

‘Not Coloured Enough’: A Practice-Based Exploration of Coloured Identity(ies) and ‘Colouredness’ in Makhanda

By
Samantha Carolus
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Supervised by
Brian Garman
Dr Nyx McLean
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ORCID:

0009-0002-0538-1407

Abstract

This practice-based research explores the nuanced intricacies of Coloured identity and Colouredness within the 'Makhanda Coloured community' in South Africa, Eastern Cape. This research investigates the complexities of identity negotiation in a post-apartheid context by discussing historical, social, and cultural influences through the process of making - included in this submission are three documentaries, a hand-bound book, and a website.

Central to this practiced-based research is the locative nature of Coloured identity and Colouredness, highlighting specific characteristics of the 'Makhanda Coloured communities' cultural and geographic context. While a large focus of scholarship has focused on Coloured identity in the Western Cape, this research demonstrates how the 'Makhanda Coloured community' has specific cultural markers of belonging and authenticity. This practised-based research explores the impact of colonialism, stereotyping and marginalisation on the current-day understanding of Colouredness and Coloured identity. The theme of 'Not Coloured Enough' emerges as a site of tension, exploring how boundaries of authenticity and belonging are negotiated within specific Coloured communities and in some instances how they are also rejected in favour of embracing Khoi-San heritage.

This practice-based research underscores the dynamic and fluid nature of Colouredness and Coloured identity, which is moulded by history, location, culture and personal agency. This research contributes to understanding the complexities of identity negotiation and belonging within the 'Makhanda Coloured community', inviting further discussion on Coloured identity and Colouredness in post-apartheid South Africa through film, writing, photography and book-binding.

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To Coloured people who have experienced the weight of “not-enoughness” in relation to their Colouredness, I hope this work offers some language, recognition, and care in navigating that feeling.

It has been a privilege to explore a topic that has moved me in so many ways. Learning is a privilege, and I feel incredibly lucky to have had the opportunity to learn through this process.

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Glossary

The glossary is intentionally included at the beginning of this practice-based thesis to make it a point of consideration in both the context of this practice-based thesis and the general conversation about Coloured identity and Colouredness. All racial groups are capitalised for two reasons: the first is recognising race's importance in language because language conveys meaning and values and is used to uphold racist structures (Mack and Palfrey, 2020); the second reason is specific to each racial group and includes the various explanations below.

Coloured

Coloured in the context of this practice-based thesis and project refers to the Coloured race group codified by the South African Apartheid government. The initial system of racial classification in South Africa pre-dates the Apartheid classification. It builds on the colonial-era laws that were promulgated to distinguish between people for separation purposes, as well as the separation of slaves from masters (Adhikari, 2005; Erasmus, 2001; Holtzman, 2017).

This understanding of race in general and Coloured identity in particular is focused on the physical markers of race a person would present: the colour and tone of skin, the texture of hair, accents and choice of language. There was no consideration of the cultural aspects associated with these physical racial markers, nor was there room for negotiation or rejection of the label imposed on them. This practice-based thesis is concerned with how this specific understanding and classification continues to function post-Apartheid and how Coloured people perform and present their identity (Adhikari, 2005; Erasmus, 2001; Holtzman, 2017).

Throughout this practice-based thesis, Coloured is written with a capital C because the premise of this practice-based thesis deals in part with how the Coloured population has been reduced to several stereotypes constructed under Apartheid rule. Capitalising the C affords the importance historically denied to the Coloured community (Hoffmeester, 2022). Acknowledging the social significance of one's racial identification in past and present South African circumstances is crucial to moving away from this racialised mode of being (Diallo and Senghor, 2021).

Colouredness

Colouredness refers to the cultural markers, beliefs and activities a Coloured person would perform. This term signals the cultural aspects of belonging to and being accepted as part of the race group and the freedom to embrace or reject the label. Within this, there are a variety of cultural expressions; for example, under the Apartheid rule, there were six subsets under the Coloured classification, which were Cape Coloured, Cape Malay, Griqua, Nama, San and Hottentots, Bushmen, Korannas, Creoles, Negroes and Other Coloured. Post-Apartheid, the Cape- Coloured expression has been the dominant narrative researched and documented. As with the term Coloured, Colouredness will be written using an uppercase C.

Black

Black describes a person who self-identifies as Black, one of the races denoted by the South African Apartheid Government. Capitalising the b highlights the difference between colour and race and emphasises the importance of culture and race, which has historically been overlooked due to Apartheid.

Black-African

A person who resides in South Africa or Africa and self-identifies as a Black person. It is written with a capital B and A because it highlights the difference between colour and race and emphasises the importance of culture and race, which has historically been overlooked and removed from the Black community due to Apartheid.

People of Colour/ Person of Colour (POC)

People of Colour/ Person of Colour is an inclusive term historically used to refer to people who were not White. For this practice-based thesis, it will be used to refer to Black and Coloured people in South Africa.

White

A White person is someone who self-identifies with the racial group of White people. The choice to capitalise White has been informed by Ewing's (2020) and D'Angelo's (2018) work. White has been capitalised so that it may be interpreted within the context of the English language as a racial group. The process of not framing white, i.e., not capitalising it, allows it to be both framed and interpreted as neutral and as the standard (Ewing, 2020). Furthermore, by capitalising the word, we can acknowledge it for its usefulness as a racial group classification, allowing White people "to just be without having their race named - this unintentional recognition can set a precedent for other race-related issues" (D'Angelo, 2018:27).

Non-White

Under the rule of the Apartheid government, the White racial group was positioned as the superior racial group in relation to the other racial groups (Black, Coloured and Indian). This superiority was understood as the central and preferred way of being, and because of this, the other racial groups were defined and understood in relation to the White racial group. The positioning and term 'non-White' referenced the other groups in terms of their Whiteness, which they did not have, resulting in 'non-White'. Non-White embraces a White supremacist ideology and enables a White normativity (Resane, 2021) and this enables the White racial group to be understood as a given in the context of the Apartheid racial identity in South Africa. When this term is used within this practice-based thesis, it is to explain how the White racial group was understood as the central and supreme racial group during the Apartheid era and how everything else (including the other racial groups) was understood concerning their (absent) Whiteness (Resane, 2021).

Whiteness

Whiteness, in the context of this practice-based thesis, refers to the structural position of privilege that a White person experiences both in the Apartheid and post-Apartheid context. This privilege influences how non-White people view the activities, markers and beliefs of the White person as superior to their own because of the lingering effects of the Apartheid legacy. Some normative practices and assumptions maintain a position of authority in society relative to a White person's markers, which maintains a position of dominance (Steyn, 2001).

In the same way that being a White person under Apartheid rule allowed and placed White people in a position of superiority over non-White people, this element and ideology of superiority has become synonymous with the White people and their markers, beliefs and activities both during Apartheid and in the post-Apartheid landscape.

'Makhanda Coloured community'

It must be noted that when the term 'Makhanda Coloured community' is used, the researcher is at times referring to the three different research participants who have contributed to this study and have ultimately represented three different experiences of Coloured identity and Colouredness within the 'Makhanda Coloured community'. The ideas and interpretations explored within this thesis remain influenced by these three research participants, and the researcher does not assume that all Makhanda Coloured residents would share the same or similar views as the participants.

Preface: The Researcher's Positioning

The questioning of my Coloured identity is what has led to me undertaking this research topic, and this is why I position myself at the start of the practice-based thesis. In the context of research, positionality can be understood as a reflection of how the research topic, design and participants are viewed and processed and later presented by the researcher. Exploring positionality allows the researcher space “to understand more about the meanings others make of their lives” while locating themselves between the various complex situations and contexts surrounding the research process (Cooky, Linabary and Corple, 2018:3).

Positionality gives the researcher tools to understand how and why we interpret things as we do, and this enables us “to understand more about the meanings others make of their (and our) lives, and to locate ourselves (and others) in more complex and meaningful ways” (Blakely, 2007:63) Considerations of positionality may “include a critical examination of how power dynamics shape the research context and knowledge production” (Cooky et al., 2018:6).

The first time I questioned and considered the implications of my Coloured identity was when I entered university during my orientation week. Orientation week (O-week) is a week-long introduction to university activities and responsibilities for students entering university for the first time.

On the Thursday of my O-week, I remember being exhausted and rather homesick, as this was the first time away from home, and after eating lunch I wanted to take a nap and recover from the last five days of activities. I laid down, closed my eyes and fell asleep. The next thing, there was a loud knock on my door, waking me up. I opened the door, and it was another first year I had become friends with over the last five days. She was also only one of two other Coloured students in the first-year cohort assigned to my residence, and as I opened the door, she said to me:

“Samantha, where have you been? We are waiting for you; we need to leave now.”

In a panic, I was lost for words and stuttered, "Where are we going?"

She replied, “To have a jamming session.”

She scrunched her nose at me and said, “You look like you have been sleeping; you might want to fix your hair and make it fast.”

The look on her face highlighted that my hair needed to be neat and socially acceptable because we were going out and would be seen by other people. I remember that internal dread that filled me, and I had thought there was no way I could straighten my hair and then get ready if they were already waiting for me. However, being late did not outweigh the idea of showing up with curly hair.

In a rush, I put on the hair straightener, laid it down on the table, and furiously began brushing my hair, which was half wet, half dry, and curly. Brushing out my type of curly hair, which is type 3a curly and is characterized by large, loose curls with a diameter approximately the size of a piece of sidewalk chalk, can be lengthy and there needs to be more moisture to help the process (Amay, 2018). Whilst brushing my hair, there was a second knock on the door, flustering me even more, so naturally, I didn't stop what I was doing. I panicked and continued attempting to complete my task. I kept brushing my hair, considering that I might need to apply some water and conditioner or else it will hurt. Still, I contemplated on leaving my hair dry or wetting it even though that would lengthen the process of drying and straightening it. I settled and kept tugging the brush through my hair while wincing under my breath, a skill well-honed if you are Coloured and have ever had your guardian figure assist you with brushing your hair. I kept tugging at my hair, and the third knock came, accompanied by the door opening and a rather angry friend entering my room. She said words that have been permanently etched into my mind since they left her mouth:

“You aren’t White, so you do not need to straighten your hair; I meant you need to fix it by wetting your hair and setting the curls; now leave your hair the way it should be and put [your] hair in a bolla¹ and let’s go!”

Immediately, I did just that. A strong sense of being seen washed over me, in a way I hadn't yet engaged with. Walking to the jamming session, I felt a tremendous sense of shock that I had been seen and acknowledged as not White enough to straighten my hair. This statement can seem somewhat confusing because I knew I was Coloured. Despite knowing this, I was shocked at that statement because it caused me so much internal turmoil. I have spent the best part of my university undergraduate career trying to determine what drove this turmoil.

Among my siblings, a conversation often included the line, “Samantha, you should have put more sunscreen on; now you are the dark Coloured.” But what was the right shade? I have four siblings, and between the five of us, we were all different ‘shades’ of Coloured. However, some of my siblings, who are lighter in skin tone, often had a triumphant air about their skin colour, which I could never resonate with. Comments about my identity were made from a place of goodwill rooted in societal conditioning. However, it also speaks to how the social capital our bodies carry in a globalised setting would value or devalue one’s human existence and how this is often experienced through the body’s presentation (Holtzman 2017:4).

I had felt that I could approximate being White through speaking English only, being the right shade of Coloured, and straightening my hair, but despite the attempt, it wasn’t enough to harness the full White title. The same was felt for my Colouredness; I could let my hair be curly and would be accepted into a group based on my appearance, but because I didn’t speak Afrikaans, culturally I would be an outsider. I had felt a sense of imposter syndrome about my Coloured identity and had thought of myself as ‘Not Coloured Enough’.

¹ Hair worn in a bun. Also bollatjie /-ki/ [see -IE].<https://dsae.co.za/entry/bolla/e01054> *colloquial*.

I had to explore this ‘enoughness’ I often felt - or did not feel. Not enough to be White and not enough to be accepted socially into the Coloured community. What did it mean to be Coloured, and how could I obtain that status to feel Coloured enough? I often felt just ‘Not Coloured Enough’ and never White enough. This feeling of enoughness had lurked within me for years. These various experiences left me feeling othered by ‘proper’ Coloureds. I struggled to identify what ‘being Coloured’ meant and experienced difficulty fitting into what a ‘Coloured’ person should look like. I found that the ‘acceptable’ behaviours associated with being ‘Coloured’ were foreign to me. I was often othered and did not look or behave like ‘them.’ But what is this ‘Colouredness’ that I was being required to perform?

Despite presenting as a Coloured person in terms of my skin colour and doing my due diligence of ticking the box that said ‘Coloured’, most of my upbringing, such as living in a White neighbourhood, the majority of my school-going classmates being White, and socialisation of only having White teachers had subtly suggested that I would want to be White as well. To a degree, I had convinced myself that if I could obtain some White characteristics, like making my hair straight, I would be able to obtain some of the social privileges that they held.

Despite being brought up speaking the English language, I often longed to speak Afrikaans like the few Coloured people who I knew could speak Afrikaans. This longing was quickly diminished when I realised, I would not be accepted because my identity had already been formed as one of *those* Coloureds who couldn’t speak Afrikaans. Any attempt to become familiar with Afrikaans resulted in shaming by other Coloured people within my community because I was already labelled as a Coloured person who did not speak Afrikaans, so I pulled away entirely from the idea of trying to learn. No social redemption and acceptance could happen if you didn’t grow up speaking Afrikaans because being branded as one of *those* Coloured people is seen to be a permanent social identity label.

This feeling of ‘not being Coloured enough’ has been rooted in my experiences, which other Coloured people have spoken to me about. Despite these shared feelings among other Coloured people, few academic texts could help me explore how to make sense of this ‘not-enoughness’. It is from this place that I sought to explore Coloured identity. This practice-based thesis, which

consists of various short-form documentaries, presented on a website², and a hand-bound book, intends to produce academic literature to help other Coloured people who have felt this sense of ‘not enoughness’ understand the basis of their feelings more engagingly and inclusively as well as through academic text.

² Not Coloured Enough (2024): <https://sites.google.com/ru.ac.za/not-coloured-enough/home-not-coloured-enough>

Chapter 1: Introduction

This practice-based thesis and project explore the experiences of nuanced Coloured people within the 'Makhanda Coloured community'. Practice-based research is the investigation of existing knowledge as well as the contribution to new knowledge with the purpose of demonstrating the outcomes in ways that are not traditional to academia (Candy, 2006). The newly contributed knowledge is grounded in sound academic research, analysis and reporting but is presented in ways that are considered to be more liberal, such as in the form of music, images, creative texts, short documentaries and other digital media forms (Candy, 2006).

Within the complex intricacies of racial identities, Coloured identity can take on a variety of meanings depending on its context and community (Adhikari, 2005). The diverse and context-specific nature of Coloured identity highlights the depth and complexity of Coloured identity; these complex identities are often overlooked within the broader social narratives, highlighting the lack of visibility and exclusion that South Africa's Coloured community has experienced. Despite being integral to South Africa's history and social fabric, the Coloured community often remains marginalised and their experiences overlooked (Erasmus, 2001).

Moreover, this research intends to critically examine the historical and contemporary social dynamics that have influenced the Coloured community's position in South African society. This exploration includes a discussion of colonialism, Apartheid, and the ongoing effects of these systems on Coloured identity within the Makhanda community and social cohesion. By understanding the complex historical context, we can gain insights into the challenges, resilience, and aspirations of the Coloured community today.

It is important to clarify how race and identity are understood in this thesis. This thesis approaches race and identity as historically produced and socially constructed rather than fixed or biologically given. Accordingly, 'Coloured' and 'Colouredness' are treated not as singular or homogeneous entities, but as contested, relational and context-dependent formations that are negotiated through everyday social life, history, place and power.

The participant narratives in this study are therefore not presented as representative of all people classified as Coloured in Makhanda, but as situated accounts that illustrate the varied and sometimes contradictory ways in which identity and belonging are understood and performed.

1.1 The Uniqueness of Coloured Identity in South Africa

South African-born singer Tyla's hit single "Water" earned her a Grammy award for Best African Music Performer 2024 (Kazeem, 2024) and BET awards for Best New Artist and Best International Act 2024 (Isangura, 2024). The singer has gained attention for more than her vocals and hit single; embracing her identity as "Coloured" has sparked a commentary about the Coloured identity label and its evolution from an Apartheid label to a unique culture (Kazeem, 2024). The name 'Coloured' and the associations linked to the label have been at the centre of the discussion.

This debate around Tyla's Coloured identity has highlighted the harsh reality of dealing with hyperlocal racism in a globalised world. It has been met with an outcry of protest from Americans because, within the American context, the label Coloured has a different meaning. At the same time, many Coloured people in South Africa have gone online to defend the singer's right to define her identity as a Coloured person (Savage, 2024). Those who have defended the singer's Coloured identity have renewed the conversation on how South Africans navigate the complexities of Coloured identity while exploring the distinct culture developed around the label "Coloured identity." Coloured identity is unique to South Africa therefore, the understanding needs to be situated within the South African understanding of racial identities (Setlaelo, 2024). This debate around Tyla's Coloured identity serves as a starting point to delve deeper into the complexities of what it means to be a Coloured person in South Africa, highlighting the need to examine the broader cultural and historical context that shapes Coloured identity in this country.

Exploring Coloured identity is multifaceted, encompassing various aspects such as history, language, religion, and customs. By studying these aspects, this research intends to explore the diverse cultural practices and traditions within the Coloured community in South Africa

1.2 Historical Origins and Evolution of Coloured Identity

As a consequence of the National Party's obsession with racial purity in Apartheid South Africa, race was categorised into three identities, namely Native or Black, White and Coloured. A fourth category for Indian people was added later (Greenstein, 2006). As a South African, one had to identify with and assimilate into one of these racial identities. This expectation remains in contemporary post-Apartheid South Africa, where the government still uses racial categorisation (Greenstein, 2006; Strauss, 2019).

Due to the long and convoluted history of attempts to classify Coloured people in South Africa, who constitute about 11% of the population (Statistics South Africa, 2022), breaking out of the racial categorisation of a Coloured South African has proved an immense struggle, and the 'Coloured' identity remains a site of ideological and political contestation (Adhikari, 2009). South Africa's Coloured populations "are descendants of sexual liaisons between colonialists, slaves and the Indigenous Khoisan" (Hendricks, 2000) and are a creolisation of different cultures and races that "include elements of Dutch, British, Malaysian, Khoi and other forms of African culture" (Erasmus, 2004).

Attempts to govern the Coloured community began as far back as 1685, when marriages between the Dutch and enslaved people were prohibited (Reddy, 1992). Other impactful laws passed included the Group Areas Act, Act No. 41 of 1950 (making residential separation based on race compulsory), the Population Registration Act, Act No. 30 of 1950 (South African History online, 1991), and the Mixed Marriages Bill of 1937 (not yet passed but a Mixed Marriages Commission is appointed), which banned sexual relations between Coloured people and White people (Strauss, 2019). Efforts to classify Coloured people began with the 1904 Census of the Cape of Good Hope. This sought to define 'Coloured' as "Yellow and Coloured" and included all "the intermediate shades between the other two [White and Black]" (Hammett, 2007:32).

Under the 1950 Population Registration Act, the construction of the Coloured racial category stated that a Coloured person is "a person who is not a white person or a native" (Thumbran, 2021:7) based on the person's appearance. This also included ensuring that every person whose name was

on the register was classified under a racial group (Thumbran, 2021). A 1961 amendment to the Act subcategorised Coloured people into Cape Coloured, Cape Malay, Griqua Indians, Chinese, 'Other Asiatic' and 'other Coloured' (Dumiso, 2004). White and Black were seen as the 'pure' races, and Coloured South Africans were seen, treated, and described as 'impure,' the 'middleman', a minority of another kind (Johnson, 2016; Isaacs-Martin, 2014). Coloured 'impurity' comes with "associations of racial hybridity, illegitimacy, marginality and residual savagery coalesced in the stereotyping of Coloured people in the popular mind" (Adhikari, 2006b:143). The Coloured race exists somewhere between the 'Black' and 'White' racial groups but has never really been accepted or embraced by either (Strauss, 2019). Within Apartheid ideology, Coloured people were more privileged than Black people but less privileged than White people (Cowell, 1985). This resulted in a status of being "not White, but less than White: not Black but better than Black," which meant that Coloured people were perceived to be both privileged and disadvantaged at the same time (Erasmus, 2004:13).

1.3 Contemporary Realities of Coloured Identity in South Africa

The hope of the 1994 dismantling of the Apartheid government included the idea that all South African racial groups would be treated equally both in the social and historical context. However, for members of the Coloured racial group, this hope and intention did not materialise in the social or historical context. Posel (2008) explores the "afterlife space" which is also post-Apartheid, in which racial categorisation still affects current identities. Posel notes there is still "a lingering power of racial reasoning in the everyday lives of South African citizens" (2008:140). Choices and judgments passed on certain race groups reinforce and entrench the Apartheid norm of racial grading and separateness. These effects still influence how People of Colour accept and perform their 'Colouredness' (Bowker and Star, 1999).

South Africa's population comprises the majority of Black Africans, about 49.1 million; individuals with an Indian or Asian background formed the smallest population group, roughly 1.56 million; Coloured people fell in the middle, approximately 5.3 million, with White people tallying to 4.6 million (Statistics South Africa, 2022). Because Coloured people have diverse ethnic origins, there may be confusion surrounding their unique understanding of their ethnic origin and ultimately, their citizenship. Holtzman (2017) explains that although it is assumed that the

Coloured population originated in Cape Town, “there are communities of Coloured people who constitute small minorities throughout South Africa” (Holtzman, 2017:2).

This understanding of Coloured people having multiple sites of ethnic origin and each location directly impacting on how those specific Coloured groups perform and present their identity further complicates any discussion of Coloured identity. Where a Coloured person grows up directly influences the “type” of Coloured person that a person will become and shapes how the Coloured person will perform their Colouredness. A Coloured person from Cape Town would be labelled as a “Capetonian Coloured” and have unique characteristics specific to their unique Capetonian Coloured identity (Mthembu, 2015). Specific cohorts of the Cape Coloured community perform multiple identities like the association with specific musical genres like choral singing, brass or string ensembles, genres of extra mural activities like ballet and ballroom dancing and certain social activities like marches, and parades (Drury, 2008).

1.4 The Significance of Makhanda as a Study Site

This research concerns a particular site of ethnic origin and unique indigeneity for the Coloured culture and Coloured people. Ethnic origin is a person’s cultural or ancestral origins, which may be tied to their indigenous roots, specifically the land or location where they grew up and lived. Makhanda is considered a significant site of ethnic origin for various ethnic groups, as it has historically been home to many different communities (Banton, 2015).

The Coloured people who are the research participants live in Makhanda, a town in the Eastern Cape which was formerly known as Grahamstown. Makhanda is one of the seven Sarah Baartman District municipalities, located 130 kilometres southwest of East London and 110 kilometres northeast of Port Elizabeth. Makhanda is a town with a complex history, deeply influenced by its colonial and Apartheid past, which has shaped the lived experiences of the Coloured community residing there.

Under the Apartheid regime, the leaders of Grahamstown (now Makhanda) enforced racial segregation laws that separated people based on their assigned racial classification (Irvine, 2012). Figure 1 shows the racial segregation in Grahamstown/Makhanda during Apartheid, illustrating

how White, Coloured, Black, and Indian populations were geographically segregated. These divisions were legally mandated, as the Group Areas Act and other Apartheid-era laws enforced the spatial separation of these racial groups.

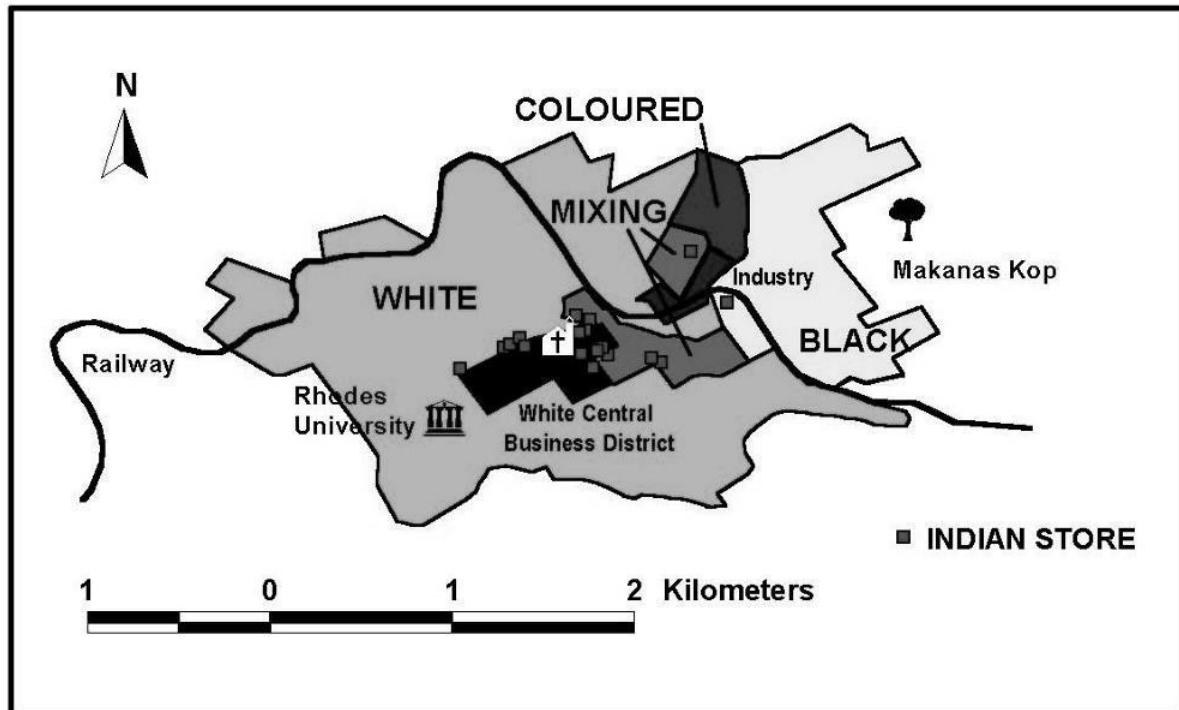


Figure 1: Racial segregation of Grahamstown/Makhanda during the Apartheid era (Fox, 2009 in Irvin, 2012).

Figure 1 shows that the town's racial groups were assigned to different areas, although some mixing occurred. With the end of formal Apartheid in 1994, one might have expected a significant shift in racial integration. However, despite the abolition of Apartheid laws, the geographical and social segregation within Makhanda has persisted well into the post-Apartheid period. Figure 2 provides a post-Apartheid view of the racial distribution in Makhanda.

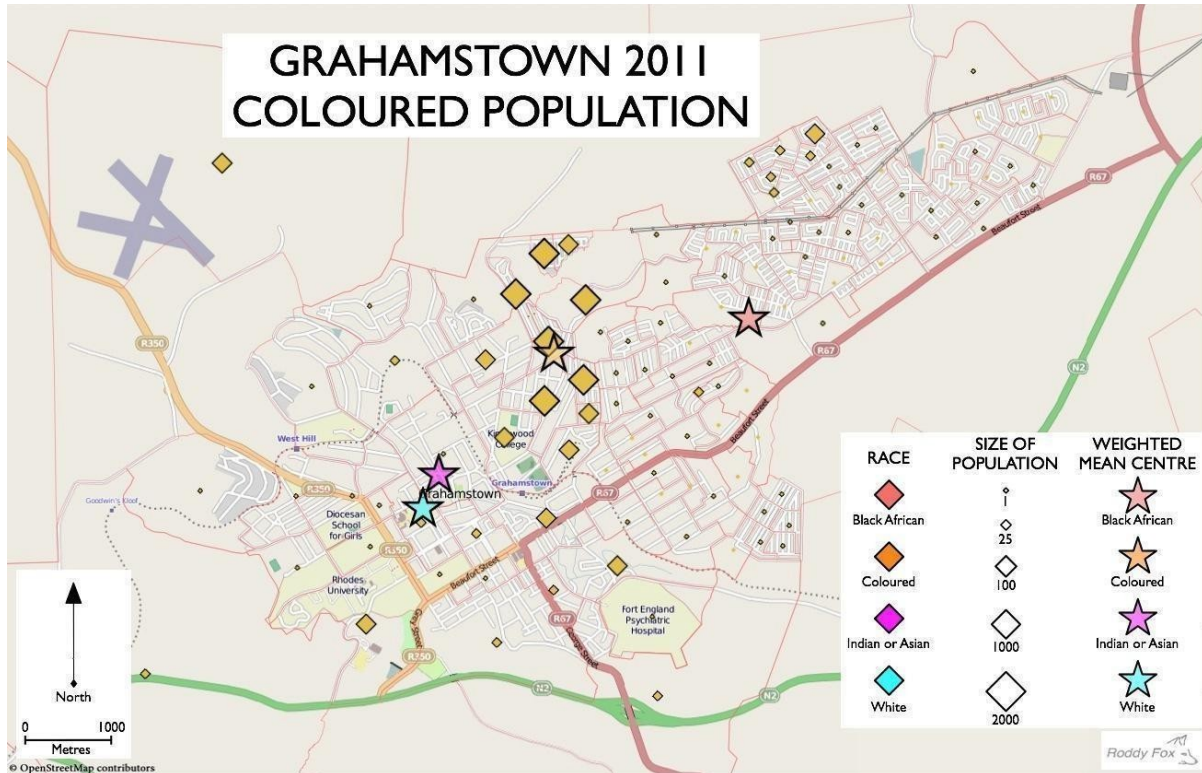


Figure 2: Coloured Population Map, Grahamstown 2011 (Source: Fox, 2013).

Despite the legal end of Apartheid, Figure 2 shows that racial segregation still dominates the geographical division of spaces in Makhanda, even in 2011. The Coloured population has experienced minor migration from their Apartheid-designated areas, instead they remain primarily in the areas assigned to them during the Apartheid era (Fox, 2013). This continued spatial segregation suggests that while Apartheid laws have been removed, their effects on the physical and social landscape of Makhanda remain entrenched.

Makhanda's significance as a site for studying Coloured identity lies in its rich historical and cultural background. The town's colonial and Apartheid past has profoundly shaped the lived experiences of the Coloured community, making it a critical site for understanding how historical forces continue to influence contemporary identities. Makhanda's location within the Eastern Cape further enhances its importance, as the region has been home to a diverse range of ethnic groups, each navigating complex dynamics of race, class, and identity.

The town's history of racial segregation, enforced through Apartheid policies such as the Group Areas Act, positions Makhanda as a critical site for exploring the intersection of race, place, and cultural expression (Grahamstown Historical Society, 1973). By analysing Makhanda, this study examines how Coloured people in this town continue to negotiate their identity in the face of historical oppression and ongoing social challenges. It also explores how artistic expression plays a role in the ongoing negotiation of Coloured identity, particularly how cultural practices and artistic forms such as music, dance, and visual arts, function as resistance, resilience, and cultural preservation tools.

This research aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of how Coloured people in Makhanda perform and assert their identity. The study highlights how place, history, and culture intersect to shape the ongoing negotiation of Colouredness in Makhanda, with particular attention to the legacy of Apartheid and the persistence of racial segregation, both formal and informal. This chapter situates the research within the broader context of South Africa's complex racial and ethnic landscape. It speaks to the intertwined relationship between identity and place, emphasising how a person's sense of self and cultural expression is influenced by the location in which they live. In Makhanda, this negotiation of identity is shaped by both the historical legacies of Apartheid and the contemporary social and spatial divisions that continue to impact the Coloured community.

1.5 Aims and Objectives of the Study

The primary aim of this study is to critically explore and analyse the complexities of Coloured identity within the Makhanda community. Combining theoretical research with practice-based engagement, the study addresses critical questions surrounding the evolution of Coloured identity, its socio-cultural significance, and its ongoing transformation in post-Apartheid South Africa.

The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

1. Examine the historical foundations of Coloured identity in South Africa, with a focus on the colonial and Apartheid-era policies that defined and structured the social, political, and cultural position of the Coloured community.
2. Explore the contemporary experiences of some of the Coloured people in Makhanda, analysing how they navigate and express their identity in a post-Apartheid context, where historical legacies and social challenges persist.
3. Contribute to a deeper understanding of Coloured identity within the broader context of South Africa's diverse racial and cultural landscape, providing insights into the complexities of identity formation, expression, and transformation.
4. Explore the concept of 'Not Coloured Enough' and how this relates to Coloured identities in Makhanda and Coloured identities in general.

The findings of this study aim to contribute to the ongoing academic discourse on race, identity, and post-Apartheid life in South Africa, offering a more nuanced understanding of the lived experiences of the Coloured community in Makhanda. This practice-based thesis seeks to illuminate the lived experiences of Coloured people, highlighting the social, cultural, and historical factors that have shaped their identity within the broader South African context. By adopting a practice-based approach, the research will rely on theoretical analysis and literature review and actively engage with the Coloured community through interviews, participant observation, and artistic expression, to explore Coloured identity within the 'Makhanda Coloured community' and how this specific Coloured identity is expressed in relation to Coloured identity and being 'Not Coloured Enough'.

Through this practice-led approach, the researcher aims to contribute to the existing knowledge surrounding Coloured identity in South Africa. By amplifying the voices of Coloured individuals and engaging with their stories, this research seeks to challenge stereotypes, promote understanding, and foster dialogue that can lead to greater social inclusivity and appreciation of Coloured culture and identity.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a brief overview of the research aims of this thesis. It has outlined the complex, nuanced nature of Coloured identity in South Africa and emphasises the need for ongoing conversations about it, in contemporary post-Apartheid South Africa. This chapter has highlighted the unique nature of Coloured identity and how it has been understood in the South African context. This chapter laid the foundation for continuing a conversation around the historical influences, contemporary experiences, and cultural expressions of Coloured identity within the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’.

Chapter 2 will further explore how race and identity have been moulded by the Colonial era laws and the Apartheid laws and how this has affected the understanding of Coloured identity in today’s context. Colouredness and how it has translated from identification to identity and the various stereotypes and complex understandings surrounding Coloured identity will be discussed.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter presents literature on various aspects of Coloured identity in South Africa and then in Makhanda to provide the conceptual grounding and context for this study. To understand the broader debate around Coloured identity, there needs to be an understanding of the different elements of literature on Coloured identity. This chapter will explore the various elements of the history of Coloured identity and classification through the following themes and sub-themes: the central theme of the History of Coloured Identity and Colouredness in South Africa includes the sub-themes of the colonial era of classification, the Apartheid era of codification, and the post- Apartheid era of continued classification.

The next main theme is that of From Identification to Identity and it covers the sub-themes of theories of identity formation, belonging and identity formation in contemporary South Africa. The third main theme is that of Contemporary Coloured Identity in South Africa and includes the sub-themes of assimilating and embracing Englishness, place, the politics of space, social stratification and the social aspects of contemporary Coloured identity in South Africa - including language. Finally, the main theme of Representation and stereotypes of Coloured identity includes the sub-themes of representation of Coloured identity and the power of a stereotype. Through these themes and sub-themes, there will be a comprehensive exploration of Coloured identity and the various social and political influences that have impacted the formation of racial identity and understanding of Coloured identity from the pre-Apartheid period to the current day understanding of what it means to be 'Coloured'.

As stated in the previous chapter, more literature is needed on the experience of Coloured identity and the experience of Colouredness outside the Western Cape. This research explores and highlights the location-specific Coloured identity in Makhanda, Eastern Cape.

2.1 The History of Coloured Identity and Colouredness in South Africa

This chapter will provide a conceptual grounding of Colouredness and Coloured identity in South Africa. The chapter explores the theoretical, historical and contemporary aspects of Coloured identity that shape and continue to shape the classification and understanding of the classification of Coloured identity in South Africa.

This is achieved by tracing the roots and initial classifications and understanding of Coloured identity through the initial coding of the racial identity pre- Apartheid to the complexities of how the identity functions post-Apartheid.

In line with the mandate of the Apartheid government, each person had to identify with one of the following racial groups: Native or Black, White, Coloured or Indian during Apartheid rule in South Africa from 1948-1994 (Greenstein, 2006). The Coloured people of South Africa are neither Black nor White nor Indian as per the strict racial criteria and classification systems rooted in colonial and Apartheid legislature.

Historically, Coloured people have been held in the same regard as the “bastard children” of the nation. From the formal onset of Apartheid in 1948, the classification of Coloured people as ‘off-White’ and not Black has created a sense of uncertainty and turmoil in their identity. This turmoil stems in part from the idea that the White identity and the Black identity were seen by the Colonial and Apartheid society and government as the ‘pure’ races, and the Coloured people were seen, treated, and described as ‘impure’ – the ‘middleman’ a minority of another kind (Johnson, 2016; Isaacs-Martin, 2014). Coloured identity can be considered to be a queer identity in relation to the South African racial classification of race. This is because, unlike the White and Black identities, they were made up of various influences and were not easy to classify by the government (Holtzman, 2017). The association of Coloured identity with impurity comes with “associations of racial hybridity, illegitimacy, marginality and residual savagery coalesced in the stereotyping of Coloured people in the popular mind” (Adhikari, 2006a). The Coloured race exists somewhere between Black people

and White people but was never really accepted or embraced by either racial group in any social space (Strauss, 2019).

In understanding the label ‘Coloured’, Holtzman (2017) explains that the origin of this racial category was a political construct meant to disparage people who were not quickly identifiable as ‘pure’ Black people or ‘pure’ White people. It was used to classify the various mixtures of European, African and Asian within the South African Apartheid registration system. The “third race” classification of the Coloured people and the collective “other” classification created a space to foster a unique racial identity and sense of solidarity within the communities that fell under this category.

This solidarity developed from their shared identity of ethnic hybridity, cultural practices, and marginalised status within the South African context. As a result of the Apartheid racial segregation era and the colonial era, a national consciousness was formed around understanding citizenship in South Africa as belonging to a group with political power, not an overall single nation (Erasmus, 2002).

During Apartheid, the term “Coloured” was used to refer to a racial classification that was frequently seen as offensive and unlawful because it was linked to forced racial classification. However, “Coloured” is a term that some people use to express a shared history of oppression and perseverance among people of different heritage. The term “so-called Coloured” is controversial because it casts doubt on the validity and authenticity of the Coloured identity, which might offend people who view the name as a legitimate indicator of their identity. Afrikaans-speaking Coloured populations in the Western Cape and Northern Cape, on the other hand, generally reject the Afrikaans word *kleurling*, which means “coloured,” in favour of more respectful and affirming names like *bruinmense* (Brown people), *bruinman*, or *bruinvrou*. These words highlight the multi-layered intricacies related to South Africa’s history.

This chapter begins with the initial historical discussion of Coloured identity and its specific historical events, which took place during colonial rule and influenced the racial classification and systems which enabled the control of Coloured identity

2.1.1 The Colonial Era of Classification Pre-dating 1948

In the South African context, the colonial era and its specific understanding of race and racial identities formed the foundation of the racial classification system, which would later be implemented and institutionalised under the Apartheid government legislation. This specific form of classification was influenced mainly by European colonial ideologies, which aimed to establish racial hierarchies to enforce segregation and exert control of the citizens under its rule. The colonial era introduced the idea of “racial superiority”, which was the belief that the Europeans were superior and above the African people - Black people and Coloured people (Edward, 2021). Science and scientific racism (which is the use of pseudoscientific theories and methods) was used to justify beliefs in racial hierarchies and the supposed ‘superiority’ or ‘inferiority’ of different racial groups (Jackson and Weidman, 2005). The ideology of racial superiority being proven through the idea of scientific racism was supported by misapplied biology, anthropology, and genetics to support discriminatory policies and segregation enforced by the government’s legislation.

Work that enabled this line of thinking was the Darwinian Misinterpretation of Charles Darwin’s (1859) revolutionary book, *The Origin of Species*, where his work was misinterpreted through the principle of natural selection, in which certain races were considered more evolved than others. Through the idea of racial superiority and scientific racism, the White race was understood to be superior to the other races. While both these ideas of racial superiority and scientific racism have been discredited and criticised for being biased - these theories informed the initial widespread understanding of race in South Africa and are considered the foundations of racial classification (Dennis, 1995).

The foundations of racial classification were in support of the racist colonial legislation, which established categories of races that were ambiguous and difficult to implement. The idea of race and racial separation existed well before Apartheid (Greenstein, 2006; Johnson, 2016; Holtzman, 2017).

Racial classification and foundational understanding of racial superiority can be traced to the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in Cape Town in 1652, where racial segregation practices began with

distinctions between Europeans and Indigenous peoples, specifically with the erection of a fence by van Riebeeck between Black people and White people in Cape Town (Welsh, 2010). Having established that race and racial separation existed around 1652, the definition and distinguishing characteristics linked to the Coloured racial group can be explored. Despite van Riebeeck's mentioning of racial groups, it took several years before the term "Coloured identity" was clearly defined through the establishment of the 1812 Black Settlers Court, which dealt exclusively with enslaved (Khoi-San, Black, Indian and Native) people who wished to lay complaints against their masters. The court dealt with the disputes of racial classifications of enslaved people as well, however, there is no mention of the Coloured racial group (Gqola, 2010). Among these complaints made by some people were issues about their racial classification because, up to this point in time, there had been no distinction between Black and Coloured people.

The ambiguity and lack of clear definitions of who is considered part of which racial group is evident in other colonial laws. The 1867 Vagrancy Act initially only referred to the Xhosa population group, with no mention of other ethnic groups in this act. Only a few years later, the 1870s Diamond Diggers' Protection Society laws banned 'Natives' from claiming diamonds. Natives here were understood to mean Coloured people and Black people (UNESCO, 1974) as a single racial group, yet enslavers began to use a classification differentiating between Black people and Coloured people to keep records of the people they enslaved (UNESCO, 1974).

The Education Act of 1907 made distinctions between some racial categories, but it also grouped others together, which created further ambiguity in classification of the term Coloured. When the act was introduced, it referred to the people from the "Native", "Indian" and "Coloured" population groups. However, in 1913, section 10 of the Natives Land Act defined a "Native" as a person who is "a member of an aboriginal race or tribe of Africa; and shall further include any company or other body of people, corporate or unincorporated, if the people who have a controlling interest therein are natives" (Posel, 2011:60). This introduced confusion because ethnic groups were being labelled alongside the label of Native person but Coloured identity was not mentioned or considered at this point despite the presence of Coloured people (Posel, 2011). The lack of an explicit definition of "Coloured" created confusion about who could be considered.

This confusion was about the difference between Coloured people, Black people, and Indigenous

people such as Khoi-San because it would often be informed by the people who held the majority power within a particular space and those it intended to affect (Diallo and Senghor, 2021).

The various colonial laws in South Africa used the idea of racial superiority. They often introduced confusion through ambiguous racial definitions, as seen in the 1867 Vagrancy Act, which initially targeted only the Xhosa population, and the 1870s Diamond Diggers' Protection Society laws, which categorised both Coloured people and Black people as "Natives" for exclusionary purposes (UNESCO, 1974). The 1907 Education Act further blurred racial categories by lumping "Native," "Indian," and "Coloured" together, while the 1913 Natives Land Act defined "Native" as someone with African association, neglecting any mention of the Coloured racial category (Posel, 2011).

In the context of colonial rule, the idea of 'race' began to emerge, with racial categories used to divide people into groups based on physical characteristics and various cultural traits. The label of 'Coloured' identity was formed from a mix of various groups, including Indigenous people, slaves, and free people of mixed descent (Gqola, 2010). These classifications were not only about physical appearance but were also linked to social roles and positions within colonial society (Posel, 2011).

The classification system in the colonial period laid the groundwork for later racial systems like Apartheid, where distinctions between groups would become more rigid and institutionalised.

2.1.2 The Apartheid Era of Codification 1948 – 1994

The Apartheid regime continued the process of racial separation through various legislative laws. Several of these laws informed the current day nuanced understanding of Coloured identity. During Apartheid, race and racial hierarchy were codified within laws and governance structures, which enabled the specific way of thinking about race and Coloured identity to become a part of social thinking and existence.

The primary linchpin in the Apartheid understanding of race, which institutionalised racial divisions, was the Population Registration Act (PRA) of 1950. This law required every South African to be registered in a specific racial category based on their physical appearance, social acceptance and ancestry. According to the PRA, a White person was defined by two things: their physical appearance as well as their social acceptance, which would allow them to be classified as

a White person. A Coloured person could appear as a White person physically but not possess the necessary social acceptance needed to be classified as a White person. Coloured people were defined as non-White people and non-Black people and often described as “mixed-race” or “not Native” (Posel, 2011:54).

This specific approach to race and racial classification was rooted in the racial formation theory, which suggests that the state informs racial categories through racialisation (Omi and Winant, 2014). Racial projects would involve interpreting and explaining racial identities alongside distributing resources according to the racial divisions. These racial categories, once enforced, became entrenched in the various social structures and pre-determined an individual’s ability to access specific resources and the influence they would have in certain social spaces (Treitler, 2020).

The PRA’s lack of a clear definition for Coloured identity created confusion, particularly for those people who did not fit clearly into the racial categories of a Black person, White person or Indian person. This confusion and lack of a clear definition, which could be applied easily, created a space where various subjective methods were used to classify people racially.

The 1951 Population Census, a precursor for racial segregation, was the first recorded wide-scale racial classification counting of the various people in each racial group. Every individual in South Africa was forced to register and be assigned to an official racial category. Assigning people to a race category was layered with arbitrary, unscientific tests, like the pencil, nail and eyelid tests. The subjective methods included the pencil test; if a pencil slid out of a person’s hair, the person was considered White, if it stayed, they were classified as Black, reflecting differences in hair thickness and curliness of different types of hair (Bowker and Star, 1999). The nail test examined the colour of the half-moons at the base of a person’s fingernails, with lighter tones indicating Whiteness and darker, bluish tones signifying Black or Coloured identity (Sollors, 1997). The eyelid test considered uniform lids as an indication of no Coloured ancestry and starkly white lids suggesting Coloured heritage (MacLennan, 1990). All these methods were highly arbitrary and socially biased (Bowker and Star, 1999; MacLennan, 1990).

While it appeared to be a simple process, racially classifying people was problematic because those conferring the racial classification were neither experts nor trained. Therefore, the entire

classification process was riddled with subjectivities informed and supported by closely held social prejudices differing from person to person (Posel, 2001). Methods used to support the classification process ranged from the ‘common sense’ approach, which used one’s ability to examine someone’s skin colour and hair texture coupled with inquiring into social circumstances and ancestry and then being able to conclude their race (Gotanda, 2010).

Despite governmental attempts to create clear-cut borders with which they could classify people, there were several cases of uncertainty “particularly predominant among Coloureds” (Bosch and De Klerk, 1996; 239). The number of incorrect classification cases grew due to the more unique number of cases and this led to establishment of the Race Classification Appeal Board to hear appeals from people contesting their classifications (Seekings, 2005). Over time, the number of appeals diminished drastically. This can be assumed to have indicated that racial classification quickly became a societal norm that was met with less resistance and was therefore accepted and practiced (Seekings, 2005).

In 1951, the official racial categories were White, Black and Coloured. Later on, “Indian” became the fourth racial category. While Native morphed into ‘Black’ and ‘Bantu’ and again into various ethnic/linguistic groups. The manufactured nature of these categories can be seen in the Apartheid government’s controversial decision to grant Japanese people “honorary European/White” status. This was due to Japan’s economic benefits to South Africa (Park, 2008,). The upgrade of Japanese to ‘honorary White’ only opened up a space for more confusion surrounding the classification system. Despite this, the hierarchy and social status are linked to race thinking. The hierarchical system placed the White race at the top and the Black race at the bottom, with the other racial groups falling in between the two groups (Posel, 2001). The higher up in the hierarchy you were, the more social privileges you would hold, and the lower down, the less privileges a person would have. A person would be classified by the Apartheid government and had to endure the race assigned to them.

However, with the reclassification system, there was the opportunity to advance your racial status (Posel, 2001). If you could show you had reached a certain level of ‘civility and pedigree’, you could apply for a change in your racial group classification. This change was closely linked to a person’s social and economic mobility, “if the powers that be agreed that such a person had indeed

somehow advanced beyond the believed (biologically inherent) intellectual and behavioural incapacity associated with that ‘inferior’ race, then an upgrade was granted” (Braithwaite, 2014:7). In the case of the Coloured person, who was born to Coloured parents, they were able to be classified as White “if they had attained suitable levels of education” (Posel, 2001:97).

This practice existed in the Republic until governmental officials realised this upgrade system would possibly motivate Black people to strive to move up the racial hierarchy (Braithwaite, 1975), which they did not want to encourage. The act of allowing people to ‘upgrade’ their race would suggest that boundaries could be blurred and that the racial categories are not fixed and set. This suggestion would delegitimise the segregation rules Apartheid was founded on, one of which suggested you are born into your racial category and should stay in that category for life (Braithwaite, 1975).

During Apartheid’s rule, the classification of various races was confusing, but the idea became normalised and accepted due to being supported by formal legislation. This idea of race, ingrained and accepted in the South African legal system, was socially constructed and presented as fact making it difficult for people to separate fact from fiction (Pirtle, 2022). During Apartheid in South Africa, racial divisions were institutionalised through laws like the PRA, which categorised individuals based on physical appearance and social acceptance. This categorisation reinforced racial hierarchies that placed the White race in a position of superiority and privilege above the other three races.

Although the Apartheid government’s rule has ended, the formal racial classification remains and the wounds it has caused have yet to healed (Zinkel, 2019). Despite being acutely aware of the issues and separation it caused; it is still being used in present-day systems. The following section will explore this present-day use of this classification and the problems linked to its continued use.

2.1.3 Post-Apartheid Era - Continued Classification

The early 1990s marked a significant shift for South Africa as the nation transitioned from Apartheid to democracy. Restitutionary equality was introduced to redress those who suffered under Apartheid, enabling measures to achieve substantive equality (Post and Preamble of the Final Constitution; Diallo and Senghor, 2021). However, despite the repeal of the Population

Registration Act in 1991, the classification system persisted under section 8(3) of the interim Constitution, perpetuating Apartheid-era racial thinking (Diallo and Senghor, 2021).

The mechanisms used during Apartheid to classify individuals by appearance, descent, and social acceptance continued post-Apartheid. These norms often disregarded individuals' self-entification, maintaining the prejudiced structures of Apartheid-era classifications. The People Against Race Classification (PARC) petition illustrates this tension. PARC proposed removing the term "Coloured" from government documents, arguing that it was confusing and derogatory and that it erased the historical identities of the Khoi and San people (Posel, 2001).

In 2022, PARC representative Glen Snyman presented a petition to Parliament requesting the removal of "Coloured" from government forms and the Employment Equity Act (EE Act) of 1998. The petition also argued for revisiting the definitions of "African" and "Black" in the EE Act, as these terms grouped Coloured people with Africans and Indians under a single category, obscuring cultural distinctions. Minister Thembelani Thulas Nxesi acknowledged that all South Africans are African by birth but maintained that Coloured people are also Black, adding to the identity confusion in the current day.

Coloured people have historically occupied an ambiguous space in South Africa's racial hierarchy, positioned between Black and White groups. Marike de Klerk's 1983 description of Coloureds as "leftovers" encapsulated the derogatory attitudes contributing to an enduring identity crisis (Erasmus, 2001).

During the Black Consciousness Movement, some Coloured people identified with political Blackness, relinquishing their Coloured identity to embrace unity against racism. However, confusion persisted around whether Coloured people were considered Black or Coloured, complicating the distinction between cultural identity and political solidarity (Mthembu, 2015). The late Eusebius Mckaizer, who was a South African radio broadcaster and author, exemplified this duality by identifying as politically Black and culturally Coloured. Identifying as politically Black and culturally Coloured is a common practice of many South Africans today (Mthembu, 2015).

Minister Nxesi's reference to the 2004 Constitutional Court case *Minister of Finance and Another*

v. *Van Heerden* emphasised how Apartheid racial hierarchies shaped post-Apartheid policies. Nxesi noted that the hierarchy placed White people at the top, Coloured and Indian people in the middle, and Black people at the bottom, reinforcing racial divisions. The persistence of these classifications highlights the ongoing struggle to redefine Coloured identity and its present-day understanding in social spaces.

The confusion around Coloured identity also stems from the diverse origins of Coloured people, often framed within three schools of thought: essentialism, instrumentalism, and social constructionism (Adhikari, 2009). Essentialism defines Coloured identity as a creolisation of Dutch, British, Malaysian, Khoi, and African cultures resulting from colonial miscegenation (Hendricks, 2000; Erasmus, 2004). Instrumentalism, influenced by the Black Consciousness Movement, rejects Colouredness as a construct imposed by White supremacy to reinforce dominance (Jefta, 2020). It emphasises returning to Khoisan roots and rejecting the Apartheid-imposed label of Coloured identity (Adhikari, 2013).

Social constructionism, the most contemporary approach, highlights the agency of individuals in constructing their identities. It blends essentialist and instrumentalist perspectives while acknowledging the complexities of Coloured identity. This paradigm allows individuals to actively engage with and redefine their identity, influencing social and political consciousness (Adhikari, 2006).

In this study, race is understood as a historically produced and socially enforced category rather than a fixed biological essence. Identity is approached as relational, negotiated and context-dependent, shaped by history, place, social interaction and personal agency. This thesis therefore draws primarily on a social constructionist approach, while recognising that essentialist and instrumentalist understandings continue to inform how Coloured identity is imposed, contested, performed and experienced in South Africa. This framing supports the central argument of the thesis: that Coloured identity and ‘Colouredness’ in Makhanda are not fixed or singular, but are fluid and negotiated through everyday practices of belonging, exclusion and authenticity

The debates surrounding Coloured identity underscore its contested nature. Some embrace their identity with pride, others reject it, and many navigate a space of in-betweenness. This complexity reflects the diverse origins and lived experiences within the Coloured community, shaped by

Apartheid-era hierarchies and post-Apartheid policies.

The PARC petition encapsulates these challenges, highlighting how Coloured identity remains a site of contention. While it calls for removing derogatory labels, it also underscores the need to engage with the cultural and historical significance of identity.

This theme has explored the historical, theoretical and contemporary dimensions of Coloured identity in South Africa, focusing on the origins, classifications, and social and political implications. Tracing the roots of Coloured identity from the colonial era to the Apartheid era showcases how racial hierarchies and racial hierarchy ideologies have set up Coloured identity to be associated with hybridity and marginal status. These racial classifications enabled through arbitrary tests were deeply entrenched in the legal and social systems, determining access to resources and perpetuating systemic inequality. Despite the transition to democracy in the 1990s, racial classification continues to influence South Africa's social and political landscape. Post - Apartheid policies, including restitutionary equality measures, retained the use of racial categories for redress and this perpetuates Apartheid-era racial thinking. The persistent contestation of the term "Coloured," by groups like the People Against Race Classification (PARC), underscores ongoing tensions surrounding identity, representation, and self-definition.

This section situates Coloured identity within broader discussions of race, emphasising its complex and contested nature in South Africa's historical and contemporary landscape.

2.2 From Identification to Identity

Identity formation is a complex process influenced by various psychological, social and cultural factors. Understanding identity in the context of South Africa's racial and ethnic classification requires examining key social identity formation theories and group identity. These theories enable an understanding of how individuals understand their identity and how these identities are shaped by external facts such as culture, race and society. This understanding aligns with social constructionist and identity-process approaches, which argue that identity is produced and negotiated in relation to social structures, historical conditions, and interpersonal recognition rather than emerging as a fixed essence (Jenkins, 2014; Breakwell, 2014; Butler, 1990). Within Coloured identity, these theories offer insights into the complexities of exclusion, inclusion and

belonging within a racial context that is unique to South Africa.

Social identity theory explains that individuals derive a part of their self-perception and understanding of self from their membership in social groups. These groups that the individual is a part of provide the person with a sense of belonging and contribute to the person's identity by assisting them in defining themselves in relation to others (Tajfel and Turner, 1979).

In the specific context of South Africa, racial categories were historically institutionalised and continue to influence identity formation today. The Coloured community was an artificial racial classification created by the Apartheid government and exists at the intersection of racial boundaries. Coloured identity was marked by the exclusion from both Black and White communities, creating a unique space where individuals could not easily belong to either group. Coloured identity in South Africa, understood through social identity theory, indicates that individuals would identify with their racial group to experience and cultivate a sense of belonging (Adhikari, 2013; Holtzman, 2017).

Coloured identity showcases how social identity theory would exist in a post-Apartheid South African context. The need to belong and to define oneself in comparison with the 'other' racial group continues to impact how the person would self-identify. This process of social identity is ongoing within the South African context as the nuances and complexities of identity and the legacy of Apartheid co-exist in social spaces (Erikson, 1968).

Identity formation theory focuses on the developments of a person's identity across their lifespan. Erikson (1968) proposes that identity formation includes a process of exploration and commitment where individuals consider different roles, beliefs and values before committing to a specific and particular identity. This process is essential for developing a stable foundational sense of self (Erikson, 1968).

The contradictions around racial classification in South Africa have moulded identity formation in the context of Coloured identity. Coloured individuals have formed their identity through negotiating various parts of their lives like their background, cultural practices, and social expectations. The process of identity formation is not straightforward for a Coloured person. Adhikari (2009) notes the Coloured community often finds themselves caught between two worlds: the Black majority and the White minority. The lack of a straightforward identity

formation has resulted in Coloured people experiencing a “hybrid” identity, which enabled them to take from various racial and cultural influences to mould and shape their understanding of who they are.

The challenge of forming an identity as a Coloured person in South Africa is further complicated by the politics of race in the South African context, where the Apartheid state imposed the racial category ‘Coloured’, which in turn shaped and constrained identity formation. An individual may choose not to self-identify as a Coloured person and instead would identify as mixed race due to the ambiguity surrounding being classified. In line with Erikson’s (1968) theory, this person has struggled to reconcile the multiple aspects of their identity because they exist in a society with clear, rigid racial categories. Mixed race refers to individuals or groups with diverse ancestral origins, often shaped by historical intersections of different racial and ethnic communities, not to be confused with Coloured identity (Ellison and de Wet, 2020).

Group identity theory focuses on the role social groups play in shaping an individual’s identity. Group identity includes the individual concept of self and the collective identity of the group in which they exist. The collective group identity shapes individuals’ perceptions, behaviours, and sense of belonging. A person’s group identity would directly reflect their shared experiences. These norms and values define and distinguish a group’s identity markers from other social groups (Tajfel, 1986).

Within the Coloured community and Coloured identity in South Africa, group identity plays a critical role in shaping how an individual Coloured person would understand both themselves and their relationship with the other racial groups. Being a historically marginalised group, the Coloured community has developed a distinct group identity shaped by cultural markers like food, religion and social practices (Dooms and Chutel, 2023).

The notion of group identity within the Coloured community is not static; it is constantly in flux as the group members negotiate and navigate external and internal social pressures and divisions. The Coloured group identity is fluid, and this fluidity is showcased in the documentary *Liminal* (Joy, 2021). The interviewees in the documentary share how they have struggled with their identity and sense of belonging within the Coloured community and how their choice to identify as a

member of the Coloured community, Black community or mixed-race community is mainly due the sense of community they have felt. This ultimately illustrates the power and dynamic nature of the group identity formation.

The theories of social identity, identity formation and group identity offer a valuable framework for understanding Coloured identity and Colouredness in South Africa. These theories showcase how the individual and the group negotiated belonging and self-perceptions in a social environment marked by complex racial dynamics. Historical classifications and power dynamics around social recognition and inclusion deeply influence identity formation in Coloured communities. The lingering legacy of Apartheid and the present-day racial categorisation system continue to shape how Coloured individuals experience identity and a sense of belonging.

2.2.1 Belonging and Identity within Coloured Identity

The social concept of belonging in relation to Coloured identity can be understood through the Coloured community dichotomy (Adhikari, 2013). This dichotomy creates an “us” and a “them,” often based on social class and status (Holtzman, 2017). The construction and performance of Coloured identity fosters a strong sense of self and group belonging while excluding others. This dynamic allows for social mobility, fragmentation, and marginalisation (Holtzman, 2017).

Belonging within the Coloured community is linked to Colouredness, a cultural identity shaped by shared social practices such as language, food and music (Dooms and Chutel, 2023). Colouredness represents cultural identity, while Coloured identity is connected to racial classification.

Colouredness is the sum of a Coloured person’s cultural experiences of being Coloured and the socialisation within the Coloured community (Dooms and Chutel, 2023).

Tiffani Joy’s documentary *Liminal* (2021) explores the mixed-race and Coloured race labels, presenting them as liminal—existing between the Black identity and White identity (Cohen, 2021). The film discusses individuals who choose not to identify as Coloured but as mixed-race, considering the racial identities of their parents. The documentary examines how identity choices are often rooted in belonging, with interviewees emphasising the importance of acceptance and understanding (Cohen, 2021). Belonging, a subjective feeling, arises when people feel essential to

functioning in the systems around them, such as family, school, and community (Allen et al., 2021). This drive for belonging connects people to others, places, and experiences (Allen et al., 2021) and is central to human life (Cohen, 2021).

Belonging is influenced by various social structures, cultural norms, and personal experiences (Covarrubias, 2023). It is shaped by the social, cultural, environmental, and geographical systems in which one exists, guiding the self to determine levels of acceptability, right, and wrong (Allen et al., 2021). The concept of belonging is also tied to the social community one seeks to be part of, defined by shared characteristics and experiences (Nilsson, 2016). Belonging is an active social process shaped by interactions with people, institutions, and sociocultural contexts (Nilsson, 2016). The suffix “-ness” indicates a state of being, with

Colouredness representing such a state. Citizenship, or the status of being a citizen, can be applied to Coloured identity, which historically existed in a confusing space with no definitive boundaries. During Apartheid, Coloured people were considered illegitimate citizens due to their racial hybridity (Adhikari, 2006b).

The Coloured community has had to negotiate their identity to maintain their citizenship status and the meaning of their “Colouredness,” which is shaped by diverse ethnic origins and social practices. Ultimately, belonging is essential, but the complexities of identity often lead to social isolation and a sense of disconnection (Adhikari, 2006b). This sense of exclusion creates a dichotomous consciousness of “us” and “them,” leading to marginalisation and differentiation (Holtzman, 2017). This differentiation enables those who feel they do not belong to contest and reshape their identity.

2.3 Contemporary Contested Coloured Identity in South Africa

The legacies of colonialism, Apartheid and social stratification have shaped contemporary Coloured identity in South Africa. Coloured identity exists at the intersection of racial hierarchy and political dimensions. Coloured identity is further complicated by the historical aspirations towards Whiteness, rooted in colonial ideologies that have positioned Whiteness as the ideal way of existing. This aspiration created internal hierarchies within Coloured communities based on skin tone and cultural practices (Nilsson, 2016).

Alongside proximity to Whiteness, place and the politics of space are central to understanding Colouredness. Forced removals under Apartheid relegated Coloured communities to peripheral areas and created spatial identities which were tied to segregation and marginalisation. These spaces shaped contemporary experiences of belonging and identity within the Coloured community (Dooms and Chutel, 2023).

The social formation of Coloured identity is deeply linked to language and religion, both of which act as markers of belonging and distinction within South Africa. Social stratification added another layer of complexity as Coloured individuals navigated internal hierarchies and external inequalities. This section explores how Coloured identity is negotiated within the intersections of place, space, race, and class and how an individual Coloured person negotiates and redefines themselves within these frameworks.

2.3.1 Assimilating and Embracing Englishness

In exploring Coloured identity through the “us” and “them” dichotomy, this section uses “us” to refer to those recognised as belonging within a particular Coloured social world, and “them” to refer to those positioned as outside it through everyday practices of social comparison, inclusion and exclusion (Yuval-Davis, 2010). In response to the contestation of Coloured identity, some individuals have embraced a “them” position by identifying with forms of otherness. However, this was not the case for many Coloured people; some remained within the “us” category and assimilated towards what was socially constructed as a more “acceptable” way of existing, which, during apartheid, was aligned with White norms and ways of living (Tewolde, 2024). For some Coloured people, access to historically White spaces has become more achievable in recent years (Tewolde, 2024).

Before understanding how it is Coloured people assimilated into Whiteness, let us first explore what it means to assimilate. This process of assimilation is one of the four significant categories of understanding within social behaviour, the other three being conflict, competition, and accommodation (Park, Burgess and McKenzie, 2024). Assimilation is “a process, for the most part conscious, by which individuals and groups come to have sentiments and attitudes similar to those held by other persons or groups about a particular value at a given time” (Park, Burgess and McKenzie, 2024). Examining the values presented to people during Apartheid, it is clear that the

race that experienced the most privileges and was given more opportunities than any other group to achieve success was the White race. People during Apartheid were assimilating to the social ethics and social policy presented to them and shaped by the Apartheid government and society. This means that Coloured people would strive towards the ‘ideal value’ of society and that was Whiteness. This striving towards the ideal value is not an uncommon social practice within communities.

Whilst attempting to explore the reasons behind the assimilation, it must first be acknowledged that the Coloured racial group was stereotyped with associations of gangsterism, violence and sexual promiscuity (Jensen, 2008) and that these were not the values the society upheld. Therefore, any attempt to get away from the association and move towards something with more resemblance to that of the ideal at the time was what some Coloured people would strive for (Erasmus, 2017). Coloured people attempted to assimilate into White spaces by mimicking their behaviours and adopting their various values (Kasinitz and Waters, 2023). ‘White is right’ then becomes the leading ideal for those not classified as a White person, and Whiteness then becomes what they attempt to strive towards and assimilate into (Jiménez, 2013).

Alba and Nee (2009) critique assimilation theory and suggest that it has primarily been held up against Eurocentric standards, precisely a middle-class Protestant White ideal standard. The idea is also that assimilation will occur towards the dominant group. Bearing this in mind, Alba and Nee (2009) have defined racial assimilation as “the decline of an ethnic distinction and its corollary cultural and social differences” (Alba and Nee 2009:15). Coupling this understanding with that of assimilation, this is an understanding of how some Coloured people may embrace behaviours associated with White people for their social benefit.

One way in which Coloured people were able to seek association with the dominant group - White people, was to be accepted and gain their privileges through the practising of their religion (Jorritsma, 2011). Along with the religious commitment came a dedication to producing music for use within religious spaces (Dooms and Chutel, 2023).

Here, “respectability” refers not simply to being respected, but to a socially constructed set of moral, behavioural and aesthetic norms through which people are judged as proper, respectable or worthy within a particular social order. In the South African context, these norms have

historically been shaped by colonial and racial hierarchies, and could be performed through religion, dress, language and conduct (Ross, 1999). In this thesis, the term is used to show how proximity to Anglican/English practices could function as a route to social legitimacy for some people classified as Coloured.

Some members of the Cape Coloured community actively constructed a “sense of self” (Allen et al., 2022) via their participation in English/Anglican musical activities – the exchange of activities and information greatly affected the cognitive formation and psyche over several generations. Part of this formation was the performative practice of the “respectable” Cape Coloured identity being linked to the Anglican group. This respectability was closely connected with the Anglican church and linked to Whiteness and White people. Holtzman (2017) explains that it acted as a process of “wearing White masks” – the idea that wearing specific clothing and performing certain behaviours can mask the brown (Coloured body) Holtzman (2017) considers outward signs of behaviours that mimicked those that White people would perform to be an act of attempting to aspire and ‘be like’ their White counterparts. Looking at the example of “the strong social influence of the Anglican church on the community of Indermere/Kensington” (Holtzman, 2017), which is a predominantly Coloured community, acts as a blueprint, foreshadowing how Coloured people would be able to gain respect through affiliation and participation in the Anglican church.

Within the Coloured community, to be Anglican was to be respectable. This was because of the social capital associated with belonging to the religion of the Queen. This meant that a Coloured person’s identity was validated and accepted more by attempting to assimilate into an identity that garnered them more social respect and privileges (Holtzmann, 2017). Whether a person who was classified as a Coloured person was rejecting the Coloured identity in favour of another identity or embracing the identity but instead leaning into the White cultural practices, Coloured people were trying to make sense of and assert themselves in their understanding of the Coloured identity and how they saw fit to perform and express their understanding of their identity and their context-specific representation.

2.3.2 Spatial Politics and the Coloured Community

During Apartheid in South Africa, the government maintained racial segregation through many different facets of living. The main contributors to segregation were the Apartheid laws, separate

development and Apartheid spatial planning (Housing Development Agency, 2024). Spatial politics examines how political dynamics, power relations, and social dynamics influence geographical location (Massey, Allen, and Sarre, 1991). Spatial politics aided the development of spaces and labels like the ‘White area’ and the ‘Coloured area’ (Todes and Turok, 2018). Under Apartheid rule, the relationship between the geographical location and racial group was reflective of the Apartheid racial system and segregation laws.

The effects of the racial segregation laws and spatial politics provide a deeper understanding of the dynamics of communities built around racial similarities (Todes and Turok, 2018). One such community is the Coloured community of Makhanda, which has built most of its community in an area colloquially known as the ‘Coloured area’ (France, 2003 personal communication).

2.3.3 Apartheid Spatial Politics - From Colonialism to Apartheid

Over time, the spatial economy – which is the ways in which space and distance affect economic behaviour, has been influenced by various factors and can be traced back to the eighteenth century. The Dutch and British governments developed a spatial economy around the land in South Africa, which was used as a seaport, administration hub, trading post, agricultural exchange, and it was also used for military activities (Harrison and Zack, 2012).

The Apartheid-era spatial planning of Makhanda reflects how the colonial and Apartheid laws were able to introduce racial inequality through geographical segregation. The 1913 Natives Land Act was foundational in dispossessing several Black communities as well as the Coloured communities and Indian communities of land ownership. Under the 1913 Natives Land Act, only 7-13% of the land was allocated to the communities not classified as the White communities. In Makhanda, this act limited Black and Coloured residents to overcrowded, underdeveloped areas like Joza and Fingo Village. At the same time, the fertile and more developed resource-rich land was allocated to the White residences of Makhanda. The movements of the Black communities and Coloured communities were further controlled through the 1923 Native Urban Areas Act, which limited their ability to settle and be involved in economic activity within the town and allowed the government control over Native immigration into certain areas (McGranahan and Martine, 2014). The trading passes, a licence which allowed a person to develop a specific business

in a specific area, was given to Africans and prohibited them from developing business in developed areas (Bonner and Niefertgodien, 2008). These two specific laws meant Black Africans could not own much land or develop businesses in developed areas. Again, they were unable to grow or support themselves financially. The Black Africans were positioned to be financially disadvantaged and unable to live a financially secure life where they were unable to afford a decent standard of living because of the laws put in place, which purposefully discriminated and disadvantaged their ability to be financially independent.

The amalgamation of the 1913 Land Act and the 1923 Native Urban Areas Act created a space which forced a large number of the Black African, Indian, and Coloured communities into small areas of land which lacked proper development and resources due to its distance from the vicinity of the city where resources were prioritised. This created a stark contrast with functional resources vs no functioning resources, respectively, between the land that White people were able to live on, known as the 'White area' and the land that Black people, Coloured people and Indian people were forced onto and how they were able to exist in that space, i.e. with high or low income (McGranahan and Martine, 2014). The 1950 Group Areas Act intensified the restrictions as it forcibly removed several non-White residences to the township on the outskirts of the town centre, which directly cut them off from the city resources like infrastructure and employment opportunities. Pass laws, consolidated under the 1952 Natives Act like the *Dompas* law, limited the mobility of non-Whites, ensuring their labour served White-owned farms and businesses while relegating them to economic and spatial marginalisation. Coupled with these laws were educational inequalities enforced through policies like the Bantu Education Act of 1953, which deliberately underfunded schools in Black and Coloured areas, perpetuating generational poverty.

The appropriation and formation of well-resourced lands and the determination, through the laws of who could own business and live in the city vicinity, either advantaged, White people or disadvantaged, Black African, Coloured, Indian and other people. White people could financially derive a good income through access to fair-paying wages and live in an area with maintained resources. In contrast, Black African, Coloured, and Indian people could not live in the area or earn a fair wage (McGranahan and Martine, 2014). This was the case in most areas in South Africa, including Makhanda, where the White people lived in towns closer to the developed and resourced

areas and had more access to facilities (Irvin, 2012). In contrast, the Black African people, Coloured people and Indian people lived on the outskirts of the town with little infrastructure or facilities support

2.3.4. Social Stratification - Coloured Classification and Class Group Associations

Coloured identity and class are tightly interwoven due to the socio-economic positions that were established and enforced during Apartheid and directly linked to the social hierarchy and racial groupings of Apartheid. The racial groups that the Apartheid regime favoured, White people, were socio-economically advantaged. In contrast, the racial groups that Apartheid did not favour (non-Whites) were intentionally socio-economically disadvantaged (Seekings, 2005).

Social stratification is informed by a person's socioeconomic standing (SES). It considers a person's wealth, income, race, education, and power when positioning them within the social hierarchy (Alapo, 2022). The social stratification discussed in this thesis is informed by the Apartheid understanding of race that ensured unequal access to economic opportunity and was specifically codified and supported through the Apartheid legal system to place the Coloured race group in a position of lesser income and lower down on the social hierarchy, i.e. a lower SES (Wilson, 2011; McKeever, 2023). The SES is also affected by the location where they choose to live.

Class is also considered when considering a person's SES within their social stratification group. The understanding of class and Coloured identity is rooted in the Apartheid structural inequalities that enabled racial identity to be intertwined with a person's socio-economic position and still persists in post-Apartheid society. Much of post-Apartheid South Africa remains a profoundly unequal society, where a member of society's class, SES and level within their social stratification determines their access to resources like education and social activities (Seekings, 2005).

A large part of understanding the construction of the Coloured identity and the context-specific representations that a Coloured person would portray is understanding the class dynamics of the area where they grew up and were socialised. The area a Coloured person lives in determines their level of relatability to specific aspects and spaces of life and subsequently enforces class dynamics (Nilsson, 2016). Class in the context of this research is understood in terms of economic standing and social hierarchy; both areas cover a wide area of influence. Class is the economic power associated with different societal roles and the economic security, stability, and prospects

associated with a specific role (Goldthorpe, 2004; Runciman, 1990). Social and economic groupings form the basis of class and how it is understood (Wright, 2002). With the rise of capitalism, class has remained an essential model for the social organisation of groups (Kraus, Piff, and Keltner, 2011). Class relationships affect the social standing and influence of Coloured identity and, ultimately, a Coloured person's standing within their specific Coloured community.

Within a specific understanding of class, the Cape Coloured people born and raised in Cape Town, South Africa, consider themselves to be fundamentally distinct from other Coloured communities in South Africa with unique ancestral origins as well as differences in class position, language dialects, and social and cultural practices. This difference is highlighted by the sub-group of the Malay or Muslim (Coloured people) and their Christian (Coloured people) counterparts, along with the class differences (Holtzman, 2017).

Within the Cape Coloured community, there is an apparent process of social marginalisation linked to social identities and takes place parallel to the understanding of the separation of class and privilege and disadvantaged livelihoods. This specific understanding of class includes cachet or social capital, understood as stigma and a specific level of social respect attached to "hair, the hue of one's skin, or the accent or dialect with which one spoke" (Holtzman, 2017:6). Within the Coloured community, the negative stereotypes and marginalised status assigned and embedded by the Apartheid government, included the imagery of a Coloured person being "indifferent, undereducated, prone to alcoholism, and lazy, violent or aggressive" (Holtzman, 2017:6).

It is essential to note the contribution of the environment/circumstances deliberately created by the Apartheid government, which has contributed to the stereotype of Coloured people being prone to alcoholism. Within Black and Coloured communities (London, 2000), high levels of alcohol usage have been recorded, and this has been linked to the dop system, a colonial practice that continued during apartheid and persisted into the post-apartheid period (London, 1999; London, 2000). The Dop system, also known as the tot system, involved owners of the Cape farms in Cape Town paying their labourers and workers full salary or part of their salary in alcohol rations (Campbell, 2021). It is evident that "Public perceptions about the natural tendencies of 'coloured' people to drink heavily have much to do with (the) perpetuating (of) the dop system" (London, 1999:1407). Within Black and Coloured communities (London, 2000), high levels of alcohol usage have been recorded, and it can be attributed to the Apartheid-era dop

system. The system also persisted post-Apartheid and has been associated with alcohol use in current-day communities (London, 1999).

The dop system worked alongside other Apartheid policies, which both promoted alcohol use and then limited access to retail sales of alcohol. The treatment for alcohol use disorder was also limited, which only further exasperated the heavy use of alcohol in the Black and Coloured communities (London, 2000). Illegal alcohol-serving venues in Black and Coloured communities were developed in response to these policies and systems (Parry, 2005). The Dop system acted as a systematic mechanism which enabled and perpetuated the stereotype of all Coloured people being alcoholics. This imagery is set in contrast to a caring, educated, not prone to alcoholism, active and non-violent person.

Those Coloured people associated with the stereotype were considered to be part of the lower class, while those Coloured people associated with the characteristics and traits opposite to the stereotype were considered to be part of the 'upper' class Coloured community based on the understanding of the Coloured identity portrayed by the Apartheid government.

The class group that a Coloured person was associated with would directly affect their social standings and indicate their economic standing. Three terms indicate the various class groups: the 'working class, 'middle class, and 'upper class - indicating an individual's current economic situation (Nilsson, 2016). However, this social grouping derivative from Apartheid rule and understanding of race includes an element of "a location of structural advantage which includes aspects of both economic and racial character" (Nilsson, 2016). This element of structural advantage refers directly to the Group Areas Act, and this enforced law determined the location and the state of the area in which the various race groups, including Coloured people, would live.

This location's specific privilege and spatial politics have been discussed regarding various Apartheid laws. Economic and Social Class, which refers to a person's economic standing, is also used as a reference to their socioeconomic status and social standing within a community. Class directly determines a person's exposure to activities and, in the case of this thesis, a Coloured person's level of exposure within specific areas and access to certain activities (Nilsson, 2016).

Part of understanding Coloured identity in the context of Makhanda is understanding the narrative

of class and economic status. The class and social standing associated with the various class groups will be discussed in the next section.

2.3.5 The Social Aspects of Coloured Identity: Language

Within human culture and community living, language is used as a tool for communication, which aids in sharing ideas and thoughts between people and groups. The relationship between the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’ and language is explored in this section, which encompasses the Apartheid understanding and impact of language and race and the various layers of complex identity markers that exist both pre- and post-Apartheid.

Language is often reduced to a mere means of communication, but this simplified view does not encompass the broader understanding of language as a system of signs (Oviogun and Veerdee, 2020). Both verbal and visual language, more so in the current digital era, is made of signs that indicate meaning, importance, and hierarchy (Meyer et al., 2018). In the same way visual elements exist within a discourse, language exists within a discourse, containing a manifested hierarchy (Kuteeva, 2020). The origins of the language and its speakers provide a critical context for the power and influence associated with a language.

2.3.6 Afrikaans and Coloured Identity

Language, along with its signs, communication, and implicit hierarchy, has experienced a significant shift within the Coloured community of South Africa, particularly over the last few decades. Historically, Afrikaans and Kaaps were the dominant languages associated with Coloured communities, serving as cultural and linguistic markers. However, recent years have seen a gradual transition towards English, driven by various socio-political and economic factors.

The socio-political landscape in South Africa underwent a dramatic transformation following 1994, with Afrikaans being reduced from one of two official languages to one of eleven. This demotion significantly influenced language shifts within Coloured communities, where the use of Afrikaans has decreased in favour of English (Bosch and De Klerk, 1996). The historical association of Afrikaans with Apartheid and its oppressive regime further contributed to its declining use among Coloured people, as the language came to carry negative connotations.

On the other hand, English has increasingly been perceived as a tool for economic and educational empowerment, holding higher social prestige. From primary schools to higher education, English has become the dominant medium of instruction in academic settings, spilling over into general societal and domestic contexts (Fortuin, 2009). Like the Indian community in South Africa, where English gradually displaced native tongues in households after its introduction in schools, Coloured families are now experiencing a similar linguistic shift (De Kadt, 1996).

Communities like those in Gqeberha have particularly felt the impact of these political and social dynamics, further driving the transition from Afrikaans to English. Kamwangamalu (2003) highlights that this shift is part of a broader trend across South Africa, where people are moving away from their mother tongues. The current generation of Coloured people, often opting for English-medium education to avoid the stigma associated with Afrikaans, has deeply embedded English into their homes and everyday lives. As a result, Afrikaans is slowly vanishing in some Coloured communities, with younger generations growing up monolingually speaking English (Fortuin, 2009).

To understand the current language shift, it is essential to explore the historical roots of the Coloured population's linguistic identity. Afrikaans, a Creole language, evolved from 17th-century Dutch, incorporating elements of Malay, Portuguese, Indonesian, and the indigenous Khoekhoe and San languages (Augustyn, 2020; Willemse, 2016). It developed under colonialism during the 19th century and became widely spoken among various groups, including enslaved people, peasants, the urban working class, and middle-class civil servants, traders, and teachers. Many of these groups comprised Coloured individuals, making Afrikaans the dominant language within their communities.

Notably, the majority of Afrikaans speakers in South Africa were Black and Coloured people who bore the markers of inferiority as perpetuated by Apartheid and colonial governments (Van Heerden, 2016). This historical association further fuelled the post-Apartheid rejection of Afrikaans among some Coloured communities.

Preceding Afrikaans is the Kaaps language, also known as Afrikaaps, which emerged in the 1500s through interactions between indigenous Khoi and San peoples, Southeast Asians, and Dutch, Portuguese, and English communities (Haupt, 2021). Kaaps, spoken predominantly by working-

class communities in the Cape Flats, served as a precursor to Afrikaans, evolving from early forms of Kaaps-Hollands, a variety of Dutch (Van Heerden, 2016). The Cape Flats, a space where many disenfranchised Coloured people were forcibly relocated, remains a key site for the Kaaps language and its cultural significance (Haupt, 2021).

The development of Kaaps and Afrikaans played a crucial role in shaping the cultural and linguistic identities of South Africa's Coloured populations. These languages reflected the historical power dynamics and communal identity of the Coloured population. However, the recent shift towards English signifies a substantial change in these communities' linguistic preferences and identity manifestations.

Various socio-political and economic factors drive the transition from Afrikaans to English among Coloured people. The association of English with modernity, opportunity, and higher social status has made it the preferred language in education and professional environments. This shift has also been facilitated by the generational rejection of Afrikaans due to its Apartheid legacy, as well as its diminished practical utility in an increasingly globalised world.

Fortuin (2009) observes that the slow but significant shift away from Afrikaans in some Coloured communities has led to the emergence of monolingual English-speaking households. This linguistic transition, however, is not merely a practical adjustment but also a marker of identity transformation. As language is deeply intertwined with culture and identity, the move towards English has reshaped how Coloured people perceive and express themselves, contesting and redefining traditional narratives of the Coloured identity.

While Afrikaans and Kaaps historically anchored the cultural and linguistic identity of Coloured communities, the growing prominence of English reflects broader shifts in identity markers. This evolution challenges the dominant assumptions about Coloured identity, creating space for new narratives and expressions that align with contemporary realities. As this linguistic transition continues, it will undoubtedly have far-reaching implications for cultural identity, community dynamics, and individual self-perception within the Coloured population.

2.4 Representation and Stereotypes of Coloured Identity

Representation is pivotal in shaping how Coloured identity is understood, perceived, and perpetuated in South Africa. While representation can take on several meanings, many of these meanings are informed by a particular understanding of identity. Identity, therefore, must be discussed in relation to representation, specifically how it can be represented and how that representation is understood. Breakwell (2014) highlights the integral connection between representation and identity formation, emphasising that the two cannot be separated.

The broader concept of representation offers us the understanding that representation can describe and imagine people, places, and concepts (Hall, 2005). Furthermore, representation is not merely a reflection of reality but is informed by the various cultural, social, and historical contexts surrounding it. Representation is primarily linked to identity formation through the social construction of meaning, which is unique to each society (Breakwell, 2014). Identity is then understood as how and what a person would classify and categorise themselves. Representation is crucial in shaping identity and how people perceive themselves (Hall, 1997).

For Coloured people in South Africa, representation is often coupled with the historical narrative of colonialism and Apartheid. These narratives have constructed Colouredness as a racial identity informed by both stereotypes and socio-political marginalisation. Coloured identity has often been defined through external representations like “mixed,” “impure,” or “less than” in relation to other racial groups (Erasmus, 2001). This specific construction and representation of Coloured identity have endured in the post-Apartheid social spaces, influencing how Coloured people are perceived and how they navigate their identities.

Representation is being imposed externally and internally within the Coloured communities. Hall’s (1997) concept of decoding and encoding enables us to unpack how Coloured people have been able to both resist and reinforce the dominant representations of their identities. Various forms of representation, found in media, literature, and other locales, would inform identity construction and set up the boundaries people would adhere to when making sense of their identity representation. These representations that the Coloured individual would use are not fixed; instead,

they are open to negotiation and contestation within different social spaces and cultural contexts (Hall, 1997). Reimagining Coloured identity would, therefore, involve challenging the imposed narratives and simultaneously needing to reclaim agency over how they are represented and how this representation is perceived. The social representation of a person is linked to their social world; this means that individual identities are developed in the context of social representations. "[The] self is not created in isolation; perceptions of ourselves are often determined by our observations of and interactions with others," as Hardin and Higgins (1996:40) explain. Understanding the connection between representation and identity is essential when exploring Coloured identity and culture as representations through language and cultural practices - it becomes a means of communication and social interaction (Hall, 2005).

Representation is linked to several cultural expressions within the Coloured community; markers like language and food often serve as a sense of pride but are also sites that would reproduce stereotypes.

2.4.1 Stereotyping Coloured Identity

Stereotypes are one of the longstanding and damaging aspects of representation within the social context of Coloured identity and Coloured culture. Hall's (2005) work on understanding stereotypes highlights how certain groups within society are often portrayed by their stereotypical attributes reproduced by the dominant cultural narratives. The specific Apartheid racial narrative has informed how Coloured people, and Coloured communities have been stereotyped.

A stereotype is a simplified or exaggerated representation of a group or individual founded on a specific characteristic like race, ethnicity, and even gender. Stereotypes serve ideological functions within the dominant society by maintaining power dynamics, reinforcing dominant narratives and marginalising certain groups (Hall, 1997). The specific stereotypes linked to Coloured people in South Africa have been used to both marginalise and essentialise their identity. These stereotypes often portray Coloured people as lazy, prone to alcoholism, and lacking ambition (Adhikari, 2005). These types of representations are rooted in the colonial and Apartheid ways of thinking to undermine the social and political agency of Coloured people and Coloured communities. The internalisation and performance of stereotypes remain significant social challenges that the

Coloured community encounters daily. Fanon's (1952) work, which explored the psychology of oppression, explains how colonised individuals often internalise the negative stereotypes imposed on them and those in the dominant social spaces. Within Coloured communities, these stereotypes can sometimes be reproduced within the community itself, and this then leads to a cyclical reinforcement of marginalisation and a narrative that upholds the stereotypes.

Butler's (1990) work on performance explores the complicated relationship between stereotypes and identities. Butler's concept of performativity suggests that identity is not fixed but constructed through repeated actions and behaviours. For members of the Coloured community, the performance of a stereotype can serve as a way to navigate societal expectations, but this then risks reinforcing the narrative that restricts the identity.

Despite the persistence of stereotypes, there has been a growing movement in Coloured communities to shatter these limiting narratives. To do this, members of the Coloured community would reject external representations of their identity and then reshape internal perceptions of identity. One way the stereotypes have been broken is through cultural production that challenges the stereotypes and celebrates the complexities of Coloured identity. Various writers, artists, and filmmakers from the Coloured community have made the active choice to use their platform to disrupt the dominant negative social stereotypes of Coloured identity whilst offering alternative representations of the Coloured community. This showcases the resilience, creativity, and diversity within the Coloured community. Both advocacy and education also play crucial roles in shattering the dominant Coloured stereotypes (Erasmus, 2017). There are several ways in which stereotypes can be countered. One such way is producing art or literature that presents alternative perspectives which challenge the dominant narrative that is believed to be true (Magome, 2024). There are prominent artists and writers who have created art and literature to challenge the harmful perspectives of Coloured identity and how Colouredness is understood in South Africa. Laura Windvogel better known as Lady Skollie is a multi-disciplinary artist and activist. Through some of her work, she has attempted to understand and make sense of Coloured identity and Colouredness (Gray, 2022). In her exhibition Papsak Propaganda, she explores the impact of alcohol on the Coloured community and the effects of the Dop system by representing the harmful stereotype that Coloured people are alcoholics and then starts a discussion about the

harmful nature and, in turn, challenges the belief through presenting alternative perspectives. Tessa Dooms and Lynsey Chutel's book *Coloured: How Classification Became Culture* presents different stories and discusses the formation of Coloured culture and Coloured as a racial identity - this book challenges stereotypical notions of Coloured identity by presenting alternative voices and perspectives. Cape Town filmmakers Kelly-Eve Koopman and Sarah Summers (2017) created a six-part documentary web series titled *Coloured Mentality*; several voices from the Coloured community were represented - presenting different experiences of Colouredness and Coloured identity in South Africa. Through art, writing, and filming, the stereotypical Coloured identity is challenged by alternative perspectives being shared in different mediums.

There are several ways in which the Coloured community of South Africa are re-representing themselves, mainly through producing alternative narratives in film, art, writing and advocating for a border more accurate understanding of Coloured identity and Colouredness in South Africa. Terry-Ann Adams, author of *Those Who Live in Cages*, discusses the lives of five Coloured women in Eldorado Park. Through her book and writing, she has represented herself as a Coloured person and re-represented the Coloured community of Eldorado Park on a public platform for others to engage with. This representation challenges the dominant stereotypical idea of Coloured identity and Colouredness (Africa, 2021). The District Six museum in Cape Town serves as an important community project which represents Coloured identity and the history of Coloured identity in South Africa, countering the erasure of Coloured identity and ensuring their history is represented (Jethro, 2009).

This re-representing of the Coloured individual and the collective Coloured community illustrates how identity is not only externally constructed and then imposed on groups of people, instead this demonstrates the agency that people have to deconstruct the identity that they were born into and completely reimagine and embody a new one that is free from the constraints of the typical negative stereotypes.

Hall's framework (1997) helps analyse how representations of Coloured identity have been constructed and manipulated by the Apartheid society and then carried over into current day thinking and representations. This section has engaged with Hall's (1997) theories and explored the complexities of Coloured identity while exploring ways to challenge the stereotypical

representations that have persisted. For Coloured people in South Africa, this means continuously reimagining their identity in ways that would both reject a stereotype and then also embrace the diversity of their identity. In doing this, Coloured individuals and Coloured communities can reclaim their agency.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the complexities of the history of Coloured, representation and cultural identity in South Africa, from its initial roots in colonial classification to current-day social spaces. The term “Coloured identity” emerged during the colonial era as a man-made construct to categorise individuals of mixed heritage. It upheld the Apartheid agenda of reinforcing racial hierarchies and segregation. Despite the end of Apartheid and the repeal of laws like the Population Registration Act, the persistence of racial classification in post-Apartheid policies, such as affirmative action measures, reflects ongoing struggles with identity and restitution. The chapter underscores that Coloured identity remains a fluid and contested construct, influenced by social, cultural, and historical factors.

The chapter examined how Coloured people negotiate membership and identification in a place frequently characterised by exclusion from both Black and White communities using theories of identity formation, such as social identity theory, Erikson’s (1968). exploration-commitment framework, and group identity theory. These ideas shed light on how historical marginalisation and cultural hybridity have affected the difficulties of negotiating identity. Historically viewed as a “middleman” or “impure” group, the Coloured community evolved a unique cultural identity influenced by common social customs, language, and experiences (Erikson, 1968).

The chapter looked at the dynamics of Coloured identity in the modern era, especially its connections to social inequality, spatial politics, and Whiteness. Coloured communities developed internal class structures as a result of Apartheid’s pursuit for Whiteness. Given that forced relocations during the Apartheid era placed Coloured people into resource-poor areas, furthering their social and economic marginalisation, spatial politics were vital in forming Coloured identity. This tradition endures now as Coloured identity is still shaped by geography, class, and resource availability (Glassie, 1995). Language is another important indicator of identity with the transition

from Afrikaans and Kaaps to English reflecting more significant social shifts. Due to Afrikaans and Kaaps' historical ties to the Coloured community and their connotations of colonial and Apartheid oppression, many adopted English as a means of modernity, opportunity, and upward social mobility.

Throughout this chapter, the contested nature of Coloured identity is framed within its historical, theoretical, and contemporary dimensions. This literature review emphasises the need for more location-specific studies to address the gap in the various identity representations of Coloured identity. The chapter has placed Coloured identity within more extensive conversations about race, culture, and belonging by charting the historical development of Coloured identity from colonial-era classifications to contemporary understandings. It draws attention to how identity is constantly negotiated in a country still affected by colonialism and Apartheid, highlighting how flexible and dynamic it is. This chapter concludes by presenting Coloured identity as a dynamic construct still influenced by social stratification, historical injustices, and cultural resiliency. It also provides new avenues for redefining and redesigning identity in modern-day South Africa.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This qualitative study embraced a multifaceted research methodology to answer the central question of what Colouredness, Coloured identity, and being ‘Coloured enough’ mean to Coloured people in Makhanda. The methodologies that have served to answer these questions are practice-based research and video ethnography. Data collection methods used were short-form video documentaries and bookmaking. Data was analysed using thematic analysis.

In practice-based research, the researcher will turn an object or product into data for a study (Candy, 2006). Through a practice-based approach, this research adopted a unique approach to studying identity, allowing prominent findings to emerge from the analysis of the product or artefact. In the specific context of this research, the research participants contributed to the data, allowing them to be co-producers of this information through participatory research (Vaughn and Jacquez, 2020).

The creation of video documentaries, which can be intimidating due to the politics of the camera (Jansen et al., 2018), is a key part of the practice-based research approach. Alongside writing and photography, which are less intimidating, the video documentaries provide a creative way to capture and present the stories and findings of the research participants. Creating videos and taking pictures are perceived to be more intimidating for various reasons, such as technical complexity and performance anxiety (Omokaro, 2016). When using new equipment such as cameras to create a video or take a picture, it is possible the user may feel they lack the knowledge to operate the device; accordingly, with the boom in technology, devices are becoming more complex and are capable of performing multiple functions. The complexity of devices has the potential to intimidate new users (Omokaro, 2016). When taking pictures and videos, it would often necessitate being on camera and being in the picture or video and for a person who is not accustomed to being on camera, the public speaking and performance which would be required can cause discomfort, and this may intimidate them and create performance anxiety thus causing them to shy away from using the camera and creating videos and pictures (Galer, 2020). The technical complexity and

performance anxiety related to using a camera to create videos are evident in the three research participants as only one research participant, Johnson, a student who has worked with camera equipment, chose to film herself.

The research data was collected in a seven-step process. First, documentation began with capturing images. This was followed by documenting through paper in the second step and video in the third step. In the fourth step, the participants were documented by the researcher, who also undertook the editing of the documentary. The fifth step involved adding tissue paper to the booklets. The sixth step showcased the outcomes of steps three and four in a public screening. Finally, the seventh step involved binding the hand-bound book (*Coloured Conversations*, 2024).

The data was analysed using thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Ethical considerations, such as potential participant harm, were informed by ethics of care (Held, 2006; McLean, 2022; McLean and Cicero, 2023). These considerations are discussed in greater detail below.

3.2 Qualitative Approach

This project is an interpretive qualitative study that seeks to understand the various patterns of meaning expressed by participants in the social and political context in which they occur (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). This research used ethnographic methods in a project-based design within the qualitative paradigm. Attempting to document the process of exploring Colouredness and Coloured identity in Makhanda required an approach to the methodology that is conscious of how information can be interpreted and focused on capturing and presenting the data in a suitable form (Babbie and Mouton, 2001).

This study opted for a qualitative approach, as it was deemed relevant for the research aim. A qualitative research strategy focuses on non-numerical data to comprehend people's motivations and social reality (Holliday, 2007). When using a qualitative approach, the researcher can examine language and behaviour in a natural setting and make recordings to analyse the information behind the language and behaviour (Borry, 2012; Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Another benefit of qualitative research is that it can give the researcher insight into people's lives, experiences, and

ideas (Rahman, 2020). This is achieved through collecting primary, first-hand data and then analysing it using interpretive methods. The primary purpose of using this specific research approach is that it is accessible and exploratory, because of this it can generate new insights and ideas from a different perspective, such as those required in exploring Coloured identity and Colouredness in Makhanda (Taherdoost, 2022; Punch, 2013).

3.3 Research Methodologies

The research methodologies used in this research are practice-based research and video ethnography. The methods that have informed this research and were employed to collect data are an ethnographic approach to short-form documentaries, video editing and bookmaking.

In practice-based research, the researcher undertakes an original investigation where the intention is to gain new knowledge by making creative work and through the process of creating the object (Candy, 2006). Documentary filming involves recording non-fictional information that presents reality, while documentary editing focuses on packaging and presenting the filmed footage (Nichols, 1983). Video ethnography, on the other hand, is a form of video production where the researcher immerses themselves in a specific community or organisation, filming their behaviour and interactions up close (Cook-Gumperz, 2006). Ethnography is the process of documenting the experiences and practices of a culture and its people, ultimately generating more profound knowledge about that culture and its members (Cook-Gumperz, 2006).

Book design, in this study, is not used only as a presentation format but as a methodological and analytical device that brings different forms of data into relation, including participant photographs, written booklet entries, viewer comments, and the written thesis, within a single structured object (Lustig, 1954). The hand-bound book format was chosen because it materially stages the relationship between the participant-generated booklets and the academic thesis, allowing them to be encountered side by side rather than as separate outputs. In this way, the book functions both as a research artefact and as a commentary on practice-based research, where theory and practice are often assessed separately despite being produced through an interdependent process.

The hand-bound book format was selected not only as a mode of presentation, but as a methodological device that materially organises the project's layered forms of data: participant photographs, participant-written booklet pages, viewer comments, and the academic thesis. In contrast to the website, which provides public access to the documentaries and extends the project's reach beyond the screening space, the hand-bound book creates a slow, tactile, sequential encounter with the research process. The website functions as the project's digital dissemination platform, while the book functions as the project's material analytic artefact. Read together, they perform complementary roles: the website foregrounds circulation, accessibility and multimodal viewing, whereas the hand-bound book foregrounds proximity, annotation, layering and the side-by-side relationship between participant-generated materials and the written thesis. This relationship is central to the practice-based design of the study, as it resists treating the creative work and the written component as separate outputs and instead presents them as interdependent forms of knowledge production.

3.4 Practice-based Research

Practice-related research is research that understands practice to be the central focus of the research process. This can include artworks, designs, and curated exhibitions (Candy, 2006). It is often carried out by practitioners who create a product (Candy, 2006). In practice-related research, a distinction is made between practice-led and practice-based research. Generally, within the visual art community, the art-making process and time spent creating is understood as a form of research. The art object, the end product in which the process results, is understood to be a form of knowledge (Scrivener, 2002). The process of making the art object "yields knowledge that is independent of the actual art objects produced" (Scrivener, 2002:2). The understanding of the creative process generating knowledge versus the end product creating knowledge is directly related to the two types of practice-related research: practice-based and practice-led (Westfall et al., 2007).

Practice-led research can be understood as producing knowledge concerned with the nature of the practice and "leads to new knowledge that has operational significance for that practice" (Candy, 2006:1). If the research conducted can bring to light new understandings about creative practice,

it is practice-led. If a creative artefact and the process of creating the artefact is the basis of the contribution to knowledge, the research is practice-based (Candy, 2006). The researcher will undergo an original investigation to gain new knowledge through either the process of doing the creative work and contributing knowledge to that process (practice-led) or through the object the process has created (practice-based) (Candy, 2006). The research is practice-based if a creative artefact is the basis of the contribution to knowledge.

This study is practice-based, with the researcher contributing to an area of knowledge through their creative output alongside a thesis, which will articulate the claims and findings relative to the creative outcome (Westfall et al., 2007). Gauntlett (2021: 1) describes practice-based research as the process where the researcher can “make things as part of the process” to explore their research question fully. Due to practice-based research being both exploratory of a concept and embedded in creative practice, it is the favoured outcome and has thus been used in this study.

Practice-based research and practice-based methods allow knowledge to be gained via the “doing of something” (Schrag, 2019:1). The idea of practice in practice-based research can highlight the “imaginative intellect” in the knowledge-constructing process that is both new and able to contribute to the human understanding of a topic, such as the key aim of this study which is to understand Coloured identity (Crumlish and Schrag, 2023: 2). Practice-based research is the more suitable methodology for this study because of the aim of contributing to the understanding of Coloured identity and attempting to create and allow knowledge to be gained via the doing of something. Both these aims are more likely to be achieved via a practice-based approach.

In this practice-based research, three short-form documentaries, three booklets written by the participants, a hand-bound book, and a website containing the artefact accompany the thesis. This creative artefact and the process of creating the artefact is the creative output of this practice-based research. This type of research enabled the researcher to answer the research question through doing and creating as well as through writing and reading (Schrag, 2019). By combining the thesis with participant-generated booklets, short-form documentaries, a hand-bound book, and a website, the practice-based design allows readers/viewers to engage with the project through multiple sensory and interpretive modes, creating a more layered and compelling account of the research.

Furthermore, it encouraged the researcher to develop creative information to transform the understanding of Coloured identity and what it means to be labelled as “Not Coloured Enough” in an Eastern Cape Makhanda context into a more inclusive and authentic understanding of both Coloured identity and Colouredness (Crumlish and Schrag, 2023).

3.5 Video Ethnography

Video ethnography is the second methodology used in this study; it is the process of a researcher immersing themselves in a specific community to observe and film the group’s behaviour and interactions up close (Cook-Gumperz, 2006). Video engages multiple senses, so video ethnography may provide a more impactful means of portraying reality (Nicholas, 2010). The study uses a video ethnographic approach because it is multi-perspectival, flexible and has limitless potential for gathering, analysing, writing, and disseminating the research findings (Harris and Johnson, 2000). The ability of video to capture authentic voices and lived experiences is a powerful tool for academic research, with participants able to co-generate knowledge (Friend and Militello, 2014; Friend and Caruthers, 2016). Engaging a video ethnographic approach allowed for a wider area than traditional face-to-face or written interviews of data-rich research materials to be gathered. Ethnography, derived from the Greek term “a portrait of a people” (Harris and Johnson, 2000:62), is a research method deeply rooted in anthropology and sociology. It enhances traditional, top-down views by offering a more nuanced and comprehensive approach to studying culture and identity (Genzuk, 2014). The traditional ethnographic process involves spending extended periods in the field, observing individuals and their interactions, and producing field notes based on these observations (Genzuk, 2014).

This method aims to understand how people make sense of their world, with the understanding that people’s interpretations are continuously shaped and reshaped by social constructs, language, and actions (Guest, Namey, and Mitchell, 2013; Boas, 1989; Malinowski, 1992; Barker, 2012). Ethnography is employed to study human behaviour and uncover the meanings that guide it (Gullion, 2016). Traditionally, ethnography has been used to provide written descriptions of a culture’s customs, beliefs, and behaviours based on the ethnographer’s direct engagement and fieldwork (Harris and Johnson, 2000). This method provides a deeper insight

into how cultural norms and practices are constructed and lived by individuals within a specific social context.

The information collected in person for a research study from a natural environment typically comes in three data forms: interviews, observation, and documents. This collection then, in turn, produces three kinds of data which can be analysed: quotations, descriptions, and excerpts of documents that result in one final product - a narrative description. This narrative, made up of the data, tells “the story” (Hammersley, 1990:599). Several voices can come together to contribute to the story, and that is often done through collaboration between the researcher and the research participants.

There are different levels of collaboration among the research participants; the chosen ethnographic approach for this study has a higher level of collaboration and is known as participatory ethnography. The method’s interpretivist approach to understanding the social world “is constructed by people through their interactions, understandings, and ownership” (Holliday, 2007:4). An advantage to using ethnography is that the researcher gains direct access to a group’s culture and practices. The approach lets the researcher learn first-hand about people’s behaviour and interactions within a particular context (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007). A first-hand account of the information the research is trying to share produces a potentially more prosperous and valid end product.

In this study, the observational recordings referred to video and field-based observations of participants in everyday settings in Makhanda, including their homes, neighbourhood spaces, and selected community locations during the documentation and filming stages of the project. The “documents” collected were participant-generated and participant-held materials, including photographs taken by participants, written responses and entries in the participant booklets, and comments added to the booklets during the public screening and discussion process.

This study does not adhere to traditional video ethnography, which typically incorporates the “objective observer” narrative voice and avoids creative editing. Instead, it follows a traditional video approach by immersing the researcher in the field, filming interviews and interactions over time. Creative editing decisions were then made collaboratively with the participants, creating three short-form documentaries (Johnston, 2002:3).

3.6 Research Sampling

Collecting data from a specific group of people requires thoughtful consideration of the process and how the data will be collected. This research used a non-probability convenient sampling method to select the participants (Shorten and Moorley, 2014). A sample group is a subset of people drawn from the target population's larger group (Elfil and Negida, 2017; Omair, 2014). Thus, a curated smaller group represents the larger group and exhibits the larger group's characteristics that interest the researchers (Martínez-Mesa, 2016).

The process by which a researcher chooses the sample group can differ according to the needs of the study and the sampling method will need to attempt to guard against error and bias and to enhance maximum representativeness (Tyrer and Heyman, 2016). There are two main types of sampling within the various sampling methods: non-probability and probability sampling (Shorten and Moorley, 2014). Non-probability sampling methods, such as purposive and self-selection, use subjective judgment to guide the selection (Elfil and Negida, 2017).

Qualitative research questions like the ones guiding this study are limited to non-probability sampling methods (Berndt, 2020). In addition, the research made use of a convenience sample, which we can comprehend to be a form of data collection sampling which is drawn from a source of the population that are conveniently accessible to the researcher and those who are conveniently available to participate in the study (Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill, 2016). Another convenient

sampling method is for the researcher to announce the study via social media and various public platforms, and participants can self-select if they wish to participate (Stratton, 2021).

The study participants were identified through a convenient connection with a department that had already established a relationship with the community the researcher intended to study, being based at Rhodes University, which has a strong focus on community engagement and a prominent presence in the area, the researcher was able to establish connections with the community for the study. Community engagement (CE) is considered one of the university's third pillars, alongside teaching, learning and research (Preece, 2016). The CE offices host various programmes in which students may volunteer to participate. Having an established connection and partnership with many Makhanda communities, the researcher approached the Community engagement offices to assist the researcher in finding a connection to the Coloured community. One of the community engagement officers connected me to the St Mary's Development and Care Centre (St Mary's DCC).

St Mary's DCC provides educational assistance, care and regular meals to children in need between the ages of six and 18 years old (Rhodes University Community Engagement Office, 2016). St Mary's DCC, on the Corner of Albany and Fitchet Street in Makhanda, was first founded as a soup kitchen in 1981 "serving the mainly coloured learners from the nearby St Mary's Primary School" (Booth, 2014:10). The area where the DCC is located is historically a Coloured area, meaning that through the Apartheid group areas act of segregation, the area surrounding the DCC "urban periphery" (Irvine, 2012:18) was designated to those classified as Coloured people (Booth, 2014:10). The Albany Road area, as it is colloquially known, is the entrance to the Coloured township area (France, personal communication, March 22, 2023). Due to its prime location in the 'Coloured area' as well as the partnerships the centre holds with St Mary's Catholic Church and Grahamstown Primary School, which had schooled many Coloured Children during Apartheid, the DCC has historical connections to the Coloured community, making it a key partner to be able to connect with the "Makhanda Coloured community". The Coloured community of Makhanda have dubbed this area the 'Coloured area', which on one side creates a place of unity and location for the "Makhanda Coloured community" to gather and feel a sense of community. On the other hand, it could potentially limit the "Makhanda Coloured community" by creating a sense of isolation, leading to a potential disconnect within their community. It can also mean that they may

feel obligated to remain within the Coloured community, isolating them from the broader Makhanda community.

The manager of the centre, Caron May, introduced me to Glyneise Arries, who manages the parent development programme and has direct contact with the parents and community members of the St Mary's DCC. During their meetings, Arries and the researcher discussed, at great length, the project and what the researcher hoped it would achieve and highlight. After several conversations, Arries introduced the researcher to participants with different views on Coloured identity, who were outspoken about ideas of Coloured identity and community.

In this case, Arries enabled convenient sampling by establishing an easy connection for the researcher to the Coloured community and identifying the participants. Due to making use of the established connection enabled by Arries, one can say that the selection of the participants was, therefore, "informed" (Babbie, 2001:186 and Neuman, 2003:409). The nominees were then invited to discuss the project with the researcher through a written invitation to partake in the research process, and the informed consent and voluntary participation documents were discussed. Once the discussion was completed and the researcher had answered all the nominee's questions, they were invited to sign and complete the informed consent and voluntary participation form to signify their understanding of the research process.

Three participants were selected for this study, meeting the criteria of self-identifying as Coloured or having been previously classified as Coloured and living in Makhanda. The reason for having three participants is that the sampling method was convenient. Therefore, research participants were chosen because they were known to the researcher and easily accessible. The three participants are:

Participant One: Sandra Whiteboy, 54 years old, lives in Hoggenog, an area historically and commonly known by the local community as the Coloured area. Whiteboy has been living in Makhanda since birth.

Participant Two: Karen France, 36 years old, lives in the South African Police communal housing on Leicester Street in Makhanda. France has been living in Makhanda since birth. France initially lived in the Coloured area in Trotter Street, before moving to the South African Police communal housing on Leicester Street during the filming process.

Participant Three: Erin Johnson, 21, lives in Summerset Place, a student accommodation rental space. Johnson lives in Makhanda for the duration of her three-year Bachelor of Arts degree. Johnson is not a permanent resident of Makhanda. It's important to acknowledge that Johnson is a transient resident of Makhanda, as she actually lives in Durban. This is due to the centrality of the town for students studying at Rhodes University. Transience is a common characteristic of many residents in Makhanda, so it is valid to include to her in this study.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations such as confidentiality and informed consent were crucial in guiding the researcher throughout the data collection process. These principles were emphasised from the onset and revisited consistently during the study to ensure transparency and participant comfort (Cacciattolo, 2015). The researcher was committed to ensuring the safety and well-being of participants through regular check-ins, fostering an environment of trust and openness.

In terms of informed consent, participants were fully informed about the nature of the study, understanding that their participation was voluntary. They were also informed that they could withdraw from the study without facing any negative consequences (DeRenzo, Singer, and Moss, 2020). Confidentiality and anonymity were not guaranteed due to the public nature of the documentaries being produced. Participants were informed that their identities would be revealed, as the films would be shared publicly. While some participants expressed a desire to remain

anonymous or conceal identifying information, it was discussed at length with them that this would not be feasible due to the nature of the filming.

Ethics of care adds another aspect to the ethics process of this research (Held, 2006; McLean, 2022; McLean and Cicero, 2023). It is an approach to ethics that highlights moral actions which centre on interpersonal relationships and care, such as reflexivity and positionality of the researcher (Kroeger-Mappes, 1994). The ethics of care principle of reflexivity creates space for the researcher to engage with their positionality, specifically their power and privilege and how that may impact the research overall. The process of reflecting “asks that researchers critically consider their positionality and how this impacts the research process and their participants” (Rodríguez-Dorans, 2018:751). Allowing the researchers to engage with the various levels of the study enables them to identify and explore their positionality in relation to the research participants’ positionality (Held, 2006; McLean, 2022; McLean and Cicero, 2023). This allows for examining the space—or lack thereof—between these two positions. The potential impact of this space will be considered and discussed through reflexivity and an exploration of the researcher’s privilege (Edwards, 2012).

In the case of the researcher engaging with the principle of reflexivity and their positionality relative to the participants, a written reflection of the various processes and interactions was kept. Throughout the data collection process, specifically the filming with the participants, an extensive daily diary was kept to record all interactions and conversations. This was drawn upon later during supervision sessions to discuss the possible narratives, politics, and ethical considerations that may have yet to be considered on a social level or while the data collection was taking place. The process also informed how the researcher would conduct and navigate further interactions with the participants while filming.

This project has met the official ethics clearance requirements of the Rhodes University Faculty of Humanities ethics committee with the ethics approval number 2022-5052-6720 (Appendix C). The researcher and the research supervisors will store the data for five years.

3.8 Research Design

The research design employed an iterative and collaborative approach, using visual, written, and video documentation to capture participants' contributions. Each phase is built on the previous, incorporating creative elements and public engagement to enhance representation and validate findings. The process culminated in the creation of a hand-bound book, *Coloured Conversations* (2024), as well as a website, *Not Coloured Enough* (2024), showcasing the layered and participatory nature of the research.

The stages enabled them to reflect on the research question through different creative outputs: photography, writing, and film. This data was then compiled into three separate documentaries: *Speaking Coloured: Navigating the Identity*, 2024; *Coloured Pride: Embracing Coloured Identity*, 2024; *Beyond Coloured: Embracing Khoi-San Identity*, 2024; and a hand-bound book: *Coloured Conversations*, 2024 with various writing materials and a website *Not Coloured Enough*, 2024. All of these sets of data were discussed at a public screening. The data was then analysed using thematic analysis.

3.9 Data Collection

The data collection process was designed using a seven-stage collection process:

Stage one: Documenting through pictures

Stage two: Documenting through paper

Stage three: Documenting through video

Stage four: Being documented by the researcher and editing the documentary

Stage five: Rebinding the research participant's booklets, with tissue paper between each page as a space for readers to comment on the participant's work; this stage (stage five) creates another space for non-verbal comments and engagement with the work to be analysed.

Stage six: Showcasing outcomes from steps three and four in a public screening where attendees were invited to physically (with a pen or pencil) comment on the research participants' booklets and discuss the documentary. Step six discussed the materials produced by the viewers.

Stage seven: The preparation of materials (dyed cloth) to bind both the participant booklets and the comments from the viewers, together with the thesis, which is considered the eisegesis, into one hand-bound book: *Coloured Conversations, 2024*.

Throughout this chapter, the information gathered and created by the participants, namely stage one through three, is called “the booklet/booklets”. The book, along with the book cloth made by the researcher and hand-bound by the researcher, will be referred to as “the book”, titled *Coloured Conversations (2024)*.

This data-gathering process was set up to collect data at various stages of the data-gathering process and have it documented by the research and participants. Appendix A is the form sent to the research participants, which outlines these stages. The design thinking behind the actions aimed to involve the participants in the video production and filming and increase technological involvement. At the same time, it gathered various types of material, written, video, and discussion, for the research process.

Stage One: Documentation through Pictures

This stage gathered information about the participants' identity and culture through the lens of the unbiased perspective of the research participant. The participant was asked to take pictures of things representing their Coloured identity and culture. Having the participants take the photos without the researcher allowed them to identify and showcase what they thought was essential to their identity without being intimidated or performing to the researcher's expectations or prejudices (Cleland and MacLeod, 2021). Participants were given the choice of taking these pictures with their smartphones or using a simple point-and-shoot camera provided by the researcher. After this, the photos were shared with the researcher for printing. The reason for choosing to work with digital photographs is because they are central to how people communicate, interact and perceive themselves. This communication choice is familiar to most of society's members (De Luca et al., 2015). Using a method that would indicate how a person perceived themselves, alongside being a familiar mode of communication, strengthened the data generated from this stage. Cleland and MacLeod (2021) explain the relationship and practice of photographing themselves and their surroundings in particular research contexts where people and smartphones are present. Cleland and Macleod's (2021: 230) research participants were asked to contribute to the research in this format instead of via "textual or analogue approaches" to embrace the move beyond traditional linguistic imperatives and centre the visual methodology approach.

This first stage, documenting through pictures, used two techniques. The first aligned with photo-elicitation, first used by photographer and researcher John Collier in 1957. It is understood as using one or more images, which can include videos and other visual representations. Research participants were asked to comment on the visual representations - their photographs. The photos were taken by the participant or provided by the researcher and then used as prompts for discussion within the discussion with the researcher. (Bignante, 2010). This process is necessary, not because the researcher would want to study the images but rather to analyse how the participants would "respond to them, attributing social and personal meanings and values" (Ruby, 1995:50). It allowed for the documenting of information which can be used as material for the booklet (discussed in stage two). Furthermore, it allowed the researcher to document the research spaces and track the field's complexity. These techniques have given the researchers tools for further

insight into how people and things relate.

The reasoning behind the design of stage one was to use this information gathered through the photo-elicited technique to inform how the filming in stage four would be conducted and presented. Meo (2010) made use of the photo-elicited process and listed one of the benefits as “they offered a closer look at what and whom participants considered important” (Meo, 2010:155). Researching and discovering what the participants placed significant importance on in their private space and the environment they feel is essential to their identity was important for stage four. When the researcher steps into the area to conduct stage four, they would have had previous knowledge of stage one, guiding what they filmed; that is only the thing the participant has taken pictures of. It also recommends how it is filmed.

For example, if there are several pictures of the kitchen space, this indicates the importance of the kitchen, which was noted. The other benefit of this technique is that it allows for the context-specific framing of objects and people to be documented. The framing of the picture and the angle indicated levels of importance to participants, which were noted and mimicked in stage four. This informed stage four and enabled the production of a more realistic narrative truth closer to the participant's lived experience of the items they had chosen to take pictures of, which in turn provided a more realistic representation of their interests and experiences.

Before moving on to stage two, it is essential to note that while this study has been considered a participatory ethnography, the participants still needed formal training or skills-based workshops to equip them with the equipment to produce the material. A short tutorial was held in the case of Sandra and Keren, explaining how to operate the camera. No information about needing to keep the camera focused or level or to be mindful of the lighting was kept private. This step was followed to keep the participants' material as raw as possible without placing any importance on the technological aspect or skill of filming but rather on the information they had identified as necessary.

Stage Two: Documenting through Writing on Paper – Participants’ Booklets

Stage two was described to participants as ‘Make a scrapbook/booklet about your life at home, at work, and in your community.’ It acted as an extension of the first stage. Participants were given

twelve blank and unlined writing paper sheets and the printed photos they took in stage one. They could use these materials to write, design, and possibly draw and express their daily experiences living in Makhanda as a Coloured person, along with any information they deemed essential about being Coloured in Makhanda. The primary aim was to provide a space for participants to express themselves while creating material for the booklet, which is another visual participatory approach.

The secondary aim was also to further the researcher's understanding of the participant's space and the issues they may want to discuss during the discussion/interviews and filming. The specific non-digital form of writing on paper was because "Writing practice could (can) hold it all: the gory rawness of my (the participant's) emotions and the fogged-over mirror of my (their) memories" (Goldberg and Cameron, 2016:4). Including a writing element in the research process allowed for the self to be both created and represented in another form and allowed to build on the overall understanding of the viewpoint of the participant while ensuring that there is a translation of the participant's experience into a textual form which can be understood and analysed (Lincoln and Denzin, 2003).

This stage allowed the participants to express themselves in a different format and medium while adding to the perspective and knowledge the researcher had already gained.

Stage Three: Documenting through Video

Participants were instructed to: 'Film five short snippets of your daily life over two weeks that you think are unique to what it means to be Coloured.' Participants were provided with equipment if requested, and the suggested length for each clip was between five seconds and two minutes. The intention was twofold: firstly, to encourage the participants to start thinking visually about their identity and culture and how it can be documented, mainly how they see it meant to be recorded, how they envision themselves being filmed and how they think the camera should move around them. This idea was drawn from Saubury's (2016) practice-led research on locating a 'third voice' in the project, the women involved were asked to film their everyday lives, and this footage was included in the film alongside the observational documentary and video diaries. The intention of including the footage is to move closer to Barbara Myerhoff's (1982) idea of new perspectives, formed by the merging of the "ethnographer's and the subjects' contributions" (Kaminsky,

1992:127).

The second reason that the participants were asked to make short recording of their daily lives was to inform the researcher on how the participants envisioned they should be filmed. This later informed stage four. This step gave the researcher a blueprint for what is essential: what the participants choose to take a video of and then to ‘follow their lead’ to mimic how it was filmed.

An example may be if a participant were to say that reading their Bible makes them an upstanding member of society and their community, the researcher will go in and film them doing so from a low angle. This filming angle is used because a low-angle shot is a camera angle that depicts the subject from below, imparting an impression of importance and righteousness by mimicking that specific framing highlighted by the participant’s pictures in stage one (Brown, 2005). Attempting to mimic and reproduce the angles represented by the pictures the participant provided the researcher with allowed for a semblance of power and importance relative to these pictures to be represented in the documentary. Attempting to mimic the angles also connected the pictures and the documentary with the same importance the participant would assign to the item. This method attempted to create a more realistic representation of the items/person on camera.

This stage leans into visual participatory methodologies such as participatory video documentaries. Participatory research is understood as developing and co-constructing study and research material through relationships between researchers, community members, or others with insider knowledge and lived expertise (Jagosh et al., 2015). In stages one, two, and three, the participants created materials that formed part of the data set, considering their contribution. This form of research positioned the participants as researchers and contributors to the knowledge formation. The participants collaborated with the researcher to generate and create knowledge (De Lange et al., 2008). The benefit of using participatory ethnographies is that it will produce “relevant [research] to real-world contexts, results that can be more effectively translated into community and non-academic settings” (Balazs and Morello-Frosch 2013).

While having all participants contribute to the project this way was intended, it was only successful for Johnson, who had expressed greater comfort and confidence in recording and sharing her videos. There were no video contributions from Whiteboy and France, and when asked why they had chosen not to do this stage, they replied that they did not feel comfortable recording their

content in video format. Thus, there is only self-recorded content from Johnson alongside the researcher's recorded content which is present in the documentary, while the documentaries for France and Whiteboy only feature content recorded by the researcher (Elmusharaf et al., 2016). Another point to consider is that an aspect of the participatory methods included giving the research participant the choice to opt out of some or all of the stages with no consequences. In this outcome of stage three, it is evident that the right to opt out of a particular stage was exercised by Whiteboy and France.

Stage Four: Create Documentaries with all the Footage Collected.

Stage four involved the researcher, with the guidance of the participant, editing and creating a short-form documentary highlighting the information gathered in stages one through three. The process began with an initial conversation between the researcher and participant to discuss the approach for the documentary. Based on their collaborative input, the researcher then produced the documentary. Afterwards, the documentary was shared with the participants, who provided feedback and suggestions. Any necessary edits were made before finalising the documentary.

This footage was edited to emphasise key details highlighted by the participant, ensuring the essential information was ready to be shared publicly. The rationale behind this stage was for the researcher to document the people, places, and information the participant considered necessary, capturing the essence of what was presented in the earlier stages of the project.

The entire process of stage four is intended to be completed alongside the participant, with their constant input right throughout the editing step. Participants suggested venues, times, dates, and people who should be filmed in this stage. The information gathered is similar to that from an anthropologist's ethnographic observations. Furthermore, the idea of documenting and examining how the participants had chosen to be documented and allowed themselves to be documented indicated their views of their own social circumstances and cultural framework, which helped the researcher "determine how their representation of themselves is informed by the constructs of their 'imagination' of culture, community and identity" (Dannhauser, 2008:6).

This step reflected the idea of a 'third voice' (Meyerhoff 1992). This voice is "created through participatory research when the ethnographer's and the subjects' contributions are edited together

in such a way to form a new perspective” (Kaminsky, 1992:126). Sudbury (2016) used the works of Kaminsky (1992) when embarking on her practice-led research, which involves working and producing media with a community in southern India, resulting in a video project. Participatory and observational documentary techniques and ‘video diary interviews’ produced various distinct footage sources. These different sources of footage were edited together so that the viewer could not discern a dominant voice, thus making the final video less influenced by insider bias (Ruby, 1995).

The following five questions were used to stimulate discussion while filming the participants in their homes or the setting of their choice:

1. Do you identify as a Coloured person?
2. Do you think there is a unique Eastern Cape Coloured identity?
3. What essential rituals and ceremonies do you practise as a Coloured person or in your culture?
4. What are some experiences you have gone through when people have inquired about your race?
5. What significance does being a Coloured person hold for you?

These questions were intended to encourage thoughts in the research participants and to help them draw conscious attention to their identity and culture and how it is presented and practised daily. These questions brought attention to Coloured identity and how the research participant related to their Coloured identity and specific Coloured community while exploring what that looked like for the research participant in their context.

These methods and questions allowed for a rich amount of data to be collected, which was analysed with the appropriate tools to make sense of the material the researcher gathered.

Stage Five: Rebind the Booklets with Tissue Paper.

Each participant’s booklet was taken apart after the research participants had completed their booklet from stage two. Between each folio, a folio of tissue paper matching the size of the original paper size was folded on top of it and then bound along with it. The decision to use tissue paper

was to create a space for viewers of the book to comment on the information the research participant has expressed relating to their experience of Coloured identity and then have a space to engage with that feeling in a way that was both near the book and non-permanent on the original work.

This means that when paging through the booklet, a reader could see the viewer's comment and the work through the tissue paper it referenced. Then, the viewer could turn the tissue paper and see the original work without the tissue paper. The three folios and their tissue paper were then bound back together again.

Stage Six: Host a Public Screening and Discussion of the Documentary.

This stage may be considered a discussion component of all the data gathered. The documentary was publicly screened after completing stages one through four, and the documentary was watched and edited by the relative research participant. This public screening took place in a central location, which the participants had suggested would be accessible and feasible to host the screening. Participants were encouraged to bring their friends, family, and any community members who wanted to participate in a discussion about Coloured identity in Makhanda. The research participants shared the invitation to screening on their personal social media platforms. Appendix B is a copy of the invitation that was publicly shared within the Makhanda community and the 'Makhanda Coloured community'.

The screening started with a brief introduction of the documentaries and the people whose opinion of Coloured identity is highlighted in each specific documentary, as well as an introduction of the respective research participants to the audience present at the screening. Once all of the documentaries had been aired at the screening, a discussion took place about the documentaries and the content that was shared. This discussion mainly focused on two aspects led by the viewers present in the room, Coloured identity markers and Coloured traditions, which were not discussed in the documentaries. Then they expanded on the three different identity positions represented by France, Whiteboy and Johnson concerning their experience of Coloured identity. Research instruments used for the discussion were a microphone and an audio recorder, which enabled the

conversation's recording.

Alongside the documentary screening and discussion, the booklets created by the participants and then bound with the tissue paper in between, as explained in stage five, were laid out on tables with pens. Viewers were invited to contribute to the booklets by writing directly and physically on the tissue paper. The comments were encouraged to be made on the tissue paper on top of the work it referred to. Once the viewers had commented on the booklets, they were considered complete.

Inviting community members to discuss the documentary and comment on the participant-made booklets allows for diverse perspectives on the content generated about the 'Makhanda Coloured community'. This feedback may either affirm the representations produced in the documentary and booklets or challenge them, highlighting alternative views or expressing doubts about the accuracy of the portrayal of the 'Makhanda Coloured community'.

Stage Seven: Bind the Thesis Together with the Participants' Booklets.

In this final stage, the researcher binds the booklets, the original paper, tissue paper, and comments completed by the research participants into a single paper block. This paper block forms the first of the two paper blocks, the second being the thesis. The two paper blocks were then bound to a three-cover book, which opens into a horizontal spread and folds back down into a single-block book. The paper block and cover housing the research participants' booklets open into a horizontal spread, and the cover over the thesis opens upwards, bound by a Japanese stab stitch.

Alongside the participant's booklet, the thesis has been bound. This deliberate act of binding the thesis paper block and the participants' booklets beside each other serves as a commentary on the general nature of practice-based research. It highlights the separation between the written research and the practical component, often treated as distinct from the theoretical analysis. This separation is typically seen as not best practice because it reinforces the divide between theory and practice rather than integrating them as a cohesive, interdependent whole. In practice-based research, a more holistic approach is often advocated, where the practical work is woven into the research process, allowing the findings and insights to be informed by the practice itself. This integration allows for a more comprehensive and reflective analysis, illustrating the dynamic and interconnected relationship between theory and practice. Instead, this specific methodology

proposes that the thesis and practice be read in tandem for the viewer to understand the work thoroughly. Hence, they are laid next to each other on the same book cover. Furthermore, the intention is also a commentary on how often the project and thesis are marked separately in practice-based degrees. This practice-based thesis instead proposed that they should be marked together and not separately.

The cloth used to cover the covers of the booklets and thesis was dyed to create a non-uniform, multi-shaded brown-like spectrum. The pattern created by the dye intentionally presents two concepts. Firstly, the concept communicated by the various shades of brown in the pattern highlights the conversation of the 'correct colour Coloured skin' as wrong and instead presents various shades of brown as possible colours that may represent a Coloured person's skin colour. This furthers the idea that the Coloured identity, in general, is not monolithic and instead made up of various shades, literally and figuratively, of Coloured people's experiences. Secondly, it presents the idea that Coloured identity is a possible spectrum and that Colouredness is a multitude of lived experiences and ways of being and expressing identity. Colouredness and Coloured identity should be considered a spectrum of lived experiences that differs from person to person, community to community, location to location and experience to experience.

3.10 Data Analysis

Data analysis for this research consisted of a thematic analysis of the three-short form documentaries: *Speaking Coloured. Navigating the Identity*, 2024; *Coloured Pride: Embracing Coloured Identity*, 2024; *Beyond Coloured: Embracing Khoi-San Identity*, 2024; the participant booklets; and the hand-bound book *Coloured Conversations*, 2024.

A thematic analysis identifies, analyses, organises, describes, and reports themes within the data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The use of thematic analysis allows for the data to be grouped into appropriate themes, which can then further be analysed against the backdrop of other analytical tools (Wetherell and Potter, 1992:65). A theme is a group of information that captures important ideas or findings from the data and the research question, while representing a patterned response or shared meaning from within the data set. There are two ways to conduct a thematic analysis: inductive and deductive analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This research project will use the

theoretical deductive method to frame its thematic analysis (Frith and Gleeson, 2004: 43). This approach focuses mainly on the researcher's theoretical and analytical interest and is more explicitly analytically driven. The outcome is that research is often more descriptive in one area than in many areas (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

The data collected was examined according to the themes that emerged through a thematic analysis. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), thematic analysis involves identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns or themes within the data. The researcher systematically reviews the data, searching for recurrent patterns or themes that help explain the data and its meaning. This approach emphasises the importance of making sense of qualitative data by identifying patterns that reflect key ideas, experiences, or concepts. While attempting to understand the data as completely as is possible, the participant and the researcher may face challenges in the process, as the data is often complex and open to interpretations. However, thematic analysis aims to provide a rich and detailed account of the data, ensuring that the themes identified are meaningful and contribute to understanding the research topic.

Braun and Clarke (2006) present six steps, namely:

Step one: Familiarisation with data

Step two: Coding

Step three: Generating themes

Step four: Review themes

Step five: Defining and naming themes

Step 6: Write up and document.

Step one: Familiarisation with the data: In this initial step, the researcher aims to become familiar with the data set through a process of reading and re-reading the data collected while noting any analytical observations (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 88). Watching and re-watching the three short-form documentaries alongside reading and re-reading the participant's books, allowed for the researcher to become familiar with the information presented by the participants. Re-reading the

books and re-watching the documentaries also allowed the researcher to become immersed in the context of the information shared by the three research participants.

Step two: Coding: Coding involves recognising recurring words, phrases and images within the data collected. Recognising the recurring sets of information will reveal meaning, assist in categorising data and allow patterns to be found in the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 88). Once the researcher has familiarised themselves with all of the data, they are then able to start the coding process by identifying phrases and written elements within the text alongside any concept ideas present in the texts. The data will then be organised and labelled during the coding process in preparation for the data analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 88). Overall, quotes were coded from the two data sets, participants' booklets, short-form documentaries, and footage filmed with the participants, which is not shown in their short-form documentaries.

Step three: Generating themes: This step involves a pattern-based analysis, allowing the researcher to identify critical aspects of the data to answer a specific research question. Identifying patterns included acknowledging the frequency with which each code appeared (Braun and Clarke, 2006). In line with this, many codes can be combined into a single theme; under the code 'Not Coloured enough', the minor themes considered here are policing the boundaries of Coloured identity, class and Colouredness and the English language. Some codes were themes in their own right, such as contesting and rejecting Coloured identity and Colouredness, which also incorporated other minor themes, such as the impacts of Apartheid laws, the violence upon identity and from Coloured to Khoi-San (Khoi-San reimagining). These principal codes were paired with the minor codes to assist in the process of understanding the data sets and ultimately answering the research question.

Step four: Review themes: All of the data collected and coded were re-read in this step to ensure that they formed part of the coherent patterns and themes. The coherent themes were identified within this step, and the incoherent themes were discarded (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The data is then re-examined and compared to the coherent themes identified to ensure they accurately represent the data.

Step five: Defining and naming themes: Themes are labelled in this step to capture the essential data while helping the reader understand the data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The language used to name the themes must be considered carefully in this step (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

The analysis and redefinition of the themes will then reveal if a possible sub-theme or minor theme was present. Sub-themes/minor themes are identified because they help construct the bigger picture of the story the theme will tell. Two major themes were identified: Embracing and rejecting Coloured identity and 'Not Coloured Enough'.

The main themes explored are Embracing and Rejecting Coloured Identity, with sub-themes including Embracing Coloured Identity and Colouredness and Rejecting Coloured Identity and Colouredness; another main theme is 'Not Coloured Enough', which includes sub-themes such as A Reimagining of Colouredness and Coloured Identity, Embodying Whiteness, and Navigating and Negotiating the Space of 'Not Coloured Enough'.

Step six: Write up and document: This step involves the final analysis and report, which will provide a logical account of the data collected, created in the case of this research and then organised (Braun and Clarke, 2006). In the initial analysis of this research, quotes from the short-form documentary and participants' booklets were selected for analysis through a thematic analysis. The code for each theme was explored with their connection to an aspect of the contested Coloured identity in South Africa.

These six steps were followed to ensure an accurate analysis of the research participants' booklets and their short-form documentary.

3.11 Conclusion

This qualitative practice-based research video ethnographic study endeavoured to understand how Coloured people in Makhanda make sense of and navigate their identity and sense of not feeling Coloured enough. Practice-based research allows for the making of the documentary and book to be both a creative output, which suggests a manner to change how it is made, and a data set that is more engaging for viewers. Video ethnography allowed the research participants to contribute knowledge to the data alongside the researcher, gaining insider knowledge of how the chosen community practices its various traditions and cultures. Ethics of care was necessary to ensure that harm did not come to the research participant by contributing to the data and protecting the researcher while accessing information from the community.

Data collected in this research project was designed in a seven-stage process: documenting through pictures (stage one), documenting through paper (stage two), documenting through video (stage three), being documented by the researcher and creating/editing the documentary (stage four). They are rebinding the participants' booklets (stage five), with tissue paper between each page as a space for readers to comment on the participants' work-created materials to be discussed in stage six. This stage (stage six) discusses the materials produced: documentaries and booklets. The last stage (stage seven) involves preparing materials (dyed cloth) to bind the thesis and participant's booklets into one book, which folds out to present the thesis and written component. Finally, this data was analysed using the thematic analysis method. This analysis is presented in the following chapter.

Chapter Four: Claiming and Contesting Colouredness: Embracing, Rejecting, and Embodying Whiteness

Three major themes that examine the intricate and varied aspects of coloured identity are presented in this chapter. The first theme, Embracing Coloured Identity and Colouredness, celebrates the diversity and depth of an individual's identity by exploring how they traverse and connect with their cultural history. Rejecting Coloured Identity and Colouredness, the second theme, explores the experiences of those who reject or challenge the label's social connotations. Understanding Coloured identity and Colouredness is further complicated by the third theme, Embodying Whiteness, which examines how people, consciously or unconsciously, adopt parts of Whiteness in reaction to societal pressures, seeking more privilege, or assimilation.

These themes provide insight into the larger discussion around Coloured identity by reflecting the complex, varied, and contradictory ways that it is understood, performed, and experienced in contemporary society.

4.1 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis, as outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006), is a qualitative method used to identify patterns and themes within data. This approach is well-suited for exploring the meaning of identity and the experience of feeling 'Not Coloured Enough,' which aligns with the research aims. The analysis process led to the identification of three main themes and two sub-themes, as detailed in the data analysis section above.

The process of editing the three short-form documentaries, as outlined in chapter 3, involved filming and editing the material with the input of the relevant research participant. This process of editing the material, involved the selection and rejection of the materials filmed, and was the starting point of the coding process. The documentaries, comprising of interviews and footage of the homes and surroundings, have offered the researcher an initial look into the participants' lives, revealing primary patterns in their experiences and identity construction. Through assembling the various snippets, thematic elements began to surface organically, creating space for early-step

coding rooted in the documentaries' visual and narrative content (Gibbs, 2007). This specific editing approach, which involved the participants providing regular input, allowed the researcher to engage with the participants' approval or disapproval of the selected visuals and set the step for a more formal coding process.

The making and editing process of the documentaries became a pre-coding phase, helping to identify emerging themes and guiding the six-step thematic analysis followed in this chapter and the next chapter. This initial coding of creating the documentaries sets the step for more formal coding through establishing initial categories and then forming central themes and sub-themes. Another contribution to the formation of the themes and coding process, which is mentioned in chapter 3, is the discussion that viewers were invited to take part in after the public screening of the documentaries and the comments that they left in the booklets. These interactions either confirmed or undermined the data presented in the documentary and the booklets.

When conducting the thematic analysis of the data, quotes were selected from the three short-form documentaries, the interview material (which is not featured in the documentary) booklets and the book. These quotes have been identified as corresponding to different themes and sub-themes.

4.2 Embracing Coloured Identity and Colouredness

Embracing Coloured Identity and Colouredness explores the Makhanda Coloured culture, histories, and experiences contributing to the 'Makhanda Coloured community'. This theme serves as a lens through which the inner workings and nuances of being a Coloured person in Makhanda can be examined. In this theme, information from the three short-form documentaries and the interview material not featured in the documentary is presented. It is important to note that this footage is not featured in the documentary due to the research participant needing to select the footage and time constraints placed on the length of the video to create a short and coherent story. While the footage not included in the documentary may have been relevant, it was excluded to create a short, comprehensible story. In this section, the researcher will explore how the 'Makhanda Coloured community' navigates the pressures and expectations, regarding language and physical appearance, placed on them that have been shaped by the Apartheid legacy and various social influences as well as its lasting impacts. It also explores how Coloured people

grapple with the duality of identity as an authentic expression while adapting to societal expressions. This pressure reflects the internal struggle faced by the Coloured people of Makhanda, the need to present visual markers of their identity to be accepted into a community while simultaneously needing to forsake these identity markers for access to opportunities. This theme has explored the various narratives surrounding being a Coloured person in Makhanda and part of the 'Makhanda Coloured community'. These narratives are internally and externally imposed on Coloured people.

The deep sense of belonging within the 'Makhanda Coloured community' that members of the community feel and express pride in, is explored in this theme. France shares with pride that being a Coloured person and being classified as a Coloured person is her birthright:

“It's my birthright. I was born Coloured and have been used to doing Coloured things since childhood. I went to Coloured schools, Coloured religion and Coloured churches. So yeah, I think it's my birthright, for me being a Coloured, I like being a Coloured” (*Coloured Pride: Embracing Coloured Identity, 2024*).

In this quote, France proudly shares how she embraces and claims her Coloured identity and heritage. This sense of pride is linked to her upbringing, involved attending a Coloured school and then being an active member of the Coloured church and practising the 'Coloured religion.' In her documentary *Coloured Pride: Embracing Coloured Identity (2024)*, France claims her Coloured birthright with her body language of open shoulders and open, expressive hands and says that it's her birthright with a strong, clear voice - her verbal communication matches her non-verbal communication (Raj, 2019). This visual we see in the documentary supports her pride in her Coloured identity and her birthright.

During the 2016 Rio Olympics, South African sprinter Wayde Van Niekerk, who identifies as a Coloured person, spurred on the trending hashtag #Colouredexcellence due to his performance in the 400-meter men's division, breaking the world record. The trending hashtag saw several viewers on Facebook and Twitter share their pride for their Coloured identity and Colouredness, which stemmed from pride in a Coloured man breaking a world record and thus a sense of pride in their racial identity (Toyer, 2019). This pride and claim to Coloured identity following the trending hashtag surfaced a larger conversation about Coloured identity and the discourse surrounding it,

where several members of the Coloured community were adamant that Coloured identity is unique and that it must maintain and develop its place of understanding in post-Apartheid South Africa (Toyer, 2019). The second half of this quote, “I went to Coloured schools, Coloured religion and Coloured churches,” points to normalisation of school, religion and church as associated with the Coloured community and identity. These markers of Coloured identity are connected to a sense of pride for the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’.

The sense of pride in her Coloured identity and the various markers of being Coloured is discussed in the quote below, where France shares her feelings towards her ‘Makhanda Coloured community’. France says that:

“I am from the Coloured community in Makhanda, and I love my... how can I say my Coloured people. I am Coloured, so I love what Coloured people do, I love what I do”
(*Coloured Pride: Embracing Coloured Identity*, 2024).

France takes pride in her status as a Coloured person and as an active member of the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’. The birthright and sense of pride expressed in the quote above are expanded in France’s sense of belonging and connection to the ‘Makhanda Coloured community.’ When France shares this sentiment in her video, she makes hand gestures while talking with her palms open, showing openness and then down and closed, showing dominance and pride (Raj, 2019). France also looks directly at the camera, suggesting a sense of intimacy in sharing this sentiment (Heiderich, 2012). France expresses a strong admiration for her Coloured people and their actions, similar to how Youngsta CPT’s debut album, *3T – Things Tak3 Time*, reflects admiration for Cape Town’s Coloured culture and appreciation for its people.

The 22-track album released in 2019 offers a deeply personal and historical exploration of Coloured identity, colonialism, slavery, gangsterism, and systemic marginalisation of Coloured people while embracing a sentiment of pride and celebrating the community's resilience and culture. The album features songs like ‘VOC’, ‘Cape of Good Hope’, and ‘Kleurling’ which all showcase Youngsta’s talent for mixing English, Afrikaans, and Cape slang into song lyrics, each track embracing different elements of Coloured identity like skin colour, hair texture our homes and culture in general (Jonathan, 2019).

In this section, and particularly in France's narrative, close relationships with family and friends are presented as important markers of belonging within her understanding of Coloured identity. France explains that being close is not a trait unique to her family, but a practice maintained within the larger Coloured community:

“So close are we, as Coloured people” (Coloured Pride: Embracing Coloured Identity, 2024).

France is highlighting the importance of maintaining strong family bonds, a distinctive trait shared among Coloured communities in general, which can then be considered as a collective cultural trait. This deep sense of solidarity and interconnectedness, which often creates a collective identity within an “imagined community”, suggests that shared narratives, which can be of pride *and* oppression, foster a sense of unity and support (Anderson, 1983). The Coloured community can be understood as an imagined community because the members of the community share an identity grounded in various cultural markers and traditions. This sense of closeness expressed in the quote is extended to all members of the Coloured community, even to the members who have not interacted directly (Anderson, 1983).

In her documentary, France walks through her bedroom, where she shows the audience pictures of her and her siblings and then collages of her family pictures, she explains who each person is in the picture while smiling and reinforcing the idea of them being close. The positive tone and willingness to share memories of her family members and explaining the bonds indicates the strong relationship she has with her immediate family.

After watching France's documentary and reading her booklet, which features images of her family sharing meals, spending time at the dam, swimming, and celebrating Christmas, an audience member left the following comment:

“My mother always says Sundays are for family; I would never dream of going to a friend's place. We would go back where my mum grew up in Durban in Sydenham and visit all my aunts, uncles and cousins over cups of tea and koeksisters fresh from Sally's Bakery after attending Sunday morning mass” (Booklet interaction one, 2024).

This comment is written above a picture of France sitting at the dam with her son and nephew on

a Sunday - the three people in the picture are smiling, and France has written, “spending weekends at the dam”. The imagery of the family members sitting in the sun, sitting on the grass under the tree, and the children posing and smiling for the camera indicates they are happy to be together. The pictures have a lot of colours and are well-lit and filled with movement, indicating a happy atmosphere. This may be a similar atmosphere the viewer experienced and what they refer to when spending time with the family. There are a further two comments left on Frances’s booklet saying that the fondest memories they have of their childhood are at the dam and then another saying that making a potjie pot is a tradition they practice. These comments confirm the sentiment of Sundays being a day dedicated to spending time with the family. This comment suggests that, for France and this viewer, spending Sundays with family is described as a meaningful practice of belonging associated with their experiences of Coloured community in Makhanda and Durban.

A marker of identity refers to external traits such as behaviors, traditions, habits, language, life goals, and the recognition and celebration of specific holidays. These markers are often accessible to recognise and help distinguish an individual from others, connecting them to a particular community (Watzlawik, 2012). Spending time with your family can also be considered a cultural tradition understood as a belief, custom, or ritual passed down through generations and gravitated towards historical or religious significance. A cultural practice points towards everyday activities, behaviour, and habitats that shape a community’s way of life and highlight its beliefs and values (MacKinnon, 2012). Both France and the reader of the book express how Sundays are considered a day you spend with your family, and this has been the case since they were children and is still a tradition they uphold. Identity is closely linked to cultural traditions and practices and these practices can range from behaviours and mannerisms to rituals. In Coloured culture and Colouredness, France has identified a delicacy called pickled fish, a dish generally eaten during Easter in many Coloured communities (Andrews and Timm, 2024). Many traditions passed down through generations involve a gathering and social community coming together for a specific purpose. France notes how she would eat the Pickled Fish dish with her family during Easter; it is a tradition she keeps in her own home (Harris and Johnson, 2000). France shares when and how lunch and pickled fish are served within her family:

“Coloured people go big on Christmas; it is our pickle fish for Easter. Sunday lunches and Christmas lunches are important for us. Coloureds are also important. 12:00 or 1:00 that is our lunch time. And when there is no food at 12:00 or 1:00, everybody is angry because they used to eat at 12:00 or 1:00 at the latest...I also don't think other people do it, but by our Coloureds, it's a thing we must do” (*Coloured Pride: Embracing Coloured Identity, 2024*).

The pickled fish dish described above holds meaning for the Coloured community who would eat it on Good Friday. Particular foods can carry profound meanings about relationships and social identities (Andrews and Timm, 2024). The process of both gathering and eating the fish is linked to community interactions and conversations. Such as buying the fish, which includes talking to the owner of the fish shop about which species of fish is best, having seen other Coloured families buying the species as well and then comparing recipes and methods of cooking with other Coloured families, and then spending time and socialising with family members or members of the community while preparing and making the pickled fish dish.

Eating the pickled fish and making the dish has become a tradition that connects the members of the Coloured community (Andrews and Timm, 2024). In her booklet, France included pictures of her family around mealtime; the first time is when her family and friends are at the dam making a potjie kos, which is a meal made in a three-legged pot over a fire (Nittolo, 2020). There are also pictures of France working with the St Mary's DCC handing out meals within the community. There is joy in gathering around food and community, evident in the smiles on the faces of the people in the pictures; one picture is captioned “serving with a smile”. The pickled fish, specific times for eating and Sunday lunches are markers of Coloured identity and a ‘Makhanda Coloured community’ tradition. There is another tradition held around mealtime, which is the distinction between the type of supper eaten during the week, such as a curry or stew, and a meal eaten on a Sunday being representative of seven colours. A seven-colour meal is typical in many South African cultures, symbolising community and connection. A seven-colour meal is diverse in appearance and nutritional value and generally contains colourful and flavourful dishes such as yellow rice, red beetroot, brown meats, and multicoloured vegetables (FinGlobal, 2023).

“On a Sunday, you must eat something you like, not like the normal during the week, which is rice and curry or a stew with bread or whatever. But on a Sunday, we go like seven colours as they say...People play bingo on a Sunday just to stay busy staying away from the taverns and the drinking and stuff, and some people on a Sunday make koeksisters”
(Coloured Pride: Embracing Coloured Identity, 2024).

Sunday lunches, a seven-colour meal, and an Easter Lunch with pickled fish are considered tradition because this practice around food is passed down from generation to generation. In Johnson’s booklet is a picture of her family gathering for their Christmas 2022 meal and visible are various vegetables and spices they were preparing for their Christmas Sunday lunch. There is also mention here of ‘some people on a Sunday make koeksister’. The koesister or koeksister are iconic South African pastries, each representing unique cultural heritages. The koeksister originated in 17th-century Holland, where a famous cake known as “stroopkoek” (syrup cake) is a plaited pastry fried and soaked in syrup. It is known for its crunchy crust and syrupy centre (Claassens, 2003). The koesister, a Cape Malay recipe, is a spiced, oval-shaped pastry infused with naartjie peel and coated in coconut. Within the Coloured communities, it is traditionally enjoyed on Sunday mornings after church (Claassens, 2003). Both pastries embody the diverse stories of South Africa’s culinary past, celebrated annually with World Koesister Day in September (Keohane, 2023).

4.2.1 The Importance of Religion in the Coloured Community

Mealtime is not the only time that Coloured communities and families would gather and spend time together. Many families and Coloured people would gather for religious activities like church gatherings. Central to maintaining a strong family bond and connection to the community, as mentioned at the start of the chapter, Coloured communities maintain a religious-centred practice and integrate these activities into the time they spend together. France shares how attending church and maintaining a good standing membership at church is considered necessary:

“So, in the Coloured religion, it’s quite a big thing to go to church for our religion because there you can go from an early age, get baptised, get confirmed, and everything. So, when you are baptised, you get confirmed, then one day when you get married, say, out of the same church, one day when you pass on out of the same church. So, religion is significant to us. We have church services on Tuesday nights and Sundays” (*Coloured Pride: Embracing Coloured Identity, 2024*).

This quote indicates two things: firstly, maintaining a good church membership is marked as an accepted cultural practice within France’s Coloured community, and this is also highlighted as a rite of passage that the Coloured community expects its members to complete. Secondly, this indicates that the church and good standing membership within the church are seen as a marker of Coloured identity. In Johnson’s documentary *Speaking Coloured: Navigating the Identity (2024)*, towards the end of the documentary where Johnson shares her discovery of Coloured homes being decorated similarly – there are several pictures kept in the various homes taken at the children’s and grandchildren’s baptism, first holy communion and confirmation ceremonies. The children are dressed in white and standing in their respective churches or church halls, smiling while holding their relevant certificates with family members beside them. The families prioritise reaching these milestones for various reasons, such as gaining respect (Holtzman, 2017). Alongside reaching specific religious milestones within Coloured church communities, there is the expectation to maintain a religious-centred practice and then integrate these activities into the time they spend together daily. France shares how this expectation has existed in her own life:

“Prayer is a central part of our (Coloured) community” (Booklet Interaction Two, 2024).

The religious foundations of the community include daily prayer habits and, for children of certain ages, compulsory attendance in church-taught classes on various religious beliefs and practices. The age-specific milestone of starting Sunday school at ten highlights that religious education is institutionalised within the community, passed down from generation to generation, and seen as an essential rite of passage. Regular gatherings at church on Tuesday and Friday, all connected with a central prayer life, create a space for communal gathering and connection, fostering religious unity (Dunn, 1990). The notion of togetherness is closely associated with prayer, showing

that religion is not seen as an individual practice but also a communal practice that allows for group identity and identity markers to be reinforced. In Frances's booklet, there is a picture of a lit candle and an open bible with the caption – "religion is vital, we get together, do supper/light candle open our bible and just take a moment to pray, thank God for our life on Sunday we go to Church Roman Catholic church". The quote from Frances's documentary and her booklet indicates the importance of ritual and symbolism in prayer, lighting a candle and the public expression of gratitude. France also reads her bible before going to sleep at night:

"This is my bible, next to my bed. and this is what I do every night before I go to bed, and when these things fall, my child says, you let Jesus fall on the floor... And they also give Bible studies. When your child is about nine years old, when he gets ten, he must start going to class. Sunday school, they teach them, and yeah" (*Coloured Pride: Embracing Coloured Identity*, 2024).

In the documentary, France picks up her well-worn, slightly tattered Bible in her documentary, symbolising its frequent use and centrality in her faith. She then shows a small Jesus figure, humorously imitating her son Chad's voice when he says, "You let Jesus fall on the floor" when it drops. This moment reflects her deep reverence for sacred symbols and how her faith influences her household, highlighting the passing down of religious values and respect for spirituality within the family.

The quotes above all highlight prayer, religion, and attending church, emphasising the deep spiritual connection within these practices. In the context of the Coloured community, these elements reflect a shared sense of spirituality, reverence, and the central role of faith in shaping cultural and communal identity. Additionally, there is an inherent power within these practices and the authority assigned to religion and church structures, underscoring their influence. There are strong British and English values and perceptions assigned to and assumed by churchgoers, thus reflecting the assumed respectability and higher social standing obtained by frequent churchgoers. Respectability became entrenched in specific markers like mannerisms, dress codes and lifestyle choices, which all resembled markers of British and English society (Ross, 1999).

Respectability became an act which a person could perform through a dress code or taking part in certain activities like attending church or exhibiting certain mannerisms, and this specific form of

respectability was aligned with Englishness and British values, which upheld the racial and social hierarchies. In contrast, this then created the space for the opposite of respectability to be seen as drunkenness and violence, which was commonly associated with the Coloured communities, as the first quote in this sub-theme explored.

This contrast of respectable vs. being unrespectable encouraged members of the Coloured community to adopt certain ‘White’ person respectability traits, such as conforming to the normative ways of dress and language adopted by the White community to gain respect within the community. Alongside this, there is a level of respect that is automatically bestowed upon churchgoers in Coloured communities, and it has no connection to faith and belief. Instead, it is connected to what the church symbolises: ‘good values, family values and being in service to the community. The church and regularly attending church were seen as important socialisation aspects, not for maintaining a good Christian lifestyle but for remaining an upstanding member of the Coloured community. With regards to the church and respect, the more “zealous the churchgoer, the more respect that is accorded” (Dooms and Chutel, 108:2023).

Exploring how respectability functioned in the Cape Coloured community, it is evident that performing and possessing a connection to the Anglican church and religion afforded members of the Coloured community social capital within the broader society under the Apartheid rule. Members of the Coloured community would embrace the desire to become like the White people and “whiten” (Fanon, 1952:111) themselves through the process of “lactification” (Fanon, 1952:47) with the hopes of gaining respect and social acceptance. This self-imposed distancing from the traditional Coloured identity and Colouredness reinforced the colonial power dynamics, highlighting how Coloured identity was influenced by and shaped by colonial and English narratives.

English narratives of respect and religion are intertwined with respectability politics and how respect is assigned and achieved within social hierarchies and communities (Altschul, Oyserman and Bybee, 2008). The research participants’ booklets were presented at the documentary screening, and viewers were invited to comment on the work of the various research participants. A viewer shared their perspective on selectively embracing their Coloured identity, noting the absence of specific identity markers, and explained that embracing this aspect was a way to gain

respect within the Coloured community:

“Religion is the one aspect of my Colouredness I could fully embrace as it never pertained to the lack of Colour in my skin or curl in my hair” (Booklet Interaction Three, 2024).

For this viewer, they state that they lack two Coloured identity markers: a lack of colour in her skin and curly hair; these two physical attributes are understood as markers of Coloured identity. There is a sense of alienation that the viewer is experiencing because they do not possess those markers. Due to the viewer’s perceived lack of these markers, she embraces religion as her identity marker, including being an active church member to maintain her connection to the Coloured community and her Coloured identity. The viewer maintained her connection to her Coloured identity because of the respect assigned and associated with the church in the Coloured community. Holtzman (2017) discusses how the “English habitus” (Bourdieu, 1989:18), which he calls a “habitus of respectability”, is a mental or cognitive structure that governs the internal functions of a space that helps communities make sense of the social world (Holtzman, 2017). This habitus of respectability is connected to colonial history and the Anglican church. Involvement in the church bestows respect on a person in the Coloured community. This connection to the church and the level of respect you would receive from being involved in the church is internalised and extends beyond the physical church building. Frances’s documentary mentions her daily church attendance schedule and the connection between her church and the school her son Chad attends; they share respect and pride for St Mary’s church.

4.2.2 The Relevance of Skin Colour and Hair Texture in the Coloured Community

Religion and church are two of the various dynamics and the specific ways of being that the Coloured community associates with a form of recognition and respect. France shares how this recognition and respect can extend to how a person would be physically present:

“You get a different type of colour. My child is light-skinned in colour, and I have dark skin in colour. He's got a different hair type; I've got a different hair type. My hair is like my mother's hair. He's got his father's hair, you see. So, it is my child. But I don't know what to say. Is it the bloodline? But he [has] got more of his father's features. I have more of my mother's features. Some Coloured people have kroes hare like they say pitte koppe. And some have gladde hare. That's how people recognise us, by our skin colour, by our hair, and by the way we speak. For me, it's like that, and the way we do things is because Coloured people have a different way of doing things [when compared to the] other races” (*Coloured Pride: Embracing Coloured Identity, 2024*).

The darker and light-skinned Coloured person, along with a ‘pitte koppe’, ‘gladde hare’ and ‘kroes hare’, are presented above as acceptable ways of presenting as a Coloured person in the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’. The physical presentation of Coloured identity is often limited to a narrow range of skin tones, from dark to light, and typically categorised into three distinct hair textures. France explains how her skin is darker while gesturing to look at the colour of the skin on her arms. She also explains that Chad’s (her son) skin is lighter. There is also the affirmation that despite the different skin tones, he is her biological child with “So it is my child”. This narrative reveals how physical features are not only markers of identity but also tools for constructing family connections. France’s description emphasises the diversity within Coloured families, where skin tone and hair texture may differ significantly even among close relatives. The concept of “bloodline” emerges as a unifying thread, suggesting that identity is more than just physical appearance—it is also about lineage and heritage. While physical traits are visible markers, they are closely tied to ancestral history, with family traditions and characteristics passed down through generations (Wade et al., 2012). This connection between lineage and appearance influences how individuals see themselves and are recognised by their community. France’s mention of these traits as ways “people recognise us” illustrates how identity is frequently imposed from outside, regardless of internal acceptance. These physical, behavioural, or linguistic markers become a means through which society defines individuals, even if they don’t align with how they view themselves. France’s example underscores the tension between externally imposed identities and personal self-conception, highlighting how the

Coloured community must navigate these external recognitions while asserting their own, often diverse, sense of identity.

In Johnson's booklet, she has filled a page with the different views on her hair, representing the differences of opinions and her experience of this. She has written the words 'curly', 'straight' and then 'wavey'. There is an explanation of how straight hair is deemed as 'pretty' and how a desire from her family members perpetuated onto her cousins to have hair like hers that can be both straight and curly. This narrowing and limited acceptance enables a stereotype to develop; despite being exposed to variants of hair textures and skin colours that a person can have, a preferred type of skin colour and hair texture is upheld within the Coloured community (Taylor et al., 2011). The stereotype developed around the socially accepted way of being and presenting becomes an accepted generalisation held over the entire Coloured population. Any person who self-identifies as a Coloured person and does not physically meet these criteria would have the validity of their identity claim questioned by the wider Coloured community, such as in the case of France and the 'Makhanda Coloured community'.

4.2.3 Material Possessions and their Role as Markers of Identity

The idea of respect in the church and respect tied to the way a Coloured person would physically present are prominent cultural markers and identity markers within the Coloured community. Respect and pride are also associated with a cultural trend tied to material possessions. For instance, in the Coloured community, there is a specific brand of car that Coloured people are stereotyped to drive. France says that:

“Yeah. Coloured people are like, yoh, especially when I come to the guys. I would my point of view—'Cos the, like to wear name brand stuff. 'Cos, I see by my brother, there is nothing in his cupboard that doesn't have a name. It is just name-brand stuff. Even his car. He had a nice grey car; you can ask my child when that car goes up Albany Road. Then they say, here comes I don't know what they call it; what do they call that car because it's got that double pipe by the back. I don't know. It's like that vroom vroom when it goes up Albany Road. That is how Coloured boys are” (*Coloured Pride: Embracing Coloured Identity*, 2024).

France explains that her brother and his friends enjoy driving cars with double-piped exhaust modifications. The brand of car that most Coloured men would prefer to drive is a Volkswagen (VW) Polo car (France, 2023). These conversations with France show that it's a popular modern-day stereotype that Coloured men will choose to drive modified VW Polo cars. This quote from France shows that status symbols and possibly class are in the form of wearing name-brand clothing, and modified cars are markers of Coloured identity, especially for young Coloured men.

Towards the end of Johnson's booklet, there are two pages she has created with things that she commonly associates with her Coloured identity. In one of the pictures, there is a white VW Polo car with a modified double pipe; both France in her documentary and Johnson in her booklet express how the modified VW Polo car is a marker of Coloured identity and a part of Coloured culture. According to this participant account, driving a modified car and wearing name-brand clothes are presented as markers of Coloured identity and belonging within their experience of Coloured community in Makhanda. Pride in the material possessions of the VW Polo car and name-brand clothing indicates conspicuous consumption. The focus on presentation and material possessions in line with the social and political influence allows for marginalised communities to express their identity and reclaim agency in a way that was not always accessible to them (van Wyk and Posel, 2019). Material possessions within marginalised communities have become a way to counteract being invisible and, in the case of the Coloured community, 'the middleman', allowing them to assert their presence within the boundaries of understanding within the larger social community (van Wyk and Posel, 2019).

4.2.4 Language and its Construction of Coloured Identity

The VW Polo and boys and men wearing name-brand clothing have become standard identity markers for Coloured boys and men. It has also become a modern-day stereotype and it has become an expected norm placed over the entire Coloured community when it is not the lived reality, instead this applies to a small minority of Coloured people. Another stereotype within the Coloured community is how a Coloured person would speak using 'Coloured slang' (France, 2023). France explains how members of the Coloured community are expected to greet each other in a specific way:

“And then they got the language ‘my bru’ and ‘aweh’ - the main word is ‘aweh’. When you see your friend, ‘aweh’ in the street and that’s how they greet each other, ‘aweh’ and ‘howzit’” (*Coloured Pride: Embracing Coloured Identity, 2024*).

The stereotype of speaking Coloured slang has been imposed onto Coloured people (Tewolde, 2024) in general by society, which has created the expectation that Coloured people would use this specific greeting when talking to other members of the Coloured community (Fortuin, 2009). The slang and informal language used in the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’ is another identity marker. The word ‘aweh’ can be considered a form of recognition and a prominent and easily identifiable Coloured identity marker, indicating cultural pride from the person speaking the words. France highlights the importance of language in fostering community identity. Using colloquial expressions such as “aweh” demonstrates how language operates as an informal identity marker. It creates a sense of camaraderie and belonging among community members. France explains that:

“Speaking both Coloured slang and Afrikaans would be considered markers of identity and would be expected of members of the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’ (Booklet Interaction four, 2024).

This shared linguistic identity strengthens community bonds while also creating barriers for those who do not speak the same language or slang. Coloured slang plays a significant role in the cultural expression and identity formation within Coloured communities in South Africa. As explored in chapter 2, it is a unique linguistic marker that reflects the diverse cultural influences within these communities and serves as a form of resistance against external stereotypes. Coloured slang, often a blend of Afrikaans, English, and local vernacular, communicates shared experiences, creates a sense of belonging, and reinforces group identity. While some outsiders may perceive these linguistic expressions as markers of lower social status or intellectual inferiority, they symbolise resilience and pride within the community. This linguistic identity challenges the dominant cultural norms and serves as a means of self-affirmation, allowing Coloured individuals to assert their autonomy in a society that often marginalises them.

Slang is an informal language that can be regional or developed from communities and it can be a single word or many words (Neate, 2022). In the case of France, her brother and his friends, who

are members of the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’, this ‘language’ which is considered ‘Coloured slang’ is a language embraced and used within the community. Some of the languages connected to the Coloured community are Kaaps-Hollands, Kaaps, and Afrikaans languages (Willemse, 2016). Speaking both Coloured slang and Afrikaans would be considered markers of identity and would be expected of members of the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’. Due to this expectation of Slang and Afrikaans being linked to overall Coloured identity, when a person claims to be Coloured but lacks this language marker, they can be rejected by the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’.

The opening scene of France’s documentary is her explaining how a Coloured person would say “aweh” and “howzit” she indicated she would like to show this scene first in her documentary for two reasons. The first is that the words ‘aweh’ and ‘howzit’ are words used to greet people within the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’. Then secondly, it will let the viewers know this documentary is about Coloured people within the first few seconds of the video being played.

Up to this point, the quotes presented have discussed community and relationships, the identity markers of language, prayer and churchgoing, skin colour and hair texture, as well as close-knit relationships and material possessions like cars and brand-name clothes. All of this can be considered defining aspects and characteristics of the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’. They can then be considered as markers of Coloured identity due to how these markers have been spoken of in a positive light by the participants and the viewers who have interacted with the booklet/books. They have been embraced, and therefore, they are markers of Coloured identity that have been embodied.

4.2.5 Collective Symbolism in the Homes of Coloured People

Another aspect of the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’, which is embraced and shared, is household decorations—a teapot, dishes for food serving, and family photos. Johnson explains in her documentary that her journey with her Coloured identity led her to explore the patterns and similarities of Coloured people and how they decorate their homes for a university project. Johnson presents this observation:

“And one of the things that I think joined us all together in Colouredness throughout the

country is the fact that we have similar patterns. We decorate our house the same. We decorate our house very similarly. We have similar family lineages where we have traditions where we passed down certain things. So, I think I realised most Coloured houses have been cabinets and trinkets... Most Coloured homes have cabinets full of special little things... trinkets she's collected over all the years she has travelled... And then here you can see that those are all the medals of her grandchildren...her great-great-grandmother had given it to her, and it's still heavy. So she tries not to move it a lot...he keeps a lot of certificates and photos of his family and his children, nieces and nephews...And here you can see there's a teapot we, you know, we use for special Sundays like Easter religious ceremonies or when people come over...There are the bowls we are not allowed to use during the week, only certain special days for desserts and Sundays... When you walk into the houses, the house is always covered in pictures of children and their families.... this cabinet is packed with trophies and frames... this cupboard keeps all these glasses. In the drawers, he keeps silverware... at this cabinet, there are (photos of) significant days like the first Holy Communion, weddings, confirmations, birthdays and family gatherings. Then she puts it all on display....I went to an Afrikaans lady, and she had a lot of beautiful ornaments, just matching ornaments, just things that, you know, no one touches, but just there on display. You can see her jug collection in the top...cabinet. We can see that it's a little more modern, and the owner has opened it up. He told me he had opened his record player and connected it to his TV. So, it's like that one uncle. We always know that we are always fixing things. But the other essential thing is the dogs that everyone's granny has. These dogs, even like me, is this dog in our house” (*Speaking Coloured. Navigating the Identity, 2024*).

This quote showcases that within the Coloured community, home decorations, trinkets, and family memorabilia are kept in their homes. These material objects in the home symbolise family lineage, tradition and the continuation of practices from generation to generation. This preservation of the material items connects deeply to the act of embracing Coloured identity and Colouredness. This material displays that the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’ practices assert its Coloured identity and celebrate its history as an individual household and part of the wider Coloured community. When Johnson explains her observations of how Coloured families decorate their homes in Makhanda, the pictures she took of the various items on display flash on the screen as she narrates

her observations, from the pictures and medals on display to the cat and dog statues, which she speaks of when she says, “But the other essential thing is the dogs that everyone’s granny has. These dogs, even like me, is these dogs in our house.” These ornamental dog figures were popular decorative items displayed in homes during her grandparents' generation. These items are placed in central positions on display; there is a sense of pride in these possessions that Johnson has been able to capture.

These cabinets that Johnson has presented in *Speaking Coloured: Navigating the Identity* (2024) align closely with Huigen-Conradie’s findings in *Creolised Objects: A Study of Material Culture as Marker of Coloured Identity* (2023), which explains how material culture both reflects and sustains Coloured culture and Colouredness. Cabinets filled with heirlooms, trophies, medals and photos become storytelling mechanisms within the Coloured community that can preserve history and showcase cultural pride. These objects, from medals and certificates to unique dishes used for religious celebrations and family gatherings, function as identity markers, blending intimate histories with public narratives of cultural pride.

4.2.6 Impoverished Coloured Communities and Assumed Alcoholism and Violence

Class and social class are interconnected with stereotypes and how they function (Beacon and Bjornsdottir, 2024). A lower socioeconomic class as a marker of identity is intertwined with the stereotype of uncontrollable drinking, which then perpetuates a negative view of the community and activates the class-based judgment about poor behaviour and lack of self-control. Members of the Coloured community who drink and then lack self-control while drinking are associated with the stereotype of being impoverished and therefore lacking decorum and respectability. Hence, the behavioural association with drinking indicates class. The perception of class and behaviour is further illustrated in the following quote shared by Johnson:

“So, Wentworth is an area in Durban where it's predominantly a Coloured area. There's a lot of gang violence, a lot of gangsterism, and people are generally known to be loud or raw, and large families come from there. But it's not necessarily like that. But not everyone is like that. Everyone just stereotypes it as this area” (*Speaking Coloured. Navigating the Identity, 2024*). A stereotype encompassing the drunkard, who is loud and not taken seriously is the association of being “raw”, which Johnson mentions has commonly been associated with the Wentworth, Durban community. In this quote, Johnson highlights how the stereotype of specific locations like Wentworth populated by members of the Coloured community has been connected to a lower- class identity. Both external members and the Coloured community enforce this stereotype. This quote indicates that the ‘lower’ class is associated with the Coloured people from the Wentworth area. Towards the end of this quote, Johnson describes the challenge of overcoming this stereotype and how class perceptions are also linked to negative labels and certain practices attached to specific Coloured communities. The Wentworth Coloured community is stereotyped as being violent, loud and involved in gangs and related activities. Johnson explicitly states that it is not necessarily that the entire Wentworth Coloured community fits this description, instead they are stereotyped as being loud, violent and part of a gang.

In the book *Those Who Live in Cages*, Adams (2020) writes about Kaylynn, who lived in Eldorado Park in the south of Johannesburg. Eldorado Park, a predominantly Coloured area, has long been branded with the stereotype of addiction and violence. These negative associations have led to the widespread belief that everyone from this community embodies these characteristics, regardless of their individual experiences. Kaylynn’s account, however, challenges this damaging stereotype. She describes herself as a ‘nerd’ and a ‘quiet’ (Adams, 2020:21) student, noting that she attends school outside of Eldorado Park, distancing her identity from the violent image imposed on her community. Despite this, Kaylynn experiences fear from others who view her through the lens of the stereotype: “I am the girl who lives with gangsters and survives” (Adams, 2020:21)

Her description underscores the stark contrast between the stereotypical narrative and her lived

reality. While others may see danger when they look at her, Kaylynn's own experience does not align with these assumptions. She is not defined by violence or gang culture, rather she identifies with academic achievement and peacefulness. The disconnect between the stereotype and Kaylynn's actual identity highlights the unjustified fear that stereotypes breed. People from outside her community are quick to judge her based on the negative perceptions of Eldorado Park, reinforcing a cycle of discrimination and fear. This illustrates how stereotypes not only misrepresent the true diversity and complexity of individuals but also create harmful barriers, fostering fear and division without regard for the lived realities of those affected.

The political and social identities of Coloured people in the minds of others have not changed dramatically from those popularised during the colonial and Apartheid eras (Tewolde, 2024). Coloured identity remains linked to the discourse of "everyday racism" (Pirtle, 2021:14). One of the stereotypical identities associated with the Coloured identity is one of drunkenness (Ross, 1999). France speaks to this stereotype:

"So obviously when there's a fire, it must be glass, so when Coloured people have a braai, they always buy alcohol just to make it nice and fun so people can have fun. But it always ends up in a fight sometimes because you know what? People don't enjoy their drinks; they abuse their drinks. You just have a drink to sit nice and chill, but others want to drink to get drunk and just. Yeah, like most of the Coloured guys, they can't control their drink. I won't even say guys, girls also they don't drink to have fun... but usually yes, every week that is what they do on weekends" (*Coloured Pride: Embracing Coloured Identity*, 2024).

France shares that some of the Coloured people in her community, both men and women, consume large amounts of alcoholic drinks. She also confirms the belief held by some Coloured people that if there is a social gathering, there should be alcoholic beverages present, and this behaviour perpetuates the stereotype that some Coloured people do not just drink alcohol but instead abuse it. In France's booklet, where she describes her family enjoying their Sunday at the dam, there is a family member pictured drinking wine. In Johnson's booklet, there is a picture of a beer bottle that Johnson describes as associated with Coloured identity.

It is important to note that the description here is "most of" the Coloured people and not all of them. The power dynamics present in a stereotype are highlighted here as the stereotype of

drunkenness and alcohol abuse is exaggerated and associated with the entire Coloured population. This specific stereotype reinforces the existing inequalities and negative characteristics (Hall, 1997) associated with the Coloured community during Apartheid. In contrast, France also shares another perspective of her Coloured community and their relationship with alcohol, where they choose to avoid alcohol:

“...People play bingo on a Sunday just to stay busy staying away from the taverns and the drinking and stuff, and some people make koeksisters” (*Coloured Pride: Embracing Coloured Identity*, 2024).

France shares that within her ‘Makhanda Coloured community’, some Coloured people do not drink. In place of this activity, they would play bingo and make koeksisters. Some of the members of Frances’s Coloured community decide not to drink alcohol or spend time in the taverns. There are several cases in Johnson’s and Frances’s booklet where the family gathers for events like Christmas, and there is no alcohol in the frame. One picture from Johnson’s booklet showcases a family photo where no alcohol is present in the frame. This juxtaposition challenges the stereotype, showcasing the diversity of experiences and traditions within the Coloured community. As explored in chapter 2, producing narratives through films, photos, and various media forms that challenge popular narratives enables the challenging of the negative stereotype.

These two quotes from France explore the stereotype of Coloured people as drunkards and alcoholics as the reality for some Coloured people and then confirms that for other Coloured people, this stereotype is not part of their lived experience. A characteristic of stereotypes is to reduce the entire group to a simple generalisation and assume that anyone from that group is to be associated with the stereotype (Hall, 1997b). We see the generalisation characteristic of a stereotype being applied here when assuming that all Coloured people have an alcohol abuse disorder. This highlights that there is a need for this association of drunkenness and being drunkards to fall away from being a generic association to every single Coloured person and the whole Coloured community (Ross, 1999).

In conclusion, the participants as members of the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’ embrace its Coloured identity, which comprises of cultural markers, linguistic practices, material culture, and social behaviour, all forming their foundational identity and sense of pride. Prominent identity

markers include language such as Coloured slang, which has been shown to foster camaraderie and is an expected expression of Coloured identity. This linguistic identity extends to the expectations surrounding the use of Afrikaans and slang, with failure to conform potentially resulting in exclusion from the ‘Makhanda Coloured community.’

Material culture is also essential, with items like family heirlooms and photographs that become mechanisms of storytelling that preserve Coloured heritage and Coloured culture. These objects serve as private symbols of pride and public identity markers, linking the community to a broader historical narrative while reflecting social class distinctions. The variation in material possessions, such as modern technological items or traditional family heirlooms, also highlights the influence of social class within the Coloured community, reinforcing class-based judgment.

Despite the positive embracing of Coloured identity and Colouredness through these elements, there is also a sense of shame generated from the power of stereotypes, namely those relating to alcohol consumption and social behaviour. The stereotype of a Coloured person as a drunkard or someone associated with a lower social class remains common and prominent, which is unfortunately generalised and applied to the entire group of Coloured people. This particular reductive view fails to capture the diversity within the community, as evidenced by alternative cultural practices like playing bingo or making koeksisters as ways to resist the negative associations of excessive drinking (Hein, 2019).

The narratives shared by Johnson and France reveal the intricate layers of Coloured identity, shaped by physical markers, material culture, language, and stereotypes. While these markers provide a sense of belonging, they also create challenges as individuals navigate the tension between societal expectations and personal acceptance. Through this exploration, it becomes evident that Coloured identity cannot be reduced to a single narrative, it is a dynamic and evolving construct reflecting the community’s diversity and resilience.

While some individuals find strength and pride in embracing their Coloured identity, others struggle with the limitations imposed by this label. This tension leads some to reject the identity altogether, seeking a more fluid or alternative understanding of self that transcends the boundaries of Colouredness.

4.3 Rejecting Coloured Identity and Colouredness

The second sub-theme in this chapter discusses a counter-narrative existing within the broader theme of Coloured identity that this thesis explores. In an antithesis approach to embracing Coloured identity and Colouredness, this section explores the rejection of Coloured identity in favour of the more traditional identity, being that of the Khoi-San identity.

This rejection is grounded in the school of thought which believes that the Coloured identity is a colonialist and Apartheid-imposed identity created with the purpose of both erasing cultural identities and enforcing cultural assimilation. This theme explores contesting and rejecting Coloured identity and reclaiming Khoi-San heritage. This act is understood to be an active and deliberate re-establishing of an indigenous identity that was intentionally suppressed. Rejecting Coloured identity in favour of the Khoi-San identity represents more than a personal choice; it represents a reclaiming of indigenous practices, spiritual beliefs and cultural traditions, encouraging a connection to the identity outside of the colonial narrative placed over the Khoi-San culture.

The historical dispossession imposed by the various colonial narratives attempted to erase the Khoi-San heritage. One such mechanism that enabled this was the implementation of surnames, which symbolised ownership over identities and assimilation into colonial cultural practices. This theme explores the sub-theme of From Coloured to Khoi-San: Khoi-San Reimagining and this looks at the experiences of Coloured identity in Makhanda from Whiteboy's perspective, the reasoning behind her rejection of her Coloured identity in favour of a Khoi-San identity and what this rejection and embracing of Khoi-San identity looks like today.

There are multifaceted motivations and broader cultural implications for reclaiming a Khoi-San identity. This theme goes beyond individual identity and represents a deliberate political and cultural movement against continuing the legacy of Apartheid's cultural erasure in present-day South Africa. This rejection is in response to the belief that the Coloured racial classification has been historically weaponised and forced onto people, creating a divide among communities. The sub-theme From Coloured to Khoi-San: Khoi-San Reimagining, in the central theme of Contesting and Rejecting Coloured Identity and Colouredness, explores Whiteboy's negotiation and

confusion surrounding her Coloured identity and the journey of reclaiming her Khoi-San identity. This Khoi-San identity is reimagined as it is not the identity Whiteboy has always been associated with instead, it is an identity she has discovered and actively embraces.

Within the discourse of Coloured identity, individuals have related to the racial classification in different ways; some have embraced the classification, while others, like in the case of Whiteboy, have rejected the classification entirely (Gabie, 2014). Through ceremonies like the !Nau, upholding traditional spiritual beliefs and wearing traditional clothing, people who were previously classified as Coloured but have instead chosen to embrace their Khoi-San heritage can maintain a close connection with their ancestral roots (Hoernlé, 1918). The quotes below, shared by Whiteboy highlight the ongoing process of identity reclamation that involves more than simply rejecting an imposed label but making space for cultivation of a pre-colonial identity. Through this reclamation, there is a confrontation of the colonial legacy and an embedding of the Khoi-San identity in a contemporary framework that encourages cultural authenticity and connection to ancestral practices.

The following quotes discuss Whiteboy's journey of discovering and reclaiming her Khoi-San identity after having lived with the imposed label of a "Coloured" person. She realised she no longer wanted to identify as a Coloured person. Instead, she wanted to identify as a Khoi-San, which was rooted in feeling different and not feeling the connection to Coloured identity like the other members of the 'Makhanda Coloured community' felt. Whiteboy shares how she felt:

“At first, I didn't know I was a Khoi [-San]. I had always wondered why I am different to the Coloureds [people]” (*Beyond Coloured: Embracing Khoi-San Identity, 2024*).

There is a confession of not always being aware of her Khoi-San identity, and this can be read as indicative of the Colonial and Apartheid erasure of cultural identities. This erasure was intended to make people forget their heritage, and this is what happened (Gabie, 2014). For a large part of her life, Whiteboy didn't know she had Khoi-San heritage or that she was able to reclaim and then practice and embrace her Khoi-San heritage. This erasure created space for the internalised experience of identity confusion which Whiteboy expressed she has experienced. This confusion left her uneasy and unsure when she identified as a Coloured person. The discovery of identifying as a Khoi-San was prompted by feeling different to the way the other Coloured community

members felt and feeling a lack of belonging with the 'Makhanda Coloured community'. Whiteboy shared that she did not feel the connection or sense of belonging to the Makhanda Coloured communities' cultural experiences and cultural identity.

The feeling of being different can be felt through the screen as Whiteboy's voice softens initially as she explains why and how she felt othered and did not have the same sense of connection to the Coloured identity. After she has shared this realisation in her documentary, she gestures to a picture she took of a man from her community, who she had a conversation with and explained to him that she is not a Coloured person but instead a Khoi-San person. This feeling of being different was a catalyst for Whiteboy's need to seek out her ancestral Khoi-San roots and settle into an identity where she did not feel different but comfortable and connected.

The lingering effect of the Apartheid system is present in today's contemporary culture, where there is the use of naming and use of surnames. Whiteboy, who rejects her Coloured identity in favour of her Khoi-San heritage, expressed a dislike for the continued use of surnames. Whiteboy says that:

“The White man, as I have said, had robbed us of our culture. They took our culture and then gave us surnames. I am a Whiteboy. Where do you get a Khoi-San person with the surname Whiteboy? The Khoi-San are the first nation and the first people on this land. The land belonged to us. Our surnames do not belong to us, our surnames were given to us by the White man. Jan van Rensburg was an old White family surname long ago, far back in history. They then decided that I would just give these people this name. Do you understand there was no reason for them to give us surnames? We were not born with surnames. Before surnames, we would simply shout, call each other's names, and respond. That's what our ancestors used to do” (*Beyond Coloured: Embracing Khoi-San Identity*, 2024).

Whiteboy highlights the cultural displacement and erasure of her Khoi-San heritage, a result of the Apartheid laws that affected both Coloured and Black communities. The imposition of colonial surnames disconnected Khoi-San people from their cultural roots, as names were assigned without input from the tribes, reinforcing disconnection and loss of identity. Whiteboy's discomfort with surnames, especially her own, reflects the violence of this forced renaming, which stripped away cultural significance. The surname 'Whiteboy', tied to the colour of her skin and the presence of

men in the family, illustrates the absurdity and cultural erasure enforced by Apartheid policies. The use of surnames as a tool of displacement continues to influence how Coloured people perceive themselves today, reinforcing Eurocentric beauty standards and a generational disconnect from ancestral identity (Aceto, 2002).

The feeling of being different inspired Whiteboy into an exploration of her ancestral roots. This discovery of her ancestral identity as a Khoi-San prompted Whiteboy to reject her Coloured identity status and then actively embrace her ethnic Khoi-San identity. Racial and ethnic identity are concepts related to human ancestry and form part of the human experience (Blakemore, 2019). Racial categories are seen to be weak proxies for genetic diversity, and it is recommended that they be phased out of any scientific use and classification because they lack scientific evidence (Gannon, 2016). In addition to this, there is no one gene or cluster of genes common to White people, Black people and even Coloured people (Onwuachi-Willig, 2016). Alongside this, race is understood to be a social and political construct that was created as a means of classifying and dividing people, more commonly used during the colonial and Apartheid government rule. At the same time, ethnic identity is a decent-based attribute for membership and can include a person's religion, tribe, language, sect, physical difference, nationality and clan. The ethnic identity also includes agreed-upon and shared common cultural markers (Chandra, 2012). Whiteboy shared this rejection of her Coloured identity and encouraged the 'Makhanda Coloured community' also to contest their connection to their Coloured identity and to consider their ethnic identity. Whiteboy expressed caution to the Coloured community about their choice to identify a member of the Coloured community.

“If you think you are a Coloured, you are not a Coloured; you belong to the Khoi-San group” (*Beyond Coloured: Embracing Khoi-San Identity, 2024*).

Whiteboy emphasises the urgent need for Coloured people in Makhanda to reclaim their Khoi-San heritage and reject the imposed Coloured identity, a process linked to the identity confusion created by colonial and Apartheid rule. She also shares her experience of canvassing for support, as seen in her booklet and during her visit to Alicedale, where council members actively gathered support from the community.

Whiteboy, is not happy to be associated as a member of the Coloured community and as a Coloured person. Whiteboy explains that:

“If you look back in history to your ancestors, your eyes will open to the truth. If you look back in history and do what the Khoi-San [people] and your ancestors have done, your eyes will open to the truth. The reason ... why we thought we were Coloureds was because of the abuse and suffering we received from the White Man” (*Beyond Coloured: Embracing Khoi-San Identity, 2024*)

When sharing this Whiteboy explains how her own eyes opened to the truth and that by sharing her message, as she did in her documentary, she hopes to do the same for other Khoi-San people. The psychological impact of Apartheid and colonial rule on identity essentially perpetuated two forms of constraints, namely erasure and then assimilation. The erasure is linked to the abuse and suffering which was carried out by the segregation and disenfranchising of Coloured communities by the Apartheid laws. The Group Areas Act, Act No. 41 of 1950, forced (Muyeba, 2011), The 1913 Land Act and the Population Registration Act, Act No. 30 of 1950, can be considered the forms of unfair treatment and abuse that Whiteboy highlights. Whiteboy encourages her community to open their eyes to the truth and see that as a result of this mistreatment, they believed that they should forsake and forget their cultural heritage and identity in exchange for what the Colonial and Apartheid government forced them to identify as: Coloured people. This process of reclamation and discovery of her Khoi-San heritage led Whiteboy into a space where she was freely able to practice and embrace various traditional practices and rituals as markers of her Khoi-San identity.

The process of going to the !Nau allows space for a formal rejection of the Coloured identity and confirms Whiteboy’s commitment to embracing a Khoi-San identity. Whiteboy explains what the !Nau ceremony is:

“When we go through the !Nau. The !Nau means to prove that you are now a Khoi. You receive your coals, your hot coals, that you will walk over. The coals you walk on are to prove you now belong to the Khoi. Then you receive the aloe you drink; the aloe represents the bitter years you went through as a Coloured when you forgot you were a Khoi” (*Beyond Coloured: Embracing Khoi-San Identity, 2024*).

The !Nau ceremony represents a rejection of Coloured identity in favour of embracing Khoi-San heritage, symbolising a rite of passage into Khoi-San culture. It highlights the community's commitment to their roots, with acts like walking over hot coals and drinking aloe representing both cultural remembrance and the painful history of identity erasure. Whiteboy highlights that when you:

“Wear the headgear... [as a marker that] they have gone through the !Nau” (Beyond Coloured: Embracing Khoi-San Identity).

The Khoi-San traditional headgear is attire made from animal skin or fur placed around a person's head. In her documentary, Whiteboy shows the camera her headgear and then also the headgear that belongs to her husband - she explains that it goes onto your head and demonstrates it to the camera. As a member of the Khoi-San community, you can only wear the headgear once you have completed the !Nau ceremony and have entirely accepted your Khoi-San identity. Wearing the headgear symbolises the ceremony's completion and can be considered a sign of visible respect for the ancestral traditions and hierarchies within the Khoi-San community. Whiteboy notes when you would wear the traditional attire:

“In a meeting where our chief and paramount chief are going to be present, we must wear our traditional clothing. We will wear our chest gear, tiger print clothing, headgear, and necklace. Wearing these items is a sign of respect to our chief and paramount chief, as well as the king and queen. When they see us wearing them, they know we respect them and their position.” (*Beyond Coloured: Embracing Khoi-San Identity, 2024*).

These garments function as cultural markers connecting individuals to their cultural heritage while asserting their indigenous identity. The attire that the quote described as the tiger print, chest gear, headgear, and necklace is worn in the presence of chiefs and elders, honouring cultural protocol. Whiteboy holds up her beads when describing the necklace and puts on her chest gear with pride in the documentary. These specific markers of the Khoi-San community are crucial, as many dress codes symbolise beliefs and cultural associations (Vukvukai, 2007).

Within the various cultural practices, there is an element of spiritual and cultural connection to the Khoi-San ancestry. In the following quotes, there are profoundly spiritual and cultural beliefs that are embraced by both Whiteboy, her son, and her grandchild, showing the family's commitment

to being members of the Khoi-San community. Another way the Whiteboy family has rejected Coloured identity as an imposed identity and embraced the Khoi-San identity is the use of traditional healing practices over the use of modern medicine. While looking at some photographs, Whiteboy comments:

“Here I am praying with my grandchild because she had pimples on her face. We are praying because we don’t believe in doctors. I called her; we got our medicine, her headgear, and my headgear. We put them on, and we prayed. We asked our ancestors to help us. Three days later, the pimples were gone. We believe that medicine from the bush helps the Khoi-San.” (*Beyond Coloured: Embracing Khoi-San Identity, 2024*).

Whiteboy does not make use of the Western medicine, such as seeing a medical doctor. She rejects this practice in favour of traditional healing methods and natural herbs. In the pictures, which are in both the documentary and Whiteboy’s booklet, she is bowing her head with her granddaughter while they are both wearing headgear made from animal skin, and herbs are burning as she holds her hands over the herbs praying to the ancestors. Honouring the Khoi-San practices indicates an honouring of the Khoi-San values and beliefs. By choosing to make use of traditional healing practices, Whiteboy symbolically reinforces her resistance to the colonial knowledge systems and situates herself firmly in the traditional knowledge systems. Each of these traditional and cultural practices serves as a note of defiance against the imposition of Coloured identity and confirms the rejection of Coloured identity. Traditional healing practices highlight the transformative power present in cultural practices and ceremonies.

The other practice where we see an alignment with the Khoi-San is the act of ‘going to the bush’. Dylan Whiteboy, who is Whiteboy’s son, has gone to the bush, which is when a young man undergoes traditional initiation rituals, specifically the Xhosa initiation process. Whiteboy’s son shares his experience:

“My name is Dylan, my surname is Whiteboy, I am a Khoi-San. I am Sandra’s child. I am speaking to you now because you want to find out if I went to the bush or if I did not go to the bush. I must go to the bush because it is part of my culture, and I am a Khoi-San. I went to the bush in 2016, and I can't say what we did there because we aren't allowed to speak about it. I was in the bush for a full month, and when I came back from the bush, I was a full man. I am a full man today, and that is all I can say. We are done talking now”
(Whiteboy, 2023)

Within the Khoi-San community, the acceptance process into adulthood is marked by the ceremonial going into the bush, also known as the initiation rite of passage and Ulwaluko (Low, 2004). The men who go into the bush are circumcised, among other ceremonial processes. Whiteboy’s son went to the bush and spent a month, completing the various ceremonies. When he returned, he was considered a complete man within the Khoi-San community (Low, 2004). The other aspect to consider is that Whiteboy’s son did not share the particulars of what took place in the bush during the initiation rite; withholding this information and not divulging anything is also considered part of the ceremonial and cultural practice.

The theme of contesting and rejecting Coloured identity and Colouredness introduces a critical counter-narrative to the first theme presented at the start of this chapter. This narrative moves away from embracing Coloured identity as it was a historically imposed identity forced onto many people, intending to erase cultural identities and force assimilation. This theme presents the movement of the Khoi-San community and their intention to connect to their cultural roots and practices as an act of defiance against the colonial legacy.

The rejection of Coloured identity and the re-establishment of the Khoi-San roots is more than a personal identity shift; it is a deliberate reclamation of the indigenous rituals, spirituality and practices of the Khoi-San community. Rites and practices are essential in this reclamation because they are considered cultural markers, reconnecting individuals to their cultural heritage and ethnic identity. Examples include the !Nau ceremony, which serves as a symbolic rejection of Coloured identity. Symbols like the headgear worn after completing the !Nau ceremony indicates a Khoi-San embracing their identity and commitment to traditional values. The Whiteboy family expressed their connection to their cultural identity by choosing traditional healing methods over

Western methods and observing cultural rites of passage, like sending their son to the bush for his traditional initiation ceremony into manhood. The rejection of surnames, which often carried arbitrary and derogatory associations, by Whiteboy shows her resistance to the identity erasure imposed by the Apartheid government. Whiteboy's act of resistance is not only personal but also one she hopes other people in her community will consider concerning their identity. Whiteboy's mention of surnames being a trait that the Khoi-San community was not born with but something that was imposed underscores her intention to reclaim the ingenious cultural identity of the Khoi-San community.

While rejecting Coloured identity and Colouredness may stem from a desire to resist imposed labels or challenge societal stereotypes, it often leaves individuals navigating a complex space of belonging and identity formation. This rejection can create a vacuum where individuals seek alternative ways of situating themselves within society, sometimes aligning with dominant cultural norms. Within this space of negotiation, the theme of Embodying Whiteness emerges, revealing how Coloured individuals adopt, perform, or internalise aspects of Whiteness to access privilege or redefine their identity.

4.4 Embodying Whiteness

The sub-theme, Embodying Whiteness, explores how Coloured people navigate and exist in spaces where Whiteness is privileged and where characteristics traditionally associated with a White person are preferred (Sefa, Luke and Karumanchery-Luik, 2004). This section discusses how these two factors affect a Coloured person's physical presentation and behavioural traits in different social and professional spaces. This theme addresses the intricate nature of identity negotiation experienced when an individual may feel pressured to conform to Eurocentric standards and behaviours to gain social respect and professional opportunities.

This sub-theme connects closely to both the central theme of A Reimagining of Coloured Identity and Colouredness and the overall theme of being 'Not Coloured Enough'. It explores how Eurocentric influences are accepted and contested as authentic characteristics of Coloured identity. Through examining traits that have traditionally been associated with Coloured identity and then those that have traditionally been associated with White identity, this examination navigates what

is deemed to be “Coloured enough” and then also what is deemed to be “Not Coloured Enough.” The quotes discussed in this theme explore ideas relating to language as a barrier and as a bridge, Eurocentric beauty standards and social acceptance, as well as navigating spaces where Whiteness is preferred.

Through the engagement of the ideas of Whiteness in relation to Colouredness and how they can overlap and interact, this sub-theme explores the implications of this overlapping along with the advantages and disadvantages associated with these interactions.

In the discussion of race, racial identity and the lived realities of its physical variations, Smedley (2019) notes that “race is indeed in the eye of the beholder”, and much of what we socially attribute to race is what a person physically presents as (Smedley, 1:2019). The Apartheid understanding of race and its specific racial hierarchy, favouring the White race over other races, created social pressure for other races to resemble their physical appearance.

Intertwined in these social pressures are the Eurocentric beauty standards and social acceptance norms, which the following quotes explore. The social norms concerning beauty and physical appearance impact a person’s sense of self and identity, leading them to assimilate towards specific modes of being (Alba and Nee, 2003). The influence of Whiteness and Eurocentric norms have impacted some individuals’ sense of self, how they present themselves and, more so, their experience of Colouredness. Within some Coloured communities and some individuals’ experiences of Colouredness, conforming to Eurocentric norms would often elevate their social status if they possessed these characteristics. Johnson shares a quote which discusses this elevated status and how it has been absorbed into her experience of Colouredness:

“And I think the second half of the year, those pictures, I had straight hair in that picture, and I look, I think I look perfect, you know” (*Speaking Coloured. Navigating the Identity, 2024*).

Johnson describes her straightened hair as perfect and implies that she can embody a sense of perfection when her hair is straightened. Straight hair is associated with more polished and professional ideals that align with Eurocentric standards. As described here, the feeling of looking perfect points to the influence these Eurocentric standards have on identities and Johnson’s Coloured

identity and perceptions of identities and the ideal version of herself. This preference for straight hair is understood as an aspect of identity assimilation towards the White person ideal, as described by Hiebert and Ley, (2003). In Johnson's booklet, she had filled a page with the different views on her hair, using the words 'curly', 'straight' and then 'wavy'. Johnson notes how curly and wavy hair was deemed less attractive; this is the sentiment her aunts would share and the standard they would perpetuate onto her cousins. It is evident in her documentary when she smiles broadly and says her hair is 'perfect' when straight.

Whiteness has influenced Johnson's perception of her curly hair and other aspects of her behaviour. Johnson discusses the pressure to be seen as a 'Whiter version' of herself and to gain the social capital that comes from being able to have hair or speak like a White person. The following quotes from Johnson discuss those other aspects:

"We want to be seen as a maybe Whiter version of ourselves. We always straighten our hair, dress smarter, and speak in a better accent" (*Speaking Coloured. Navigating the Identity, 2024*).

This second quote about conforming to Eurocentric standards explores Johnson's motivations for partially assimilating towards this standard and the 'Whiter version'. There is an aspiration and desire to present as a "Whiter version" with specific aspects like straight hair, speaking and dressing in a 'better' and 'smarter' manner to gain social acceptance. Examining Johnson's choice, it is possible to interpret this as the internalised pressure to conform to societal expectations and standards set up by the Apartheid racial hierarchy, which is still influenced by current-day Apartheid thinking of White people and how they present and behave as superior (Pirtle, 2022).

Both Pirtle (2022) and Johnson explain that looking and speaking 'Whiter' leads to greater acceptance. Wealth and respect, which Johnson mentions in this quote, are often still associated with "higher-status racial groups" described as White people in present South Africa (Pirtle, 2022). On the first page of Johnson's booklet are two photos of her, one with straight hair with a yellow border around it and another with her partner Bianca, in which she has curly hair - these pictures show the duality of Johnson's hair; she can wear it both curly and straight as well. This duality has granted Johnson the freedom to choose when to have her hair curly and straight, allowing her to perform to Coloured identity standards and then Eurocentric standards. These changes to her

accent, identity and choice of clothes come at the cost of lessening prominent markers of Coloured identity that are widely accepted and, in some Coloured communities, expected for acceptance.

Johnson presents the internal conflict that she has experienced between maintaining Coloured identity markers and then conforming to Eurocentric standards in these two quotes—the act of straightening her hair for picture day points to the manifestation of this very pressure. While the first quote focuses on the personal achievement of perfection linked to these standards, the second quote offers a broader opinion on why a Coloured person may feel pressure to present in a certain way, labelled as a Eurocentric standard. Embodying Whiteness is evident here through Johnson’s choice to embrace the Eurocentric norms and straighten her hair while labelling that presentation of herself as ‘perfect’ and through the act of presenting as a ‘Whiter version’ of herself.

Conforming to these norms comes at the possible price of becoming distant from her Colouredness and lessening her Coloured identity markers. Cultural authenticity and Eurocentric influences are conflicting aspects of Coloured identity, all of which are spaces where a specific experience of Colouredness is formed.

Eurocentric standards have greatly influenced spaces and how people present themselves in those social spaces. As a Coloured person, Johnson has had to navigate spaces where she was the minority racial representation, and White people were the majority representation. Navigating predominantly White spaces has led Johnson to negotiate her sense of self and identity relative to the majority representation. Johnson explores this negotiation of her identity and self-relative to the majority of the White dancers she was surrounded by when doing ballet and hip-hop dancing when she says:

“I have done ballet and hip-hop dancing from a young age... We were only a few Coloured girls in my class, and when we went to competitions, we were also the minority. There were always a lot of other White dancers” (Johnson, 2023).

Johnson describes the sense of isolation she has experienced in predominantly White spaces. Being a ballerina who identified as a Coloured person, she noticed she was one of the very few non-white dancers in both her dancing studio and at competitions. As framed by Johnson, Ballet and hip-hop dancing are framed as areas and environments where Whiteness is dominant. Being a part of the minority group created a social space where Johnson’s Coloured identity and presenting as a

Coloured person would be more visible in comparison to the many other White people dancing. The feeling of minority status in these spaces brings the challenge of belonging, which is pitted against the feeling of resisting the social pressure to conform and assimilate to the dominant cultural norms. Johnson's experience of doing a 'predominantly White people cultural activity' speaks to the theme and sense of wanting to embody Whiteness and the desire to conform to Eurocentric practices that often leads a non-White person to adopt practices that are primarily associated with White people.

Johnson's experience of ballet dancing and being part of the minority group can be analysed against the experience of horse riding as a member of the Indian community, shared by Dawjee (2018) in her book titled *Sorry, Not Sorry*. The particular reference to how being part of a minority group in a White dominated sport affects a person's sense of belonging and identity. Both Johnson and Dawjee (2018) recount their experiences as part of the racial minority in sports/cultural activities dominated by white people. Johnson shared how she was part of the Coloured community minority while doing ballet and hip-hop dancing. At the same time, Dawjee (2018) was part of the Indian community, a minority group that took part in tennis and horse riding. In both cases, they were among the very few non-White participants. This sense of being out of place underscored how one of the impacts of Apartheid is the broader pattern of exclusion in cultural and sports spaces where certain activities are seen as traditionally belonging to White people and White communities. While participating in the sports, Dawjee (2018) explicitly highlights the treatment she and her Indian friends would receive, describing it as being treated as slow and stupid while their White competitors would be treated in a better manner.

This treatment further reinforces the idea of othering, perpetuated under the Apartheid government. Both Dawjee's (2018) and Johnson's experience of horse riding and ballet dancing reflect the broader socio-cultural legacy of Apartheid, where opportunities and fair treatment in spaces were historically limited for White participants only. Despite the formal end of Apartheid, the social-political segregation lingers in social spaces where Coloured people, Indian people and Black people remain a minority group in areas associated with the White community's affluence and privilege. The racial divide in specific cultural spaces stems from the structural inequalities imposed by the Apartheid government.

Although Johnson's booklet and documentary does not feature pictures of her dancing, several medals of children who have done ballroom dancing hang in some of the cabinets, which Johnson has documented. This decision to carefully document these medals reflects Johnson's pride in her proximity to dancing and the sense of achievement that both the cabinet's owner and Johnson feel towards dancing.

Johnson shares her experience of being the minority racial group in her dancing class. The following quote, which will be discussed below, speaks to the feeling of being a member of the minority group and then being influenced and affected by the dominant culture, which in this case is Whiteness. This quote Johnson shares speaks about how she limits her Coloured identity in the workspace:

“So, I think there's like this differentiation between being this type of Coloured and just rather being a timid version of yourself. And I mean, it shouldn't be like that, but that's the way it is. To progress in life, we have to, you know, limit ourselves a bit more than the average person would because, you know. When you look at things like BEE, you know, they will hire black people first and then maybe they'll skip over Coloured people because they assumed that we're going to be this way” (*Speaking Coloured. Navigating the Identity, 2024*).

This quote speaks to the idea of self-limitation Coloured people could feel in the work environment, where there is a pressure to suppress parts of themselves to be successful. While self-imposed, these constraints are born out of the fear of being judged unfairly because of negative stereotypes connected to being a Coloured person. There is a desire to avoid being associated with negative stereotypes about their behaviour, in turn become more reserved and quieter. This fear has led Coloured people to assimilate and embody Whiteness and the behaviours associated with a White person, like being quieter. When Johnson shares this information in her documentary, she physically leans backwards, illustrating how she feels she is shrinking her identity for the opportunity to gain social capital, her body language on camera reflects the internal feeling of shrinking. Despite the formal end of Apartheid, the Apartheid racial hierarchy is still present in current workday spaces (Pirtle, 2022).

The quotes above are about Coloured people being the minority racial group in the workspace and

in the dancing studio, where there is a feeling of being overlooked and feeling different. The dancing studio and workplace have created a space where Johnson feels different and gives into the pressure to present a more reserved version of her Coloured identity. These quotes speak to the theme of Embodying Whiteness as Johnson felt pressure to conform to the mannerisms and physical presentations of the White people in her dancing studio who were in the majority. There is an embodiment of Whiteness through being more reserved like a White person in the workplace. In this following quote, Johnson explicitly states the reason for embodying Whiteness:

“And to be accepted by society. by South Africans that we needed to look a certain way. So, I think to be accepted by White people, I think what we needed to do was straighten our hair” (*Speaking Coloured. Navigating the Identity, 2024*).

Johnson shares a revelation of how members of the Coloured community are influenced by the need to both fit in within their community and then within their broader society. The desire to straighten hair and change accents and behaviours reveals the Apartheid era conditioning where proximity to the White community is seen as the only way to access success. These quotes highlight the pressure to fit in and the ongoing struggle for acceptance in a space and society that favoured and, to a certain degree, still favours White proximity and the White community (Pirtle, 2022).

The idea of embodying Whiteness and the idea that more proximity to Whiteness will lead to social capital is not only a lived reality for South Africans in contemporary South Africa; it is an ideal which has been embedded into Coloured communities. Johnson explains how this ideal is embedded into her Coloured community and has ultimately shaped her thinking about embodying Whiteness:

“So, it's a thing in the Coloured community to have a certain type of hair like it is, to speak a certain way” (*Speaking Coloured. Navigating the Identity, 2024*).

English customs like language, dress code and behaviour have been embraced by Coloured communities and this causes complexities around identity to arise. This interconnectedness and manner of relating to English as a culture has left members of the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’ with a difficult decision to make: to seek upward social mobility and respectability as it is viewed in the Western society and laid out by the English culture and to risk being perceived

as not being ‘Coloured enough’ within their community. The desire to obtain the social capital commonly associated with the English culture and their lifestyle and behaviours is the main driving force for members of the Coloured community wanting to adopt an alternative cultural identity. The possibility of achieving the markers of respectability, class and social capital drives the adoption of the alternative identity. While this desire is fulfilled by some members of the ‘Makhanda Coloured community,’ it also creates tension within the community around the cultural authenticity of their identity and the various expectations the community would have around their Colouredness.

This paradox surrounding Coloured identity and the influence of the English culture creates a space for the broadening of Coloured identity and the classification of a Coloured person within communities. This sub-theme, while it has explored how Coloured individuals may embody Whiteness, also explored and explained why this is the case - for upward social mobility.

In line with the broader theme of this thesis and the idea of being ‘Not Coloured Enough’, the classification of Coloured identity should be broadened to include the people who retain a level of influence and adopt the English ways yet remain committed to their Coloured identity and maintain an uncommon connection to their Coloured identity and Colouredness. Allowing the English-influenced Coloured identity to be seen as valid and accepted in various communities creates space, allowing for the diversity within Coloured identity to be recognised and seen as valid. This acceptance then rejects the idea of forced exclusion and stereotypes around belonging within the Coloured community. Through accepting the diverse representations of Coloured identity, including those who navigate and embrace Englishness, a redefinition of Coloured identity borders within the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’ can take place.

The sub-theme of Embodying Whiteness has explored the complex ways in which Coloured individuals would navigate their Colouredness and Coloured identity in spaces where the White racial group and Whiteness are considered both ideal and dominant. The various external pressures of social mobility have affected perceptions of hair, language choice, mannerisms, and behaviours within the discourse of Coloured identity. While the choice to embody Whiteness as a Coloured person would allow for access to social mobility, this presents a problem which then challenges the authenticity of the Coloured identity.

The reflections of Johnson's narratives have revealed that Embodying Whiteness for social mobility is a lived reality experienced presently as she figures out how to navigate predominantly White spaces. This embodiment of Whiteness is reflective of the racial identities shaped by Apartheid legacies and how the legacy still lingers in current-day South Africa.

This act of embodying Whiteness as a Coloured person then brings into question the authenticity of Coloured identity. The perception of an authentic Coloured identity is then questioned in relation to embodying Whiteness. The challenge is about belonging and identity within the broader Coloured community, navigating the tension between a traditional authentic Coloured identity and then a desire for social mobility associated with Whiteness and the act of embodying Whiteness.

Through exploring how this dual pressure is navigated in the space of identity and belonging, this sub-theme calls attention to reimagining Coloured identity, which encompasses a broad understanding of this lived experience and reality. Along with this call, it brings attention to the entire nature of identity and belonging and requires recognition to be given to external forces.

This sub-theme has explored the narratives and lived experiences of Johnson, who identifies as a Coloured person and embodies Whiteness while calling for this lived experience of Colouredness to be labelled as valid, accepted and embraced.

In conclusion, Embodying Whiteness highlights the intricate realities of identity negotiation within the Coloured community. The adoption of Whiteness, whether consciously or unconsciously, reflects the enduring legacy of colonialism, Apartheid, and systemic inequality, where Whiteness continues to be positioned as the ideal. For some, embodying Whiteness serves as a strategy for

social mobility, acceptance, or survival, while for others, it represents a loss of cultural authenticity. This theme underscores the complex interplay between identity, power, and belonging, revealing how societal pressures shape the ways individuals perceive themselves and are perceived by others. Ultimately, it calls for a critical reflection on the structures that continue to privilege Whiteness and its implications for identity formation and cultural expression within Coloured identity and Colouredness.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented the duality of Coloured identity within the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’, presenting two opposing and co-existing narratives that reflect the diversity within the community. Through a comparative analysis of artefacts, including the website, booklets, three short-form documentaries, the interview material (which is not featured in the documentary) and the hand-bound book, this chapter provides insight into the ways that Coloured identity in Makhanda is both contested and embraced. The thematic analysis following Braun and Clark’s (2006) six-step approach presents four themes and ten sub-themes that speak to the multifaceted nature of identity expression and formation within the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’. This chapter discusses two of the main themes and five of the sub-themes. The remaining two themes will be discussed in the following chapter.

The first theme presented by France and Johnson is one of pride and cultural celebration of the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’ and its Coloured identity. This section highlights the shared cultural practices, language, and traditions considered as the markers and pillars of the ‘Makhanda Coloured communities’ identity. This narrative highlights the intergenerational knowledge transfer within communities, requiring people to present specific markers, like speaking Afrikaans, to be an accepted and embraced member of the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’. The narrative explores Coloured identity in Makhanda, a source of unity and pride in their collective customs. Language is an important identity marker as it carries the nuances and cultural history of many Coloured communities, particularly the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’. For many members of the Coloured community, speaking Afrikaans and preserving the traditional Coloured identity markers like eating pickled fish during Easter and Coloured men driving modified VW Polo cars

are essential markers of identity that they embrace and celebrate.

The second narrative presented in this chapter contrasts with the first, noting that it is an imposed identity forced onto communities during colonial and Apartheid rule and upholds the Apartheid racial hierarchies. This perspective, presented by Whiteboy, questions the impact of the label of 'Coloured', which was intended to divide communities and erase cultural identities. Whiteboy advocates for a rejection of Coloured identity and an embracement of the Khoi-San identity because it is a label which pre-dates the colonial and Apartheid idea of race classification and racial hierarchy.

Adding to this complexity is the third theme of Embodying Whiteness, which explores how individuals within the 'Makhanda Coloured community' navigate societal pressures to adopt Whiteness as an aspirational ideal. For some, embodying Whiteness means accessing social and economic mobility and aligning themselves with dominant cultural norms to gain acceptance or opportunity.

Throughout this chapter, these three narratives, one of pride and celebration, another of contestation and rejection, and the third of embodying Whiteness, are seen to co-exist in the 'Makhanda Coloured community', shaping personal and communal experiences. The thematic analysis of these themes highlights how narratives are oppositional and interwoven in the complex understanding of identity and culture. This layered exploration reflects the ongoing reimagining, negotiation, and navigation of identity within the 'Makhanda Coloured community'.

The next chapter presents the remaining theme, 'Not Coloured Enough' allowing for a deeper exploration of Coloured identity, focusing on how identities are reimagined within the 'Makhanda Coloured community'. Central to this discussion and the main themes are the ideas of reimagining Colouredness and Coloured identity. This next chapter explores how individuals within the 'Makhanda Coloured community' reshape, grapple with and challenge the confines of Coloured identity, reflecting the complex and layered Makhanda Coloured identity.

Chapter Five: ‘Not Coloured Enough’

5.1 Introduction

Chapter five builds on the analysis started in chapter four and examines the alternative ways of relating to Coloured identity and Colouredness presented in the documentaries, the unused footage, the book, participants’ booklets and the project website. Chapter four focused on two opposing views and experiences of Coloured identity, namely, embracing and rejecting Coloured identity. The chapter also looked at the consequences of the duality of identity, which can sometimes lead to embodying an alternative identity and, in this case, embodying Whiteness chapter five, however, will explore the space between these two contrasting opinions by examining the possible reimagining of Coloured identity and how the research participants have negotiated and navigated the layered dimensions of Coloured identity, including the different ways of navigating and negotiating being labelled as ‘Not Coloured Enough’ in the Makhanda community.

This chapter explores the nuanced and liminal spaces of Coloured identity formation, focusing on how participants are affected by cultural boundaries and how they both challenge and accept them. The experiences of the research participants presented below highlight the connection between self-identification and societal expectations that require Coloured people to either conform to the norm and traditional identity markers or reject the norm altogether. As the research participants articulated their relationship with their Coloured identity, they revealed the multifaceted nature of Coloured identity, where belonging is negotiated between cultural markers like language, cultural practices and a unique experience of Colouredness.

Central to this chapter analysis and the thesis is what it means to be ‘Not Coloured Enough’. This theme explores the emotional and social complexities of existing in the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’ while not exhibiting the generally accepted social markers of Coloured identity. Participants note the awareness they have developed of the specific markers that have created a specific authentic Coloured identity within the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’.

Through exploring these themes, this chapter uncovers the complex negotiations that a Coloured person would navigate when defining their relationship with their identity concerning external practices and boundaries. This chapter examines the dimensions of both ‘enoughness’ and ‘not enoughness’ that govern the experiences of identity experienced by Coloured individuals (Hsieh, Kim and Protzel, 2020). Ultimately, this chapter explores how Coloured identity is not fixed or static. Still, instead, it is defined and redefined in the various spaces where a Coloured person determines their own racial identity in relation to their experience of Colouredness and their unique social pressures and expectations.

A significant focus in this theme is the relationship between how a person perceives their identity and how their identity would be validated within the community, specifically how Coloured identity is perceived within the ‘Makhanda Coloured community.’

Both the idea and state of being ‘Not Coloured Enough’ has been discussed through chapter four with particular reference to reimagining Coloured identity and Colouredness. The notion of being ‘Not Coloured Enough’ is evident throughout the narratives of a person who perceives themselves as ‘Not Coloured Enough’ or has been labelled as ‘Not Coloured Enough’ by a specific Coloured community. This theme reveals the external and internal negotiations and social markers within a personal identity discourse relative to Coloured identity and the experience of identity labelling, acceptance and belonging.

5.2 Language and Colouredness: Afrikaans as an Inherent Marker of Identity

The most prominent social marker discussed through this theme is language, precisely the tension between Afrikaans and English. Afrikaans is often considered a marker of a ‘real’ Coloured person and an authentic Coloured identity (Fortuin, 2009). Language is examined as both a bridge and a barrier, which does the work of both fostering a connection for some Coloured individuals and then excluding others who are English-speaking (Fortuin, 2009). Alongside the discussion of language is the exploration of the stereotype and its double-edged nature because it can validate

specific Coloured identities and allow for a sense of belonging. In contrast, for others, it can create exclusionary narratives and pressure to conform for acceptance and belonging.

Johnson's experience of Coloured identity and Colouredness calls for a reimagining of Coloured identity and the identities that would be considered authentic and valid within the Coloured community.

Navigating and negotiating the space of 'Not Coloured Enough' is central to exploring Coloured identity within this thesis and its complex elements of self-perception, community identity and Colouredness. The concept of being both Coloured enough and 'Not Coloured Enough' has surfaced gradually in the discussion of a reimagining of Colouredness and Coloured identity, where the need for a wider definition and understanding of Coloured identity was discussed to embody more nuanced experiences of Colouredness. This theme is tied together by the internal and external challenges that an individual who identifies as a Coloured person would need to navigate and negotiate against the influence of social norms and perceptions of Coloured identity cultural norms.

There are specific nuances of Coloured identity that exist beyond the simplistic labels and racial categorisation, which will be discussed alongside the exploration of the various self-definitions of Coloured identity and the understanding of Colouredness and how it is experienced by different individuals who choose to identify as a Coloured person. This theme invites a deeper reflection of the Coloured identity within the 'Makhanda Coloured community' and its complexities and racial reflections in contemporary South Africa.

Language is essential to communication and identification within any culture and group. Language has the power to shape both culture and identity (Fortuin, 2009). Along with this power comes the ability to include and exclude individuals. This specific linguistic gatekeeping is echoed in this quote Johnson shares concerning her perceived authentic Coloured identity in the 'Makhanda Coloured community'. Johnson highlights the labelling of 'real' being connected to Afrikaans speaking Coloured people:

“And then he was, and at that moment, I realised, like yoh. There’s this assumption of, you know, this type of Coloured person speaking Afrikaans. And this is a Coloured person, a real Coloured” (*Speaking Coloured. Navigating the Identity, 2024*).

This quote shows Johnson’s pressure to conform to the required language marker that the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’ expects of her. This specific language practice shows how language serves as a cultural boundary marker and will separate and alienate those who do not conform to the marker. The language of a ‘real’ Coloured person implies that a Coloured person who does not exhibit this identity marker is rejected and not authentic (Nilsson, 2016). The ‘real’ Coloured identity is policed from two sides, namely from the cultural pressure of the identity markers and social expectations laid out by the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’ and then secondly by Johnson herself, who is seen to embody the sentiment and realisation that a ‘real’ Coloured person speaks Afrikaans.

Cape Town filmmakers Kelly-Eve Koopman and Sarah Summers (2017) created a six-part documentary web series titled *Coloured Mentality*, where they explored what it means to be a Coloured person. Local personalities shared various definitions and experiences of Coloured identity. Actor Irshaad Ally says in the first episode that being a Coloured person means saying certain things, which is part of Coloured identity. In Johnson’s booklet, on the first page, she describes how she perceives herself as different from the ‘standard colour’ and says this is because of her physical appearance, accent, language and hair. Towards the end of the page, Johnson writes how she is not “Coloured” like they are, referring to the image of her partner while discussing how her partner’s family has accepted and embraced her despite the ‘differences.’ Johnson is internalising the group mentality and separating the ‘real’ Coloured people from the ‘not real’ Coloured people. This can be understood as the authentic and accepted Coloured identities vs the rejected Coloured identities.

Acceptance within the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’ is conditional and based on the ability to speak Afrikaans. Johnson makes this discovery and says:

“To be accepted as a Coloured person in Grahamstown Makhanda, you must speak Afrikaans” (*Speaking Coloured. Navigating the Identity, 2024*).

Johnson identifies as a proud Coloured person and doesn't speak Afrikaans, and because she lacks this Makhanda Coloured identity language marker, her validity and claim to a Makhanda Coloured identity is questioned. To be considered a member of the 'Makhanda Coloured community', a person must speak Afrikaans. If a person lacks this marker, they aren't considered a 'real' Coloured person and would be considered outsiders by the 'Makhanda Coloured community,' - the person would be rejected and feel a lack of belonging (Allen et al., 2021). The aftermath of this rejection of her claim to being a member of the 'Makhanda Coloured community' is feeling out of place as a Coloured person in Makhanda. As Noah (2019) writes in *Born a Crime*, "Afrikaans, the language coloured people were supposed to speak," this reflects the expectation that Coloured people should speak Afrikaans. In Frances' documentary, she refers to Coloured schools and Coloured languages, which she later explains as Afrikaans, and how this language she grew up speaking was spoken within her community.

Language as a barrier and a bridge explores the role of language in identity formation and the role that language plays in shaping Coloured identity, both as a means of inclusion and exclusion. The following quotes highlight the complexities and tension surrounding language and Coloured identity. Johnson recounts a conversation she was a part of where she was excluded and policed for identifying as a Coloured person but not being able to speak Afrikaans. The stereotype of speaking Coloured slang has been imposed onto Coloured people in general by society, which has created the expectation that Coloured people would use specific greetings when talking to other members of the Coloured community (Fortuin, 2009). Not only is there a specific way to speak, but there is also a language one should speak. Johnson notes what a member of the 'Makhanda Coloured community' said to her as a response to her lack of speaking Afrikaans:

"I thought you were Coloured, and I said, but I am Coloured. Then he said, but you don't speak Afrikaans" (*Speaking Coloured. Navigating the Identity*, 2024).

In the documentary, when Johnson recounts the conversation, there is both shock and disbelief on her face; she frowns and opens her eyes wide as she explains how she struggles to comprehend that her Colouredness is not valid within the 'Makhanda Coloured community'. The ability to speak Afrikaans is considered a test of a person's authenticity within the 'Makhanda Coloured community'. The ability to speak Afrikaans is necessary in order to be accepted. It indicates

language's historical and cultural significance within identity formation and its connection to belonging. This quote shows that speaking Afrikaans is a marker of 'authentic' Coloured identity. The assumption made by the person that Johnson is speaking to is that she is not a Coloured person because the language she speaks is not Afrikaans, it is English. This reflects how deeply ingrained speaking Afrikaans has become as a marker of Coloured identity and perceived notions of Colouredness within the 'Makhanda Coloured community'. Language, as discussed in this quote, is a primary cultural signifier. Language can also be understood to be a measure of belonging, noting who is considered to be a 'real' Coloured person (accepted) and who is considered not to be an authentic Coloured person (rejected) within the 'Makhanda Coloured community'.

This person conversing with Johnson highlights the stereotypical assumption that Johnson, who is physically read and presents as a Coloured person, was expected to speak Afrikaans. When she explained that she does not speak Afrikaans, her claim to Coloured identity was questioned. Johnson is experiencing the tension between Afrikaans and English-speaking individuals. In Fortuin's (2009) research, she explains how all of her interviewees, based on their personal experience, noted tension between Afrikaans and English-speaking individuals within their community. This highlights how people will group themselves into an 'us' and 'them' dichotomy, and language is considered in this grouping. Within this us and them group, there are strong feelings associated with the languages. Venter's (1974) book titled *Coloured, a Profile of Two Million South Africans*, notes how one particular participant from the Port Elizabeth (renamed Gqeberha) area spoke Afrikaans and yet rejected Afrikaans nationalism and felt deeply 'economically betrayed' by White speaking English people. While Venter's (1974) profile of this Coloured individual is influenced by the Apartheid racial hierarchy and the economic disadvantage placed on Coloured communities, the animosity between Afrikaans and English speakers is evident.

This sense of uncertainty towards her Coloured identity and her relationship with her Coloured identity, Johnson explains, is connected to the power given to the policing of identity markers and stereotypes. Johnson explores how not only the policing of identities has affected her but also the power of the stereotype when she says:

“So, for people to assume that Coloureds are this way, or Coloureds are that way, you know, be very, we seem very loud, and it's always like the stereotype. People from other races will stereotype us. People from our races will stereotype us” (*Speaking Coloured. Navigating the Identity, 2024*).

This quote highlights the double-standard nature of stereotyping affecting external and internal community members. Internally, members must consistently perform to the agreed-upon standards and possess the relevant identity markers (Nilsson, 2016). Externally, members are not accepted and will be policed and rejected by the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’. As discussed in chapter 2, the sole intention of a stereotype is to simplify and reduce a whole group of people into a simple identity, to remove markers of individuality, and to erase markers of single identities and agency (Alexander, 2018).

The various stereotypes and the policing of the stereotypes have allowed the rigid social expectations developed by society to create boundaries and confines around actions and behaviours. The specific phrase “people from our races will stereotype us” indicates the internalised layers that stereotyping has created and how this pressure exists within the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’ due to the pressure to conform, they will also police others into conforming alongside them.

In her booklet, Johnson shares pictures of material things that Coloured people are associated with. There are some pictures which lean into stereotypes, a picture of a Black Label beer bottle captioned: “the infamous Black label beer” and then a picture of the Hooka pipe captioned: “a Hooka pipe,” which is a water pipe used for smoking shisha/flavoured tobacco (National Cancer Institute, 2011). These pictures are representations of Coloured individuals, but not the entire Coloured population group makes use of them and does not live up to the stereotype of Coloured people being drunkards (Adhikari, 2006b).

In her book *Race Otherwise*, Erasmus (2017) explores the limiting nature of a stereotype and how, within Coloured communities, a stereotype simply limits cultural expression and expression of identity. Erasmus (2017) discusses how stereotypes are not just tools used externally through social pressure; they are tools used internally within communities to maintain a sense of belonging

connected to an identity, which can only be achieved through exclusionary practices. Johnson's observation that people from her Coloured race/community will stereotype members within the Coloured community highlights the unwritten rules that Coloured individuals are forced to conform to gain social acceptance.

While the general nature of stereotypes is harmful and perpetuates erasure, there are also stereotypes which can serve as markers of pride and joy. It is vital to distinguish between a stereotype that marginalises people and a stereotype that uplifts and unites people. Yusuf Daniels, in his book *Living Coloured* (2019), captures the stereotypes that uplift Coloured communities and are a source of cultural pride. One such stereotype is that Coloured people will always have enough food to feed a little village with koeksister often included, he states, "that's just a Coloured thing."

The dual nature of stereotypes enables them to also serve the dual function of being both uplifting and unifying (positive stereotypes) whilst also serving as a means of exclusion and marginalisation (negative stereotypes). The latter are often tied to language and language choice expectations within the 'Makhanda Coloured community'.

Johnson has expressed through the above quotes how her language exposure did not include Afrikaans, yet she has consistently been met with the expectation to speak Afrikaans. The expectation placed on individuals who identify as Coloured persons to speak Afrikaans despite not being reared in a home or community where the language is spoken is often alienating. This alienation calls into question the validity of the person's roots, leading to them being labelled as disconnected from their roots and in extension lacking the satisfactory amount of effort to maintain cultural practices. This then leads to a further discussion of whether language reinforces or undermines the community ties between speakers and non-speakers of the language in question and whether or not a person can speak the language is determined by their upbringing. (Fortuin, 2009).

The following quotes are similar to those above in that they also illustrate how the Coloured identity is policed, and the idea of being 'Not Coloured Enough' is enforced. Johnson says that when having a conversation in English with a member of the 'Makhanda Coloured community', he asked:

“And then he said, are you sure you are Coloured? And I’m like, yes, it’s on my birth certificate, it’s on my ID” (*Speaking Coloured. Navigating the Identity, 2024*).

Johnson’s response to her identity being questioned indicated a close link between the validation individuals receive from community members about their relationship with their identity. This line of questioning indicates that the scrutinization process can result in a person’s Coloured identity being delegitimised based on preconceived notions and standards of how a Coloured person should present themselves. The reliance on official documents like her birth certificate and her identity document reflects the complex nature that South Africans and Coloured South Africans would have with their racial identity, linked to the status assigned to individuals during Apartheid. The identity you were officially documented as was an essential part of a person’s identity.

In her documentary, Johnson describes how she is a proud Coloured woman, and when she needs to fill out government forms that require her to identify her race, she proudly ticks Coloured. As she says this, the pride is mimicked in her body language, tone and physical gestures as she animatedly moves her hands in the air, mimicking the action of ticking a box with enthusiasm and certainty. These gestures Johnson displays on camera are immediately undermined when her Colouredness is invalidated within the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’. Johnson using these documents to affirm her identity also indicates the tension, conflict, and possible differences between how society and the government would understand Coloured identity compared to the lived experiences of identity within various communities.

Erasmus (2017) explores how performative traits, language included, and ‘the look’ are often considered markers of belonging in line with general and sometimes formal understandings of race and ethnicity. Examining Johnson’s experience with Erasmus’ (2017) research, it is clear that the reliance on the official documentation to assert her identity showcases a tension between personal pride and the external standards imposed by others who gatekeep this community identity. This gatekeeping mentality mentioned here also speaks to the process that involves a person proving their identity and the pressure placed on people to seek validation to confirm their identity. The

rejection that may occur can lead an individual wanting to reconcile their identity with their collective identity, which can be achieved through expanding the definition of their collective identity.

Johnson shares how she has felt her identity being rejected overall as a Coloured person within the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’ but also how the rejection is targeted because of her inability to speak Afrikaans Johnson says that:

“To be accepted as a Coloured person in Grahamstown Makhanda, you must speak Afrikaans” (*Speaking Coloured. Navigating the Identity, 2024*).

In this quote, Johnson confirms that if a person wanted to be an accepted member of the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’, they would need to speak Afrikaans. Speaking Afrikaans is therefore considered necessary in order to be ‘fully’ accepted as a Coloured person in the Makhanda community and would be a marker that is expected to be present. This means that a person who identifies as a Coloured person but speaks another language would face rejection despite their decision to identify as a Coloured person. This quote indicates that a specific marker is inherent to a specific community within a certain location. In this case, language is the marker that points to a specific community and location. It is evident from the quote and the quotes above shared by Johnson that she is proud of her Coloured heritage and Coloured identity despite not being considered a ‘full’ Coloured person, who is not completely accepted into the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’ because of her inability to speak Afrikaans.

5.3 Geographic Location and its Influence on Identity

This liminal space that Johnson exists in is highlighted in this following quote where the specific language of ‘Not Coloured Enough’ implies that she felt a sense of rejection from the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’ despite her claim of being a proud Coloured person.

“I never felt Coloured enough, especially living here in Grahamstown” (*Speaking Coloured. Navigating the Identity, 2024*).

This quote encompasses the sense of alienation that Johnson has felt being a Coloured person whose hometown is in Durban and then living in Makhanda, along with the complexities of Coloured identity within a specific geographical location and social context. Here, Johnson says she never felt Coloured enough in Grahamstown (now known as Makhanda) and this assertion is based on her assessment of being able to identify the feeling of being ‘Not Coloured Enough’ in Makhanda, which implies that where she was from in Durban is where she feels Coloured enough.

Geographers who study race have concluded that race as a social construct is connected to how a place is organised and how the racial identity would present itself in that space. Racial identities and understandings of these identities are shaped by the location-specific nuances - race and place are deeply intertwined (Kobayashi and Peake, 2000).

There is an internal battle Johnson is dealing with here, between her perceived authenticity and her Coloured identity. This internal battle is echoed in her booklet, where she writes on the first page that her partner taught her a lot about the Eastern Cape Coloured Culture, including that she did not possess the markers of the Coloured people from the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’. This location-specific Coloured identity underscores the local dynamics and social expectations unique to a location and its various expectations from individuals wanting to identify with their community.

In her book *The Sacred Music of a South African Coloured Community*, Jorritsma (2011) expresses how there was a deliberate choice to focus the ethnographic study of the Coloured community’s Christian religious music outside of the Western Cape area, namely for personal reasons and then also to broaden the scope of work on this specific type of music to include the Eastern Cape

Province because it has different historical, geographical, and musical factors which were in effect. Jorritsma's (2011) desire to create knowledge about Coloured communities outside of the dominant Western Cape narrative is similar to the intentional exploration of the differences and similarities of the 'Makhanda Coloured community's identities, and the researcher's desire to contribute knowledge of a different Coloured community, which has its own unique experience of historical, geographical and social factors which have influenced how the identity is performed.

In the broader context of this thesis, the quote seeks to produce information on the location-specific Coloured identities, namely outside of the Western Cape, and to explore a reimagining of Coloured identity, supported by the diverse experiences of Colouredness within the wider Coloured communities.

The language that describes the rejection of "Coloured enough" emphasises the controlling narratives produced by stereotypes and expected markers of Coloured identity. Within Coloured identity, specific Coloured individuals have felt pressured to conform to certain cultural practices, traditions and behaviours that are expected of them. Resisting the pressure to conform can lead to feelings of inadequacy and isolation from the wider Coloured community. This struggle for validation, acceptance, and complete recognition as a full member of the Coloured community is a crucial aspect of critically reimagining Coloured identity.

Continuing the exploration of how Coloured people have navigated and negotiated their identity and Colouredness within different locations and Coloured communities, Johnson shares how she has identified Coloured identity being performed differently over two locations:

"Grahamstown and Durban Coloured people are very different" (*Speaking Coloured. Navigating the Identity, 2024*).

Coloured identity is illustrated as being specific to a region, meaning that across different spaces and locations, Coloured identity in a community would carry different identity markers, traditions and habits that are unique but would still bear some resemblance across the broader Coloured community. Coloured identity is expected to be performed according to the specifications determined by the location-specific community (Erasmus, 2017). Here, the Durban Coloured community is noted as different from the 'Makhanda Coloured community', affirming that

Coloured identity is not singular and that the differentiation in identity markers across the different Coloured identities and Coloured communities stems from these variations (Raddock, 2024).

The booklets of Johnson and France showcase different food experiences and the differences in the type of food that is made. In Johnson's book, she notes how her Durban Coloured community uses many spices in their food, and she enjoys eating and cooking with spices. In contrast, in France's book and documentary, where she mentions food, there is no mention of spice; it is only a seven-colour dish. This difference in food and the experience of cooking food is a stark indicator that Coloured identity and culture differ from place to place, and that Coloured identity is specific to a location. In his book, Daniels (2019) explains in the chapter *Labarang vriete and Christmas Pudding* how he identifies as a Muslim Cape Coloured person and how his friend Reggie, who identified as a Christian Cape Coloured person, would take on the name of 'Rashaad' for the Eid celebrations to be able to join in the celebrations. This different way of relating to their Coloured identity illustrates how it is not fixed and differs from household to household across different locations.

These variations in Coloured identities and Colouredness reflect the language, culture, and religion differences across the different Coloured communities. Where differences in identities are present, there may be a struggle for acceptance if you do not present the necessary markers required from you within a specific community. Language can serve as a marker of belonging and, in Johnson's case, a barrier to belonging. Language also has a dual nature because it can serve as a bridge to broader opportunities. Johnson discusses these opportunities:

“So, you know we are all raised very differently, especially when I was going through the question of why I don't speak Afrikaans. Why, why am I monolingual? Why do I only speak English? You know, I asked my dad because my dad speaks different languages as well. My dad's speaks Zulu. My dad can speak Afrikaans if he wants to, but he doesn't. But he's very fluent in Zulu and English. So, I asked him, why didn't you teach me other languages? Why don't they teach me Afrikaans? Knowing that most Coloured people speak Afrikaans? And his answer to me was that he just wanted us to be able to progress in life. He wanted us to have other opportunities to go overseas. And speaking English is just that way of trying to get a head start” (*Speaking Coloured. Navigating the Identity*, 2024).

This quote offers a different perspective on language as a barrier, when the speaker explores why as a Coloured person, she speaks English and not Afrikaans, it is explained to her that English offers her access to more opportunities Johnson questions her father's reasoning for raising her monolingually by only speaking English when she could have been raised speaking isiZulu and Afrikaans, like her father. Her father explains that raising her in a home where she would only speak English was driven by the desire to help her achieve social and economic mobility and gain access to opportunities that may not have been available if she had spoken Afrikaans only. The English language here is associated with opportunities and access, yet the speaker still experiences a disconnect from her Coloured roots due to her inability to speak Afrikaans.

Johnson's family was influenced by the socio-political landscape after 1994, which saw a decline in Afrikaans education and speakers and a shift towards English-speaking education. Some Coloured families and households continue transitioning towards English-dominated interactions (De Kadt, 2005). In the book *Born a Crime*, Noah (2019) explains that "English is the one thing that can give you a leg up. English is the language of money. English comprehension is equated with intelligence. If you're looking for a job, English is the difference between getting the job or staying unemployed." English is seen as the superior language, leading several Coloured people to speak the language over Afrikaans.

Johnson's documentary, where she shares the process of questioning why she is different, – one is able to see how profoundly ingrained the questioning of her identity is through the change of her tongue and inflexions on the words "why do I only speak English... Why don't they teach me Afrikaans? Knowing that most Coloured people speak Afrikaans?" Johnson has felt the sense of being 'Not Coloured Enough', brought on by the different language markers in her Coloured Durban community and then again in the 'Makhanda Coloured community'.

5.4 Colouredness as a Multi-layered and Multifaceted Identity

When Johnson starts to explore her experience of Colouredness and her Coloured identity, she realises it is not uniform. Still, it is location-specific and has a wide range of experiences in terms of Colouredness. Her internal struggle shows what many may feel when they do not fit the mould of the standard community markers. The reality of her experience of Colouredness, feeling 'Not

Coloured Enough’, and then realising her experience of her Colouredness is still valid, has led to her proposing the expansion of the definition and understanding of Coloured identity. Johnson shares that:

“You shouldn’t feel like you need to fit into one box to deem yourself a Coloured person. You should be able to explore everywhere and be who you want to be: a Coloured with straight hair, a Coloured with this accent, or that accent you know. There is no one box that you need to fit into, and I think that is the most unique thing about us” (*Speaking Coloured. Navigating the Identity, 2024*).

In this statement, Johnson explains that there is no need for Coloured identity to be policed by internal and external communities and that fixed pigeonhole identities are unnecessary within the Coloured community because of the vast differences in various experiences of Colouredness. Instead, Coloured identity, specifically within the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’ can encompass a variety of experiences and does not need to be confined to a singular understanding. This specific view on the policing of Coloured identity proposes a reimagining of Coloured identity, especially for the members of the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’ who feel that they are ‘Not Coloured Enough’.

In their book, Dooms and Chutel (2023) say that “When we talk about Coloured identity, there is often an anxiety to produce evidence of what makes this identity and how long ago it was established – as if artefacts and timelines legitimise human existence.” Both Dooms Chutel (2023) and Johnson allude to the need to classify Coloured identity and define Colouredness and the pressure to conform to a specific Coloured identity. In response, it is proposed that Coloured identity should be what it is: an identity made up of a series of social and political events which amount to a lived experience and unique experience of Colouredness.

Johnson asserts at the end of her quote that Coloured identity should encompass various individuals and their unique experiences of Coloured identity. The diverse experiences that have shaped Coloured identity should be included in the boundaries of acceptance and understanding of Coloured identity in general and Coloured identity within the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’. In line with Johnson’s thinking, a reimagining of her Coloured identity in Makhanda, along with the discovery that Coloured identity is in fact location-specific and influenced by the place in

which it has developed, would cause her Durban Coloured identity being labelled as a ‘Coloured person not from Makhanda’ instead of being labelled as ‘Not Coloured Enough’ in general.

At the end of Whiteboy’s documentary, she proudly rejects her Coloured identity in favour of her Khoi-San identity, France says with pride that being Coloured is her birthright, and she likes being Coloured, while Johnson says we shouldn’t box Coloured identity into one box. Ultimately, each experience of Colouredness and the variety of Coloured identities is valid.

Dooms and Chutel (2023) explain, “It is my cultural experience of Colouredness that makes it an identity I use easily and with pride. Coloured is not my race. I do not identify as Coloured because of the tone of my skin. I identify as Coloured because of shared practices, values, and experiences with a community that raised me and gave me a sense of belonging in this country. It is an identity that, despite its roots in violence, oppression and pain, has come to mean more to me and many in the Coloured communities who raised me...” The quote ultimately calls for accepting Coloured identity as an evolving, lived experience rather than a fixed or imposed classification.

In conclusion, exploring Coloured identity and Colouredness through Johnson’s experience has showcased several ways in which different histories, locations, languages, cultures and traditions shape it. Johnson’s internal struggle to conform to a location-specific Coloured identity underscored the challenging experience that some Coloured individuals may face when feeling pressured to conform to different expressions of Coloured identity and Colouredness. This issue demonstrates the broader issue, which is the policing of Coloured identity that takes place internally and externally, along with several expectations to meet cultural, linguistic and physical markers and presentations.

Johnson’s description of the term ‘Not Coloured Enough’, which has been led by her experience of how her identity is perceived in both Durban and Makhanda, and the tensions surrounding the pressure to adhere to regional, cultural, and linguistic standards of Coloured identity, is valid and an experience that other Coloured individuals have felt in relation to their Coloured identity.

Johnson’s experience, alongside the findings from scholars like Jorritsma, Dooms, and Chutel advocate for a reimagining of Coloured identity that considers its fluidity and regional specificity.

The variations across Colouredness demonstrate that it is not uniform; instead, it is deeply developed and moulded by the geographical, historical and socio-political context in which it has

developed.

By embracing the diversity of Coloured identities and the variety of Colouredness and its vast individual experiences, there can be a rejection of the policing of Coloured identities in favour of a more holistic authentic expression of an inclusive Coloured identity and Colouredness. This shift from the label of 'Not Coloured Enough' to a more inclusive description of Coloured identity will affirm the value of each experience of Colouredness and expression of Coloured identity, ultimately contributing to a more dynamic expression of Coloured identity in a post-Apartheid South African context.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the complexity and fluidity of Coloured identity and Colouredness in the 'Makhanda Coloured community', emphasising how language, religion, culture and geography all play a part in moulding these identities. This chapter has explored the struggle which Coloured individuals have faced when they have been labelled as 'Not Coloured Enough' because they lack markers of Coloured identity, which the 'Makhanda Coloured community' would expect them to present with and perform.

The personal narratives, academic literature and discussion presented in this chapter examine this label while exploring and advocating for a broader, more nuanced understanding of Coloured identity and Colouredness.

The beginning of this chapter explored the interplay between respectability politics and the 'Makhanda Coloured community'. This exploration of respect extended to the cultural expectations of dress, behaviour and material possessions that strongly tie to colonial and Apartheid history. Religion and presence in the church were prominent markers of respect and both a source of unity and a site where identity was policed. The church stability politics often determine who would be respected within the Coloured community and who would be labelled as 'Coloured enough.'

The chapter discusses physical markers like hair, skin tone and dress codes and how these play a role in the perception of belonging. These markers of Coloured identity are both external and

internal judgements, with the internal judgement being internalised by the Coloured people and communities. Colonial legacies and racial stereotypes sometimes inform the perception of these markers. Lacking these identity markers would leave a Coloured person with a sense of not belonging, thus complicating their experience of Colouredness.

The idea of language as a tool of alienation is a critical aspect of how exclusion functions within the 'Makhanda Coloured community'. Johnson's narrative reveals how the inability to speak Afrikaans, in favour of speaking English because of the various social and economic opportunities associated with the language, has led to her being labelled as 'Not Coloured Enough' and feeling rejected.

In this chapter, Johnson's reflection on the idea of a uniform Coloured identity and experience of Colouredness is explored within the context of her Durban Coloured identity and desire to have her Coloured identity accepted and seen as valid in the 'Makhanda Coloured community'. The regional specificity of Coloured identity has presented Johnson with a complex space in which she had to navigate cultural expectations and negative perceptions of her identity.

Considering the words of Jorritsma (2011), Erasmus (2017), Doms and Chutel (2023), among other scholars' work on Coloured identity, the chapter discusses the internal and external policing of Coloured identities and the anxiety associated with needing to provide evidence of an individual Colouredness through language and physical markers. These pressures often result in a narrow definition of Coloured identity that is not reflective or inclusive of other experiences of Coloured identity.

This chapter proposes a need to reimagine Coloured identity and Colouredness, to move beyond its narrow, singular understanding and away from the perpetuation of the label 'Not Coloured Enough'. The narratives and works presented in this chapter highlight the importance of embracing the diversity of Colouredness as a fluid and evolving identity rooted in shared cultural practices and experiences. This shift calls for the rejection of policing Coloured identities and instead embracing an inclusive, authentic and fully representative version of Coloured identities, which encompasses the diversity of Colouredness in the post-Apartheid South African context.

5.6 Reflecting on the Researcher's Positioning

The contents of Chapter five closely reflected my own personal experiences and positionality as a researcher, particularly regarding the emotional and social complexities of Coloured identity and Colouredness. This chapter examined feelings of exclusion and inadequacy stemming from the inability to live up to societal expectations and present with identity markers imposed on Coloured people. These struggles mirrored my navigation of 'not enoughness,' where I was caught between the proximity to Whiteness, because of how I was raised, and the cultural markers that defined Colouredness. Like Johnson, one of the research participants, I grappled with conforming to societal norms and ultimately rejecting them, a negotiation that shaped my understanding of belonging within a Coloured community. My experience of being labelled "Not Coloured Enough" for not speaking Afrikaans or embodying expected identity markers directly influenced my approach to this research.

The participants' experiences of exclusion for not presenting the required racial and cultural identity markers resonated deeply with my struggles to fit into a predefined mould of Coloured identity. My questioning of these norms informed the lens through which I analysed their narratives which was rooted in vulnerability, a desire to understand belonging and resistance to exclusionary ideologies.

Conducting research within the 'Makhanda Coloured community' exposed me to local nuances that shape this specific Coloured identity. The participants' narratives of cultural boundaries, class, and language encouraged me to reflect on my identity relative to these elements of identity. My positionality allowed me to approach these themes with empathy and critical insight, emphasising the fluidity and complexity of Coloured identity.

This chapter's exploration of "not enoughness" created a space to situate my personal experiences within a broader academic context, transforming feelings of inadequacy into a source of inquiry and understanding. By highlighting shared struggles and reimagining how we relate to Coloured

identity and Colouredness, this work demonstrated how personal experiences can inform academic research and connect individual narratives to collective understandings of identity.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

This final chapter discusses the findings of this practice-based research. The four themes discussed in chapters four and five: Embracing Coloured Identity and Colouredness, Rejecting Coloured Identity, Embodying Whiteness and Colouredness, and ‘Not Coloured Enough’ have presented findings relative to Coloured identity and Colouredness in South Africa. The intricate identity negotiations of the three research participants: Johnson, France and Whiteboy are explored concerning Coloured identity and Colouredness. This chapter provides a focal point for comprehending the internal and external complexities surrounding Coloured identity within the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’. The theme of ‘Not Coloured Enough’ in the context of the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’ is discussed in line with developing a more inclusive definition of Coloured identity.

Through the integration of narratives shared by the research participants, creative mediums like the participant booklets and short-form documentaries, which have been grounded in theoretical analysis, chapter five reflects on the proposal of a reimagined approach and classification of Coloured identity within the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’ and Colouredness which fosters a sense of inclusion and self-definition.

Through a practised-based methodology and thematic analysis, this thesis and the project associated with this thesis have explored the lived experiences of three Coloured individuals within the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’ and how they have navigated the various social pressures, social expectations, historical legacies and socially required identity markers that they are faced with. The exploration of Coloured identity and Colouredness in South Africa was conducted using a practised-based method. This method combined participant-led documentaries with a thematic analysis of the short-form documentaries, a website titled *Not Coloured Enough* (2024), participant booklets and the hand-bound book titled *Coloured Conversations* (2024). The findings and analysis presented in this research have concluded that the racial identity boundaries around Coloured identity within the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’ only consider some experiences of Coloured identity and Colouredness to be valid and authentic.

Reflecting on the various insights and observations made in this practised-based research, it can

be concluded that Coloured identity and Colouredness in South Africa are complex, particularly within the ‘Makhanda Coloured community.’ The complexity of Coloured identity and its surrounding influences must be navigated and negotiated daily. This practised-based research has shown that Coloured identity and Colouredness are not straightforward or simple but are complex and multifaceted identities shaped by history, location, social forms, family traditions, and critical personal negotiation.

The overall finding of this research is that Coloured identity is a racial identity that is constantly navigated and negotiated, especially in response to the label of ‘Not Coloured Enough’. Coloured identity in the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’ represented by the three research participants is claimed and contested, fixed and fluid, imposed and self-determined.

The history of Coloured identity and the formation of Colouredness in South Africa has impacted how an individual would relate to or reject their Coloured identity and this is because the colonial and Apartheid systems enforced and imposed racial classification onto many individuals. This enforcement and imposition of racial classification onto communities also embedded long-standing stereotypes and perceptions of Coloured people and Coloured communities. Despite these historical impositions, Coloured identity and Colouredness have evolved into an identity which many Coloured individuals and Coloured communities actively choose to reclaim agency over and to express their identity in a manner that they see fit. Even this reclamation it is not without its complexities because Coloured identity is constantly shaped and moulded by the residual effect of Apartheid, colonialism and the post-Apartheid social expectations held over identity, specifically racial identity in South Africa.

Central to this thesis is the locative nature of Coloured identity. While much attention has historically been given to Coloured identity within the Western Cape, this research has demonstrated that Coloured identity exists beyond the Western Cape and takes on unique characteristics unique to the Coloured community in a specific location. In the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’, identity is rooted in the politics and dynamics of space and place where location-specific cultural markers and social norms mould belonging and authenticity.

This practice-based research has confirmed that Coloured identity is not singular; it is performed, experienced and understood differently across various communities, highlighting the importance of localised approaches to understanding Coloured identity and Colouredness, and this is because Coloured identity and Colouredness are complex. This study has shown that Coloured identity is shaped by external and internal forces and the various social impositions, historical legacies and personal choices. These forces related to identity often intersect in ways that produce tension, which requires negotiation, particularly around the label of being ‘Not Coloured Enough’ and the boundaries set up by various Coloured communities around what is accepted and perceived as authentic Colouredness, for many Coloured individuals within the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’, class, language, and cultural practices have been sites of identity negotiation, where individuals navigate various societal expectations and experiences of Colouredness.

In the theme of ‘Not Coloured Enough’, tension was revealed, which showcased how some individuals are included and excluded depending on their ability to embrace central identity markers required by specific Coloured communities. Within Coloured identity, there are several ways of relating to the identity, and one such way is to reject the identity in favour of connecting and embracing Khoi-San identity. This rejection of Coloured identity indicated a growing movement toward reclaiming erased histories and cultures. For others, Coloured identity is not an identity to reject and abandon; instead, it is an identity they attempt to reimagine along with a more inclusive understanding of the variety of experiences of Colouredness.

Racial identity and identifying with a specific racial group in post-Apartheid South Africa has been discussed as well. The ability to legally choose an individual’s identity is an act of reimagining, particularly in South Africa, where racial identities have been historically assigned. The ability to self-identify in each racial classification highlights the constructed nature of identity, which is simultaneously shaped by social perceptions, historical agency, and personal agency. Coloured identity and Colouredness are not static identities; instead, they are influenced by numerous factors that each Coloured individual must consider.

This practice-based methodology used in this study has captured the complexities of Coloured identity, which has been achieved through engaging participants in a creative process involving filming and editing, writing and photography. The practised-based methodology has resulted in a

final product which can be shared with the broader society to educate and further share the nuanced, complex narratives of Coloured identity.

The booklets, short-form documentaries, and the hand-bound book, *Coloured Conversations* (2024), provided spaces for participants and the viewers of the book to reflect on their lived experiences of Coloured identity and Colouredness and for the participants to share their narratives in ways that disrupted dominant discourses around Coloured identity. *Coloured Conversations* (2024) emphasised the fluid, interconnected nature of Coloured identity alongside new forms of understanding Coloured identity and Colouredness.

Coloured Conversations (2024) is a metaphor for Coloured identity and Colouredness, especially the cloth that covers the hand-bound book. The cloth used to cover the book is made up of different shapes, shades and patterns of brown that come together to form a complex, interactive, yet cohesive design that continues to evolve and be moulded and shaped by each Coloured individual and each Coloured community.

In the same way that Coloured identity and Colouredness in South Africa and within the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’ combine different elements of identity that all create a unique identity and form of Colouredness, the cloth reflects the diversity in Coloured identity and Colouredness and emphasises that Coloured identity and Colouredness is not a singular linear narrative. Instead, it is a range of experiences resulting in a unique, lived experience of Colouredness.

In conclusion, this practised-based research has amplified the experiences of Colouredness and Coloured identity within the ‘Makhanda Coloured community’ through the three research participants. This amplification of Colouredness has been done by offering a more inclusive and nuanced understanding of Coloured identity and Colouredness in South Africa. Through exploring and discussing the history of Coloured identity, the locative nature of Coloured identity, the residual effects of Apartheid and colonialism and the complexities of Coloured identity. This practised-based research has shown that Coloured identity and Colouredness in South Africa are dynamic, nuanced and complex.

This practised-based research invites further discussion and exploration around the intersectionality of identity and belonging within the 'Makhanda Coloured community'. As reflected in the cloth that binds *Coloured Conversations* (2024), Coloured identity and Colouredness in South Africa is a complex identity of lived experiences that are intricate and continue to evolve and be moulded and shaped by each Coloured individual and each Coloured community in South Africa.

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Appendix A

Dear potential research participant

I appreciate your interest in my Master's degree research. This document will explain the project and how I hope you will be able to contribute to it. My thesis/project is titled: "Not Coloured Enough": Using documentary to make sense of the discursive construction of 'Colouredness' in Makhanda. The proposed research has been through Rhodes University's ethics approval process, and the ethics approval number is 2022-5052-6720.

The project will focus on two things: firstly, it will explore what precisely Coloured identity/Coloured culture is and in doing so, it will provide some insight into what it means when a person from Makhanda says "I am Coloured." This includes how one must behave, speak and exist in the space in order to be classified as Coloured. Secondly, the project will explore if there is anything unique about Coloured identity/Coloured Culture in the Eastern Cape.

The project will be conducted in four stages:

Stage one - photograph a week in your life:

- I will ask you to take pictures of things you consider essential to your Coloured identity. If you have a specific item, space or person within your home, work or living environment that you think represents Coloured people and culture, take a picture of it. These can be pictures from any area you have access to and would like to be included in the research.
- I can give you a disposable/digital point and shoot camera to take pictures with; once you have taken the photos, I will develop/print them and return them to you. An alternative would be taking pictures with your smartphone/cell phone; you can then send them to me via email at s.carolus@ru.ac.za, and I will have them developed/printed for you.

Stage two - make a scrapbook about your life at home, at work, and in your community.

- This stage is an extension of the first stage. I will give you some paper and the photos you requested to be printed as material for writing, designing and drawing your daily experiences of living in Makhanda.
- You will be provided 12 blank pages for you to use as a kind of scrapbook in which you can use words and pictures you have taken, drawings, or anything that you feel best express things that are important to you in your home, family, community or even your work, etc.
- Fill the pages with information and experiences about being a Coloured person in Makhanda.

Stage Three - take some short videos of daily life.

- I will ask you to film five different short snippets of your daily life over two weeks that you think are unique to what it means to be Coloured.
- I can provide you with a GoPro camera to take videos, alternatively you can create short videos with your smartphone/cell phone.
- The videos can be of any length between 10 seconds and 2 minutes.

Stage Four - interviews

- The last stage, I would like to interview you in two settings, with my camera equipment or cell phone:
 - The first is in your home, where we can talk specifically about objects, spaces and people that you have mentioned in the photos, book and video. I will follow you as you show these objects and explain things to me and the camera.
 - The second setting will be an in-studio filmed interview where we discuss all of these things you have created on camera, and we can talk specifically about any of the things that have been presented in your snippets, photos, and scrapbook that you feel are unique to being Coloured. If you are comfortable, we can also chat about things you have experienced, because you are Coloured.

What will I do with all of this material?

The material you have created and shared with me will be edited with your input into a short documentary and put up with other similar documentaries on a website I will make. This will all be used for my Master's degree research, in which I am trying to understand a little more about Coloured identities in the Eastern Cape.

How long will this take?

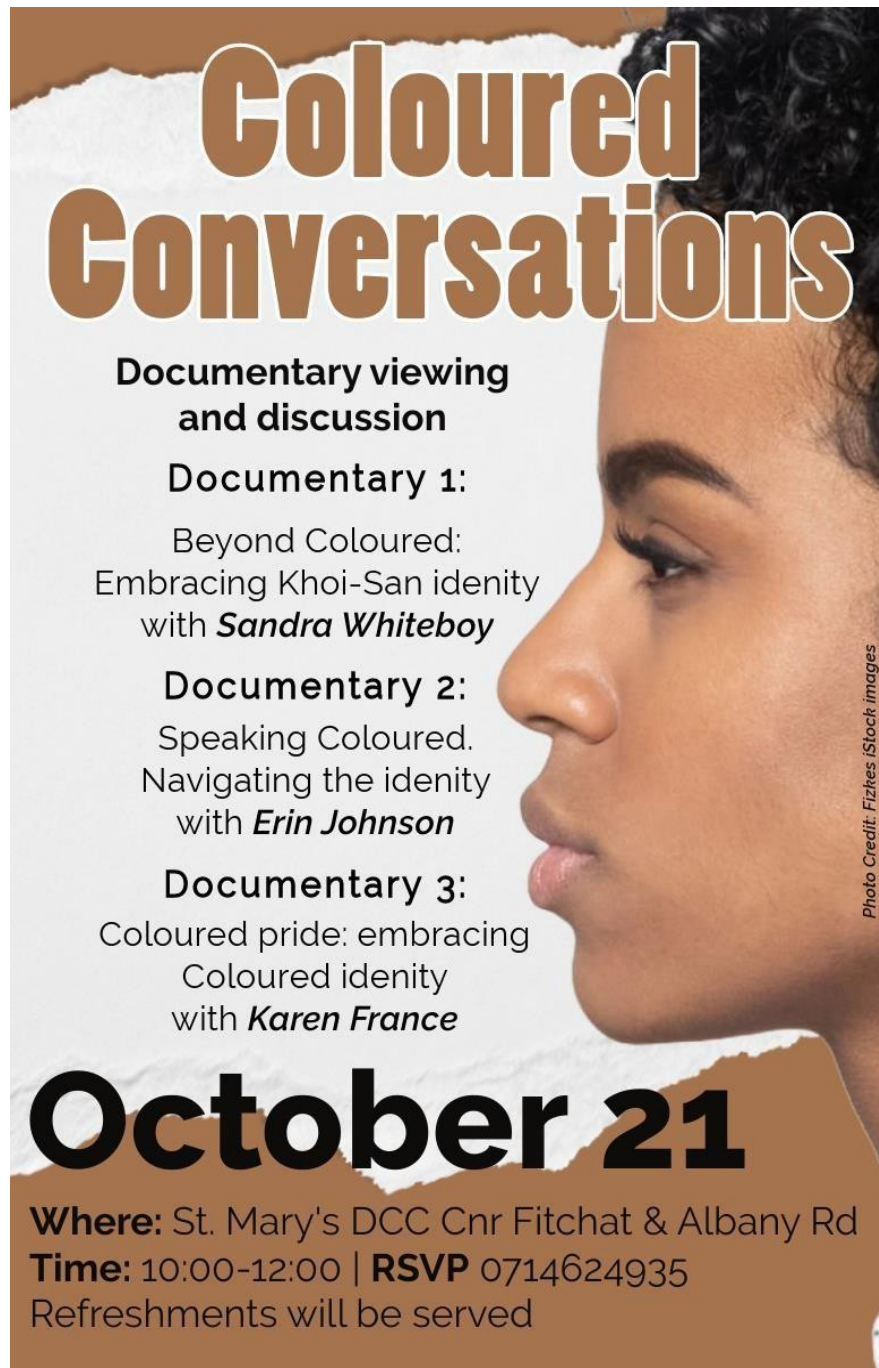
Completing all the stages of the project can take about four weeks, giving each stage a week. But this can be spread over two months or compressed into two weeks. Please discuss this period with me. We can commence the project anytime in August, September or October 2022. If you agree to participate in this project, it doesn't mean that you have to go through all the stages. You are welcome to withdraw from this project at any time. If you have any questions or concerns, please share them with me, and we can discuss them.

If you have any questions, please feel free to email me at s.carolus@ru.ac.za or send a WhatsApp or SMS to 0714624935.

Warm regards

Samantha Carolus

Appendix B



Coloured Conversations

Documentary viewing and discussion

Documentary 1:
Beyond Coloured:
Embracing Khoi-San identity
with *Sandra Whiteboy*

Documentary 2:
Speaking Coloured.
Navigating the identity
with *Erin Johnson*

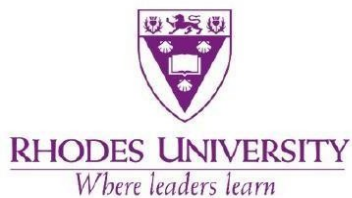
Documentary 3:
Coloured pride: embracing
Coloured identity
with *Karen France*

October 21

Where: St. Mary's DCC Cnr Fitchat & Albany Rd
Time: 10:00-12:00 | **RSVP** 0714624935
Refreshments will be served

Photo Credit: Fizes iStock images

Appendix C



Rhodes University Human Research Ethics Committee
PO Box 94, Makhanda, 6140, South Africa
t: +27 (0) 46 603 7727
f: +27 (0) 46 603 8822
e: ethics-committee@ru.ac.za
NHREC Registration number: RC-241114-045

<https://www.ru.ac.za/researchgateway/ethics/>

9 May 2022

Samantha Carolus

Email: g16c0961@campus.ru.ac.za

Review Reference: 2022-5052-6720

Dear Ms CAROLUS

Title: Not Coloured enough? Using documentary as a way of making sense of the discursive construction of 'Colouredness' in Makhanda

Researcher: Ms Samantha Carolus

Supervisor: Mr Brian Garman,

This letter confirms that the above research proposal has been reviewed and **APPROVED** by the Rhodes University Human Research Ethics Committee (RU-HREC). Your Approval number is: 2022-5052-6720.

I trust that the responsibility of the "fixer" in relation to the requirements of the research has been well considered to provide a level of objectivity in the identification and diversity of the potential participants.

Approval has been granted for 1 year. An annual progress report will be required in order to renew approval for an additional period. You will receive an email notifying you when the annual report is due.

Please ensure that the ethical standards committee is notified should any substantive change(s) be made, for whatever reason, during the research process. This includes changes in investigators. Please also ensure that a brief report is submitted to the ethics committee on the completion of the research. The purpose of this report is to indicate whether the research was conducted successfully, if any aspects could not be completed, or if any problems arose that the ethical standards committee should be aware of. If a thesis or dissertation arising from this research is submitted to the library's electronic theses and dissertations (ETD) repository, please notify the committee of the date of submission and/or any reference or cataloguing number allocated.

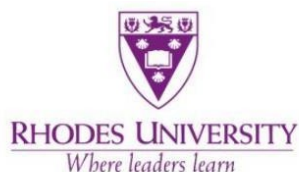
Sincerely,



Prof Arthur Webb

Chair: Rhodes University Human Research Ethics Committee, RU-HREC

cc: Ms Danielle de Vos - Ethics Coordinator



Rhodes University Human Research Ethics Committee
PO Box 94, Makhanda, 6140, South Africa
t: +27 (0) 46 603 7727
f: +27 (0) 46 603 8822
e: ethics-committee@ru.ac.za

<https://www.ru.ac.za/researchgateway/ethics/>

25 May 2023

Miss Sam CAROLUS

Email: g16c0961@campus.ru.ac.za

Review Reference: 2023-5052-7663

Dear Miss Sam CAROLUS

Re: Human ethics renewal application: Not Coloured enough? Using documentary as a way of making sense of the discursive construction of 'Colouredness' in Makhanda

Researcher: Miss Sam CAROLUS

Supervisors: Mr Brian Brian Garman ,

This letter confirms that the above Annual Report has been reviewed and **APPROVED** by the Rhodes University Human Research Ethics Committee (RU-HREC). Your Approval number is: 2023-5052-7663

Approval has been granted for 1 year. An annual progress report will be required in order to renew approval for an additional period.

Please ensure that the Human Research Ethics Committee is notified should any substantive change(s) be made, for whatever reason, during the research process. This includes changes in investigators. Please also ensure that a brief report is submitted to the ethics committee on the completion of the research. The purpose of this report is to indicate whether the research was conducted successfully, if any aspects could not be completed, or if any problems arose that the Human Research Ethics Committee should be aware of. If a thesis or dissertation arising from this research is submitted to the library's electronic theses and dissertations (ETD) repository, please notify the committee of the date of submission and/or any reference or cataloguing number allocated.

Sincerely,

Dr Janet Hayward

Chair: Rhodes University Human Research Ethics Committee, RU-HREC

cc: Ethics Coordinator

Appendix D

Documentary Transcriptions

Research participant Karen France

Documentary: Documentary title: Coloured Pride: embracing Coloured Identity

Timestamp	Speaker	Voice over
00;00;02;11 - 00;00;21;25	Karen France	And then they got the language my bru and aweh, the main work is aweh. When you see your friend, aweh in the street and what and that's how they greet each other aweh and howzit. Coloured people, it's not as bad. As people think about just drinking and stuff. Coloured people is actually very nice people. You must just learn.
		Question: who are you?
00;00;21;25 - 00;00;57;14	Karen France	I am Karen France; I am 36-years old. I am from the Coloured community in Makhanda, and I really love my how can I say my Coloured people. I am Coloured, so I love what Coloured people do; I love what I do. It's my birthright. I'm born a Coloured, and I'm used to doing Coloured things from a small age up to now. I went to Coloured schools, Coloured religion and Coloured churches. So yeah, I think it's my birthright, for me being a Coloured, I like being a Coloured.
		Question: How do you recognise a Coloured person?
00;00;57;14 - 00;01;58;00	Karen France	There is different types of Coloured that you get, like my

		<p>child is light skin in Colour and I am dark skin in colour. He's got a different hair type, I've got a different hair type. My hair is like my mother's hair. He's got his father's hair, you see. So it is my child. But I don't know, how can I say it is the bloodline or what? But he's got more of his father's features. I have more of my mother's features. Some of our hair it's not like most, I won't say most, but few of the Coloured people have that kroes hare, like they say pitte koppe, or whatever. And some have gladde hare. That's how people recognise us, by our skin colour and by our hair, And by the way, we speak. For me, it's like that and the way we do things because Coloured people have a different way of doing things than other races.</p>
00;01;58;00 - 00;01;58;23		<p>Question: What is the most important thing about being Coloured to you?</p>
00;01;58;23 - 00;02;13;28	Karen France	<p>Coloured people like to spend time together on the weekends. They really are close and they really do have a close connection with each other. So, family is very important, and we are a very close family.</p>
00;02;13;28 - 00;02;21;01	Karen France	<p>I grew up like a Coloured, like normal, speak Afrikaans, go to Coloured schools.</p>
00;02;21;01 - 00;02;33;27	Karen France	<p>So yeah, I will say going to church is a big thing for us. Yeah, religion is quite very</p>

		important to us. You see, I went to a school called St Mary's my son is there now.
00;02;33;27 - 00;02;47;10	Chad Williams	My name is Chad, Chad Williams, and I like to go by St Mary's School. And my favourite game is Robbery Bob.
00;02;47;10 - 00;03;20;06	Karen France	So, in the Coloured religion, it's it's quite a big thing going to church for our religion because there you can go from a small age, get baptised, get confirmed, everything. So when you are baptised, you get confirmed, then one day when you get married, say, out of the same church, one day when you pass on out of the same church. So, religion is very important to us. We have church services on Tuesday nights and also on Sundays.
00;03;20;22 - 00;03;34;04	Karen France	This is my bible, next to my bed. And this is what I do every night before I go to bed, and when these things fall, my child says, you let Jesus fall on the floor.
00;03;34;04 - 00;03;39;27		Question: How has your Coloured community supported you?
00;03;39;27 - 00;03;57;19	Karen France	And they also give Bible studies. When your child is about nine years old, when he gets ten, he must start going to class. Sunday school, they teach them and yeah.
00;03;57;19 - 00;04;45;07	Karen France	The First Holy Communion and stuff. And there are also rules at

		<p>the church. Because when I was pregnant and for a long time, I didn't go to church, so the pastor said he's gonna like how can I say, straf (punish) hy gaan my straf. So ek kan nie daar voor gaan staan met my kind nie (I can't stand in the front of the church with my child) when the child gets baptised. I must get people who are my family who can stand as, how can I say? Peetma (godmother), Peetpa (godfather), you know what I mean. And I said, is this going to stand in the way of baptising my child? And he said, no, it's not going to stand in the way. He can't stand in the way of a child. Then he gave us a date, and I had to get the god parents. Godparents to church, we, me and father sitting the in the chairs. And they stand in front of my child. And that is just how things are at that church.</p>
00;04;45;07 - 00;04;50;22		<p>Question: What are some other common practices In your Coloured community?</p>

00;04;50;22 - 00;05;32;11	Karen France	So obviously, when there's a fire. There must be a glass also, so when Coloured people have a braai, they always buy alcohol just to make it nice and fun so people can have fun. But it always ends up in a fight sometimes. Because you know what? People don't enjoy their drinks; they abuse, their drink like, you just have a drink to sit nice and chill, but others want to drink to get drunk and just. Yeah, like most of the Coloured guys, they can't control their drink. I won't even say guys; girls also don't drink to have fun. They drink, to... but usually, yes, every weekend. That is what they do on weekends.
00;05;32;21 - 00;05;49;29	Karen France	Mothers are left by the children's father, while the children are still in the tummy. I don't know why they do it. Because they know you are pregnant with the child, but they leave you. So I don't know why. Maybe it's a Coloured thing because there are lots of single mothers raising their children here in the Coloured community.
00;05;49;29 - 00;05;52;14		Question: What is your experience of some of your Coloured traditions?
00;05;52;14 - 00;06;44;19	Karen France	Coloured people go big on Christmas, and on Easter, it is our pickle fish. Sunday lunches and Christmas lunches for us

		<p>Coloureds that's important. 12:00 or 1:00 that is our lunch time. And when there is no food at 12:00 or 1:00. Everybody is angry because they used to eat at 12:00, or 1:00 at the latest. It's like we come from church. And then before we go, we prepare everything. So when we come, it's just like, take off your shoes, relax and then you dish up. And it's not like the normal plate that we eat during the week, we will make our roast. We will make curry and some salad just to make it special. On a Sunday, you must eat something you like, not like the normal during the week which is rice and curry or a stew with bread or whatever. But on a Sunday, we go like seven colours, as they say.</p>
00;06;44;19 - 00;07;11;16	Karen France	<p>People play bingo on a Sunday just to stay busy. Staying away from the taverns and the drinking and stuff, and some people on a Sunday make koeksisters and we sell it and do this and this. And even now, the Easter thing, okay I also don't think other people do it, but for our Coloureds, it's a thing we must do.</p>
00;07;11;16 - 00;07;31;27	Karen France	<p>Yeah. Coloured people is like, yoh. Especially when I come to the guys, they actually I would say, from my point of view they are very expensive—'Cos they like to wear name brand stuff. 'Cos I see by my brother, there</p>

		is nothing in his cupboard that doesn't have a name on it. It is just name-brand stuff.
00;07;31;27 - 00;07;52;06	Karen France	Even his car. He had a nice grey car, you can ask my child when that car goes up Albany Road. Then they say, here comes. I don't know what they call it. They call that car because it has that double pipe by the back. I don't know. It's like that vroom vroom when it goes up Albany Road. That is how Coloured boys are.
00;07;52;06 - 00;08;25;17	Karen France	Usually on Boxing Day, we go to the beach or also on the last day of the year, and we buy fireworks for the children. And then we will go because Grahamstown does not have a beach. So we go maybe go to Alexandria or we go to Port Alfred or Fish Point. But Fish Point that is a Coloured place. You should go there on Christmas. Everybody you see in Grahamstown, it's like you're at home again. When you enter, it's just Coloured tents. It's like it's their home, and everybody goes there.
00;08;25;17 - 00;08;25;20		Question: What is your experience of your Family relationships?
00;08;25;20 - 00;09;21;25	Karen France	Like I said, we are a family of five a small family. Family of five, a small family like close family in the house. I am not talking about extended, cousins, aunties, whatever. That is my

		<p>mother, my father, me and my two brothers, we were so very small. So yeah, my mother and father passed away, so this is us when we were small. I have another photo here of me and my two brothers when we were very small also. Okay. This is my eldest brother, and this is my father and oldest brother. mMeand the eldest brother. And this is my father here. As you can see, he was working at Dupli-print he was a printer; he was Printing newspapers. So we lost him in 2009.</p>
00;09;23;29 - 00;09;58;11	Karen France	<p>Both my brothers married out, and then I was the only one. Now, like it is, it's quite a surprise. Both them were married, but at the end of the day, we were still together. Both me and my brothers are living in the same house I'm like, who would have thought? From ... now as big as we are, living in the same house. What is the meaning of that because growing up in the same house now that we are big we are still so close. Like so close are we, as Coloured people.</p>
00;09;58;11 - 00;10;05;17	Karen France	<p>Yeah, but at the end of the day we all are Coloureds, you see. For me being a Coloured – it is my birthright.</p>

Appendix E

Documentary Transcriptions

Research participant: Sandra Whiteboy

Documentary: Beyond Coloured: Embracing Khoi-San Identity

Timestamp	Speaker	Voice over
00:00:00:00 - 00:01:17:00	Sandra Whiteboy	<p>This is a man. And this is me with the shorts on. I had met this man in the street. He would always tell me he is a Coloured. Then I asked him, why does he say he is Coloured? And then he said, no Aunty Kunu I am not a Coloured I am a Khoi-san.</p> <p>He had always seen me with my necklace and headpiece on and one day he asked me “Aunty Kunu, what is these things that you are wearing?” I told him I am a Khoi-San. He replied that he wanted to know more. One day I told him all about the Khoi-Sans, what we do and who we are. And who he is. He is a Khoi-san. He must ask his mother who he is.</p>
00:01:17:00 - 00:01:17:17		Question: who are you?
00:01:17:17 - 00:01:43:12	Sandra Whiteboy	I am Sandra Eileen Whiteboy, and my nickname is Kunu. I am a Khoi-San. I am a resident of Makhanda and I live in number 2, 9th Avenue in Hooggenoeg. That’s where we are now where we are now
00:01:43:12 - 00:01:44:04		Question: What is your experience of being Coloured?
00:01:44:04 - 00:01:52:00	Sandra Whiteboy	At first, I didn’t know I was a Khoi. I had always wondered why am I had always wondered why am I
00:01:52:00 - 00:03:30:00	Sandra Whiteboy	The White man like I have said, had robbed us of our culture. They took our culture and then gave us
		surnames. I am a Whiteboy. Where do you get a Khoi-San person with the surname Whiteboy? The Khoi-San are

		<p>the first nation and the first people on this land The land belonged to us. Our surnames do not belong to us, our surnames were given to us by the White man. Whiteboy, Janse van Rensburg and where do you get a Coloured person with the surname Welgemoet. It makes me think that the White man made up our surnames. In the case of the surname Welgemoet, he probably thought how I have met this person and it was nice to meet them so I will give them, the surname Welgemoet. In our family, we have some people who present as White people. We have white women and white men, in our family. So the White man saw this and then decided to call us the Whiteboys. That is what I think their decision was. Jan van Rensburg was an old White family surname who were around a very long time ago, far back in history. They then decided okay I will just give this name to these people. Do you understand that there was no reasoning behind them giving us surnames? We were not born with surnames. Before we had surnames we would simply shout and call each other's names and we would respond. That's what our ancestors used to do.</p>
00:03:30:00 - 00:03:30:21		<p>Question: How do you embrace your Khoi-San culture?</p>
00:03:30:21 - 00:04:24:21	Sandra Whiteboy	<p>When we go through the !Nau. The !Nau means to prove, that you are now a Khoi. You receive your coals, your hot coals, that you will walk over. The coals you walk on are to prove, you now belong to the Khoi. Then you receive the aloe, that you drink; the aloe represents the bitter years that you went through as a Coloured when you forgot you were a Khoi. Then you drink honey, which represents the sweet days, that lie ahead of you as a Khoi-San. Then you get your feet washed. In the same way, that in the old days, God/Jesus would wash the feet of his followers. The chief washes your feet.</p>

00:04:24:21 - 00:04:51:00	Sandra Whiteboy	This is my man's head gear and this is
		my headgear. The reason why my children don't have headgear is because they have not gone through the !Nau. They can wear their chest gear but they can only wear the headgear once they have gone through the !Nau.
00:04:51:00 - 00:06:38:03	Sandra Whiteboy	In a meeting where our chief and paramount chief are going to be present then we need to wear our traditional clothing. We will put on our chest gear and our tiger print clothing, along with our headgear and the necklace. Wearing these items is a sign of respect to our chief and paramount chief as well as the king and queen. When they see us wearing them they know that we respect them and their position. This tooth on our necklace represents the fact that Khoi-San hunt and it shows that we eat meat which comes from the bush. We go into the bush and the wild and we hunt. These beads are made from the seeds of a tree, which we sun-dry and then paint and decorate to put onto the necklace.
00:06:38:03 - 00:06:42:08	Sandra Whiteboy	Here I am praying with my grandchild, because she had pimples on her face. We are praying because we don't believe in doctors. I called her, we got our medicine and her head gear as well as, my head gear. We put them on and we prayed. We asked the ancestors to help us. Three days later the pimples were gone. We believe that medicine from the bush helps the Khoi-San.
00:06:42:08 - 00:06:44:08		Question: Are Coloured and Khoi-San the same thing?
00:06:44:08 - 00:07:12:14	Sandra Whiteboy	If you think you are a Coloured. You are not a Coloured, you belong to the Khoi-San group. If you look back in history to your ancestors, your eyes will open to the truth. If you look back in history and do what the Khoi-San have done and what your ancestors have done, your eyes will open to the truth. The reasons, I think that the reason why we thought we

		were Coloureds was because of the abuse and suffering we received from the White Man.
00:07:12:14 - 00:07:24:23	Sandra Whiteboy	I Sandra Eileen Whiteboy, known as Kunu I am not a Coloured, I am a Khoi-San and I support and believe in the Khoi-San.

Appendix F

Documentary Transcriptions

Research participant: Erin Johnson

Documentary title: Speaking Coloured. Navigating the identity.

Timestamp	Speaker	Voice over
00;00;00;00 - 00;00;15;16 -	Erin Johnson	You might start to think maybe I am not Coloured enough or Am I too Coloured? And I think where I fall in that, you know, the hierarchy of being Coloured. I think that I fall into the category of not feeling Coloured enough, or Am I too Coloured? And I think where I fall in that, you know, the hierarchy of being Coloured. I think that I fall into the category of not feeling Coloured enough.
00;00;15;16 - 00;00;29;04	Erin Johnson	especially living here in Grahamstown. I never felt Coloured enough. especially living here in Grahamstown. I never felt Coloured enough.
00;00;29;04 - 00;00;30;05 -		Question asked: Who are you?
00;00;30;05 - 00;00;41;00	Erin Johnson	My name is Erin Johnson, and I am A third- year Rhodes University student. I am a very proud Coloured woman. When I go and fill out government forms, I proudly tick Coloured. You know, the box is ticked Coloured.
00;00;41;00 - 00;00;41;30		Question: what is your experience of being Coloured
00;00;41;30 - 00;00;49;17	Erin Johnson	But he said I thought you were Coloured And I said, but I am Coloured. Then he said, but you don't speak Afrikaans and I said I am not from here. And Then he was like, are you Coloured?

00;00;49;17 - 00;01;08;06	Erin Johnson	I said I am not from here. And Then he was like, are you Coloured? I said yeah. I'm not from a place. that speaks Afrikaans. I'm just not from Grahamstown. I'm not from a place. that speaks Afrikaans. And then he was like oh, okay were Where are you from? And I'm like no, I am from Durban. And then he is like, you seriously don't speak Afrikaans? And I said no.
00;01;08;06 - 00;01;17;13	Erin Johnson	And then he said are you sure you are Coloured? And I'm like, yes, it's on my birth certificate, it's I'm my ID I'm Coloured.
00;01;17;13 - 00;01;31;29	Erin Johnson	And then he was and at that moment, I realized, like you. There is this assumption of, You know, this type of Coloured person speaks Afrikaans. And this is a Coloured person, that is a real Coloured.
00;01;31;29 - 00;01;40;29	Erin Johnson	In order to be accepted as a Coloured person in Grahamstown Makhanda, you have to speak Afrikaans. That is what I have learnt. Yeah.
00;01;40;29 - 00;01;54;26	Erin Johnson	So for people to assume that Coloureds are this way or Coloureds are that way, you know, be very, we seem very loud and it's always like the stereotype thing. People from other races will stereotype us. People from our races will stereotype us.
00;01;54;26 - 00;02;46;26	Erin Johnson	And I think then it always brings me back to a story. When I just started high school, I was in private school in grade eight And I come from a primary school. Where I was among Coloured people. A lot of people of colour. And when I got to the private school in grade eight, I was in the minority. One day I decided to laugh a little, a little louder in the corridor, one of the other girls one of the black girls in the school, was like, "Erin, this is not Wentworth!" And I was like and I was taken aback because First of

		all, I'm even from Wentworth. And secondly, it was When she heard me laugh loudly. She associated me with someone from Wentwort
00;02;46;26 - 00;03;01;10	Erin Johnson	So Wentworth is an area in Durban Where it's predominantly a Coloured area..There's a lot of gang violence, a lot of gangsterism and People are generally known.o be loud or raw and large families come from there.
00;03;01;10 - 00;04;14;08	Erin Johnson	It was a really bad picture. And then in the second half of the year I think from that moment I was like, nah, I need to straighten my hair all the time. And I think the second half of the year, In those pictures, I had straight hair in that picture and I look, I think I look perfect, you know.
00;04;14;08 - 00;04;31;28	Erin Johnson	So it's a thing in the Coloured community. to have a certain type of hair like it is, to speak a certain type of way. So in the Coloured community, because we are so diverse, I think what is happening is that people are trying to narrow it down into what it should be, Instead of what it is.
0;04;31;28 - 00;04;46;05	Erin Johnson	To be accepted by society. by South-Africans that we needed to look a certain way. So I think to be accepted maybe by White people, I think what we needed to do. Was straightened our hair.
00;04;46;05 - 00;04;53;19		Question: What has your University work shown you about being Coloured?
00;04;53;19 - 00;04;46;05	Erin Johnson	Grahamstown and Durban are Coloured people and very different So it made me. very inquisitive about my culture, inquisitive about other Coloured cultures, and it made me wonder, okay, Where are these Coloured people from? Why?
00;04;46;05 - 00;04;46;05	Erin Johnson	Why do they speak of Afrikaans? And why don't I speak Afrikaans type of thing? And one of the things that I think joined us all together in Colouredness throughout the country is the fact that we have similar patterns. We decorate our

		house the same. We decorate our house very similarly.
00;04;46;05 - 00;04;46;05	Erin Johnson	Over all the years that she has travelled. And then here you can see that those are all the medals of her grandchildren's, which are from ballroom and Latin. It's very big in Grahamstown, so they've been practising for years and they are almost, oh, they are championship dancers. And then in the same cabinet, She has trophies and she said that. Her great-great-grandmother had given it to her and it's still standing and it's very heavy. So she tries not to move it a lot.

00;04;46;05 -00;08;06;27	Erin Johnson	<p>This is another cabinet from my house That I went to and he keeps a lot of certificates and photos of his family and his children And nieces and nephews. And here you can see there's a teapot we, you know, we use it for special Sundays like Easter religious ceremonies r when people come over. There are bowls that we are not allowed to use during the week, only on certain special days. For desserts and special Sundays.And then, here. Oh, she said that she has lots of siblings. She had almost ten siblings. And this is her father from when he was in World War II. And she says that all her siblings have a picture of her father. When you walk into the houses, the house is always covered in pictures of children and their families. And this house is no different. And here in this picture, we can see that this cabinet is packed with trophies and frames. This is another house I went to this cupboard where he keeps all these glasses And in the drawers he keeps silverware. And then you told me that here they are. It's a very old cat. It's been here since his parents were here, and it's a bit broken. But he told me that even when the sun comes out, the cat changes colour. So it gets like this bluish colour and then when it's gloomy, it just kind of goes back to that colour, which is like this orangish gold, colour.</p> <p>comes out, the cat changes colour. So it gets like this bluish colour and then when it's gloomy, it just kind of goes back to that colour, which is like this orangish gold, col</p>
00;08;06;27 - 00;08;07;14		So it gets like this bluish colour and then when it's gloomy, it just kind of goes

		back to that colour, which is like this orangish gold, colour.
00;08;07;14 - 00;08;30;05	Erin Johnson	So here we can see in this cabinet that there are significant days like the first Holy Communion, weddings, confirmations, birthdays and family gatherings. Then she puts it all on display. There are pictures of her grandchildren, pictures of different family members that she has on display here at this house.
00;08;30;05 - 00;08;51;10	Erin Johnson	It was an Afrikaans lady that I went to and she had like a lot of beautiful ornaments, just matching ornaments, just things that, you know, no one touches, but just there on display. And you can see her jug collection at the top. This is a very similar pattern for all of us Coloureds to have in our house.
00;08;51;10 - 00;09;16;00	Erin Johnson	And then in this cabinet, we can see that it's a little more modern and the owner has opened it up. He told me that he opened up his record player and he connected it to his TV. So it's like that one uncle. We always know that always fixing things But the other very important thing is the dogs that everyone's granny has. These dogs, even like me, are the dogs in our house.
00;09;16;00 - 00;09;16;15		Question: How do you navigate being Coloured today?
00;09;16;15 - 00;10;06;20	Erin Johnson	So you know we are all raised very differently. And especially when I was going through the thing of why don't I speak Afrikaans? Why, why am I monolingual? Why do I only speak English? You know, I asked my dad because my dad speaks different languages as well. My dad's speaks Zulu. My dad can speak Afrikaans
		if he wants to, but he doesn't. But he's very fluent in Zulu and English. So I asked him like, Why didn't you teach me other languages? Why don't they teach me

		<p>Afrikaans? Knowing that most Coloured people speak Afrikaans? And his answer to me was just he wanted us to be able to progress in life. He wanted us to have other opportunities to be able to go overseas. And speaking English is just that way of trying to maybe get a head start.</p>
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00;10;06;20 - 00;11;26;24	Erin Johnson	<p>I think you know, when you dress a certain way, you dress smarter, you straighten your hair a bit more. Those are the types of things that will maybe see us as not being like that type of Coloured, you know, having our hair wild or speaking Afrikaans or being a stereotypical Coloured. I think that's what we were trying to come from. And, you know, especially I think all of us do it as, Coloured people, you know, trying to see ourselves in to be taken seriously. We want to be seen as a maybe Whiter version of ourselves. We always straighten our hair, we dress a bit smarter, and we speak in a better accent. So I think in that sense, that's what they were trying to do. And that's what he explained to me. So I think there's like this differentiation between being this type of Coloured and just rather being a more timid version of yourself. And I mean it shouldn't be like that, but that's the way it is. To progress in life, this is we have to, you know, limit ourselves a bit more than the average person would because, you know. When you look at things like BEE, you know, they will hire black people first and then maybe they'll skip over Coloured people because they assumed That we're going to be this way.</p>
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00;11;26;24- 00;11;57;06	Erin Johnson	You shouldn't feel like you need to fit into one box in order to deem yourself as a Coloured person. You should be able to explore everywhere and be who you wanna be: a Coloured with straight hair, a Coloured with this type of accent, or that type of accent you know. There is no one box that you need to fit into and I think that is the most unique thing about us.
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Appendix G

Images of Coloured Conversations (2024)



Figure 1 Front Covers closed onto each other: Coloured Conversations (2024) by Samantha Carolus, Makhanda 2025



Figure 2 Outer Spine of Coloured Conversations (2024) by Samantha Carolus, Makhanda 2025.



Figure 3 Spine of Research Participants Booklet Section and Side View of Academic Thesis of Coloured Conversations (2024) by Samantha Carolus, Makhanda 2025.

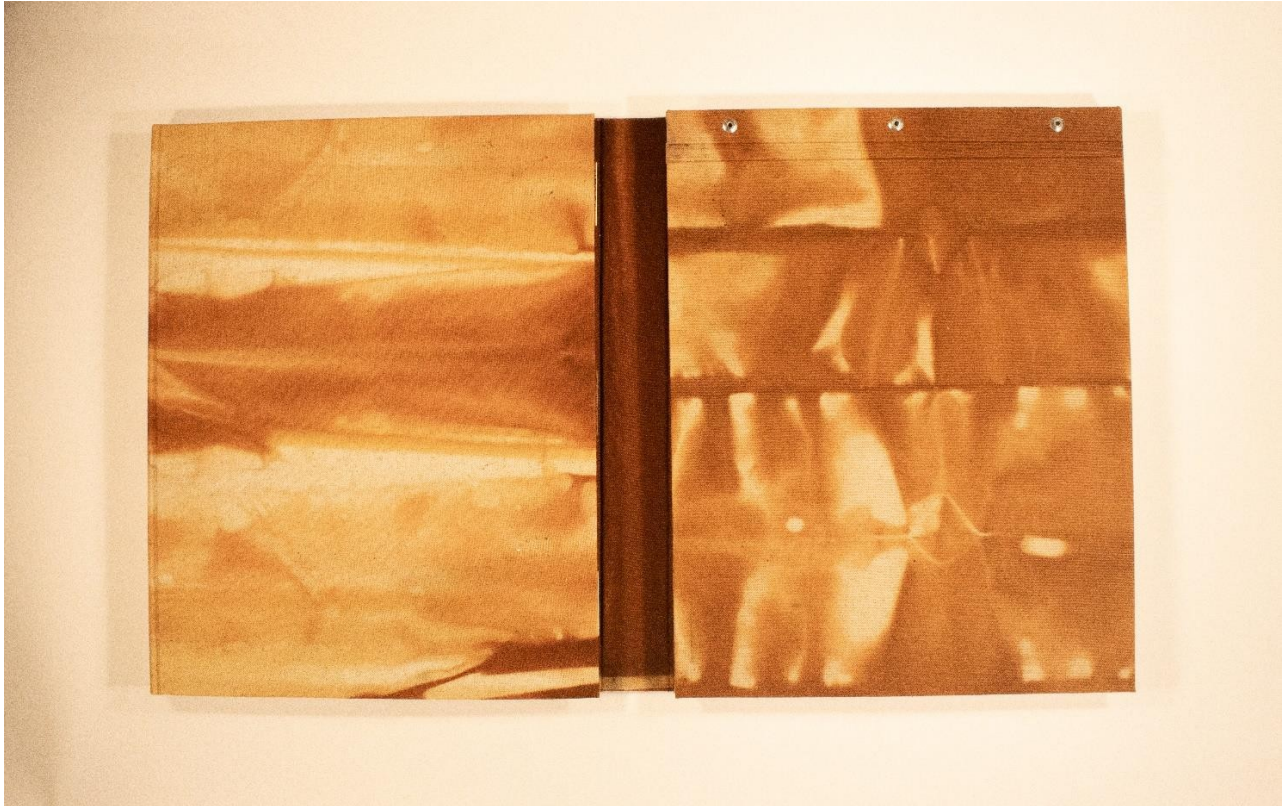


Figure 4 Coloured Conversations (2024) Opened to Reveal the Two Sections (research participants booklets on the left hand side and the academic thesis on the right hand side) Blending the Research Participants Section and the Academic Thesis Section by Samantha Carolus, Makhanda 2025.



Figure 5 Research Participants Booklet Section Cover and Academic Thesis Section Propped Up by Black Coloured Figurine of Coloured Conversations (2024) by Samantha Carolus, Makhanda 2025.



Figure 6 Research Participants Booklet Section Cover Section Propped Up by Figurine and Academic Thesis laying down flat all bound together in Coloured Conversations (2024) by Samantha Carolus, Makhanda 2025.

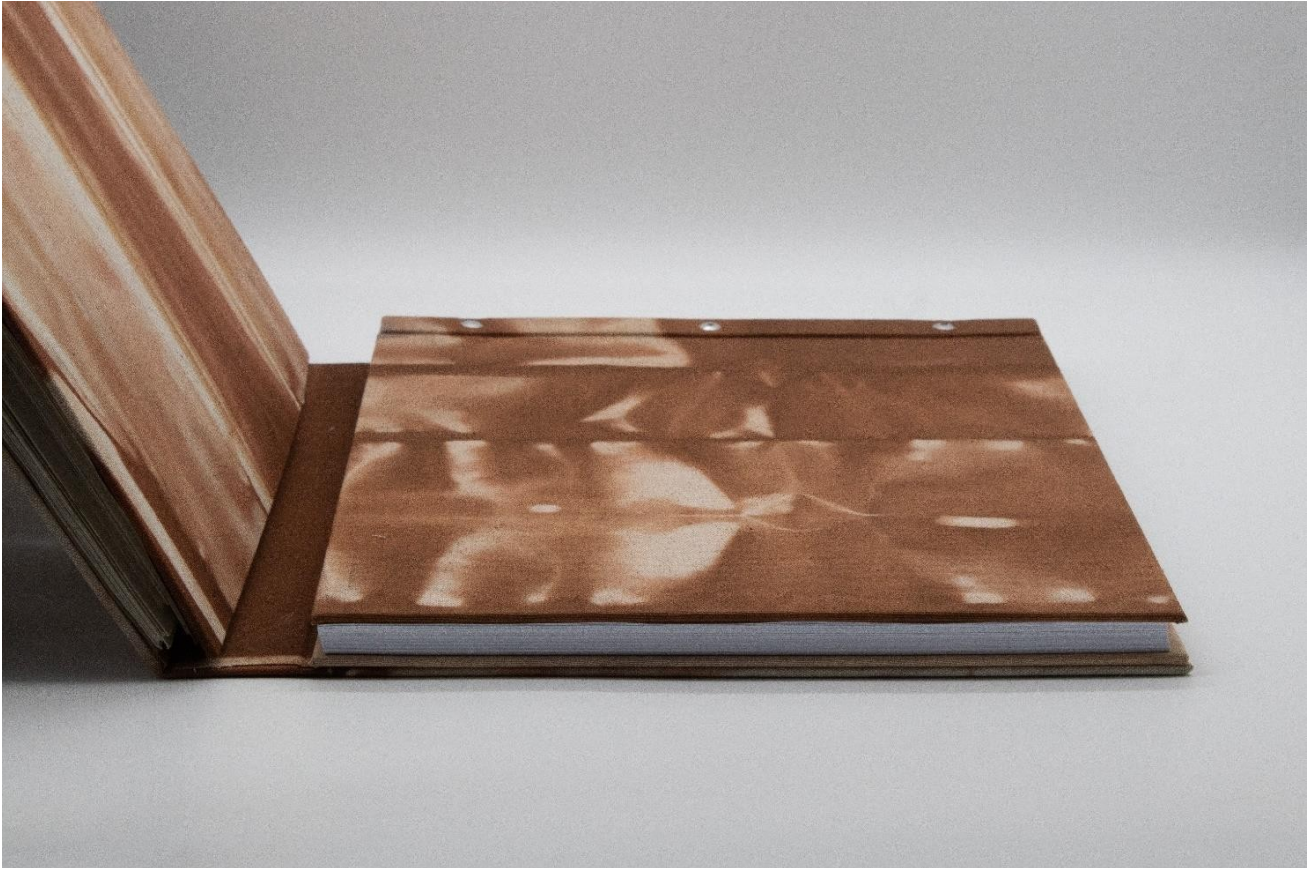


Figure 7 Academic Thesis Cover of Handbound Book Coloured Conversations (2024) by Samantha Carolus, Makhanda 2025.



Figure 8 Coloured Conversations (2024) Book Standing Upright, Open, Viewing Both Covers of the Two Sections by Samantha Carolus (2025)



Figure 9 Aerial View of Academic Thesis Cover of Handbound Book Coloured Conversations (2024) by Samantha Carolus, Makhanda 2025.

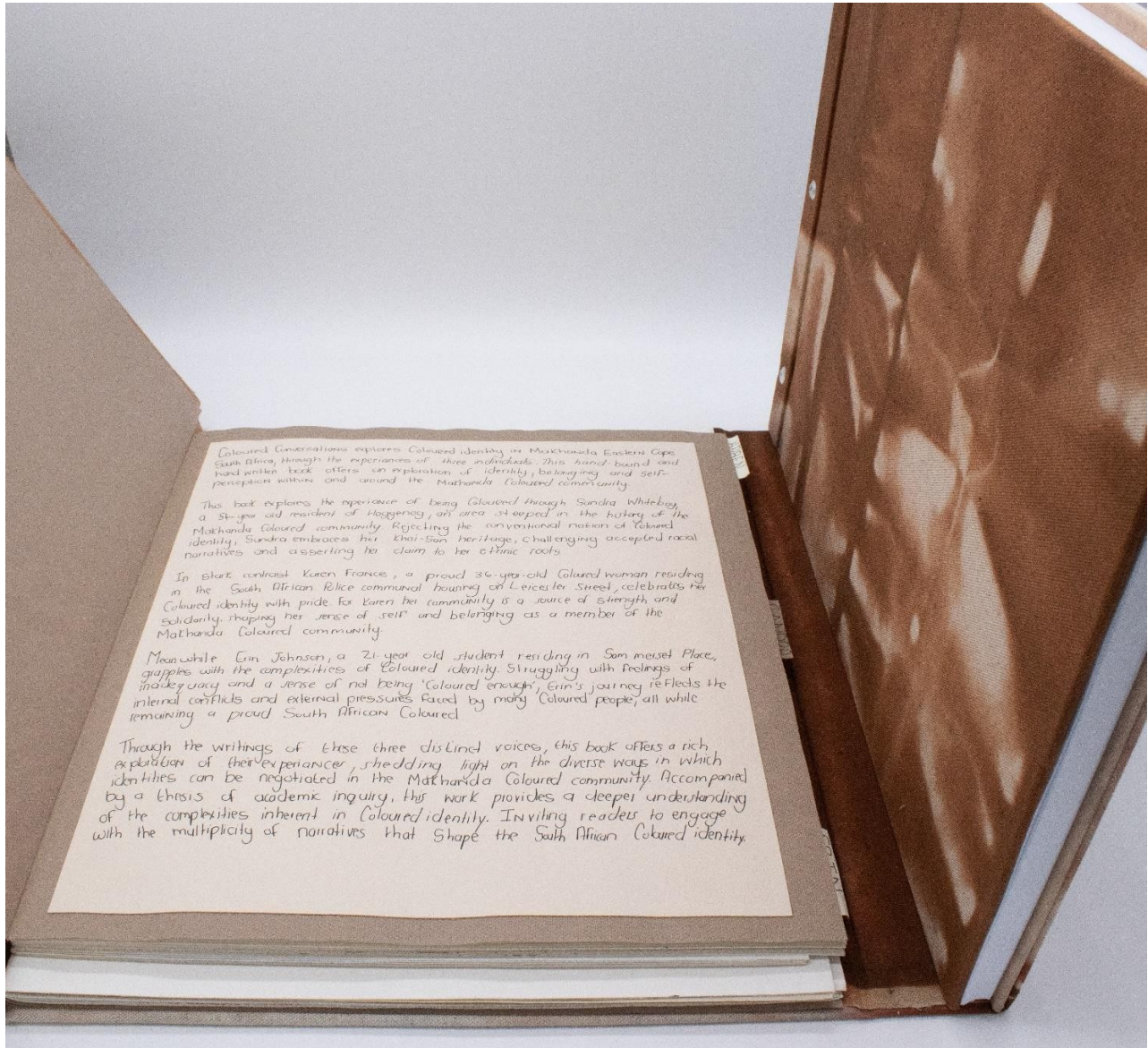


Figure 10 The First Page of the Research Participants Section, Handwritten Note from the Researcher to Introduce the Stories of the Research Participants Booklets – Coloured Conversations (2024) by Samantha Carolus, Makhanda 2025.



Figure 11 Academic Thesis Section, First Page and Cover Opened Up Horizontally – Coloured Conversations (2024) by Samantha Carolus, Makhanda 2025.

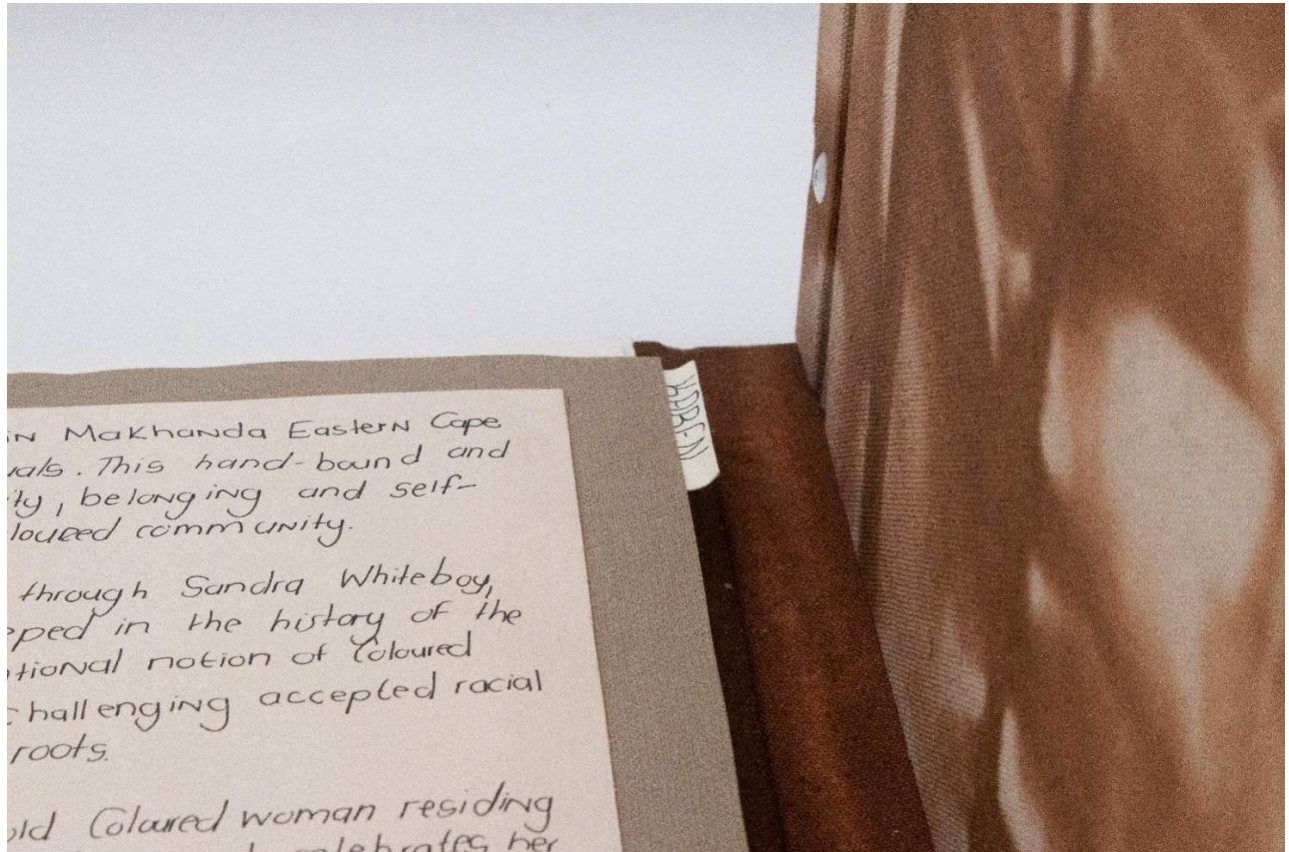


Figure 12 Close-Up of Section Dividers of Research Participants Booklets in the Research Participants Section of Coloured Conversations (2024) by Samantha Carolus, Makhanda 2025.

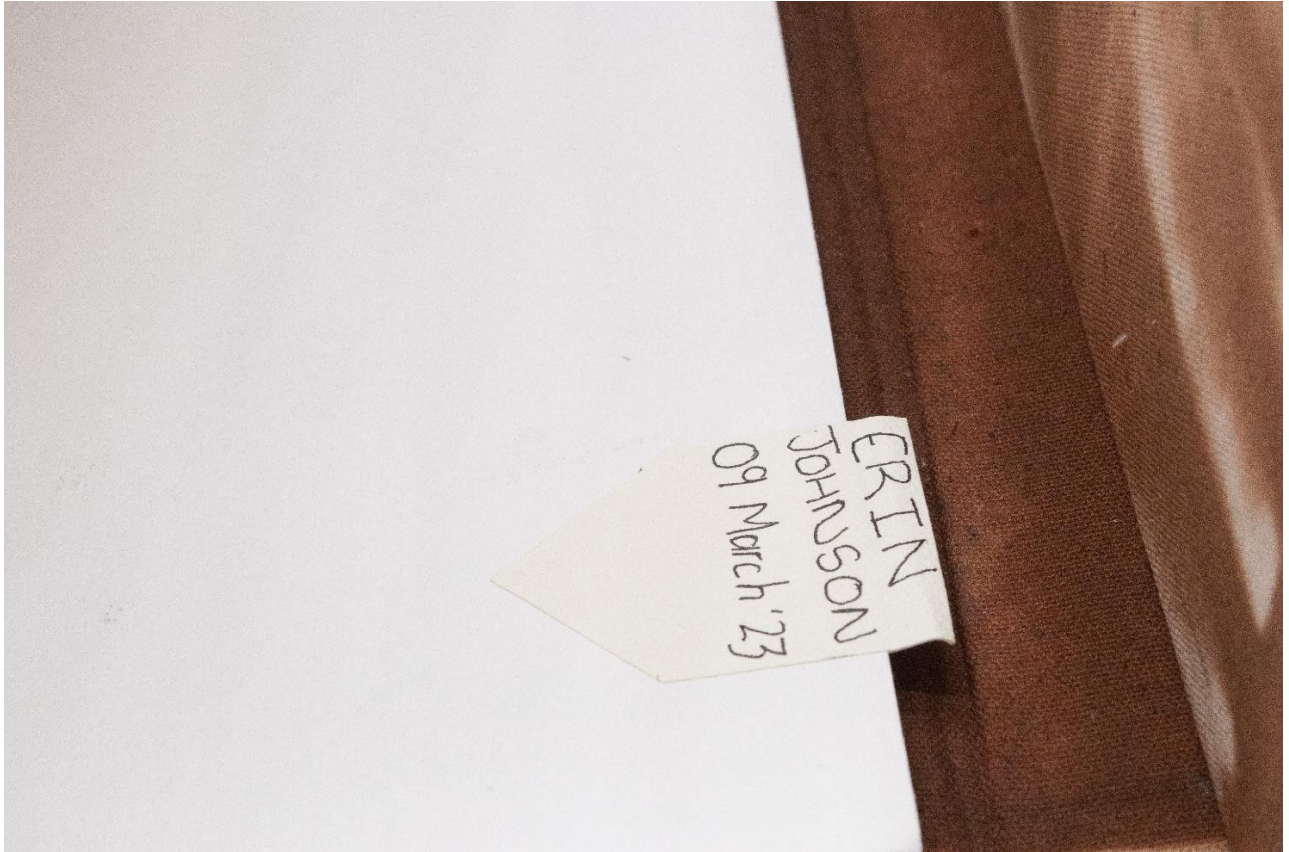


Figure 13 Close-Up of Section Dividers of Research Participants Booklets in the Research Participants Section of Coloured Conversations (2024) by Samantha Carolus, Makhanda 2025.



Figure 14 Close-Up of Section Dividers of Research Participants Booklets in the Research Participants Section of Coloured Conversations (2024) by Samantha Carolus, Makhanda 2025.



Figure 15 Outer Back Cover of Academic Thesis – Coloured Conversations (2024) by Samantha Carolus, Makhanda 2025.



Figure 16 Outer Spine and Front Cover of Coloured Conversations (2024) by Samantha Carolus, Makhanda 2025.



Figure 17 Back Cover of Coloured Conversations (2024) by Samantha Carolus, Makhanda 2025,