is that she took the money and bought herself something else. This does however show how society, even men, judge women and compare the beauty to standards of hair texture.

5.2.11 Focus group 11

The interview took place with eight then nine participants (two men, six women, and one woman who joined late). Ages of the participants ranged from 33 to 81.

This group had some very strong voices and some silent ones which made it difficult to gauge the groups feelings towards matters regarding the topic. They were however very open about their heritage and their roots and spoke about how they remember the town still having doors that said ‘Whites only’ and how one of the participants defied this rule. They were enthusiastic in the feeling towards the future subsequent to 1994 but the younger participant in the group noted how there is no hope or motivation in the town for youth.

This was a second occasion where Sarah Baartman was brought into the subject matter because of her physical structure. An incident is mentioned of a competition where the person that looks most like Sarah Baartman would win. This person had to have the associated physical traits. What was concerning was how this was a competition, how people would allow this, enter this, and how the competition was judged. Physical aspects of a woman of colour being displayed again for money was of great concern. How did this affect their identity? How did it make them feel about themselves as women of colour and what did they know about the history and hurt of Sarah Baartman in life and in death?

One of the participants, the oldest in the group, showed sympathy towards and related to the struggles of Sarah Baartman saying that she is our people. She said that she was glad she is laid to rest back in Africa.

5.2.12 Focus group 12

The interview took place with seven participants (all women and two young ladies under 18). Ages of the participants ranged from 12 to 43. This group was young and vibrant and very clued up with the hip hop industry as well as indigenous struggles and rights. What was interesting about this group, besides their knowledge of indigenous identity, was their relation to hair, it not being straight and embracing the

kroes. They also spoke about the silences within families and only now being told about where their grandparents came from due to older generations reluctance to talking about personal histories. Discussions were had regarding the feeling of the older generation towards standards of beauty leaning towards straight, long hair and how they are trying to break this stereotype within themselves, their children, and their community.

What was of interest here is the 'othering' they felt within indigenous communities when all they were trying to do is connect and find themselves within a heritage and culture. This was not only based on physical features, but ambitions to learning the language as well:

> *…during apartheid they were Coloured just like us in Cape Town, they were classified as Coloureds, just like us. Nou het hulle bietjie acknowledgment gekry, a bietjie recognition, now we (in Cape Town) are not good enough to be Khoe, now we Coloured. So ons is nie wit genoeg nie, ons is ook nie swart genoeg nie, nou is ons ook nie Khoe genoeg nie.*

> *…during apartheid they were Coloured just like us in Cape Town, they were classified as Coloureds, just like us. Now you have a little bit of recognition, now we are not good enough to be Khoe, now we Coloured. So, we are not White enough, we are not Black enough and now we are not Khoe enough.*

When asked if they would do a DNA test, they all said yes, and when asked if the results did not reveal any indigenous ancestry, as all were looking for answers, one response was that she will continue the fight.

5.2.13 Focus group 13

The interview took place with two participants (both women) with both being 70. The interesting dynamic of this interview was that there was one that was a former anti-apartheid activist who identified herself as Black and one that had done research into her history and knew exactly where her roots were and who her people were. This was observed to make her more confident and at peace. With the other participant

however, there was the confusion of how to identify now in a democratic South Africa where she despised the term Coloured, referred to herself as Black, cannot identify as Black anymore and now does not know who she is.

> *…skielik is ons nie meer swart nie. Ons weet nie waar ons is nie. Nou moet ons beginne soek*
>
> *Suddenly we are not Black anymore. We don't know where we are. Now we need to start looking.*

When it was time to have the child's (granddaughter) name registered, the child, who physically looks like a white child, had to be classified as Coloured due to the mixed race of the mother. This child, she says, although looking white, will have to go through life with this term of Coloured, which the participant vehemently dislikes. This is the reason that this particular participant identified as Black during the Apartheid struggle and now, post-1994, she has to identify with a classification that she hates. Another such case is of Glen Snyman, founder of People Against Race Classification, who was summoned to a disciplinary hearing for identifying as African on his CV instead of the politically designated Coloured, according to the colour of his skin.

> *ek het die stuk wit vel wat ek altyd oor kwessies ook het. En ek haat dit as die mense so vir my se, "Jou vel is so wit jy kan pass vir wit."*
>
> *I have this piece of white skin that I always had problems with, I hate it when the people tell me, "Your skin is so white, you can pass for White".*

> *Ek was nou n naeldwerk juffrou gewees, dan was daar n hoofstuk in die boek gewees, "Persoonlike voorkoms". En daar het hulle gepraat van verskillende figuur tipes en dan die word is daar gesit, "Figuur probleme." Nou as my bene of my jippe te groot is dan is dit n figuur problem.*
>
> *I had used to be a needlework teacher, then there was a chapter in the book, "Personal appearance". And there they talked about different figure types and*

then the word was put there, "Figure problems." Now if my legs or my hips are too big, then it is a figure problem.

So as ek daai kind se mate neem ne, en hulle hepe is groot, dan is dit a figuur problem. Dan teken ek an dat die kind het n afwyking, want die europese model het plat hepe. So daai patters wat ons kry is European speks, hulle pas nie vir ons kinders nie, jy is a figuur problem. En daai word problem maak daai kind so self-conscious. Jy bly jou jippe wegsteek, jy bly lang jerseys anterk want jy wil nie jou jippe wys nie, jy is a problem. So daai woorde, baie kere is ek bly dat ek geeindig het met naeldtwerk want daai knowledge. Die skill van sowing was goed, maar daai goed wat ons vir die kninners moes leer.

So, if I take that child's measurements, and their hips are big, then it's a figure problem. Then I note that the child has a disorder, because the European model has flat hips. So those patterns we get are European standards, they are not suitable for our children, you are a figure problem. And that becomes a problem that makes the child so self-conscious. You keep hiding your hips, you keep wearing long jerseys because you don't want to show your hips, you are a problem. So those words, many times I am glad that I finished with needlework because of that knowledge. The skill of sewing was good, but that those things we had to teach the children.

Ons het groot geword met standard drie boekies waar die hoofstuk was, die Kleurling Probleem, die Swart problem, die Indier problem. En ons moes daar sit en leer dat ons in ons eie land n problem is. So as jy dink van die skade wat hier bo angering is, dan vra jy vir jouself hoekom is ons kinnders besig om vir hulle dood te maak of dood te tik. They have no sense of self. No pride in who they are, no future that they are looking forward to, no sense of identity.

We grew up with standard three books where the chapter was, the Coloured Problem, the Black problem, the Indian problem. And we had to sit there and learn that we are a problem in our own country. So, if you think about the harm that it caused up here, then you ask yourself why are our children busy

killing or drugging themselves to death. They have no sense of self. No pride in who they are, no future that they are looking forward to, no sense of identity.

5.2.14 Focus group 14

This one-on-one interview was done with a participant in her 30's who focuses on not only discussing but trying to unpack the complexities of what it means to be Coloured in South Africa and how your history and heritage defines how you identify yourself. Here mention was also made about being othered by an indigenous community for not fitting into the 'box'.

Besides the fact that she ticked all the boxes on the survey, these are a few of the key points that stood out from this interview:

Coloured people, if you claim you Coloured, Coloured heritage, you also claim a step higher in the hierarchy of Blackness. …what does being Coloured mean in relation to being racist

…speak to a racialised past and a racialised experience. We kind of create a broad group based on anyone who has suffered dispossesion, disinheritance, or displacement. And then almost using those kind of like historical and cultural trauma points to be a community beyond race.

I think there is a lot of meaning in knowing yourself. And to know yourself is also to know yourself in community. Cause that is also important. It is not just about knowing yourself, it's important to know what other people are experiencing.

And then, however someone else identifies, they are doing internal introspection and they finding joy in it and they finding healing in it, and they finding relation to a world that gives them sense and meaning.

I have encountered the ways in which structural violence doesn't want me to do that, the way in which my identity is limiting and not because of who I am but because of the way I am perceived.

5.2.15 Focus group 15

This was a Zoom interview with a participant that focuses on Khoe, San, and Coloured identity. Although he lives in Johannesburg, his roots lay in the Northern Cape. The most significant part of the work that he does is to teach youth about the past and to find out where they come from in order to know where they are going.

When asked how he identifies and if he had to choose one of the boxes provided in the survey, he chose to identify as South African and rejected that there is such thing as a Coloured race.

I'm a South African, don't come and put me in a box.

5.2.16 Focus group 16

This interview was with a participant that is a leader in the industry of kinky/natural hair. She is a pioneer, a counsellor and a strong woman who identifies as Coloured but also identifies herself within the beauty of her hair. She helps people on their hair journey and in so doing, helps women find identity, purpose, and power as many of the issues that society throws their way, they internalise.

What stood out in this interview however was that the points that the participant raised at the time of the interview were not always consistent with that brand; she also had issues with her hair and issues with herself.

And I remember one of the reasons why I thought he left was because I wasn't pretty enough. I thought my hair was, literally this was what I thought growing up, oh my hair is nie styl genoeg nie, ek is nie mooi genoeg nie (my hair is not straight enough, I am not pretty enough), that's why my dad left me.

He rejected me and he abandoned my mom and I thought that was one of the reasons growing up.

Something as external as a standard of beauty made her think about herself as less and that this caused injustices to take place.

5.2.17 Focus group 17

This one-on-one interview was with a participant that is passionate about her Khoi (this is how she spells it) culture. Her yearning for her heritage and upbringing and passing it on to the next generation is admirable. She loves the singing, the dancing, the cooking, the food, and the people.

She did however also have issues of othering from the indigenous community in her search for trying to find herself and her roots and her place in the world.

She speaks of standards of beauty that her partner was taught and how this is perpetuated not only in the family but also in society. Skin colour, facial features, body structure, and hair texture play a big role as to what is beautiful.

What stood out in this interview was an incident she recalled from her past as a child which still bothers her to this day:

Daar was ook die ding in Beaufort, as jy donker van kleur is, soos my niggie hulle is mos nou baie donkerder as ek. Nou hulle is na die lokasie skool toe gestuur. En ek was nou (makes inverted commas in air) na die St Matthews skool want my vel kleur is nou bietjie lugter. Ja.

Dit was vir my baie hartseer want ons bly in een huis by my Oupa maar as ons skool toe gegan het, dan split ek en sy. Sy moet noun a die lokasie skool to gan.

There was also the thing in Beaufort, if you are dark-skinned, like my cousin, they are now much darker than me. Now they were sent to the location school.

And I was now (makes inverted commas in air) sent to St Matthew's school because my skin colour is now a little lighter. Yes.

It was very sad for me because we live in the same house with my grandfather but when we went to school, she and I split up. She has to go the location to go to school.

Apartheid racial classification and the trauma it caused on communities and households, still bears scars for many people today.

5.2.18 Focus group 18

This one-on-one interview was conducted with a participant from the Northern Cape whose views on identity are calm and collected but remembers the trauma of brushing hair, the years of working for the white boss at 11, who learnt to tell time from the sun, whose great grandmother was a slave (a beautiful bushman woman), and how she felt when Black people say we have no culture.

She was proud of her history and heritage.

5.2.19 Focus group 19

This telephone interview took place with one of the few male participants that remembers growing up in a household where the standards of beauty were always skewed towards the European. He talks about how the assimilation to whiteness is such a huge dilemma which still exists in the Coloured community to the point that you are thought of as less if you do not adhere to or aspire to these standards and also are made to believe that you are not beautiful.

This is what stood out for me in this interview in light of the above:

"he said he saw me walking with two white girls." Hy was baie impressed. Ek stap dan nou met wit girls rond. Dan se ek, mense, do you know what it's like growing up thinking you ugly? Because you not light skinned, because your

nose is not straight, because your eyes are not light. Jy het nie oe nie en jou hare krill n sekere way wat dit nie moet krill nie.

5.3 Findings in relation to the topic

In all of the discussions, tears, laughter, and introspection of all the interviews, the question remains, how do the experiences of all the participants assist in answering the thesis question. There is one thing in common across all the interviews, that the past affects the present which affects the future. All past experiences of each participant have led them to the point of either knowing or yearning for a sense of identity. These experiences have affected them physically, mentally, physiologically, and emotionally. It is a battle between the inner struggle of searching for self while dealing with not only the outer criticism and judgement of society, but also the remnants of a colonial and apartheid past. A past that took away their language, their 'blackness', their acceptance of themselves and still to this day, their land. In a speech given by Reverend Allan Boesak in 2021 entitled, *Chaos in the Blood*, he speaks of oppressed, colonized people, whose identities have been destroyed and upon whom colonial, inferiority identities have been imposed, are always embroiled in this personal, communal, political, social, psychological power struggle.

All these factors contribute to a sense of identity. What makes your identity is not one distinct factor or situation or person. It is a plethora of experiences, encounters, and emotions that contribute to each individual's sense of identity. It is a search for why you were born (despite circumstances of family or an absent parent), searching for and reaching your capabilities despite government and societal restrictions. It is the factors which influenced your life when you:

- Had a family member that was a secret.
- Had the salt passed by you because you were going to make it brown,
- Were judged for the texture of your hair, whether kroes or straight.
- Know your heritage despite what government tells you.
- Learn your language that was taken from your people.
- Tell the police to ask the dog.

- Take the money you were given to buy relaxer and treat yourself.
- Mourn Sarah Baartman and all those whose bodies are still ridiculed.
- Continue to learn your Khoe culture despite DNA results.
- Know yourself within your family and within your community.
- Defy Eurocentric standards of what is beautiful.

All of the above factors contributed to the identity formulation in each of the participants interviewed.

The other common theme is the trauma of the past, the yearning for self and the need for healing. These interviews/discussions were a small peek into the lives, thoughts and hearts of many Coloured, Khoe, and San women in South Africa. What is really evident is the need for healing of past trauma whether systemic, psychological, emotional, or physical.

All the emotions expressed also highlighted a theme of silence. The silence of history and the importance of un-silencing it. Even though sometimes it was painful to talk about the past, it needed to come out, be discussed, analysed, and dealt with in order for healing to take place.

6 Conclusions and Future Work

This study set out to discover whether physical attributes contribute to the formulation of cultural identity of Khoe, San, and Coloured women, focusing on the geographical areas of the Northern and the Western Cape. It showed that these physical attributes certainly contribute to this formulation. It also showed that there is no real distinction between the Northern and the Western Cape in terms of classification, however, in the Northern Cape, participants, although few, were more comfortable with identifying as Khoe and San

6.1 Setting

Chapter 1 of the founding provisions of the constitution of the Republic of South Africa states that:

> *1. The Republic of South Africa is one, sovereign, democratic state founded on the following values:*
>
> *(a) Human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms.*
>
> *(b) Non-racialism and non-sexism.*

These two points of the constitution indicate the guiding principles all South Africans looked forward to experiencing in the new Democratic South Africa. However, we still live in a society where documentation completed when going to the doctor, police station, or even on your CV, includes a box to be ticked which relates to racial classifications that are perpetuated from the past dispensations.

With the advent of democracy, many citizens made their mark and were excited to see what would become of their world now that there was a new government and there would be equal opportunities for all. But this did not happen and to many of the participants in this study, this is a sore point, i.e., what was fought for and what was promised was not delivered. In fact, they felt that racism had been reversed and Coloureds were still in the middle. The past, whether personal or societal, has had an

influence on how individuals identify themselves both internally (choosing) and externally (being decided for).

When the proposal was written and accepted for this thesis, the approach to the subject was guided by the personal experiences of the researcher as well as by the literature review. Discussions were also had with certain individuals within the field of either cultural identity studies or indigenous research to ascertain the relevance of the subject. As a result, some aspects of the study have limitations or unanticipated outcomes that are only apparent on reflection, which will be explored briefly below.

6.2 Ethical considerations

Doing research on people and about a people, it is important to receive input and insight from the people in question. The fact that the researcher was also part of the demographic of participants was both a positive and a negative. It was positive as it helped people to open up, but negative in that distancing of oneself on a personal issue proved difficult.

In the discussions, once participants became comfortable, very personal details were shared. Although the responses to the research question is the aim of the thesis, the researcher had to use discretion when transcribing information and also discussing certain subjects.

It was also of the utmost importance that participants read through, understood, and signed the necessary consent forms prior to all interviews being conducted and also that they were made aware of what would happen to the thesis once it is accepted and published.

6.3 Recommendations

Every participant had an important story to tell. Unfortunately, due to time constraints both in terms of working hours and the COVID-19 pandemic, the interviews were limited to two hours each, and conducted twice daily. The interviews would start at 10am and be back-to-back. In order for the researcher to have time to travel and be on

time for the next interview, the participants in the morning interview had to be firmly stopped at noon. This limited interview time was not ideal. Given the sensitivity of the subject, and the emotions that were often expressed, participants should have the necessary time to respond and express themselves.

There also needed to be time for decompression and debriefing, to spend time with the participants once the formal interview process was complete. Such an approach would allow the participant to clarify any questions and also debrief with the researcher. Debriefing of the sessions would help the researcher to gauge not only the non-verbal responses from participants, but also to recall any occurrences which took place that day which could have affected a response by the participant/s.

Survey and interview questions did not always elicit the types of responses required to substantiate the research question. In future studies, trial and error interviews could take place with subjects to gauge how responses are provided, and also which angle works best for interviews.

When it comes to the matter of DNA testing, many of the participants that requested the test wanted clarity on who they were and where they come from. Subjects must be advised to not put all their hopes on DNA testing as if it will tell them who they are and where they come from. The researcher recommends here that participants be encouraged also to talk with their elders where possible, and to do family research either at churches or archives.

The most important aspect of this type of interview, especially regarding a subject of such a personal nature, is to choose the researcher appropriately. When discussing a subject that pertains to women, having a female researcher allows for comfort. The researcher must also be calm and responsive in order for the respondents to feel comfortable to speak. It is important to gauge the audience and try to earn trust from the participants from the beginning. In this study, the researcher shared personal information which helped to not only guide the interview but make respondents feel comfortable and connected.

6.4 Further studies

As can be seen from the themes that emerged from the study, there were many areas which were unanticipated by the researcher. Further studies could include how people feel towards un-silencing history as well as how the results of the study can be used in practical ways to help women and girls in the community. The aspect of guidance for youth in small communities is also a theme that can be explored further.

Of great importance to the researcher is to go back to communities and have discussions about how the interview process affected them, if anything has changed within themselves, and how they interact within society subsequent to the interview.

This study has also contributed to the general theme of identity studies in that the information obtained about a subject was obtained from the subject. It also assists in the archaeological discipline as, to the knowledge of the researcher, such a study has not been conducted before and these types of qualitative research with participants is not often associated with the discipline. The knowledge of the past and people's current placement therein is of significance as the information obtained and analysed is not theoretically based but a personal and lived experience of each subject. Archaeologists would be well-placed to consider their role in the objectification and primitivization of Black bodies, especially those of Khoe and San descent, and how that has manifested in the present (Athreya & Ackermann, 2020).

6.5 Conclusion to the study

The study and interview process were a very taxing and emotional experience for all involved. It was a very ambitious task but from speaking to participants, a very necessary process. Many of the women in the study advised that that this discussion had provided them with the safe space to openly and honestly talk about something which they thought was as insignificant as hair, all while trying to clean clothes, feed children, and survive life's daily struggles. In the end, they stated that it was a conversation they needed. A conversation which opened doors to talk about who each and every one of them are, how the past affected them similarly and differently, and

how to navigate the path forward. People were waiting for an opportunity to speak about this subject without knowing how it affected them and without knowing how to verbalise it. Emotions of fear, anger, heartache, and even laughter needed to emerge from all the women that participated, and for all women that have gone through similar situations.

Healing is required for so many people, especially women. Everyone is trying to find their place in the world, know their purpose, and live it. Discussions such as these regarding knowing your identity might not bring complete healing, but it is a step in that direction that will hopefully encourage people to reach this goal. It strives to make women, and society, think, probe, question, and reimagine who they are and where they are going. For women, especially, to think about everything they and their mothers before them have gone through, and to contemplate the legacy that is to be passed on to the next generation of especially young girls. After healing, acknowledgement, and acceptance, comes a sense of who one is and respect for not only oneself, but the community.

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Appendix A

Participant: AS

Date: Monday, 17 January 2022

Location: Cape Town CBD

Method: Video recording

AK: So u is die enigste een van Beaufort Wes, maar u is hier in die Kaap gebore?

AS: Ja, ek is in Elsies Rivier gebore, 7 Straat.

AK: Maar baie vroue, veral in die Wes Kaap, wil nie vir hulle, as n mens vir hulle vra wat is hulle, dan se hulle Kleurling, maar van die ouer mense se bruin.

AS: Ja.

AK: So hoe het u eerste bewus geraak van wat is n Kleurling en wat is n Khoe?

AS: Wel, soos ek gese het, ek kan amper se ek is gelukkig want my Oupa het my vroeg kom haal want my Oupa het net besluit dat ek moet in die Karoo kom grootword. Wat die rede daarvoor was, kan ek jou nie se nie. So ek het, so my eerste kinder jare is, soos ek gese het, ek is gebore in Elsies Rivier en ek het in die Karoo groot gaan word.

AK: Hoe oud was u toe u gegaan het?

AS: Seker n jaar oud.

AK: O rerig?

AS: Ja, toe gan ek. Toe het my Oupa my kom haal.

AK: So, u weet nie hoekom hy so gese het nie?

AS: Nee, ek en my ma het baie gepraat daaroor. Ons weet nie dat of hy n droom gehad het nie, want dit was so n ernstige ding. Hy het net vir my ma gese ek moet nie in die Kaap grootword nie. Maar jy weet mos ,die ou mense het nie baie gepraat nie.

AK: Of verduidelik nie.

AS: Ja, jy doen net. En my ma het toe nog so bietjie vasgevra maar toe…*Nee, gee haar*. En so is ek toe nou Beaufort Wes toe, en by my Oupa hulle grootgeword. En toe ek vyf jaar oud is het ek beginne sing en dan het hulle maar altyd so na my geluister, na die liedjie. Ek weet nie of ek dit erens gehoor het nie of is dit n liedjie wat ek self opgemaak het. Ek kan nie onthou nie. Maar die liedjie was, "*Ek staan so aleen met trane in my oë en ek loer deur die venster en ek sien die maan daar skyn. Aleen, aleen, so aleen*".

En nadat ek gesing is, dan as my ma nou miskien by die vriende of so is, maar dan weet jy Annelize, die mooi…

Ek kan nie verstaan nie. Ek onthou my eerste vyf jaar van my kinder jare asof dit, so duidelik is. En die kultuur wat ek het daar in my binneste, is so mooi. Ek onthou as ek op die stoep sit en ek sien die tolbos rol. Nou Beaufort Wes is nog steeds so met die tol bossies en die rol bossies en so. En dan was daar by ons agter stopeie, n wynruik boompie. En dan waneer ons, jy weet daai tyd was die toilet mos nou buite. En waneer die goeters gekom haal word dan was dit my werk om n wynruik takkie vir my Ouma en my Oupa te pluk en dan sit ons nou met die wynruik takkie voor onse neuse, want ons wil nou nie die reuk kry nie.

En nou dat ek groter is, skryf ek daaroor. Is net, die kultuur was vir my skoon, mooi. En ek kan my nie met iets anders verselwig nie.

En toe ons nou in die Kaap kom, toe is dit nou vir my, ek is amper uit n geestelike wereld, sal ek nou se, en dit is nou my persoonlike opinie, in n wereld waar die mooi nie aanvaar word nie. En so het ek maar nou in die huis vir my kinders prober leer. Soos byvoorbeeld, soos ons huis in Beaufort, die swart stoof, die kruie is geduurig op die stoof , die kaster olie wat ons moet drink, die Epsom Sout wat ons nou so elke oggend, want jou bloed moet skooon wees. En soos ek nou mos se, die wilde als wat daar gedurig op die stoof staan en die manier wat ons my Oupa behandel het. My Oupa was soos n koning behandel. As hy uit die werk uitkom, sy voete was vir hom gewas. Dit was, ek kan nie vir iemand beskryf, hoekom was hy so op daai pedestal gesit nie.

Maar soos ek se, vir my, daai kultuur is nou nog in my in. En soos ek se, waneer ek skryf, dan skryf ek uit Beaufort uit, uit die Karoo uit. En die goed wat voorendag kom. En weet jy, toe ek deur daai geestelike ervaring gan, toe het ek drie swart sake vol gesryf. Daai swart vullis sake. Soos ek se, dan het ek geskruif dan het ek dingese (*shows tearing up a page*). Dit was soos n fontein wat uit my uitkom, so het ek geskryf. Nadat ek vir Diana Ferrus gehoor het en nadat die ervaring van Sarah Baartman.

En ek kan nie, soos ek se, vir my is die Khoi sing, vir my kan ek nie anders nie as om net die Khoi kultuur vorendag te bring.

En daarom toe hulle vir my vra om by Mandela se begrafnis te loop sing, toe is dit nou vir die eerste keer dat ek besluit het dat vandag gaan ek se ek is Khoi.

AK: Wat het u dan voorheen gese?

AS: Ons het mos nou geweet ons moet mos nou in die Xhosa sing, in my liedere mos in Xhosa, nie dat dit n problem is nie, ek meen, my Ouma hulle is gemeng van hulle kant. Maar my Ouma en my Oupa het nie vir ons groot gemaak in die Khoisan kultuur nie, ek meen in die swart kultuur. Ons het in die Khoisan kultuur, in ons huis, my Oupa se huis. Maar ek moes mos nou swart taal sing om in te pas in die nuwe Suid Afrika in.

AK: So as u praat van die Khoisan kultuur, verduidelik dit, beskryf dit vir my.

AS: Vir my is dit, die Khoisan kultuur is, jy moet bewus is van die kruie, jy moet bewus is van die riel dans, jy moet bewus is, ok ons het mos nou nie die taal nie, het ons verloor. En jy moet bewus is, soos ek se, die dans, die kruie, die manier van kos kook. Hulle het n spesifieke manier van die gemerbier maak.

Ek onthou as ons nou die skaap geslag het, dan moes ons, ek was nog baie klein, dan moet ons die, die groot mense brand mos nou die hare af.

My werk was om die baksteenjite te vat, na die kop nou skoon gemaak is en die pooitjies en daai, en dan moet ek, so klein soos wat ek was, dan moet ek die rooi baksteentjie vat en moet ek hom in die water sit. En die dag toe kom daar nog n klank uit die skaap se kop uit, daai skaap. Oe daai dag toe hardloop ek dat ek daar trek toe dink ek, maar die ding is nog lewendig *(laughs).*

En dan moet jy mos nou die dermpies skoon maak. Dan draai ons om die kraan om die derms heeltemal skoon te kry want my Ouma gan nou kaaings maak en dan word die vet eenkant opgebraai. Daai tiepe van goed. En waneer jy daai swart stoof skoonmaak, sy maak hom nie net skoon nie, hy word ook met water uitgewas. En dit is vir my n unieke ding vir my. Soos ek se, soos ek die Khoi kultuur sien. Is net, soos ek se, die taal was nie daar nie maar die riel dans en die manier van leefstyl, is vir my perfek. Ek dink nie ek kan, en ek het prober doen toe ek in die Kaap bly, met my gesin.

Die magou, die bak brood, die gemmer bier. Want elke jaar as jy daai gemmer sien bier en ek kyk so en daai groot rosyne in daai gemmer bier gooi. En dan is dit die rooster brood en die vrummel pap. Dit is nou daai unieke goet wat ek nou weet, wat normal was. Soos ek se, tot op my kinners moes my vir ma daai geodtjies koop in die Kaap, toe bly sy in Eersterivier. So op n manier, het ek dit prober oordrae vir my kinders.

AK: So, het u skool toe gegaan op Beaufort Wes?

AS: Ek het skool toe gegaan op Beaufort Wes, by St Matthews Skool, het my ma vir my gestuur.

Daar was ook die ding in Beaufort, as jy donker van kleur is, soos my niggie hulle is mos nou baie donkerder as ek. Nou hulle is na die lokasie skool toe gestuur. En ek was nou (*makes inverted commas in air*) na die St Matthews skool want my vel kleur is nou bietjie ligter. Ja.

Dit was vir my baie hartseer want ons bly in een huis by my Oupa maar as ons skool toe gegaan het, dan split ek en sy. Sy moet nou na die lokasie skool to gan.

AK: Het julle gevra hoekom?

AS: Nou wat ons groot is ja. En ek dink dit is waarom baie van my niggies voel ek was beter gebehandel as gevolg van my vel kleur. En dit was hartseer want sy was soos, ek het mos nie broers en susters nie, so sy was my suster en ons bly in een huis saam. Maar die split was net or haar vel kleur.

AK: So daar was diskriminasie oor die vel kleur.

AS: Definitief.

AK: En hoe was u hare?

AS: Haar hare was baie kort gewees. Die hare het nie baie lank gegrooi nie. Maar soos ek nou verstaan, ek wil nou nie haar naam noem nie, sy was, haar pa was toe n Zulu. Nou my pa was van Prins Albert. So hy was Khoi. Ek dink dit is seker waar die verskil ingekom het. En my ma se susters, kyk hulle was donker, maar my ma was n bietjie ligter. Dit was nou die ding. En dit was ook in die broers en susters wat hulle katterig is met my ma want my ma was die witste genoem, en hulle was mos nou donkerder. So dit het geweldige familie verwydering gemaak. Selfs met my en my niggies nou, want hulle is mos nou donkerder as ek, vel kleur. En dit maak seer want hulle is nooit daar vir my nie. Dit was maar nou net ek en my ma.

Hulle het darem nou met die begrafnis het hulle nou vir my gewys hulle help nou om my ma daai dignified begrafnis te gee. Of hulle sal se, die donker van kleur antie is hulle antie en nie my ma nie. Jy weet, sulke goetjies het onse familie soortvan geslipt. En tot op nou nog toe, ons praat met mekaar en so maar daar is nie daai band tussen ons nie. Maar dit was eintlik die kleur.

En soos in met my, toe my ma loop geld soek het, my ma het mos verpleeg tot ek vyf jaar oud is, toe het daar mos nou die "trance" ding met haar begin. Maar as sy nou in Beaufort in gaan geld soek het vir my, dan wou hulle nie vir haar help want ek is n wit man se kind. My ma is mos donker.

AK: Was hy n wit man?

AS: Nee, my pa is van Prince Albert. My pa is Khoi. Hy was mos nou net lig van kleur want hy, ek dink erens, sy Ouma hulle is ook seker maar gemeng. Maar hulle is pure blood Khoi mense.

(I talk about my experience at primary school and about learning about the Bushmen and I ask her what she was taught at school).

AS: Ek weet nou nie Annelize, as ek nou terug dink. Diskriminasie was daar nou definitief. Want om my, ek en jy is in een huis en om vir ons te split om skool om velkleur was verskriklik diskriminerend.

Ek het nou n lietjie geskruif, I am n Khoi (*how she spells it*) Nooi, en ek bring jys daai in. En nou, *I love my highcheek bones, I love my nose, I love my shape and my size*, jy weet die broode en die tiepe van goed. En ek het dit jys geskryf omdat die tiepe van ding, die diskriminasie. Jy sien jou nie mooi nie.

Maar ek het hierdie, toe ek nou trou, toe kom ek mos nou by Kleurling familie wat wit is en blou oë en hare baie belangrik is. Nou ek, volgens my, was ek die lelikste skoon suster. Ja, sommer in n company vra hulle, wie se vrou is die mooiste. Maar ek het n, ek weet nie of dit die kultuur ding is van Beaufort nie, ek het die self verseker, I'm beautiful. Dit hang af wat jy dink is beautiful. Dink jy hare is beautiful of dink jy blou oe is beautiful of het jy wit vel? Nee. Vir my is beautiful my kultuur, my Khoisan kultuur. En ek gan so, tot op vandag, gan ek so deur die lewe. Waneer dit vir my gese word, nou my man hulle het mooi neuse, dan se hy nou, "*Joh Mandy maar jy het darem n plat neus of ek het n mooi neus*", of hy sal my nooit

komplimenteer nie. Want hy is ook mos nou groot gemaak, jy moet blou oe en jy moet n hoe neus en daai tiepe van ding het.

Of dan se ek nou vir hom vra, “Hoekom se jy nooit vir my ek is mooi nie?” Maar as hy sien soos jy nou gesien het, hoë wangbene, kort hare, plat neus, dan sal hy nie vir my komplimenteer nie want sy mind se vir hom hy moet vir die person (gan wat nie dit het nie). En dit was ons twee se…hoekom sal jy vir die vrou met gladde hare se sys mooi? Ek is jou vrou. Maar dit is hoe ons in daai negatiewe stigma groot geword het. Waneer jy die hoë wangbene, die plat neus, die pittte hare, dit is hoekom ek het, dan is jy nie mooi nie.

Maar as hy vir my die dag se ek is mooi, dan se ek, ek weet dit, ek is gebore met dit. En waneer ek dit se dan se hy ek is arrogant. Dan se ek, ek is arrogant in my kultuur. I’m beautiful.

En dit is hoekom jy sal oplet in my liedere, ek prober altyd die mooi van die Khoi voorendag bring sodat ons kan sien ons is mooi. Mooi is nie jou plat wangbene, jou swart of bruin oë, jou, whatever jy in het, braidings of so nie. Whoever hulle dit sien nie, is jou kultuur. As mense net kan sien hoe mooi die Khoi kultuur is, dan sal die hele wereld beter beginne raak. Wan dit is iets wat ek nie kan beskryf hoe mooi ek dit sien nie. En soos ek se, ek bring dit in my gift uit, in al my liedere in.

(I ask her if she called herself Khoi before 1994).

AS: Nee kyk ons mos, soos ek mos nou se, daar was die swart en wit. Daar was nie van Khoi. Ek het geweet ek was Khoi want ek het groot geword daarin. Maar dit mag nie gese word nie.

Maar toe ek nou as artist beginne optree in my liedere en so, dit was na 1994, het ek mos nou presies gekonsentreer oor die vryheid wat mos nou is. Maar hier binne in my in het ek altyd gevoel, hoekom met ek Xhosa sing. Nie dat ek dit nie kan sing nie. Soos ek se, ek verwerp nie Zulu tale of Xhosa tale of so nie. Ek wil mos nou my eie Khoi taal gepraat het of gesing het . Maar dit was nie daarin nie. Dit is mos nou van ons weggeneem. Maar nou moet ek nou in ñ indentitiets kultuur instap waarin ek nie groot geword het nie. Maar dan het ek altyd hier binne gevoel, maar ek is nie myself nie. Ek moet iemand wees wat ek nie is nie. Toe ek mos nou besluit het by Mr Mandela se begrafnis, se memorial service, vandag gan ek…en ek het ook vir my prober Khoi aantrek…ek wil my identiteit het waarin ek groot geword het. Ek wil nie iets wees wat ek nie is nie.

Nee ek het my nou sommer n rok en Khoisan doekie (*shows it was thrown over her shoulders*). En dit is mos nou daarso wat Mr Mandela nou toe aan my verskyn dat ek nou nie verstaan waarom dit met my gebeur nie. Maar dit is toe nou wat ek daai dag gedoen het.

AK: So toe julle nou groot geword het, het julle toe nou nie van soos die Khoisan klere en goeters gedra nie?

AS: Nee, ons was in Beaufort Wes. Beaufort Wes is meer by die Nguni, die swart Xhosas. Die Xhosas is meer daar wat saam met hulle inmeng. So daar was nie die tradisionele drag. Ons het net normal aangetrek ja. Maar soos ek se in ons huise, in ons…ek weet nie. Dit was net normal vir my.

Ek wil nie eintlik, soos ek nou sê, my kinders is mos nou Kaapenaars, en ek het n baie groot stryd gehad. Selfs oor die manier van praat. "*My broer", "my daai"*, dan praat hulle mos nou. Oe dan skel ek, "Jy praat nie voor my daai nie!" So Afrikaans was mos nou ding vir ons in onse huis, maar jy praat nie van daai, my broer, jy wiet. Nee, ek vat nie daai nie. Hulle is al 30. Jy gan praat dit daar buite want as ek jou gaan hoor, dan gaan ek vir jou n back hand gee, soos ons mos gekry het. Die Oumas het mos vir ons backhands hegee, dan bloei jou mond vining. "*Nee mammie kan mos nie meer vir ons slaan nie*". Maar ek sal mos nou nie rerig vir hulle slaan nie, maar dit is maar nou net ek dreig. Maar ek kan nie dit hanteer nie.

Maar nou se hulle vir my, ek moet verstaan, hulle het in die Kaap groot geword.

AK: Maar gaan julle nie af Beaufort Wes toe nie?

AS: Ja, ons het baie toe ons kleiner was het ons baie afgegaan. More toe is die familie mos nou baie uitgesterwe. Is nog net my ma se een stief suster wat nog daar is. Almal is al uitgesterwe.

Haar beste vriendin, Antie Mampie, het on sook nou, haar kinder jare vreindin, sy het eek verpleeg soos my ma in beuafort wes.

Maar nou wat my ma weg is, het ons sort van gan ons nie so, altans, ek het nie n goeie kar om daaruit te kom nie. As ons nou n goeie kar gehad het sal ons seker nou maklik.

My laaste experience het n swart vroutjie vir my uitgenooi om by hulle event daar te kom sing in Beaufort. En toe ons nou daarkom en my ma gan mos nou in die trans soos sy se dan val en so an. So het so geweldig geskree dat ons so groot geskrik het. Toe lat ek maar nou vir haar by my, my man en die kinders le, want sy het mos nou aleen in a kammer gele. En die next

dag toe het ek mos nou loop sing en ek kyk die, nou die dag toe kyk ek die event. Toe staan en sing ek nou daar en daar kom n wind wat my amper van daai stage af wil waai. En hy was so gevaarlik daai wind dat hy die paal van die gazebo uitgeruk het. Maak ek nie so nie (*shows how she moves her body backwards*), dan slat daai ding my teen my kom. Ek kon nie verstaan wat het daar aangegan nie. En naa dit het ek gevoel, nee ek back off a little, want ek weet nou toe nie, want toe is ek al nou al in die Khoisan beweeging, maar hier is ek dan nou by die event waar hulle mos nou by die apartheid ding is. En ek sing mos nou al lankal in die Khoi kultuur, by die events van die Khoi en die San. Ek vereer mos nou Oom Dawid Stuurman, en Krotoa en Sarah Baartman en die tiepe van ding. En ek weet nie wat het daar gebeur nie.

En na dit het ek nooiit weer Beuafort toe gegan nie want ek was nogal bietjie bang om daar teg an optree want ek weet nou nie is dit wtee forces wat dan nou psecifiek vir my…

Maar ek het gestaan en sing tot die einde. Daai wind kan maar gewoed het hier om. Ek sing klaar met my ou paar hoe hak skoene. Aaai vrou se vir my jy is daarom n sterk vrou want so kan jy nie staan en sing as goeters vir jou so staan en anval nie.

(I ask her what her ID book said)

AS: ek was Kleurling geindentifeseer maar my ma was mos op daai groen kaart as Hottentot geidentifiseer. Sy is opgegee in Victoria Wes was sy defnitief opgegee as Hottentot.

AK: En u Kleurling?

AS: Ja, ek was mos nou in die Kaap gebore toe gee hulle vir my as Kleurling geidentofiseer.

(I ask her if she enquired why there were different races in the cards of her and her mother)

AS: Dan vra ek, maar hoekom is jy n Hottentot mamma. Maar aan die ander kant het sy my vertel sy was by die museum toe sien sy die Boesman. Ons het altyd, ek en sy het altyd sulke gesprekke gehad. Dan se sy vir my, Manda, toe het dit en dit gebeur, toe ek die boesmannetjie so (sien), toe dink ek hulle raak lewendig. En vir my, toe ek die Hottentot naam, ek was trots toe ek daai op my ma se groen kaartjie sien. Tot hulle mos nou die ID's toe maak hulle mos nou vir haar ook Kleurling. Maar ek het giesien my ma is n Hottentot op daai ID Kaart van haar.

AK: So die Hottentot, het dit vir u gevoel soos…

AS: Dus (*she points to her heart*). Alhoewel ek weet dit is a n naam wat die Hollanders, jy weet. Maar dit het my somehow lat my connect met wie ek is. So even nou nog, ek is trots op dit. As ek, ek het mos nou terug gegaab, dus mos nou De Aar, ek wou daai geboorte certifikaat. Ek wil dit frame.

En dit maak dat ek weet da tons uit die San en die Khoi is. Dit is sort van vir my, bewys hoe hulle haar gesien het en hoe hulle opgegee is.

AK: En het u ooit u Ouma en Oupa se ID's gesien?

AS: Nee, ek het nooit niemand van hulle sinne gesien nie. Is net my ma syn.

AK: Maar het hulle ooit gepraat van waar hulle vandaan kom?

AS: Ek kan nou nie se nie Annelize. Ek was mos nog klein. Maar wat ek van my ma hoor, as my Oupa hulle gepraat het, ek weet nie, my Oupa hulle was mos baie toe. Die ou mense was mos verskriklik toe. My ma ken nou wel nie baie van haar mense nie maar ek dink , soos sy gese het, was hulle eenkeer in Johannesburg gewees, toe sy ook nog klein was. Maar sy kan ook nie meer vir hulle onthou want sy was te klein. Maar my Oupa het toe weer nooit vir hulle Johannesburg to gevat nie.

Al wat ek ook van my Oupa kan onthou is hy het by die Kimberly myn gewerk. En daai tyd in die myn was hulle sewe dae onder grond. Die myn het vir hulle lat vas vang. Weet nie hoeveel manne was hulle daar nie, en hulle moes die wit kerse eet om te survive. Dit is nou die storie wat ek weet.

En dan was my Oupa n photographer, of by kodak gewerk of by iemand gewerk. Dus nou die stories wat ek weet. Maar ons het niks van die familie.

(Video cuts off)

(Second video)

(Talks about a performance of Dawid Stuurman).

Dan vra ek vir hulle wie was Dawid Stuurman, nou moet ek eers se, Oom Dawid Stuurman was op Robin Eiland, lank voor Mr Mandela. Dan noem ek dan daai goetjies. En dan vra ek ook dan vir jou, kan enigiemand in die gehoor se wies Dawid Stuurman, they don't know. Know whose oom Dawid Stuurman.

So dit is hoekom ek my optrede gesien het as n aktivis vir die first nasie. Bewusmaking, sien ek my.

Maar dit is baie moeilik want jy kan even daai energie, veral as jy sing. Jy voel daai verwerping…Moenie vir my kom se ek is Khoi nie. Hulle se dit nie in woorde nie. Maar as ek dit praat dan voel ek daai energy an.

Dan kom jy nou weer by die Plattelandse mense, oe ek is Khoi dan. Dan is daai energy daar. Maar in die Kaap is dit verskriklik moeilik.

Ek het nou met n Rieldans vroutjie ook saam gewerk, dan vra hulle, watse dans is die (*pulling her face to show distaste*). Dan se hulle is a lelike dans. Maar eerlik waar, dit is baie moielik in die Kaap. Ek sal meer by die geleerdes bly, maar hier onderkant, jises. Hulle het nou by die heritage toe se hulle ek moet daar by ons sing toe se ek (*shakes her head no*). Ek weet nie of ek van die goed…want ek kan nie iets anders sing nie. Of hulle wil nou he mens moet nou die Whitney Housten songs, en ek is nie daar by Whitney. Ek is hier om die bewusmaakings oor wie ons is as kleurlinge, sal ek se…

Daar is baie groot skade gedoen. Ek dink die, ons mense gan nog n lang tyd vat voor onse mense by daai punt sal kom.

AK: Dink u dit is belangrik om sulke gespreke te het, maar veral met vroue?

AS: Ja, ek dink die vroue speel, ek noem dit, daar is n Eve stigma, Eva. Dit is daai stigma op die vrou. En veral dit gan jy veral kry binne die kerk, want die vrou het sonde gebring in die paradys en sy kan nie, en ek dink ook dit is hoekom ek in hierdie spiritual “roeping” is, sal ek se, ons moet die Eve stigma lat saam in neurdragtigheid moet dit verdwyn en se ons is die moeders, ons is die mense wat birth gee, so ons moet ook geboorte gee aan die nasie en meer by mekaar kom en meer verstaan ons het n groot taak, jys omdat hulle se ons het nou die wat veroorsaak moet ons mos nou die oorwinning bring en se dat deur onse identitied. Maar dit moet by identiteit begin. As jy nie daar gegin nie, dan is dit maar ook nog n onbegonne taak. En die vraag is, in werkswinkels, hoe kom jy by daai punt vir ons mense, en veral in die Kaap, is n baie moeilike ding, hier in die kaap om die mense te lat sien, maar ons is Khoi and San descendants. Maar soos ek se, dit is a baie moeilike ding. Dit sal net die Here is wat iemand moet lat uitstuur wat Khoi is wat n major prophet is, dan sal hulle kan sien, want die Kleurling naam lat vir hulle beter voel, en ek weet nie hoekom nie. Hoekom lat die Kleurling naam vir hulle beter voel nie. Want dan hoor jy hulle se sulke goed soos ek het n German ma

gehad of my ma was Irish, of hulle sal liewerste meng vir hulle met dit. En ek wil graag ook weet, wat maak Khoi lelik? Is dit soos jy se, die high cheek bones? Die hare? Maar ek weet in een visioen van my, en my ma, het sy die Here gesien en om die Here was die Boesman kindertjies met die Boesman hare. En toe ek weer deur Gabriel en Michael gevat word, en toe ek nou in die "hemel" kom, soos ek toe gedink het is die hemel wat ek sien, toe ek inkom toe is dit boesman kindertjies wat ek sien met boesman hare.

AK: Wat is boesman hare?

AS: Dit mos nou wat hulle se die korrel, die putte. Hulle noem dit mos nou so. Die harde hare.

En nogals snaaks weet jy, my ma hulle is ook klomp kinders. My ma is die enigste ene wat die harde hare gehad het. My ma kon nie eers n relaxer op haar kop sit nie. Nie eers n relaxer maak dit glad nie. Ek praat nou van die straighteners wat hulle daai jare gebruik het, nou nie die nuwes nie. Hy het darem nou bietjie die hare van my ma (*touches imaginary hair*). Was dit nou Wella of die Sheen straight, of wat was die ding se naam. Nou daai maak mos nou my ma se hare nog harder, dan lag my ma se susters want hulle het daai sagte hare gehad want my Ouma het glo sagte hare gehad. Nou my Ouma is baie donker, so die Ethiopian bloedlyn is seker van haar kant af want sy het sagte hare, want die Ethiopiers het sagte hare. En my Oupa was ook donker maar my Oupa lyk nie swart swart nie. My Oupa het bietjie meer se n Khoi oom sal ek se bietjie gelyk, soos ek nou vir hom kon geidentifiseer mee. Maar ek dink daar is swart familie ook an sy kant. Maar soos ek se, my Oupa het hom net gevat van die swart kultuur kant af. My ma hulle kon nie die swart kultuur antrek nie. Hy het net besluit, julle is by die Khoi kultuur en klaar.

(We talk about the smell of the relaxer).

AS: Maar dan het hulle my ma so geterg want haar hare wil nie relax nie. En haar is die enigste een wat daai boesman draad, sal ek maar nou se, as mens dit nou so kan noem maar die anders het sagte hare gehad.

AK: So het sy nooit haar hare gerelax of enigetiets nie?

AS: Nie wat ek klein is nie. Ek het mos, my pa hulle se mense het sagte hare, so my hare was nou nie so hart nie. Maar toe ek nou groot word het ek mos maar nou self my hare relax. Maar my ma het nooit my hare relax nie want my hare het daai soort draad gehad wat sy kon vleg.

Maar dit is snaaks, die dinge wat met my gebeur het toe ek vyf is Annelize. Toe ek eendag, sy gan mos nou werk toe soggens, sy verpleeg mos ne, by die algemene hospital. Dan sal sy my se as ek hoor die kinners beginne loop dan moet ek opstaan en my brood en my skooltas vat en dan gan ek mos nou skool toe. En dan wag ek nou vir my niggie. Daai tyd toe bly ons nou nie meer by my Oupa nie, want die ou vrou, German Ouma het ons mos nou uitgesit. Daai oggend toe is dit iemand wat vir my se, an my hand vat, en ek moes die primus stoof loop aansteek, en ek het die primus aangesteek maar ek weet nie waaroor nie. Maar toe brand ek (*she shows on the side of her face*). Die spirits toe (*shows bottle falling over*) toe vlam dit. Is n primus stovie mos. En ek kon nooit verstaan nie, toe (*sounds like Elif*) vir my inbring toe staan my ma nou so in die gang, toe se sy dit lyk dan nou soos my kind en toe is dit hoekal ek wat mos nou gebrand het wat hulle hospital toe bring.

Ek is mos n blues lover. As ek a famous artsist gewees het sal ek n blues artist gewees het. Maar ek vertsaan nou. Daai dag toe daai person vir my se ek moet die primus loop aansteek, dit was, amper kan ek se, beplan want as ek nie die scar gehad het nie, dan was ek in daai wereld. Dan het ek n blues artist geword.

Maar ek besef, die here het eers toegelaat dat ek beginner sing, toe ek die Khoi goed begin sing. So I believe ek was sacred gehou want alhoewel ek hierde begeerte gehad het, ek wil n Gospel artist word, of ek wil n jazz artist word, ek kon nie. Ek het getry maar als flop. Maar toe ek by die Khoisan indaba in Kimberly, toe kan ek begin sing. Ek was nooit toegelaat om normal in ander plakke te sing nie. Maar ek weet as die scar nou nie daar was nie dan het ek meer (shows more). Maar die scar het lat my terug lat trek.

AK: En u dogters, wat se u vir hulle, wat is hulle?

AS: Ek het die twee dogters en dan het ek die een seun. Nee, my kinners weet hulle is Khoi. My seun het nou n Zulu meistjie nou, n kind by haar. En hy het haar straight gese, jy gan nie my kind in daai Zulu goed grootmaak nie, want hy se, ek is Khoi.

Appendix B Anna Koopman

Antie Anna Koopman (in loving memory 7/10/41 – 5/12/22)

Location: Blue Downs (Western Cape but originally from Melkraal, Northern Cape)

Date: 6 November 2021

Format: video recording

(As the interviewer and the participant have the same initials, the participant will be AK1 and the interviewer AK2)

AK1: Maar toe se ou Pien Ludick, die onderwysers was onnosel gewees want hoekom het hulle nie vir my ge-fastforward nie. Ek het al op my eie begin lees en skryf.

Ek het na n wit vrou se kind gekyk en gespeel met die kind op die sand, op die wit sand. Toe se sy vir my, 'kan ek my naam skryf?' Toe se ek, 'hoe kan ek as ek nie naby n skool was nie?' En toe wys sy vir my hoe om my naam te skryf. Toe skryf sy vir my die ABCD en hoe om klanke te maak. Toe se sy vir haar suster ek kan die tyd op die hoorlosie kyk sonder dat iemand vir my dit geleer het. En sy se dit kan nie wees nie, sy het mos nie skool gegan nie. Toe is ek maar n dogertjie van 11. Toe se sy vir my, 'gan uit' en sy vra my hoe laat dit is. Toe se ek dit is kwaart oor twee, of ek weet nie wat nie. Toe glo sy dit.

Toe gee sy my n boekie wat hulle gelees het in hulle klas. Ek meen die wittes is mos ver voor by ons. Toe wys ek vir pa, en ek is dan nou so proud dat ek my naam kan skrf. Nou my pa was nie in die skool nie maar hy het nag skool gegaan. Daar was n meisie in Clanwilliam. Jy weet daai jare toe is Clanwilliam onder die Engelse, na al die oorloe en al daai.

(*Forgets the rest of the story due to memory loss after getting ill).*

AK1: Toe gee sy vir my die boekie en oral waar ek gegaan het het hy gegaan. En toe se ek nou, E, K, of wat was dit nou gewees. Dan se ek nee, dit moet nou dit wees. En so het ek voort gegaan. En toe ek in die skool kom toe kon ek lees.

n Ander onderwyser kom om vir ons n resitasie te leer. En toe skryf hy dit op die swart bord en ek lees toe. Soos hy skrf so sit en lees ek.

(I ask about the white child that taught her to read).

AK1: Nee dit was die ma want ek het mos na die kind gekyk.

AK2: So Antie Anna was hoe oud en u het na n kleintjie gekyk?

AK1: Ja.

AK2: Maar Antie Anna was dan self nog kind.

(She shrugs her shoulders)

AK2: Ma hoe het dit gebeur? Het hulle gevra om na die kind te kom kyk of hoe het dit gebeur?

AK1: Ja nee, hulle het my gehuur eintlik by my ma hulle af. En die ou mense het gedink, as jy nie werk nie, en werkloosheid is die duiwel se oorkussing.

AK2: Maar op 11 jaar oud? Maar hoe het hulle vir Antie Anna hulle beskruif? Het hulle gese julle is kleurlinge of bruin mense?

AK1: Ag hulle het sommer gese hotnots en meide en daai sort tale gebruik. So dit is hoe my lewe begin het.

I ask her about the family and how many children they are. They were 9 but became 8 after one of the twins died at 21 days old. Their grandmother was a wet nurse and when the boy and girl twins were born, they thought the boy was weaker than the girl. But she suddenly became very ill and dies at 21 days old. Her name was Elizabeth.

AK2: So Antie Anna het nou gepraat van hotnot en meide en sulke goed. Ma het Antie Anna se ma of pa vir julle ooit gese of julle bewus gemaak van julle komvandaan.?Wie julle grooitjie en Ouma grooitjies en sulke mense was? Het hulle ooit daaroor gepraat?

AK1: Ja my ma het ons vertel van haar Oumas en Oupas. Nou my Oupa groetjie

AK2: Antie Anna se ma, wat was haar van?

AK1: Kotze. Sy is Oupa Piet se niggie. Susanna Helena. Ja kyk, haar Ouma, kyk ons weet nou nie, hulle het ons sommer Boesmans genoem, die boere. En ons was nog nie bewus van

die dinge nie. Ons het mos nog nie aan sulke goeters gedink as jy n kind is nie. So my Ouma, my ma se Ouma was Anna Ockhuis, sy was van Wupperthal.

AK2: En wat het Antie Anna se ma van haar gese, wat was haar storie?

AK1: Nee net so in die gesels, dan is jy nuuskierig oor iets dan vra jy vir ma wat, want my ma het ons alles vertel. En my ma se Ouma van my pa se kant, van my ma se kant, sy was maar, soos die boere nou se, boesman. So daai het ma nou alles vir ons vertel. Hulle het nou net vir ons gesien as cheap arbeid, die boere.

AK2: En hoe het Antie Anna hulle gevoel oor die woord Boesman? Was dit n slegte woord, was dit n lelike woord?

AK1: Nee vir ons was dit vreemd. Ek meen, ons het nie Boesmans geken nie, ons generation.

AK2: Nou waar was die Boesmans dan? Wat het Antie Anna hulle gedink, wat is dan Boesman?

AK1: Nee wat ons betref was dit mense. Dit maak nie saak of jy half kaal loop of wat nie. Hulle het hulle tradisie gehad, of wat jy okal noem. Nou die ou man, ma vir ons vertel het, hulle Oupa vir hulle vertel het dat hy het na die boer van die plass toe gekom, en sy was toe die slaaf.

AK2: Wie was die slaaf?

AK1: My Ouma, Ouma groetjie. Ma het toe maar net vir ons gese. Hulle het nie klere gehad nie, hulle het mos die velle van die… hulle het nie winkels toe gegan nie, soe hulle was nog, wat die boere betref, was hulle nog wild. En baie van hulle, darem het ek gese dat hulle, die swart mense wat se ons kom van Boesmans, en ons het nie n nasie nie. En ek wonner of ek nie van hulle nasie was nie. Dit het ons nie uintlik geraak nie maar dit was nie vir ons so n ernstige saak nie. So daai tyd toe se hulle vir ons ons is half Boesman. Daai tyd toe weet ons nie van Khoesan en San.

En toe vertel die ou nou vir sy kind van my ma hulle, hy het op die plaas gekom en toe het sy nou vir hulle bedien, en dit was nou koffie want die boere drink koffie as hulle nou bymekaar kom. En toe kyk hy toe en hy se, ‘ai maar dit is darem n ou mooi boesman meidjite’. En, sy het hom geignoreer. Toe se hy dat sy gan sy huweliksmaat wees, vir homself, dink hy nou want hy sien sys te oulik. En toe se hy toe hy probeer aanle het met haar toe se sy, sy het skoon wegehaardloop van hom af want sy stel nie belang nie. Toe se die ou, maar gelukkig

was hy n man wat, soos ons vandag se doekom. Toe vra hy vir haar, want hyt gekuier op die plaas, toe vra hy vir haar om sy sakdoek uit te was. Toe is sy so vies, sy wil dit nie gedoen het nie. Toe het hy toe die sakdoek gedokter met sy muti want hy wil haar nie aflos nie. En toe is sy ook nie meer wild vir hom nie. Sy het toe later noetisie geneem van hom. Toe bied hy sommer vir die boer aan om vir haar te koop by hom. En toe koop hy haar los van die slawerny. En hy het gese sy moet nie n slaaf wees nie, sy moet sy vrou wees. En toe het hy getrou met haar. So hulle het gehad, my Ouma and my Oupa het drie susters gehad.

(She then talks about the family names.)

AK1: Nou my Oupa groetjie was Hugo Kotze. Julle Oupa groetjie was Jannie Kotze *(he married a coloured woman*), en Daniel Kotze.

(She continues to talk about the politics of the farms and families).

AK2: Het Antie Anna n ID boek gehad?

AK1: Nee, dit was toe nog nie.

(*She goes on to say that she never received an ID until she started working in Cape Town. Here her ID said K, vir kleurling. I asked her how she feels about the fact that on the farm she was Boesman and hotnot, and here in town she is Coloured. I ask her if she ever thought about it).*

AK1: Ek het nog nooit daaran gedink nie. Ek neem net an hulle is wit en ons is bruin.

(She goes on to talk about an incident where her great grandfather was accosted by white Afrikaners because her voted for the British because they did not treat them like the Boere). Ek skiet jou vrek jou hotnot en jou Boesman wat dink jy's iets. *They were from the Transvaal. A brown person that had land had the right to vote. Two of the other men said that the one who pointed a gun should not shoot an unarmed man because the war is against the British. You must be seen and not heard).*

AK2: Is Antie Anna hulle se vel lug of donker?

AK1: My Pa was donker van kleur.

Nou wil ek vir Frans vra of Oom Piet vir hulle ooit vertel het, nou ma het altyd vir ons uitgele as ons vra oor ons herkoms, dan het sy nou vir ons gese dat ons hoef nie sleg te voel of

ongemaklik te voel omdat almal se onse Ouma was n Boesman. Sy was n dierbare Boesman en hulle het maar nou die lewe gevat soos hulle dit kry. Want jy het nie eintlik n stem nie, is net die wat land besit het en toe gan stem hulle vir die Rooi nekke (the British).

(I ask about hair and physical features).

AK1: En dan word die kam ingesteek bo om jou hare te kam. Ons is mos nou nie Boesmans nie. Ons het mos nou van al kante het ons iets gekry.

As ons in die reen loop dan kroes onse hare. En daar was mos nou mense wat kortere hare gehad het as ons sinne en dan het hulle gedink ons het gedink ons is beter as hulle. Omdat hulle nou nie lang hare gehad het soos ons sinne nie want ons het lang hare gehet en hulle sin was kroeserig.

So my ma, as hulle onse hare gewas het, hulle het nie borsels gehad nie, dan word dit gekam. En sodra dit mos nou droog word dan kroes dit. Dan maak ek, my ma se elke keer as ek die klimeid se hare moet was dan verdwyn die klimeid *(it was sore).*

Nou ma se jongste suster, sy was a saint en ons was vreeslik lief vir haar , en sy het n bynmaam gehad Tingie, haar naam was Magrieta maar ons het gese Tingie. En as ek sien Tingie kom dan vra ek, ‘kan Tingie asseblief my hare was, ma maak my seer’. En dan gesels sy en my ma en dan sit sy iewe dood gerus en dan kam sy my hare so saggies. Jy weet, hou dit korter, hou dit langer. Dan lyk dit dan soos ons het gladde hare.

En nou my ma se jongste skoonsuster, sy het ook, as Tingie nou nie daar is nie dan hardloop ek na haar toe om my hare te doen.

AK1: En het Antie Anna hulle ooit goed gebryk om dit reguit te maak of om dit straight to maak nie?

AK1: Nee want ons was nie bewus daarvan nie. Vir ons het dit mos nou nie saak gemaak nie.

AK2: En toe Antie Anna hulle Kaap toe gekom het, het dit bietjie gechange?

AK1: Ja want onthou daardie lug is droog en toe ons Kaap toe kom toe kroes die hare. Die see is mos te naby. Dan sien jy mos nou dit is in die mode in. Die mense koop dit en die mense koop daai.

AK2: Toe wat het Antie Anna toe gebruik.

(She first says she can't remember).

AK1: Toe ons nou Kaap toe kom toe is dit van brilliantine en so daai goed om aan die hare te smeer.

(I ask her if they are all so light of complexion and what people said).

AK1: Ek het vir n Mrs Gilbert gewerk omdat ons is mos nou almal in service. Toe kom die vrou se suster se seun van Rhodesia af en toe kom kuier hy mos nou by hulle. En toe se hy vir sy Antie Elsie. Toe vra hy nou vir haar van waar is ek. Toe se hy vir haar but she must have European blood. Toe se hy vir hulle but…

Toe se sy vir my, sy het ook al gewonner. Sy se dit is nie net die karakter trekke nie, maar daar is iets in my wat wit is. Toe vertel ek vir haar van my Oupa grooitjie en hoe hulle, hulle was Hollanders en hulle het met Kleurling meisies getrou.

AK2: Was dit Kleurling?

AK1: Toe was dit maar nogsteeds hotnots, maar ek weet nie waneer het die kleurling ingekom nie.

AK2: So hulle was Hollanders of Duitsers. Hoe het Antie Anna gese?

AK1: Hollanders. Hollanders is vreeslik oor kleurling mense.

Op Niewoudtville het n gesin gewoon, Hollanders, Overbeek. Hulle het n seun gehad, Henk Overbeek. En een aand gan ek en n vriendin dorp toe, daai tyd toe werk ek in die dorp. Jy is mos nou jonk toe stap ek en kuier ooreweer soos ander meisies wat werk. En toe ons nou daar by die ou Nuwerus se winkel inkom, toe is Henk Overbeek daar. Toe staan hy. En ek het mos nou my hare geborresel en jou hare hang (*motions down to her shoulders*). Daai man staan daar, hy staan kyk vir my. Ek was later so ongemaklik toe se ek vir hulle ons moet loop. En daar was n ander meisiekind, sy was ook n Koopman. Nie familie nie ma sy het gewerk vir sy ouers in die huis. Toe verwag sy want Jan Raap was haar boyfriend. En toe die kind gebore was toe se die tannies, uitgeknip Henk Overbeek, met blonde hare en blou oë. Ma sy hou vol Jan is die kind se pa. Toe se hulle dan nou Henna, hoe het jy dit dan nou regekry om die oorplanting te doen. Hy was te pragtag, as sy by my kom kuier. Dan dra ons vir hom rond, want jy kan dit nie help nie, hy was te pragtag. Toe se Jan hy sal maar trou met haar want wie sal dan nou vir haar wil he na Henk Overbeek. Hulle het toe getrou. Toe se hy hy gan nog eenkeer prober om te sien of dit hy sal uitkom of wat. En sal hy weer n blou oog kind kry dan

gan hy se hy is n witman. Hulle het toe ander kinders gehad maar ek het hom nie gesien groot word nie.

Maar hy het nie eers n girlfriend gehad nie want hy wou kleurling meisies he, die Henk Overbeek. Nee die Holanders was oor die kleurlinge gewees.

Nee hy stan en kyk vir my lat dit voel daai man staan en vir my met sy oe uittrek.

(She goes on to talk about the fact that she and her friend just went to buy something and when he looked at her like that, she told her friend to leave because the way he looked at her made her uncomfortable. I ask her if her mother ever told her not to take a husband that was too dark of complexion or that did not have straight hair).

AK1: Nou my suster Margaret het die straightste hare gehad.

Toe is ek nou meer lug van kleur as die ander susters. En hulle was toe so oor Margeret, nie die familie en ma hulle nie, maar die mense, veral toe hulle nou jong kereltjie word en jong meisie, toe is hulle nou so agter Margeret. En sy het pik swart hare gehad. Sy was n bietjie donkereder as ek en ou sis, sy en Alida en my broer Jakob, hulle twee was donker van kleer. Toe kom n ander klong vrae vir my, hoekom lyk ons dan nou anerste as hulle, hulle twee was mos nou donker van kleer. Toe se hy, maar julle lyk dan nie eners nie. Toe se my ma, bobbejane lyk eners, nie mense nie.

AK2: So daar was nooit issues tussen dies wat donker van kleur was en die wat lugter was?

AK1: Nee, my pa was donker van kleur. Want toe Jakob bore toe se pa, o, ek het gewonner of ek sal kinners kry wat na my sal lyk want hulle kom almal spier wit uit.

(I ask her if there were any issues between how people treated her that was lighter and her symblings that were darker and she said there weren't).

AK1: En my Oupa se suster se dogter (*drifts off topic*.)

Daar was van die ouers, onthou die Perrangs kom van Franse af. En hulle kom met gladde hare, die Franse. En my Ouma van my ma se kant, hulle het nie n bietjie gespog nie as die kinders bore met gladde hare. En mense stel toe later belang in hoe jy lyk en wat jy het en wat jy nie het nie. Nou een kind is nou n ou bont koppie, en die ander een het gladde hare.

AK2: Wat is a bont koppie nou?

AK1: Kroes hare.

(I ask if kroes is an ugly word).

AK1: Jy weet wat die woord beteken. Jy het nie die regte hare nie. En jy sal sien almal wat in die Perrangs getroud is het gladde hare en hulle het mooi complexions. Hulle is olive skins. Party van hulle dink hulle is bietjie beter as ander maar dit pla my nie. Ek is wat ek is. God het ons gemaak en Hy het besluit ek moet lyk soos ek lyk met n plat neus en daai.

Die mense het gese toe ons jonk was en begin groot word, toe het hulle gese ek is die lelikste van my ma se meisie kinners. Sommer voor my, van die ooms en die tantes. So Oupa se suster se kind, haar naam was Klaasiena. Dan het Oupa vir my nou so rond gedra en gese Klaasienatjie, want ek was so lug van kleur soos sy. Die ma se niggie het met n wit man getrou en weggetrek. Hulle was oraait. Daar was baie van hulle wat kon gemeng getrou het. Toe Jan van Riebeek, het hulle mos destyds wees kinners, meisies Suid Afrika toe om die vryburgers, van Holland af. En wat se die vryburgers toe, die boere hier, en die ouens wat nou tussen die mense gewoont is. Onthou daar was Boesmans en Hottentotte. Die hottentotte was donkerder gewees as die Boesmans, die Boesmans het onse kleur gehad. Hulle was nie wit nie, hulle was ook nie swart nie. As a swart man en n bruin man baklei, dan se hy, jy is maar net n (K) man, dan se die, dan se hulle vir ons, ons is nie n nasie nie, ons kom uit die boere se geslag. Ons is nie n nasie nie. Hulle is Zulus, hulle is Xhosas, en ek weet nie wat anners nie. Hulle weet waarvanaf hulle kom maar ons weet nie waarvanaf ons kom nie. Toe se ek, solank ek hier is is alles reg

As die kleurling met n wit man trou of met n wit vrou, dan het die swart mense niks van jou gedink nie. Jy krui by die wittes in. Daai soort gevoelens.

AK2: Nou dink Antie Anna ons het n kultuur of is ons maar nou net gemaak en gelat staan?

AK1: Kyk ons het maar nou meestal afgekyk by die wittes. Ons was mos meestal tussen die wittes gewees. Dan prober jy mos nou ook om so te lyk . Maar ek het altyd gese ek sal nooit verlief raak op n wit man nie. Die ouers kyk vir meisies wat van wit mans kinners gehad het, nou moet jy weet hoe na was ons an hulle. Ek het gespeel met n meisiekind, hulle het al die jare by ons op die plaas gebly

(Forgets and come back to not marrying a white man).

AK1: En ons het streng opvoeding gekry daarvoor by ma hulle. Hulle het vir ons mooi lat verstaan. Onthou, daardie wit man wil met jou slaap. En as jy n kind in die wereld bring dan, volgens die boere dan sondig jy.

Ek en daai meisiekind het saam gespeel, en haar ma het vir haar gehad by (inaudible). Nou hy was die pa van daai meisiekind. Mooi meisiekind. Toe is sy suster weer deurmekaar met daai meisie se pa, en toe het sy n kind van hom, van die wit man nou, nee van die bruin man, die wit meisie en dit was n verskriklike skande gewees. So sy het n kind gehad by a bruin man en die broer het n kind gehad by n bruin meisie. Hulle prober dit toesmeer maar jy kan nie.

Toe se ek vir daai vrou, daarom moet jy nie so alles voor kinders praat nie, toe se ek vir haar my niggie het gese daai kind se pa is Van Wyk. Toe se daai wit vrou vir ma sy moet saam met my praat daaroor, want netnou hoor die verkeerde ore dit. Toe se ma, jy moet nie met die wit mense oor sulke goed praat nie, dan maak dit vir hulle miskien nou swakker. Toe se ek maar hulle is so, toe se ma dit het niks met jou te doen nie om vir n wit vrou daai te gan se. Toe die Ouma, die wit meisie het mos nou die ou bruin keintjie, en die Ouma maak of sy speel met die kind en sy lat val die kind (*oops she said*). Weet jy hoe het die wit mense geskinner daaroor. Die dogter het gese dat haar ma het die kind moetswillig lat val.

AK2: En is die kind ok?

AK1: Nee die kind is dood. En die wittes het tog te geskinner daaroor, toe se hulle wat help dit nou. Dit kan nie wegewas word nie.

AK2: Die kind was daar.

(I ask her what happened to the child of the brother that had a child with the coloured woman).

AK1: Nou die mooiste van alles is, as wit mans verlief raak. Hulle lol met die kleurling meisies, en party met n swart meisie. Maar vir ons het hulle net gese, ons hou nie gemeenskap met hulle nie, het ma hulle met ons geleer.

Nou daai outjie wat van Rhodesia afgekom het, ek was in die kombuis toe kom hy daar in toe kom trek hy my hare, toe skee sy Goerge! Is hy wat gese het ek het die European bloed in my in. Sy het amper stype gekry die antie.

Toe bedien ek vir hulle by die tafel to knip hy vir my oog.

AK2: En die ou van Rhodesia, was hy wit?

AK1: Ja. En die antie hou vir hom soos n valk dop. En een dag toe kom vra hy is jy Klaas Appels sy kleinkind toe se ek ja. Toe sy die ou, daai is die kleurling man vir wie ek die meeste respek gehad het.

(Talks about family connection).

Hy se, daar is baie mense wat hy prober om te respekteer, want ons moet saam met mekaar lewe. Maar hy se, hy was n man vir wie baie mense, baie mense het dit nie erken nie, maar hulle het baie respek vir hom gehad.

AK2: Weet Antie Anna wat n DNA toets is?

AK1: Ja. Die doel is mos om iets te bewys.

AK2: Maar om wat te bewys?

AK1: Wie jy is.

(I ask her if she will do a test).

AK1: Maar hoekom sou ek? Ek het nou al 80 gehaal, so daar is nie baie jare oor vir my nie.

(We talk a bit more about the DNA).

Ek weet net my Oupa se geslag kom van Holland af, en my Ouma se mense, Perrangs. My Oupa het maar baie gesit en lees, die bybel, daar was nie eintlik boeke vir onse mense nie. En die wittes wou nie gehad het dat jy moet lees en skrywe nie dan meen dit nou ons dink ons is gelyk aan hulle.

En daai tyd wat die Engelse en die Boere so baklei het. Clanwilliam was toe mos nou Engels, en toe was pa, pa was in Birro Vallei gebore en het daar groot geword. En soos al die ander jong mense, hulle gan waar hulle n beter lewe kan kry. Toe het pa by Clanwilliam gan werk toe gan werk hy by die Joodse hotel, diens werk. Toe kom daar nou n jeufrou, sy het Engels gegee in die skool. En sy praat saam almal en dit het geen verskil gemaak of jy Wit of Bruin is. Toe laat weet sy vir hulle, vir die jong span, wil julle nie ook graag lees en skryf nie? Toe se hulle ja maar ons was nooit toegelaat nie want daar was nooit skole vir ons nie. En toe se sy, sal hulle kom as sy vir hulle leer in die aande? Toe se hulle ja. Oh, en die boere was

ontevrede daaroor. Sy kom al die pad van Engeland af om die Hotnot te leer lees en skryf. En dit is hoe my pa geleer lees en skryf het.

Ma hulle het weer vir oom meester gehad in die omgewing.

Kinders gee mekaar byname in die skool en dan hou die bynaam. Dan stap ons so van Welgemoed, en ons was daai kant en die skool was die kant, en die koshuis was aan die oorkant. Dan soggens is dit so koud dan moet ons so loop deur die revier, deur die water.

Sy bynaam was Jan Pill. Moet nooit dit noem voor hom nie.

(We end the interview as she is tired).

Appendix C Brandvlei

Participants: Eight (then seven)

Date: Wednesday, 01 September 2021

Location: Brandvlei

Method: Video recording

I introduced myself to the group and started to talk about my hair journey and how I made my hair straight to want to fit in. I motion to the one girl about how beautiful I think it is natural and she says:

W2: Natural. Kroes en dik

(I ask them about their family and what they know.)

W3: My ma is afgesterwe. Nou het ek maar vir my Antie uitgevra oor my Oupa se herkoms en my Ouma se herkoms. Maar sy kan ook nie vreeslik vertel nie. Al wat sy kan se is dat my Oupa was ook n Engels man gewees. En dat die van wat hulle nou het was glad nie hulle van gewees nie. Ek weet nie, dit was n oorlog, ek kan ook nie meer lekker onthou nie. En toe soek hulle die mense wat hulle van geweet het, toe moes hulle hulle van verander. En die van wat hulle nou het, se my Antie, was ook nie hulle rerige van gewees nie. En dan nou net dat hy n Engelse man is. En dan my Ouma van my Ouma se kant, hulle was ook Boesmans het ek ook gehoor. My Antie het my ook vertel. Maar ek het ook nie veel agtergrond van hulle nie.

(I ask out about the surname change.)

W3: Die van was Rickets en die van is nou Segels.

W2: Daar was onderskuit onderlangs getrek tussen gladde hare mense en kroes hare. My hare is al gerelax toe kon ek nog nie eers reg praat nie. Want almal wil gladde hare he. So ja, veral in klein dorpies, hare het n groot rol gespeel.

W1: Dit het nooit vir my gehinner as my maaitjies se hare nie glad was nie. Want ons was mos nou nie vreeslik lang haar mense hier nie. My maaitjies was kort haar kinners. Rerig julle. So ek hou my nie wat ek nie is nie, rerig julle. Dit het my nog nooit gehinner nie. En nog steeds het ek vrinne wat nie lang hare het nie. Al kom die luise ook in. Dit het nooit vir

my gehinner as kind nie. Ook nie as groot mens nie. Jou huis moet net skoon wees, dit moet nie vuil wees nie.

W2: Wat ek nou agterkom, die verlede en nou, of hoe ek nou groot geword het, dit het nie noodwendig n verskil gemaak nie, maar dit was gesien gewees. Dit was defnitief gesien gewees en deesdae word dit nie eintlik meer gesien nie. Ek het eenkeer gehoor, die een vrou se vir haar dogterjie. 'Haai, jyt my nie gese hiers n swart dogertjie in jou klas nie'. Toe se sy, 'haai rerig mamma?' Toe kyk sy die fotojie en sy sien dit vir die eerste keer so. So dit word nie gesien in baie skole of wat ookal nie. Daar was nie onderskyt geneem tussen my kort hare maaitjies of wat nie. Dit was gesien maar nou word dit nie meer gesien nie. Daar is meer embrace. Kom ons embrace die kroes hare. Embrace die hoë wang bene en gun sake.

W6: Ek het boys cut gedra tot seker so, ek was al uit die skool uit. Toe het ek besef maar ek is eintlik n vroumens toe het ek maar weer begin met die hare. Toe sit ek maar braiding in lat dit kan groei. Ek was nie baie een vir hare nie, dit het my nooit gepla nie, ek het net angegan. Maar as jy mos nou begin uitkyk, dan kyk jy maar jy steek baie ver af, die klimied met hierdie hare. Want die ouense kyk hierdie goete en jy wil mos ook nou gesien wees dan maak jy ma ook dan n plan met jou hare.

W1: Ek het mos nou gese my pa se pa was a Herbert. The master and the maids soos hulle altyd se. My pa moes kies. Dominee Uys het gevra, toe pappa gedoop word, wil hy die van Herbert he of wil hy die van Dobber he. En op sy doop certificate staan Martin Herbert Domber. So Domber is die van wat Pappa gekies het, die mense wat daar in Calvinia bly, hulle is kort haar mense, wat vir pappa groot gemaak het. So eintlik is pappa n Herbert.

Ek was op college in die Paarl, en hier was n wilnkel, ons het mos vir die boere baas gese, baas die en daai, nooi die en daai, of missies. Dan se hulle vir my, se my op my naam. Dan se ek aspris mevrou.

Die winkel se velle wat hulle wegestuur het Stellenbosch toe. Toe werk daar nou n man, Niko Domber by die velle plek, is n boer. En toe skryf hy vir my pa n brief, want hy is mos n Domber. Toe skryf hy die brief. En hy wil nou weet hoe die familie in Afrika is.

En toe ek nou by die huis kom toe vertel pappa my. En pa het nooit geantwoord nie want hy is mos nou n bruin man. En kan jy onthou van Dominee Allerman wat hier was toe kom hier mos mense van Stellenbosch, toe is daar mos die Dombers by. Dominee het nog die van in die kerk die oggend gese, luister die van, Domber. En die aand toe bring Dominee die man en die

vrou na ons toe. Toe se ek vir hulle dit is my pa, die man se naam is Niko Domber. Toe se ek vir hom van die brief en hy onthou dit toe. Toe se ek vir hom 'pappa wil net gese het nie omdat ons bruin mense is'. Ek het gemeen Domber is n Duiste van toe se hy vir my nee dit is a Hollandse van. So onse van is nie eintlik Domber nie. My van moes Herbert gewees het

W6: So dit is nou die in ding so Juffrou jy is nou natural.

AK: Die natural ding is mos nou n ding. Maar hoe het julle in die verlede gevoel? Is dit n slegte ding?

W5: My experience met hare, ek het dit gehat. Kleintyd het ek aanstoot gekry omdat ek gladde hare het. My maaitjies, toe ons nou jong meisie beginne raak, as hier nou ander plek se mansmense kom, dan is ek nie hulle maaitjie vir die naweek nie want die manne vat nou net vir my kante.

Ek onthou Maandae op skool het ek vir my eenkant gehou want die naweek het hulle nie van my geworry nie nou wat is dit nou? Dan bly maar net van my af, maar ok, dan het ons maar nou net weer saam gespeel.

Maar hare, ek was nooit gepla met hare nie. Ek het gehoor, syt gechise, gladde hare (*motions to her hair).* Syt gechise.

Ek was nooit gepla met ander mense se hare nie. Tot op vandag toe, as daar n geselskap opkom van hare, ek hou nie daarvan nie want as kind het ek aanstoot gekry.

(*I ask her if she still feels angry about it and she says yes. I ask her about her children and she says she has three girls and one boy (she wipes away her tears from the previous vent*).

W5: Ek is nie oor hare nie. Ek sal my kop was, dan smeer ek conditioner an of ek smeer gel an dan is dit nou weer n bolla. Maar my man hou nie uintlik daarvan nie.

Ek het een keer gehoor My hare was geblou, ek het vir die ID kaart gegan. Toe lat ek die goetjies bietjie lekker maak, mooi maak en so. Toe ons terug kom toe se my man vir my maar jy kan nou nie so maak nie, jy maak dan nou net vir jou reg as (inaudible). Toe val dit vir my by. Ek het dit nie daai tyd geweet nie maar nou weet ek dit. So mansmense kyk ook daarna. As vrou verwag hulle jy moet vir jou mooi maak. Maar ek hou net nie van hare nie en dit is warm. Ek het klomp hare. Dit is uitputtend. My ding is maar net was en weer bolla.

(We talk about her daughter's hair)

W5: My oudste vleg daai tweetjies se hare want ek is nie lief vir opborsel nie want dit is omtrent werk daarso. So hulle hare word net gevleg deur die oudste.

AK: Nou wie het haar hare gedoen?

W5: Sy het maar op n jong ouderdom haar hare bewerk want dit is klomp.

(I ask her how she felt when she found out she was having a girl).

W5: Klomp werk (*laughs*). Ag maar n dogter is mos maar n blessing. Maar wat ek deurgegan het is goetjies wat hulle ook deurmaak. Dit is nog steeds oor hare. En hulle praat nie eintlik daaroor nie.

(I thank her for her honesty and move on to ask about the types of products that were used to straighten hair).

W2: Hare was nog altyd vir my verskriklik traumatiseerend. Soos ek gese het, ek het die dik hare gehad en ek het verskriklik gehuil want ons moet eenkeer n week hare was en ek onthou ons het oorkant n winkel gebly. Dan het die tannie by die winkel altyd op die stoep kom staan want wat moor hulle die kind want ek het verskriklik gehuil want my ma het dit bewerk. En toe het my Oupa net toe later gese sy moenie meer my hare indraai nie want sy draai dit styf in en ek huil dan moet ek in die son sit en ek huil. En toe se my Oupa vir haar dit is nie nodig dat sy so moet tekere gan met my hare nie. Hulle het so n ritueel gehad, hulle hou vas vir my (*she motions to show how she was held*) dan was sy my hare en dan moet sy dit vleg, dan moet sy dit nie meer indraai nie want dit was vir my verskriklik traumatiseerend want dit was mos nou kroes en sy het gladde hare. So sy kam en sy trek (*makes motions like a fight*). So vroedag het sy begin relax, en toe is dit gerlax en toe later is dit die struik yster. Voor die straightener ingekom het. Dan le jy (*met jou kop*) op die strykplank en dan word jou hare gestryk. En toe mense nou begin natural, kroes embrace toe is ek so dankbaar dat kroes n slag geembrace word. So die addicts as hulle by alcoholics anonymous kom dan se hulle , hulle is so lank skoon. Nou dit is vier jaar laas dat ek my hare relax het. Ek is skoon.

So ja, dit was vir my baie traumatiseerend. Dit was altyd n gesukkel. Die klein rytjies hier (*motions to her head*), uit dit naat uit dat dit kan groei, en dit moet kam end it moet borsel.

Ek het een vriendin, sy is Sotho en sy is aangeneem deur wit mense. Sy is n swak sieninde en daai tyd toe was dit nog die apartheids jare. Hulle is van Johennesburg en toe het haar ma hulle gehoor van die wonderlike skool wat hulle in Worcester het vir sleg sieninde kinners. En

haar ma het net na die skool toe gekom en gese my kind is slim, sy het n sig problem, ek weet julle vat nie kleurling of swart kinners nie, maar asseblief, sy is slim. En die tannie het toe by die koshuis gewerk en die tannie het nou half vir haar onder haar vlerk gevat want sy het met die tannie gebly. En dit is hoe Precious my vertel het, die hare word gekam en geborsel (*motions how wild it happened*), en sy huil want hulle weet nie. En toe het die tannie vir haar later vir haar in die kar gelaai en plakkerskamp to gery en gevra, wie kan asseblief my kind se hare vleg want ek weet nie hoe om dit te hanteer nie. So ek ken baie viendine wat trauma stories het van hare wat kroes is en wat glad gemaak word.

W1: Die Groenewald's. Oupa Frik, toe kom hy nou op die dorp, sy suster is nou besig om brood te bak, sy knie nou. En hy se hy wil ook n brooitejie he en sy moet vir hom n brooitjie maak. Nou sy is self skoon, en daai tyd is die brood ogemaak en die brood is in die oond in. en hier kom oom Frik terug en hy kom met n broodpan, en hy se vir haar 'hiers my pan', en sy se 'maar die brood is in die pan', toe wil hy nie daai brood he nie oor sy eie suster. Ek se dit is valse trots, sommer nonsense trots. Toe wil hy nou nie die brood he nie toe het hy n spesiale pan gan koop in die winkel. Met haar hande moet sy knie maar die pan is nou nie reg nie

W2: Want syt kroes hare?

W1: Nee syt gladde hare (*she puts her fingers through her own hair and then says sorry to the rest of the women*).

W4: Ek het ook daai dik hare gehad, kroes hare, die enigste meisiekind met n dik dik bos hare. Nou daai tyd, ons ken mos nie rerig nie. Om bietjie din te maak het my ma nou by my Ouma geleer, n bietjie sagte vet met n bietjie lamp olie in, ons kom van daai jare af om hom bietjie dinner te maak. Maar dit was ook vir my seer want ek was biae kleinsierig. En as my ma my hare gekam het, het sy altyd my hande geslat want jy moet nie vat nie end it is seer want die hare is mos nou dik. Elke keer as sy kam, want hulle het mos met vaart gekam. Want dit is mos nou dik en die hare moet van die kopvel af. En so het daai lamp olie en vet daai hare din getrek toe ek later mos nou dit is die beste raad want die maak mos nou seer, daai lamp olie. Op die ou einde raak ons ook jonk, ons wil, ons wil mos nou netjies wees, en toe het ons mos nou geleer van die primus ansteek, daai tyd was mos nou did primus stove. En dan was daar so n yster kam, en dan is die yster kam op die primus warm gemaak en dan is daai hare lekker getrek en dan het jy ook daai skud hare. As jy uit daai primus en daai stove uitkom. En op die ou einde toe het ons mos nou die Sheen Straight en die Kempura

W2: En dan het hulle bietjie poeier bygegooi omdat dit so stink.

W4: So ek het gekom van daai afdeling af om om straight hare te he. En daai lamp olie goed en al daai goed het gemaak dat ek nie meer hare het nie. Ek het ook daai terug spring goeters. En toe ek nou ouer raak toe se my ander twee susters vir my ek het pop hare. Want hulle hare verskil van my hare, maar ek het altyd sleg gevoel as hulle vir my uitjou, jy het pop hare, want hulle het mos nou regte hare. Maar al daai goed het veroorsaak dat die kroes kop bedeling, dat ek nou nie hare het nie, van al daai goeters wat ek aangesmeer het om dit n bietjie glad en mooi te lyk , het nou veroorsaak dat ek het nou n paar donsies op my kop.

Maar as dit moet bewerk word, dit was nie mooi nie. Deur my susters was ek nou amper afgekraak want hulle hare is moeier want ek wil ook by hulle bietjie inpas.

Dit word voor my ma gese, maar daai tyd toe was dit amper, dit wat ek se, en dit wat hulle se is reg. Ek moet maar altyd net tevrede wees (*points down to the ground*). In die ou einde het ek vir myself gevra, waar pas ek in. Toe ek ouer raak toe vra ek, is ek nie iewers stief nie. Hulle was anders behandel met hare en so an. En daai tyd wat ons opgegrooi het, het ons hare nie gehou van hare indraai en so nie. My pa was so streng gewees ne, as hy veld toe gan, moet ons vining woel met die hare. En as hy terug kom moet daai rollers lankal uit die hare uit wees, en dan moet dit so plat bewerk word hy moet amper nie sien daar was a roller in nie. So het ons groot geraak.

W8: Daai middag toe is Oupa nog nie by die huis nie, sy kyk toe nog nie die tyd nie en sy het haar hare gewas en ingedraai. Toe my Oupa terugkom toe word sy teen die mier vasgeslat, met die vuis, daai rollers, almal.

Ek het nou nie daai hare, ek het nou n kroes kop, jissus ek is baie trots. Op laërskool het ons hare gewas en gevleg, ek het lang dik hare gehad. Toe ek hoërskool toe gaan, toe knip ek af. Toe sien ek nie meer kans vir daai dik hare nie, toe knip ek hulle kort. Maar op laërskool het ek ook Kempura en Sheen Straight gebruik, en dit stink. Daai julle blok stink.

W2: Ek onthou nog een van daai kempura dae, voor my ma nou die poeier ingesit het want dit het versriklik gestink, toe kom n vlieg en die vlieg het net twee draaie gevat en toe val daai vlieg. Toe is hy dood.

AK: Nou as dit n vlieg dood maak, wat sal dit nie aan jou hare doen nie.

W2: Dit was omtrent vol poeier gemaak want dit het gestink. Maar dit moet bewerk word want dit maak glad.

(We talk about the fact that it is not on the market anymore and that it smelt like drain, and the different products like mediscalp).

W6: Ek onthou eendag ek was 10 jaar oud, hy was weg vir 10 dae, meer as 10 dae (inaudible). Toe het hy mos huistoe gekom *(her brother)* want dit was kersfees en toe wil my suster my hare so bietjie uitdin toe het sy sheen gebruik. En toe sy die goed wil aan my hare gesit het, toe het hy verskriklik aangegan want ek is dan kind, my hare moet net gewas en gevleg word, daar word nie goed op my hare gesit nie. Ek was baie ontsteld want dit was seer, dit was nie lekker nie. En nou wil my suster iets an hierdie saak doen en hy kom, ek was so verbittered. Jy kom nou uit die Kaap uit en nou wil jy besluit wat in die huis aangaan. Omdat hy ouer was, hulle het daai persepsie gehad. Aan die einde van die dag is my hare net gewas en gevleg en ek wou net my hare Sheen Straight, en hy het gese nee en my suster het besluit want hy het gese nee.

(She says that she is still angry with him, he left after that and never came back and that was in the 70's. So they never did it when she was young).

My skoonsuster het later my hare bewerk want my ma kon nie meer nie. En soos sussie se, as hulle kam dan word dit geslat dan word dit net so gesit en gehuil. Jy mag nie vat nie. En sy het my tussen haar bene vasgeknuip. En dan moet jy still sit, en as jy klaar maak (inaudible). Dit het later n gebed saak geword. En dit is hoekom ek later my hare afgeknip het want dan hoef ek nie hare te bewerk nie.

W7: My kleur is vaal. En soos ek groot geraak het, het ek maar besluit ek gan my hare kleur want op skool is ek gespot, vaal muis, soos ek opgegroei het, was ek maar gespot. My ma het lang bruin hare en my pa is kroes. Nou ek het die uitspring krill draad. En op die skool het hulle ook vir my gesê ek dink te veel van myself want ek het n krill draad. So dit was n probleem vir my op skool en ek het nie uintlik n probleem met my draad nie, ander mense het ñ problem. Al problem wat ek het is die kleur, is vaal. Dit is hoekom ek gereeld kleur.

(I ask them if their hair makes them who they are).

W6: Ek he nog nooit so daaraan gedink nie. Ek dink nie dit afekteer jou identitiet nie. Dit is wie jy is. Ek glo nie hare maak n verskill nie. Dit hang af wat jy met jou hare maak wat die verskil maak. ñ Kop wat nou nie gekam word nie of gekam word, dit is jou hare.

Maar miskien op n mate.

(I ask them how society treats women because of their hair and whether its affects them).

W2: Kyk so n rukkie, die media met Clicks met kroes hare en glade hare wat hulle n swart vrou se hare gebruik het en beskryf het as course, unhealthy hair. En die wit vrou se hare. Toe het dit marakas oor die land veroorsaak. En mense se werk was in gedrang, en n politieke opskop in die media is die oorsaak.

So ek dink vir baie mense het dit n invloed. Vir my persoonlik, ek wou so graag verwoeste krill hare gehad het, hierdie kroes hare. Maar dit was mos nou nie maar dit was nie socially aanvaarbaar in my familie nie. En as ek hare miskien gewas het en net laat droog word het, dan staan dit mos nou so en ek was gaande oor die wille bos. Toe het my antie vir my gevra wat gan an met jou hare en almal het my gevra, wat gan an met jou hare? Ek was altyd die sonskyn hippie met snaakse kleure an. Dan vra hulle altyd vir my wat gan an met jou hare, hoekom lyk jou hare so en watter kleure het jy an? En later, as jy gemakliker word met jouself en as jy gemaklik word as individu, toe word ek gemaklik met my hare. Ek het nie meer gerelax nie, ek het nie vir my gelat voorse nie, en dit was vir my lekker om dik en kroes hare te he. En voorheen was dit nie vir my lekker nie want ek was gemartel, en nou embrace ek my kroes en dik hare.

W4: Om op te maak vir die jare, want dit is vir jare dat ek so behandel is, dan kan my suster n ding doen dan kry sy nie pak nie. Dan kry ek pak vir haar part. En so het ek opegrooi, tot nou in my groot dag. Ek het drie kinders, een seun en twee dogters. Tot nou nog toe. En soos ek behandel was, so is my kinders behandel.

(*She goes further to talk about how she feels like the black sheep of the family as she feels like she is not part of the family and feels like she is adopted and feels like a DNA test would resolve this. I ask the rest).*

W3: Nee, ek aanvaar maar nou soos my Antie my vertel het, en soos ek groot geraak het, wie is my ouers, my Oupa, my Ouma. Broers en susters. Ek aanvaar dit soos wat ek gehoor het, so ek sal nie n DNA toets doen nie.

W7: Ek sal wil doen sodat ek kan weet wie my mense is, want van ons familie lede is getroud met familie so ek sal wil weet wie my mense is

W5: Ek het al gehoor, wit mense se vir kleurlinge, hulle weet nie waarvanaf hulle kom nie, sal die toets vir my kan se ek is dit en die en dat?

(I tell them that it will explain their genetic make up but that it will not say what their identity is).

Appendix D Calvinia

Participants: Five

Date: Tuesday, 31 August 2021

Location: Calvinia

Method: Video recording

(I introduce the topic and ask them what they learnt about their family).

W2: As jy n kind kry van n man moet jy met hom trou.

W3: Jy mag jou hare vir n maand nie was nie en jy moet vir tien dae in die bed bly na geboorte. En die woontjie met vegesmeer word. Die baby word uitgesmeer en dit versteek die naelband tot die naelband afval. En jy as mamma dra ook naelband. Dit is hoekom vandag se meisies, hulle het n boeppens want hulle dra nie naelband nie. Of nie daai nie of jou womb word terug gesmeer

AK: Watter ander raad?

W3: (Inaudible in the beginning). En die afval sal jy moet skraap. Jy word so opgelui. En as jy nie kan knie nie, dan sal jy mos nie daai man kry wat daarvanaf kom nie. As jy nie kan daai afval so werk nie kan jy ma los.

(Gives advice about making bread)

W3: Dit is hoekom ek se, my seun se miesie , ek sal n swart oond vir my kom bou in die jaard dat hy vir my daai oond kan kom aansteek. Jy sal werk.

En ek se vir hom, ek weet nie waar jy daai plaas miesie gan kry nie want hulle ma's leer hulle eintlik nie meer so nie. Daai waarde is weg.

Ek het drie seuns. Ek weet nie hoekom n girl nie gekom het nie dat ek hom kon so opgelei het nie.

(I ask what she would do if her son came with a girl that can cook but whose hair is not straight).

W3: Ek is nie gepla daarmee nie. My kinners het al drie so a mixed draad. Dan se ek die babatjie is die baas want hy het darem so bietjie gekry van mammie sinne, maar hierdie ander twee het so iewers verdwaal. Dan se ek julle het julle se pa se draad. Julle het nie onse draad nie. Vir my, hy kan n kroes kop het dan lyk dit vir my hy kan darem iets doen met sy hande. Maar vandag se ladies met die gladde hare, hulle kan niks doen nie. Hulle gan net so *(shakes head imagining hair)*

W2: Want hulle naels moet reg wees.

W3: So as hulle vandag hare het, dan is hulle die queen van die straat se ek jou.

W2: Mens moet na die innerlike kyk. Daai buite tel nie. Wat van binne is moet buite kom.

W5: Ek dink mense in vandag se samelewing, dit is a capability van jou, n vermoe van jou om mooi te kan lyk. En dit is a helse plus vir baie mense. Ek erken almal is bietjie shallow en almal soek die mooiste ene in die pakkie, maar dit is baie verkeerd dat hulle net na dit kyk.

W4: Daai kom vir my met age. Ek onthou toe ek swanger was, die man se hare, vir my om pantyhouse te vleg, nou moet ek leer, en nee hy is te donker. Toe ek ouer word toe sien ek, die man met die gladde hare, hy kan nie bul ne, hy weet nie hoe werk die hurk nie. Dan moet ek die skoddelgoed doen en werk toe gan en met die hurk kom werk want hy is te mooi.

Omdat ons as ras so deurmekaar gebreed is het ons nie n tradisie wat een ding is wat almal die coloureds doen nie. Tradieisie vir my, toe ek jonger was het ek geleer jy moet kerk toe gan, maar die wit mense het vir ons kom leer van die kerk. Nie dat ek se dit is verkeerd nie.

Die most common ding wat ek nou al gehoor het wat ek by almal gehoor het, maar nie baie in die Kaap nie, is dat, as n baby sy eerste tand trek dan maak ons vir hom n pannekoek. Buiten dit, het ons niks. En coloured meisie kinders, as jy as a kleurling meisiekind hoërskool toe gan, jy gan n cigarte aansteek en jy gan dit rook. Soos a right of passage.

W5: Oh wow.

W4: Ek het uit my pad uit gegan om vir my miesiekind te leer jy vat nie aan daai ding nie. Dit is nie nodig nie, dar is nerens so geskryf nie. Maar toe ek groot word, daai jaar toe ek standard vyf klaar maak, daai krismis het ek geleer om te rook want as ek hoërskool toe gaan, dan moet ek nie hoes nie.

Toe ek verder in die skool in gaan, my pa het my uit daai skool uitgevat en my pa sit my in Malmesbury. Daar sien ek mos nou die wit mense, toe is ek dan nou die enigste een wat rook. Toe neem ek aan dit is a kleurling ding because white children don't do it, black children don't do it. Hulle begin rook as hulle klaar is met die skool. Dit is net ons.

Die Duitsers, hulle het bier en die Swiss het chocolate, wat het ons?

W3: Ons het afval, ons het roosterbrood, ons het oond brood, ons het asbrood. Ons het derems wat ons braai.

W2: Potjie kos het gekom van ons af, sal ek dit se. En nou maak hulle asof potjiekos iets is wat nou die dag begin het

W4: Of nou die rem en trek of die derms en sulke goed, dit word nou verkoop. Dit was onse kos gewees. Die boere slag en dan kry ons die derms. Die harslag en die pens en die potjies, dit was vir ons gegee. Maar dit is eitnlik die konigskos wat hulle wegggee het, en nou word dit ten duurste verkoop.

W5: En dieselfde met potjiekos

W3: En dan Sondae eet ons n groot bord kos. As jy nie Sondae vlies in jou bord in het nie, dan is dit amper so, julle kry swear want die vleis staan nie uit nie.

(*I ask them if they feel the word kroes is an ugly word).*

W3: Nee.

W4: Is amper soos meid en hotnot en aia, is nie n woord wat moet gebruik word nie maar ek mind nie. n Gladde koppie gan nie vir my se ek is kroes nie, ek sal nie daarvan hou nie.

W2: Maar as hy nie se kroes nie dan gan ek nie kwaad raak nie.

W3: Maar dit is hoekom ek se ek weet nie hoekom dit so n groot ding gemaak is nou oor kroes shampoo nie, jy kan gan kies van watse ene jy wil he. Ek voel partykeer my draad is nie soe lekker nie dan vat ek sommer die kroes ene dan werk hy vir my draad. Ek is mos nou nie so glad nie so hy gan die draad beter raak. So daar is verskeie redes. Dit word net gese dit is vir kroes koppe. So dit is eintlik n oulike ding.

W4: En dit is maar onse descriptive term. En dit gan nie oor kroes nie, dit gan nie oor binne maar jy hy se nie vir my nie

AK: En as hy se jy het n kroes kop

W3: Dan se ek ek weet en ek voel so trots op my kroeskop want ek kan my hare skit enigetyd. Jy moet wag dat die wind waai dat hy dit kan oplig.

W4: Ek sal se, omdat dit so maklik as n waepen gebruik kan word, en omdat die meisiekinders onder mekaar is baie wreed met mekaar. Dit is hoekom ek se dit gaan oor hoe die een die woord gebruik, en hoe ek voel waneer ek daai word na my toe te se hoor.

W1: En wie het dit gebruik

W4: As jy nou coloured is en jy is nou glad. As Antie Rose nou vir my se, hier kroes kop, dan gan ek nie lekker voel nie want Antie Rose is nie kroes nie. Maar as n ander Antie vir my se, hierdie bond kop, dan se ek, hi nana en dan gesels ons an.

Ek is ok met met iemand anders maar ek gan dit nie verdra van n wit mens nie, dan sal ek ontplof oor ander dinge.

W3: Ek het weer so afgekom as ons eers praat van coloured en ras dan smaak dit my ek het n gedeelte geskiep. Ek onthou ek het op die plaas grootgeraak, dan soek my pa mos nou meel dan se die boer daar is nie bruin meel nie so hy het nie meel nie. Hy gan volgende week weer in dorp toe dan is daar bruin meel. So ons kon nie wit meel brood eet nie.

Dit is waarin ek groot geraak het, maar nou voel ek miskien was ek te klein. Dit het my nie geafekteer nie

W4: Jy was van kleins af so gecondition dat dit is hoe dinge is

W3: Daar is nie bruin meel nie so julle kan nie die wit meel kry nie, of seker so

En dan raak ons later groot en dan voel ons om te se, nee jy gan saam met jou pa. Ons speel mos nou saam, dit is mos nou onse maaitjies. Jy maak seker dat ons dit en dat kry. En julle koop nie vir ons daai boot skientjies van laas nie, ons wil regte skoene he, want dit word mos nou uitgesny met die rekkie. Hulle wil nie bootse he nie, dit moet plakkies wees. So ek voel toe nou eintlik amper apartheid het nie so kwaai op my afgekom nie. En dan kom ek dit nou weer agter in my werks posisie. Kan jy dan nou hier staan en waar was jy al die tyd gewees. Toe se sy, ander tye het die wit mense hier getsaan, was ek maar nogsteeds die manager gewees. Ek het agter in my kantoor gewerk toe sien julle net nie vir my nie. En nou staan ek voor in die frontline en nou sien jy waar is hulle? Hulle is almal weg. Ek doen almal hulle se

werk. So ek voel eintlik trots om 7 of 8 mense se werk te doen. Wil jy gehelp wees of wil jy uitgan. Dan voel hulle om vir my te se, hulle sit my brood en botter op die tafel, dan se ek nee. Ek eet niks van jou nie. Of verniet eet ek nie, ek werk vir my geld. Dit is hoekom ek hier staan so jy kan my niks se nie (*she goes on to talk about how some white people also suffered and didn't grow up so grand*)

W4: Ek dink ook waar my issues vanaf stam is, ek het n blissful childhood gehad. Daar was net Coloureds om my. Soos ek se, ek het die mense op die TV gesien. I didn't even know they were real. En all of a sudden bly ek in die mense se koshuis en eet hulle kos en sit aan hulle tafel. Dan het hulle die grap wat hulle maak, die tafel hoof sit mos nou op die hoof van die tafel en iemand anders sit aan die ander hoof. Ek sit nou in die middle, dit is a 8 seater tafel aan die een kant. Almal rondom my is nou wit. Nou staan en vrae hy nou, ek maak n voorbeeld die sout, dan stuur hulle nou die sout om maar daai spesifieke dag toe se die een wat die kant van my sit, (*motions to side*), hulle daai dag nie vir my die sout gegee nie. Die ander kleurling miesie wat by n ander koshuis is het vir my die sout wat by n ander tafel is vir my gebring. Toe se sy , oe nee, ha a. Kom vat dit maar die kant om. Daai sout het nou heel tyd so gegaan. Dit is hoe hulle nou met my speel, want dit gan bruin raak, en dan lag hulle. So ek, my eerste ondervinding met n ander ras was nou ongelukkig met wit mense en daai was my ondervinding met hulle. Nobody liked me. Niemand het belang gestel om vriende te maak nie. En ek was daai voobarige meisiekintjie wat saam almal gesels en saam almal lag en baie sleg voel as ander mense my bubble bars. En ek het met daai waarmee ek groot geraak het, ons Coloured mense onder mekraa. Ek was seker te geshelter in die huis. En toe ek eventually uitgaan toe is dit te a shell shock. Ek het nooit so gevoel oor enige ander ras soos hulle gevoel het oor my. Want ek weet dan self nie wie is ek nie

(I ask her what word she repeated).

W5: Ras

(I mention that your race is what you were classified as but that your identity is something else and ask them if they think it is the same thing).

W4: Ek dink nie dis dieselfde ding nie.

W5: Daai een vrou is swart van buite en wit van binne. Coconuts

W4: En jy moet ook nie dat jou as jou identitiet terug hou nie

W5: Of jou identitiet word nie

W4: Want n colured believe hy het nie identitet nie.

W5: Behalwe dat ek n kleurling vrou is, is ek iemand se ma. Ek is van nut as iemand by die werk. Ek is klomp goed. Ek is nie net dit nie.

W4: Ek is a sterk vrou. Ek is a vrou wat voel ek kan staan vir my ding. Ek voel ek kan myself defend

W1: Dit is nie dieselfde ding nie. Ons het mos nou almal identieteite, ongeag wat jou kleur is, of hoe jy geklasifiseer is. Dan het jy nog steeds jou eie identiteid (*motions to her heart*)

W2: Jou identiteit is jou ID.

(I talk about the humiliation of the pencil test regarding racial classification).

W4: Ek dink dit was gedoen as hulle nie kon besluit of jy swart of Kleurling was nie. Dan was daar ook jakkals. As jy nie die woord jakkals kan se nie dan is jy n swart mens. As jy se kleurling dan is jy jakkals, as jy se jakalas, dan is jy swart. As hulle nie kan sien jy is coloured of jy is swart, van daai donker van kleur coloureds.

W3: En die ander ding wat ek nou daar wil inkom, hoekom ek dink ons land is nog so deurmekaar is, is as ek met die wraak van binne my pa nog in my loop, of die wraak van die mense wat rerig die struggle deurgemaak het, wat apartheid ken ,want ek ken nie apartheid nie. Ek is na apartheid gebore. Nou hoor ek mamma hulle kon nie wit meel geeet het nie nou is ek sommer kwaad vir die boere. Dit is waarom ons nog so agter bly of daai rou seer van pappa en mamma vashou. Maar dit moenie so wees nie. Ons moet daai kan los en vorentoe gan. Maar ons is nog met mammie en pappie se goed wat hulle in die struggle deurgegan het, daai seer mee loop. Want as daai wit man my aangekyk het, dan wil ek hom sommer slaan. Dit was mos dag en nag boerdery, dit is hoekom hy nie vandag kan loop met sy arthritis bene nie.

Ek voel ons as hierdie generation, onse denke is nog steeds so ou tyds. Of daar is so baie van ons wat gemis het iets *(carry around the hurt of the past, and those generations are almost all gone but we want to break down which is not right)*

(I summarise that we need to learn from the past).

W5: Nog n kleurling ding, dit is n kind se werk om die drinkgoed te maak

(I ask them about the DNA test).

W2: Lat jy kan weet wie is die ene en wie is daai ene. My klein kinners en my niggie se kinners, hulle ken nie mekaar nie. En ek was van plan om volgende jaar weer n reunie te reel, maar nou is die COVID mos nou. Want ek het al die boodskape uitgestuur na die families toe. Na die Kaap, Saldanha, Vredenburg, Ceres. Maar dit lyk vir my ons sal dit nie kan hou nie.

W3: My Antie het altyd gese die Oppermans het hare maar die Oppermans het die besigheid kombeneers. So my Oupa was nou n Opperman en toe trou het nou met n Hendricks vrou. So sy kom beneeks nou die hele besighied. So daar is nou twee van die meisiekinners wat berings het (*straight hair*), en die anners het die hele bond koppe. Die familie blameer, die hele familie. Ons is vier susters en een broer. Nou een suster lyk hy hoort nie daar nie want hy't die plain bond kop. Ons almal is die mooi meide, onse hare kan skut, maar daai een is al ene wat met die kroes kop beland. Dan vra ons waarvanaf kom jy. Sien, daardie gedeelte, dan sien ons nou die straight Opperman bloed. Alhoewel ma nou hare het en die Fortuins. Maar ek weet nie waarvanaf kom sy nie. Dan moet jy sien sy aart terug na die ander familie toe.

(They do not want to take the DNA test. Video ends).

Appendix E Clanwilliam

Participants: Eleven

Date: Monday, 30 August 2021

Location: Clanwilliam (Western Cape)

Method: video recording

W1: As ek dink aan haar, amper so, julle se nie vir my nie, julle maak nie vir my nie. Dit is na sy deur baie swaerkry gekom het. En die kind van die wit man gehad het wat sy moes weg gehaardloop het. En natuurlik verkrag deur die wit man. Daai ou boere is sulke ou goeterse gewees.

(Everyone talks at the same time)

W3: Dit is die waarheid. Hulle gee nie eers neppies geld nie.

W2: Dit is nou waneer oubaas vir ou meid gehaad het. Jy moet vlug. Onder die tafel. Dan kry ou meid nou n kind, wat ou baas sinne is, dan gee ou baas vir hom n lemoen dat jy kan jou bek hou.

(Everyone talks at the same time)

Onse mense het baie swear deurgekom. Jy mag nie praat nie. Jy moet jou mond hou

En my Ouma het vir my vertel, Johnny is mos nou oorlede. Johnny was nou mooi groot, want ons wil weet hoekom, som van hulle, hulle lyk dan soos boere.

Toe se my Ouma vir ons, dat omdat dit is, as jy baie, baie soos n boer lyk, dan, dan moet ou nooi jou maar groot maak dan moet jy maar saam groot word. Maar indien nie, is dit nou lyk dat jou agter nasie gan nou dik hare het, dan moet Oumatjie maar vlug, dan moet jou voorgeslag vlug. Of Oupa word dood gemaak want Oupa sien dan nou ook hier is dan n wit kind, hiers n fout. Dan moet jy vlug. Jy moet vlug vir jou lewe. En daai kind kom eers uit waneer hy groot is want hy mag ook nie uitkom nie.

AK: So julle het nou al gepraat van die hare en ek het nou al gehoor van die word kroes.

(Everyone laughs and talks at the same time)

W2: En sy het nou haar hare getou en ek weet nie wat nie, toe is dit mos die haar strond daar in Stellenbosch. En daar kry die eenkant van haar kop nat (*everyone laughs*). Toe se sy vir my, Ouma, ek is op die een kant is ek nou my boesnot, an die ander kant is ek nou n nooi (*they explain that a Boesnot is a combination of Boesman and Hotnot*).

W3: Daar is nie n ander nasie vat vir hom kan beskryf soos ons nie.

AK: En ek dink nie daar is nie n ander nasie wat sal verstaan die politiek wat met hare gaan nie, maar veral met vrou mense. So as n kind nou gebore word, dan kom die mense altyd om…

(Everyone laughs and talks at the same time)

W4: Die hare, naels, neusie (*everyone talks at the same time*).

Haai shame, kyk die haartjies. Hy sal seker bietjie verander.

W6: So as hy nou gan groter word dan sal sy hare lyk soos Ouma syn of mamma syn. Maar partykeer raak hulle groter en dan is dit nie mamma of Ouma se hare nie, dan het hy kort hartjies. Dan gan hy so, dan is dit sy hartjies daai.

My klein dogetr se vir my, Ouma, 'waarhom het ek dan sulke lelike hare? Vra jy vir jou ma en jou pa hoekom het jy sulke hare. Sien jy dan nie Ouma het gladde hare nie?' (*everyone laughs*). Toe se sy, waar, Ouma het glad nie gladde hare nie, Ouma bly dan met n doek. Hy is net styf dat nie doek nie kan af val nie. Toe se ek, dit is Ouma se hare en Ouma se hare lyk tog pragtag. Ja, Ouma kan so se. Ek se kyk hoe lyk julle hare. Julle se nou my hare is nou kroes. Ek het regte hare want almal julle ouers het nie regte hare nie. Maar dit is hulle se hare. Jy vat wat jy gekry het.

AK: So my tesis is mos nou my lewe. Toe sny ek mos vir hare af en ek gan mos nou met so n bossie koppie, so n lekker afro. Toe vra my ma wil jy nie bietjie Vaseline op jou hare sit nie.

(Everyone laughs and agrees)

W10: Lat hy kan bietjie blink is ja.

AK: Ek wil net verstaan, hoekom is dit so n groot ding? So as ek nou met n donker van kleur man daaran kom moet sulke toeng toeng haartjies, dan is dit nou…

W8: Nee dit is nie reg nie.

AK: Maar hoekom is dit nie reg nie?

W8: Ek weet nie.

AK: Wat is dit wat vir ons so negatief maak oor ons eie hare?

W9: Omdat, soos dit daar geskryf is, omdat ons nie rerig weet waarvandaan ons kom nie. En ek dink dit is omdat, as jy om jou kyk die mense se hare, dan is die begeerte ook…

W2: Hy moet wip.

W9: Hy moet ook n glans het, hy moet ook kan lank wees want meeste van…as jy nou vir n kind loep vra met kort hare, wil jy lang hare he? Ja! Is daar raad vir lang hare? Ek dink dit is omdat ons wil indentifeseer met iemand anders. Maar jy is in jou eie identitied maar jy wil vir jou met iemand anders identifiseer want jy wil wees soos daai person. Jy wil lang hare he. Jy wil hare he wat skud, en so. En hare wat blink want dit is mooi.

W3: Jou hare is nou vas teen die kop en jy is nou al n tyd daarin maar dit is nou nie meer vir jou normal, of in die mode nie. Want om glade hare te het is nou in die mode want almal het lang hare. Maar tog, is die kroes koppie vreeslik in die mode. Ja, die kroes koppie, die bossie koppie, is vreskriklik in fashion. Is van die mooiste. Onse kinders, ne Antie Griet, hulle maak hulle hare nat sodat hy kan kroes wees. My klein kinders, nou nie mamma sinne nie want soos ek se, my man het nou ietsie gehad, nou het hulle hartjies en daai, maar hulle wil dit nie so he nie. Hulle wil he hulle hare moet kroes wees. Hulle hou van kroes hare ne? Vra vir Antie Griet.

W11: My meisiekind draai saans haar hare bolletjies, bolletjies, dan soggens dan maak sy dit los om kroes hare te he.

W3: Ja, ons kinders hou daarvan.

AK: En dan voel julle daaroor?

W11: Dit lyk goed.

W3: Vir my lyk dit fine want mamma se hare is mos nie so (*she touches her hair*) verstaan? So mamma was mos nou ander dag swart kop nou het mamma n wit kop. En nou lyk dit dan nou vir mamma, nou dat die wit kop inkom, lyk dit nou mamma se haar textuur word ook

bietjie beter. Nou is dit meer in aard na hulle. Maar my klein kinders is verskriklik oor hare wat kroes is. Dit moet kroes wees. Baie life vir kroes hare.

AK: En hoe oud is hulle?

W3: 16 is die eenetjie, en die ender eenetjie is laas jaar 21 en sy maak gereeld haar hare kroes.

AK: Dit is mos nou in die mode nou.

W3: Ja, ja. En dit in nie vir my snaaks nie.

W1: Hulle se dit is natural.

(*We talk about methods of straightening*)

W8: Stryk kam wat jy op die primus stove sit en dan het jy jou hare gestryk, met n pot Vaseline.

AK: Het julle hare nie gebrand of an die vlam gesteek nie?

W12: Nee dit brand nie. Daai vurk het net mens partykeer so gemaak. n Vurk. Dit is net soos n kam.

(*Everyone laughs and talks at the same time*).

W3: Annie jy het dan nou gladde hare. Ek het mos nou glade hare gehad . (*Everyone laughs*)

W4: Ons het n spesiale antie gehad wat, elke Saterdag. Die hele dag is dit net hare dag. Dan word onse hare gekam want more is dit Sondag, ons moet kerk toe gan, en Sondag skool. Jy moet reg lyk. Jy kom met n pot Vaseline. Jou hare is pragtag.

W3: En daar beginne gan ek, en my hare is mos nou glad, kammalike. En daar vat hy aan my kop. En die olie, en ek dink, jirre los net my kop. Maar toe vat hy aan my kop en hy voel seker, jirre dis darm taai. En hy het nooit weer aan my hare gevat nie. Ek het met sy hare gespeel, maar hy het nie met myne…(*everyone bursts out laughing*).

W7: Ek sien hom dan nou enik so met daai krill hare. Hy het baie mooi hare gehad.

W3: Ek het mos met sy hare gespeel, en dan is dit nou so lekker as ek met my hanne so in sy hare speel. En as hy hier na my kant toe kom, as my hare gedoen is, dan kan jy maar kom

speel. Ja ons het geweet presies hoe moet ons met mekaar maak. Ja hy het geweet as ek my hare doen, nee dan kan hy maar speel. Dan speel hy lekker met daai hare. Maar nie met die toe kop nie. Dan sit sy hande vas. Ma die stryk kam…ja. Stryk kam het sy eie ding gehad.

W10: Hy het sommige, somkeer jou hare verniel ook nie.

AK: Want die eerste ding wat ek hoor van die kam besigheid, toe wonner ek nou, maar waneer brand die mense nie.

W10: Ja, daar was partykeer so n rook.

W6: Nee, Brylcream was as die hare nou klaar is, jy kan nie met hom stryk nie want hys waterag, hy het net blink gemaak.

W 5: Daar was so n groen…

W6: Ja, hy is ook soos Vaseline maar, maar dit lyk lekker.

W3: Hy het darem nie jou hare taai gemaak nie.

W6: Nee hy het nie jou hare so taai gemaak soos die Vaseline ne. Maar baie mense het seker ook maar vet angesmeer, as hy nou nie kry nie. Sommer skaap vet.

W3: Maar hulle se onse ou mense het vet gebryk om op onse hare te sit. En dit was onse dood steek gewees. Hulle moes nie vark vet op onse hare gesit het nie. Dit is nou hoekom onse hare so gekom het. Die olie wat jy aftrek. Dit is nie vuil nie. Dit het my Ouma aan haar kop gesit.

W7: Ja dit het ek op my Ouma se hare gesit. Daai olie. Daai motor olie, het ek aan my Ouma se hare gesmeer want ek het altyd my Ouma se hare gevleg. Vir daai vaal kolle. Want as jy vaal kolle kry dan is dit baie goed. Daai olie, daai wat jy aftap, hy is nog skoon ja. Daai het hulle beruik.

AK: Hulle het darem produkte gebruik!

W7: Hulle het produkte gebruik.

(*Everyone talks at the same time*).

AK: Maar hulle het mos nou nie Vaseline daai tyd gehaad nie.

W10: Nee. Was dit die olie of was dit die vark vet?

AK: Maar het dit hulle hare dik gemaak?

(*Everyone talks at the same time*)

W3: Daar was mos nou nie shampoos nie. Dan was dit sommer sunlight seep.

W10: Die blou seep.

W4: Of die boom seep wat mamma hulle…

W2: Oo die seep bos.

W5: Hy het so n stringetjie.

W7: Hy was vir die vaal kolle ook.

W9: Die blom string, dit is uintlik die seep. Is so a groen bos, hy het sulke geelerige blommetjies gehad.

(*Everyone – ja*)

W10: Dan vat jy die blom in jou hande dan maak jy hom so (*rubs her hands together*), dan maak hy seep skuim. Met die blom. (*Everyone talks at the same time*.) Dan sit jy dit op die hare. Ons het sommer die wasgoed ook daarmee gewas. As jy nie seep het nie.

W3: Darem is sy naam seep bos.

AK: Het julle gehoor van dit? Pencil test?

W11: Ja ek het gehoor daarvan.

W3: Ek het met mense in Stellenbosch. Dit is Amerikaaners wat navorsing gedoen het op die Khoe en die San. Ek het mos gegaan. Hy het gedink ek kan Engels praat toe se hy ek moet saam met hom gaan. Toe het ek van die pencil toets. Ek het ook toe gehoor van die pencil toets wat hulle gedoen het. Maar ek het nooit navraag gedoen wat is die uitkomste. Is dit nou Khoe of is dit San, of is dit Khoisan, of is dit nou n ander nasie. So, my uitslae moet daar by Stellenbosch wees.

AK: So, wat hulle gedoen het, veral as a kleurling nou bietjie blas was, die hare is nou bietjie nat gelek en so an, dan was dit nou so. In die 50ger jare. Racial classification.

W3: Dit is daai wat gemaak het dat jy self nie weet nie van waar jy afkomstig is nie. En jy ken jou eie identiteid, ken jy self nie. Dis hoekom ek se, want dan staan ek maar by die kleurling, want my eie identited ken ek nie. Want my pa is van daai wat gan brood koop het en nooit terug gekom het nie. Hy was a Muslim. En my ma was was a kleurling wat se pa n Duitser was en n ma wat n kleurling was. Jou ouers is heel gemeng.

AK: En daar was families wat uitmekaar uitgesky was. So my suster is bietjie donkerder as wat ek is en hy het pik swart hare. Maar ek is maar nou bietjie vaal en my hare is bietjie vaal. So as ons twee deur daai toets moes gegaan het dan is ek miskien wit, dan het ek daai lewe. Dan lewe ek, basically, ek het meer voordele in die lewe. Maar daai toets was erg.

W1: Want ek dink nou net, soos my pa se geboorte lyk dit vir my was rerig nie opgegee nie, destyds.

W3: Dan moet jy nog daai vanne ook kyk.

W1: Want, ek dink Ouma het nog geweet waneer hy gebore is en wat sy datum is maar my Ouma het toe getrou met n Swarts. En toe is my pa hulle reeds groot want albei haar kinders het die Swarts van gekry en my Ouma se nooiens van was nie Swarts nie. My Ouma se van, hulle het gese my Ouma se van was Cupido maar Ouma het nie haarself Cupido genoem nie, sy het gese sy is Mouers. Sy is Mouers Kwhe.

W5: Hulle het hulle vanne sommer gevat.

W8: Want ek dink my Oupa was Mouers. Hulle het vir hom gese Klaas Mouers.

W2: Het my pa my self vertel dat hy, my nooiens van is Beukes en my Oupa hulle was nie Beukesse nie. Sy pa se van was Primo. So hulle is van die kloof se mense. Maar toe my Oupa hulle nou gebore word, ek weet ook nie wat se ek, nou se ek vir my pa, is die veld kornet wat gese het jy kry die van en jy kry daai van. Want toe se my pa, hy het by hulle, by sy pa gehoor, Oupa, Oupa grooitjie, my Oupa grootjie was n Primo. Nou as my Oupa grootjie n Primo was dan moes my pa ook ook n Primo is, die kinders moet ook nou Primo wees. Maar toe kry my Oupa, ek weet nie in watter lyn het hy gestaan nie, maar toe kry hy die van Beukes, en daar kom die Beukes vanne toe vandaan. Uit die bote uit.

W5: Hulle het gemaak met ons net wat hulle wil

W2: En my skoonpa, hulle was baie lugte mense…

W9: September is die maand se van wat die slawe gekry het. Ek het nie vir hom geken nie maar soos ek vertsaan was hy, hy was a tiepe swart man. So my neefs wat baie ouer as ek is, want ek is nou die tweede jongste van die jongste van sy kinders. In ander woorde, want toe ek gebore is, was hy alreeds oorlede want my ma, van my ma se kant af nou. En hy was swart. Hy was nie baie donker van kleur nie maar hy het die van September gehaad

W3: Hoe het hulle dan nou so verskilllende vanne gehaad ne. My Ouma was n Jantjies. My Ouma se ma was a Swarts. Ok, maar sy was nartuurlik a nooi Swarts, toe trou so nou toe is sy nou mos Jantjies. En my Oupa is a Skepers. Nou weet julle is mos rerig nie Skepers nie, is mos Skiepers. Is mos daai Duitse, daai soort mense (*motions with her hands like she is kneeding*). So daai is hoekom ons weet nie waarvandaan ons kom nie.

W2: Hulle het sommer vir die mense wat op die skepe gewerk het gese Skippers. Hulle het sommer al die mense gevat wat op die skepe gewerk het en gese Skippers.

W3: Ja maar my Oupa was nie SK nie, hy was Sch…Scheepers.

AK: En het die Ouma's of Ouma groetjies ooit gepraat oor die name en die vane en waarvandaan hulle kom?

W9: Hulle was baie sku om te praat. Hulle het nie baie gepraat nie.

W7: Maar wat ek onthou van ons familie, my pa was baie oor familie en so. As daar kinders gebore word, nou is dit a hele gestruiery amper want dit moet die familie naam wees. Ouma hulle, as Ouma se naam Johanna was, dan moet die eerste dogter, se maar aan die, albei kante is nou Ouma's wat lewe. Soos ek en my suster. My oudste suster het my Ouma op ma se kant se naam en ek het my Ouma op pa se kant se naam. So gan dit an. En as daar n seun gebore word en hulle het nie Oupa se naam, se van gegee nie, dan kry daai seun Oupa se naam. En se nou daar is miskien n Oompie wat Andries is, en daar word n kind gebore, dan so, so het hulle die name gegee van ons. Dit weet ek nou. So het dit lugter gekry dan gee hulle nie meer dieselfde name nie. Dan het hulle nou nie Gert gese nie, dan het Gert nou Gerhard geraak.

W11: Nou Ouma, Ouma, Katriena Fortuin, haar pa was Jan Van Schalkwyk. En Jan van Schalkwyk was n wit vrou se kind wat onder n tafel groot geraak het want die wit vrou. Darem het hulle gese, sy bynaam was Jan Pot want hy het onder die tafel gespeel met die potte. Maar haar ma was n wit vrou wat toe met n kleurling man getrou het en toe het sy kinders van die kleurling man en toe daar kom die Jantjiese toe nou weer in. My Ouma het my dit vertel. Dit was my groetjie Oupa.

Maar het ander mense nou, soos hierdie twee stories, julle is nou gelukkig om nou die waarheid te hoor maar, hoekom was die mense sku om te praat?

Everyone: Want hulle mag nie gepraat het nie.

W2: Jy mag nie gepraat het nie want jy gan mos tronk toe. Die boer het mos sommer jou van verkeert geskrywe.

W6: Soos ek het groot geword by die Ludicks ne. Hulle was Ludik en Ludoek en die van is Ludick (*she spells it*). Maar dit mag nie so gewees het nie.

W3: As jy n van het wat klink soos hulle van, dan gee hulle vir jou n ander van.

W2: Dan change hulle dit.

W3: Toe die Engelse nog in beheer gewees het, het hulle baie mooi die name geswrywe. My ma se naam was Catherina, nie met n K. Katarina.

W5: Ja, my Ouma se naam was Katarina. Ja toe die boere gekom het toe se hulle Katriena.

W2: Ma hulle het vir haar gese, Katrien. Dan het die boere gese Katrien. Aya Katrien.

W5: Daar was a kaaitjie ook wat gekom het van Katriena. So as jy Katriena was dan was jy sommer kaaitjie ook.

W3: En moenie praat van Anna nie. Anna is Antjie.

W4: Vytjie is mos amper soos n vy. Dan word vytjie sommer net so geskrywe. Hy is nou Sophia nie, hy is Vytjie.

W2: Hulle het onse mense gemors. Rerig. Hulle het onse mense gemors. Die veld kornet het daar gekom dan is die kinners al so groot. Toe sy moet pension kry to se hulle vir my Ouma kom toe se hulle, +- is sy 1913 gebore. Is nie seker sy is 1913 gebore nie. Op haar ID (*birth certificate*) se dit +- want hulle is nie seker nie.

W6: Want sy en haar suster was ook 1913 maar hulle is jare uitmekaar uit.

W3: Die tyd van die veld kornet ne…

W9: Hulle het daar gekom dan is die kinders klaar gebore dan speel die kinders al.

W3: Dan moet hulle wag tot die veld kornet kom dan het ek al vergeet jy is 7, want ons is hoeveel kinners nou al weer (gebore).

Nou die veld kornet kom mos vir name. My Ouma het die naam gehet, sys Lena Magdalena, dan het sy n suster gehad Lientjie, dan het sy n suster gehaad Sophia, dan het sy n suster gehaad, Vytjie, en hulle is almal net so agter mekaar.

W11: So die een was Kobus and die ander een Jakobus.

AK: Het hulle net ly geword of het hulle net nie getraak nie?

W2: Hulle het nie geworry nie want die mense het mos so rond getrek ook nog. Agter die vee an en agter die veld aan. So my Oupa was 10 jaar oud maar hulle kon mos nie gelees en geskryf het nie. So hulle kon nie die geboortes opgeskryf het op n papier of in n boek nie, want hulle kon nie gelees en geskryf het nie. Dan moet hulle nou wag vir die veld kornet dan moet hulle nou verduidelik waneer die kind nou gebore is. (*Everyone talks at the same time*). Hulle het nog die swart griep ook gehad daai jaar.

AK: Dan moet hulle ma net so gejudge het?

W2: Dan judge hulle die ouderdome of die datums.

W3: Dit is die waarheid, jy kan nie loop werk nie. My Ouma kan nie gelees en geskryf het nie. My Oupa kan nie gelees en geskryf het nie

W9: Meine ook nie.

W3: Hulle het nie geweet n A en n B uitmekaar uit nie.

W2: My Ouma het weer gese, mamma het drie maande skool gegaan.

W3: Ek was my ma en my pa se skrywer. Hulle kon nie skryf nie.

AK: OK, so hulle se hulle het nie skool toe gegan nie, maar watter kennis het hulle gedra van die veld of van…

W11: Bok drolle vir die maasels en watter pokkies, dat hy kan buitekant toe uitslaan. Want as hy binnekant to slaan dan word jy mos siek jy kan dood gaan.

W4: Jy kan dood gaan later van die maasels en die pokke, dan breek dit mos nou die koors. As jy nou die bok drolle drink.

W3: Ek het bok drolle gedrink.

W6: Ek het ook book drolle gedrink

(Everyone laughs)

W3: Ek het nie bok drolle gedrink nie, ek het warm wyn gedrink.

W5: Ek het bok drolle gedrink, vir koors.

W3: My pa het my warme wyn gedrink toe het ek nie weer gesuip nie.

AK: Nou hoe maak jy dit?

W5: Soos tee.

AK: Nou hoeveel bok drolle vat jy? Is dit 5?

W5: Nee jy vat a klomp (*motions a handful*).

W11: Dit smaak nie rerig snaaks nie.

W3: en 7 luise vir geelsig (*everyone talks at the same time*).

En toe kry my broer, my broer wat hier onner bly, toe kry my broer geelsig. Toe gee my Ouma vir hom 7 luise, ek sal nou nie se wiese luise was dit nie (*everyone laughs*). Dit was nie myne nie. Dan vat hulle nou die luise dan word dit in die brood gesit, dan word hy nou soos n rolletjie, die luise moet lewe. Dan word dit nou sulke goetjies gemaak, sulke brood rolletjies gemaak, en die luis is dan daarin, dat moet hy dit vat, sodat hy dit kan insluk.

W2: Wat jy nie weet nie kan jou nie skade doen nie.

W3: Toe hy gesond is, toe se ek vir hom, jy het kopluis geeet. En soos hy nou daar onder loop, hy het kop luis geeet.

W1: Hy is seker nou nog kwaad.

W3: Hy is seker net god dank bly dat hy gesond geword het want hy was baie siek.

AK: Maar waar het hulle daai kennis opgetel?

W4: In die veld.

AK: Nou daai veld kennis is mos wat hulle nou noem, as indigenous knowledge. Nou daai indigenous knowledge, dit het nie van nerens afgekom nie, dit kom van die mense wat in die veld gebly het.

W3: Ouma, Oupa, onse voorouers, so het hulle aangekom. Is baie interesant ne (*continues the story of the lice and that the brother was not supposed to know about it*.)

Is mos nou nie daai tyd van die hospitaal nie. As jy kind kry dan laat staan hulle een hier langs jou, en daai ene langs jou, nou moet jy trap. So waar as vet my mamma dan trap jy daai kind uit (*continues with the same story but all are talking*).

W4: Dan trek hulle dit af met jou krye, met jou als en alles . Dan sit jy dit in a potjie dan gooi jy dit deur n sif, en dan drink jy die dassie pis. Die dassie pis werk.

W5: Ek was eenkeer toe was ek so, toe kan ek nie opkom nie, toe vat ek n knippie, net so n klein bietjie, toe is ek skierts regop. Nadat ek dit gedrink het maar dit is swear.

W3: En daai bobejaan pis ook nog. Daai bobejaan pis moet jy asseblief in n lappie toe knoop, want hulle raak weg want hulle toor met hom, ja hulle se dit raak weg.

W4: Ja dit is waar. Want my tweede oudste se pa het vir my (*inaudible).* Toe gee hy vir my n bietjie bobejaan pis toe sit ek dit in my beursie. Julle sal my nie glo nie, hys weg tot hy vandag nog toe weg is.

W3: Ja jy moet hom toe knoop met n lappie.

W4: Ek weet nie hoe raak hy weg nie. Hulle se hy is skelm, hy loop terug daar vanwaar hy vandaan gekom het.

W7: Loop die bobejaan pis weg?

W3: Ja hulle se so.

W6: Ek weet iemand het vir my eendag gegee maar ek, ma ek het nie nog gevat van dit nie.

W3: Nou waar is hy nou?

W6: Nee ek het nie nog gevat nie. Ek het dit by hom gevat soos by medikasie, nie vir hou in die beurs vir iets nie.maar die dassie pis is ook weg wat ek daar gehad het is ook weg. So die bobejaan pis en die dassie pis is alles weg.

W3: Kyk nou vir COVID ne. Wat maak ons mense? Ons mense gan pluk wille als, wyn ryk, knoffel en gemmer en heuning. En jy raak gesond.

W10: Ek sit dassie pis ook daarby.

W9: January maand het ek hom opgedrink toe ek COVID kry.

AK: Kan ek gou n vraag vrae, waar kry julle dassie pis?

W9: Ek kry hom in die veld.

AK: So daai is net die ding. So al die kennis wat die grootouers, die groetjies gehaad het, is alles indigenous knowledge. En niemand het ooit gedink om dit op te skryf nie?

W9: Niemand het n boek gesryf daaroor.

(We talk about Rooibos and Buchu.)

AK: Weet julle wat n DNA toets is?

W: Om te bepaal waar jou voorgeslagste vandaan kom.

AK: En sal julle n DNA toets doen?

(The video ends no DNA tests are done however the participants were interested)

Appendix F Coloured Mentality

Location: Cape Town

Participant: One participants, SS from Coloured Mentality

Date: Thursday, 04 August 2022

Format: Face to face (audio recording)

(*I ask her how Coloured Mentality started*).

SS: I wanted to ground it in what is local, and what is *(inaudible*). And so I met the Indigenous Liberation Walkers. And then I was like, ok cool, this seems like a good place to find spiritual resonance that's procreated in my history and my body and where I am from.

AK: Where are you form if you don't mind me asking.

SS: I think that is also a different kind of conversation I am having now with myself because I have also got, I've got ancestors from the US. On my Granny's side, they were black missionaries that came back to South Africa to start the AME church. So that is why I am so big. It's that like slave blood. But then they came here, and I think they like settled in I think District Six, and then they became Coloured. So that is also you know, so I am busy looking at different elements of my ancestry itself now, I am breaking that down. But before it was kind of just broad, everything was broad. And then when we were doing the Indigenous Liberation Walk, or getting ready for it, just getting a lot of information before we walk. Our Khoe history, our Khoe, Khoe, Khoe, Khoe. And then we were like, where does Coloured sit? And Coloured became almost like a bad word to use but, uhm, in the spaces that we were occupying. So it was a bad word to use in like almost university political spaces were people into black consciousness stuff. It was a bad word to use in indigenous spaces, but it obviously was something that we always used. So it didn't make sense now to be told I can't use a word that I have always used. So because of that then we made Coloured Mentality as almost kind of understanding, locating ourselves before we went on the walk.

(*I ask her how was the walk*).

SS: The walk was fine, but we had clashes with everyone. We had clashes because we were city kids, and we had a certain level of hoity toitiness about us. And we had clashes because we were women and we were young and we had opinions and we had things to say and we didn't just accept. And then we had clashes because we are also a lesbian couple and Black

certain Rastafarian elements of Khoe and what is… and people coming they were just like, the Khoe's aren't gay. So, because there was almost like a lack of understanding and a will to bring everyone together, everyone came with their own things and then when people came with their own things those things didn't always blend. So those are some of the challenges that we had at that point.

(*We talk about slave ancestry*).

SS: It is not really included in the public discourse also. And when we made Coloured Mentality, we didn't include it in Coloured Mentality. When we were like, what is Coloured Mentality and we doing this indigenous liberation walk, what is Colouredness. You see in the steps we were taking, that big kind of slavery aspect of…we didn't focus at all on that in the series, which I think is a mistake.

AK: I don't think it is a mistake. The thing is, you only know what you know when you know it.

(*I ask how her family feels about the walk and the journey that they have started to unpack Colouredness*).

SS: I suppose I have hippy parents. My parents are definitely like bohemian. So, I had a lot of freedom to explore. So when I started exploring, they would be like, that is so good. But I am also a lesbian and when I came out it was also the same.

I suppose what is strange about me, what's difficult for them to engage with, my family, isn't necessarily typical kind of points of these are things that you must be, its more just like strange qualities that I poses.

(*I ask about her hair*).

SS: So, for my hair obviously that was a thing, but the dynamic was very different. So when my ma was like, Sarah your hair. You can't go out like that your hair look terrible! Then she is skelling me for my hair. Then I skel back then it is harties for her. So, it wasn't like a trauma point. It was just like a, ag my ma don't know better, and then she was like, ag Sarah, you not going to listen to me.

AK: So, when she said your hair was terrible, did you realise why she was saying that?

SS: Ja.

AK: Why?

SS: Because she grew up in a system where her hair needed to look a specific way. And if it didn't look that way then she was going to be ousted socially also. Like that's also jus, generationally our experiences are different.

(*I ask how they got all these prominent Coloured people to have all of these conversations on Coloured Mentality*)

SS: There was a production company that was making the documentary that we were going to do for the liberation walk. And then that production company is Suid Ooster. They gave us access to that so that is how we got in there with a lot of people.

(*I ask what society and they have learnt from Coloured Mentality*)

SS: I think Coloured Mentality definitely made a big ripple in the social consciousness. I think it made it also ok to say Coloured for a lot of young, coloured people for example, because we didn't know what to do when it came to conversation about blackness. So there was kind of an outsiderness and also an insiderness and what that and what that meant was just blurred territory that almost nobody had the courage to step into because there is just such a fear of being isolated. And so Coloured mentality held space for a conversation we didn't know that allowed us to make peace with ourselves. And then I suppose, it spoke differently to different types of people. And so wherever we found ourselves talking about it, we'd find ourselves in the conversation we would be in and that would be anything. We did a talk at the Nelson Mandela Foundation and we were just like attacked. It was like gwa, gwa, gwa, gwa.

AK: You were attacked? In what sense and how?

SS: Because it's a, Coloured people, if you claim you Coloured, Coloured heritage, you also claim a step higher in the hierarchy of blackness. So to kind of publicly speak about Colouredness, meant that, that kind of backlash we became the face of as well, specifically about Coloured racism, and what does being Coloured mean in relation to being racist. So that is a difficult aspect of it, and continue to be difficult.

AK: And it will continue.

SS: I think I have made peace now because of that manifesto. So that is also why we stopped with content for our site. So even though we had a platform where, we had like 40 000 followers, and we have people that want us to say things, things weren't clear. So it wasn't

just about putting out stuff. It was about, we started that because we went on a journey. And so when it came to a point of ok now you must give more, then we were like we can't give more because we don't know now how to deal with certain aspects of what we were coming up against. And…

The manifesto we made last year. So it's a fairly new document, almost placement of our ideas. And its actually the first draft of it. Because when I read through it, I know that we struggled to write it because it was like what do you do? But with a bit of space now, I think there are some edits we would make.

AK: But why do you think it was important to do that, to pen down that manifesto?

SS: It was important to me because I think it names and articulates the kind of, I think it responds to a broad range of attacks.

I think it can hold a lot of people. I think the way that we…because we don't speak about Colouredness, we don't speak about Blackness. We don't speak about race actually, although we do speak to a racliaised past and a racialised experience. We kind of create a broad group based on anyone who has suffered disposition, disinheritance or displacement. And then almost using those kind of like historical and cultural trauma points to be a (baseful) community beyond race. So that means like, for us it meant like, that that manifesto could hold with people that didn't identify as Coloured. But still identified with some of the learnings that we learnt as Coloured people. Because we sat in a place were Colouredness was almost ethereal, like what is it? So when you have an identity, like, what is this identity, it can be anything. This person thinks its this and this person thinks its that, but we all in it. So just using that as almost like a what Colouredness is and then going like, if this is something that Coloured people know inside of themselves that I am connected to this group of people that are all different. If that was a way to almost build upon a cultural identity where we could not conflict with people in the way that we come together.

(*I ask her about the fact of traveling overseas and how the term Coloured does not exist, how she navigates through that*).

SS: As me as an individual, I made content that exists, it gives people a contextualisation. So I just direct them to that content. I don't need to…

AK: Explain yourself.

SS: I don't need to deal with that, you know what I mean. Sometimes my daddy tells me that I am not like a normal Coloured person. I'm like a white person.

AK: What does that mean? What is a normal Coloured person?

SS: My daddy thinks that the world that I exist in is a white world just to be able to do the kind of work I do. He thinks that's not a Coloured life.

AK: What is a Coloured life?

SS: I think he definitely thinks like…

AK: That you have to sukkel.

SS: I think also I think the creativity that sits within I think is very alive in Coloured people, like that must almost go to waste.

AK: Because they Coloured?

SS: Because of the Coloured experience

(*I ask about the Nelson Mandela Foundation situation and ask of the age group that "attacked" them*).

SS: It was definitely the older generation because we were there as respondents to an indigenous activist from Australia. So we were like the starter course. So there's this conversation. Its first us, we were doing like a conversation and then this lady comes and like she is the main reason we there, but the conversation just becomes about our work and it starts off with the woman saying, my first question is for the two little girls. And literally Kelly and I are the only people in the room that go (gasps). The only people in the room that cannot believe that that was the way we were spoken to, and then we had to continue in that (brain) until eventually it stops and then we were like, enough now.

(*I talk about the fact that there was no mutual respect and how we do not need to live in the past but learn from it*).

SS: I think when I look at people who are younger than me, because I am not young anymore. So when we started Coloured mentality to were 20… 2017 it came out. We started working on it and all of that stuff in 2016, so we were 26, and now I am 31 so it's a different age bracket. And that was also just post Feesmustfall. So it was a very heightened political space

for people in my generation. So that is why there were a lot of almost minds around us and we had to be very careful about how we did everything. And then we also spoke to a…we spoke to everyday people and then very intellectual people. That was the line of, the types of groups that we were speaking to. But I think that like now, like Tik Tok or social media, kind of being Coloured and embracing Colouredness in like the smallest kind of just…

I saw that someone said on Tik Tok, the five best places to braai and then it all points to, these cultural places that he used to occupy as a child and then now continues to occupy. Like even, it like Tokai Forrest or like that vlei over there or whatever, but then he is using space to locate himself. And then also making relationships with people that are online that will also identify with those spaces because they have been there and that's in their cultural heritage right. So those are not things that go viral or people that are connecting with because it's almost like a very conscious conversation about what are we. But there are so many humour points where people are getting to enjoy what it means to be Coloured. Kind of quite freely, and that is not the same type of thing that we did. So we had to go like, the ground is tense here.

AK: It was a different time.

SS: It was actually not that long ago. So when I started seeing what people are doing on Tik Tok and thing like that, I was like, that's cool. That's free. That means you don't even need to think about it. That lekker, but you must still think about it.

(*I ask her how she will respond to people that say they are not Coloured they are Khoe*)

SS: Cool

(*I ask if people should be labled in a box or feel free to identify*)

SS: I think people should, and this is just my own opinion, and I don't take my opinion as the opinion that must win. This is just how I explain it for myself. I think there is a lot of meaning in knowing yourself. And to know yourself is also to know yourself in community.

Cause that is also important. It is not just about knowing yourself, its important to know what other people are experiencing. So in my thinking it has been like self-care in communities are geared towards structures that care. And then use our identities as like a starting point for that. And then however someone else identifies, they are doing internal introspection and they finding joy in it and they finding healing in it, and they finding relation to a world that gives

them sense and meaning, I am happy for them. Genuinely. There's nothing that someone could identify with that I would.

But in the same way I feel we must…its positive to have ways of relating that still unites us, even if we are identifying vastly differently. And so that is what we are trying to achieve in the manifesto.

AK: Because you will never get everyone neatly inside a box. (I talk about the video of Marlene Le Roux on the Facebook page. Marlene was saying you get born into a household and that is where your first sense of identity is. Then you go out into school like and society, and then that is where it gets different.

(*I ask about the indigenous liberation walk and if any of the other members identified as Coloured*).

SS: I don't think anyone else on that walk identified as Coloured. But they also were not like one group themselves. They were also people from different spaces. It was just that in that group almost the assumption of us was this one thing and then they look like a mass to us because we didn't know any of them.

I think sometimes when you are othered or when you are, you are also othering. So they became one group that were…instead of us seen these are the points of difference between you as well.

(*I mention that othered people also other and ask if the walk was a good or bad experience for her*).

SS: I am so confused.

AK: Why?

SS: I think I definitely am coming out of a naivety and its not nice. I don't know if I miss it because I was naïve and confident or arrogant, however you want to put it. So I got my foot stuck in a lot of places. And in one way, I think where I sit, I am like how do you measure a life. How do I measure my life. I have a range of interest in life encounters that are based purely on the fact that I have kind been quite naïve in my expectation that the world will cater to this desire to know who I am. And in that I have encountered…I have encountered the ways in which structural violence doesn't want me to do that, the way in which my identity is limiting and not because of who I am but because of the way I am perceived. And I think that

almost dichotomy is a tension that we exist within regardless of what we identify as. It's like, how do we exist in the world.

(*I ask what it matters to identify if society is going to label/classify you anyway*).

SS: I think you pointing to something that I don't deal with because I won't go into a community and say that I am a proud coloured woman.

AK: Why not?

SS: Because I first get to know them. Because I know that however I label myself to them will give them kind of… but there are ways in which they are going to understand me that I can't control already because of the way that speak and the way that I, you know, like I do things my own way, very intensely. That will define me more than…

And my identity shifts also. Sometimes I will identify as coloured, sometimes I won't.

(*I talk about the fact that identities are not static. We then talk about whether she would have felt comfortable to complete the survey*)

SS: You know I can use all these identity markers and I do. But some people think you shouldn't do that.

(*I go on to say that you can't tick all the boxes at the police or in hospital*).

SS: But that's bureaucracy. It's a legal and government system that doesn't allow us to be our full selves.

(*I ask her if she knows about the pencil test, which she did, and I asked her how she knew about it*.)

SS: We were thrust into these things. We were doing a lot of, ja I did a lot of talks about Colouredness. But talking about myself and talking about Coloured people broadly is different for me. And I know what an oddball I am. Because where I am at now in my identity experience is like, the way that it's been embodied is different. Its literally about like eye contact, like what is my experience when I look into people's eyes. How am I being experienced through the way that i…you know. I am just like what is the energy that I feel radiating from someone's body.

So I am like, almost like, until we remember and the so-called manifesto help me to close a specific episode of me coming to understand who I am. And when that thing is almost "closed", I am almost free, I am free of it then. So Coloured Mentality helped me understand, nobody can tell me I am not Coloured. And from the Nelson Mandela Foundation we joined this fellowship and that's when we started to work on things like anti-black racism between South Africa and the US. And so in that space, what Colouredness is understood as in what is a very tense fellowship to do with blackness. It also made me to understand that there are different points of trauma. And those trauma points start to become pillars that define our identities. And so when we have conflicting trauma points that are based on historical, you know, the various structural violence, institutional violence, social violence's that are all different forms of racism.

When I understand the positionality of myself, and I understand each person is in their own positionality, and these are the way in which, when I think of spatiality, I am almost just like a point on the map. And on that point on the map, all of those forces made that person like that and that's conflicting with me in this way, almost like a graph. Then I am just like, what is the language, what is the container that makes it easy for me and someone but also someone and someone else also, or maybe a group of people to become almost vulnerable at that trauma point and then be reinforced with a positive experience. Be reinformed with a spirit of community. Be reinforced with an experience of trust , not just a raw opening that doesn't find a balm.

And that then takes me as someone whose thinking about that to energy work, to eye contact work, to touch work. Those kinds of things. So that when I hold space, because I have been in so many situations where things went bad. So needing to find ways in which things can be done that will hold people, through the ways in which we were almost set up to fight.

So how do we get through that apartheid?

(*I ask her if she thinks it is more important for coloured women to have this conversation*)

SS: See I am the type of feminist that doesn't only work with women because I think men are lost, so lost.

Growing up my examples were strong women and men that were lost. Those were the households that I knew. And so almost the expectation for women to be super women was

there, you know. But also, that kind of healing stuff was for women, but then they must still deal with those men.

And just, there are so many kwaai women with no one to date. They couldn't find a man. All my mommy's friends were struggling to find men. There was just no men. Men are suffering in a different way. They were not treated the way they should treat women, which gives women a different, you know. And then you start accepting anything cause you lonely.

(I ask her if she goes out to speak to youth)

SS: Not really. Normally my pears. Peers has always been my …as I get older, I talk to people my age.

(I ask if she gives talks as it is important for people to hear what her thinking is).

SS: So we have done other kinds of projects. I don't know if you know what outset is, we went off the path.

Like a week ago we had an event which was a listening session. So then it was like an imagination space. So a lot of imagination work because, so internalised racism is like basically self-hatred, depending on which language you want to use. But that also, sometimes, just telling someone you are enough, isn't enough. Almost like that concept of like self-care is going to save us.

So what, with imagination work, what was very important for me was to learn about was how do we do those blockages, undo blockages.

(I ask her about the Until We Remember series).

SS: Until We Remember was a very traumatic experience. I had a lot of traumatic experiences. So Until We Remember also had a workshop which was on the time machine. And the time machine got about, I think it was about R2 million from the NAC to do a project. And then we were (snaps fingers) and then the NAC retracted on their contract. And that happened at the same time that I was living and caring for my granny because she was dying of cancer. So at the time that that site was being built, that was also happening.

So that's why its been not moving. So actually like right at the moment , I told you we did that strategy thing, so right at the moment we busy making a newer smaller version of the time machine just so that it is done and then getting into content again.

AK: So you do see yourselves going back?

SS: But I think differently. It's like a test in our freedom. I think what we are going to do is take each of those manifesto pieces.

(*I talk about the manifesto point three which states that: WE HOLD MULTIPLE IDENTITIES*

SS: We are free to be whoever we express ourselves as. We are in solidarity with everyone who has been forced into oppression, even where we experience difference. We understand ourselves in many ways, we respect each other and take accountability for the consequences of our behaviour towards people that we identify with or recognise as oppressed by unjust institutions and systems. We know the systems of injustice do not accept us. We do not force anyone to identify in a way that is reductive or that brings harm. We can be queercolouredblackindigenoussurrealistanarchist all at the same time, without these having to be placed in prescribed hierarchies, and with each part carrying equal weight. We have been historically defined and squashed into the narrow margins, dissected as only parts of who we are. It is our reclamation to demand that all of us are held, understood and seen.

(I say that if only it was that easy)

SS: But for who?

(The conversation continues where we talk about the museum work).

Appendix G Elvis Presslin

Participant: Elvis Preslin

Date: 28 August 2022

Location: Johannesburg

Method: Zoom

AK: Okay. So obviously the thesis is a bit more like my journey into myself as a colored. You have to go through different things in life. And I have interviewed almost 300 women now and about five or six men. And what I always tell them how it started is when I was in primary school and we had to learn about the bushman. Back in the 80s, the history books were not that great. Like a yellow skin person, high cheekbones and. The body structures in a certain way. I mean, I was a xxxxx bushman because of my hygiene bones, and for years I didn't like it. And I always used to ask, what do I wear for Heritage Day? Do I wear a kappi and like a voorskoort dingetjie or do I wear skins? Who am I? Then I got an opportunity to do my Masters. I have obviously been doing some research on cultural identity for a while. But I mean, whether you do book research or you live your life, it is research on your own identity and.

Then obviously got the opportunity. So I'm doing that. But also it kind of works in with what I do at the museum. So I am a curator, but I also work a lot with indigenous communities.

With regards to repatriation of cultural objects and also like human remains and things like that. So I'm involved in a lot of that kind of politics and obviously during my pre research situations, facebook is like the ultimate Facebook, all these social media situations is the ultimate way to find what people are talking about. And then obviously I joined a lot of groups but this one so I've interviewed also a few people on some of the groups. Last week I did an interview with a woman. She and her partner started the website called Colored Mentality. I don't know if you've heard of that.

EP: No, I haven't seen that one yet.

AK: Yeah, so they a group of young women that started this and it was very interesting to see the dynamic of how, I don't want to call them youth, but I mean, those who didn't really have to go through the whole politics of classification and apartheid, we know how they identify themselves now.

So yeah, that's enough of me. Is there anything more you'd like to know before I ask you a few questions.

EP: No, I think that sort of covers the data. I was really interested to know where the interest comes from and how you landed on the page and so on.

AK: I must also just say that is a little bit I want to say political, but I realized that a lot of people talk about identity politics, but, identity politics in the sense of people gaining some financial things now, especially with classifying themselves as indigenous. So now being involved kind of with different institutions kind of gets a bit tasty so some people have been very open and have been looking for a place to talk about it. They're not in the high profile because they say all the discussions happen at the level where the normal person doesn't get to be involved or have they say. So the age ranges that I've interviewed so far has been between the ages of 18 and almost 90.

EP: That's very broad.

AK: I know. Okay, so that's enough about me. So, tell me about yourself before I want to ask you just a few specific questions about the website and your involvement in this. So if you could maybe just tell me about yourself.

EP: I'm a jack of all trades, as they call it. I'm running a medium PR advertising company and then in my spare time I do radio and television broadcasting and a little bit of activism in relation to where I see myself within communities and, you know, working together with Dr. Linda Martin for many years.

I was assisting him in relation to getting spreading sort of messages that he wanted to get across, especially of those marginalized communities. And that was my part in driving how we got up to the Facebook page as well as to the box site, because I said to you, no, Leonard, you actually need to write a book to make it easier and accessible for all our people. Most easiest thing to do is to start off a Facebook page. And that Facebook page carry everything that's on your mind on a weekly basis. We could post a now I was thinking at first we started there's going to be one sort of letter a week or maybe a month, and that will sort of carry the messages through.

But lo and behold, Leonard has written over many years number of pieces, and this relates directly to his involvement within marginalized communities. And here we're talking about Coloured communities where he stems from. I've given you a sort of background of where I come from. Leonard's background is very interesting. I was very privileged to spend a lot of time with him, both in leisure and deep political discussions, as well as several radio television interviews. And up until today, it still remains even for some of our friends. And the communities where you work in Elderado Park, in Enadale and we're sprayed in enabling. People don't understand why you use such basic English language to debate and defunct certain issues related to race and color. It was because they didn't know the full knowledge of his exposure. Not just as a teacher. There's an international academic who received his doctorate in political studies in Denmark while he was living there for more than 20 years. Leonard fled this country at the age of 20 and never returned for it's actually more than 20 years.

I mean, he was there for almost 27 years. When he came back in 1993, this was almost like starting point for him again, because he left this country an activist and he came back an activist. He never faded, never left him. In fact, he was 15 years old when he was made politically conscious and had this basic political awareness of evils of apartheid, of racism, which was very endemic at the point in time. His political mentor was none other than icon, Donato Mitera.

There was a clip that I recorded with Leonard, and I'll probably have to send you that so you can get a sense in terms of how he met. It's very short. Just sketched a picture of his first encounter on how you met him as he was dropped off by the bus. And the school kids, they used to fight, you know, the boy used to fight with a buckle and a belt. They would mess around and Don would come up and say, you must stop it.

And then he would seduce them to come to his place. And have a look at the books that he had that first encounter with Dong and Leonard and eventually they become regulars with reading and listening and teaching. And then Leonard ended up at the YMCA in London East in 1973 where he already ended political trials in the High Court in Joburg and he was unquestioned by the security guard. So he came through all of this. He also then became BC orientated with the student movement, which organized the 1976 Soweto student demonstration.

In 1975, I think late 75, he was driven into exile because he lived for a while in Botswana before he fled to Zimbabwe, because in Zimbabwe the security police got hold of him and the

Botswana government wanted to put him back to South Africa, inflated to Zimbabwe. And after a couple of years then he fled to Denmark. B lived all this time and when he returned, he vowed to make a difference to the country, although he left the family behind in Denmark. Three children, wife. And he had also another relation in German in Germany with another child there, but evolved to them that he will come back to South Africa to follow through on what was started for the liberation struggle of South Africa. He landed here.

He was very assertive and confident as some people would know him in discussion and debate and wherever we interviewed him and he was but also some serious problems with the ANC. Even in exile he clashed with certain leaders. He was an irreconcilable markers. He was never problematic about it. Like the contrary directly criticized marks youth neglect for questions of race and color and culture since its inception. At that point, as a broadcaster, he educated me about race in the wide of global politics because FCC years in exile and travel and studies enabling to look far beyond South African politics and to grasp that omics intersection between race, other nationality and class which some of us sometimes miss about the huge inequalities which still exist in our society today.

So you know, when he settled when he settled first year he ventured into the corporate space. It didn't last long. He was with the Institute of Bankers for about two years. Fantastic folks at the CEO. But he wanted to transform that organization from internal and that lock led to a lot of conflict and didn't last long. Was out of there later then also joined up on bookwear I think because of what he believed in and he's yearning for marginalized communities that he sort of was pushed to the back banner and now he settled in rather in El Dorado Park where he continued his work. He became actively involved with at that point to ensure that the voice of the boy community become prominent on South African media landscape. We had a number of interviews. I wrote some of those pieces, he wrote a lot of those pieces and we distribute them on a weekly basis. And that's why we populated the Facebook page with it as well as the block site with it so people can have access to it. Over the years. If you looked at it, obviously you researched the Facebook page. You can see number of hits that get with one piece and less with the others.

Because sometimes the type of academic input into pieces become too much for our people as well. And then I have to water them down to a certain extent to make it more accessible for them. But these challenges for Leonard became top of mind and that's why he was also in the forefront of starting the first indigenous nation of South Africa. Their protest to confront the perceived racial tension at the high school in xxxxx where the media insisted at that point in

time that community was racist because they wanted to remove a black principal. You know, Lennon's explanation was that the community wanted to achieve, they wanted to ensure that classified public principals and teachers were not being marginalized. The contentious issues that were raised made the point that there needs to be equal representation of all races in the makeup of their schools in previously disadvantaged areas. He argued that the Koi and San is a distinct aboriginal people who survived update the colonization of our country and the assimilation of our identity. He fought hard to make that word and those words and those sort of identity crisis stand out amongst everything that he spoke about.

And that is why he got involved with a number of koi organizations and started a roundtable first here in Johannesburg and then later moved to Cape Town where these issues were discussed, where he tried in vain, unfortunately, bring most of the koi and sand communities together as one, because that was one issue. But he wanted to make sure that there is united voice. Unfortunate, he failed. He died in 2020, of course, which was sad for us because at that point in time we just launched the Don Material Legacy Foundation at that time. He was the chairperson at the time, but now he was hospitalized in December before the February launched the following year and he never got out of hospital. He died shortly after the launch, about the month or two after that. That brief was Leonard's life and what he achieved.

AK: Wow, it sounds a bit like you were reading a biography. Now, the dates, the precision and way and what they did was amazing.

EP: But I've listed some of these dates I've listed some of these dates and things that I can remember cause this will form part of a book at a later stage, everything that's written about it all together as one. And we also want to bring out the first book that he wrote, his thesis that he wrote many years ago that we also wanted back to the shelves in South Africa that made people understand elite know about Leonard's working and what he did.

AK: I just want to check, do you know, I don't know if it's an odd question, but what did he identify as? Yeah, okay, sorry, you can go.

EP: He identified as South Africa as Don would also say there is no race such as a colored race. It's a white race. As a black race, we are a human race.

So he identified as a South African, said, I'm a South African, don't come and put me in a box. Although he fought for the right, because he says there's one thing that we need to bear in mind, and that was that as long as the Koi people of the Koi, of the Koi koi do not understand

where they come from, their land was invaded by farm forces, it was taken away, was struck away from them. As long as they don't understand that, they will never find their own home because this is their home. But they were basically removed from their own land to their pariahs in their own country.

AK: Exactly. But then what would you then say to someone that says, but I am colored, I'm not Khoe.

EP: And you see, that was the distinction that he made, he says and that's why you would see most of his writings. You use Khoesan/ Coloured. The reason for that is and he noticed it from the early stages when we had this conversation with it. He says, there's many people he says, I can tell you now, you can go anywhere in this country and ask somebody that you identify as coloured, they will tell you their Coloured. And the reason for that is there. The lack of the historical concepts of what our people are all about. There is not enough literature that is available to our people for them to be taught, for them to be educated about where they come from. And that is the reason why you cannot probably strip off because then they would be against you and you cannot say they are discoloured because then the Khoe, the Purist will be against you. So take a central stance and say except all. But as long as we continue with this journey of educating our people, we will do that and make sure that they can at a later stage understand where they come from and where they need to go to.

AK: Because that is what I like about the fact that he did the Khoe San or coloured. You know, because I was interviewing a young girl and one of the survey questions, I actually send it to you is cause you're saying that you didn't want to be put in a box. But when we go to the police station or the hospital anywhere, or you're filling information about yourself, we have to take a box, unfortunately. And this girl, so I asked her if she wanted to follow in the survey and she ticked every single box and she said I am everything. I am koi, I am San, I am Coloured, I am black, I am everything all encompassing of all these boxes. And I thought that was very interesting because I hear what you're saying about how people need to be educated. But when you go to a place like Lavender Hill, for example, people are just like don't come tell me about this Khoesan business, that's not who I am. And sometimes I think that.

How do you get some message across to someone that is not reading academic literature or someone that's not like on Facebook and actually making an effort to try and find out these things? I don't want to say like leave them just to their own devices or do you have to like make an effort to go out and inform.

EP: See, this is one project that has not been finalized. It's one of the ideas that we are playing with a number of people to see and organizations to see how do we get that message from us. Yes, it's a tough call. It is something it is noteworthy that this type of call will not be easily accepted. But we need to take a stand some way or the other that we need to make sure that people can firstly just understand they can call themselves but they first need to understand where they come from. And one of the projects is that we what we want to do is to get children at school do introspection. Introspection not about themselves, but about their parents, their grandparents, their great grandparents. Take that step far back in terms of where do we actually stem from? Where do we actually come from? Once you have something like that, it's a simple thing to say, it's a very tough thing to do. But once kids start asking the question where am I from? Where are you from? Once they start as the parents, as a child and the parents start taking that journey and they start asking the questions to the various members of their families, we feel that that might be the starting point of people first understand where they come from.

Once they get that right, then that struggle to make sure that they understand it is more to their family and more to their lineage. And just being because just the name color or the word color itself is an issue. It was an issue for Leonard Martin and the first nation grouping because they want there was a carrier call by one of the roundtable discussions that the term “colored” must be removed at all cost. Because once you do that, then you can start working from the ground up and you need to start people where that label come from. You need to understand it's an historical perspective. It comes back from the conquest of the aboriginal people of India that saw the development of a power car system that is directly related to the construction of the Hindu car system. And that is what I learned from Leonard Martin. I must tell you that.

AK: The thing is could I agree with you that the label must be removed because it is a constructed label, you know, and it started as a colonial label and it was perpetuated and basically more enforced through apartheid. But if you remove that, what do you replace it?

EP: See, that is why all the coy is perhaps the next best thing. Where are the roots? Roots? Where are your roots from? And that is why that particular program that we to embark on isa idealistic program. I think it's a program that sort of ended dime a little bit for people to say no, I'm not discolored. If I think about who are these people that are connected in my family. If I look at that lineage that maybe here, here is a Koi, here there is a link to all these people that take you back to where you come from. People need to start. But I started that process, by

the way, when I did my thesis process of finding that link and I did that I drove through the entire Northern Cape and to find those families. And there was also a link to the Koi and san with my great grandmother. So you can find that link. If you start embarking on that journey, the long journey, you will probably find it somehow long road as you indicated. So clearly it's not easy. And when you replace the color with, those people will still feel that they are they've lost something.

AK: Exactly. It's a very sensitive situation because one, what you do when people don't want to let go of it, you need them because people are entitled to identify as what they want to. But also, when I interview the women, we sit there, we like a conversation in a circle and then we talk about the kom van daan, where you come from and do you know your mother, your father, your grandmother, their great grandmother? And then things about things that they learned and basically the indigenous knowledge systems just come up. I just put it into a category as an archaeologist. But then you also have and I do encourage people to do the research and to ask questions. But then you have the problems where, one, someone was given up for adoption. Two, I had a case now with this woman, just says, I don't know. My people don't talk, especially the older people they like burying the secrets.

Those are some of the issues that can arise. But it is the fact of asking the question, where do you come from? And that is what makes them think.

EP: So there was a long piece and I also sent you some, but you probably have some of the stuff there's. A long piece that he wrote about Coloured identity is denying Coloured people the knowledge of how rooted they are in the African continent, how rooted they are in Southern Africa. They are the direct descendants of the original aboriginal people of South Africa.

And he says and that is why it is a legitimate call it's long with you that the term color actually must be put in a proper context so people can hear it, see it, feel it and know that they have been disenfranchised by that word for that name, Coloured.

AK: It's putting the term into context that is amazing because people we are privileged in the sense that we have an opportunity to do research and to dig deeper into it. But not everybody has that opportunity. And that is why I like the fact that you were saying that you start with a youth with younger children because it's there. I mean, it starts obviously at home, but the minute you go out in the society, starting at school level, that is where your identities start forming because you start questioning what people say, what your family said, and then the

broader context of your teachers and things. So I absolutely love the fact that you are starting that young.

EP: It's a long term project because our hands are being cut off temporarily by the passing of Don to death. And right now we believe leasing or publishing some of his unpublished works. And that has set me back because we were looking at this particular project for the next five years. So two years from now we can start that project. But right now is essential that we do it right now. So the first book will come out, and then after this, five other books that we need to do. So it shows a little bit backwards. And we obviously need to capacitate because we haven't got any people. We only got any board members that do most of the work. So we need more people to go on board. And actually it takes on these projects forward. That particular project is something I look forward particularly to an extent where we can help people realize who they are.

AK: You've travelled to the Northern Cape. I just want to check with you now, obviously with your own thesis and stuff. How do you think a difference between the Northern Cape and Joburg?

EP: Difference between the people?

AK: Obviously talking about how people identify and politics of identity. How does it differ between Ya and.

EP: I'm from the Northern Cape. I grew up in the Northern Cape. And so my family, my friends, my grandmother is from Prieska, she was Maria Malina de Pair, married the Scotsman and from there the Preslin family started. The difference between Johannesburg and the Northern Cape, it's quite complex because in Johannesburg, a lot of people that's here there's some groupings which are pushing for the koi narrative and make people understand that. And they're very forceful. And that's why sometimes I think Leonard caution against that erection where people are forceful. No, you can't call yourself Coloured is very different from the Northern Cape. The Northern Cape is sort of more sort of flexible because people that you see around you almost identify with people that come from the deeper regions of the northern where the Khoe and San stems from. So there's more flexibility in Johannesburg, where Johannesburg is 80%, 70% would probably feel that they're more Coloured than anything else.

AK: No, definitely, because it's very interesting. I don't have much reference to Johannesburg, obviously, because my geographical area is the Western and the Northern Cape. But I was just interested in seeing how that dynamics work because, like, even in the Western cape, there's much more, I want to say, but not confusion, but there's much more of an aversion to being classified or identified as Coloured. Whereas if you move up into the Northern Cape, it kind of dissipates a bit. And when you go to far Northern Cape, then you have people saying I'm a bushman, ek is n Boesman. It was very interesting. But you say that the people classify more Coloured in Johannesburg.

EP: Definitely. And you need to go back to the basics to tell them just a little bit of history. And then they say, okay, but no, my family doesn't come. And I said, you're a little deeper and you're fine. Somehow or the other belongs somewhere else. In Johannesburg as well. There's a lot of people that say, Trein Springers. So there's a mixture of So-called colors here some you would find, and that's why you find some of the koi groups actually working within. They actually, you know, identify that there's more to us than just being colored. There are family members that are, you know, if you talk about the people from Limpopo, for instance, you find there's a lot of breeding there in terms of the whites, the other types within that particular region form the Coloured's. I mean, I believe there's a Coloured, well, a white uncle, actually, that's got a whole tribe. And I'm trying to remember, I think it was the base, because they come from Pesto, man. It's an entire city town. That was not a city a town. That was started by this old man. I think it was German and mixed up with one of the natives there.

And this entire tribe started from within there. This is the same with Kzeren, is a grouping there. Dance, similar thing happened there. I don't want to say race was created, but because of the history of who we are, we're we talk to people about it. But when you talk to people about the town of Coloureds.

AK: And you see, that's why it becomes very difficult for some people, because they say, okay, but now I am from German and African blood, so I'm not Coloured. That puts the spanner in the words.

EP: Nothing wrong. It's a very interesting topic, and I think I still wish I cannot. For the life of me, I can only try, but I cannot do what Leonard Martin did so well. And that is to basically put us in context in terms of what he wanted to compare pieces that he has written on the Facebook page as well as on the blog page.

AK: So will you continue with the page? I mean, seeing that both of them have now passed away, do you kind of feel like the battle has been passed on to you or to I don't know what will happen now?

EP: No, that's a good question. I think I'm being used as a vessel, and that vessel is just to convey still some of his writings are as present as it was yesterday. I go back sometimes when something happened in this country that reflects on marginalization, and I go back to some of the text now would repost some of those pieces because they convey what he wanted to convey in all of those texts are still so prevalent. It is right here with us. It doesn't get old as if he was such a visionary that he could see what was coming, he could write about, for instance, with the Eldorado Park story. So we're doing in some story telling project. That's another thing that we're doing, by the way, which is almost linked to what we are trying to do with being.

Appendix H Garies

Location: Garies

Participants: Eight (one more joined in the end)

Date: Thursday, 09 September 2021

Format: Video recording

(I start the discussion by asking them why all of them put Brown and if they feel they need to or if they feel they are).

W1: Ons kan mos nou maar eerlik wees en se die waarvandaan ons kom is n ander storie as dit kom by ons Bruin mense, ons word so baie (inaudible), as jy nou dink aan Saartjie Baartman, en jy gan nou verder dan sien jy binne in ons Bruin mense, is daar die Saartjie Baartman, en destyds, voor 1994, is ons mos sommer gese die hotnots. Ons is hotnots gese. En n hotnot het vir my so seer gemaak. Bruin, sal ek se, lat my belangrik voel, ek voel interresant waneer ek met mense kommunikeer, want ons het nou nie meer klomp name nie. Ons het baie klomp name as die bruin mense, het ons.

Hier sit Antie Bennie wat nou die oudste is van ons almal en sy is a geskiedenis mens, sy vertel haar storie baie mooi. Die kleur grense was vir my n verskriklike ding, ons was mos nou rerig in die tyd van apartheid. En jy het nie waarde gevoel want jy is nie so gebehandel nie. Byvoorbeeld, hier is n wit skool gewees. Toe ek moet hoerskool toe gan, net n kloof, Soutkloof het vir ons geskei, maar ek kon nie daar skoolgaan nie want ek het aan die kant gebly. En weet jy waarheen moes ons gaan, Weskaap toe. Ek het in Vredendal van standard sewe tot matriek gemaak. En jy het baie ervaringe gehad, maar daai tyd was n seer tyd gewees. Jy het gevoel jy is niks werd nie, jy is waardeloos. En na 1994 is daar baie geoters gedoen en gepraat oor ons herkoms en waarvanaf ons kom. En uiteindelik het n mens jou waardigheid besef, en jy was trots. Daarom kan ek se ek is a troste bruin mens want ek is trots. Want as ek nou gan kyk in onse geskiedenis, dan kom so n Antie Bennie uit, wat n bruin mens is, en sy kon haar matriek kon sy doen. En Antie Bennie toe is jy hoe oud?

W8: 71 jaar oud

W1: Sy het matriek by hierdie hoorskool gemaak. Net om vir ons en vir andere te wys, spesifiek uintlik, die ding hoekom sy dit gedoen het, om haar klein kinders te wys, jy kan so oud wees, dan kan jy nog altyd in die skool wees en jy kan n meesters graad kry.

So ek sal se, bruin het my nou gemaak dat ek my bors uitstoot, en ek ken my mense regte. So dit is goed dat julle vandag hier is. En dankie dat julle omgee vir waarvandaan en hoe. Want wie jy is is alles wat jy daarvan maak.

Onthou daar was deure in ons dorpe, daai sal ek nooit vergeet nie, only whites, non-whites.

AK: Was daar sulke deure gewees?

W1: Jy is mos van hierdie generasie. Vra daai generasie.

W8: Ja daar was twee deure. Nie blankes. Blankes. Alle besigheids plakke het gehad blanke en nie blanke. Selfs op die stasie.

W1: Ja ons het net derde klas gery op die trein. Daar was nie so iets soos tweed klas op die trein nie.

W8: Ons het mos nou nie geweet daar is n beter lewe nie. Ons het gedink dit is die lewe. En dan kry jy later in die jare, dit was nie lewe nie.

W1: Lat ek net n voorbeeld gee, ek en Maria, ons het gewerk by Marina Sands. Dan is dit nou middae dan kook ons daai dik brein by die slaghuis, dan is ons mos nou maar daar. Nou ek dink daai tyd het ek al geweet ek wil anders wees. Only whites. Non-whtes. Toe gan ek by only whites in. En ek gan in, en daai tyd is R5 nog baie werd, en daai wit vrou staan en kyk my so van n afstand af. En Tossie se vir my, kom hier uit, jy kan nie daarin gan nie. Toe se ek ek staan hier. Ek wil R5 se lewer wors he. Toe se daai wit vrou vir my ek moet omkom.

W2: Jy word nie gehelp nie.

W1: Nee, toe se ek vir haar, nee, my R5 het ek darem te lief. Ek kan nie omkom by jou nie, ek vat hom nou terug. So erg was dit gewees.

Maar n mens sien mos ook hoe met tyd die wit mens ook verander.

(*I ask if we know our worth now as 'Brown' people. If we are still third class citizens or if we are better off*)

W4: Ek sal nie se ons is beter af nie, vir my wat n neentiger is, voel ek net dat daar daar is sekere aspekte wat na 1994 verander het maar aan die ander kant is daar ook nie. Want ons bruin dorp mense word nog steeds afgedruk en veronderdruk, en veral in klein gemeenskpapies. In groter gemeenskapies is dit maar nou seker bietjie anders maar in kelin

gemmenskpies, word ons nog steeds geondedruk. Toe ons prober om iets te doen, dan is dit net twee drie volwassenes wat ons ondersteun. Maar aan die einde van die dag, dan is dit maar so. Hier sit ek, ek het n diploma in maatskalike werke. Ek het al in 2007 klaar studeer, nog nie werk gekry nie. Werk by die (inaudible) maar werk is mos n werk. En soms dan val ons, veral in ons klein gemeenskapies in al hierdie goeitjies soos kinders voor die huwelik. En dan het ons mos nou die kindertjies, en dan stagneer ons sommer. En daar is nie elke keer mense wat ons motiveer om te se maar, want kyk, ons het motiveering nodig. Maar daar is nie altyd mense wat vir ons lekker motiveer om daai boost te gee om te se maar jy is meer werd as dit. Moenie lat die verdrukkings wat hier is, nog altyd, vir jou onder kry nie.

AK: Ek is nou bly ek het gevra van die motiveering van die jeeg want, kan ek maar vra hoe oud is jy?

W4: 33.

AK: Maar nou soos u nou hier sit, hopelik na vandag sal jy daai inspirasie wees

W3: Hoekom ek bruin gekies het is omdat die bruin, jy kry sommige blankes, dat as jy in n winkel instap, of hulle is ook teenwoordig, dan skyf hulle half weg van jou af, vir jou kleer. Die blanke. Dan skyf hulle weg van jou af want jy is bruin. Of as jy aan hulle deure gan klop en vra miskien of daar nie n dag se werkie wat jy kan doen nie, net vir n loon vir n brooitjie op die taffeltjie nie, dan word die deur sommer n jou gesig toe geslaan, net oor die kleur van jou vel.

W9: Dit vind nog seker nie in Garies so plaas nie.

W3: Nie meer so erg hier in Garies nie maar ek het dit al oor gekom. Daarom kan ek vanoggend getuig daarvan.

W8: Maar dit het nie baie verander nie. Hulle hou vas an iets wat nie meer bestaan nie.

AK: Jy het nou gese bruin, maar bruin is jou vel kleur. Maak jou vel kleur vir jou wat jy binne is?

(All say no).

(I ask the older women what it said in their ID)

W8: Kaapse Kleurling.

AK: En na dit?

W8: Net Kleurling.

W2: Ek wil ook net iets se. Toe ek nou praat van by die slaghuis, sy het een keer vir my die storie vertel dat die dogtertjie by die slaghuis het eendag gese, Kleurling kind, kom speel by my.

(Sound cuts off)

AK: Ek wil net by julle hoor hoe voel julle oor die word kroes. Is dit n lelike word?

W2: Ek dink nie dit is a lelike word nie.

W8: By sommige mense was dit amper maar nou jy is by te min want jy het n kroes kop, want ons met die kroes kop, is trots, jy sal jou verbaas.

W2: Ons se mos eintlik daai gladde hare en daai kroes kop, by ons is dit is n algemene ding. Soos my ma sy is baie vervaarend soos ek, sy se altyd, ek is a trotse boesman meid, my pa is a boesman en ons het kroes koppe. Nou dit is dit. Ek dink nie dit is n lelike woord nie. Ons se net kyk jy met die gladde hare en ons met die kroes koppe.

W1: Die belangrikste ding wat ek wil se oor kroes, deesdae het almal n kroes kop by ons (*inaudible*) styl. Even die wit mense. Die antie het gese ons hoef nie meer lelike hare te he nie, jou hare is in die winkels. So dit het die mense gesien. Mense maak hulle hare kroes, want dus die in ding.

W2: Ja, die pryke, hulle het hierdie hairstyle het ek gesien by iemand, so n boskop soos n ponytail so bo op sy kop.

(Everyone talks at the same time about terug spring hare).

W8: Weet jy wat het ons gedoen om onse kroes koppe te verander, vra vir hulle, ons het dit almal gedoen. Ons het mos primusse deesdae, daai was onse vier maak, veral in die dorpe, buitekant was dit mos op die plasse die hout.

(*Everyone talks at the same time about the tang and the yster kam that was put on the primus stove)*

W8: Dan het ons die pragtagste krille gehad.

W2: Jy sit die yster kam op die stove dan syl jy dit so deer jou hare dan het jy mos nou nie meer n kroes kop nie. Soos die tang nou. So was dit gewees.

W1: Ek het dit gedoen op my susters.

W3: Hulle was jou hare, draai dit in, dan word dit nou geblow en getang, dan vat hulle nou die struik yster, dan word dit nou gestruik.

W2: Want jy wil daai lang hare he

W3: Ons wou blanke hare he. Want dit waai, dit is mos nou los.

AK: Betekin dit dat ons meer soos hulle wou gelyk het. So as ons dink daai hare is mooi, wat het ons dan van ons eie hare gedink?

W1: Mamma en alles so, kyk hoe lyk jou hare, dan vat jy maar nou die straigtner.

W2: Miskien wou ons nou net meer inpas by hulle.

W1: Seker het ons gedink as ons so lyk sal ons meer aanvaarbaar wees.

W2: Meer ingepas het met hulle.

W5: Maar as jy nou in die reen geloop het dan is dit back to square one.

(*Everyone talks at the same time about the warm kam and Vaseline and ironing their hair)*

W2: Kyk voor die relaxer was dit mos nou gewees kempura, sheen straight en Wella straight.

W5: Maar dit het meer skade aan jou hare gedoen.

(*Everyone talks at the same time about the fact that it gave scabs and it smelt and that you could not go swim)*.

W2: En kyk die probleem is die, die swart mense van vandag, hulle wil ook gladde hare he. Hoekom ek so se, elke tweede swart vrou op televisie het lang hare, al is dit nou die pryk of die wat. Dit is maar seker die ydelheid van vrou wees om lang hare te he. Want hulle se mos nou hair is your beauty.

Ons is te ydel, n vrou is n ydel mens. Jy wil goed voel, jy wil goed lyk en jou hare moet in orde wees.

(*We talk about growing up and the ou mens raaidtjies*)

W1: Jantjie berends ja, die mense kom van ver af vir dit.

(Talks about a pink pill you had to drink when you had your period.)

W1: En as jy swanger is mag jy nie kort goeitjies aantrek nie en jou voete moet toe wees.

(Sound is quite bad with the echo and everyone talks at the same time).

W2: En ons mense het geglo, as jy klaar gekraam het, vir tien dae is jy n kooi vrou wees. Jy mag nie an mense vat nie, jy moet nie gevat word nie, jy moet le.

W1: Vir n maand mag jy nie jou hare was nie.

W2: En daai was die ergste gewees.

(Inaudible. Everyone talks at the same time)

When I ask about the DNA test, W7 says

W7: Jy kan die op my doen wat niks gese het nie.

W5: Ek wil Khoe wees.

(*W1 talks about the political issue in Garies and the youth that don't have hope).*

W1: Nou almal ken vir X. Sy het by X gewerk. Sy was a supervisor. En toe het hulle nou n ding waar hulle vir Saartjie Baartman nou moet uitbeeld. En die een wat die naaste aan Saartjie Baartman lyk, kry nou iets. En Cathleen was Saartjie Baartman. Soos Saartjie Baartman lyk. Ja, en dan so moet jy staan (she stands up to show how she had to be portrayed). Nou ons is so gebou. Ons het groot borste. Ons is baie ryk en so agter.

W2: Die erf porsies is groot.

W1: En dit was R20 000 se goed wat sy by die X gekry het omdat sy gelyk het soos Saarjie Baartman.

AK: So u het nou gese sy het die prys gewen omdat sy soos Saartjie Baartman gelyk het.

W1: Ja. Saartjie Baartman het groot borste gehad en groot sterre gehad. Daai hobbel sterre.

W8: Weet julle hoe ontsteld en teleurgesteld het ek gevoel, Saartjie Baartman was in onse standard 3 of 4 boeke, met die groot lyf en die goed. En vir ons was dit n verskriklike, kan die vrou so lyk. En ons as kinders het gelag vir haar. Weet jy hoe verneederd het ek gevoel toe hulle vir haar op die plein gevat het Engeland toe, hulle het haar mos uitgebeeld daar

W2: Slawerny

W8: Toe voel ek maar nee, dit is n Suid Afrikaner, dit is my mense. En sy is nou uit Suid Afrika uitgevat om amper I grap te wees. Ek het so seer gevoel daai dag.

W5: Daai is net die ding. Bruin was nie gesien as iemand in die gemeenskap nie, sommmer onsmenslik.

W8: Maar ek was so bly toe hulle vir haar terug gebring het.

W9: Ek is n trotse Suid Afrikaanse bruin vrou en Saartjie Baartman is verlig. Sy het terug gekom toe dinge verander word en sy is nou n vrou om van trots te wees.

In n tyd soos hierdie, is ek n trotse bruin vrou. Ek het so n spreekwoord in my huis, " Dit wat andere van my se het niks met my te doen nie. Daai tyd van Saartjie Baartman hulle, daai tyd was nou net nie mooi nie. Maar ek wil net se dat ek as bruin vrou kan hier uitstaan in hierdie dorp en n mens hoef nie meer terug te staan nie. Ek kom baie by wit mense en hulle is amper kleineerd nou. Ons moet net ons man staan as n Suid Afrikaanse bruin vrou, hier in die dorp waar ek bly, en my lewe leef as n Suid Afrikaanse bruin vrou. Want jy het alles ontvang, in 1994 deer die Here se gendae, van n groot man, n swart man sal ek nou se, Mandela, het ons almal kom vereenig. En darem toe ek so maak (*shows her thumb for when she voted for the first time*), het ek as a bruin vrou in Suid Afrika, en van Garies.

W1: Saartjie Baartman is mos nou verkoop.

W9: Sy was eintlik n bespoting gewees.

W1: Maar sy is terug gebring.

W5: In my pa se familie was dit ook so gewees, onthou, ons kan ook nie so diep ingegaan het in hulle se geskiedenis nie. En dit is eintlik jammer dat hulle nie openlik met jou was nie dat jy jou herkoms beter kon verstaan. Maar soos daai vroutjie wat nou hier was, I'm black, she's white and that is my blood sister.

W9: Ek is n Toontjies, en die Toontjies kom van PE af. Hulle het met die trek arbeid hier gekom in Namakwaland. En hy was mos nou n Khoe want kyk die Khoe mense het mos nou in PE gebly. En hy was n Toontjies. Darem is ek so trots op my van Toontjies. Ek is trots en wil nie my van verander nie, maar die klein kind wil nie n Toointjies wees nie. Maar ek is a Toontjies, ek is n Khoe. My Oupa het getrou met my Ouma was wit toe trou hy met haar. Darem lyk ons betjie so lig van kleur en dan is die ander donker. So ek is a n trots Khoe van Qebega. My Oupa Dawid, hulle was vlugtelinge uit St Helena baai. Hulle was donker met wit straight hare, en toe het hulle hier kom bly in Namakwaland en Port Nolloth. Hulle het sulke spier wit hare. Hierdie ene sal ook nog. dit is my trots Khoe, Suid Afrikaanse tradisie.

W4: Wat ek sien in die term Kleurling, want almal vra is ek Khoe, is ek die is ek wat ook al, omdat (*she shows her hair).* Maar ons is n bietjie van alles end it maak ons uniek. Dit se vir on sons id daai energie bron want ons het n bietjie van die en daai, end it maak uintlik van ons die sterkste mense, of die sterkste kultuur as ons uintlik diep inkyk in die kultuur.

W1: Ons moet nou net opstaan.

W4: Ons is eintlik die ysters. Ons het bietjie van alles, van al die culture. So hulle kan rerig nie vir ons *(inaudible*), on sweet daai.

W8: Ek kan onthou die geskiedenis boek se mos, toe Jan van Riebeek kom, toe ontmoet hy vir Herrie die Strandloper op Blouberg Strand. En Herrie was, in standard vier, vyf, ses, nee hy was nou nie staderd ag nie. Maar in elkgeval, Herrie het gelyk soos my hand, hy was nie swart nie. Hy het so gelyk (holds up the palms of her hands) soos ek hom gekyk het, het hy so gelyk. Nou weet ek nie of dit die Khoe was of dit die San was, in elkgeval.

W9: Hulle was die San.

W8: Maar hulle het vir hulle hier gekom kry. Dit is soos sy se, ons is n bietjie van alles.

W1: Hulle het in elkgeval vir ons gese ons is gemeng.

W8: Ja, daar was so n ID boek, gemeng. Ek weet nou net nie waar meine is nie anners sal ek dit loop haal het. Onse identiteit.

W1: Soos mamma en pappa ne, die dag toe hulle getrou het, hulle se datums en goed wat daarin is, toe is pappa aangespreek as die jonke man, daar het nie gestaan van pappa se kleur nie en mamma as die jonke vrou. Hulle het mos hier getrou in Garies, toe bly ons in Honeke Baai. En mamma het die lang gladde hare, en pappa was n kort mannetjie soos ek, so my

kleur gehad. Ma my oom het vir my vertel, mamma hulle se oorsprong was Namibia. En toe is hulle van, daai van van mamma was op die trou sertifikaat Southern. Hulle was Southern gewees toe hulle van Namibia afkom. Toe hulle hier in Suid Afrika kom, toe moet hulle Soudens (not sure of spelling) wees. Want Southern is nou te grand gewees.

(*She talks further about how her aunty never used to talk about sex and how children came about, pre-marital sex and the fact that children were not supposed to ask questions, and how secretive they were about their history*).

W1: Alby haar dogters het kinners van Xhosas gekry toe se sy my kind, die here se alle nasies moet die here dien want nou is my dogters darem diep in die nasies.

(*I ask to hear from the one woman who never spoke for the entire session).*

W7: Ek het nou baie goed gehoor wat my lat wonder. Ek was van daardie kinders, ek was die oudste, jy mag nie enigiets buite jou perke gevra het nie. En ek het nou nie daaran geding om te vra nie. Ons was nou maar agter af, plasse en so an. Jy het toe nie geweet wat jy kan vra nie, wat jy geregtig is om te vra nie. En as jy nou iets gevra het, is jy nou net stil gemaak en jy is nie beantwoord nie. Met die gevolg weet ek nou glad niks nie van my herkoms nie.

Daar is niemand meer om te vra nie.

W5: (*first part inaudible*) toe ek nou dink om die familie te vra die van die agtergrond. Maar toe ek my ID moet maak, toe kom hy uit op Kleurling. En ek het gewonder nou hoekom Kleurling en maar daar stil gestaan. En later het hy toe nou verander na Suid Afrikaanse Burger. En ek was baie trots gewees want ek is n Suid Afrikaanse Burger, ek is mos nou nie meer Bruin of Kleurling of Kaapse Kleurling. Dit is so, jy is baie gegooi met klippe, hotnot, swart, bruin, bruin meid, 'K' word, maar ek het altyd my verdedig. Ek het gese ek kan n hotnot wees, maar ek as n hotnots meid is trots op wie ek is. Ek is trots. Want dan se ek, waar jy gaan, gaan ek ook.

Maar al wat ek wil se is, ons het in n moeilike tyd groot geword. Ons het nie vooregte gehad wat ons nou kry nie, want daai vooregte is van ons wegehou. En onse ouers (inaudible). Ek het met die jare, het my pa vir ons vertel, onse vanne is van Biesies. Maar soos hy vir ons vertel het, het hy gese, hy het op n ou boer se plaas het hy gewerk en sy ouers se van was De Wet. Maar toe se die boer moet van Biesies wees. Toe vra ons dan jou, hoekom het julle dit toegelaat, toe se hulle maar hulle het nie n keuse gehad nie.

W2: Die baas het gepraat.

W6: En hulle was bang as hulle nie die van vat nie was hulle van die plaas afgesit. En toe het ons die van gekry. De Wet is so n mooi van.

So dit was baie moielik vir ons gewees. En met die jare, na 1994, het goeters so bietjie klein verander en het ons nou so pad se kant to gekom. En toe het ons mos ook nou besef, ek se my se, dit is my reg, en niemand sal vir my so of so kom se nie as ek weet maar dit is nie reg nie. So ons moet net vir die Here dankie se dat daar seker deure oopgegaan het. Daar is nou plekke wat dit nog nie in plek is nie, baie goed. Maar ons leef die goed dood. Jou mense regte, ons leef hulle dood.

Boer se mos hy maak n plan maar die Kleurling, die suid afrikaanse burger, hulle veg

W5: Ons het n plan.

W6: Maar ons veg dit op n regte manier, nie met geweld en opstand nie. Ons veg dit op n baie mooi manier, in vrede.

Appendix I Kalahari 1

Location: Andriesvale (Kalahari)

Participants: One

Date: Friday, 03 September 2021

Format: Video recording

AK: Ek wil net vra, ek wil nou nie die woord klassifiseer se nie maar, hoe het hulle vir mevrou swarts gese. Was julle Kleurling gewees, was julle bruin gewees?

KS: Die mense het gese Namas, ja die Namas. Hulle se mos nou daai bruin vrou en daai bruin kind. En toe later toe is die goed nou genanas (influenced) is van die ooste, toe hoor ek van die bruin mense, die Namas.

AK: Maar hoe voel Ousie Swarts binne, is u n bruin mens of wat is u dan? Hoe voel u? As u self kon besluit of hoe voel u self van binne af?

KS: Om vir jou die waarheid te se, jy het my nou baie vasgevra, maar dit is wonderlik, my kop moet reg kom. Kyk as n mens hoor daai bruin vrou, daai Nama vrou. Een ding wat ek moet vir jou se, wat ek baie trots op is, is om vir my te se Nama, se vir my ek is n Nama, n Suidwes Nama. Dourie mooi jare wat die luine oop gewees het, het ek daar gekom. Ek was nie daar gebore nie maar ek het oor en weer gegan, gehardloop tot binne in Windhoek. Ek het n meisiekind wat in Kaktora gebore is. Maar alles is geidentifiserr, alles is reg gemaak.

Maar baba, ek hoor waar kom jy. Wat vir my die mooiste is, Boesman. Ek hou daarvan. Ouma se nie vir jou sleg nie. Ek hou van hierdie ding (*points to head*) en hierdie ding is reg (*points to heart*).

AK: So hoe voel ousie swarts oor die word Boesman, of Khoe of San.

KS: Eida, is ek, is n Boesman. Ek wil San he tot die dag wat hulle vir my kom (Nama word) bury. Nee my kind, nou vra jy my n ding. n Khoesan ken Ouma Katriena nie. Ousie ken nie die Khoesan nie. Lat ek liewerste vir hulle aflos. Maar die eerste ding wat ek hoor met hierdie

twee (*Nama word for ears*) van my, is Boesman. Die woord van die Here se n klein klompie volk sal van die Noorde kom en hulle sal die land regeer.

AK: So ousie dink dit is a mooi woord.

KS: Ja is a mooi woord. Party se dit is n skel word. Ek se daar word nie geskel nie.

(*I ask how they were taught as girls and boys*).

KS: Die een ding van Ouma wat ek onthou, as jy verby jou broer soos hy in die skerm sit, dan moet jy jou rokkie so bymekaar hou. En onder die skaap kombers, soos daai mat, kyk onder is hy mat, bo is hy hare, ons het onder hulle gele.

(*She talks about giving a girl a hiding the previous day for sleeping with a man because she is only 15 years old).*

The girls put buchu under their armpits. They ate silver fish (think it is pilchards).

Die tafels was die drie doring.

(I ask what she remembers as a girl growing up).

KS: Ons het gewerk soos slawe, soos slawe gewerk maar die is alles uit liefde uit. Jy mag nie vuil wees nie. Daar mag nie goed op die vlak le nie. Daai tyd het ons nie jaarts gehad nie, vandag het ons jaarts. Die rand klip was baie netjies gepak. Onse vader in die more en Onse vader in die aand. En as jy na die boer nooi toe gan, as jy nie die wit vrou toe gan…op n Maandag more dan word ek gestuur. My huis naam is hond. Ek wou nog vir my ma vra hoekom se sy vir my hond maar dan mag ons nie vra nie. Hond, gan vra by ou nooi Brink vir my bietjie boer seep. En as sy vir jou boer seep bring, as sy het, sy was n lang skraal vrou gewees, dan moet jy jou hand so hou (palms together and facing up), en dan se jy more ou nooi, en as jy klaar gese het more ou nooi dan vra jy die seep, en jy vra asseblief. En as sy uitkom dan moet jy jou hande so hou.

Dan kom mevrou Brink uit, more more meidjie, more ou nooi. Is jy gestuur? Ja ou nooi. My ma het vir boer seep gevra, sy wil asseblief wasgoed was. Ja nou staan net hierso. Dan gee sy dit, Dankie ou nooi. Opvoeding.

As iemand by jou kom, jy moet mooi kyk. As hy slaapplek vra dan gee jy hom slaapplek. As hy dors is dan gee jy vir hom water. Hy sal nie eers vir coffee en tee vra nie. Of n kos bring of brood. Ma se dit moet jy onthou.

(*She talks about the people that have come to stay at her house already, murderers and drug smugglers, that she did not even know, then she lets them sleep at ther house and sends them away with prayer.*

Her mother also told her when she noticed that the boys started looking at her, that when she takes a husband, she must not leave him. She also learnt needlework from her mother.

I ask her how she was classified on her identity document).

KS: My kind, ek dink hulle het seker gese Kleurling, hulle het. En Ouma vind nou, hoe ouer Ouma word, wat n Kleurling is. n Kleurling is a (Nama Word)

AK: Wat is dit?

KS: Die lang hare. Kaapse Kleurling, ons het so gese. Is waar. Dan kom ek terug na dit toe, onthou julle moet vir julle ID's maak, en onthou julle is die Kaapse Kleurling, daar kom dit nou by my terug.

AK: Maar toe hulle vir Ousie Swarts moet n kleulrling wees, het u gevoel soos n Kleurling?

KS: Nee my kind ek het tog geweet dit is nie waar nie. Dit is nie die waarheid nie. Nie in die ou dae, ek hoor net die Kaapse Kleurling, Kaapse Kleurling, toe sien ek dit is die lang haar mense.

AK: So hulle het maar net gese daar binne het u geweet wie u is.

KS: Ja amen, binne het ek geweet wie ek is.

AK: En ek sien die jong span drae nie meer rerig doek nie.

KS: Nee dit is meestal kaal kop. Dit is hoekom ek so trots is op hierdie enetjie. Is my baba dogter. Sy bly nog soos ek vir haar geleer het. Sy bly nog met die doek op die kop.

AK: Hoekom moet sy n doek op haar kop dra?

KS: Dit beskerm jou gesintheid, hoe dat jy optree, hoe jou hart is en dit beskerm jou hare ook. Hulle wil dit nie glo nie maar dit besekerm jou hare ook. As jy klaar tog jou hare gewas het, of jy draai jou hare in. Het sussie al daai ding gesien dat, as die mense klaar hulle hare gewas het, ek het dit in die koop ook al gesien, dan sit die mense dit an as a beskerming. En dit is so vroulik as a mens kan, dit is mooi.

(*She talks about Maria in the bible that also wore a scarf .The girls also wear their hair in braids and about the food they used to eat from the veld*).

AK: Ek wil nog net een ding vra. Hoe voel Ouma oor die woord kroes? Ken Ouma daai word.

KS: Ja my kind \tona kop (Nama word). Dan se die mense , ja ag wat, hyt kroes hare. Party het gese die Nama en die boesman het ghohm hare, dus nou die kroes hare. Ghohm is mos nou, as jy kom by die bos en die bos is ghohm gegroie, hy is dik gegroei. So dit is die dik hare, dik hare en kroes.

Maar lat Ouma vir jou dit se, jy voel sleg daaroor, maar wat kan jy daaroor doen. As jy kroes is is jy kroes. Maar weet jy wat sien Ouma nou in die agter se tyd, die kroes hare maak die ding. Die kroes hare maak die ding want daai hare is so mooi as hy gebewerk word.

Ja so ek het baie sleg gevoel. Waar het ek die ander dag n gesrek gevore die ander dag toe se hulle ook hy het kroe hare. Maar weet jy een ding, lat Ouma vir jou een ding se, daarom het god jou gestuur Hierna toe, oums is tog te life vir om met jong mense, soos hierdie spoor, te gesels, net nie kerel kinners nie, meisie kinners, om hulle net n idee te gee. Ouma is baie lief daarvoor. Maar nou kom ek weer terug na die kroes haar toe. Hierdie hare wat ingevleg is is mos kroes hare. En party se hy is gebrand maar niemand weet nie, ek weet nie hy is gebrand nie, maar hy is vir my die moiste. Is dit ook hullle die?

(She asks about my braids)

AS: Maar jy is so pragtag an. As jy volgende keer kom moet jy lat hy so (*nama word for thick*) sit, as hy nou lekker gegroei is, lat Ouma net kan sien. Jy kan ook nie vir my sit en wag om, as jy dalk hier kom dan kry jy die tyding.

Nee die kroes hare dit is pragtag.

Praat van die blankes, onthou as hulle as hulle gebore is, hulle se kinners gebore is, dan moet daai hare so (rubs on her face), daai se hare, maar dan later draai hulle ook na die kroes toe, hulle soek ook die kroes hare. Daarom skeer baie…ek het nou die dag oor die radio gehoor,

guster het n blanke vrou gepraat en gese, ja iemand wil vir haar dood gemaak het toe weet ek nie hoe het sy haar hare gemaak nie. Toe sit sy n wig op, n pruik.

Nee die kroes hare is nie n problem nie.

Appendix J Keimoes

Location: Keimoes

Participants: Ten

Date: Monday, 06 September 2021

Format: video recording

(The first part of the interview did not record)

AK: Ok, so daar is vuil basters. Is daar, kyk mense dan vir jou an as jy kroes is of as jy vuil is

W4: As jy swakker hare het dan sal hulle nie so worry oor daai.

(Everyone talks at the same time).

AK: Ek wil net vra oor daai potlood toets, of met die pan. Is dit op kinders gedoen?

W1: Op kinders was dit gedoen. Dit was hier in die 70/80 jare. Hulle het die potlood toets gedoen by daai twee skole in Upington. En dan vra hulle wat het jy guster geeet. As jy se rys dan gan jy na die een skool, as jy se pap, dan gan jy na die ander skool

W8: Daai was in die apartheids jare.

W4: Ja, daai was in die apartheids jare was diskriminasie onder bruin mense.

AK: So a groot mens het dit op n kind gedoen? n Bruin mens op n bruin kind? En hulle het gedink is fine?

W4: Ons het net anvaar is die een skool of die ander skool.

W8: Die ouers het seker sleg gevoel.

W9: Die ouers het seer gevoel want is hulle se kinders. As iemand n ding aan jou kind doen, jy is onmiddelik seer maar dit was die apartheids jare. Jy het nie se gehad nie.

W4: Hulle het aanvaar die wit mense behandel jou so , dit maak jou nou net seer as jou eie mense jou so behandel.

W8: Dit is nou demokraties, daai tyd moes jy dit aanvaar soos dit is.

(*Talks about the ballet school where the straight-haired girls were allowed to dance or be in the front and the ones who did not have straight hair, had to stand at the back or wear costumes*).

W9: As jy gewerk het op die plaas, het hulle ook die potlood toets gedoen. As jy nie hare gehad het nie dan moet jy agter in die bakkie klim, jy mag nie voor by die boer sit nie. Dit is n veit daai. Nog gebeur dit hier by ons.

W2: Die boer se hond kan liewer voor sit.

W9: Of hy se gan sit by die hond daar agter. En dit gebeur nog steeds hier.

AK: Ons het dit gesien. Daar is klomp plek voor en die mense sit agter.

W4: My man het altyd n storie vertel van die hond wat voor by die boer gesit het en toe maak die boer n ongeluk. En toe die polisie nou daar kom toe sit die, se maar hotnot, soos hulle vir ons mense gese het, sit toe agter. En toe die polisie vir die hotnot vra, te se hy, var vir die hond, hy het voor gesit.

AK: Die hond kry mos n beter lewe.

W4: Hy moet sommer staan, by die hof sommer

(*We move on to the DNA test and I explain the situation to them and ask them what they think the results would be).*

W1: Ouma het gese wie ek is met koppetjie en alles

W2: Tswana

W4: My dogter het die toets gedoen en toe kom sy daar by die huis an en sy se, mammie ek is 80% Griekwa. Sy was amper bietjie teleurgesteld. Ek weet nie hoekom nie. Sy was teleurgsteld. En toe gesles ek bietjie met haar en ek se vir haar my ma is van Danielskuil oorsponklik en die agtergrond is daar is meer Tswana mense wat daar bly en goete. En die pa is van die kant. Want sy was seker net n bietjie van, sy was n model in provinsiaal en dan was sy nationals model skool. En soos hulle opgegroie het was daar seker soort van n stiegma as jy nou nie n baster, baster of uit n ander groepering kom nie.

(*In the end no-one wanted to do a DNA test and I said it was fine not to do the test because it does not make you who you are and everyone nodded their heads with sounds of approval)*..

W4: Ons bepaal nie net Korras op jou voorkoms of jou hare se lykings nie, jou gedrag is, dan se ons moenie met jou kora maniera hier kom nie. Swak gedrag. Kora word geasosieer met alles wat swak en sleg is. Dit kan n Baster ook wees dan se ons jyt kora manière. En niemand neem aanstoot oor die word kora nie. (inaudible)

So selfs in die kerk van ons, hierdie mooi kerk, aan daai kant kan net die hoof basters sit, nie net jou gewone batsers nie. Want onder die basters wat hierdie kant bly het hulle ook klasse. Dit is nou die wat dink hulle is nou n trappie hoer is, hulle sit aan daai kant. En die gepeper sit maar hier

W9: My ma het hulle genome die high buks. Die high buks sit aan daai kant van die kerk en on sanders sit hierdie kant

W4: Nog klasse in die kerk.

In onse geweste, soos die mense nou se, verlede jaar, sy was die enigste in daai drie hoek in haar fakulteid en toe kry sy haar graad. Dan se die mense nog die koras. Jy is langs my in die woonbuurt en dan is jy n landros. Dan se hulle die bes geleurde mense kom uit die kora gemeenskap uit. En dit is eintlik vir ons n prestatsie as hulle van daai kant afkom sodat ons ook vir die basters kan brag.

Maar dit het vir ons sterk mense gemaak. Ons is baie sterk mense

(*I ask them if they think kroes is an ugly word and they say yes, not with words but with sounds. And then I ask what if your mother says so*).

W4: Dit hang af van die konteks en wie dit se

Appendix K Kommagas

Location: Kommagas

Participants: 6 women, one man

Date: 08 September 2021

Format: Video recording

(I ask whether there is a difference between Brown and Coloured)

M1: Ek het dit gese. Bruin is vir my wie ek is, die kleur wat ek het. Want n Kleurling is vir my, amper iets slegs soos jy's n boer, n wit mens. Jys n boer. Jy's n Kleurling of n hotnot. As iemand vir my se ek is Bruin, my kleur is bruin, en ek het groot geraak tussen Bruin. Ek het gewerk in n plek en dan het mense vir my gese op my van. Ek is basies al Kleurling daar, dan se hulle vir my op my van. Persent hier, Persent daar, maar die ander mense is op hulle name genoem en dit het vir my baie geraak en ek, daai tyd is jy nog bang, ek was baie jonk gewees. En dit is daai wat vir my die verskil bring daarin. So dit is vir my maklik om te se ek is n Bruin mens as om te se Kleurling. Is seker ook soos n swart mens sal voel as jy vir hom se hy is swart, en die ander lelike word gebruik. Die 'K' word gebruik. Vir my is dit daai sort verskil.

(*As everyone else besides M1 filled in Coloured, I ask them if they feel Coloured or if it is just something they feel they must say*).

W6: Ja basies, want ons het mos nou maar so groot geword, almal wat hier is is Kleurling.

(*I ask them if they feel that they have the freedom to choose how they identify themselves now after 1994 this did not yield a response then I ask about their family history anod how their grand and great grandparents described themselves*).

W2: My Ouma het Nama voorouers.

W3: Ek het gese ek was Kleurling omdat ek niks anders geweet het nie. Ek het net geweet ek was Kleurling want my voorgeslagte is Kleurling. En soos u nou gevra het as ek iets anders sou wees. So ek wil n Kleurling wees. Ek voel postief daaroor. Ek is eintlik so trots Kleurling.

Daar waar ek nou woon is dit eintlik net swart, so ek stap net so (shows showing off walk). Ek is die Kleurling tussen die swartes.

W4: Ek is by Kleurling uit, ons was so gese van geslag tot geslag, onverannerd.

W5: Ek het ook geskryf Kleurling maar ek wil graag iets noem, dit was n incident toe ons nog skool gegaan het daai jare. Ons is in matriek, en nou gan jy (inaudible) skool, dan moet jy oorgan Springbok toe, hulle het n oes week gehad toe was ons uitgenooi. By Kleurling skole was daar mos nou nie sulke goed nie, dit was net by die boere skole, die blanke skole, hulle het daai. Maar weet julle. Na 94 is dit bietjie anders maar daai tyd was dit nog erg, jy is n Hotnot en ek is n blanke. Daai tyd was daar nog nie swartes. Bergview was n Kleurling skool en Springbok het die blanke skool. Dit was net n Blanke skool, daar was nie ander rasse betrokke nie. En dit was baie kleur daai daai, die verskillende beroepe. Maar daai steek hier agter. Even as jy nou afloop, is byvoorbeeld donker of so, dan gan daar nie blankes saam met jou kom staan nie. Is nou net blankes wat daar gestaan het en kleurlinge wat daar gestaan het en waargeneem het van al die goeters (she talks further of an incident where there was a fight that turned physical as a result of being called hotnot and that the van came to get them).

W6: My Pa kom uit Veldrif uit, die Namas . maar ek het nie agtergrond van die nie want hy het nooit vir ons gese nie, of die taal geleer of wat ookal. So ek sien my as a Kleurling.

W1: Ek voel ek is n Kleurling maar van my pa se kant af is hulle weer afstamelinge van blankes af. Ek weet my Oupa het n suster gehad wat n blanke was, maar ek ken nie. Ek is nou meer by my ma se mense as wat ek by my pa se mense in diepte in gegan het. So ek ken nou nie daai agtergronde nie.

(I ask what the culture is of a Coloured).

W1: Is mos nou net ons Namakwlanders praat mos nou hier en daar woorde soos (Nama word). Nama taal. Maar ons kan nou nie die taal praat soos die Richtersveld se mense nie.

Soos ons maak nog \Xabo, en brou soos daai woorde. En ek kan onthou in Posmansburg het my buurvrou altyd vir my lat omgekom het en dan nooi sy mense om sodat ek kan praat want ek praat so lekker. Dan praat ek mos nou en dan kom daai woordjies so uit. Dit was baie lakker.

En die keer toe het ek by my Antie die kaffer konfyt gevat, en sy is mos nou n swart vrou, toes sy die priek en goet, toe roep sy die man, kom hier, hoor Tracey praat hier skollie taal.

Die prit is mos nou kaffer konfyt, en hulle het gesit en geeet van dit. Hulle ken hom nie so nie. Hulle maak dit mos nou weer annerste. So onse manier van dinge doen is nou bietjie anders.

W2: En die suurdeeg wat ons self maak.

W4: Die swart potte

W1: Die ronde huise en daai tiepe van goeters wat ons nog op die plasse gekry het.

(*I ask if there is any ou mens raad wat hulle van hulle ouers of Ouma's gekry het like n wilde als*).

(Everyone talks at the same time).

W1: Soos die moeders melk of die bors melk wat jy in die oor sit wat steek of as jy wind het. Maar jy moet met die persoon wees want dit moet nog warm wees. Jy gan net na n mens wat borsvoed en jy vra. En die meiskind was nog so kwaai, my melk. Die pa moet latter vir haar vat want sy is nou nie vrede met die nie. Net n telepeltjie melk, en dan gooi jy dit in die oor en dan is die oor stil. En even as jy die kind speen dan gebrryk jy die bitter alwyn.

(Sound goes off for a while).

W3: Nou gesels ek saam met iemand daar in Katoe, die persoon lyk vir my bietjie donkerig, maar hy praat Afrikaans so lekker. So vir my is hy n Kleurling. Kyk hier as jy n Kleurling is dan gesels ek darem lekker met jou. Daar in Katoe, as ek n Kleurling gewaar, dan gesles ek met hom land en sand because hy is a Kleurling. Maak nie sak of (inaudible) jy is Kleurling. Sit n punt dadelik.

Kommagas was net vir Kleurling gemeenskape. En my ma het die Kleurling gemeenskape onreg ingedoen. Dan kom ons van die skool af daai specifieke dag, ek het die nooit oorvertel nie. Toe ons daar by die koppetjie uitkom, die roep daar n man van oorkant af, Sana, kom hiernatoe en ons kom hardloop, julle moet ou maak, hier is n 'K' in die berg. Met n 'K' kan jy nooit saam loop nie, en dit was n vrees in my, ek was so groot (*shows being small*). Lat die swart mense later van die jare ingekom het dat hulle gekom bly het. Maar diep in my hart het ek n vrees vir swart mense gehad. As ek n swart mens gesien het, veral n swart man, vir my was dit net hulle is die mense wat vrouens verkrag. En hierdie was die vrees wat my ouers in my hart ingesit het.

En ons kom in Katoe, my seun kry daar n werk, hy het gan bly daar en, meeste van die Katoe werkers sal na die hostels toe gan. Nou hoor ek van Sheshen en ek dink wat is n Sheshen, dit klink sommer swart. Maar ek voel die here het n doel gehad dat ek met Sheshen moet opgeeinding het. Want jy kan hom sit in die middle van swart, en hy begin daai klein besigheitjie, n wasery. En die swartes het daar gekom. En hulle het gevra of daar nie n kosstejie is nie en hulle was so vrymoedig, dat hulle die pot kom oopmaak. Nou die een dag praat ek met die ou, hy is bietjie donker, maar vir my is hy Kleurling want hy praat tog te lekker Afrikaans, want kyk daar is n aksent, maar die ou is vir my Kleurling volgens sy aksent en so an. Toe is dit n swart man, en ek weet toe nie hoe se ek die ding, maar toe se ek vir hom van die ding maar ek voel nie meer so nie. En hy het absoluut verstaan. Daai is mos die ander ding van die Kleurling dorpies.

(*She talks about a black man that was angry with her because she could not speak Tswana*).

Maar ek besef as ons van kleins af tussen hulle groot geword het dan was dit seker makliker (*to speak the languages of others*).

Daarom kom ek terug na daai ding dat ek is trots Kleurling, maar daai meisiekid se ek moet vir haar Afrikaans leer, toe se ek vir haar dan gan ek vir jou regte Arikaans leer (*she goes on to explain how to pronounce words correctly*).

(*I ask if they as women were told not to marry dark of complexion men, then the 'K' in the mountain was mentioned again*).

M1: Ek het die geval gehad waar die outjie is n polisieman en hy is swart. Hy kom na my toe en hy se vir my, Dominee, ek is life vir daai vrou, toe is dit n Kleurling meisie hier van ons. Maar sy ma wil nie he ek met moet haar trou nie. En toe het ek maar nou gegan na die ma toe se sy Dominee, nee, net nie n 'K' nie.

AK: Hoekom nie?

M1: Dit is daai wat sy gese het. Dit is hoe die mense groot geraak het, dit is ook wat die mense daai tyd gese het. As daar n swart man buite is dan moet die kinders in die huis inkom. Hulle weet nie wie die swart man is nie maar hulle dink hy is skelm of hy gan iets aan hulle doen.

So dit is hoe sy grootgeraak het. En dit het gekos dat sy familie hier kom en haar familie en dat hulle praat met mekaar en al die goed. En uiteindelik toe is hulle getrout maar die ma was

nog steeds nie so lekker nie want toe is dit toe sy eers die ouers leer ken, en vandag is hulle die beste mense. Jy besef nou, hulle is net so mens soos ons.

Ek het nog n iemand wat ook getrout is. Die mannetjie bly daar. Hy het besluit hy kom nie weer Kommagas toe nie want die mense behandel hom soos n koning. Daai kultuur is nou weer so. Die vrou het n goeie werk, hy is net by die huis. Hy het ook nie n werk nie, ek is nie seker nie. Maar daar se hy sy kos word vir hom gebring, niemand krap aan hom nie. En hulle ken hom, hy word gerekn en al die goed. En dit was dieselfde gewees. Sy ma was kwaai. En vandag sien hulle die mense is dieselfde soos ons. Maar wat ek wil se is, soos sy nou gese het, dit was nooit nodig nie want hier was nie ander mense nie. Hulle het nie gemeng nie so daar was nie n moontlikheid om verlief te raak op mekaar nie. En die geval was nou maar tien jaar gelede. En jy kan sien tot vandag toe het mense nog daai gevoel.

W2: Die eerste van hulle wat hier gekom het, dit was baie swear, dan word hulle se plakke somme aan die brand gesteek.

W3: En as jy kom in die dorp dan moet jy aanmeld by die raadsleier.

M1: Dit is nou die ding van hierdie dorpies. So daar is n oom hy het my gese, Dominee hy het dit moeilik gehad om met daai meisie uit teg an. Hy is nie van Kommagas nie. Hy kan kom kuier maar hy kan nie oorslaap nie. Hy moet toestemming vra as hy vir die naweek net wil kom. Dit was n moeilikheid om tot by trou te kom. En dit is hoekom baie moense nog vandag, hier in onse plekkie, hulle wil nie rerig die munisiplatiteid hier he nie, jys daaroor want hulle voel hulle het al die jare self gerigeer. En nou dat die munisipaltiet hier is nou het alles (shows flipping over with his hand). Dit is hoekom hulle nie hulle se water wil betaal nie.

(*we have a discussion about the Nama Khoi municipality and how the community want things to go back to the way it was where the local members of the community handled everything, and then they would go back to paying their municipal bills. There is no water or electricity at night. Kommagas became part of the Nama Khoi municipality after 1994. Dirt and sewerage only get collected once a week also for the whole town and if bills are not paid, or are late, nothing gets done. We take a break*).

(*After the break I ask about the word kroes. The minute I said it one of the ladies looked up*).

W3: My kleinkind het vemore vir my daai woord gegee. Stephany het gese, nee maar nou is jy darem kroes. Net so se sy vir my.

(*I ask them how they feel about the word kroes*).

W6: Ek voel nou ok daaroor maar daai tyd toe …soos nou is dit nie meer iets nie want daar is baie dinge op die mark wat dit kan change. Maar dit pla my nie meer nie

W5: Ek het nog nooit rerig die word kroes as n lelike word beskou nie want kroes is kroes en glad is glad.

W4: Is net n dom mens watse hare kroes is. Daar is net relaxers dat jy hom kan regtrek

W3: Dit is nou absuluut n grap. Ek is trots op elke liewe dingetjie op my ligaam (pulls hair). Kroes was nog nooit vir my n ding nie. Jinne maar ek het my verkyk vir die swartes maar jinne daai mense is hare bewus.

AK: En Kleurling mense is nie hare bewus nie?

W3: Nee, wel nie ek nie. My meisiekind het sulke lang hare. Daai swartes, hulle staan by haar om te hoor wat het sy met haar hare gemaak. Hulle dra mos die braiding. Ek het gedink dit is net n bradining draery maar hulle het n obsessie met hare. Hier is hulle kroes (points to the grey hair a the temple). Dan vra hulle vrou hoe oud is jy, dan se ek, ek dra my grys met merkwaardigheid. So dit is kroes en dit is wat, maar ek is min gepla.

W2: Ek kan nou seker nie iets se nie.

W3: Nee jy kan maar praat baster.

W2: By my pa se kant is hulle uit en uit blankes. Maar ek wil julle die straaltjie gee van kroes in Port Nolloth. Toe is dit (mentions name) hy is n verskriklike verwaande Kleurling. Maar hulle is ook daai donker. Ek dink hulle stam weer af uit die Namibiaaners, daai Hereros of whatever.

W1: Damaras.

W2: Yes. Maar daai klong, hys brekkerig hoor. Hy kry hierie tiepe meisies (*points to her face*), die baster meide. Daai eenkeer toe kom daar dan nou n meitjie van Koeboes. Jong en daai meisie se hare sit dan nou ting tong, hulle sit nie vir hom nice nie. En as jou ma nou nie braidings in het nie dan het sy n pryk op. Maar hulle is daai ouens jong. Hulle is deur n ring getrek, altyd. Jong toe is daai nou net een ding te veel vir (*mentions name*). Toe se hy, jy klimeid, kom hierso. Nou kom sy, uwe gewilig. Maar hoe lyk jy dan nou nog so in die tyd

waar ons nou in lewe. Man se my net hoe? Hoe het jy dan nog n kroes kop? Ons dra mos nie meer kroes kop nie. Vat hierdie geld, hier is Spar dan, en gan koep vir jou relaxer. En daai meitjie het so n enkkie gestap en so getsaan en gese (mentions name), nou koop vir jou mamma liewer relaxer. Twee biere geloop koop.

Ja hy vra in watse tyd lewe jy dat jy nou nog so lyk, maar sy weet mos nou nie hoe nie. Toe se hy jy dra dan nou nog kroes man. Ons is nie meer kroes nie. Sy ma hulle is ook kroes maar jy sal nie n kroes tussen hulle se mense kry nie. Ons het darem te ver gekom vrou dat daar nou n kroes kop rondloop.

W1: Ons het nou nie gese kroes nie, ons het gese dit le darem gwan. Ja, dit is die Nama word vir kroes. Ek vind nie n problem met kroes nie. Ons is mos maar geskape van die Here. Want waar ek nou staan vandag het ek nou nie meer n probleem met kroes hare nie.

Daar het een keer n swart man kom vra, drae julle nie pruike nie? Hulle kan nie glo nie dat Komagas se mense, dit is hulle eie hare. Toe se ek nee dit is te warm vir daai. In Posmansburg is dit al die styles, altyd netjies. Hulle het rerig n obsessie met hulle se hare. Hulle kan nie glo dat ons sulke lang hare het en dit is onse eie hare. Dit is nie pruike nie.

W2: En rosemaryn om dit te lat groei en kraalbos.

(*They talk about a professor that came to collect a lot of kraalbos and made lotios and soaps*).

M1: Maar daai kom van daai jare an. Die ou mense het dit altyd gebruik. As n kind se kop seer is dan gebruik hulle daai kraalbos

W3: Of vaal kolle.

M1: So dit is ons eie mense se goed wat hulle getoets het en gebruik het.

(*Talks about Antie Lissie Ou Boy that never would have allowed anyone to have kroes hair. She had products in her shop to straighten hair*).

W3: En sy was n baie uitgesproke Antie. Sy sal nou jou gevoel nie gespare het nie. As sy nou gewaar het jys gwanna, dan sal sy haar produkte aanbied vir jou. My kind jy moet darem nie lat jou kop so lyk nie. Jy moet heirdie ding koop. Sheen Straight and Wella Straight.

(I ask the male participant how he feels about the word kroes).

M1: Vir my is dit maar n leelike word om vir iemand te se jy het n kroes kop. Wela het hom baie mooi gemaak, maar my ding is altyd, jy se nie vir iemand hy het n kroes kop nie. Jy praat oor jou eie kop so…ek het n kroes kop

W1: Dit hang ook eintlik af hoe of wie dit se

M1: Die haarstyl kom ook mos nou van die Swedes wat hier ingekom het. Daai jare het ons nou gesien dat daar familie is wat in verskillende dele van die wereld bly wat afstamelinge hier is. So hier is mense, ek weet nou nie wie van hulle nie. Hiers mense wat familie het in Amerika, is Nederland. In al daai klomp lande wat nou vera f maar hulle stam daaruiit toe hulle nog hier was, wat met hare getrou het. En daai julle storie het mos nou emaak da tons mense vandag mooi mense is. So ek sal se hulle is mooi mense. Ek sal nou nie die hare kyk nie, die persoon. Mooi features

W3: Hulle het mos gese vir Kommagas, Mooi Meisies fontyn. Dit is hoekom ek met daai huppel stap

M1: Daai tyd met die Scheelin, met daai vees, het dit alhoemeer bekend geraak. Kyk want baie mense het nie geweet nie, en toe hulle begin praat oor die geskidenis en die mense wat gekom het van verskillende lande af, en toe jy uit wat daai Scmeelin en Zahrisse verbintinge gemaak het, hoe dit versprie het en uitgebrei het. Dat mense utvind ons is eintlik direkte familie, al bly jy in Amerika, ek ken nie vir jou nie, maar toe ons daai goed beginner sien toe sien ons.

(*He talks about the Schmeelen festival and the song his Nama wife sang to her children*).

(I ask them if they would want to do a DNA test).

M1: Ek sal want ek het gehoor van die slawe afkoms, Present. Ek het n vrind van die Filipines wat se maar julle mense lyk net soos ons mense, as ek altyd fotos stuur en so dan se hy julle lyk soos ons.

W2: Maar dit is so. My Ouma kon jy uit en uit sien is a wit vrou, my pa se ma. Waar van my ma se kant Nama afkoms was. My my ma se pa is van Duitse afkoms so die blank het maar sterk deurgekom.

M1: En as jy nou die mense van Kommagas se vanne vat. Bevoorbeeld hier is Witlows, die van Reenen’s, die Cloete.

W2: Die Cloete is mos die main ding. Die kat met die dik stert.

W3: Maar daar is verkillende Cloete, , die Klein Piet Cloetes, die Klipkop Cloetes (die klein mensies)

(*The conversation informally continues on the surnames, and we end the interview*).

Appendix L Kroes Rocks

Location: Cape Town and Germany

Participant: ST (Creator of Kroes Rocks)

Date: 31 August 2022

Format: Zoom

ST: I come from South Africa, I was born in Cape Town. My mom said she gave birth to me at Mowbray maternity hospital. And as far as I know at that time they were living in Mitchells Plain. My mom was still very young when she had me so she was still living in her parents home, which was my grandmother's home in Mitchell's Plain in Beacon Valley. And that is where I spent most of my adolescent years.

She then moved out, I remember we were very young. I have an older sister, she is two years older than what I am, and we were very young and then she and my mom moved out to Grassy Park, First Avenue. We were actually having a conversation about this now the other day because Grassy Park, first avenue, that time it was that was the best time of my childhood life in Grassy Park. It was very chilled, very safe and also my great grandmother lived in Parkwood and we went to school in Fairways. So you get Fairways, Parkwood and Grassy Park, one, two three (showing spatial location).

So in the morning my mom would drop us in Parkwood with my great grandmother and she would then take us to school because my mom had to…we would get there before seven and school only starts at eight.

We were very fortunate in that (having a great-grandmother) and also my mom was her great-grandmothers favourite. So we would then have breakfast again and watch cartoons and then walk to school again at 7h45 because school starts at 08h00. So she would then take us and obviously as we got a little older we would then be able to walk on our own to school.

So that is where I grew up and then school holidays we would go to our grandmother in Mitchells Plain. And then later things got a bit rough for my mom and she moved back to her

moms house in Mitchells Plain and that is where I spent most of my highschool years until finishing varsity.

AK: And where were your grandparents from?

ST: My grandparents were, my grandmother, she grew up in Tulbagh/Ceres. But she always told me that she had school in Ceres so she had to walk from Tulbagh to Ceres. So if ever I complained abou the bus being late or it being late, dan se sy vir my, jy het niks om van oor te kla nie. Ek het ander dag geloop uit Tulbagh uit ceres toe, skool toe, en terug, so jy het niks om oor te complain nie Simone.

And then my grandfather, he was orginialy from Mosselbay. And that is as far as I know. And my maden surname is Briesies.

There are Briesiese in the Mossebaai that we have never met but we know that they are in Mosselbay.

And so the story as far as I know, my great-grandmother told me about that she grew up in Mosselbay. And then her father died and her mother remarried. Ma haar van in Leen, Wilhelmina Leen. So haar pa is oorlede en haar ma trou toe wee ren sy trou toe met n Briesies. And so she had two, a younger sister and a younger brother. And then her mom died, and her siblings father died and then they sent her two younger brothers, because then she started working, toe kom sy Kaap toe om te werk. En hulle stuur toe haar jonger broer en suster, op n trein uit die Mosselbaai uit, en sy moet toe haar jonger broer en suster grootmaak. And she was in her eary twenties, maybe 21 or 22, en hulle stuur toe net hierdie jong twee kinders op n trein, hulle ouers is dood, jy moet noun a jou broer en suster kyk.

I didn't meet my great uncle, I think he died way before I was born, before me even knowing him, but I knew my great aunt and she never had any kids or anything.

Ek dink sy het n wit outjie gehad maar daai tyd mag hulle mos nou nie, and she never got over it. So she never had any children or whatever. Maar sy was gespoil, she was spoilt and I could see it up ntil her very last and as a grown woman toe moes my ouma groetjie vir haar tea maa ken kos aandra. So she was very spoilt.

And then my greatgrandmother had my grandfather very late in her life. Ek dink sy was upset met haarself because I don't think…she was very independent, very strong, no time for nonsense. So I think sy wou nie kinners gehad het nie because from a young age she had to

look after her brother and sister. So that was enough for her in almost looking after and having children.

En toe op n laat ouderdom het sy toe nou my Oupa gehad, and then when my grandmother passed away in 2020, toe kom dit uit dat my oupa groetjie, my oupa se pa is eintlik swart, hy is van Gugulethu, Gugs of Langa. But we don't know him. He might be dead or alive, I am assuming he is dead. Because my grandmother lived til about 89 years old, I was in my first year when she passed away, so I am assuming he is dead already.

So my oupa groetje is swart, hy's van Gugs/Langa. He was Xhosa or Zulu, one of the two. But that made sense to me when I discovered it two years ago. Toe lag ek, toe se eke, maar dai maak sin want my oupa was baie baie donker. Daar is a picture van hom waar hy baie jonger is en dan lyk hy soos Geroge Benson met die snore en die afro.

And while I was growing up, especially as a teenager, my early twentes, up until my late twenties, I would literally have guys, black men, walk up to me and they want o discuss lobola, multiple times.

(*She goes on to share a story about such an event. She then talks about another event in Woolworths where a black man told her that her English name is her political name).*

So when I discovered that my great-grandfather was black, a black Zulu man, growing up in Gugs or Langa at the time, so I was like, ok, now it makes sense why everyone though I wasn't coloured.

They insisted that I am black, I am Zulu, somebody said I look Venda.

I was like, I am Simone, I am Coloured, or I identify as Coloured or that is what I know to be, or that is what I have known to be. But it also makes a lot of sense that in in romantic situations, Coloured guys thought that I was Black, they did not think that I was Coloured.

And even when I started lecturing, I had a lot of foreign national students in my class from Nigeria, Tunisia, Morocco, and they all said, Ma'am, when we first saw you we did not expect that accent. I asked what accent did you expect. Then they said no ma'am you do not look Cape Coloured, when you are lecturing, you don't even sound Cape Coloured.

(She talks about her Moroccan student that said she could pass for Moroccan, especially when she wears her doek).

We talk about the “type” of what people expect a Cape Coloured to look like, and also, someone asked me ‘is that your own teeth?’

Yes, so it is the teeth, it’s the accent, and its not like I raaar raaar (the accent for the rolling of the r). I speak English, soos my ma sal se, I speak flat English. Especially as an academic, in certain spaces, you use a different kind of English, so in the academic setting I am in now I will use academic terms but when I lecture I will use basic terms so that my students will understand. (She further talks about the fact of not changing her English for anything else but to accommodate the space that she is in).

(I ask her about her identity and that she is fine with identifying as Coloured).

ST: I am fine with…I have always known that I am a Coloured. I’m not black, I’m a Coloured. Because I grew up in predominantly Coloured communities, I grew up in Mitchells plain. That time it was a predominantly Coloured community. Nowadays you get black people unashamedldy living in Mitchells Plain. Soos my Ouma sal se, hulle is nie eers bang om hier tussen onse mense te bly nie. Ons kan nie in hulle lokasie stap nie maar hulle kan in onse lokasie bly.

Toe se ek as hulle dit kan bekostig Tittie, dan kan hulle dit bekostig en ons moet net in respek env rede lewe, daai is die main ding. Toe se sy, maar jy sal nie verstaan nie en dan kom die hele history lesson. But I can understand where she comes from so I will just listen and take it in. But I had a different view, I was just like, but that is a democratic South Africa, is daai dan nie wat Madiba voor geveg het nie that we all live in unity?

(Why identifying as Coloured is not an issue).

ST: Especially now for me as a South African, and as a Coloured South African female, living and working in Germany, that is one of the first questions, especially with colleagues and so, what is your race, are you Black? Then I start, well, in South Africa I am classified as Coloured. Then they would go, what is Coloured? Then it is a whole conversation, and it is so mind boggling and weird for them. What is Coloured and what is black. Then I ask them so what do you think I am. Then they would say you Black. And then they will ask is it ok for me to say that because race is a very sensitive thing here and there is sensitivity around it and even speaking about it whereas in South Africa, we speak about race over coffee, its normal. But with them they deal with these things very sensitively. such sensitivity around it which I can respect and appreciate. So said I don’t have a problem with being told or said or people

thinking that I am black either. But then I say that my great grandfather was black, so then there's that. So for me whether you say I am Coloured or I am black .

I know a little about the Khoe and San but I don't know in detail enough that I can say am I Khoe, am I San, am I Khoisan as well? I think somewhere in my bloodline there must definitely be.

If I look at my, my Ouma het altyd gese, jou highcheek bones en jou plat neus. My Ouma was baie informed gewees oor dit. So she said jy het seker maar n bietjie San bloed en n bietjie Khoe bloed in jou. En my ouma het ook gese volgens die in bleste. Te ek groot geword het, I didn't have a lot of hair my ek het in bleste gehad. Toe se my ouma groetjie die kind gan travel, sy gan reis en sys baie slim. And when I came back the other day toe se my ma, oe jou oum groetjie se woorde.

(I go on to ask her why she specifically chose the word kroes).

ST: When I started wearing my hair natural, I first did some research. Googled natural hair South Africa, niks. Then there were a whole lot of bloggers at that time, not a whole lot, maybe a hand full of prominent bloggers, this was 2011 and this was mainly in the US, maybe one or two in the UK. But the big girl, she has got so may followers, maybe something like 2 million, but she has been working it since 2010 so you can have 2 million. But I could not find any information about Simone, from the Cape Flats, Coloured wanting to stop wearing relaxers and wanting to stop straightening my hair. I couldn't find any information. No one was speaking about it, even up until 2015, there was nothing about hare wat kroes is nie, nothing about hare wat mince. There was no story, no literature on even the swirlkous and our relationship with the swirlkous and how we, when we are going for an interview voel y jou hare moet uitgeblou wees en dan dra jy n swirlkous en dan kom jy by die gebou dan hardloop jy gou toilet toe dan haal jy gou die swirlkous af. No one was talking about that. Even up until 2015 when I started that. And because I did my research and I planned myself emotionally and alles daai, the first time I went natural, I stopped relaxing for 6/7 months and then I couldn't deal with it because I was too afraid to cut my hair. And I couldn't deal with this kroes hair now. The natural, unaltered no chemical hair and then after seven months I relaxed it again. And then 2015 I then saw a friend of mine and I was just, she big chopped, here before Christmas . And I was like, what girl in Mitchells plain cuts off her hair just before Christmas. Christmas you must (*she shows your hair must be straight*). And we have got very similar features, cheekbones, flat nose, and I was like, you look good. So if you going to do it,

im going to do it and three months later I chopeed it all off. Not even three months, I think less than three months.

And I was like...

So this is my Kroes hair and it Rocks. So kroes rocked!

And there is such a negative association around it, the word kroes. It is actually an Afrikaans term that comes from the apartheid regime. That is where the word comes from. That is where, that is how they described our hair, as kroes. So the kroes hair is the hair that is there is no chemicals on, daar is niks, soos die is kroes hare (she plays with her hair). And so that is what the apartheid regime defined our hair as and so even now, we are more than 25 years into a democratic south Africa and we still look at natural hair and we still use that term in a negative sense.

So what I have done with my business and the movement is to take this thing, which is actually our natural hair, and this term which was actually meant to insult us and to make us feel inferior and second class, because that is the basis of the origin of the word into something that, we celebrate it because… you meant or created the term with negative and derivative association, but we are taking that thing back now. Because what you saw, and when I say you I am talking about the white government and I am talking about the racist structure under which South Africa was for such a long time, we taking that and we changing that into something that we celebrating that.

(video pauses)

AK: Ok, you were taking back the power

ST: So it is not a bad thing. I think after I started kroes rocks, then there was almost this ripple effect of groups that started after me that also had the term kroes in there. It was almost like, ok, now we have permission to use that word. Other niche groups that also started using that term after I think 2015. After I started using kroes rocks, there is now kroes in it, so they were like, oh its ok. And I have my apparel like the t-shirts and the earrings. And even people that wear their hair natural in the beginning found it offensive. And then that would be a conversation and they would say, Simone, this kroes on the earnings is very offensive and then I would say why is it offensive, lets talk about it. Why do you find it so offensive. Jou hare is kroes. Is jou hare dan nie kroes nie? Then they would say, no my hair is natural. Then I would say kroes is natural. Natural is kroes

They find it offensive. Whether they agree with me or not, but they find it offensive, especially when I just started.

And now it is like when you say my hair is kroes it is not an insult anymore. And it's like you say, we took back the power.

Why is it ok to celebrate I am a natural and I have got curls, even within wearing your hair natural, there is still this hierarchy within the natural hair. So as jy nou n tight curl het, type C tight curl het, then that is less desired. But if you have got this loose curl, then that is the more desired thing. Because there is the theory called the standard theory, we created a standard. And so the closest thing to white is still the standard so the way the looser S curl, that is the more desired look that we will want. And that again is the thing of race being so embedded in our society that it has filtered into that. And so the closest thing to "whiteness" is the most perfect thing and so the closest thing to "white hair" is being natural is that S curl is the thing that they want. And that is why people often ask me like, you just wear your afro, and I said like, yes, this is my hair. I don't manipulate my hair, I don't… I literally wake up and go like this and I apply my leave in conditioner…this is my hair, ek gan nie nou nog (shows S curl), nee. Number one I don't have the patience or the time for it. And number two, I think this is me in my most purest, authentic form. And I would not have it any other way.

AK: Wat het jou ma gese?

ST: When?

AK: When you decided not to relax your hair anymore?

ST: My mom was like, ok, so gan jy jou hare perm? Because I always had my hair in curls met die roller. My ma was altyd oor krille because she said it was just more childlike. Dit is ok om jou hare te blou. Jy blou dit die weekend dan is dit makliker om te vleg Simone.

But she was ok. Sy het gese, ok, gan jy nou die curly perm doen? Toe se ek nee mammie daai is n chemical. Ok, maar hoe gan jy jou hare lekker moist hou? It moenie droeg issie Simone. So that was her main thing. Gan jy die curly perm doen. That was her main thing.

My ouma het net gese …nou hoe nou, wat nou. Sy het net so gekyk en toe vra sy nou wanne gan jy jou hare doen?

AK Wat is doen?

ST: Mos nou blow. Blow of iets doen. Because on school my mom belived, of its n bolla, plat hiervoor en dan mos nou in n bolla en n vlegsil. Of my my het daai vier vlegsils gemaak, of twee vlegsils. My ma was baie oor daai en die linte…die ribbons. En weekends as ons gan swem dan lats y my loep met die bos hare. And I think she just relaxed it because that was what was done. And christma, you know all these good celebrations, always my hair was in curls. Roller curls off iets curls. So that was her thing, gan jy die curly perm doen sodat jou hare nie droeg issie. Jou hare moet nettie droeg issie. Daai was my ma se main ding want sy se jy het droee hare. Ons het droee hare soe die curly perm gan versieke maak dat jou hare nie droeg issie. My ouma het ma net altyd gevra nou wanne gan jy iets doen an jou hare. Daai was my Ouma se woorde

(We talk about hair not being too dry and that their hair must shine).

ST: Soe sy het net geweet van die curly perm en n curly perm is R1500 en ek gan nie R1500 spandeer op n curly perm nie.

Ja it is expensive. And then you have to go every three to four months.

AK: So, this is actually easier for you?

ST: This is much easier for me (*laughs*). And I won't say that I am addicted to cutting but I cut off my hair once a year. So I cut off my hair in March, February en nou is dit al soos die so (*touches her hair*). Its not a thing. It is like, ok, klaar. But for me it is just a thing of I still need to look good. I still need to feel good in how I look and I still want to look feminine, because the short hair can make you look a little less feminine because I do a tapered cut and then the bulk of the hair is in front. So my thin is just to look feminine. That's the main thing.

(We talk about how society judges you by the way you look)

ST: I think when I, 2014, I transitioned, so I had to moisturize my hair a lot and I was wearing it in twists a lot. Covering it and closing it a lot. And then this one guy in the bus made a comment en said watte drolle is op die ene se hare op die bus. And you know what, I had a lot of words to tell him, en ek kan hom seker afgebreek het because hy was een van daai guys wat by die gebou gewerk het man. I could have demolished his soul. Maar ek draai toe om en ek se toe vir myself, its not about him Simone. He doesn't even have half of the critical thinking ability that you have. So even having this conversation with him or even putting him on his place is not going to mean anything because then you are just going to stoop, and you are not going to do that.

There was a few rude comments from people as well on Facebook, people that I knew, and I was like, oh ok. Now I am creating a buzz. Because why are you talking abou me so much dat jy nou, its such a thing for you that you are putting it on social media and having an actuall conversation but you cant address me. So I am creating a buzz.

And then a guy actually made a comment on Faecbook one day, he actually made a status update on facebook and someone else told me, Simone did you see this, this is clearly about you. Toe se ek, wie is die, ek is noe eers vrinne met die bra nie. En toe vra ek vir haar, werk hy? Hoekom gebruik hy nie die ty den die data om sy CV uit te stuur nie om nou hier te comment op my hare.

AK: Did he make a comment?

ST: He put up a status and said the big chop is not for everyone. En ek los toe vi hom en ek dink toe there is a reason why we are not friends on Facebook. En ek dink toe vir myself, jy werk nie. Hoekom vat jy nie die tyd en die data en die internet en stuur jou CV uit nie.

And then the funny thing was later his wife then contacts me and says she wants to go natural, she needs some guidance. And I happily assisted her. I even gave products also. And then he has two girls whose also natural.

But this hierarchy, there is even this hierarchy in natural hair that if you have this loose curl, and some people even do expensive treatments to get that S-curl. So they are not relaxing it but they are doing these other expensive perms to get it like that. So no I am not using relaxers, im not using heat, but I am using this treatment to make my curl a certain way.

But that is how deeply rooted racism and discrimination is within our society that that leads to that.

AK: And something that we would think is as insignificant as hair is very significant.

ST: It is very significant. I mean we, especially in our Coloured culture as people we, when I child is born the first thing we ask is, hoe lyk die hare. We don't worry about the organs that is fully developed, we don't worry about the eys and the toes. One worry eerste is die hare.

AK: Hoe lyk die hare hoe lyk die neus.

ST: Ja, that's right.

(I mention the standards of beauty and the subtlety thereof).

ST: Its very subtle but also, and it comes from, and people can say that racism has nothing to do with it and apartheid, no, apartheid has everything to do with it. I think the generation after this, generation Z, its fading kind of away now but it is a very slow fade. But like I said it's a slow change.

(I talk about the differences in the age groups and their feeling towards hair).

ST: and it is going to take time, and clearly it is taking time. But it's a very slow change. Because you would think that after 25 years of a democratic country, after affirmative action and all these things, the change would have been greater but it's not. I mean if you look at, what was I reading now the other day, about how brands were formed even. Like in my field now, some brands were formed, their logo, their slogan, their brand identity has so much racial origins, so much racial statistics. So much racial stereotyped and associations, and it is just so racists. And I am like, we have been in a more civil era, how many years after the civil rights movements, how many years after Naziism and apartheid. And only now in the year 2020, now you realize we need to change something, but you knew all along that your brand was built on so much racist stereotypes and associations and it took you 60/70 years to actually change it? To change your logo, to change your slogan? That's why I am saying it's a slow change. But it proves how institutionalized and how systemic racism is.

(*I ask her if she has had situations at her events where women talk to her about how their hair journey affects them personally).*

ST: All the time. I was actually telling somebody that I feel like I must have a few counsellors and psychologist at my events because it becomes emotionally taxing on me and I am not a psychologist and I will not counsel anyone under the pretence of anything. But if you share with me then I can share with you my experience and my journey and how I dealt with it and then you can see. But like I told somebody that I actually feel like I must have a room with psychologists in there and then go and speak to them. That's what I feel like I must do. But people often, all the time it happens. And it gets emotional and then it becomes emotionally taxing for me because it deals with a lot.

Because I am just thinking now, I was raised by my mom as a single parent. My dad left my mom, I don't know when, but he has never been around in my life. And I remember while growing up, I think I was about 12/13, then I started realizing, oh ma hier is nie n pa in die

huis nie. So was ek nou n mistake gewees of was ek nou net die result of a night of passion? Hoekom is my pa nie hier nie, hoekom het hy nie na my gekyk nie, dan sal ons nie gesukkel het nie.

And I remember one of the reasons why I thought he left was because I wasn't pretty enough. I thought my hair was, literally this was what I thought growing up, oh my hare is nie styl genoeg nie, ek is nie mooi genoeg nie, that's why my dad left me. He rejected me and he abandoned my mom and I. thought that was one of the reasons growing up. So ja, I think people internalize that a lot, and again we think that hair is insignificant but actually it is not. I mean you won't go out if your hair is not right. Jy sal nie na n interview toe gan nie as jou hare nie reg is nie, jy gan nie op n date as jou hare nie reg is nie, jy gan nie kerk toe nie want jou hare is nie reg nie. And again, wat gan die mense…ek moet in die kerk is.

And I get feedback, people write me like essays. The one lady messaged me again last week and she said, you won't understand how much kroes rocks has been part of my healing journey. Ek het net gan huil because I was like what?

AK: What does she have to heal from though?

ST: I did not give a lot of detail, I don't know what it was but I know she, at the time when kroes rocks had its first event and we were like at a coffeeshop in Kuilsriver, that was when she took up her studies again to become a teacher and before that she was working in a factory or something. She was doing her studies part time while working in a factory, while having, I think three or four girls. And she finished her qualification at the beginning of last year and she is a teacher now. So I don't know, I can just infer relating to that.

One of the other ladies also she chopped of all her hair after her divorce because she discovered her husband was cheating on her. So she chopped off her hair because that signified her new beginning after discovering her husband was cheating on her and she was like no. for anything else besides cheating, she said no. so its a lot.

So she chopped off all her hair, stopped relaxing

I talk about the questions women ask me as to why I cut my hair:

1. One said I don't look beautiful

2. One asked if I had lice

3. One asked if I have cancer

4. One asked if my boyfriend dumped me.

I think they are deflecting.

(I tell her that she is strong and she can handle a lot having been on her journey but then also, not everyone can).

ST: And that is what I always tell women when they ask me and I want to start my hair and I tell them please do your research first. Lees en vra. I post as much information as I possibly can. I am available on WhatsApp. People WhatsApp me. It is whole thing its intense.

They are like ok I want to start doing it and then I walk a journey with them and sometimes its six months and sometimes it's a twelve-month journey. Because no one else is doing it. And I am all about if you are consulting and you are a stylist and you charging people, that's fine. But sometimes somebody just wants to know something.

(I tell her she is like a plaster for these women that she is helping on their journey).

ST: Because there wasn't a lot of people when I started. There wasn't any. I had this one girl and then she would like reply after three months and she is like, I am so sorry, I am so busy. And I am like, no one is that busy. Sometimes I reply immediately, sometimes it takes me a day or two because I have a job and I am still with my studies. Just so that somebody knows that it is ok and you are going to be ok and I am going to walk this journey with you. And some people are just not confident. And then this one lady, she said she always wore weaves, from a young age. And she was in her forties and she said she never wore her hair out. And I walked this journey with her and she said Simone its because of you that I can now wear my hair out. She said I love it. Why did I spend all that money on weaves. Why did I waste all this money, she said that. She was just like, where wear you.

That's also another question that people ask. They are like, where were you when I was growing up. I needed you when I was growing up.

AK: Because where were you when you were young and you thought that your daddy left because you were not pretty enough.

ST: I had someone; she is my godmother that always secured me. I don't think my mom always knew what to say because I remember I was about 13 years old and I had a tough

conversation with my mom. I asked her why did you have sex without protection and why did you have me without having a job in place en nou sukkel ek en nou sukkel ons.

Because I went to a predominantly white high school and that is where I realized that ok, and even now, it is actually normal for your daddy to come and fetch you after school. Its normal for your dad to come and fetch you ate six clock after your netball practice. Its normal that kids get pocket money.

The way that you are struggling Simone and the way, I mean, I think there is degrees to poverty. In hind site, ons het nie swaar gekry nie. I mean growing up I had running water, I had warm water, I could go to the fridge when I wanted, I had a bedroom in a brick house with a window, ek het klere gehad, even though was dit hand-me-downs.

Literally everything I needed. I had breakfast, lunch, supper, alles. But I didn't have options. So dit was of jy gan peanut butter en brood iet, of peanut butter en brod. Daar was nie kaas, marmite.

And when I got to high school you realise, because I was in a school with white kids, there were mostly Coloured and white kids in my class. En nou sien jy ma haai jinne, hulle praat soe nice van hulle pa. My daddy is going to fetch me and my daddy this and my pa. en ek is like, mother buffer. Wa is jy nou hier. And my mom is an accountant en ek is like, jirre my ma maak mense se kamers skoon, my ma het in a factory gewerk. And then I had this tough conversation with my mom, I was 13 years old and I asked, why did you have sex without protection. I asked why did you have sex number one and why did you have it without protection. Number two, why are you not sueing the life out of my father because hoekom sukkel ek, hoekom sukkel ons.

Because I was working from standard six, holiday jobs, weekend jobs. I used to clean my neighbours house to have money or other stuff. And I had this tough conversation with her. And from then on, I wasn't mad at her, because I realized, she didn't give up, my mom was always working. She didn't give up, she didn't throw me away and she didn't d drugs. She was just always working and always doing what she needed to d for me and my older sister.

My sister has a whole different story because she for a long time blamed my mother. And as we got older I was like, goose gan jy nou rerig onse ma blame for this situation, meanwhile you literally have more than a lot of people in this life so what what are you going to do about

it. So gan jy nou nog altyd op 21 years old jou ma blame? Nee, just grow up. So I also came alongside my mom.

And one thing my mom said when I was 21, at my 21st. this was a big thing for me and it still, now that you older you realise that it is actually more trauma than anything else, but she said,

- Simone took me by the hand
- Simone helped me fight
- Simone taught me how to fight.

It was at my 21st. She was like, where Simone is at and where Simone is and who she is is levels higher than what I can ever be, my mom said. Simone took me by the hand. Basically, ek het vir haar groot gemaak. And she said, this was my mom's words…Simone taught me how to fight, not physically but mentally, but emotionally to fight and to go on. Because that time I think I travelled already for the first time to Belgium and I was finishing my diploma and things like that. So my mom built my self-esteem also very well, and we had honest conversations.

So to a very large degree my mom was this person and when it came to my hair also she supported it, but obviously she said just make sure your hair is not dry, that it is not breaking that its growing. So in that way I had the person, but not completely. And so for other people just to kind of just be that person in some way to someone else.

(I tell her she had to go through that life to be this strong person today)

ST: But I also feel like I am tired of being strong. I think sometimes it is a curse at the same time.

(We agree that she also needs to look after herself).

Appendix M Mitchell's Plain

Location: Mitchells Plain (interview in Cape Town)

Participants: Seven (two children under 18 joined the interview with the permission of their mothers, who were also part of the interview)

Date: Thursday, 02 December 2021

Format: Video recording

(I ask how they feel about hair and how it comes into their work as hip hop artists)

W5: The number and the podcast. And I knew that that was going to come in somewhere along the line. And then me and Linzy got together and she said that I have this poetry thing that I have to do with Safeline about hair

We were always taught suffer for beauty (*about the chemical procedure of relaxing hair*)

G1: They did it to us from a young age.

W7: Daar was n tyd toe hulle die ID photos gevat het. Dan is dit nou my hare wat so lyk, dan is dit my suster se hare wat worserer lyk as miene. Dan se hulle, haai maar jy kan mos jou hare mooi maak.

W6: Ek het sommer daai hele kerk besigheid gelos want as my hare groot raak dan kan dit nie pas in n hoed nie. En toe se hulle ek moet die hoed opsit, toe se ek los my journey.

W3: Sheen straightener.

W5: En die swirlkous lyn. As ek laat is vir n meeting en ek kry nie die borsel nie then I say, come, give a scissor. Ek is net soe man (*video cuts*). Nou die dag toe se my ma vir my, blow jou hare, toe se ek mammie hoekom, want as die twee bolletjies los is dan is die hele kaap vol hare.

W5: Mia is also going through her hair journey. Sy het daai French gesny laas maand.

W7: weet julle wat, as julle families gemeng is ne, dan is die part van die familie se hare is straight en die part van die familie se hare is soe (motions to her curly hair)

W5: My suster se hare is straight. Sy lyk amper soos n Indian.

G1: My anties have straight hair, long Indian hair. All my cousins and I asked why is my hair not like that. So from school I was trying to straighten my hair cause I thought I was supposed to look like that. I thought that was how it's supposed to be. But now its like we are all individuals, different DNA, different cultures

W5: Because her hair used to be like that then my mommy say, maak net die kind se hare reg. dan los ek nou miskien vir haar by my ma hulle vir die weekend dan kom ek terug dan het sy pom poms en daai hare is styf getrek.

(W4 talks about a baby being a few months old whose hair was tied up to look neat).

W6: Dit was my birthday party julle en ek onthou my ma het my hare geblou daai dag. Toe ek buietkant kom toe mince my hare en toe wil ek nie gan nie want toe is daar n meisie by die party met net sulke lang hare. Toe se ek ek is klaar met die party julle.

(We talk about the fact that when you relax your hair you cannot swim because your hair will mince and it will smell because the product stinks.)

W4: Ek het nou my hare geblow voor ek nou beach toe gegan het, then you must just sit there and not swim. Or if you do swim your head must stay above the water because I did my hair the morning

W6: Of jy moet n swirlkous en a sakkie op jou hare sit as jy gan swem want my ma het gese, jy maak nie jou hare nat nie. Then you must swim doggy paddle

AK: Why did it have to look like that?

W5: I think it was because I dated this black boy en hy wil hom elke dag gewas het, he was very over washing. So he says there is this thing about, you know they say black people stink, the stigma.

W7: Wiet jy waar kom dit van, dit kom van wit mense af. They say our skin…

W4: But how did they wash you man (*scrubbing of the skin*).

W5: It's the same thing with hair. Then they say oe jyt n kroes kop of jy het n pitte kop. Of my ma se, jy moet reg lyk kyk hoe lyk jou hare, straigten jou hare.

C1: One perception of beauty and this is the only thing that can be beautiful, so everybody tried to fall around that and tried to fit into that. But its not who they are.

W4: The lighter your skin, the straighter your hair the better they treat you

W7: I was treated differently because I was lighter and I have light brown eyes. Or they will say, haai ek het die mooi ene gevat.

W6: En moetie as die kinners uitkom nie. Ek het nou al drie kinners ne, en toe Mia uitkom toe se hulle, kyk haar vingers, ky haar naels, want die colour gan change. En toe die laaste ene kom toe se hulle, here ons bid oor daai neus. You must massage the nose to bring it up (*if it is flat*). And when you bring n burk, jy moet kyk sy hare.

AK: Die you really want to plat pantihose.

W7: Daai man kan nie vir jou support nie maar sy hare is glad.

AK: Wat is reg?

W7: Iemand het my kind kom kyk. My kind is lig van kleur, sy het groen oe, maar haar hare is mos nou nie straight nie, then they also commented on that. Daai het nie vir my gepla daai tyd nie, as long as the child is healthy.

W5: Then they would say, your hair is thick, you can't do certain things with your hair but you can do a lot of other things with your hair. And when she is going to get to high school, girls are nasty you know and I want to prepare my child for that situation of hair, kyk hoe lyk jou hare, dat sy kan proud wies.

W6: That is what Mia is also going through now with her hair journey.

W5: Because you can't be classified just by your hair. There is so much more than just that.

W6: when your hair is bad then they say you look like a slave because your hair is plat like that. It is a bad thing want jy lyk arm. Jy lyk soes jy niks het nie.

W7: Is nie net onse mense nie, die swart mense ook, hulle gan koep daai weaves want hulle hare moet straight.

W6: I think the weaves is a way of protective styling.

W4: it didn't start off as protective styling it was looking like you have straight hair and to hide my hair.

W5: Ek en my suster, ek was seker 8 en sy was 10, my pa was mos a shoe maker en hy het gevoel ons moet fringes het, hy sny van die helfte van onse hare af, toe skel my ma

W4: Hulle is so behep oor hare.

W6: Toe (*mentions name*) gebore is toe is haar hare nat gelek. Even with the mens hair it's a thing at the barber

W3: My uncle is in n and en hulle almlal het daai bont kop afro

AK: Wat is a bot kop

W4 and 3: Is kroes hare.

AK: So how do you feel about the word kroes?

W5: Ek is proud van my kroes kop.

W6: En die mense wil net aan jou hare vat, hulle gryp haar hare.

W4: They want to know if it's real. Its more Coloured people that do it. The white people will say, I like your hair (*sarcastically*). And the black people think it is a wig

W5: That is the one thing about Coloured people, we don't do weaves. Even if there is no hair, the pom pom is there, jy maak alles plat, but we don't usually go to fake hair

C1: We will rather change our own hair like Brazilian or relax.

(*Talk about the materialistic nature of coloureds but we don't wear fake things, like hai*r).

W4: If you have long straight hair, then you are a coloured girl en jy is die mooiste. All the boys like you. En nou is jou hare bietjie kort dan is dit die meisie met die af hare.

The names called for girls that don't have hair (*all talk together*): duck scroef, aap kop, houte kop, tak bok

(*Everyone talks at the same time*).

W4 decided to grow all her hair natural including under her arms, facial hair and pubic region. People like to tell me your hair looks nice, it suits you. But my hair will suit me, and your hair will suit you. It's about the way they feel about themselves.

W5: Cause they don’t understand their own hair. Jy wietie wat jou draad issie en jy willie daai draad op jou he nie

C2: The hairdressers make you feel bad because they say her hair is thick (in a negative way).

They talk about the fact that going to the hairdresser was abusive emotionally and physically (*hairdresser told the girl her hair looks like an aeroplane, and they burn your scalp*)

W5: It is traumatic to your hair and to yourself.

W4: My natural hair journey started with dreads, en jy lyk net al mooier en mooier cause my hair was so unique, it was natural, it was beautiful.

W6: Kelly from Destiny;s child had her hair straight. Weet jy hoe het ek in my ma se arms gehuil want ek wil my hare soe het

W5: We like to rock our own hair whether it is straight or not.

W7: She said something like we are te boesmanne. We the bushies, het sy gese. I feel like she don’t know our history

W4: She don’t know her own history.

W7: It is not that I don’t like the word bushman, its just that it came out of her mouth, and it’s not a joke where you come from

W5: They can’t trace theirs like we can trace our ancestry.

(I tell them about my relationship with the word bushmen and the way I was teased).

W5: But now they are copying our style.

W7: Die adults, hulle is skaam om te praat. Ek vra vir my ma altyd, mammie waarvanaf kom jy, nee ek ken nie. Al wat ek ken is die riel dans. Dan se ek nou wys hoe is die riel dans, dan se sy sy stel nie belang nie. Wa is my mense in die Grabouw mammie? Watte mense

W5: They are very shy and ashamed. People don’t understand, the war waged against some people is not just physical, its deeper than that. Not only do they take your land, they take your men to work for you, they rape your women and they attack your mind. And the self hate is deep.

W7: My antie told me, as julle se julle is Khoisan, ons gan julle lippe afknip. Dit was amper soos n nickname. Toe vra ek vir my Oupa, wat is Pofadders? Onse mense is alytyd so bad luck, dik neck, toe noem hulle sommer vir ons Pofadder

W4: That is how our history was just lost because the white people erased it.

W5: Now we know for a man who has pride to be humble, and for a man it's a big thing and some people don't come back from that. It can break you.

W6: En darem is som mans mense in die tronke.

W5: And Coloured men don't stay and take responsibility

(*We talk about the fact that when you come into a room people already classify you and I ask what the general classification is*).

W6: Hulle weet nie miskien wie ek is as ek inkom nie want ek is die swart skappi in die familie (points to skin) want ek lyk soos my pa. But if I just keep my mouth, I can pass for a Xhosa, Zulu girl. And then if they speak to me in their language and I can't speak it back they think I keep me kwaai because I think that I am better than them. Because I have this skin and with short hair I can pass. Maar sodra my hare uitgroie then they say, that hair, ha a, you a coloured girls

(Talk about language).

W5: I always say the white version of saying words, not the proper version. The geographical spaces call for different versions. Our slang is different. Overseas people called her a light skinned black. Joburg coloured girls will wear weaves

C1: Their culture is more black culture than coloured culture.

AK: What is coloured culture?

C1: Like we don't like fake things, our hair, our shoes.

W4: Coloured culture is not being Black.

C1: And Cape Town Coloured culture is our rappers are proud of who they are whereas in America they are so ashamed of who they are they want to be American.

AK: Is there a difference between a Coloured person and a Khoe person?

W5: I felt very disappointed with the Khoe community in the Northern Cape, because during apartheid they were Coloured just like us in Cape Town, they were classified as Coloureds, just like us. Nou het hulle bietjie acknowledgment gekry, a bietjie recognition, now we (in Cape Town) are not good enough to be Khoe, now we Coloured. So ons is nie wit genoeg nie, ons is ook nie swart genoeg nie, nou is ons ook nie Khoe genoeg nie. Ek lyk dan soos jy lyk. Ek het ook dan plat ogies, ek het ook n plat neus. We were good enough to be Coloured when you's were not recognised as Khoe. I might not have a bloodline, but I want to identify as Khoe. Nou word ek gese, jy is van die Kaap. Jy's n Coloured. Jy is nie Khoe nie, jy is gemix. Julle mense is gemix. That is why I am learning to speak Khoekhoegowab, because if I am am Khoe, n Cape Coloured gan vir julle wys hoe om julle taal te praat. I am going to go there because, don't tell me about your bloodline, I respect the. If you have a bloodline of a big Khoe family, why are you not speaking the language. Why aren't the children, why didn't you pass down the knowledge. Hoekom skel jy vir my in die Kaap man. I am going to help you bring your culture back. Ek gan jou defend mos hier in die Kaap. Dan wat gan jy nou maak, is ek altyd nie Khoe genoeg nie

W6: Ons was altyd hotnots, nou kano ns nie Khoe wees nie nou wat is ons nou?

AK: But do you think it is important to classify yourself?

W6: I don't want to be classified as a Coloured because I feel that thing just works on my nerves.

C1: Who gave us that name?

W6: Because the translation of Coloured is (k word), n veil ding. Coloured, (K word) is dieselfde ding. Onse eie mense wil dan nou nie eers vir ons he nie nou waa nou?

W5: A (K word) is actually someone that does not believe in God, Caffier.

W7: The other thing that I also get angry about, en ek het dit nou al vir n par mense gese, dan wil hulle vir my vertel, ja, you mos Coloured, we can take you people for free.

W4: Hulle hoef nie lobola te betaal nie.

W7: Toe se ek vir die outjie, well, number 1, I am educated. Number 2, I ek kom van n royal family af, which is Khoesan. Number 3, jy gan nie vir my vat vir niks nie so jy gan betaal meneer

W6: They say we don't have ancestors.

(*Everyone talks at the same time*).

W6: Dan se hy vir my, you mos don't have a heritage.

W7: Die man het vir my eendag gese, you Coloured people mos don't know where you come from. Malau

(*I talk to them about the admixture of all the cultures and how there is no pure "race" and that the older generation don't know about their heritag*e).

W6: Hulle wil nie praat nie. Is klomp secret ne

W5: It is fear that has been instilled in them over years.

My great grandparents were Dutch and Holland. And my great grandmother, actually in apartheid she was classified as white. Then my granny married a Malay guy, and there is also some Singapore vibes.

Cause one day I was walking so a guy asked me, what are you? Are you a mixed breed? Are you hybrid?

AK: Why is it ok for people to ask that?

W4: Just to us!

(Everyone talks at once).

(I explain to them what a baster is).

W6: En hulle se nie hulle is kleurlinge nie

(I ask them if they know where their families are from).

W6: Ek weet nie waar is my mense nie.

W4: All I know is that my mothers family come from Namaqualand, and our grandfather was Dutch. And my father, I never knew my dad. I know my grandfather looks very very dark skinned. Dark hair straight black hair, all of that.

(Echo of the room preventing clear sound)

W4: Grandfather had sharp nose. My mother's father. My father's people we don't really know

AK: Do you think it is important for us to know? Do you think it will make a difference?

(All talk at the same time).

W3: If you know maybe it gives you a sense of pride

G2: So that we know where we belong.

(All talk at the same time).

W3: Just to know who you are. Knowing for yourself. Niemand kan vir my vertel jy het nie a culture nie.

(I ask W3 what she will do if she does the DNA test and finds no Khoe ancestry).

W3: Then I will continue to fight for the language and tell people that I am doing it on their behalf

(I talk about the different phases and stages of identity assimilation like the home and school).

W3: But we are all part of hip hop and hip hop is a culture also. It is a way of being activists. We are the ones that fight against the system. We fight against the indoctrination about who you are not in life. My circle of friends, we are very open minded and we ask questions and we are opinionated and we look for answers. So we know who we are

W4: In the essence, if I call upon my ancestors, hulle moet kom. For me that is the most strongest thing. And me going into my trance, that is a universal thing of…

W3: And it is not also about the race thing. As a hip hop artist and as a human being, I just feel like we are all here for the same reason its just that there are all these different labels but at the end of the day there was nature and we want to be a part of it. We were living in nature.

We were part of nature and we are rooted in there and that is where I feel I belong. And whether I am not San or I am not Khoe, that is where my heart belongs.

(All talk at the same time)

(I ask if your skin colour and your hair affect your identity)

W3: It depends on the surroundings you were raised in

(W4 talks about the natural hair journey)

W3 talks about the girls that have been brainwashed and are stuck in that mentality of you must have straight hair.

They talk about the girls with straight hair and had a good life and had lots of hair and if you had kroes hair you had to learn to fight.

Appendix N Pella

Location: Pella

Participants: Four

Date: 7 September 2021

Format: Video recording

(*I ask them if they feel proud of who they are and if they feel they can choose who they are).*

W3: Jy voel eintlik trots om te kies maar hulle het nou gese ek is Kleurling. Maar nou is dit mos ek is gemeng. My Oupa is uintlik deel van die Namas. My Ouma is Damara, afstameling van die Herero. So ek weet nou nie wat is ek nou nie want dit is nou al. Ek is gemeng, ek het geteken gemeng. So as ek kan weet wat ek is, dan sal dit goed wees.

AK: Maar hoe stel mevrou voor om dit vas te stel, hoe om te weet wie jy is?

W3: Ek weet nou nie hoe sal ek kan gehelp raak nie of hoe. Is dit nou miskien n ding van bloed trek of wat, want hoe sal jy nou weet wat jy is? Ek se nou maar ek is n kleurling want my ma is a kleurling, maar nou, my Oupa is deel van Boesman, my Ouma was deel van Damara en afstameling is Ouma deel van die Herero ook. En kyk as ek daar kom in Namibia, as ek loop dan vra hulle vir my wat is jou naam, dan se ek vir hulle, hulle noem my mos in Pella, Zuru. Dan se ek nou ek is Zuru, en dan vra hulle vir my, en jou van, Jan, maar ek is getroud April. Dan se hulle nee, behalwe dat jou van Jan is, wat is jou ander van. Dan se ek vir hulle my ander van is Steenkamp. Dan se hulle die Steenkamp's is deel van die, julle sien die van Hendrik Witbooi, Jacob Morenga uit. So ek weet nou nie rerig nie, en as ek dit kan weet dan is dit goed. En ek se sommer vir hulle, as hulle se, daar kom Zuru, dan se ek nee my kind, vol bloed Damara.

AK: En hoe voel die ander dames?

W1: Ek is mos maar nou net n Kleurling. My pa is mos Namas en my Oupa is n Duitser, so jy weet eintlik nie self wat jy eintlik is nie. Maar ek is mos nou maar n Kleurling.

W4: Ek sal se ek sal baie graag n vol bloed Nama wil wees. My ma is Nama. Die Nama kultuur is meer in Pella is on top. Maar nerens, nie eers in jou ID nie, sal hulle vir jou se jy is n Nama nie. So dit is hoekom ons die Kleurling moet vat.

W2: Nou soos ek hier sit is ek mos n Witbooi. My pa was n Nama. Maar weens die tekortkominge van Nama mag n mens mos nou nie erens gewees het nie, en die goed gan dood. Ons het nie Nama geleer nie, ons het ook nie Nama gepraat nie. Dit is net onse groot mense wat Nama gepraat het. My pa is n Nama en ek is n Nama. En ek gan vol op dit wat hy vir my agtergelaat het as Nama.

Ek het daar geskryf Khoe (*on the survey*). Wat is dit? Wat is Khoe? Is hy ook deel van Nama?

(I say yes).

W2: Nou dan is ek dit want dit is waar ek wil wees. Ek weet mos nou nie hoe maak n mens of hoe moet jy maak nie, maar dit is mos Kleurling in jou ID boek en so an. Dit is hoe ons opgegrooi het as Kleurling. Maar na 1994 toe hoor ons mos nou wat is wat en wat is wat.

(I ask her what box she would tick at the police station or court).

W2: Dan sal ek moet se Kleurling.

AK: En as u kon kies?

W2: Dan sal ek nou se soos ek opgegroei het, my pa is n Nama maar jou goed het mos nie so uitgewerk nie. As jy gese het jy is a Witbooi dan kry jy nie die werk nie. Maar in elkgeval, ek het mos gehoor, ek was nie by toe die kind dit gese het nie, volgens kan se, maar dit is hoe. My pa is a Nama, ek weet dit. Hy het so gesterf.

(I talk about how there are no spaces to talk about this and how you feel about it).

W4: Even die vorms by die polisie stasie of wherever, maak nie voorsiening van n Nama of n Khoe of wat nie. So jy moet of se jy is n Suidafrikaanse burger of jy moet se jy is n Kleurling. Jy kan nie se jy is n Xhosa of wat nie. So daai is die goed.

AK: So voel julle dat die Khoe en die Nama en die Damara kry nie erkenning nie?

W4: Al werk Sandra, is besig is om meer dat die kultuur moet herleef sien ons dat ons het n baie groot agterstam, want ons kan nie eers die taal praat nie. En onse ouers het met mekaar

gepraat maar hulle kon dit nie met ons praat nie want hulle het sort van vir ons beskerm want die taal was geonderdruk, hulle was geonderdruk en hule wou dit nie vir ons gehad het nie.

W2: Dit is eintik waarvan ek praat maar ek kon dit nie so lekker uitle nie.

(I talk about the topic of my thesis and mention the physical aspects and specifically hair).

W4: Dit is ook al manier hoe dat jy moet wees uitleef. Ek soek in elkgeval nie jou lang hare nie. Ek soek my kroes kop. Daai hare moet van mekaar af weggan dat ek kan se daar kom my Boesman uit. Ek wil met trots se, daar kom my Boesman. Ek het met jou lang hare of jou wat het ek absulied niks te doen nie. So vir ons ne, om n Nama rok of veldskoene antetrek en om na n event te gan is vir ons iets groot. Jou hak skoene en jou twee stuk Langbroek wat het ek niks mee te doen nie. Sien, so as ons gan om uitteswaai dan gan ons om uitteswaai. Maar dit is iets wat ons hier beleef, dit is nie iets wat opgeskryf is in die boeke nie. So ons het uitntlik meer verengels. Ons het uit ons kultuur uit is ons verbaster engels toe. Want hierdie goed …ek meen hulle het dit eintlik op ons afgedwing, op onse ouers afgedwing. So al wat ons nou huidiglik mee sit is net die kleurdrag want ons kan nie praat nie. Onse ouers het met mekaar gepraat maar hulle het nie met ons gepraat nie want hulle het ons eintlik beskerm. Ons dink hulle het vir ons n onreg angedoen maar hulle het ons beskerm. Want hulle weet wat hulle deurgemaak het en hulle wou dit nie vir ons he nie want ons het nie geweet 1994 sal kom nie.

AK: Ek hoor u se u is nou baie trots op u kroes hare, maar was dit altyd so?

W4: Nee, ons het ge relax.

(Everyone talks at the same time and Damara woman removes her hat to show her natural hair).

W2: Jy was mos gese jy moet jou Boesman hare sny want daai tyd struggle jy ook al.

W1: Dan moet jy net maar glad maak en n Pella parcel wees.

W3: n pella pas (perre pas).

W1: Beesgelek.

W2: Want dan moet jy gel dat hy net moet plat le maar hy staan mos nie daar nie want dit is nie jou draad nie. Maar hy sit net vir daai tyd dan is hy terug

W1: (*shows curling*) daar waar hy moet wees.

W2: Ek kan nou nie my pruik afhaal nie dan sit hulle (*all laugh*)

W3: Van hier af het ek nou nog n perm, jy moet hom net so (pats the afro)

W2: Ek het nou nie geweet dit is vir dit nie. As ek nou geweet het, het ek ook die hare losgemaak. Nou kan ek dit nie afhaal nie nou moet ek sit.

(*She said she took her braidings out but had to put the wig on again so that she could look good*)

W1: Ons moet dit ook dien dat ons in die straight kan loop dan lyk dit jy is darem (throws imaginary long hair). Lat hy kan so, lat hy kan val waar hy wil.

(*I talk about the impact that hair has, even on our time. I ask if they have daughters and how they teach them about hair*).

W2: Hulle vleg dit in.

W1: So dat hy net n style is.

W4: So jy leer jou dogters dat hulle altyd goed moet lyk. En dat hy altyd moet sy hare versorg want mense kyk altyd eerste in jou gesig.

AK: So as jy n mooi mens van binne is en jou hare lyk nie lekker nie dan?

(They just shake their heads).

W4: As ek nou kyk, as ek nou byvorbeeld my oudste meisikind vat, sy is nou nie rerig oor die Nama kultuur nie maar sy glo in haar hare. Sy dra vir hulle, sys al nie sommer invleg nie. As sy nou, en sy werk tog, as sy nou opstaan en haar hare was en sy lat dit nou deurmekaar maak dan gan sy werk toe. So sy het iets van baie Nama in haar en sy dra haar hare kort. Die meeste van die lewe dra sy haar hare kort.

AK: So sy wil nie van die Nama kultuur weet nie?

W4: Ek sal nie se sy is nie mal nie maar toe ons die feeste begin het ons gesien hoe die jong kinners in hordes opdaag. Die kinders is byvoorbeeld, maar van daai tyd af het ons maar lang arm gedans. Maar sien die meerderhuid van ons kinders dans tog die Nama stap. Daai tyd het ons dit nog genome kroeg danse. As kinders was ons vollop by die kroeg danse. Dit is hoekom ons so goed kan dans en ons dans somme n hond uit n bos uit. Ons het regtig nie

meer kroeg danse nie, ons het altyd in die saal gedans maar ons (inaudible) kan nie nie by n bruilof nie. Dit is nou deel van Pela maar, behalwe as dit nou in n saal of so is. Maar ons het mos nou meer huis troues. So Sondag het ons maar die Namastap gehad.

(I talk about the fact that people were told they are Coloureds but I ask them how their family members differ physically from each other).

W1: Ons lyk nou nie almal dieselfde nie, net so twee drie miskien. Ons verskil van mekaar met kleur en hare. Somtyds voel jy net so, maar kyk hoe lyk jou hare dan sal ons altyd str yen so. Jou pa het dan hare en jou ma het dan nie hare nie, ons kyk mos maar daarop. Ek is so trots op my pa se hare, daai lekker Nama Boesman hare. Ek soek daai hare soek ek, en ek is trots op dit.

W4: Die rede hoekom daar baie verskille is, kyk my ma is n erg Nama vrou, baie geel gewees, en my pa se velkleur was amper soos jou t-shirt (I wore n black t-shirt). Baie donker, baie baie donker. So van ons is lugter en van ons is baie baie donker. So dit is die verskil. Sommmiges, soos my ma het daai hare gehad wat, gee pad van mekaar af, hy loop mos maar… Hy gee pad van mekaar af dan maak hy ronne kringe. Ek het nou weer meer my pa se hare. En dan is daar nou weer van my susters en my broers wat my ma se hare het, en daai si die verskil. Maar ons is een ouer se kinders

W3: Die bloedlyn is die een. Daar is nie meer nie. Ons is een ma se kinders maar ons het verskillende pa's. Ons is in elkgeval net hier maar ek is ook nie hulle se suster nie want ek is nou weer groot. Want darem se ek, hulle se mos nou vir my, ek is mos nou Herero. Maar as ek hom ook sien, ek en my suster is die grootste, maar die oudtse suster en die ander ene, hulle is een pa se kinders, ek is apart van hulle af. Maar dit is in elkgeval ook, as jy my sien in Namibia, dan sien ek my tussen daai mense, dan voel ek baie trots. Dan ek sommer ek is Damara, Herero afstameling, ek hoort hier. Dan se ek ook maar vir hulle, my kleredrag wat ek het is net tradiesionele klere. Is nou net jammer ek het nou nie my doekie opgesit nie, want kyk my hare is nou te veterig, toe moes ek net so loop en ek het my hoed opgesit. So maar nou voel ek ek is oraait. My suster hulle verskil en hulle stel nie belang in daai mense nie, sulke goed. Is net ek. En hulle se hare is in elkgeval beter as meine, maar hulle praat nie daai goed nie. Maar as dit fees is dan gan kyk hulle en dan kom hulle terug. Is nou net een wat nog lewe, die ander ene is oorlede.

AK: So u se as u Namibia toe gan en u sien…

W3: Nee ek pas by hulle.

AK: Maar hoe, in watter sin?

W3: Die lyf en alles. Jy sien hulle is mos heerlik gebou (shows round full figure)

(Everyone laughs and talks at the same time)

W3: Ek weet nou nie hoe om te se nie. Is lank en hoog en vet en gunsakke en alles. Jy sien (*she stands up to show her body*). Jy sien nou as jy nog die …

Nou as jy nog die Herero kan kyk, dan beweeg hulle dan lyk dit amper dit is a pou. Hy maak net so (shows hands actions of waves or how a peacock walks). Ek het van dit. Is nou net jammer ek het dit nou nie an nie, dan sal ek jou nou gewys het dit is dit.

W2: Ons is in die kultuur. Ons lyk almlal eeners, maar daai een kan jy sien, hulle is streep sake, want al is eners, van die hare af, so ons gan an. Daar is net n paar van die susters, wat nou die ma sinne is, my ma wat nou nie hare het nie. Maar ok, ons is erg, my pa hulle, en dan se hulle, maak daai ausis toe, maak daai toe, as die krilletjies mos nou so uitkom. As ek nou nie die pruik opgehad het nie dan kom die nille mos so uit, hulle se mos ek het nille. Is mos daai kringetjies soos ons mekaar se. Jou hare is mos nie lekker nie.

W3: Oompies en tone.

W1: Jy moet hulle so trek net dat hulle kan bykom, die anders.

W2: Ons het mos n goeie verstand hounding, ek en my broers en my susters, ons is erg Nama. Ons dans Namastap, daai hele goed. Ons is daai Familie, erg Nama. Ons worry mos nou nie wat ons vir mekaar se nie want ons het mos nou nie getou nie met lekker hare, ons het mos nou kort gekom. My pa het mos daai, waar nie eers n watter sal stilsit nie, nee daai kan nie breek nie. Hy is sommer hier en weer af.

(I ask when they got married if they were told that you must not take a dark man or a man whose hair is not too bad).

W3: Daai was nou nie daar nie want ons is altwee uwe donker.

W4: Hulle het byvoorbeeld net vir ons bang gemaak met die, hulle het gese jy moet bang wees vir die (K word). Hulle het gese jy moet net binne in jou ras trou.

Kyk hierdie was mos n Wet nege gebied so daar was net Kleurlinge, so hier het net Kleurlinge gebly. So as daar iemand hier ingekom het en hy maak moielikheid dan is hy somme daai dag of die aand by die cross geloop los, uit, hy moet gan. Sien, so hier was rerig nie ander rasse nie. So hier was ook nie werk nie. Onse mense het geboer. En dan was die wat mos nou nie geboer het nie het uitgegan en buite gan werk.

AK: So hier is nie gemeng met enige ander rasse nie?

W4: Nee, behalwe mos nou, na 1994 het hier mos nou…maar daar is seker net een gesin, blankes, wat die winkel hier het. So dit is mos nou die kleurlinge en dan is dit mos nou van die Afrikans wat by die meine werk en so.

AK: So het julle al die word baster gehoor?

(They agree that they have heard of them).

W4: Kyk ons het mos die pad, so in daai jare het die basters mos aan die kant gebly. So daai kant.

AK: Maar is nog in Pella?

W2: Is nog in Pella maar se is soos die Baster kroek.

W4: En ons het aan daai kant gebly. Die Damaras en die Namas het daai kant gebly, So ons was ook gedeel.

AK: Maar hoe verskil die basters?

W4: Nee kyk hulle is nou daai, hulle het mos nou die perre kwas

W3: Hulle maak net so (*shows like a horse's tail swinging*) hulle hare.

W4: Alhoewel ons almal kleurlinge was, was daar ook was daar ook apartheid in daai kategorie van julle is wie en julle is wie.

(It's just the skin colour and hair that were the differences but they are all the same person at the end of the day but there was apartheid between brown people).

(I ask them what they think what information a DNA test can give you).

W4: n DNA toets kan vir jou se wie jy is, jou afstammelinge

(I explain to them the DNA testing process and ask them if they will do the test)

W3: Dan weet jy mos wie jy is

(I ask them what they would do if the test says there is no Nama DNA in them)

W4: Dit gee jou mos some clarity.

W3: Dan weet jy mos nou wat jy is

(I say that the science might say one thing but whether it would change how they feel about what their parents told and taught them).

W4: Nee, definitief nie. Want hulle het miskien ook nou nie geweet nie. Want daar is sekere goed in die kultuur by jou ouers wat hulle vir jou geleer het wat jy glo. En tenspyte wat die DNA vir jou gan se, dit is klaar hier in jou brein in. Jy kan nie net so van dit ontslae raak nie.

(I ask if the test will determine who they are).

All: Ek verkies my lewe, soos wat my ouers vir my grootgemaak het

W3: Dit is my problem. As jy dit kon gehad het (the DNA test) dan het jy versekering maar van hierdie goed wat ek geleer het kan ek nie onstlae raak nie.

(We talk about the sheltering of Pela).

W4: Hier is baie kindertjies wat in onse families in gekom het waar die vader nie van Pela is nie. Is n Kaapenar of so iets. So, en dan word hulle onse kultuur geleer, indien nie pa nie die ma trou en wegvat nie.

(I ask if it is important to talk about hair).

W4: Ek dink dit is belangrik om oor jou voorkoms te praat, dit gan nie specifiek oor jou hare nie. Want as jy jou goed versorg en jou hare is gekam, dit maak nie saak waste tiepe haar jy het nie, solank dit goed versorg is.

(How should young girls be taught now and what is important).

W4: Dit wat jy hier binne het (heart). Dit wat jy van binne het strael na buite. Jou voorkoms kom van binne af. So jy kan jou nou hoe maak en wat doen, maar as jy hier binne lelik is, dan is jy lelik.

(Pencil test)

W4: As daai potlood mos binne in daai kroes kop kom, dan loop jou tranne so seer kry jy.

W1: Te taai en te sterk

(video ends)

Appendix O Kalahari 2

Location: Scotty's Fort (Kalahari)

Participant: One PV

Date: 31 August 2022

Format: video footage

AK: So wat onthou Oom Petrus nog van u ma en u Ouma en u voorouers? Wat onthou Oom Petrus nog van hulle?

PV: My ma, ek het gebore in 1944 en my Ouma het gesterf in 1945. En ek het groot geword toe het my pa se ma, my ander Ouma, het ek geken. Sy het ook van die Kalahari afgokmstig gekom na die boer plasse toe. By haar het ek ook geleer, medisyne. Sy het Vicks gebruik om die brood te braai, die brotjie wat sy maak, dan vat sy Vicks. Sy kniee vicks in die deeg, dan braai hy. Gooi hy bietjie suikerkies in dan het so n soet smaak hat. Onder die as. Daai as het hy onder my suster se nael gesit om die nael af te haal, toe bore my susterjite. Ek moet die asbos loop haal, vuur maak, daai wit as uithaal, in n dingetjie sit en vir Ouma gee dat Ouma kan daai kind dokter, toe het my ma geboorte gegee met my sustertjie. En dit is wat ek alles gesien het by daai Ouma. En baie reguit. Wat hy jou wil se, hy gan tot by jou en hy gan se jou n storie soos dit is. Uit en oor, en dan se hy wat hy nodig hat van jou dan is dit klaar dan stap hy terug. Geen boer, niks, hy het geen respek vir n mens nie, niks. Hy koggel jou nie. As jy hom nodig het, hy kom daai tyd en hy kom help. Hy was ook n smeer Ouma. My ma se ma was ook n vroedvrou. Sy het hierdie Kalahari geloop met sy kierie saam, net sy kierie. Dan sy hy (*Petrus Nama name*), ek het hier n droom gesig gehad my (talks nama) se (talks nama) is nie lekker nie, ek moet hier loop. Dan kom hy daar van daai dik Kalahari af, hier deer, om hier Vaal rivier vat want hier is iemand nie meer gesond is nie. Hy moet gan hoor hoe gaan dit daar. Partykeer as hy daar kom dan is dit op die tyd wat die mens moet begrawe word, doen moet hulle miskien net vir hom begrawe. Of dan maak hy medisyne want hy het sy medisne gedra aan sy sy. As sy miekien loop soos nou trek, dan het hy die donkey, die ry donkey. Nou vir n donkey weet ek nie of n boesman n naam gehet het nie want ek het hom nie gehoor nie, ek was seker bietjie dom. Al wat ek weet my ma en sy Oupa het vir die leeu gese dus my vrou se ryding. Dus die naam, ry ding van die vrou. Oupa ry nie op die donkey nie, n kind ry nie op n donkey nie, n vrou ry op die donkey. Dit is die ry ding. Hulle het nie n naam nie. Perd het darem n naam wat nou eintlik ingekom het. Hy was eintlik n wille ding vir hulle. Nou vir hom

het hulle n naam gehad. Ek dink kameel ook. Maar dit is waar ons moet terug gaan na onse autographie om die pad te wat en waar ons n lector nodig het soos Dr Levie Namaseb wat ons die regte pad kan wys en rugting kan aanwys, wat haalbaar en volhoubaar sal wees vir die langer dier. Want ons kan nie agter flemensels gan nie. Ons kan nie agter ongelugte en onopgeluide taal skrywers gaan nie. Dit is n fout. (*He mentions people not doing the right thing*). Hulle tonge is nog nie eens in plek nie, Namaseb sal my kan se. Willem Damara, dus n man wat |Nuu ke kan praat. Sy tong is klaar Nama reg. Dit is Nama hoer graad. Damara, Nama. Soos Oupa Dawid praat Damara Nama. So sy tong is klaar reg. So as hy hoor die woord en hy vertsaan die woord en hy praat maklik. Soos (talks nama) vuur. Guster toe moet ek bietjie oopmaak omdat ons al die jare, met ons moedertaal en al onderdruk is.

Ek moet onder die ou nooi se tafel moet sit as dit reen en as die reen weg is dan moet ek teen die ashoop sit. Ons kan nie met die boer kind loop speel nie, die boer kind kan nie met ons speel nie want ons sal hom luise aansteek, ons is vol luise.

Daarom het my ma altyd baklei oor daai uitlatings wat hulle so maak. Die taal ook. Jy moet nie praat nie. Ma kan nie met ons Boesman taal praat nie. Nee moenie daai lelike taal praat nie. Ou Els, se vir hulle so. Soos die aand wat hy by die ounooi die doek kry wat die ou winkel boer, die ou smous, ou Klaas Brink, kom gee hy n doek vir ma en hy gee n blik jam vir ma. En toe hoor ek daai tyd, die ou boer se, dus vir die boesmantjies. Vat die blik jam en gan gee dit vir die boesmantjies. En die doek vat jy en gan gee dit vir ou Els. Hier toe ma nou uitval, hier son onder. Dit is van vamore donker dag, dan loop ma, kombuis toe. Loop vloere vrywe, huis skoon maak. En dit is net n ou boer en n ou nooi, dan moet ma daai vloer skoon maak. En as ons daar kom, die vuur brand, ma is daar. Dan kom ons so en dan sit ons teen die ashoop, ek en my suster en my broertjie, Hendrick. Dan sit ons daar. Dan moet ons sit en wag, dood stil sit en wag. Ons kan ook nie rond wat en wat nie. Die enigste ding wat ons kan doen ons moet houtjies optel vir die ounooi. Sulke klein nou houtjies, sulke drie dorintjies. Daai houtjies vanaand dan kry ons n jam blik meel wat ma moet vir ons loop pap maak. Ma kry 10 shillings in die maand. Dan loer ek dan se ek vir my broer, van my sustertjie, druk hom vas, le hom vas, hy sal my pla, ek wil loop loer. Toe loer ek, toe hoor ek, ja, die blik jam vir die Boesmantjies. Toe gan ek terug. Nou hierdie vat die ou nooi nou, of ma uitval, toe gan se ek vir my broer Hendrick, kom, abba ier vir suster meid. An dan Abba hy die kind. Dan hardloop h yen ek is voor. Dan se hy, ou Els, hier is n doek wat die baas vir jou gegee het, baas klaas brink vir jou gegee het, hy gee dit vir jou vir n krismis box. Dankie ounooi.

Toe ma nou omdraai, toe vra ek, en die blik jam. Oh ja Els. Toe hy vir ma die blik jam gee, toe se hy vir ma, Els ek het jou gese, jy moet hulle agter hou.

Wa agter?! Dit is nog vandag so. Ek is nog agter! Met my moedertaal, ek is agter my kind.

(*Talks about the negative institutions*).

Hulle wil nie die kanaal volg wat ons van n kundige en n deskundige verwag wat n ding kan laat bore. Soos wat Tony Trail, saam met Lefie Namaseb, Sa ||a !aĩsi 'uĩsi ("We go to a better life"), in Afrika lat neersit het, n opdrag van ons president, Nelson Mandela, is dit gedoen. Professional. Ek moet nou le en n ander mens glo, of agter n ander mens se taal aanpraat om my te change van my identiteit of my etnisiteit. Ek wil nie my lat change nie, hoe, hoe? Moet die lieg voortleef. Hoe is ek nog onder druk soos in die jare van apartheid. Word ons gese jy is dit. In apartheid was ons gese jy's Kleurling. Hoe kan jy n Kleurling wees maar jy het mense wat jou ken, se jou boesmon. Die Akrikaanse mense wat jou ken se jou boesman. Die Nama se jou |nuke, jy is Sa, hiedie Sa. En hy is geken die Nama. Weet jy, dit maak n mens seer.

Ek het hulle gevra guster in die meeting dat ek kan my, wat ek is kan oopmaak en waarheid se. Ons gaan op die spoor en leiding van ons moeder taal (points to his tongue), lat hy n slag vir ons ly en se wie ons is. Ons wil nie meer he die ander mense moet dit se nie. Nie n regering of niemand nie.

Ek het hulle gese ek was nie by CODESA nie. Ek sien in die grondwet staan San tale. Wie is dit? Ek weet nie, my taal se Sa, nie San nie. Ek weet nie waar is die vout nie. Die enigste man wat sal weet is die lector, die Dokter.

(*I ask him what will happen to the language the day that people like Levie Namseb are not there anymore*).

PV: Kom ek se jou eerlik my kind, daai een vra jy my vas. Jy vra my vas. Want die tyd toe my ma bereid was om op te staan en sy stem uit te bring lat Tony Trail moet change. 1974 toe se hy die |Nuu is dood, maar is 1996, ontmoet hy n 96 jarige vrou wat die |Nuu taal vlot praat. Nou daai tyd toe het hulle gese dit is waar, die taal is dood, 1974, maar 1996 toe hoor hulle een vrou praat nog die taal. En een vrou wat n klomp vrouens en manne bymekaar gemaak, en die werk is ook onder geldelike verknorsing. Daai julle operasie het ek gedoen verniet, nie I sent. Net vir die liefde van die saak, omdat die waarheid vir die eerste keer gepraat kan word, lat die taal sy eie pad loop, en lat die taal himself lat bloom en oopmaak. En van daai inligting

het ons baie inligting ingesamel en versamel. Hoe dit gehanteer is, is die goed uintlik in vreemde hande gewees. Soos wat baie dinge nou verval onder die hand van (mentions institutions) en hulle gebruik aktiviste, nie spesialiste nie, ek kyk na n spesialis, nie net n aktivis nie. So ek is bietjie bekommerd, hulle se eie Afrikaans maak my deurmekaar, dit is waarom ek baie keure deurmaakr goed praat.

(*I ask him about the DNA test that was done on him previously*).

PV: Ja, Amerika, hulle het gesaamentlk gekom, hier by ons. Ek en Ouma Xuna en Ouma Kuys, nee Ouma Seekoie, ons drie. En daai Nederlandse vroutjie het gese, raar maar waar. Ouma se voormense het die 100 000 jaar gelede die kos geeet, dit wys die toetse uit.

Nou die Ouma goed, kyk party van hulle kom van Botswana se kant. Hier halfdeel boesman, hier halfdeel miskien n ander bietjie dingese, lat hulle seker 80% of so, 70%. Maar daai vroutjie het gese raar maar waar. Nou ek weet nie wat het hy alles gebedoel met sy goeterse nie maar hulle het dit gedoen. Afrka se mense was by, twee van Afrika. Een van Nederland, een van Amerika, hulle drie het saam gewerk. En dit was vir my n eer om te weet my groot mense het my nie gelieg nie. Hulle het nie met my draaie geloop en my storie deurmekaar gemaak nie. Van wat hulle my gese het, kyk na die tekens.

Kyk hoe lyk die sand. As jy hom vat by my vel sal jy sien. As jy dieper in die Kalahari ingan, dan change die sand. Die sand wat hy so vaal daar, dit is die rivier water wat hier gan. Die vloed wat hier geloop het. Die vloed het n impak, hy trek. Hierdie aarde heir langs was wit. As jy dieper ingan dan ky jy hy is rooi, die boesman se kleur, soos die sand. Die oorlede Boesmans. Sa, hy lyk soos die sand. Nou het hulle vir ons San gemaak, nou die goed is nie reg nie. Dit is leeuns. Die Nama is in struid met dit. Ons praat nou saam. Hulle is in tsrud met klomp name. Khoekhoegowab en wat ulle nou genome word, en party se Khoe Khoe en al die goeterse. Party se reguit ek dink ek is n Nama. Moenie vir my kom Khoe Khoe goeterse en wat en wat nie. Se wat ek weet!

Nou party baklei so onder mekaar oor hulle self. By ons is dieselfde trots. N mens voel daardie seer, as jou egtheid verdraai en misbruik word. Want hierdie is verdraainig. Wat (*mentions name*) doen, ek hou nie daarvan nie. Dit is lelik. Hier is sy n kongngin. Ons ken nie n koningin nie. Waar kom die storie vandaan. Hoekom belieg sy die mense. Ek kan nie met haar saam praat nie. Sy is tien jaar our as ek. Sy is ’33 se kind ek is ’44 se kind, nou waar kan die verskil wees.

My Oupa was n kaptein. Die vaal rivier hy my Oupa geken. Ouma Una goeterse het my Oupa geken. Die more wat hulle gelaai word, 1936, toe werk my ma in die kombuis. Toe ma kom loer, toe vra hulle vir ma, van die lorrie af, daai ou Baines se lorrie wat ek van gepraat het, toe vra hulle vir ma, wie se kind is jy. Toe se ma (Nama name). toe ma se (Nama name) toe gruip hulle mekaar, toe hardloop ma weg.

AK: Hoekom?

PV: Hulle het boere klere aangehad. Hulle het oor die (Nama clothing) die boere kleure aangetrek, toe hardloop ma weg. Toe dink ma soos hierdie , mense vang dan moet jy weg ardloop. Want hulle hoor die taal met mekaar, hulle praat die taal mekaar. En toe hulle bymekaar kom en toe hulle in die testand gekom het, dieselfde Ouma Unas goed, toe praat hulle weer met mekaar toe hoor hulle mekaar.

So dit is nie hierdie pad se hoor mekaar nie, dit is n langer pad. En die langer pad is vasgemaak deur Dorothea Bleek. Daai tyd toe is ma 15 jaar oud, toe dra ma vir die eerste keer boer klere, lat ma by die ding gekom het dat die lorrie die mense verby vat, mar ma staan by die kombuis. Dit is toe wat hulle vir ma vra wie se kind is hy. Toe se ma (parents names), toe vat hulle mekaar, want hulle hoor jy ken die naam, is hulle se leier. Toe het die boer mos nou reeds vir ons uitmekaar gedruk, en die basters aand die ander kant so. Toe het ons ek maar gehoor jy moet daar loop struggle en jy moet daar loop struggle om te lewe want jou gieters word van jou afgevat. Jou beweegruimte is van jou afgevat. Soos die dokter, die groot doketer, Oupa Galakap wat die poliese vir hom kom ja het toe hy n gemsbok doodmaak.

(*He tells the story of Oupa Galakab who could change into a lion, half lion half person. The police man that shot at him because he killed n gemsbok got sick. He went to hspitals in cape Town and Bloemfonteain. The only person that could fix him with herbs was Oupa Regopstaan, who told him then to leave the Boesman. And he got better. Galakab could change into a lion and when he came back from the field in this state, Ouma would feel it and get the buchu ready. She would cool him down and then he would become a man again*).

PV: So was daai manne se krag van die natuur. Die kragte is nog miskien iewers. In Botswana en Namibia skuil nog van daardie power. Hier by ons het ons verwester, verbaster en veronderdruk. En as ek uitlik so kyk dan lyk dit my meer indeels, dit is n bewustheid van gelgurigheid. (*He talks about the evils of money*).

En wat jy nou vir my gevra het, as Namaseb moet wegval, wie het jy. Dit is my diep bekommer, dit is my diepe vrees al die tyd. Darem toe Namaseb en Damara saambind het ek hulle verstand. Hulle taal gebruik, saamewerking, ondersteuning, en rugting wat hulle sien wat die pad moet loop, toe kan jy hoor en verstaan dit is skool meesters, hulle weet die pad. Nou as ons hulle dan terug stoot deur (mentiones name) en manne bring waste tonge nie eers reg is nie, liewe Here. Ek is bekommerd my kind, ek is bekommerd. Ons is besig nou met n verdwaaling met nou wat (mentions institution) nou wil doen (mentions name), is gevaarlik. Toe die goed op die tafel is toe raak hulle vir die goed skaam, oe vloek hulle vir die manne wat die goed gedoen het, maar hulle het vir die manne voorgese maak so. Hulle hoor die man kannie die taal praat nie, sy tong is nie reg nie. (he goes on to say what they are doing is not helping).

(*I ask him what he feels they should do*).

PV: Die eerste ding wat ek in die verlede al gese het aan almal, waar die kundigheid le, war die wysheid le wat gemeenskape wil ondersteun en sal ondersteen, kan ons net uitreik na die grense. Ons sit nou met n hengse ooreenkom grens, dit is mos nou miskien n ding wat nie een kan kwel. Maar as daar miskien n tegniese kanaal is, of tecnologie kanaal is, internet kanaal is, wat daarin nou net met mekaar gekontak kan word, sal ek verwag, kuns en kultuur in Afrika en die Univeriteit Namibia en in verbinding tree. En ons as gemeenskape verkers of navorsers wat die taal will at lewe, sal bymekaar moet kom. As (government departments) wil help dan moet hulle geld gee. Ons het baie geld nodig want ons het, heidiglik nou, het ons niks. (Mentions name) se hy is die laaste taal spreeker. Ons was reeds bekommerd omdat hulle gese het Elsie Vaalbooi is die laaste taal speker, het on sander taal spekers gekry. Maar hierdie taal wat ons reeds opgeneem het in verskeie plekke (mentions offices), hoeveel plekke le daai inligting. Uit Kanada uit, Nigel Crawal, wat het hy. Hugh Brody, wat het hy. Verskillende mense het van die inligting en Namaseb self was deel van die hele process van ondersoeke. So Doketr Lefie Namaseb sal ons n hoerdie opset kan help. Hoe kontak ons hom, hoe praat ons met hom. Wat het ons om aan hom te vra. Wat is ons boodskap aan hom, en hy sal hoor.

In 1996 het die boodskap uitgegan dat my ma die taal praat, en die taal is opgeteken deur Namaseb. Namaseb was daar. Hy het vier dae by my ma geslaap, en die vierde dag more toe skryf hy die taal op papier en wat hy lees hoor ma wat hy se in sy brief. Toe vra ek vir ma hoe praat sy tong. Toe se ma sy tong slaan reg. so dit is die enigstemanier, as ons die waarheid wil omdraai, want hier gan nou lieg aangan. Ons het te veel opleiders, hopeloos te veel en hulle is

te ver. Kyk hulle kan die tegniese goete doen. As ek hom se dit is hoe jy die ding sruiwe dan moet hy kyk hoe ek maak. Hy moet nie maak soos hy maak nie.

(*He mentions nama words that are pronounced incorrectly*).

As hy dit nie kan skryf nie, los. Kry die man wat weet hoe skryf jy, lat hy die leiding neem, lan hy die plan neersit. En dit is die grootse ding. N strategie moet ons beplan. Dit moet uit ineen gesit word. Damara is daar, maar om Damara lost e kry is geld, oms Namaseb hier te kry is geld, en om deur die kanale te praat is geld. Nou jy wat help, jy moet praat en se dar kan. Soos (*government institution*) hulle se daar kan. Maar na 22 jaar, daar kan. Daar moet n ander strategie wees. Dit kan nie so werk nie.

My moeder taal is van die hoogste belang. As sy pad nie duidleik gemaak word nie, as sy pad nie lig kry nie, wat gan ons word.

Appendix P Cape Town

Location: Kuilsriver

Participants: Two - (SM) - Wupperthal and (CD) – Genadendal

Date: 16 July 2022

Format: Audio

(Discussion starts with talk about Tracey Heeger performing on the table in the Lady Anne Barnard room at the Castle. I introduce the thesis).

SM: Dit is uintlik n baie interesante ding hoe jy reageer as jy mense sien.

AK: one of the answers is Khoe, Hessqua and Cochoqua.

SM: Ek sal vir julle presies my antwoord gee hoekom ek nie eers op die oomblik n Khoe genoem wil wees nie. Die onsekerhuid.

Kyk ek het altyd n political ding met my antwoord want voor 94, was ek swart, plain swart. En my kinners was nie eers bruin nie, hulle was swart. En (overwhelmed with emotion) skielik is ons nie meer swart nie. Ons weet nie waar ons is nie. Nou moet ons beginne soek, en dit is die interesante van die ding. Ons beginne soek waarvanaf kom ons. Want ek weet nie, ek weet nie of ek n mengel vrou is nie, van n Xhosa en n wit mens nie, en of ek Khoe mense in my agtergrond het wat waarvanaf kom nie. Ek weet nie. Ek het nognooit rerig. Ek het geen idea wie ek is nie.

My komvandaan is nou polities geconnect net om te se dat ek is nie n wit vrou nie, ek is ook nie meer n swart vrou nie. Ek is skielik net so tussen in. En ek wil nie se ek is Khoe nie want ek, ek ken nie Khoe nie, ek ken nie al die stamme nie, ek ken nie hoe geconnect ek is nie. As ek weet dan kan ek beginner navorsing doen oor waarvanaf kom pappa se mense, waarvanaf kom mamma se mense. Is hulle Khoe agtergrond want ek wil daai Khoe roots he. Maar ek gan nie net se ek is Khoe as ek nie weet nie. Op die oomblik vir my veiligheids omhalwe, omdat ek nou nie meer kan se ek is swart nie want ek is nou nie swart swart nie, se ek vir mense, goed, as jy my nou wil identify, se vir my ek is Bruin. Moenie vir my se ek is kleurling nie want dit was n naam wat n vorige government vir my gegee het, en ek weier om daai naam te anvaar.

En ek het net verlede week, of twee weke gelede gehoor, die persoon se maar, die naam kleurling moet ons nie afskiet nie want ons in n, daar is a wet wat vir ons grond gee op daai kleurling naam. Maar vir my gan dit nie oor wat ek kan kry omdat ek n kleurling naam het nie, vir my gan dit oor wat ander mense bepaal het. Daai is jou naam. En ek wil my eie naam se. As jy praat van daar is a wit vrou daar by die deur en ek kom in, dan kan jy maar vir my se dit is a bruin vrou. As ons van kleur praat dan praat ons van die skakerings van kleur. So dit is vir my gemaklik. Maar dit is a ongemaklike ding vir my omdat ek…ek ek het terug gegan na die feit dat ek wil nou wees wie ek is, sonder dat mense vir my bepaal wie ek is, maar ek moet my komvandaan beginner naspeen want ek het n klein dogter wat heeltemal sal verwaard wees as haar Ouma nie eers weet wie sy is nie. Dan gan (says her name) nie eers weet wie sy is nie, dit is nou (says her name) se kind. Sy moet teensminste weet haar ouers het Khoe roots want sy gan beslis gan beginner studeer. En ek self, ek weet te min. Ek weet nie eers presies watte features gan bepaal dat ek gan Khoe wees nie. Ek is seker ek is nie wit nie want wit word geklasifiseer, soos die mense dai tyd gese het, n hoe wese. Ek weet nie wat dit betekin nie.

AK: Wat is n hoe wese?

SM: Die spits neus. Daai is n hoe wese. Want ek het nie…

CD: My wang bene is beslis sterker as joune.

SM: Maar ek het n groot neus wat se vir my ek moet iewers Xhosa of daai tiepe influence het ook.

CD: Baie Europeers het ook jou features.

SM: So my frustrasie is dat ek nie weet nie. Ek weet nie. So ek moet daarna gan. En ek wil nie net n DNA toets doen want soos jy se, perty mense kan…

Dit is no so dat mense kan se dat ek weet wat ek is want my ma het gese ek is. Maar ons ma's was ook confused gewees. Maar mamma hulle wil nie, mamma hulle wou nie sort van, daar is soveel neerkyk op mense wat nie so Europeers lyk nie, wou hulle amper nie, hulle wil so veel as moontlik praat oor hulle Europeese komvandaan. My Oupa, ek het in Wupperthal, ek het nie navorsing gan doen nie maar gan kyk watter familie van my is Wuppethal is. Maar die Oom wat ek nou eintlik opgespoor het gese, nee my kind, ons is van Duitse afkoms.

CD: Nes my Antie Blond.

SM: Jy sien my Oupa se bors hare en nie a haar op die arm, dis die Duitse afkoms. Nou dink ek maar wat het ek met Duitse afkoms te doen? Ek wil nie a Duitser wees nie. Hulle, vi my is dit net, hulle het die mense kom verkrag, en ek verstaan daar was tye toe daar nou retig liefde was. Dit was nie net verkragting nie. Maar meerendeels het hulle gekom, hulle was lank op die see. Hulle het met hulle hatstok hierso gekom, hulle het die vroue met hulle kaal borste hierso gesien en hulle verkrag. So daai deel wil ek nie uintlik baie te doen he mee nie, hierie duitse afkoms. Ek soek my Khoe Khoe roots en ek moet dit kry.

CD: Onthou dit was a Khoe groep in Wupperthal wat die sendilinge daar gekry het. So…

Maar ek dink dit is ook basies jou Cochoqua en Cochoqua het begin hier onder en hulle het gelydelik op getrek want hulle moes gevlug het onder die koloniste uit.

SM: Nou sien jy ek ken glad nie daai history nie. Ek ken nie die Khoe stamme nie. Ek ken te min van die Khoe.

CD: Daar was n magtige koning daar genaamd Gonnema (Ngonomelemola). Hy het soveel, die veld was vol van sy vee en daai vet stert skappe. En dit was alles onder hom gewees maar kolonialisme, jy weet.

SM: En my ding was dit ook, en nou is dit deesdae so n gevoel van almal wil op die Khoe wa klim. Ek weet nie hoekom nie.

CD: Verlange?

SM: Nee.

CD: Oh, jy praat van die mense wat nou wil Chiefs wees.

SM: Ja die Chiefs. Almal is nou net Chief. Ek wil weet dat ek n Khoe history het net omdat ek wil weet hoekom is my ligaams bou soos dit is

CD: Jy het definitief n Khoe history

SM: Ja, en jy weet. En ek het mos nou vrede gemaak met my haar textuur. Ek het glad nie daarmee n issue nie. En ek weet dat die familie het nog nie, hulle is nog nie gerus met die feit dat ek so natural is nie. Maar dit is nie my problem nie. Dit is hulle problem. En daarmee het ek teenminste al vrede gemaak. So ja. Eers het ek gese, man jy noem nie vir my wat nie, jy noem vir my niks nie. Ek is net a human being. Maar dit is nie in Afrika so nie.

CD: Ons wou eers so gepraat het ne. Ons wou net, we just wanted to be South Afrcan. Maar die situasie dwing jou eintlik daar.

SM: In any case, om terug te kom oor hoekom ek so emotioneel geraak het oor hierdie swart, omdat ons so baklei het teen die wit oormag. En skielik het ons nie n plek om te se ons het baklei nie want ons is nou nie swart swart nie. Dit was nou vir my. En in onse huis was daar ook groot geveg want in die einde wou (mentions name) nie meer swart wees nie. Sy het vir haar pa gese, haar pa moet nie vir haar se sy is swart nie, sy is nie swart nie. Sy is Coloured. Want toe begin die hele ding by UWK dat die swart student kry voorkeer vir die Coloured student daar. Toe voel (mentions her name) maar sy is Coloured. En my kinners raak toe sommer net Coloureds. Hulle wou Coloureds wees. En hulle, sy se, haar verduideliking …

CD: Hulle wil nie weer verdwyn nie.

SM: Haar verduliking is nie so seer vir haar. Dit gan nie vir haar oor kleur nie. Dit gan oor die kultuur waar sy in groot geraak het wat ook n sterk ding is. Ons, die Bruin kultuur, die Wes Kaapse Bruin kultuur het n ander tiepe van kultuur. Jy kry nie by die wit Afrikaner kultuur dieselfde wat as ons doen nie. So sy se dit is vir haar meer oor daai kultuur as oor haar vel. Dit het sy vir haar pa verduidelik. So dit is a groot ding by ons.

Amen, ek is klaar gepraat

(We all laugh).

SM: Wat wil jy nog hoor?

CD: Hoe voel jy oor jou Europeese wortels?

SM: Ek weet nou daar moet Europeese wortels wees want anders sou ek nie so gemeng gewees het nie. So ek het al die gif en gaate, so daar moet n, soos Oupa hulle mos nou se hulle was Germans gewees, so daar moet n, daar was n…ek is nie geel heeltemal nie. Daar is a mengel, n mengelmoes.

Kyk onse velkleur het ook maar n dingese, n bepaalende factor geword van hoe ons kyk na die ding.

Ek was op n stadium baie boos gewees vir die wit gedeelte in my. Ek was baie haatig teenoor wit mense. Ook vir wat hulle in ons land gedoen het en hoe hulle nog steeds ons land beheer. Maar ek het veranner in a sin dat ek toegee dat daar is wit bloed in my en ek kan dit nie

ontken nie. Veral nou dat ek n kind het wat baie gemeng is en haar features lyk baie meer wit. Sy gan probleme ondervind. En ek moet prober verstaan ons kan nie heeltemal wit verwerp nie. Want with het my altyd ongemaklik lat voel dat ek wit bloed in my het. Want daar het sulke verkeerde goed in ons land gebeur. En hulle doen steeds, daar word net nie gefocus op hulle verkeedgeid nie want die bleddie government watnou in bewind is, hulle doen sulk groot dinge in onse gesig, en het skoon vergeet van die Stellenbosch mafias. So al onse dinge ken julle. Ons kom uit die political uit en ons staan sterk. So dit is waarom, uintlik, almal het half gelag omdat ons nou n wit skoonseun het, end it nogal n Afrikaner wit skoonseun. Maar ek het ook geleer, mens is mens. Hoe julle met mekaar omgan en jy kan nie a mens volgens sy kleur judge nie, want daar is a klomp skirke wat enige kleur is, whether jy wit, swart, bruin of watokal is. Maar ek het altyd die ongemak gevoel oor die wit bloed in ons.

Maar ja nou nie meer so seer nie want ons moet nou erken ons is gemeng, anners sou ons nie gelyk het soos ons gelyk het nie.

(I talk to Prof Dyers about just saying Khoe and not Khoisan as was previously referred).

SM: Weet jy hoe belangrik dit is vir die gewone mens die verskil te verduidelik, want n klomp van die mense weet nog nie eers die verskil nie. En die mense wat dit ken weet nie hoekom jy nie die verskil ken nie.

(I ask CD how she came to the conclusion that she is Hessequa).

CD: Ek stam uit Genadendal uit, en daai museum was van onskatbare waarde met die dagboeke van die sendilinge. Maak nie saak wat jy se van die sendilinge nie, hulle het baie akuraat dagboeke gehou. En dit is hoe ek weet dat die stam wat daar was, was oorweldgend Hessequa gewees. Dit maak my uintlik hartseer om te dink dat daar was n soort van n apartheid tussen hulle en die San. Hulle was langer, sterker, het meer vee gehad en die San was mos jagters en hulle het dikwels jag gemaak op die vee van die Khoe. En so het dit gekom dat daar was a soortvan n onderdrukking. Daars n gedeelte in Genadendal wat hulle Boesmanskloof noem. Daar het die Boesmans vir hulle gan wegsteek dan het hulle raids kom uitvoer en so en op n stadium het kolonialisme so erg geword dat daar raiding parties was, opgemaak van Khoe mense wat gan San jag. So ek skaam my uintlik daaroor want dit is n lelike deel van onse geskiedenis daai dat ons van ons eie mede inheemse mense jag van gemaak het. Maar ek weet ek is Khoe want die boeke se vir my so. Die geskiedenis van die fmilie se my ook so. Daar was vyf gekersende Khoe met die eerste sendeling wer van Georg Schmidt, Jonas. Ons is dierekte afstamelinge van Jonas. Jonas se oudste dogetr, sy was die

eerste verkesende een met die tweede sendings koms. As jy gan kyk by die museum in Ganadendal sy jy sien hoe al die families in genedendal in gevleg is. Dan sal jy sien Jonas en sy Jonas en sy dogter se naam. En die eerste familie by die dogter se naam is Wessels. Dit is my famlie. So ek weet wie ek is. En daai naam Jonas is oor en oor herhal in my familie. Dit is nie net Jonas nie, dit word John, dit word Johnny en so an. so daar is a groot mate van trots daar. Maar interesant goenoeg, ek luister nou wat Suzie gese het, daar was baie liefde ook tussen daai familie en die wit familie. Dit is nogal weird. Nie lank gelde nie het die kleinkinders of agterkleinkinders gekom om eer uit te gee aan die Wesselse daar in die begrafplaas.want ek kan nog onthou my uncle Johnny het ons altyd vertel, Oom Johnyy, hy was Chris Wessels, die predikant se pa. hy was die jongste broer van die familie en my Oupa grooitjie wat hier begrawe le onder by die begrafplaas, hy was die oudste.

Oom Johnny het altyd vertel hoe hy saam met sy pa moes gan na die plass toe. Die besondere plaas. En as hulle daar kom dan word hulle getrakteer met die kos en hulle het altyd met die wae vol kos gehad. Johnny kon gan want Johnny het groen oe gehad, groen blou oe, en sy vel was lig. Maar sy broer Mynaardt kon nie gan nie want Mynaddrt was donker. Mynaadrt het op die ma getrek. So dan moet hy buite op die wae sit terwyl die ander binne gan. So daar is a geweldige trots, ek weet nie hoekom nie maar die Wessels familie is so trots op die van, Wessels dat Uncle Chris even prober om van sy dogetrs se man se, nee jy moet maar die van vat. Ons gan nie lats y die van, De Boer vat nie. Julle moet De Boer-Wessels word, nie Wessels-De Boer nie.

So ek se jou maar net, daar was verkragting daar, maar daar was liefde ook. Daar was liefde wat die familie gebind het en daar kan ek ook bevestig by my ma se kant maar daai is nou n slawe erfenis wat ek sal later bykom. Ek wil eers die Khoe gedeelte afhandel.

Dan my pa se ma stam uit Mamre uit en dit vat vir ons na die Cochoqua toe. Die Klapmutse, het jy al van Jacky Klapmuts gehoor en sy suster wat gedoop was Benigna (wat was Benigna se Khoe naam?) Dit is nou my pa se familie, die Picks. Nou ek het n cousin, hy is dokter Willy Pick, hy het (inaudible). Oe, hy het gan le daar waar hy navorsing gan doen het in die familie roots en so an in die argiewe. Hy het afgekom op die dag wat Hansie, Jankie Klapmuts, besluit het om die christelike geloof te anvaar want hy was van die laaste mense wat hom daarteen geweer het. Hy wou nie christen word nie, hy het nog nie sy kultuur verloor nie. Maar sy suster was toe al getroud, maar toe vat die familie mos nou nie sy van nie, hulle vat toe sy voornaam, Johanes. En daai is die groote Johannes familie in Mamre. So hy het nou

uitgewerk ons stam ook uit Beligna uit. Dan weet ek mos nou dit is my roots ook. En dan natuurlik ook appearance.

Die hare soos u se. Ek blou dry nog myne en lat dit net gan want myne word verskriklik droog. Karoo bossie verby as ek dit net so lat gan. Dan gan ek hair dresser toe dan se hulle, nee man. Nee hy word baie droog. Jy kan sien ek het nog seker baie bloed van daai vet stert skappe in my in. dit is net soos wol. Ek het eenkeer my hare self gewas toe is dit soos wol wat jy net saam koek. En natuurlik in a familie wat n mengsel is van slawe herkoms en Europeese herkom en Khoe herkoms was ek amper soos n buite stander. Want al die ander het daai, ok, ek het die stuk wit vel wat ek altyd oor kwessies ook het. En ek haat dit as die mense so vir my se, “Jou vel is so wit jy kan pass vir wit.” Urrrrgggggghhhh!

Sorry, sorry, sorry. Ek kry net die verskriklike memory van familie wat wit speel. En hoe ek in Bellville afklim uit daai trein af en dan sit my second cousin daar doer by die wit peron en hy kyk my nie an nie. Ek kyk om te groet maar ha a, nee, ek ken nie vir jou nie. Maar as dit familie byeenkoms is dan is dit hand om die lyf, “Hello Charlyn, hello Jeff. Hoe ganit?”. Nou daai is n lelike memory vir my, die ding van wit speel. I don’t like it. Kyk ons ko mook uit n baie politieke bewiste familie, net soos Suzie was ek ook in swart bewisheid. Ek het behoort aan die Black Peoples Convention, BPC, wat nou later AZAPO geword het. En met ons toneelspel en so, ons het drums gekoop in die kaap en ons het baie die swart bewistheid boodskap verspry en ons was trots. Black people waiting for liberation to come. Toe is dit nou almal op een kant gewees en toe skielik vind ek uit ek is nie swart genoeg nie. Not black enough, not white enough. En dit kwel. Dit kwel geweldig.

Ok, so ek het bevestig hoe ons die Khoe roots bevestig het, en daar is navorsing gedoen en daar is genoeg geskryf. As jy wil n boek he, ken ek dit vir jou bring. Uncle Chris het even nog Khoe uitdrukkings wat nog uit die ou Gedadendal uitstam. Soos (Nama) Palmiet. As jy n Palmiet tak vat en jy sny die buite stok dan is die binnekant mos soet. Ons het op veldkos ook groot geword ne en medisyne.

Ek het op n plaas gedeeltelik groot geword. En die veld was so vol medisyne. My Ouma was n expert in daai healing herbs. Ek het eenkeer vlei water gedrink want ons het poppe huisie gespeel. En ek het tee vir myself gemaak. En ek drink daai vlei water en ek word so siek. Oh ek was siek gewees. Ek het so n knop in my ingevande gehad. En Ouma het kruie vir my gebring en my gedokte tot ek sterk genoeg was om kaap toe te kom. Toe vat daddy en mammie my spesialis toe wat herbs sy gebruik het. Toe se die dokter, ek gan nou vir jou kind

n pil gee maar dit is basis dieselfde bestandele as daai kruie. Mammie het nooit dai genome nie. Mammie was a nurse.

Mammie het baie tedoen gehad met Suzie se familie

SM: En my jonger broers is almal deur haar ma gevang.

(I talk about my negative experience about learning about the Bushmen in primary school and the children in Klapmuts saying that the Bushman is an ugly thing because they have kroes hair).

CD: En dieselfde mense wat dit vir jou se het daai hare.

SM: Dit is self haat. As ons net kan dit uit die mense uitkry nie. Ek dink sommer nou an n event waar ons kan praat oor hoe ons lyk en hoe ons kan ons anvaar soos ons is. Need to arrange a heritage day event waar ons kan praat van ons komvandaan en wat is die verskil tussen al hierdie, en hoekom ons trots moet wees oor hoe ons lyk.

AK: Maar is dit nog belangrik?

SM: Dit is Belangrik!

CD: Dit is belangrik en ek gan jou nou se hoekom. Ek het toe n kind, en waarna stuur ek toe vir haar met liberation, nie na n gewone skool toe nie, nee. It has to be model C and it has to be (*mentions name*) in Stellnbosh. En ek besef nie wat my kind daar deurgan nie. Because she is other, she is coloured, ok there are other coloureds, but she really feels, I don't know whether she was trying to fit into a white peer group and she was othered by them. Ma Francis vertel my later want toe is Francis vreeslik behep met die hare straight wees. En nie net stratight nie, super straight…brazillian straight. En toe erken sy toe vir my later, ek dink dit was in jou teenwoordigheid wat sy dit gese het Suzie, I used to put baby powder on my face to make me look whighter. Weet jy hoe seer het ek gekry want ek het gedink ek is a trotse vrou, ek is trots oor my heritage end it is dan nou my kind. Maar dit wys jou net ook die invloed van sulke plekke ne. The palaces of the former whites and the racism that drips from the walls. Alles is ingestel om vir hulle die super volk te maak.

SM: Exactly.

CD: En jy moet so dankbaar wees om by (mentions name) te kan skool gan (sarcasticly). We let you in. We didn't break down the walls, we let you in. En baie ander lelike dinge het ook

daar gebeur en ek dink daai het vir (mentions name) die stoot gegee om ook na haar Khoe heritage te kyk so op haar Facebook identifeseer sy haarself as a proud Khoe woman, proudly South African en snaaks genoeg ons het similar ervaring, in Scotland het ek ook baie beginne vra wie is ek. Ek was 12 jaar in Scotland. En ek het daar ook gedink, who am i? What is my identity? I know bits of it maar ek wou nog weet en toe ek terug kom, boeta, toe spring ek op daai wa en ek investigate en doen navorsing, sonder om bloed toetse of enigiets te vat. Net my familie geskiedenis en so an. En ek dink (mentions name) het in Japan gan woon en sy se dit is snaaks. As jy uit Suid Afrika is dan is jou identiteit vir jou so belangrik. I never spoke English on the phone to my family in South Africa. Dit was altyd Afrikaans. As suid afrikaaners na my toe kom dan se ek, ok ko mons praat Afrikaans. En dit is snaaks die taal wat ons almal so wil weggooi maar dit is onse taal ook, we built it! Ek het n onlangse artikel klaar geskruif oor Ganadendal Afrikaans en die invloed daarvan op ons huidige Afrikaans.

(CD talks about a chapter that she did in Afrikaans and the type of Afrikaans she was asked to write and she posed the question, wie se Afrkaans is dit?)

CD: Wie se Afrkkaans is dit dat ons nie die uitdrukking kan gebruik of daai een nie, so it becomes and issue. Maar ek dink omdat sy oorsee is het (mentions name) n sterker besef gehad van haar personlike identited want die Japaners is trots op hulle identitied and no one is confused about who they are and she also wanted to claim that certainty…this is who I am!

SM: Ek dink daai is ook n belangrike ding. Daai gevoel van ek weet wie ek is en an wie ek behoort.

CD: Dit kom ons toe. Ons heritage. En my kind het ook besef da tons gebruik nie ons heritage om dan ander te slaan nie. Ons gebruik ons heritage sodat ons vrede binne ons self kan voel. Dat ons nie conflicted voel oor wie ons is en waar ons vandaan kom nie. We want that peace and that peace comes with certainty. Ons is! Ons is!

AK: And that certainty was taken away from a lot of people want dit was vir jou gese wie jy is, wat jy is. Jou vel kleur het bepaal. Jou hare het bepaal.

(I talk about my father and his hair that minced and he went home and the fact that the relaxer did not relax you).

SM: Jy was so gespanne.

CD: Jy moet altyd a keppie opdra of dat die mis nie jou hare vang nie want dan gan dit mince.

SM: Jy vra is dit nodig dat mens nog hier oor moet praat, dit is nodig. Die kinners suffer nou nog met dit. Ek is natuurlik baie bang dat arme (*mentions name*) met daai mooi bos hare. Daai hare gan een van die dae gerlax word. Want die druk van die mense, even nou se mense, nog steeds probeer om hulle hare so glad as moontlik te kry.

Ek vertel vir hulle, mamma, toe mamma nog geleef het, toe gan ek mos nou vir mamma wys die photokies van die klein kinners, hoe lyk (*mentions names*). Mamma stel nie belang in (*mentions name*) nie. Mamma stel net belang in (*mentions name*) is nou die wit kind. Mamma vat sommer so oor die foon oor Maria se hare (mentions name).

CD: Are you serious?

SM: Ja! Dan se mamma van (*mentions name*), "Wanner gan die bossiekop geknip word of gevleg word?". Want dit is vir hulle sort van n…hulle kan dit nie hanteer nie.

Mamma het vir my ook gevra, "Ma wat gan dan nou met jou kop an?". En toe vra ek vir mamma, "Hoe lyk pappa se hare en was mamma life vir pappa?". Want dan kyk mamma vir my net so an want moenie vir hulle nog sulke vrae vra nie. Moenie sulke ongemaklike vrea vra nie.

CD: Kyk, hulle het begin om ons land af te vat. En met die verlies van land toe gan onse taal en onse kultuur, behalwe van dies wat slim genoeg was om voor hulle uit te vlug. Daarom het Namakwaland sort van a sentrum geword waar baie van die tale nog herleef. Maar as jy eers grond wegvat van n mens af, jy verloor so oneindig baie.

SM: Charlyn, kom ons gan gou terug na (mentions name) toe, se (mentions name). Sy is mos nou Khoe ne. maar ek het die gedagte gekry sy is nie Khoe soos Khoe Khoe nie.

CD: Sy is Baster Khoe

SM: Sy is Baster Khoe. En daai Baster, jy is net so bietjie onder die wit mense. Jy is nie trots Khoe soos die Khoe gelyk het nie. Amper wit.

Toe gee sy vr my boek en sy skryf daarin, toe vra sy moet sy vir my se, Antie of Tannie.

CD: Watse Tannie?

SM: Toe se ek maar ek is n Antie, soos in Antie Suzie. Toe se sy, Oh, maar in haar verstaan is n Antie I dik vrou en a tanie is mos nou n tannie (referred to more by white Afrikaners).. so a tannie is a mooi tannie en die antie is maar sommer net so n antie.

AK: So die woorde bepaal nou hoe jy mense anskou (en respek).

SM: Toe se ek moenie vir Charlyn vertel nie (laughs). Sy het my onlangs gevra hoe vind ek die boek toe wil ek nou nog nie se ek het dit nog nie gelees nie.

CD: Jy moet dit lees, dit is baie interesant.

SM: Ek het dit nou nog nie gelees nie want ek is bietjie nog…

CD: Seer gemaak?

SM: Ja ek was bietjie seer gemaak.

CD: Sy behoort van beter te geweet het van sy bly al vir die meeste van haar lewe in die Kaap.

SM: Ek dink sy het nog n journey om te loop want sy strewe nog uintlik nog na wit toe want sy het gese, as sy en haar man, as hulle kinners het, die kinners sal as blank gereigestreer word.

CD: Dit is minner pynlik I suppose.

SM: Nee man, as jy dan so trots is op jou… hoekom moet die kind dan nou as a blank geregistreer word.

(*mentions name*) moes gereigstreer word, sy is nou nie as blank gerigestreer nie maar, sy moes gerigestreer word in a bepaalde groep.

CD: Dit is so verskriklik dat hulle nog dieslfde doen.

SM: So sy is gerigestree, volgens die blokkies is haarne geklerud, coloured.

Ek het nou vir (*mentions name*) vertel hoe upset ek nou was, my dogter sit daar buite en (*mentions name*) het nou vir hulle vertel hoe kwaad ek was want ek wou nie dat n wit dokter aan my vat nie. Dit was my kwaat gewees. Maar dit is ook van die reedes waarom ek meer calmer geraak het want even hy het vir my gese, Antie Suzie, moenie so kwaat raak nie. Dit is

nie goed vir jou ligaam nie om so kwaad te wees nie. Jy is kwaad vir die kerk, jy is kwaad vir die wit mense. Hy se vir my, as jy so kwaad is, haal vir jou uit daai situasie uit. As die kerk vir jou so kwaad maak dat jy weet jy kan nie meer nie, gan weg. As jy voel dat daai skool waar die klomp wit mense is, gan wg daar want dan is jy weg van daai situasie wat vir jou, waar jy vir jouself gan se ek moet kalmer oor hierdie goed beginner dink en praat. Ek moet my nie so opwerk nie.en daai is wat ek prober doen.

CD: Die woede vat jy voel is nie net jou woede nie.

SM: Dit is hulle wat voor jou gekom het.

CD: Exactly. En hulle seer, van generasie tot generasie.

SM: Erens moet dit stop.

CD: But it is still too raw.

SM: It is still too raw and we are still struggling with it. En ek en my skoonseun kom goed oor die weg. En ek vertsaan nou wat hulle se van n trotse wit afrikaaner. Want hy vertel my van hulle oorloe, van die boere oorlog wat ek nou nie soveel aandag aangegee het nie. Maar ek verstaan ook waar hulle vannaf kom, die Engelse en daai.

Maar nou is ons mos nou hoeka oor hierdie ding van ek ondersteun black owned businesses. Want my ding is, waneer gan onse mense die trots begin voel, hulle besit iets as ons hule nie gan ondersteun nie. En nou se hy, so nou ma ondersteun black businesses en nou gan ma nou uintlik suffer vir kwaliiteid. So ek gan kwaliteid prys gee want ek wil swart businesses ondersteun. Toe se ek vir hom, nou (mentions name), wat jy vir my se is kwaliteid is equal to whiteness. Dit is presies wat die wit man se. dit is hoe hulle koppe werk.

CD: And a Black doctor and nurse?

The video pauses.

SM: Julle komvandaan photos van (*mentions names*) se Ouma grooitjie van (*mentions name*) men my Ouma sodat die kind kan van kleinsaf weet, sal sien wie is beide dingese *(families*). Dat sy nou nie vervreemd raak van haar, want kyk sy word mos nou meer daar groot as wat sy hier met ons te doen het. Sy is gelukking in n gemengde creche. So dit is moeilik.

SD: En die rol modelle

SM: Presies. Dit is hoekom (*mentions name*) gese het sy sit haar spesefiek in daai creche want die juffrouens is swart juffrouens sodat die kind kan sien dat die swart mense is nie net die mense wat skoonmaak nie. Want dit is ook n ding. Ek het in die hospital gele ne toe kyk ek die besigheid so ne en toe dink ek, joh, waneer gan dit verander want almal wat hoe poste het is wit. Die skoonmakers is maar nog die mense van kluer.

Ek het my dood geskrik in Agentienia toe n wit vrou moet my bed kom opmaak en my kamer kom skoonmaak want my kop is nie gewoond daaran nie. En dit moet in suidafrika gebeur dat wit mense moet begin blue colloar werk doen da tons kan gewoond raak dat hulle is net mense. Hulle is nie net die mense wat gedurig net daarbo is nie.

(I talk about my experiences with how people treat me because of my hair and that some men also said that their mothers didn't want them to take women with kroes hair).

SM: Ma mans mense is eintlik die culprits lat ek vir jou dit se. Vir hulle is a vrou met lang hare, is n trophy

CD: If your hair can blow at the back of a bus, want as die hare reg is.

SM: Maar lat ek vir jou se, my broers ne, hulle almla het pappa se hare. En almal van hulle, die meeste van hulle, het vrouens gevat wat stratight hare het. En daai vrou is nie noodwendig intellectual, ek wil nou nie vir hulle judge nie, maar hulle kan nou nie n lekker geselskap over nie maar hulle is die trophy want hulle hare is uitgeblow.

AK: Maar hoe was daai seuns kinders geleer, so they are necessarily the culprit, they are maybe the victim.

SM: Hulle is almal die victims ja.

CD: Die meisies met die styl hare was voor gefluit gewees by UWK, dan sit jy maar daar *(laughs).*

Daar moet n mens ook die media blameer ne. So in die media is die ideale model en skoonheid nog altyd wit. Hoekom dra so baie van onse swart mense weaves. Why are they going in for skin lightning like (mentions name). Why must the lashes be a foot long. because that is imprinted in us and I think Hollywood en die western media het baie daarmee te doen dat ons nog steeds mentally dink dat die ideal van skoonheid het blonde hare, blou oe en so n fugurtjie (shows thin). (mentions name) vind dit in Japan ook. In Japan in die Tkyo modleing show het sy gesien 90% van die modelle is europeers. Waar is die Japanese modelle?

SM: Want hulle is amper nou nie mooi genoeg nie.

CD: Sy het nou in a video opgetree met n, sal ek nou se, gemengde Japanese miesie waar hulle se, random ass white girl (x3), everywhere I look there is a random ass white girl. Waar sy dit bevraagteken. Hoekom as ek in Tokyo se strate afloop en ek sien cosmetics word geadviteer dan is dit n wit vrou. Hoekom is die meeste van die modelle dan nou wit? Waar is ons? So even there in those cultures which you would assume are strong. And that I think is the fault of Western Media and Hollywood en so an. We are indoctrinated by it and we need to get away from it. We need to support our own acters, people who look like us. Viola Davis, she through her wigs away, she is wearing her own hair and she is looking gorgeous

AK: I ask is the average person wearing and afro

CD: Some of the young are doing it because out among the young. The young are they are discovering just how cool and trendy a look like this is (motions to my hair).

SM: En as daar rol modelle vir hulle is, sterk rol modelle, en veral op TV ook

(I ask them about the fact that even though it is trendy, will they know the reasons behind it and what we had to go through to be "accepted" like this now).

CD: Om met trots sulke hare te kan dra op die straat en niemand jou gan lag of judge nie

SM: Jy weet dat (*mentions name*) vir my gesit het op die journey van natural hare ne. (*mentions name)* het mos gese ons kom nie na haar troue toe met uitgebloude hare nie. En toe moet jy weet hoe stress ek want hoe lyk ek tussen wit mense met my eie hare. Daai julle ding gan oor die goedkeuring van wit mense om te se hoe ons moet lyk en om te se, is ons nou mooi. Hulle bepaal of ons mooi is as ons hare uitgeblow is. So dit was vir my n storie gewees ne. Hoe gan ek nou lyk met die hare. In anycase, dit was die begin van my journey gewees.

Dit was met (*mentions name*) se troue gewees. Ek en (*mentions name*) het gegaan daar na a plek in Loop Straat en dan betaal ons a plaas se prys, maar dan moet die hare moet n seker krill nog he. Hy moet nie kroes kroes wees nie. Hy moet nou amper darem lyk hy is glad. Hulle word steeds gestraighten voor dit gekril word. Want hierdie krill is nie goed genoeg nie. Die hairdressers' toe ek vir hulle vra of hulle iets an my hare kan doen toe se hulle, hulle is jammer, hulle kan niks an my virgin hare doen nie. Hulle moet eers my hare lat stratighten voor hulle iets kan doen an my hare. So onse hairdressers is opgelei om Europeese hare te doen.

CD: En meeste van hulle produkte is ook nie vir onse mense se hare geskik nie.

SM: En julle moet weet, die wit mense is baie goed jong. Hulle het gou agter gekom dat hierdie natural hare is nou n in ding. En nou het hulle weer vir hulle gan skool in die hanteering van die natural hare. (*mentions name*) gan dan noun a n wit hairdresser toe wat dan nou hierdie natural hare so goed hanteer.

CD: Ek lat nie lat n wit mens op my hare vat nie (*laughs).*

SM: Ons mense is nog steeds nie gemaklik om hoe met ons hare te werk nie. Maar hierdie vroumense het al lankal uitgevind hier is a mark vir ons. Hulle is mos goed in kapitiliesties stories hulle weet. Hulle will coloured geld hie.

AK: Maar onse eie mense is ongemaklik daarmee, hulle wil nog steeds jou hare GHD.

SM: Hulle praat dan nog steeds van die mense op die stoep, wie is die mense op die stoep of op die stasie . Nou dit is daai woorde wat moet wegkom dat ons minner slegvoel. Ons moet ophou met dit. En onse families, ons moet dit aanspreek. Hulle moet so gemaklik voel soos hulle kan maar ons moet met ons families daaroor praat.

Ek het my broers gestop ne. Ek se vir hulle, ek is nou moeg vir die body shaming onder julle want hulle praat down op hulle voorkoms man. Hulle maak gaai van mekaar, hulle is vreeslik mos komieklik met mekaar. Nou gaai hulle met mekaar oor jou hare of jou features of so. Toe se ek nou net, die body shaming moet nou stop sit.

CD: Daai song, jou hare kan nie pom pom nie.

SM: Toe bly hulle eers still. Toe vra (*mentions name), (mentions name*), verstaan jy wat Suzie nou gese het. Suzie het nie gepraat van body lotion nie. Dan maak hulle nou weer gaai daaroor maar teenmiste het ek vir hulle die boodskap gegee. Jy praat nie meer van mense se heepe nie en gaai van mense se groot jippe nie, van mense se dik bene nie. Dit is body shaming.

Ons voorouers, ons weet nie hoe hulle geluik het nie. Dit is hoekom Sarah Baartman n gaai gemaak gewees het omdat sy groot jippe gehad het en dit was vir hulle n skaansegeid gewees. Nou maak ons gaai van mense se hippe wat te groot is, wat verkeerd is.

(I talk about the othering of Sarah Baartman and how children say she was ugly because she had big behind).

SM: Jy sien, even die history material. Ek was nou n naeldwerk juffroou gewees, dan was daar n hoofstuk in die boek gewees, “Persoonlike voorkoms”. En daar het hulle gepraat van verskillende figuur tipes en dan die word is daar gesit, “Figuur probleme.” Nou as my bene of my jippe te groot is dan is dit n fuguur problem.

AK: Probleem vir wie?

SM: Exactly. So as ek daai kind se mate neem ne, en hulle hepe is groot, dan is dit a figuur problem. Dan teken ek an dat die kind het n afwyking, want die europese model het plat hepe. So daai patters wat ons kry is European speks, hulle pas nie vir ons kinders nie, jy is a figuur problem. En daai word problem maak daai kind so self-conscious. Jy bly jou jippe wegsteek, jy bly lang jerseys anterk want jy wil nie jou jippe wys nie, jy is a problem. So daai woorde, baie kere is ek bly dat ek geeindig het met naeldtwerk want daai knowledge. Die skill van sowing was goed, maar daai goed wat ons vir die kninners moes leer.

(I ask whether the school system of teaching has changed.)

SD: Ons het groot geword met standard drie boekies waar die hoofstuk was, die Kleurling Probleem, die Swart problem, die Indier problem. En ons moes daar sit en leer dat ons in ons eie land n problem is. So as jy dink van die skade wat hier bo angering is, dan vra jy vir jouself hoekom is ons kinnders besig om vir hulle dood te maak of dood te tik. They have no sense of self. No pride in who they are, no future that they are looking forward to, no sense of identity.

So ons moet begin met daai identities kwessie so dit is n baie belangrike studie wat jy doen.

Because it is not only us ne. Die ouens kon altyd hulle hare kort geskeer het.

All the gangsters long for identity

AK: As hulle nie weet wie hulle is nie, hoe gan hulle weet waarna hulle moet gan, wat is hulle rigting in die lewe

SM: Ek voel ek moet n DNA toets gan doen want my voorouers is amper almal al uitgesterf. I mean, kyk hoe het ek gesukkel in Wuppertal vir n connection. In die ou einde die Zimris wat ek kon kry was almla dronk, hulle kon nie gesels nie.

CD: En daar is a rede daarvoor ook.

SM: Ek het seker vier (*mentions name*) gekry daai oggend, almal was gedrink gewees. En toe ek en (*mentions name*) so loer toe se ons ma, hier is dan nie n drank winkel nie, hoekom is die mense so dronk. Toe se die een uit die deur, dit is die problem antie. Toe se ek dit is nie die problem want die mense het nooit geleer om goeie wyn te gebryk nie. Hulle soek hierie soet wyne wat vir hulle dronk maak. En hulle het nie n drank winkel nie want hulle is bang vir die meneer dan drink hulle gou onder die kombers. Hulle gan Clanwilliam toe, hulle koop vir hulle almla daai cheap wyn . Die wit mense verkoop hierdie cheap wyn an ons mense. Dan drink hulle vining onder die kombers en as daar uit daai huis uitkom is hulle almal dronk.

Ons was ook Rugkraal toe waar ek toe pappa se neef ontdek het. En daaai oom het my gese, maar hy het gekonsontreer op die feit dat ons Duitse afkoms het. En alml se vir my gan kyk daar in die begrafplas die Duitse vanne, die (*mentions name*). Hulle is almal so opgemaak oor die Duitse. Dit is hoekom ek vir my self gese het, ek weet nie, ek sal moet n DNA moet doen sodat ek kan weet wat is my samestelling.

Appendix Q Cape Town

Location: Cape Town and Johannesburg

Participant: One - WS

Date: 30 April 2020

Format: Interview questions and call

(Response to questions)

I would describe my identity as being a Khoe/San & of Slave descent.

Through research and speaking to different people with the family, my community and people within society I have found out a bit about my heritage. If I could choose, I would identify myself as Black South African of khoe/san & Slave descent, but this is not allowed. It feels like the agency to position myself within society is taken away from me.

Racial classification made me aware that apartheid, as a construct, seeked to divide "coloured" and "black" people as a way to control the overwhelming ethnic majority in this country. I think that it is still important for this discussion to take place because of apartheid and the inherently colourism in people of colour communities, it is important to have this discussion.

The physical characteristics that contribute to my sense of cultural identity is my hair texture, the shape of my nose, my complexion and my physical shape and the ones used to classify me the most by society however is my hair and my complexion. These things however are important, in terms of my heritage, to acknowledge my skin tone, body shape and hair. In Coloured families only straight or sleek hair is considered premium or more socially acceptable. Same thing with skin tone and eye colour. In accepting my body and hair, the way it is, I have been able to find more peace within myself.

My family originates from Wupperthal and are of slave descent. I have learnt my family history through speaking to the elders and do my best to piece it all together and record this through oral history and gathering photos. I am very interested in knowing my family history and being able to explore those cultures. I would really consider doing a DNA test because there are no records of where my family is from, mostly stories carried down through the years. But, because of the "cape coloured" condition and the aspiration to whiteness brought

about by slavery, colonisation and apartheid, the stories are always skewed to Europe. I don't even know where my family name or surname came from.

I know my dad's mother and I have met some of his father's family. I don't know much about my paternal grandfather. I knew my mother's parents, but the family tree is abit skewed towards Europe more than identifying in any other way. Though my mom's family look very Indian, that's something that is never discussed. We have had some family reunions but only for certain branches of the family not for the entire family tree. I have done some family research, but nothing too concrete.

(The rest of the story is a personal account)

WS: En seker so n maand of so later, ons is in die Grassy Park en my Uncle se vir my, ja, hy het vir my gesien in Kraaifontein, hy het verby gery in n bus, hy was mos a Golden Arrow bus driver, and he said, and he said he saw me walking with two white girls. Ek se watte wit kinners…what white girls are you talking about uncle? Ek kon net nie uitfigure nie.

Jong, ek se vir jou, seker so n jaar of twee later, I was, oh, dit was Lynn en Alison wat ek saamee geloep het. To dink ek, dit wys net hoe onse mense is. Hulle sien net n lug van kleur mens en hulle dink dit is…dit moet n wit mens is.

AK: Ma hoe was hulle hare?

WS: Ons kom mos nou van die skool af so hulle hare was mos nou pushed back in a ponytail, jy wiet mos.

AK: Nou sien jy? En was dit nou n wit mens, was hy proud of you of was hy upset, of wat dan? Is dit maar nou net n skinner?

WS: Hy was baie impressed. Ek stap dan nou met wit girls rond.

AK: Now you see the admiration of the white world.

WS: Dit is erg. Annie, your thesis is important because somebody like me, I grew up thinking I was ugly because of my hair, because of the colour of my skin, because of my nose. I really, really… I thought I was ugly. And this is what I tell a lot of people this, dan lag hulle vir my uit. Dan se ek, mense, do you know what it's like growing up thinking you ugly? Because you not light skinned, because your nose is not straight, because your eyes are not light. Jy het nie oe nie en jou hare krill n sekere way wat dit nie moet krill nie. Ek onthou, daai selfde uncle se

vir my die een keer my hare, you know its Christmas holidays so you don't worry about your hair want jy is mos nou net om die familie. Toe se daai uncle vir my ek moet my hare sny, want as jy nie hare het nie…hou dit kort.

As jy nie hare het nie hou dit kort! Toe dink ek jirre uncle, die hele familie het nie hare nie.

AK: So you mean to say that boys got the same judgement as girls?

WS: Boys go through the same thing, and this is why a lot of coloured guys keep their hair short and the only ones who will…

Kyk die gay community, how many guys still relax their hair. Black guys relax their hair because in, when their hair is soft, as jy n sagte draad het, is jy automatically moeier. Jy is automatically mooi want jy het n sagte draad. En mense praat daaroor nie Annie. Hulle praat nie daaroor nie

AK: Is it a conscious or is it an unconscious decision?

WS: This is why Zulu guys like coloured girls because coloured girls are naturally lighter of complexion en hulle het n draad haar.

Do you know how many Zulu guys I have dated that are light skinned Zulu guys and, like (*mentions name*), the pressure that he was under to maintain his skin toan. I mean, this boy even went for chemical face peals, because he needed to maintain, want hy was daai light skinned Zulu bag. And he needed to maintain it. He wouldn't go out in the sun, he doesn't like the beach. He wears sunscreen *everyday (laughs).* Is n ding meisie, when you really start to unpack it. And then you really start to go deeper because I know a lot of Tswana people here in Joburg. Weet jy weet my hoeveel van hulle remind my van jou? Annie, want jy weet die Tswana is mos daar bo, Northern Cape, which is basically next door to each other, en hulle lyk soos…ek mean, ek het niggies wat soos hulle lyk. Selfde draad hare, alles. It is so interesting.

Appendix R Allan Boesak

DAK VOORDRAG

Belhar, 6 November 2021

CHAOS IN DIE BLOED

I

In sy Dagboek van 1705-1706 protesteer Adam Tas heftig teen wat hy as ‘n goeiende euwel sien: die irriterende, groter-wordende, en skynbaar onuitwisbare teenwoordigheid van mense soos ons. Hy kla oor die “Kaffers, Mulattos, Mesticos, Casticos, en al daardie swart gebroed wat uitgebroei is in [gemengde] huwelike en ander vorms van gemengelry tussen Europeane en Afrikaanse (hy bedoel African) Christene.” Hy is woedend oor die feit dat hierdie gemengde spul mense sommer net so toegelaat word om “opgang te maak” in die Kaapse samelewing. Hulle is ‘n bedreiging vir witmense, en daarom dring hy aan op die nodige sosiale, ekonomies en politieke “verskille” wat offisieel gemaak sal moet word, om die uitsonderlikheid en meerderwaardigheid van die blankes te aksentueer. Vir polities-naiewe witmense gebruik hy as voorbeeld Goeverneur Willem Adriaan van der Stel, self een van daardie verfoeide “mengsel-gebroed,” wie se praktyke die gemengdes bevoordeel en die wittes agterlaat. En vir die witmense wat al te gou vergeet wat die Bybel leer, waarsku Adam Tas: “Die bloed van Gam is nie te vertrou nie.”

Ek is vandag hier om vir Adam Tas te sê, “hier staan een van daardie ‘Kaffers, Mulattos, Mesticos, Casticos,’” een van daardie “swart gebroed” wat deur die onheilige mengsels van bloed uitgebroei is. Ek is hy, ‘n kind van Afrika, gebore, nie gemaak nie, ook nie ingevoer nie. ‘n Camissa mens met chaos in my bloed. Adam Tas, so maak hierdie briesende bladsye in sy Dagboek duidelik, is kennelik kwaad oor baie dinge, maar dit is nie sy woedende ontevredenheid wat my aandag trek nie. Dis sy vrees. En die ding waarvoor hy die bangste is, is die chaos in die bloed wat my bestaan verteenwoordig en kenmerk.

Hedendaagse historici uit die geledere van die onderdrukte gemeenskappe wat die geskiedenis anders, en meer betroubaar lees en interpreteer, deur die oë van die onderdruktes en verslaafdes, en nie deur die oë van die onderdrukker nie, praat van Adam Tas se rassisme.

Hulle wys uit hoe groot sy invloed was, hoe sy denke die eerste paswette in Suid Afrika tot gevolg gehad het. Patric Tariq Mellet, in sy voortreflike boek, The Lie of 1652, beskryf Adam Tas, Willem van Zijl en Henning Hüsing as die "aartsvaders van apartheid." Daar is vandag 'n jong, wit generasie wat Adam Tas vereer vir sy stryd teen die gemengdes en vir die gewaande suiwerheid van hul blankedom en van die taal wat hulle, net soos die land, gesteel en hulle s'n gemaak het.

Adam Tas is al daardie dinge, maar in die hart van die saak is dít die waarheid: Dit is 'n bang witman wat hier praat. Deur die eeue van die koloniale geskiedenis was daar baie dinge wat wit Suid Afrikaners bang gemaak het: die inheemse bevolking wat terugveg as hul land binnegeval en gesteel word; die hotnots en die Boesmans wat weier om slawe gemaak te word en wat wegvlug, of op elke denkbare manier verset pleeg, van geweldlose weerbaarheid tot gewapende stryd. Van die bevryding van die slawe tot kommunisme. Maar niks het hulle soveel skrik aangejaag as die gedagte van "gemengdheid" nie.

In die sinodesitting van die NG Sendingkerk in 1978, by die vurige bespreking van 'n gedetaileerde verslag oor die kerk se standpunt oor apartheid, was geen punt - nie aanhouding sonder verhoor, of groepsgebiede, of die skrikwekkende massa veiligheidswetgewing - so kontroversieel soos "gemengde huwelike" nie. Eers in 1982, met die diskussies oor "apartheid is 'n kettery" was die temperatuur in die sinodesaal hoër as daardie dag. Dis die gemengheid wat vrees injaag. Dis die chaos in die bloed.

Die koloniale oorheersers, met hul magswellus en hul drang na oorheersing het gekom en op ons dinge afgedwing wat ons nooit geken het nie, en waarskynlik van die mees belangrike hiervan was rasse-bewustheid, iets ongekends in Afrika, maar lewensnoodsaaklik vir die wat uit Europa kom. Lewensnoodsaaklik, want dit gee dekking vir 'n valse meerderwaardigheid van "wit" mense gebou op ras en velkleur, die een 'n sosiale konsep vir die doel van politieke oorheersing, en die ander 'n niksseggende toevalligheid wat niks met mens-wees en ons Godsgeskapenheid, ons intelligensie of vermoëns te make het nie. Dit is, soos soveel ander dinge, 'n infame leuen, maar dit is een van daardie leuens wat die mensegeskiedenis ingrypend verander het.

En dit is een van die dinge wat my vir witmense diep jammer laat voel, as mens die skade verbykyk – verbykyk, nie oorsien nie - wat hierdie lewensinstelling meebring; hierdie mensvernietigende, self-vernietigende gejaag na die onbestaanbare suiwerheid: bloed suiwerheid, godsdiens-suiwerheid, kerk suiwerheid, taal suiwerheid. Dit is 'n illogiese logika

wat alles ignoreer wat nie by die suiwerheidsideologie inpas nie: wetenskap en geskiedenis, historiese werklikheid, menslike getuienis, en plein common sense.

II

Prof Marius Valkhoff was voormalige rektor van die Universiteit van Amsterdam, en later hoogleraar Romaanse Tale by Wits. In 1975 verskyn van sy hand ‘n boek, getiteld, New Light on Afrikaans and Malayo-Portuguese. Dit is ‘n wetenskaplike ontleding van die oorsprong van Afrikaans, waarin Valkhoff met noukeurige dokumentêre ontleding onteenseglik bewys dat Afrikaans die resultaat is van die kreolisering van Nederlands en die ander tale wat die Kaapse slawegemeenskap en die gekreoliseerde inheemse gemeenskappe onder mekaar ontwikkel het. Vandag weet ons dat hulle dit gedoen het vir baie goeie redes. Enersyds, en eerstens, om kommunikasie onder mekaar op te bou omdat hulle, by aankoms in hierdie nuwe slaweland, met opset van land- en taalgenote geskei was met die oog op kontrole.

Onder daardie verskriklike en mens-onterende omstandighede het hulle iets van ‘n menslike gemeenskap gesoek, ‘n veilige plek waar hulle in ‘n eie, gemaakte taal, te anders, te basters en te weerbarstig vir die koloniale, slawe-baas se oor, oor hulself kon praat. Oor die land van waaruit hulle gesteel is, oor die wat hulle agter gelaat het; oor kinders en eggenotes en familie vir wie hulle nooit weer sou sien nie; oor hul pyn en verbystering in hierdie slaweland; oor hul heimwee na vroeër en hul verlangens na vryheid. Afrikaans was daardie toevlug, daardie veilige ruimte, daardie oomblik van weerloosheid waarin oor ‘n ander wêreld gedroom kon word.

Andersyds was die taal geskep, uit bekende woorde (uit hul eie tale) en onbekende woorde (uit ander tale) om die slawe-eienaarsgemeenskap te fnuik, om planne vir verset geheim te hou, of net bloot om ‘n ruimte te hê waaroor die slawe-baas g’n sê gehad het nie. In die Hoog-Hollandse ore van kolonialiste en slawe-eienaars was dit waarskynlik gebrabbel, ‘n chaos van woorde en stemtone, van aksente en infleksies. Die chaos van hul bestaan, die chaos in hul bloed, word die chaos van hul taal. Maar dit is wat kreolisering altyd is: skeppende chaos. In daardie stinkende, verstikkende, doodkis wat ons vandag die Slawe Losie noem, het ons voorouers, ingesardien en vasgeketting, in mekaar se ore gefluister, saggies gehuil, babatjies getroos en skelmpies gelag - in Afrikaans - en hul veerkrag en wil tot oorlewing gevind in die nuwe woorde van ‘n nuwe taal. Dus, vanaf die eerste begin was Afrikaans weerstandstaal,

verbondenheidstaal, bevrydingstaal. So beskou, en alleen met hierdie historiese eerlikheid, is Afrikaans uniek, histories Afrika-geworteld, en onteenseglik inheems.

Maar die dominante, wit verhaal is dat Afrikaans die resultaat is van ‘n spontane ontwikkeling uit Hollands, Vlaams, en die Lae Duitse dialekte, en so dus een “van die wondere van die blanke beskawing” is. Daarom moes ek in 1959 as 13-jarige die kunsfees genaamd “Die Wonder van Afrikaans” bywoon op die aand spesiaal gereël vir die “Kleurlinge” op ons dorp. Daarom was daar ook spesiaal toestemming verkry vir die gebruik van die stadsaal. Ek moes dit bywoon, want ons koor het gesing. Dit was die fees van Afrikaans as die taal van die Afrikaners, die taal van die Baas en die Ounooi, hulle taal, wat hulle goedgunstiglik, en met humorvolle verdraagsaamheid, met die volkies deel.

Maar Valkhoff maak ook nog ‘n ander punt. Hy verstaan presies die tendens om “die politieke idee van apartheid van toepassing te maak op die studie van die taal,” en om “die geskiedenis van die moedertaal as wit as moontlik te hou, vry van vreemde bevlekking.” Met ander woorde, hy weet van die gebruik van Afrikaans as ideologiese wapen in die stryd om Afrikaner-identiteit, Afrikaner politieke oorheersing, Afrikaner-uniekheid, en Afrikaner suiwerheid. Maar dit is alles ydel, sê Valkhoff, tevergeefs, want ‘n korrekte lees van die geskiedenies leer ons anders.

Die woedende uitval van Afrikanerkant was oordonderend en onmiddellik. Die boek is beskryf as “n propaganda pamflet,” as “politiek tendensieus,” “oneerlik en emosioneel,” “bevooroordeeld,” “onwetenskaplik,” en nog veel meer. En dit is nie net die kwessie van “eienaarskap” van die taal wat hier ter sprake is nie. Die hart van die saak is die kreolisering. Erger nog: die twee gaan hand aan hand. As Afrikaans die taal van die slawe en die gekoloniseerde inheemse gemeenskappe is, self gekreoliseerd, dan is die suiwerste Afrikaans tegnies gesproke, van gemengde afkoms. Die chaos in die taal is die chaos in die bloed.

So, wees asseblief versigtig in u stryd om behoud van die Afrikaanse taal. Dit is ongetwyfeld ‘n waardige stryd. Maar van wie se taal praat DAK? Gaan die stryd “vir Afrikaans” hand aan hand met die stryd van daardie mense wat Afrikaans van ons gesteel het, van al sy spontaneiteit en vlugvoetigheid beroof het en Afrikaans die taal van die onderdrukker, van apartheid gemaak het? Die mense wat van Afrikaans ‘n wapen van massavernietiging gemaak

het in die handhawing van wit bevoorregting; van ‘n rassitiese drang om meerderwaardigheid en behoud van blankedom? Die Afrikaans van weerstand teen transformasie by universiteite en die herskepping van moderne, “post-apartheid” vorms van baasskap en hotnotskap, waar in die nuwe bestel ons net gebruik word as kanonvoer in ‘n wit kultuuroorlog? Of is u stryd vir die Afrikaans van my Tannie Toet van Kakamas, (Aan Eerw. Sinclair: Meneer, jy sê Hans is my man, en hy is die hoof van die huis. Maar ek is die nek, en die kop sal draai waar die nek draai!). Die Afrikaans van S.V. Petersen se “oom Willem Bokknieë” van Vredendal, (Hjere, ons is skurf, so verroes soos ‘n parrasagter is ons; maar skuur ons met u Golgota-bloed, blink soos kanaalwater.) Of van die Brasse vannie Kaap, (Ek smaak jou, my baby, my sexy young lady, you drive me crazy); Of van die skuifelvoet-gospel van Bella van Upington? (Lei my, Here lei my Here lei my, Lei my na die waters waar daar rus is. Soos ‘n boom, geplant by waterstrome, wat sy vrugte gee aan Jesus, op die regte tyd). Dink mooi waarvoor julle in die stryd gaan.

II

Patriq Tariq Mellet maak, in sy ontleding van die opmaak van die mense van Suid Afrika, ook ruim gebruik van die term “kreolisering”. Sy navorsing is besonder noukeurig. Hy maak enkele uiters belangrike punte, rustende op die nou onaanvegbare wetenskaplike feit dat Afrika die wieg van die mensdom is. Maar die hand wat die wieg vashou is die mense wat bekend staan as die San:

What is clear, however, is that all humans in Africa today are descendants of the humans who were migrants at some point in history; that all modern humans in the south and east of Africa are in ancient terms genetically related to San communities; and that all share a common root. (41)

En dan, vervolg Mellet, “It is my perspective that the surviving San are a core connection of the African soul.” Dit is ‘n diep sin wat ook dieper analise verdien, dieper as wat ek vandag hier kan bied.

Mellet trek die sirkel nouer as hy kom by die gemeenskappe van mense wat na die inval en oorname van die koloniale magte in die Kaap ontstaan het. Die tradisies van genegtiese vermenging aan die Kaap na 1652, is die voortsetting van dieselfde oer-oue tradisies van 1,600 terug by die Limpopo-Shase rivierkom. Dit is ‘n kontinuerende samevloei van kulture en bloedlyne. Inheemses, slawe uit Afrika en Asië, “Vry Swartes” en Europese non-konformiste, het aangehou om mekaar te omarm in hul gesamentlike stryd teen verdrukking,

en vir vryheid en gelykheid, en dit is uit hierdie omhelsing wat nuwe generasies, en selfs ‘n nuwe soort mensheid, gebore is. (118)

Maar let op: dit is nie net ‘n omarming in persoonlike, ook romantiese toegeneentheid nie, dit is ‘n omarming in gesamentlikheid, in verbondenheid in die stryd teen vernietigende magte om menswaardigheid, gelykheid en Vryheid. Kreool-wees is onlosmaaklik verbonde aan die struggle. En op die manier kom Mellet uit by sy eie omarming van die diep simboliese betekenis van die Camissa rivier wat vandag steeds vanaf Tafelberg vloei, vir die grootste gedeelte ondergronds deur die stad, tot in die see. Dit is op die oewers van hierdie “Plek van Soet Waters” waar ‘n groot gedeelte van die Kaapse Khoi hul tuiste gemaak het.

Dr Neville Alexander sien die Gariep Rivier, wat met sy een oorsprong in die berge deur die hele Suid Afrika vloei, die land deurtrek met sy vertakkinge en opvanggebiede, en oral bron van lewe en leefplek word, ook as ‘n sterk, bemagtigende, en bevrydende metafoor, “which gets us away from the sense of unchanging, eternal and god-given identities.” Alexander bedoel hiermee dit:

It accommodates the fact that at certain times of our history, any one tributary might flow stringer [sic] than the others, that new streamlets and springs come into being and add their drops to this or that tributary, even as others dry up and disappear. Above all, it represents the decisive notion that the mainstream is constituted by the confluence of all tributaries, that is, that no single current dominates, that all the tributaries in their ever-changing forms continue to exist as such, even as they continue to constitute and reconstitute the mainstream. (Mellet, 21)

Op dieselfde manier, skryf Mellet, verstaan hy die simboliek van die Camissa Rivier, die saamvloei van mense in hul gedeelde stryd vir waardige behoud aan die front van die Kaapse kuslyn.

As much as the Camissa River still flows through Cape Town and into the sea, just as it always did, but now underground, so too were the history associated with the Camissa River, and the people born of the Camissa embrace, driven under the surface of historical recognition. Over 195 traceable roots of African, Asian and European origin are associated with the Camissa embrace over time. (118-9)

Een honderd vyf-en-neëntig strominge! Dink daaraan! Die mensdom saamgebring in die mensheid van die mense in hierdie een deel van Afrika. Vir baie mense, veral wit mense, en, vermoed ek, vir "Kleurlingmense" wat so graag wit mense wil wees, is dit 'n skrikwekkende gedagte. Vir mense soos ek egter, is dit 'n wonderlike, bemagtigende, bervydende gedagte, en ek omhels dit gretig. Hierdie kenmerk van kreoliteit, dat dit altyd gebore word uit die stryd om vryheid en waardigheid en identiteit, kom oral voor waar kreoliteit 'n saak van die hart is.

III

Die Karibbiese Eilande, saam met Brasilië, en hier in Suid Afrika, is waar waarskynlik die mees opmerkende en gevolgryke prosesse van kreolisering voorkom. Daar egter, word dit veel meer erken, veel sterker omhels, en veel groter sosiale, politieke en akademiese entoesiasme deel van hul lewens gemaak as hier by ons. Vir ons familie in die Karibbiese Eilande is hul kreool-wees iets om op trots te wees, essensieël vir hul mens-wees, onmisbaar vir die bou van nuwe kulture, en altyd, altyd, is dit "a response to oppression and colonization that has great potential to restore identity and engender self-acceptance, heal and humanize individuals, and revolutionize societies." (Becoming Like Creoles, 6) Uit Martinique, die Franse kolonie waarvandaan anti-koloniale strydhelde soos Frantz Fanon en Aimé Cesairé kom, skryf 'n nuwe generasie denkers en aktiviste, Jean Bernabé, Patrick Chamoiseau, Lucien Taylor, en Raphaël Confiant. En let op hoe uiters toepaslik hul situasie, taal, en ontleding op ons Suid Afrikaanse situasie, en op ons is.

"Caribbean history," sê hulle, "was shipwrecked in colonial history … As colonization crushed cultures and maligned people's sense of identity, simultaneously oppressed human beings began to form a creolization process." (Becoming, 7) Hierdie proses was omvattend: sosiaal, kultureel, en polities; histories, kommunaal, en persoonlik. Vir hulle is kreolisering nie alleen die vermenging van kulture nie, maar die vermenging van culture heel spesifiek in die konteks van slawerny en kolonisasie. Dit was 'n noodsaaklike aanpassing aan die skrikwekkend-ongekende, en die onbekende, onbegaande landskappe van verslawing en ontmensliking. Dit was "a third space of cultural expression." Daarom is kreolisering altyd die vrug van weerbaarheid, weerstand, en die vreeslose aanpak van magsprosesse en magsverhoudinge.

Die kreoliseringsprosesse is dinamies, dit word gedefineer deur die “gemengde” karakter. Die skrywers praat oor “their creative vibrancy, ther complex, troubled, unfinished realtion to history, the prevalencein their narratives of the theme of voyaging, exile, and the unrequited trauma of violent expropriation and separation.” (Becoming, 5) Hulle praat van ons. Dis onse geskiedenis, ons karakter, ons bestaan, waarvan hulle praat. En ons moenie daarvoor skrik nie want dit is wie ons is, dit is wat van ons maak wat ons is. Daardie dinamiese kompleksiteit is iets wat omarm, omhels en uitgeleef moet word, “for our complexity is the very principle of our identity.” (Becoming, 5)

Onderdrukte, gekoloniseerde mense, wie se identiteite vernietig is en op wie koloniale, minderwaardigheidsidentiteite afgedwing is, is altyd gewikkel in hierdie persoonlike, gemeenskaplike, politieke, sosiale, sielkundige magsstryd. Die vorming van opposisionele identiteite, soos Swart Bewussyn in Suid Afrika ons geleer het, is die begin van hierdie omkeringsproses. Die omarming van Swart Bewussyn was die eerste, maar fundamentele stap weg van ons ontidentifisering (Nie-blank, Nie-Westers, Nie-beskaafd, dus Nie-aanvaarbaar,) negasie op negasie op negasie. Die definisie van “kleurling” onder die koloniale en apartheidswetgewing kon nie duideliker gewees het nie: “Iemand wat nie wit nie, ook nie swart is nie.” Swart Bewussyn was die negering van die apartheids-negasies, en daarmee ‘n direkte aanval op wit meerderwaardigheid en swart minderwaardigheid.

Om hierdie redes was Swart Bewussyn so duidelik oor “Blackness” en “non-whiteness”; oor swart-wees nie as velkleur nie, maar van denke en doen, van solidariteit en gemeenskaplikheid. “What we must at all times look at,” sê Steve Biko, “is the fact that, one, we are all oppressed by the same system; two, that we are oppressed to varying degrees is a deliberate design to stratify us not only socially but also in terms of aspirations. Three, therefore it is the enemy’s plan that there must be this suspicion and that if we are committed to [our] emancipation to the same degree it is pat of our duty to bring to black people the deliberateness of the enemy’s subjugation scheme.” (Biko, I Write What I Like, 57) En dit is waarom Swart Bewussyn so ‘n groot bedreiging was, dit is waarom Swart Bewussynsorganisasies verban was, en waarom Swart Bewyssynsaktiviste gehaat, gevrees, gejaag, gefolter en vermoor is.

Maar daarom is Swart Bewussyn as filosofie vandag nog so brandend relevant. Want met daardie "solidariteit van die verdruktes," die "commitment" tot vryheid en menslikheid; met die vasberade strewe om aan Suid Afrika en die wêreld die "grootste geskenk denkbaar te gee, naamlik 'n "menslike gelaat", het dit vir ons wat as mense gebore is en as Godskinders geskape is, moontlik gemaak om al daardie verfoeilike, onmenswaardige, en God-onterende aanplaksels te verwerp, en die kleed van ons menslikheid aan te trek.

Vir ons was dit 'n uitgemaakte saak: Wat ook al die belaglike amptelike definisie was, in die oë van die maghebbers was "kleurling" altyd gelyk aan vondeling. Iemand wat êrens langs die pad opgetel is, die kind wie se dronk ma en rondloper-pa hulle op ander se stoep gelos, of in die vullisdrom gegooi het; die een sonder herkoms of naam of toekoms. Daarom kon die Baas ons enige naam gee: barbaar, of Hotnot, of boesman, of bosschi's. Of soos in die oë van Jan van Riebeeck, en sy soort, almal "vuile, luie, stinkende, skelm vlegels."

"Kleurling" is 'n onderling, met een oog op die dop en die ander oog op Baas Koos; met vereelte hande van werk vir die Baas en skurwe knieë van kruip voor die Baas. 'n Onderling, boos en ontevrede omdat ons onder die witmense staan, maar al te bly dat ons darem nog bo die swartes staan. 'n "Kleurling" is 'n verdwaalding, wat skaam is vir ons herkoms omdat ons nie weet waarvandaan ons kom nie, ook nie weet waarnatoe ons op pad is nie. Ons dwaal van die een na die ander, hoewel ons darem altyd seker maak dat ons nie te ver van die Baas afdwaal nie. Altyd moedeloos en rigtingloos omdat ons "nie wit genoeg of swart genoeg" is nie, 'n Verdwaalding wat skaam is vir wie ons is, omdat ons in onsself so baie is. Skaam vir die chaos in ons bloed. Jare terug het ons eie Dr Zoë Wicomb dit raak saamgevat. Ons skaamte, sê sy, "is die effek van die diep, psigiese koste van byna twee eeue van ekstreme geweld, en die voortgaande geweld van geblameer te word dat ons self die brutalitiet binne nooi." Sy noem hierdie verskynsel onder die sogenaamde Kleurlinge "'n volks vergeetagtigheid uit skaamte gebore." Sy is absoluut korrek.

Ons dink ons moet skaam wees want ons "baie" is soos die "baie" van die besetene van Gadara in Markus 5: "Here, my naam is Legio, want ons is baie." Daar was chaos binne-in daardie man. Maar sy chaos was demonies, destruktief, vernietigend vir homself en vir sy gemeenskap. Maar dit was 'n opgelegde, afgedwonge chaos, 'n sosiaal-sielkundige trauma, 'n besetenheid as gevolg van die trauma van die Romeinse besetting van sy land, die Romeinse

verdrukking van sy mense, die Romeinse geweld teen sy mense, elke dag, op elke moontlike manier. Wat moderne sosiaal antropoloë in hul studies oor Bybelse siektes en psigies verskynsels nou eers ontdek, ken die Bybel lankal. En Jesus, die rewolusioner van Galilea uit besette Palestina, sien dit vir wat dit is. As die besetene sê, "My naam is Legio" dan bedoel hy daarmee die Romeinse legioene wat elke uur van elke dag op die strate paradeer en met hul swaarde en skilde en spiese en perde en arrogansie die mense aan die mag van hul oorheersers herinner. Daarom praat Dr Joy de Gruy van die "Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome" van swart Amerikaners, die ongelooflike skade wat oor generasies strek en generatiewe trauma bring, 'n verskynsel wat ons hier te lande nog skaars binne ons visier het.

Dit is Legio se chaos, en in daardie opsig is ons net soos hy. Ons imperiale, koloniale, apartheid traumas is dieselfde. En daardie chaos het ons nog nie oorkom nie. Die chaos van ons koloniale, apartheidsverlede is in sekere sin nie net deur die ANC se rasse-ideologie oorgeneem nie, maar vererger. Met die koms van Swart Bewussyn en die aktivisme van die nuwe, jong, revolusionêre generasie van na 1976, het ons die apartheidsgramatika aangevat en omgekeer en in die plek daarvan die linguistiese arsenaal van die revolusie gestel. Die "Kleurling" as vondeling, onderling, en dwaalding word vervang deur die "Kleurling" as opstandeling. Vandaar die aanhalingstekens. Maar soos ons na 1976 gesien het, die "Kleurling" as opstandeling is skepper van chaos, is self die draer en omhelser van chaos, want sy omhels haar kreoliteit.

Die wit Suid Afrikaners is bang daarvoor, en die ANC in sy amptelike, emosionele, en politieke bestaan is ewe bang daarvoor. Onder koloniale bewind en onder apartheid was die "kleurling" as vondeling, onderling, en dwaalding 'n absolute politieke, sosiaal-ekonomiese, en sielkundige noodsaaklikheid. Onder die ANC bewind is dit nie minder die geval nie. Daardie minder werd-wees, minder mens-wees, minder verdienstelik-wees, minder agbaar-wees, minder strydbaar-wees en dus minder struggle-kind wees, is vir hierdie ANC, met sy verideologiseerde rassebeheptheid, en sy "Black but in particular African" politiek, net so noodsaaklik, want dit skep die ruimte vir gierigheid, korrupsie, entitlement, en 'n verwronge bevoorregting wat geen agting vir die geskiedenis, die struggle, die waarheid, of die integriteit van sy eie beleid het nie. Dit is 'n verfoeilike politiek.

Saam met die Kreole van die Karibbiese Eilande parafraseer ek, “Ons is terselfdertyd Khoi en San en Nama, Europees en verryk deur Asie …” Maar ons is die draers van 195 strome van Afrika menswees en Afrika menslikheid. So som Patric Tariq Mellet die wetenskaplike konsensus op:

Over the period 100-1850 [of the Common Era], almost every new social group, community or state society that emerged with a distinct identity in South Africa would involve some ancestry of the original San people, Khoi people and Kalanga people. Whether today one sees oneself as Venda, Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, Griqua, “Coloured,” Hesequa, Tswana, Pedi, Camissa, Swati, Koranna, Nama, Ndebele, Shangaan, Tsonga or any of the other modern-day social formations or ethnicities, onbe can be sure that ons has some San, Khoi, or Kalanga ancestries. (50)

En ek val weer terug op daardie een, enkele sin, vibrerend van bemagtiging en bevryding: “The surviving San is a core connection to the African soul.”

Op hierdie punt het ek ‘n vraag: “So wie de hel is die ANC en sy post-apartheid apartheidapostels om my van my Afrika en my Afrika-wees te ontsê, te vervreem, en te ontneem?”

Die sleutel tot die deur van die toekoms vir ons almal in Suid Afrika lê in die omhelsing van hierdie kreoliteit. Die stryd vir die herwinning en herstel van ons menslikheid, ons historiese en hedendaagse identiteit, ons menswaardigheid; ons plek in die daarwees van Afrika en van die bestaan van Suid Afrika, en ons rol in die stryd vir bevryding. Maar in hierdie kreoliteit, sê ons vriende van die Karibbiese Eilande, kom daar nooit ‘n tyd van sintese, waar elkeen pragtig en netjies en naatloos bymekaar inpas nie. “Creolization embodies multiplicity, it renders multi-vocality. It negotiates contestation, while serving creative expressions of national identities … Creolization is chaos, mixture, combination, alchemy … “(Becoming, 5)

Kreolisering is die herwinning van die geskiedenis, die hervertel en reg vertel van die kromvertelde stories; dit is die ontmaskering van die leuen, die beskaming van die halwe waarheid. Dit is chaos. Dit ween saam met die wat ween oor die slagting by Sharpeville, maar

dit dring aan op die herinnering aan die slagting by die Seekoeirivier in 1775 waar meer as 150 Khoi deur die Boerekommando uitgemoor is. Dit herdenk saam die Treason Trial van 1959, maar dring aan op die herinnering aan die grootste Treason Trial in Suid Afrika se geskiedenis, díe van na die verstommende "Jij Rebellie" van Oktober 1808, gelei deur daardie dapper Camissa man Louis van Mauritius. Ons kreolisering staan in erkenning voor die baie standbeelde van Nelson Mandela, maar dit vra met al groeter dringendheid: waar is die standbeelde van Krotoa en Autshumau, en Klaas Stuurman? Ons eer saam die nagedagtenis van Charlotte Mxeke, maar vra met groeiende ongeduld, wanneer vereer ons vir Katie Louw, daardie ander heldin van die 1913 anti-paswette veldtogte in die Vrystaat? Dit veroorsaak chaos, hierdie vrae, maar dit is die kreatiewe chaos wat die leuen en die halwe waarheid wil onttroon en die waarheid op die troon wil sit.

Dit is die chaos van ons kreoliteit, ongetemd en ontembaar. Dit is in die stryd en die aktivisme van 'n nuwe generasie. Dit is in die taal, dit is in die sang, dit is in die aankom en in die wegstap. Dit is in die gospel van Wilmot Petersen as hy "Alles wat asem het, loof nou die Here!" in Afrikaans, Engels, en IsiXhosa sing, maar die "beat" is onmiskenbaar Kaaps-Camissa-African. Iemand stuur my 'n WhatsApp met die 'n liedjie van 'n groep plattelandse jongmense. Dis so 'n eg plattelandse stof-trap, voetstamp, handeklap, stêreswaai liedjie, "Sê vir jou ma jy't 'n Boesman gesien!" Ons dra die chaos in die kerk in met die worship team wat voorgaan, die instrumente wat laat waai, en die vroue wat voorvat by die koordans voor die kansel – "Vrou van Samaria, gee my 'n bietjie water; gee my 'n bietjie water, 'n bietjie water om te drink. Hier wil ek nie bly nie, want hier is niks vir my nie … die hemel is my woning, en Jesus is my Koning." Die logika en die teologie vloei nie so lekker nie, maar wat maak dit saak? Solank die beat reg is, die volk juig, en die Here geprys word.

IV

My gedagtes oor hierdie goed is nie van gister nie. In 1974, lank voordat ek iets geweet het van die dinge wat ek vandag weet, het ek intuitief verstaan dat daar veel meer is as waarvan ons vertel word. Teen die einde van daardie jaar, he ek aan 'n wit vriend 'n brief geskrywe om vir hom uit te lê wat Swart Bewussyn is en hoe dit my denke aan die verander was. Ek wens

ek het toe geweet wat ek nou weet: van Krotoa en Autshumau, van Klaas Stuurman en Catarina Symmonds van die Vrystaat proteste, en Zwarte Maria Evert, die bevryde slawevrou wat die eerste titelhouer in Kampsbaai was. Of van Alice Alexander, talentvolle joernalis, aktivis en briljante publieke intellektueel, een van die grondleggers van die inernasionaal-ondersteunde Pan African Movement waarvan ons net die name van die beroemde manne ken.

Ek het destyds in my dissertasie geskrywe oor William Wilberforce, die Engelsman wat aan die spits gestaan het van die slawebevrydingsbewegings van die 19de eeu in Engeland, maar nie geweet van die illustere en indrukwekkende Africans wat hom vóór en ten voorbeeld was nie: Olaudah Equiano, Ottobah Cugoano en die Amerikaner maar kind van Afrika, Frederick Douglass. Dis ‘n lang brief, plek-plek ‘n kwaai brief, maar sowat half-pad kom hierdie stuk, en dit is oor die ontdekking van my kreoliteit:

“My wortels, my vriend, lê … in die valleie van die Nyl, in die donker dieptes van die Niger. Die saad van my voorvaders is nie alleen te vinde in die kastele van Parys en die agterbuurtes van Marseilles nie, maar lê verstrooid in die uigetsrekte niksheid van die Sahara, in die stomende broeiende donkerheid van die reenwoud, in die lendene van ‘n lang-gestorwe hoofman van ‘n trotse stam. Ek weet nou dat my sang nie alleen gehoor was in die kafeetjies en taveernes van ‘n Europese hawedorp nie, maar dat my stem ge-eien kan word in die ge-oep van die jagter, in die namaak-fuilt van die voëlvanger; in die oorweldigende gedonder van ‘n hele stam by die fees van die oestyd. Nie net in die wilde gelag van die [wit] matroos nie, maar in die bittere ontroosbaarheid van die geween van ‘n onbekende swart moeder vir haar kind wat wie weet waar in slawerny snik om wie weet wat.

My kom-vandaan, my vriend, is nie alleen te vinde in die pseudo-geskiedenis van ‘n witgemaakte land waar die swart vrou niks was en niks gehoor het as die wellustige gehyg van die wit slawe-eienaar wat haar verkrag het nie, maar in die skoot van ‘n skone swart vrou – ‘n lelie, ‘n trotse swarte lelie, ‘n dogter van Skeba. My wording is ‘n swart aanraking, bloed wat stroom, wild en ongetem soos die Nyl in vloed, liefde wat bruis soos die baie waters wat witmense later Victoria sou herdoop; ‘n klimaks wat pyn is … ‘n ster wat skiet, ineens verskiet en spat in duisend Afrikaanse nagte en duisend Afrikaanse glories …

“En vir een, ewige moment was daar niks meer nie – die vrees vir die ander en vir die oorlog; die reuk van ou bloed aan sy assegai; die angs vir die wimense en hul wapens, vir die baas en sy sweep; vir die kettings en die pyn van slawerny. Niks bestaan meer nie. En ook toe al het hulle geweet – het ons geweet - van God. Want swart geskiedenis is ‘n onuitblusbare vlam.”

Allan Aubrey Boesak

Appendix S Intergenerational trauma

Inter-generational Trauma & Healing -each one reach one, teach one and repeat …

So, this is day two, 2nd of September, talks about it being heritage month and about Jimmy Matthews' documentary on the Wynberg 7.

I think it's a very powerful story about young people that felt, like all of us at the time. I was actually at the same event where they were taken, those young kids and sent to prison. Watching it was very painful and obviously, we have not yet dealt with the pain of the past. And I just want to tell you about the first time I was confronted with that pain. I was doing a talk out in Northern Sweden and one of the teachers asked if one of us could share what it was like growing up during apartheid. And then I told that story of that day. And there is a song of mine that's called, Butterflies fly by, about that day. And while I was telling the story, you know we have a habit of laughing about the most horrible experiences, you know. So, I was telling this story, and kids were with us for maybe two weeks, started crying. And these kids were completely traumatised about what I was telling them about what happened with us in Wynberg on the 15th of October 1985. And I was shocked that they were so deeply hurt because I myself had dealt with the trauma of being shot at and being chased as a kid of 17 years old.

It was my final year of high school, and most kids from all over attended that mass rally. So, this heritage is actually about dealing with your past, your pain. And not just the separateness. Because I think that's what south Africa has done to date is to divide us even more with these stories on Heritage Day. Celebrating each box as if it is completely removed from the other and making people more divided than they have ever been. And also, to perpetuate the illusion of these boxes.

A young man, I am just guessing, but asked me. He is confused that I am talking about blackness and about Steve Biko. And when I speak, I speak in terminology that is struggle terminology, and global terminology of blackness being all of us, all of the people. The original people on the planet who were darked skinned. And so, we all are part of that human family, whether we like it or not. And geneticists will tell you that that's the truth that even if you from Europe, your ancestry can be connected back to, part of your ancestry, back to Africa. And that Africa's contribution to civilisation needs to be dissected. in order for African, black lives to matter, Black lives are African lives. So, we have to, as Africans and part of this global family of humanity that was born in Africa, acknowledge Africa. A tree without its roots will topple and humanity is at its point where it will topple because we are so

polarised and dissected and divided that we celebrate our box. And so, for that young man, I am sorry that I caused you to be so confused. But my intention with these stories is that we fought. We fought because as young people during apartheid, and saw ourselves as African, as Black. And we saw ourselves as being the oppressed. And these titles like Black and so called Coloured, theses didn't exist. Even these tribal names didn't actually exist until academics and very divisive people divided us. You'll find we have more in common than is different. And so, heritage is about celebrating all of your heritage. All of where you come from, and not just the selected boxes.

And so, I thought let me just get on this and clear it up for this young man for the second time. And I am sorry that I got you confused, and I am not trying to get people into a specific box. And my dissection of our contributions from my point of departure, where I have grown up on the Cape Flats. But I will add stories about the family members, and the people that have been on the other side of the train line, the other side of the freeway that are connected to us. Deeply connected to us you know people that teta isiXhosa, that click that you just heard, that came from the Bushmen. And when we say gogga, krikie, dagga and quagga in Afrikaans, that comes the Bushmen as well. So, we have… so, we have this connection. So instead of looking at what we don't have in common, we should be looking at what we have in common. And when I say that people that teta isiXhosa, they are connected to the Bushmen as well. So, these Khoisan separatist people thinking that they are different, are causing more trauma and drama than healing. And die ding is, die is onse land, the Bushmen actually did not believe in ownership of land, they believed that they belonged to the land. And all first nation people did this. So, if we really want to topple or decolonise the planet, then we need to start thinking in the way that they thought. We need to start thinking, how do you create a system where economics is not related to the ownership of land and that land should be returned to all the people on the planet and that we should all benefit from the wealth of the land and then you will topple something as greedy and destructive as capitalism on steroids that is happening on the planet right now. And I am not saying that people didn't batter and exchange and found ways, but what this is is not what those ancestors were talking about.

So, we need to find a balance, we need to go back to our humanity. We need to rehumanise ourselves so that we don't chase after endless… like people who don't have surround themselves with bling. And if they think that money is going to solve the problem, it is not the truth. It is never the truth. You know some of the richest artists end up taking their lives because the money cannot fill the hole that exists.

So, until you fall in love with yourself and love yourself for who you really are, all of who you are, you cannot solve this problem. And you can't stick in your grouping because ultimately that group will clash with another group over the old divide and conquer strategies of the ones who have the money always did this to the masses of the people. It is their nature to divide and conquer. And when I say them, it is economic. It is not colour. And yes, white people have benefited over the years because of them using these terminologies, and you need to accept that. In the same way that so called coloured people in the western cape benefited over people who lived in Khayelitsha and Gugulethu. It's fact.

And there is another fact, that people who are coloured and people who are black, there is a difference. Because the one was able to hold on to language and heritage and word of mouth history that gave them a strong sense of self, and the other was completely obliterated, their heritage and their sense of who they are. And so, your question is, who is in a position, who is in a better position? The one that had a better way of living because of the white power structure keeping them close to them, or the one that is completely conscious, well I shouldn't say completely because when I was at some schools in Khayelitsha and Gugulethu, and I asked all the Africans to raise their hands, they looked at the kids from Somalia instead of believing that they are actually African. And also, why Afrophobia is also so big in South Africa, why people hate Africa so much because the truth of the matter is that we were taught to hate Africa. And that's why there is so much, what people call xenophobia isn't xenophobia, its attack of other people that look like you. Its attack of black people and African people that is happening in south Africa. And that attack is deep rooted in self-hate. Point a finger, three point back at you.

So, these are the things that are not examined. And why I uploaded this wasn't only to celebrate the contributions that these young people made, that have been completely forgotten, but also to celebrate and address the deep-rooted pain with being a 16, 17-year-old kid being locked up, or chased and shot at by the security forces. So, the trauma that this has caused in south Africa is because of this history. And South Africa is a violent country because of the violence…hurt people hurt people. And so, until we address that past, this violence will continue. And the government negotiated a way this that was there with the older politicians like Dr Neville Alexander and Steve Biko and Peter Jones, like the previous upload I made yesterday.

So, for us to really heal, we need to address these issues, we need to dissect them.

The TRC did not do the work that was necessary. It did not take the information to the people. It didn't give healing. It forced us to watch horror every night. Night after night and then that was it. Then they left. No one really held accountable. People were just pardoned. People were left with their trauma. There was no therapist to come and lead us into a new thinking, on all sides. Because the thing about white supremacy is actually white insecurity. The is nothing superior about forcing your way onto people. Forcing your ideas onto people. Forcing your educational content onto people. That is not superior. That is a deep-rooted insecurity. And that is a global reality when you look at the content of education, on all levels. And media information. And so, in order for us to heal, we need to address that.

Appendix T Ethical clearance

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
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11 December 2019

Ms Annelize Kotze
Department of Archaeology

Khoi, Coloured, controvert or conform: Physical attributes influencing the formation of cultural identity in Coloured women of the Western and Northern Cape

Dear Ms Annelize Kotze

I am pleased to inform you that the Faculty of Science Research Ethics Committee has approved the above-named application for research ethics clearance, subject to the conditions listed below.

- Implement the measures described in your application to ensure that the process of your research is ethically sound; and
- Uphold ethical principles throughout all stages of the research, responding appropriately to unanticipated issues: please contact me if you need advice on ethical issues that arise.

Your approval code is: **FSREC 117 - 2019**

I wish you success in your research.

Yours sincerely

Dr Shari Daya
Chair: Faculty of Science Research Ethics Committee

Cc: Prof Rebecca Rogers Ackermann (Supervisor)

Appendix U Research questionnaires (anonymous)

INVESTIGATION OF CULTURAL IDENTITY AND HOW YOU VIEW YOURSELF

Personal information

Gender: Female …… Male …….

2. Age: …… ...

3. Educational qualifications …… ..

4. Occupation or type of work you do: ……

5. Income per month: Less than R2,000; R2,000 to R3,000; More than R3,000

6. Marital status: …….

7. Your identity: How would you describe yourself? (Chose one of the below options)

Brown …… Colored… Khoi… ..San… Black… ..Other

…….

8. Explain why you consider yourself as described above

……

Appendix V Interview questions

INVESTIGATION OF CULTURAL IDENTITY AMONG BROWN/COLOURED/KHOE OR SAN WOMEN IN THE WESTERN AND NORTHERN CAPE

(Cultural identity is how you describe and consider yourself - who and what you are)

A. CULTURAL IDENTITY

1. How would you describe yourself in terms of race and ethnicity / identity: as Brown, Coloured, Khoe, San, Black or other, and why?

2. How does it make you feel to be described in any other way to what you mentioned above?

3. When and how did you first become aware of your cultural identity /who you are?

4. Do you feel that you are free to choose your own cultural identity, or is it prescribed and determined for you:

• By your family

• By the community

• By the authorities

5. If you could choose, how would you describe yourself?

6. Racial classification was introduced before the democratic changes of 1994. How did the changes change / determine your identity.

7. Do you think it is still necessary and relevant to conduct this discussion on colored women (people)? Explain your answer.

B. PHYSICAL PROPERTIES / APPEARANCE

8. What physical characteristics or appearance, contribute to your sense of cultural identity as a brown or coloured woman (man)?

9. What (if any) physical / physical appearance is used to classify / identify you?

10. What role does the color of your skin, the shape of your body and your hair play in shaping your identity?

C. FAMILY HISTORY

11. Where does your family originally come from?

12. What do you do to learn and transfer family history?

13. How is your family history recorded (photos, photo album, etc.)?

14. Have you ever considered (investigating) your family history:

• to find out who your family is and where you come from?

• What do you think you will find?

• Do you think other members of your family would also like to know?

15. Would you consider undergoing a DNA test to find out what your family's genetic ancestry is? What do you think will be the result? (Explain your answer)

D. FAMILY TREE

16. Do you know where your family name and surname come from?

17. Did you know your grandparents - do you know who they are / were?

18. Do you know who your great grandparents were?

19. What family values / customs / traditions do you apply? Where does it come from?

20. Has your family ever held any family reunions?

21. Would you like to or have you written down your family history?