

DOUBLE-CONSCIOUSNESS REVISITED: GARVEYISM & COLOUREDNESS IN POST- APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

DR. BLAIR M. PROCTOR

**Assistant Professor
Department of Black Studies
State University of New York at New Paltz**

ABSTRACT

Double-Consciousness Revisited: Garveyism & Colouredness in post-apartheid South Africa will examine how people of African ancestry returned home to the motherland over various periods of place and space. When analyzing the African Diaspora, scholars tend to view and discuss Diaspora as a one-way dispersal from a historical-context of the Transatlantic Middle Passage and adhere to the concept of home within the spiritual, symbolic and memorial sense of return – not actual return, whether by ship or plane. Framed from the W.E.B. DuBois’s theory of double-consciousness, this article will discuss how returning home not only changed the lives of twentieth-century African American and Afro-Caribbean expatriates, but how their presence and diasporic experience impacted South African lives who endured trauma from the memory of slavery, colonialism, and apartheid on the African continent. Additionally, this chapter will assert how the political-agency and African American and Afro-Caribbean Garveyite legacy continues to influence the radical Khoisan Aboriginal and Others Movement in post-apartheid, African National Congress (ANC) South Africa.

INTRODUCTION

For centuries, countless attempts to return to continental Africa (regardless of region within the African continent) whether rooted in individualistic desire, supported by the government for opportunities to expatriate resulted in some success for some and for others tragic failures. The establishments of Freetown, Sierra Leone, the former American colony of Liberia, and Samana, Dominican Republic are examples where circularity and diaspora occurred in the reverse. Within African Diaspora discourse, scholars in the social science fields of Humanities, History and Sociology tend to view and discuss Diaspora as a one-way dispersal from a historical context of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Middle Passage. Moreover, many diasporic Africans

view the concept of home within the spiritual, symbolic and memorial sense of return – not actual return or traveling back home, whether by ship or plane. Yet, region (along with bias) plays a significant role in determining who is and who is not a member of the African Diaspora. Some African Diaspora scholars conservatively-believe that the African Diaspora can only be directed towards Africans involuntarily captured, enslaved, and then taken out of the African continent and dispersed to other regions of the world. Then, enslaved Africans captured and shipped to other colonial-zones of the African continent, would not be viewed as Diaspora. This article argues that in order to have a more holistic understanding of Diaspora, scholars must include those Africans captured and displaced within the continent as well as those trafficked across the Atlantic.

Due to years of racial injustice in the United States (U.S.), such as enslavement, white mob violence causing racial-terror within predominantly Black communities, lynchings of Black Americans throughout the early to mid- twentieth centuries, legalized racial-segregation and enforced state policies of *Jim Crow*, and perpetual police brutality plaguing predominantly African American communities, many African Americans historically and in the present look to expatriate from the U.S. for a sense of peace and opportunity. Within the twenty-first century, this topic is important to investigate since several diasporic Africans (African-Americans and Afro-Caribbean communities) are *returning* en masse to the Motherland, regardless of region with South Africa and Ghana as the primary hostlands. The South African Coloured population encompasses a complex account of both Diaspora and Indigenesness. The Coloured population is a multi-cultural and multi-regional descended group of people whose ancestors came from both the indigenous peoples of the Southern African region, along with the Trans-

Atlantic and Indian Ocean slave trades that transpired between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. After generations of creolization and racialization processes, various ethnic groups were morphed into a “Coloured” people within the Cape Colony. Through qualitative research methods of participant observations and semi-structured interviews, and framed within the W.E.B. DuBois’s (1903) theory of double-consciousness including the sub-themes of *creolization*, *Colouredness*, and *Garveyism*, this article will discuss how returning home not only changed the lives of twentieth-century African American and Afro-Caribbean expatriates, but how their presence and diasporic experience impacted South African lives who endured trauma from the memory of slavery, colonialism, and *apartheid* on the African continent. Additionally, this chapter will assert how the political-agency and the Afro-American and Caribbean Garveyite legacy continues to influence the radical Khoisan Aboriginal and Others Movement in post-*apartheid*, African National Congress (ANC) South Africa. This research will contribute to furthering knowledge production of reexamining the African Diaspora which is quintessential to the humanities, the arts, and social studies.

BACKGROUND

Paul T. Zeleza emphasizes that African Diaspora Studies is often positioned primarily from an Atlantic Ocean perception, which silences the diasporic experiences of Africans that were dispersed during the Arab and Indian Ocean Slave Trades that occurred prior and simultaneously to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, depending on time and space (2010, p. 3). Moreover, Zeleza states that “among scholars of African Diasporas in Asia and Europe, common critiques are heard against the domination of the Afro-Atlantic model and the African Americanization of Afro-Europe and Afro-Asia” (2010, p. 4). However, Joseph E. Inikori emphasizes that:

...the magnitude of the mortality of between the time of capture and the final departure of slave ships from the African coast, as well as the numbers of death occurring during the process of capture, and the magnitude of further deaths caused by socio political upheavals associated with the procurement of captives remain uncertain (1992, p. 6).

The uncertain amount of casualties, human bodies that perished throughout the entire *MAAFA* (a Kiswahili word that translates to “the great catastrophe or disaster”), from point of capture and the selling of people to slave-masters, unfortunately, will be a forever unknown. Also, Diaspora Studies scholar Robin Cohen asserts that the under-researched Indian Ocean African slave trade to Asia and the Middle East was enormous—perhaps as many as four million were involved—but it was the forcible transshipment of ten million people across the Atlantic for mass slavery and coerced plantation labor in the Americas that provided the defining misfortune that constituted the African Diaspora (1997, p. 3).

Similar questions and experiences as asserted by African Diaspora scholars Ruth Simms Hamilton (2007) and Édouard Glissant (1997) pertaining to home, identity, circularity/movement and nomadism, trauma, and consciousness occur among South African Coloureds akin to African descendants from other regions of the world. Therefore, Zeleza suggests that African Diaspora scholars:

...need to de-Atlanticize and de-Americanize the histories of African Diasporas. In order for the field to grow, it is critical that the Afro-Atlantic and U.S. African American models of African Diaspora studies be provincialized rather than universalized... (2010, p. 5).

In addition, previous research regarding the study of South African history and *apartheid* often focused on racial classification systems within U.S. White – Black binary terms and did not critically analyze how Coloured South Africans were strategically placed as a buffer between Whites and Blacks within the *apartheid* system. Although Coloureds were minorities within the non-White Black African population, Coloureds were included in the majority of non-Whites that were classified as second-class citizens during *apartheid*. Anti-miscegenation laws were implemented which made unions between Whites and non-Whites illegal (Van Der Ross, 1979, p. 20). Different repercussions occurred among the *apartheid* state designated racial groups that participated in racial-mixing that:

...[i]f it is a Coloured-White relationship (of which there are not really so many) the two people concerned have generally considered the matter carefully. If they decide to maintain their relationship, they usually leave the country. Coloured-Black mixing is more frequent, as it is not forbidden by law (Van Der Ross, 1979, p. 20).

Moreover, due to the high frequency of miscegenation, the color scale among non-White South Africans varied (Van Der Ross, 1979). Thus, racial classification in imperial and colonial South Africa was centered on contradictory measures since tests were performed in order to decide by the law who was “White” or “Coloured” or who was “Coloured” or “Black.”

Creolization

The late sociologist, historian, and activist-scholar W.E.B. DuBois states in an assertive chapter titled, “The Rape of Africa,” that the rebirth of civilization in Europe began in the fifteenth century (1976, p. 44). DuBois further clarifies that European explorers’

interaction with the African world initiated the process of eventual colonialism and world domination. As DuBois (1976) expounds that:

The Portuguese, Dutch, and British decimated the West Coast with the slave trade. The Arabs depopulated the East Coast. For centuries the native Bantu, unable to penetrate the close-knit city-states of the Gulf of Guinea, had slowly been moving south, seeking pasture for their herds and protecting their culture from the encroachment of the empire-building in the black Sudan (p. 31).

Enslaved Africans were primarily taken from the Western African coast and shipped to Central and South America by the Iberians (Portuguese/Spanish). As the Atlantic slave trade developed, slavery became associated with Blacks, and anti-Black racism became very powerful in Portuguese and Spanish America—slavery in the Americas was justified by racist rhetoric and ideology. (Torres-Saillant, 1998).

The late historian Eugene D. Genovese (1972) emphasizes:

...racism that developed from racial subordination influenced every aspect of American life and remains powerful. But slavery as a system of class rule predated racism and racial subordination in world history and once existed without them. Racial subordination...and the history of modern colonialism demonstrate, need not rest on slavery. Wherever racial subordination exists, racism exists; therefore, southern slavery and its racist ideology had much in common with other systems and societies (p. 15).

In other words, racism formulated as a structure that was practiced through the socio-economic and political acts of colonialism and slavery was intersected and trans-national. In both the Americas and South Africa, "...systemic racism began with

European colonists enriching themselves substantially at the expense of indigenous peoples and the Africans they imported for enslavement” (Feagin, 2006, p. 69).

The narrative of slavery is usually understood as the enslaved West Africans exported from the African continent to the so-called New World. However, the global slave trade also involved enslaved Africans and South-East Asians shipped to other regions of imperial Africa and the Americas. The history of slavery has been obscured from South African common memory which often does not include slavery as a precursor and fundamentally-linked to colonialism.

The Dutch arrived on the African coast in the early seventeenth century after the Portuguese had spent over a century creating a trading network between Europeans and Africans (Postma, 1990, p. 84). In the South African context, although most enslaved peoples came from the African continent, the East Indies and South Asian population provided a substantial share of the enslaved population in the Dutch colony at *The Cape of Good Hope* (Fredrickson, 2001, p. 2). *Afrikaans* was formed as a creole language, created by the enslaved African population through the process of *creolization* – an ongoing process of blending cultures, acculturation, and miscegenation essentially creating a new culture and identity process during the seventeenth century (Gqola, 2001; Midlo-Hall, 2005, Stewart, 2007). Additionally, in *What is Slavery to Me?* South African feminist-scholar Pumla Dineo Gqola (2001) suggests that:

...the acknowledgment of creolization is central to this process, as is the creolization of the Dutch language into Afrikaans by slaves and of cultural practice by these communities and their descendants. Processes of creolization happen in proximity to and within different relations of power under conditions of slavery (p. 29).

This involved the reformulation of the Dutch language, used as a form of protection and agency during the slavery era within the Cape colony. Creolization occurred simultaneously in the Americas and within Africa due to the various movements and adaptations from spaces and places of familiarity to an unknown and foreign future within both geographic regions.

The release of old traditions and the creation of new customs occurred within the seasoning process. Then, creolization should not be viewed solely as hybridized cultures, but as Richard D. E. Burton (1997) asserts in *Afro-Creole* rather as a cultural-collision and painful process of various peoples with different histories forced to come together (or repel against depending on context) not only for survival purposes, but also increased strength in numbers of the oppressed resisting against the European colonial powers. Similar to DuBois's (1903) double consciousness theory of African Americans that wrestled with dual-, contradictive-, and conflictive-identity involving whether their position in American society was the African or the American; within the establishment of the three-tier racial hierarchy in South Africa, Colouredness grappled with a similar twoness: not White/European enough, or Black/African enough, which contributed to the creolization and cultural-collision of blurred consciousness that framed *Colouredness*.

The concepts of creolization proposed by Glissant, and developed by other West Indian thinkers such as Bernabé, Chamoiseau, and Confiant (1989), converges with Paul Gilroy's contention that identity is more a process of movement and mediation than a question of roots and rootedness (Gilroy, 1993, p. 19; Martin, 2008, p. 65). Enslaved Asians along with enslaved Africans in their seized-position, merged together to form a single enslaved population through the process of creolization. The creolization process

was a complex and difficult process because enslaved peoples had to relinquish and acquire various lifestyles simultaneously.

Modifying language, diet, religion, relations, and other routines in order to practice a new mode of life within a foreign space for the enslaved and adapting to an occupied land for the colonized. This process also involved the death of peoples either through warfare, massacre, and disease inflicted on peoples whose bodies were not acclimated to the new environments. Creolization involved various methods of adaptation to a foreign place for the sole purpose of enslaved- Africans' and Asians' survival in *The Cape of Good Hope*.

The late political scientist C. R. D. Halisi argued in *Black Political Thought in the making of a South African Democracy* (1999), that during the early nineteenth century the: Khoisan of the Western Cape are the oldest people of South Africa; they were also transformed into the country's first indigenous proletariat...Khoisan resisted European settlement of the interior for close to three decades, costing them near annihilation (p. 27). By the mid-nineteenth century, large numbers of Khoisan had drawn progressively closer to enslaved Africans and Asians in culture, status, and economic function; together with the enslaved population, they formed the basis of South Africa's Cape Coloured population (Halisi, 1999, p. 27). Through the blending of cultures, sexual-relations and violence, miscegenation (race-mixing), and merging of the different languages, the creolization process formed a new community of the oppressed.

The White-elite effectively removed the majority non-White populations and restricted their access to resources determined by their racial classification in both regions of the world. Gqola (2001) explains that:

The relationship of historiography to memory is one of containment: history is always part of memory whilst history delineates a certain kind of knowledge system within the terrain of memory. Put differently, whereas memory is a shadow always hovering and governing our relationship to the present and the future, history is the art of recording and analyzing this consciousness of the past (p. 8).

The suppression of indigenous history and the strategic placement of the diverse and multi-ethnic population, designated as Coloureds into a “racial”- and buffer-category, at once made them superior to Blacks and inferior to the same because of their “lack of culture” (Gqola, 2001, p. 13).

Cultural struggle and establishing ideologies transpired for maintaining social order and the colonial project. The historical experience of the Coloured people in Cape Town was based on what had been taught by the ruling powers, two mythical lessons: 1. White is positive, and Black is negative; and 2. racial purity is superior to mixing (Martin, 2008, p. 71). Thus, mixed-ness was the antithesis of Whiteness. Gqola (2001) further posits that while the Afrikaner and Coloured experiences and identities are hybridized, only Coloured identities are creolized identities (p. 30). Likewise, Winant (2001) suggests that the duality, complicated eventually by *creolism*, ambiguous status of workers, soldiers, and peasants (in both the mother-countries and the colonies), nevertheless laid out the national-political axes of the modern racial order (p. 23).

Put it another way, mixed-ness or Colouredness established a complex racial hierarchy used as a catalyst for maintaining social order and White supremacy. Coloureds were classified as second-class citizens because of their African ancestry and out of fear that they would threaten the purity of Whiteness. Omi and Winant (1986) further suggest

that "...the fact is made painfully obvious when we encounter someone whom we cannot conveniently racially categorize—someone who is, for example, [obviously] racially 'mixed' ...Such an encounter becomes a source of discomfort and momentarily a crisis of racial meaning" (p. 5). Then, phenotype which included skin-color and facial features continued to play a significant role in deciphering racial classification.

Denis-Constant Martin (2008) describes in the chapter "An Imaginary Ocean," that "the sea," the slave ships that brought enslaved peoples from various regions of the world, across the Atlantic and Indian Oceans; the multiethnic and multicultural groups of the enslaved from Madagascar, Mozambique, The East Indies, and West Africans, encompassed the three cardinal points that define the history of Coloured people in Cape Town: the places from where they came, the place where they developed as a group, and the place in which they saw the symbol of what was denied to them in South Africa: freedom, respect, and modernity (p. 64). Additionally, St. Helena Island, located within the South Atlantic Ocean was discovered in 1502 by the Portuguese, made claim by the Dutch Republic in 1633 and colonized by the British in 1659, was a huge stopover for ships which included slave ships sailing and trading between Europe, Asia, the Americas, and South Africa for centuries (St. Helena Island Info, n.d.). In 1840, St. Helena became a provisioning station for the British West Africa Squadron, preventing slavery to Brazil, and thousands of enslaved Africans either stayed on the island or were sent to the West Indies and Cape Town, and eventually Sierra Leone (St. Helena Island Info., n.d.). The global slave trade was an important component, fused with the indigenous people from Southern Africa, the Khoi and San peoples, and other continental Africans sent to the Cape Town region, forming the multicultural and multiracial population.

The designation of “Coloured” as an ethnic group, by definition, implied an intentional effort to break the bonds of community between Black South Africans and their Coloured offspring (Mattera, 1989, p. xiv). This policy was instituted by English colonial officials just prior to the formation of the Union of South Africa as a White dominion within the British Empire in 1909 (Mattera, 1989, p. xiv). Moreover, due to the African majority in South Africa, White colonizers had to develop a paradigm in order to maintain a social order of European rule (Fredrickson, 2001, p. 23). Thus, history has always been used as a form of politics and control (Bozzoli, 1990, p. 211).

Throughout the nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth centuries, the western academy (historians and social scientists) often studied people of African descent as objects. Western scholars ignored African contribution to modernity due to White superiority which was and continues to be a global phenomenon (Boahen, 1987). Thus, comprehending the interconnectedness of the African Diaspora and South African history provides a stronger context of understanding how the brutality of the *apartheid* regime that placed dominance over racially-designated non-White South Africans was rooted during the slavery and colonial periods.

Garveyism in Early Twentieth Century Cape Town

Coloured identity formation is rooted in imperial Cape Town. The Cape colony was an important transportation hub due to the region’s location along the coast of the Atlantic Ocean. Several foreign entities throughout the centuries traveled along the Atlantic Ocean towards the South African coasts for trade, such as European imperialism of the sixteenth century and later the nineteenth/early-twentieth century colonialism period. Though, Europeans were not the only group that migrated to the South African coast. George Shepperson (1993) asserts that “...the study of back-to-Africa movements is an

essential part of the concept of the African Diaspora, which loses much of its force if it is limited to dispersal in an outward direction only” (p. 49). Although, the majority of people of African descent viewed Africa as a spiritual homeland, a hiraeth if you will, throughout various regions and eras. However, numerous migrants of African descent traveled back to the African continent on their own accord. These movements occurred primarily for survival and escape from the racist regimes of Jim Crow and colonialism in other regions of the Americas. Then, circular nomadism of a wandering people was an infinite occurrence for people of African descent (Glissant, 1997). Interestingly, some migrants of African descent expatriated to the Cape Colony during the twentieth century.

The 1904 Cape colony census listed within its borders 438 Coloured West Indians, 93 American Blacks, and another 96 Blacks with unspecified origins (Vinson, 2016, p. 284). The majority of West Indian and African American immigrants known as sea kaffirs, were male (Vinson, 2016, p. 284). During slavery in the Americas, enslaved men had more autonomy than enslaved women to travel about on and off of the plantation running errands for the slave-owner/master. Burton (1997) asserts that men “flee the home environment, in which they feel marginal and undervalued, in favor of the street and its adjuncts, wherein the company of men they can affirm and enhance their sense of their own value and identity” (p. 160-161). Centered on the varied and intersectional social-constructions of gender, patriarchy, and male privilege—if granted an opportunity, enslaved men did not return and escaped from their plantations for the sole purpose of obtaining their freedom. Hence, space viewed in terms of geographic- and geopolitical- boundaries within the plantation and exiting those confines, did not only lead to the perpetual movement of people of African descent for the objective of

liberation but also the continuous motion and position of movement towards the unknown.

Opportunities for gaining freedom often meant leaving the Americas and either immigrating to Canada, Europe, and/or Africa. West Indian and African American male-dominated immigration to the African continent continued during the reconstruction era and various Pan-African movements, including the Marcus Garvey "Back-to-Africa" movement that occurred during the early twentieth century. Traveling abroad was an expensive endeavor. Naturally, men that had accrued economic means were able to leave the Americas, as opposed to impoverished West Indians and African Americans.

Additionally, while some fought in the British West Indian regiments during the South African War (1899-1902), most came to the region as sailors who used their maritime skills and their kinship ties to link up with the Trinidadian dock labor recruiter James Wilson to secure readily available, higher paying jobs on Cape Town's docks (Vinson, 2016, p. 284). Several Caribbean and African American expatriates were of an elite and educated class from their Diaspora countries of birth and some of the West Indians became property owners, businessmen, and professionals who acquired wealth to send their children to English and American universities (Vinson, 2016, p. 284). Thus, many African Americans and West Indians assimilated into the Coloured population and married local South African women.

For example: future Garveyite Timothy Robertson, with his Coloured wife, owned a thriving farm, a grocery and several rental properties in Parow, a rural village outside the city that reminded him of his home in British Guyana; Arturo Emile Wattlington, from St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, and another future Garveyite, was the city's first Black

postman. He also owned property, operated a shop (where he sold American newspapers like the Chicago Defender) and financed the American education of two sons; George Brownbill, a stevedore from St. Kitts, also sent both of his sons to America for their education; the American Andrew Jackson sent his son to Edinburgh for medical training; The younger Jackson not only became the only Black doctor in late nineteenth century Cape Town, but also reputedly had the most successful practice in the city—while not all African Americans and West Indians experienced such success in Cape Town, as a group they seemed far better off than Africans and most Coloureds almost all of whom were disenfranchised, coped with squalid living conditions, and occupied the lowest-paying jobs (Vinson, 2016, 285). The life chances, economic opportunities, and class status African Americans and West Indians accumulated in early twentieth century South Africa would not have been possible in their homelands of the West Indies and the Jim Crow-era United States (Vinson, 2016, p. 286).

In the early twentieth century South Africa's evolving segregationist program, before 1910 American Blacks were classified as honorary Whites largely exempt from legalized racial segregation (Vinson, 2016, p. 286). Although American Blacks received a higher status in the racial hierarchy in pre-apartheid South Africa, their place was still dictated in society supported by White supremacy. "Honorary Whiteness" was framed on the colonial government's White logic—the belief and decision that American Blacks were supposedly racially-superior to local Black South Africans (Tukufu & Bonilla-Silva, 2008). Unfortunately, many Black elitist immigrants and Pan-Africanists believed that they were culturally-superior to the local Capetonian Black and Coloured South African population and felt that it was their duty to assert European notions of respectability and western Christian values in order to civilize the race and solve the

global Negro problem (Washington, 1903; Du Bois, 1903; Myrdal, 1944; DiTomaso, 2013). Vinson (2016) asserts that although African Americans were subordinated in Jim Crow America, they were viewed by Black South Africans as role models and potential liberators in their own battles against South African segregation (p. 2).

African Americans who traveled to South Africa during the height of colonialism with the enactment of the Native Lands Act (1913) and the Native (Urban Areas) Act (1923), observed the oppressive conditions of the African people (Vinson, 2012). As stated in a long letter to the “Southern Workman,” a Hampton periodical, Orpheus McAdoo protested, “There is no country in the world where prejudice is so strong as here in Africa...the native today is treated as badly as ever the slave was treated in Georgia” (Vinson, 2012, p. 18). Indeed, people of African descent from Africa and the Diaspora understood that their struggles were unified because of the colonial regimes rooted in Europe, penetrated in Africa and the Americas.

Though, American Blacks, particularly Pan-Africanists and active members of the Garveyite movement were not satisfied with the honorary classification and felt that it was their responsibility to uplift the Black race in South Africa. Black South Africans noted that “‘American Negroes’ were ‘highly cultured, tough, hard back-boned...he-man types, aggressive and daring...who considered themselves on equal footing with any White man” (Vinson, 2016, p. 287). Thus, whatever the realities of the U.S., whatever African Americans had to endure there, the identification of Coloured Capetonians with the U.S. meant the establishment of a link, imaginary yet extremely strong, between themselves and people who were seen as proof of the existence of a creative non-white, mixed (metis) modernity, recognized and legitimized by the

Whites themselves, worldwide and even, to a certain extent, in South Africa (Martin, 2008, p. 71).

Henry Sylvester Williams, the Trinidadian born organizer of the 1900 Pan-African Conference, lived in Cape Town from 1903 to 1905 and vowed that, "...if the Coloured people of South Africa were willing to be kept out of the higher walks of life...their brothers in the West Indies were not" (Vinson, 2016, p. 286). Therefore, interpretation of each other's experiences, presented a dialectical interpretation of the Diaspora—the Coloureds envisioned the United States as a Black utopia, a collective identification precisely because they combined hopes and progress and aspirations to modernity with a vision of the U.S. and its culture as mixed (*metis*) (Martin, 2008, p. 70-71); on the other hand, Pan-Africanists believed in the importance of continental Africans (which included Coloureds) and Blacks of the Diaspora to come together and form a singular Black racial identity in order to fight for the liberation of global Black suffering.

Pan-Africanism was an ideology and a social movement fighting for equality through self-determinism. However, as discussed by Khoi Liberation Movement associate Dr. Leonard Martin (2016), "throughout the world, what became colored people or mixed people [which includes African Americans, Afro-Caribbean peoples, Afro-Latinos, and other groups] have always been prevented to live in terms of who they think they are." (KhoiSan Roundtable Discussion Jhb, 2016). European and western imperialism centered on race ideology contributed to the cultural confusion amongst Africans and the African Diaspora. In other words, continental Africans and Blacks of the Diaspora saw in each other an imagination, instead of the other's reality. Then, both groups were racialized in different regions/contexts for the same purpose—the social control of generated racial hierarchy for the maintenance of global White supremacy.

The American Black population steadily declined after the 1930s in Cape Town due to the growing segregation policies taking shape and implemented into the White-controlled South African government (Vinson, 2016, 302). The absorption of the population into the Coloured communities also factored in the decline—American Blacks almost all of whom married Coloured women, fathered children who were eventually identified primarily as Coloured, though many remained intensely aware of their Caribbean and American heritage (Vinson, 2016, p. 302).

FINDINGS

R.B. Lee (2006) asserts that there is an estimated “2.5 million Coloured South Africans would identify themselves as Khoi or San” (p. 97). According to the latest census results of 2011, the Coloured population totals approximately 4,539,790 or 8.9% of the South African population (South African Statistics, 2011, p. 21). The contradiction and question of indigenusness versus Diaspora-ness are at the core of Colouredness. Or, rather, the intersection of indigenusness linked with the African and Asian Diasporas. Then, Colouredness is the complexity of a socially-constructed group of people, such as the KhoiSan movement fighting the African National Congress (ANC) for obtaining acknowledgment of their roots, that includes language and culture, strategically- and continuously-ignored by both the *apartheid* regime and the ANC; yet, experience the Diasporic sense of rootlessness.

Tamara Braam (1999) of the Institute of for Multi-Party Democracy, delivered a heartfelt monologue about her own perceptions of the Coloured Problem:

...Coloured people are the first to lose their jobs. We're talking about affirmative action, here. In the old regime, it used to be job discrimination, now it's affirmative action. Jobs are for Xhosa speaking

people...The conflict of African and Coloured has to be resolved. This requires education to learn to respect one another. It must come soon...Many people are forgetting. We too fought for freedom in this country. We have not been passive. Many of our people were shot down at Port Elizabeth in 1971—that was the Coloured Sharpeville. The Coloured people are a political factor, we're going to stay one only if we unite. We must stand as one. (p. 253)

The structure of the current ANC government is parliamentary—heavily relies on the terms and definitions that emerged from the *apartheid* regime. Additionally, as stated by Dr. Leonard Martin, associated with the Khoi Liberation Movement, “Coloureds do not understand their location within the race hierarchy” (2016).

Then, many Coloureds feel that they were bamboozled and used by the Black majority and the autonomous Whites, which contributes to the narrative of not being White enough, or Black enough. Interestingly, De Jough was one of the few interviewees that believes that non-racial society is not possible. He sensed that people, “...still live in a time frame of 1976.” (2) De Jough is referring to the Soweto uprising that occurred at a high school which led to the death of Hector Pieterse, one of the hundreds of students killed during the uprising. De Jough explained the *apartheid* mindset as a, “...disease that people can't get out of.” (2) This disease De Jough was referring to is the sickness of mental-enslavement. If White supremacy is the ailment, then racism is the virus that continues to grow, fester, and metamorphose in order to adapt to the change within the societal environment. In other words, in order for White Supremacy to remain in power, the powers that be have to remain ahead and change before the society changes. Hence, ideology is key to positioning people to be confused, hoodwinked, suppressed and

divided amongst each other (either along racial-, religious-, sexual-, gender-, class-, or cultural-lines) in order for the elites to remain separated and elusive from the masses.

De Jough further said that "...we fight against people from different countries. Not even different countries. Different cultures, or communities...I see and don't like is that I blame South Africans to be lazy." (4) Many South African citizens assert that foreigners are, "taking their jobs," is the reason for their unemployment. De Jough followed by saying, "But yet you do nothing...I don't think that Coloureds like to see each other succeed." (4,9) Then, divisions within the Coloured community in addition to xenophobia, homophobia, and sexism, add extra layers of issues that maintain racism intact within the ANC-governed South Africa.

Coloureds suffer from above average joblessness, above average poverty, and a lack of politico-socio-economic interventions from the ANC (Peach, 2011). In both 2001 and 2002, the National Injury Mortality Surveillance System (NIMSS) recorded a disproportionately large number of Coloured homicides in the total reviewed: 14% in 2001 and 13% in 2002, compared to the 9% share held by Coloureds in the national population (Leggitt, 2014, p. 60). According to the Department of Correctional Services, Coloured people are also over-represented in the nation's prisons (Leggitt, 2014, p. 61). Coloured people are also nearly twice as likely to be imprisoned as Black South Africans (Leggitt, 2014, p. 61). People born in families of wealth, power, resource-hoarding and inherit cultural and social capital, while others born into poverty do not have access to resource-capital (DiTomaso, 2012). In other words, there are some people that are initiated into or restricted from social circles because of their family history. Then, the combination of divide-and-conquer tactics administered by the colonial and *apartheid* regimes, along with self-loathing are emotions that are passed

down from generation to generation. Unfortunately, after years of discrimination and oppression, have left Coloureds with a massive inferiority complex (Adhikari, 2009, p. 252).

Racial inequalities in schooling attainment, income level, and employment status persist in post-apartheid South Africa and racial residential segregation is significantly associated with educational attainment for Blacks and Coloureds (Griffith, 2009, p. vi.). Additionally, Blacks and Coloureds are less likely to receive health care in comparison to Whites and Asians (Griffith, 2009, p. vi.). Thus, in ANC governed South Africa, the race ideology framework of the former regime lingers because the non-White majority (Blacks and Coloureds) are perpetually marginalized.

South Africa remains under-housed, with the majority of the African population and a sizable section of the Coloured population either in shacks or in altogether substandard dwelling conditions (Wilmont & Lever, 2001, p. 39). Moreover, private land ownership outside of the urban areas remains largely a White affair and the legacy of racial inequality in this range seems likely to prove one of the most intractable to solve, short of wholesale appropriation of land (Wilmont & Lever, 2001, p. 39). Racial inequalities in schooling attainment, income level, and employment status persist in post-apartheid South Africa and racial residential segregation significantly determines the relative levels of educational attainment for Blacks and Coloureds (Griffith, 2009, p. iv). Additionally, Blacks and Coloureds are less likely to receive health care in comparison to Whites and Asians (Wilmont & Lever, 2001, p. 89). Currently in ANC governed South Africa, the race ideology framework of the former regime lingers because Coloureds are perpetually-isolated and markets supply resources that continue to support the White minority in predominantly middle-class areas.

Although South Africa adheres to non-racialism in ANC-governed South Africa, applications for jobs and universities (known as varsities in South Africa) still have “Coloured” as a racial category for an applicant to select. The 1996 South African Census committee relabeled “African/Black” instead of just “Black,” to distinguish between the Afrikaners and the indigenous Africans, both of whom refer to themselves as Africans (Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008, p. 73). However, the decision was made to maintain the “Indian/Asian,” “Coloured,” and “White” classifications were justified by the claim that most people in the country recognized and understood the categories (Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008, p. 73).

Many Coloureds, particularly invested in the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) during the 1970s, politically-identified as “Black,” in regards to the struggle. However, many Coloureds identify as “mixed-race,” and there is also Coloureds identity as “African,” due to their indigenous Khoisan ancestry. The former politically-radical Coloureds feel betrayed by the ANC for not acknowledging their plight and essentially maintaining them within a marginalized and intermediate space of ambiguity. Likewise, the U.S. Census continues to require U.S. citizens to select their race for documentation purposes. Then, this leads to the question: *Why are race classifications still needed in societies that promote post-racialism or non-racialism?* Colouredness in the South African context is still rooted in race ideology that was enforced by the nation-states during the imperial and colonial eras.

Additionally, there is a growing population of Coloureds that are reclaiming their African-ness and indigenusness through the Khoisan Aboriginal and Others Movement, and the Khoi Liberation Movement which involves former anti-apartheid freedom fighters and scholars such as Don Mattera and Leonard Martin (2016), arguing

that the ANC-governed South Africa still adheres to racial hierarchy that was established during the colonialism era, instituted by the British Empire (KhoiSan Roundtable Discussion Jhb 2016). Through the importance of adhering to Pan-Africanism and Garveyism following the messages of former scholar-activists such as DuBois, Fanon, and Garvey, the Khoi Liberation Movement is looking at how the vitality and importance of knowledge of the self is key to physical liberation. One profound and important statement that Martin (2016) made was that:

...you cannot have Afrocentrism without the Khoisan or Coloured people, who are the descendants... 'Black Nationalism' has to include the descendants of the Khoisan people who are the oldest descendants of Southern Africa...A fabricated Blackness, a convenient Blackness and lack of not knowing the self, contributes to the White supremacist project (KhoiSan Roundtable Discussion Jhb 2016).

In other words, Blackness continues to be represented within the gaze of Whiteness, specifically framed from European colonialism and categorization which is upheld by the ANC. The Khoi Liberation Movement, similar to the BCM forefathers and foremothers, assert that the oppressed and marginalized should restructure and reevaluate for themselves as to how they should be classified, as opposed to following race ideology.

Similarly, in “The Khoisan in contemporary South Africa,” Andrew Le Fleur and Leslie Janson (2013) assert that the two main contemporary challenges for the Khoisan experience are that, “...their existence is invisible as a people from within the current constitutional dispensation. Secondly, they continue to be forced into this ‘amorphous identity of being labeled Coloured’” (p. 2). Coloureds compose of multi-ethnic groups

with various historical-contexts due to time, place, space, colonialism, and Diaspora. The Coloured issue is a convoluted and chaotic problem because of their lived experiences of people(s) with different histories. The Khoisan (and other indigenous South African groups classified as Coloured) have problems primarily due to their indigeneity, land-rights, culture, and language(s) that are ignored by the current ANC-government.

On the other hand, there are other communities of Coloureds who do not know who they are since their history is rooted in slavery and the Trans-Atlantic and Indian Ocean slave-trades. Then, the damage has been done which will, unfortunately, take a lifetime to heal. The pain may go away, but the scars and memory of colonialism and slavery will remain forever. The aims of the Khoisan Aboriginal and Others Movement and the Khoi Liberation Movement are to heal those wounds still in place in the twenty-first century.

CONCLUSION

Studying Coloured identity formation is complicated due to the heterogeneity of the Coloured South African people. Multi-generational mixed-race populations of indigenous Khoi and San people, Diasporic Africans, and Asians from various regions, and multiple European (White) ethnic groups and religious sects make up the Coloured population, due to a variable degree of mixture further complicates the study of the population.

Moreover, many Coloureds self-identify as “Black,” “Indian,” “Chinese,” or “mixed-race” based on the varied backgrounds, histories, and regions within South Africa. A South African individual many self-identify as “Black,” yet on the South African census is racially-classified as “Coloured.” Thus, researching Coloured identity formation

should be viewed in terms of comprehending race ideology and intersecting the concept of spatial boundaries enforced by *apartheid*-era zoning policies. Then, incorporating space as a concept within the theoretical framework will generate further discussion in the study of Coloured identity formation.

Coloured consciousness is centered on memory and their perpetual socioeconomic status and isolation within the confines of townships within the twenty-first century. Several Coloureds of a higher socioeconomic status often move into affluent, overwhelmingly White neighborhoods. The leading cause of migration out of the Coloured areas is to escape crime, drugs, and other disparities that plague impoverished and predominantly Coloured neighborhoods. Hence, further research will need to be conducted in order to investigate how Colouredness are articulated within societies that adhere to the politics and ideologies of the African Diaspora.

Future works will continue to reexamine and reimagine African Diaspora studies. Future studies will build on previous research and seek to address the intersections of racial injustice and Black resistance. In addition, within the era of COVID-19 future works should include from an environmental justice frame how the coronavirus adds further complexities to identity formation and questions of diaspora within the South African Coloured community generating further trauma to an already marginalized community within South Africa. The initiative is to assert an integrative, inclusive, comprehensive, and interdisciplinary approach for research in various aspects quintessential to the Humanities, the Arts and Social Studies. This article and body of work provides a foundation for future research on questions of Diaspora, Black agency, and resistance within the context of global white supremacy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adhikari, Mohammed, ed. *Burdened by race: Coloured identities in southern Africa* (Cape Town: Cape Town UCT Press, 2009).

Bozzoli, Belinda. "Intellectuals, Audiences, and Histories: South African Experiences, 1978-88," In *Radical History Review*, 1990, (47-263).

Burton, Richard D. *Afro-Creole: Power, Opposition, and Play in the Caribbean*. Cornell University Press, 1997.

Cohen, Robin. *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*. London: UCL Press, 1997.

De Jough (2014, May 16). Personal interview.

DiTomaso, Nancy. *The American Non Dilemma: Racial Inequality without Racism*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2012.

DuBois, W.E.B. *The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches*. Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1903.

DuBois, W.E.B. *The World and Africa*. Millwood: Kraus-Thomson Organization, 1976.

Frederickson, George. "Race and Racism in Historical Perspective: Comparing the United States, South Africa, and Brazil." In *Beyond Racism: Racism and Inequality in Brazil, South Africa, and the United States*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001.

Genovese, Eugene D. *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*. New York: First Vintage Books Edition, 1972.

Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double-Consciousness*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Glissant, Édouard. *Poetic of Relation*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997.

Gqola, Pumla Dineo. *What is Slavery to Me?: Postcolonial/slave Memory in Post-apartheid South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2001.

Griffith, F. M. "Race and space in Post-apartheid South Africa, 1996-2001" *Sociology*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania. Doctor of Philosophy: 149, 2009.

Halisi, C.R.D. *Black Political Thought in the making of a South African Democracy*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Inikori, Joseph. *The Atlantic Slave Trade: Effects on Economies, Societies and Peoples in Africa, the Americas, and Europe*. Durham: Duke University Press Books, 1992.

KhoiSan Roundtable Discussion Jhb 2016. Retrieved from:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ocffg1v2DWU&t=565s>

Lee, R.B. "Indigenous Rights and the Politics of Identity in Post-Apartheid Southern Africa." In B. Dean and J.M. Levi (eds.) *At the Risk of being Heard: Identity, Indigenous Rights, and Postcolonial States*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2006.

Leggitt, T. "Still Marginal: Crime in the Coloured Community," In *SA Crime Quarterly*, 2004.

Le Fleur, Andrew, Jansen, Leslie, "The Khoisan in Contemporary South Africa," In *Country Report*. Johannesburg: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2013. Retrieved from: http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_35255-1522-2-30.pdf?130828123610

Martin, Denis-Constant. "An Imaginary Ocean: Carnival in Cape Town and the Black Atlantic," In *Africa, Brazil, and the Construction of Trans-Atlantic Black Identities*. Trenton: African World Press, 2008.

Mattera, Don. *Sophiatown: Coming of Age in South Africa*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1989.

Midlo-Hall, Gwendolyn. *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas: Restoring the Links*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005.

Peach, Mark. ed., *Being Coloured: Coloured identity, history and future*. Cape Town: WB Peach Media and Communication, 2011.

Postma, Johannes Menne. *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1815* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

St. Helena Island Info. (n.d.) Slavery. Retrieved from <http://www.sthelenaisland.info/slavery/>

Shepperson, George. "African Diaspora: Concept and Context". *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora*. Ed. Joseph E. Harris. 2nd ed. 1993.

Torres-Saillant, Silvio. "The Tribulations of Blackness: Stages in Dominican Racial Identity," *Latin American Perspectives*. 25, 3 (May 1998): 126-146.

Van Der Ross, R.E. *Myths and Attitudes*. Cape Town: Tafelburg, 1979.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Vinson, Robert Trent. "Sea Kaffir:" 'American Negroes' and the Gospel of Garveyism in Early Twentieth-Century Cape Town." *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 47, No. 2. (2006): 281-303.

Vinson, Robert Trent. *The Americans Are Coming! Dreams of African American Liberation in Segregationists South Africa*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012.

Wilmont, James, Lever, Jeffery. *Beyond Racism: Race and Inequality in Brazil, South Africa, and the United States*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2001.

Zezeza, Paul T. "African Diasporas: Toward a Global History." *African Studies Review* 1.53.,(2010).

Zuberi, Tukufu, Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. *White Logic, White Methods: Racism and Methodology*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2008.