RE:CONSTRUCTION – THE JOURNEY OF IDENTITY FOR COLOURED SOUTH AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND USING AN UBUNTU WORLDVIEW

New Zealand

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"uBuntu is very difficult to render into a Western language. It speaks of the very essence of being human… you are generous, you are hospitable, you are friendly and caring and compassionate. You share what you have. It is to say, 'My humanity is inextricably bound up in yours.' We belong in a bundle of life." Desmond Tutu

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Background

The purpose of this narrative research study is to understand the lived experiences of individuals classified as coloured[1] South African in the Southern African context who now reside in Aotearoa New Zealand. Research into the lived experiences of coloured South Africans in the country of their birth exists and is a growing area of interest for social sciences researchers focused on identity from ethnographical and phenomenological approaches (Adhikari, 2005; Nilsson, 2016; Groenewald, 2011; Bloom, 1967). Mohamed Adhikari, an academic and researcher at the University of Cape Town, is arguably South Africa's highest profile researcher of the coloured lived experience. He has conducted more than twenty research studies exploring coloured identity from its origins in the early years of settler rule, to its transformation under apartheid, and most recently, the meaning of coloured identity in post-apartheid South Africa (Adhikari, 2013). His key findings uncover experiences of marginality, depth of community, in-group racism, racism towards black South Africans and assimilation to whiteness (Adhikari, 2005, 2006, 2013). His more recent research focuses on South Africa's First Nations people groups, the Khoekhoe and San, who are classified coloured in present-day South Africa. Research into the lived experience of this group in the diaspora is more limited. Christopher Sonn, an academic at the University of Melbourne, who has done extensive research in this space. In his writing, he reflects on his lived experience growing up coloured under apartheid before migrating to Australia. Some key findings of his work explore the complexity of coming to terms with the coloured label being unaccepted outside of Southern Africa, and the psychological process of identity reconstruction that those in the diaspora are faced with (Sonn, 1995, 2009, 2013). Research exploring the lived experiences of the coloured South African community has been conducted in Australia (Sonn, 1995, 2009, 2013) and Canada (Langsdorff, 2018), but no known research has been conducted in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Research questions

The research questions and sub-questions being explored in this research study aim to shed light on the lived experiences of those classified as coloured in the South African context who now reside in Aotearoa New Zealand. The research questions explore identity from the perspectives of the co-researchers involved in the study.

1. What does it mean to be coloured?

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[1] A racial classification for mixed race South Africans.

To get an in depth understanding of how the co-researchers' perspectives of coloured identity have evolved since migrating to Aotearoa, it was important to get an understanding of what coloured identity means to them. Sub-questions focused on what makes an individual coloured and why an individual who is mixed race in South Africa would not be classified as coloured were also discussed.

2. What does it mean to be coloured outside of South Africa?
   Co-researchers' perspectives on being confronted with an identity descriptor that is taboo outside of South Africa, and by extension Southern Africa, needed to be explored to understand how the co-researchers dealt with identity conflict and how this impacted how they self-identify.

3. How do you identify in Aotearoa New Zealand?
   The shisa nyama research method took the co-researchers on an organic conversational journey where they naturally reached the point of uncovering how they identify in their adopted land and why they choose to identify this way. Sub-questions of acculturation and culture shock were also explored.

In the broader societal context, this research will contribute to the growing knowledge of communities of colour in Aotearoa New Zealand. These insights provide government agencies such as the Ministry for Ethnic Communities[2] with valuable insights that help shape the way in which they serve and interact with the diverse communities of Aotearoa.

For individuals within the community, the research aims to give voice to the diverse perspectives and explore how cultural contexts shape individuals' experiences. It puts a spotlight on what it means to be coloured in the diaspora, unpacking how those classified as coloured South Africans reconstruct their identity in a foreign land. Understanding this can help the growing number of coloured immigrants grapple with questions of identity, race, and ethnicity.

It may also assist those who have emigrated and are experiencing a coloured identity crisis.

Coloured beginnings

The coloured South African classification has its origins in South Africa's history of colonisation. Prior to the arrival of the Dutch East India Company in 1652, the Cape was inhibited by the Khoekhoe and San tribes. Upon arrival, the settlers established modern-day Cape Town as a refreshment post, supplying ships en-route to Asia with fresh meat, fruit, and vegetables (Reid, 2012). The Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) - the Dutch East India Company in English – granted its workers

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[2] A government organisation serving the needs of Aotearoa New Zealand's ethnic communities.

based at the Cape permission to own land, build farms, and improve food supply (SA History Online, 2011). A fort was also built as a means of defence from the Khoe. As the Dutch expanded in number at the Cape, they sought more land. The need for more land resulted in land seizures at the expense of the Khoe, and in some instances, seizures of livestock as well. Over time, the indigenous people of the land became dispossessed and enslaved by the settlers (Nilsson, 2016).

From 1653 to 1822, slaves and indentured labourers were brought to the Cape by the Dutch East India company from Madagascar, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, and India. Miscegenation began soon after the arrival of the Dutch settlers, with marriages occurring between Dutch men and Khoisan women, as well as non-marital and often non-consensual relationships between white masters and indigenous slaves. Just twenty years after settler arrival, in the Cape, it was estimated that around three-quarters of the children of female slaves had white fathers (Manus, 2011). Raping of the indigenous Khoi by Dutch settlers was common amongst those who were sold into slavery. The Khoi were only emancipated in 1834. In the decades after emancipation, the diverse groups of working-class people of colour in the Cape started integrating rapidly and developing a shared identity that was based on socio-economic circumstances and a colonially imposed ranking in society (Adhikari, 2013). European settlers had firmly entrenched a hierarchical system based on race by the nineteenth century.

Bantu speaking groups migrated from west and central Africa to southern Africa from as early as the first century AD. The Bantu migrated primarily for agricultural opportunities and as a result of famine affecting their land and ability to subsistence farm (Choudhury et al., 2020). They were distinctly different from the Khoekhoe and San tribes in appearance and inhibited the eastern coastal parts of the country. The Xhosa, a bantu speaking group, inhibited what is today known as the Eastern Cape region of South Africa. In the Cape, the free slaves and mixed KhoeSan saw the Xhosa as competition for limited social resources, so they took advantage of their proximity to Europeans in language and culture and asserted a separate identity that gave them a position of superiority to 'Africans' based on the idea that they were civilised because they were in part the descendants of European colonists. The free slaves mostly had mixed ancestry as well, so they too held this belief (Adhikari, 2013). Mixed KhoeSan, even though African, distinguished themselves from the Xhosa to achieve a higher social ranking. The coloured identity that began to form and flourish intentionally distanced itself from African culture and values in the hopes of espousing to white culture and values. The racial classifications given by European settlers only entrenched this behaviour further, with Africans being classified as only those who solely had African ancestry (Adhikari, 2006). Any individuals who had other lineage mixed with their African ancestry were not African enough to be classified African.

The imposed social and economic system of racial hierarchy become further entrenched when the apartheid system was introduced in the mid-twentieth century.

Apartheid, literally translating to separateness, was a fierce system of institutionalised racial segregation that was introduced by South Africa's National Party in 1948. It divided the populace into race-based classifications. European settler groups were classified as whites, and all other groups non-white. The classification of non-white citizens was comprised of Africans, Indians, and coloureds. Each group had restrictions imposed upon them based on their place in the hierarchy in the society to which they belonged. The racial hierarchy placed whites in the position of power, with unlimited resources. Coloured and Indian South Africans were in the middle, receiving limited resources and opportunities. Black South Africans were placed at the bottom of the social ranking, with minimal government support and severe restrictions on movement and economic opportunity. Whilst the system of apartheid was undoubtedly oppressive, it placed coloured and Indian communities in simultaneous positions of oppression and privilege. Only South Africans classified as African were required to carry passes and adhere to curfews. In addition, Africans had no political representation, whilst coloureds and Indians had representation albeit limited, which afforded them access to better education, healthcare, and generally more career opportunities (Adhikari, 2013).

The demographics of the coloured community were also seen as favourable by the apartheid government. The fact that coloureds represented a minority of the population, being less than ten percent, the government did not see them as a political threat. With a race based political system came race based legislation, which quickly encroached on the limited freedoms that people of colour had in South Africa prior to the introduction of apartheid. The Group Areas Act, which enforced physical separation of races based on urban and rural spatial planning, led to the forced removal of people of colour who lived in newly classified white-only areas under apartheid law (Greene, 2010). A well-known example of apartheid-era forced removals is District Six, which displaced more than 60,000 mostly coloured residents of the inner-city suburb in Cape Town, because of its new classification as being a white only area (Jeppie & Soudien, 1990). Community members of District Six were forcibly relocated to the Cape Flats, a poorly equipped region on the outskirts of the city. This aggressive form of spatial planning was commonplace under apartheid.

Arguably considered the orchestrator of apartheid, Hendrik Verwoerd was South Africa's minister of 'native affairs' from 1950 – 1958 and subsequently served as Prime Minister from 1958 – 1961. In 1960, his administration created a Department of Coloured Affairs. He justified its existence as "the instrument by which the coloured is consciously developed culturally, economically, in his local government and in all other spheres as a separate racial group. It must also protect the coloured

against infiltration and protection by other racial groups" (Bloom, 1967, p. 143). The creation of a government department that catered specifically to coloured people purported that those within the group were homogenous and markedly different from other people groups in the apartheid era, when in fact, coloured South Africans have the world's highest level of mixed ancestry (Schmid, 2009). The increased separation of people groups during apartheid rule was effective in its ability to breed hatred and discord among classified racial groups. It was also successful in getting individuals under the same classification to band together in solidarity. In her research exploring the historical narratives of the Durban coloured community, Greene (2010) found that the community, though heterogenous, had to invent a way of living together. There was group consensus that a society that existed on the premise of a racial hierarchy was immoral, unjust, and needed correcting, but also apprehension towards dismantling a system that gave them a higher standing in society compared to those classified as African. Though coloured people experienced marginalisation, the group simultaneously experienced privilege, having access to opportunities that those categorized as African were not privy to. Adhikari (2013) states that the coloured classification was embraced by the community it was given to because it positioned them above those classified as African – giving them the impression that they were superior to another group in society. Thus, the solidarity amongst coloured people encouraged an identity that grew and became distinctive in South Africa. Foods, styles of dance and vernacular became identifiably coloured, and contributed to the celebration and pride around coloured culture and identity that exist in South Africa today.

In 1994, South Africa ended the apartheid regime with the election of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela as the country's first democratically elected president on 27 April. The African National Congress (ANC) won 62% of the vote. The National Party (NP), the orchestrators of the apartheid regime, were the second most popular party, winning 20% of votes. In the Cape province, now split into the Eastern, Northern and Western Cape provinces, the National Party received the most votes. This region of the country was also home to the largest proportion of coloured voters (Lodge, 1994). In what is known today as the Western Cape, coloured people comprise nearly 50% of the provinces 6.8 million residents (Stats SA, 2019).

South Africa entered a new dawn when apartheid ended. The government introduced laws that aimed to build equity and give opportunities to non-white South Africans. For the first time in the country's history, all individuals were equal in the eyes of the constitution and law. Though political liberation had finally come, it was clear that economic and social liberation could not be achieved simultaneously. Three centuries of dispossession and racism produced by the colonial and apartheid systems would not be dismantled overnight. Though the classifications given to individuals was a product of colonialism and apartheid, the classifications given to Africans, coloured, Indians and

whites came with lived experiences by the people in those communities (Durrheim et al., 2013). The Group Areas Act, which introduced apartheid spatial planning, has also been challenging to overcome, with many black and coloured South Africans still living in poor living conditions in bleak townships (Houssay-Holzschuch, Teppo, 2009). More than a quarter of a century after the fall of apartheid, many social indicators for coloured South Africans, as well as black South Africans, are grim. These groups are more severely affected by crime (Chutel, 2018), unemployment amongst youth within these classified groups has reached record heights in recent years (Wilkinson, 2018), and university entrance amongst coloured and black millennials is now significantly lower than those of the previous generation (Matangira, 2020). In contrast, the social indicators for white and Indian South Africans are more positive. It can be surmised that the greater generational wealth that exists within white and Indian communities in South Africa leads to more positive social indicators.

The poor social and economic indicators of many classified coloured in South Africa play an important role in the decision to emigrate. The United Nations dataset counted more than 900,000 people born in South Africa to be living outside of the country (Buckham, 2019), translating to around 1.5 percent of the country's current population of 60 million. The anglosphere is by far the most popular choice for South African migrants, with the majority relocating to Australia, Canada, New Zealand, United Kingdom, and the United States of America (Business Tech, 2019). No data exists as to the split of South African emigration by race, though most South African born peoples outside of the country are white South African (Buckham, 2019).

South African migration to New Zealand began in the second half of the nineteenth century, when the New Zealand government recruited close to 1,000 military settlers from the Cape (Woldran, 2015). The number of immigrants from South Africa was small until late in the twentieth century, but immigration from South Africa to New Zealand began to increase towards the end of apartheid. From 1992 – 2007, more than 49,000 South Africans migrated to New Zealand (Ministry of Social Development, 2008). Whilst the primary push factors for emigration include high crime and unemployment (Wessels, 2016), a perceived lack of opportunities due to affirmative action laws introduced in post-apartheid South Africa was also a contributing factor (Marcantuono, 2018).

As per the 2018 census, New Zealand is home to more than 71,000 South African born migrants – constituting the fifth largest migrant group after England, China, India, and Australia, respectively. (Stats NZ, 2019). Early in the twenty-first century, Statistics New Zealand sought to distinguish South Africans of colour from white South Africans, with the introduction of classifications such as 'European South African' and 'Other South African' in the Ethnicity New Zealand Standard Classification 2005 (Stats NZ, 2005). The 'Other South African' category is assumed to comprise

mostly of coloured South Africans, with a population of 6,816 recorded in the 2018 census. A South African Indian category also exists, with a population of 1,632 as of 2018 (Stats NZ, 2019). Given the shared history of British colonisation in both South Africa and New Zealand, the use of English as the lingua franca in New Zealand is a strong pull factor for South African immigrants (Hoppli, Kaplan, 2017). With a shared history of colonisation comes the shared history of dispossession and oppression faced by the Indigenous people of both nations.

The impact of colonisation in Aotearoa

Much like the colonisation of South Africa, Aotearoa New Zealand has a similar history of colonisation, yet the experiences of the indigenous groups are somewhat different. It is important to contrast the history of colonisation in Aotearoa with the history of colonisation in South Africa, as this adds an extra layer of complexity to the identity reconstruction that individuals classified as coloured in the South African context are faced with.

Like the arrival of Europeans in South Africa, a Dutch explorer, Abel Tasman, was the first European to set foot on New Zealand soil in 1642 (Rewi, 2008). After more than a quasquicentennial, under the instruction of King George III, British explorer, Captain James Cook, sailed south in search of the continent reported by Abel Tasman (Anaru, 2011). He arrived in 1769 and made his way around the North and South Islands of Aotearoa New Zealand. He returned twice more in the 1770's and less than 20 years later, British exploitation began, with resources such as sealskins, whale oil and timber being taken advantage of by the crown (Middleton, 2008). Missionary communities began settling in New Zealand in the early nineteenth century, with the first group arriving in the Bay of Islands in 1814. In the 1830's, unsatisfied settlers in Australia relocated to New Zealand, mostly in search of better agricultural opportunities. The settler numbers steadily grew and by 1840, the European population was more than 2,000, though still far smaller than the 70,000 plus indigenous Māori (Wright, 1959).

British settlers brought weaponry in the form of guns for use in intertribal warfare amongst Māori. The Musket Wars, from 1810 – 1840, accounted for around 700 Māori deaths per year. Much more deadly than war was the imported diseases from Europe. Influenza and measles spread rapidly amongst Māori after being introduced by British settlers. It is estimated that over the three decades of war prior to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, 20,000 Māori died. Most deaths were attributed to the severe spread of disease (Kukutai, Pool, 2018). As the Māori population declined, the European population soared. By 1858, New Zealand was home to more Europeans than Māori, and by 1901, the European population exceeded 700,000. The Māori population was just 46,000 at the time (Orange, 2012).

Whilst the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 was signalled as a positive step forward for Māori and European settlers, the intentionally misleading translation on the part of the crown led to Māori chiefs agreeing to a different contract to what it was interpreted to be (Gillespie, 2020). In its te reo Māori translation, te Tiriti o Waitangi confirmed the preservation of the rangatiratanga over the Rangatira, the hapū and the people. Governance over British settlers was delegated to the Queen of England (Mutu, 2019). Māori saw the Treaty of Waitangi as an opportunity to coexist peacefully and independently of Europeans, but in the years following its signing, it became clear that this was not the intention of the crown. Slowly but surely, more and more Māori were dispossessed of land, with the settlers encroaching on the rights, freedoms, and livelihoods of the indigenous people of the whenua. As a result, a staggering 95% of Māori were dispossessed of their land and resources (Mutu, 2019).

The Indigenous peoples of both nations faced dispossession, racism, and limited economic opportunities imposed by European settlers. As Wynyard (2019) states in his research of land restitution and treaty settlements in Aotearoa New Zealand, a justification of land dispossession by the settler state is its assumption that it creates employment for indigenous workers in the capitalist society that it seeks to develop.

The racism towards Māori dates to the early days of colonisation, persists in twenty-first century New Zealand, and has led to issues of over-incarceration, poor health, and education outcomes, to name a few. A 2019 survey conducted by the New Zealand Māori Council found that 83 percent of Māori surveyed did not feel comfortable accessing District Health Board services (Rowe, 2019). Similar trends exist for other communities of colour in Aotearoa New Zealand.

In South Africa, the issues being faced by people of colour[3] are similar to the New Zealand context. Racism exists in both countries but is lived out in different ways. South Africa's legacy of race-based legislation is overt in the way in which Europeans sought to conquer and divide in the colonial and apartheid projects. Defined as racism that is observable and whose modus operandum is palpable, operating in unconcealed, unapologetic forms of ethnocentrism and racial discrimination (Elias, 2015), overt racism is commonplace in South Africa. The South African news media consistently reports occurrences of racism – from hateful outbursts on social media to cases of grievous bodily harm. A case that caught international attention in recent years was video footage of two white men forcing a black man into a coffin and threatening to set him on fire (Vilakazi, 2016). Racist acts of this nature are less likely in contemporary New Zealand. Instead, New Zealand tends toward covert racism. For instance, the media portrayal of crime in Aotearoa frequently references the ethnicity of

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[3]Referring to black, coloured and Indian people in the South African context.

criminals who are Māori and Pacific, but rarely makes mention of ethnicity when a criminal is Pākeha (Barnes et al., 2013). In addition, many positive news stories about Māori and Pacific communities are ignored by mainstream media (Nairn et al., 2006). The effects of colonisation and systemic racism are downplayed in New Zealand, with a notion that New Zealanders live in an equal opportunity society that enables all to thrive simply through hard work (Lyons et al., 2016). This rhetoric suggests that those who are poor are lazy, an untrue trope that is used to put the blame on communities who have faced dispossession and racism.

Unpacking mixed heritage

Though racial identity is indeed a social construct, it plays an important role in the way in which individuals perceive themselves and exist in society (Onwuachi-Willig, 2016). For coloured South Africans, racial identity is a fundamental part of oneself. South Africa's system of racial classification imposed an identity upon its people, but the coloured racial identity that has evolved in South Africa has morphed into one that is arguably specific and identifiable to those within and outside the group in South African society (Adhikari, 2013). Interesting parallels exist between coloured South Africans and Creole people of colour in Louisiana, United States of America. For those within the community, the Creole identity became more than just a mix of African and European ancestry. It grew to include specific foods, languages and traditions that differentiate it from the cultures it is born out of. Neighbourhoods and institutions also played an important role in the evolution of a distinct Creole culture (Dugar, 2009). The same can be said for the development of coloured South African culture. For the most part, being coloured is not questioned by those within or outside the community in South Africa. It is when coloured South Africans emigrate that they are forced to question their identity and find ways of explaining who they are.

Mixed race identity is seen differently in New Zealand. Seen as a binary of Māori and Pakeha for generations, people of mixed-race descent were commonly called half-castes (Meredith, 2000). The ethnic identification of a half caste depended on the cultural affiliation of the parents. If the parents identified more strongly with Māori culture, the mixed-race child would be classified as Māori (Rocha, 2012). Twenty first century New Zealand has shifted from a bi-cultural to multicultural society, with more than 1.2 million New Zealanders born overseas in the results of the 2018 census. In the 2018 census, 13 percent of the population identified with more than one ethnic group, up from 11.2 percent in 2013 (Stats NZ, 2020).

As New Zealand becomes more multicultural, more emphasis is placed on celebrating cultural diversity and learning about the heritage of migrant groups. Given the heterogeneity of the South

African community in New Zealand, and more than 80% of South Africans in New Zealand being European South Africans, other people groups in New Zealand are less likely to meet South Africans of colour. This may likely lead to more questions from other New Zealanders about the ethnic backgrounds of South African migrants who would be classified as coloured, Indian or black in the South African context. Questions from other ethnic groups in New Zealand requires members of the coloured South African community to grapple with questions of identity. In an Australian study engaging with South Africans in the diaspora, Sonn (2010) found that within the dialogue of Australia's colonial past and multicultural present and future, coloured South African immigrants are reconstructing their identities to find ways of belonging in their adopted society. For most participants classified as coloured South African residing in Australia, self-reflection was practiced more intentionally as migrants. For some participants, the process of coming to terms with being identified by others as black was a confronting experience. The question of identity in relation to the coloured South African community in New Zealand becomes more pertinent because it is being questioned by those within and outside the community and plays an important role in the journey of self-identification and discovery of coloured South African migrants in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Personal story

I arrived in Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland) at the age of sixteen from Durban, South Africa. I grew up in Wentworth, a close-knit coloured community South of Durban's central business district. Though our community faced issues of gangsterism, drugs and high rates of unemployment, it also had an unmatched vibrancy that was characterised by children playing games and soccer on the street until dark, regular community functions and celebrations and church retreats and activities. We lived in a small cul-de-sac with no more than twenty homes. My aunt, uncle and cousins lived upstairs from us, and we were related to several families on our street. Everyone on the street knew each other well and I would sometimes sleep over at friends' homes. A real sense of uBuntu – the African philosophy of humanity where individuals treat each other with respect and work together – existed in our community despite the challenges we faced.

Being the last born and only son of three siblings, I was afforded more opportunities than my sisters growing up. Whilst they went to coloured schools in the community, I spent just one year in the local coloured school, until my parents decided to move me to the previously whites-only primary school in 1994. Given the school's status as only being reserved for white children during apartheid, it had facilities that were non-existent in schools for children of colour. The school had spacious classrooms, great resources, and a swimming pool (though I only learned to swim in my twenties).

Starting school with only a handful of children of colour was not something that immediately dawned on me, though I clearly remember being pinned against the fence by three white boys who threatened and swore at me on my first day of school. Attending a school for children of all races left me in a precarious position of existing in two worlds. When I was with my cousins and friends who lived on my street, it was completely different to when I was with my school friends. I would sometimes get teased by my friends at home for talking like a white kid, something that I later became intentional about not doing.

It was in my pre-teen years that I really started to think about my identity and the way in which we lived as coloured people. When I started high school at an all-boys school, some of my friends from primary school started there too. The friend groups that formed were different to primary school. In primary school our friend groups were racially diverse. In high school, almost all groups were split by race. Our friend group was almost exclusively coloured, apart from one Indian friend.

In 2003, we migrated to Aotearoa New Zealand. I started Year 12 in an East Auckland high school and interestingly, made friends with other coloured South African immigrants. The shared lived experiences and familiarity to home brought us together, but one big difference in Aotearoa New Zealand compared to life in South Africa for me was the question "what are you?" I was constantly asked that question, and always struggled to articulate my identity to non-South Africans. It left me with an identity struggle for many years. Over time, I began researching South Africa's history and started reading African novels and felt a strong pull towards an African identity and in more recent years, I also embraced my black identity. The more I reflected on my ancestry, influences, and experiences, the more I felt connected to my black identity. I found that culturally, politically, and socially I could be black and proud.

In 2018, my wife and I had our first child. Being blessed with a daughter, I mulled over the identity struggles she may face, as the child of an Indian South African mother and mixed-race South African father. In 2021, we were blessed with a son. They are the inspiration and purpose for my research, to create a resource that could help my children, and hopefully others trying to navigate a hybrid identity. If this kōrero[4] is helpful to just a handful of people, it would be a success for me.

Rationale

As previously mentioned, the reason for this research is to create a resource that may help others, classified as coloured in the South African context, or not, in understanding their identity. One of my supervisors, Dr Camille Nakhid, said something at the start of my research journey that has stuck

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[4] Māori word for conversation

with me. She said that if we do not define our identity, others will define it for us for their benefit and to our detriment. I believe that this research can help create opportunities for others to think more deeply about their identity and ultimately gain a better understanding of who they are.

Much of the research that exists about those classified as coloured in the South African context is focused on those living in South Africa. A limited number of studies have been conducted on coloured identity construction in the Australian and Canadian contexts, but this is the first in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand. Whilst the three anglosphere nations share a colonial history and challenges creating a post-colonial society that seeks to redress the marginalisation of indigenous communities, each has unique issues. This research will create new knowledge in the space and expand on the limited research of the emigrant community of coloured South Africans.

Most importantly, the research that exists about the community in and out of South Africa has applied Western methodological frameworks. This research study purposefully uses an uBuntu methodology that moves beyond decolonisation and talking about people of colour in relation to colonisation, towards a culturally affirming framework that centres the culture and values of the community in a way that is relevant, familiar, and safe.

Overview of methodology

Coloured South African identity was borne out of the colonial project and cemented under the apartheid project. It is therefore imperative that research of the coloured community in a post-apartheid world is conducted from a decolonised lens. Those classified as coloured were made to believe that they were not African, despite their African genealogy. Therefore, it is essential that an African research methodology is used to better understand the lived experiences of coloured South Africans in the New Zealand context.

The connection between Western research methodology and power (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2017) has left indigenous peoples and people of colour powerless in the research process for centuries. A decolonised approach to research enables new knowledge to be created through the perspectives of the researched. It encompasses cultural ethics protocols, collects data in ways that affirm the indigenous practices of the research and makes a positive contribution to the purposes of the researched (Seehawer, 2018).

The African philosophical worldview of uBuntu will be used as the research methodology for this study. Without being overly reductive, uBuntu literally translates to humanity in isiZulu, and is based on the principal of people being connected through a universal bond of sharing (Maluleka, 2019). Made famous to the Western world by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, he describes that understanding

uBuntu is to know that 'my humanity is inextricably bound up in yours' (Tutu, 1999). Though the concept of uBuntu is Southern African, it is understood and applicable to ethnic groups and communities across the African continent.

The uBuntu research paradigm focuses on the community as opposed to the individual. It asserts that knowledge is created through communal discourse, not individually. Different forms of truth or knowledge can materialise from the same conversation because each person adds to the discourse based on their own lived experience (Seehawer, 2018).

In the uBuntu research framework, all knowledge sharers make a significant contribution to the research. The researcher is not positioned as the central figure extracting information from informants, instead the researcher is equal to the co-researchers involved in the study and claims a speaking position in the conversations shared and perspectives given. The equality of all involved in the research is an important aspect of the uBuntu methodology:

> uBuntu is also about building a collective understanding through the sharing of ideas between community members. This builds on the perception that ideas are not property that can be owned by individuals but are instead a common resource that should be shared willingly. (Hailey, 2008, p. 12).

To avoid compromising the legitimacy of the uBuntu methodology, I relied on an indigenous practice (shisa nyama) as a research method for this study. Shisa nyama events were hosted at my home, with the co-researchers engaged in organic conversations around the fire and sharing a meal together. The data analysis also followed an uBuntu framework, with the co-researchers determining the topics of discussion to focus on using the uKhamba method of analysis that I developed. Upon completion of the research, an Indaba presentation of the findings will be held with all co-researchers involved in the study coming together to share in community, food and conversation about the outcomes of the research.

Organisation of chapters

This research is split into five chapters. The first chapter introduces the research and the research question. It gives an overview of the historical context of coloured identity in the South African context, the effects of colonisation on New Zealand society and the links between the two countries in this regard. It also explores my reasons for undertaking this research and my hopes of the impact the research will have. The second chapter explores relevant literature that helps understand the community. Topics of identity, black consciousness, the impact of colonisation, decolonisation and acculturation are unpacked. The third chapter explores the methodological approach of the research. It provides detailed reasoning for the selection of the uBuntu methodology, the uBuntu

worldview, shisa nyama research method and uKhamba data analysis. Chapter four presents the findings of the research, focusing on identity labels and self-identification. Chapter five discusses the main themes of the research as selected by the co-researchers (the research participants) in the uKhamba data analysis. It also concludes the research by highlighting key insights gathered.

Chapter 2: Literature review

This research study focuses on identity as it is constructed in the land of one's birth and how it is reconstructed in a foreign land. The literature reviewed in this chapter will provide insight into how identity is developed and negotiated. It will also explore topics that may inform the identity of coloured South African migrants in Aotearoa New Zealand, such as black consciousness, the impact of colonisation, decolonisation, and acculturation. It is essential to preface this with an understanding that coloured identity is unique to each individual, as each family has a different ethnic make-up, and the community is in no way homogenous. Migration to Aotearoa New Zealand adds even greater complexity to coloured identity.

Identity

Encompassing an individual's culture, ethnicity, socio-economic standing, gender, sexuality, and family roles to name a few, identity is formed out of an individual's lived experience (Ting-Toomey, 2005). Identity is made up of three levels: personal, role-relational, and social identity. The personal identity of a person captures the unique characteristics such as gestures, beliefs, attitudes, and aesthetics, as examples (Whetten, 2006). One's role/relational identity is where the roles or relationships a person has or embodies influence who they are as a person, for example, being a father is a role/relational identity that shapes a person's attitudes and behaviours (Sluss & Ashforth, 2007). The third level, or social identity, is whereby identifying with social categories such as cultural groups, workplaces, and sports teams to name a few, a person inevitably ends up internalising some of the defining features or prototypical characteristics that define those social categories into their self-concept (Albert, Ashforth & Dutton, 2000). The development and negotiation of these levels of identity are a product of social interaction. Individuals will look to the responses of others to validate their personal understandings of the self, thereby feeling a sense of belonging and acceptance. At the same time, by comparing the self to others, individuals also seek to understand how they are unique, making belongingness and uniqueness key identity motivations. As a concept, identity is dynamic and ever-changing, impacted by the experiences of an individual and the wider group of which the individual is part of, over time. It is easy to over-simplify the concept of identity, which occurs at the expense of understanding it in depth. For this reason, several social science theorists explore issues of identity from different perspectives and though their interpretations of identity may differ, each perspective adds validity to the argument that the topic of identity is nuanced and ever-growing.

As mentioned, individuals identify with social categories developing for themselves in-groups and out-groups. These in-group and out-group distinctions need not be problematic but instead work to

segment society to allow for comparisons and the pursuit of belonging (Brewer & Gardner, 2004). In-groups and out-groups only become a problem when people engage in in-group favouritism: the act of privileging their own in-group at the expense of an out-group, even if both groups have similarities (Chen & Xin Li, 2009). Those similarities will be ignored to create a perceived hierarchy of importance and superiority. Such in-group favouritism can manifest in the racist, sexist, xenophobic, homophobic (as examples) treatment of others. It is the contention of this research that the coloured identity of South Africans is a social category or in-group that helps to form one's cultural identity. Cultural identity comprises the characteristics common to a group including but not limited to the language, belief, cuisine, dress, social behaviours and expectations and traditions of the group (Tchindjang, 2008). Fundamentally, it is the commonalities and shared values that connects members of a group. Caribbean critical theorist, Stuart Hall, has played a crucial role in the advancement of cultural theory. His essay, Cultural Identity and Diaspora (1996) speaks of the simultaneous nature of cultural identity as who an individual currently is and what an individual is becoming, speaking to the fluidity and constant evolution of identity.

In essence, an individual is not born with a cultural identity; it is created through social interaction and external influences. Children, by example, learn what to place importance on and what is normal from the individuals around them. Much of a child's cultural identity is learned over their formative years and into adolescence (Gudykunst, 2005). Factors such as place, politics and power all have important roles in transforming cultural identity over time. For Africans on the continent and in the diaspora, cultural identity was influenced by colonisation, as colonisers effectively made black people see themselves as other or an out-group, and ultimately experience life outside of what and, more importantly, who was considered normal (Hall, 1996, p. 96). The scramble for Africa during the period of colonisation severely impacted the cultural identity of Africa's people (Banks & Henries, 1977), with conflict and domination being the major contributors to the transformation of African cultural identity. Political liberation and historic social movements such as South Africa's Fees Must Fall movement beginning in 2015 and the #Menaretrash movement in 2016 have equally shaped African cultural identity in the twenty first century. Future movements will continue the process of transformation. Stuart Hall (1996) agreed with this:

> Cultural identities are the points of identification, the unstable points of identification or suture, which are made, within the discourse of history and culture. Not an essence, but a positioning. Hence there is always a politics of identity, a politics of position, which has no absolute guarantee in an unproblematic, transcendental 'law of origin'.

It would be impossible to speak about coloured cultural identity without focusing on race. A man-made construct that reflects phenotype, race has been used as an effective strategy by governments and political regimes to exclude certain groups of people and classify them as outsiders (Samovar, Porter, & McDaniel, 2009). The social construction of race, linking physical features and heritage to social standing and worth in society has been used effectively to divide and subjugate people groups (Rocha, 2012) despite interracial relationships, and immigration making biological race distinctions near impossible and unfounded (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). The continued use of race to segment society produces acts of racism which is "the perception and treatment of a racial or ethnic group as intellectually, socially or culturally inferior to one's group" (Anderson & Taylor, 2013, p. 278). Whether overt, systematic or microaggressions, acts of racism, prejudice some while privileging others (Fleras, 2016; Nairn, 2021; Sue, 2013). The apartheid system legislated white privilege in South Africa, but the system of white privilege had been in existence since the arrival of European settlers. Apartheid policies created a system that saw white people as just being people (Kendall, 2002), whilst everyone else fell into the classification of 'other'. Today, the issue of white privilege is being contended within South Africa and Aotearoa. A term that originated in the United States of America in the 1980s, white privilege looks at the benefits that individuals who are white are afforded – both seen and unseen (Davids et al., 2021).

Communication enables cultural identity to form and transform. Conversations between family members, or members of the same group, the way in which events are celebrated or commemorated, music, dance, and ceremonies, all encompass cultural identity (Samovar, Porter, McDaniel, 2009). Towards the end of apartheid, coloured community leaders from across language, religious and educational spectrums joined forces to help bring freedom and justice to South Africans. Prominent community members became heroes in post-apartheid South Africa in coloured communities across the country. Individuals like Trevor Manuel, Dullar Omah and Morris Fynn are names that instilled a sense of pride in coloured communities. These individuals were also advocates of the Black Consciousness Movement, which rejected a separate coloured classification.

Black consciousness

A call for solidarity amongst people of colour, black consciousness is a way of thinking and doing that aims to combat racism that was perpetrated and implemented by colonial powers (Resane, 2021). The concept of black consciousness addresses untruths that black people were led to believe by oppressive powers. These include the notion that black people were foreigners in their own land when European settlers arrived, and that they required rescuing from themselves. Politically driven, the black consciousness movement aims to emancipate black people from mental slavery (Lamola, 2016).

In the early years of the apartheid system, the South African government worked to silence liberation movements and organisations that opposed its racist policies. The March 1960 massacre of 69 people in an Apartheid Pass Laws Protest in the township of Sharpeville represented a turning point in South African society. Followed by the banning of the African National Congress (ANC) in April 1960, a clear message was sent to communities that the apartheid government was intent on deliberately destroying black opposition to white monopoly rule (Parker & Mokhesi-Parker, 1998). The aim of the apartheid regime to fragment and ultimately ruin anti-racist movements was met with increased activism and opposition. In 1961, uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the ANC's military wing, meaning Spear of the Nation, focused on physically attacking the racist regime. In 1968, the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) was formed. It focused on intellectually attacking the regime. The Black Consciousness Movement sought to unite all people of colour in South Africa to fight against racial and social injustice. Founded by freedom fighters Steve Biko and Mamphela Ramphele, the movement gained traction beyond South Africa's borders.

The BCM focused on the need to not just fight apartheid, but to rethink the Eurocentric culture of apartheid-era South Africa (Biko, 2002). It focused on the need for the country to embrace African values and culture. In *I write what I like* (p. 41), a compilation of Steve Biko's notable writings, he states:

> One of the most fundamental aspects of our culture is the importance we attach to Man. Ours has always been a Man-centred society. Westerners have on many occasions been surprised at the capacity we have for talking to each other – not for the sake of arriving at a particular conclusion but merely to enjoy the communication for its own sake.

The movement urged coloured South Africans to liberate themselves from colonial imprisonment and see themselves as black. In its policy manifesto, the Black Consciousness Movement defined black people as those groups "who were by law politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in South African society and identified themselves as a unit in the struggle towards the realisation of their aspirations" (Biko, 2002, p. 48). In South Africa, this encompassed those who were classified as African, Indian, and coloured. Biko clearly asserted that the first step towards emancipation was one's own acknowledgement that they were black.

For coloured South Africans to acknowledge their blackness, the relinquishing of privilege would need to take place, as the coloured classification afforded those in the group with access to opportunity that those classified as black were not (Sonn, 2010). Though the idea of being black was met with resistance from within the coloured community, in the late 1970s it gained popularity, with a small but significant proportion of the group rejecting the term coloured (Adhikari, 2013).

Acclaimed South African poet, James Matthews, classified as coloured by the apartheid regime, was an outspoken advocate of the Black Consciousness Movement and openly identified as black as opposed to coloured. Many of his early poems, from the 1970s, spoke of his pride as a black man and solidarity with black people across South Africa, Africa and in the diaspora (Adhikari, 2003). His early work, Cry Rage (Matthews, 1972), displayed his solidarity with the movement:

I share the pain of my black brother
and a mother in a Harlem ghetto
with that of a soul brother in Notting Hill
as I am removed from the land that I own
because of the colour of my skin

our pain has linked us
from Manenberg to Soweto
to the land of the not so free
and Britannia across the sea …

our pain unites us
into burning brands of rage
that will melt our fetters
and sear the flesh of the mockers
of our blackness and our heritage

A slow but steady rethinking of blackness began to take place in coloured communities in the 1970s. The coloured-only tertiary college of Bellville, now known as the University of the Western Cape, experienced mass anti-apartheid protests on campus in the 1970s. Adam Small, a prolific coloured writer and back then, an academic at the institution was an influential voice in the Black Consciousness Movement. Small helped change mindsets amongst coloured youth at the institution and encouraged them to reject the apartheid endorsed coloured racial classification imposed upon them (February, 1981).

Black consciousness appealed to coloured youth at Bellville College because it encouraged them to embrace their black identity through a process of self-awareness and deliberate refusal to let white stereotypes and norms define them. Small's outspoken views helped create a groundswell of black consciousness amongst young people at the institution. He openly expressed his views on the pivotal

role of black consciousness in making progress in South African society. His comments on blackness and racism in a newspaper interview (1971) are proof of this:

> Racism is a phenomenon of inferiority. Our blackness is a phenomenon of pride. We can no longer care whether or not whites understand us. What we do care about is understanding ourselves, and, in the course of this task, helping whites to understand themselves. We are rejecting the idea that we live by their grace (that is, that they have the right to decide our future). We may live by the Grace of God, but we do not live by the grace of the whites. (February, 1981).

The formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the 1980s, a non-racial democratic movement that brought together civil, political, and religious groups to fight against apartheid, was momentous in that it was launched by those who were classified as coloured in the South African context. The UDFs formation also signified a shift in South Africa's coloured community, as it was initially launched in opposition to the apartheid government's introduction of the tricameral parliament in 1984, which gave limited political voice and representation to Indian and coloured communities whilst completely excluding African communities. The UDF contributed significantly to the rejection of a separate coloured identity. As a result, a significant number from within the community started considering themselves as part of South Africa's black majority (Nilsson, 2016).

The impact of colonisation

The act of taking control of foreign land and the indigenous people on it, colonisation has occurred in much of the world (Veracini, 2010). Whilst colonisation is an event, the structure that it creates leaves a lasting effect on indigenous communities and their cultural practices (Garcia-Olp, 2018).

Colonial South Africa, and later, apartheid South Africa, implemented white supremacist regimes and policies that gave economic and social opportunities to those classified as white over other race groups (Adhikari, 2005, , 2013). Adhikari (2013, p. 13) states that the British Empire did this intentionally: "colonial administrations first sought to racially classify and regulate the population using received notions of racial difference, and when ideas, experience and immigrants from the Cape were at their most influential." The impacts of colonisation, though felt from the first arrival of European settlers, grew in strength. Indigenous languages such as Nama, Khoe and San were spoken less, cultural practices were curtailed and policed, and as a result, forthcoming generations suffered great loss of their language and culture.

The start of the twentieth century came with laws and policies that limited the opportunities and movements of coloured people in more ways than ever before. In 1905, schooling was made compulsory only for white students, and in 1910, coloured people were banned from being elected to parliament. The introduction of apartheid in 1948 made life much more difficult for coloured people in South Africa. The Group Areas Act of 1950 enforced spatial racial segregation, with more than half a million coloured people forcibly removed from central suburbs in cities and towns across South Africa that were reclassified as 'whites-only' areas. As non-white South Africans were displaced, whites enjoyed greater privileges, with exclusive access to land and spaces that were deemed desirable. The Separate Amenities Act of 1953 segregated all public facilities by race, creating high quality facilities for white people and sub-par versions for people of colour. South African society operating on colour lines meant that the living conditions, and the social and economic status of citizens differed vastly by race. Whilst whites had access to first world education, healthcare and careers, coloured people received much less financial investment from the government. Systemic racism thrived in South African society, as white superiority informed the way of life (O'Dowd, 2020).

Black people received even less than coloureds. For many coloureds, the best chance of achieving social inclusion and upward mobility in society was to assimilate and aspire to values of whiteness. Von Langsdorff (2018, p. 23) highlights some of the ways in which coloureds aspired to whiteness: "their daily expressions of associations with whiteness affirm this; obsession with keeping their hair tame, compulsive hair straightening, the lightening of skin, manner of speech were indicators of white culture and wealth." Some coloureds tried to pass as white to reap societal benefits. Passing as white, though seen as desirable, came at the high cost of family separation and loneliness (Anton, 2021).

With the racist white government in power, it was only natural that the societal norms would be racist and Eurocentric. Even the history of people of colour was documented by white historians who saw black people as inferior and regarded racial mixing as repulsive (Adhikari, 2005). Being fed a negative view of themselves, coloured people were made to believe that aspiring to whiteness could give them access to greater opportunities and better futures for their children.

In post-apartheid South Africa, little has changed. Although white South Africans are a minority group declining in number, their impact is still great, with whites still enjoying the highest standard

of living and lowest rate of unemployment amongst all race groups in present day South Africa (Mashishi, 2021).
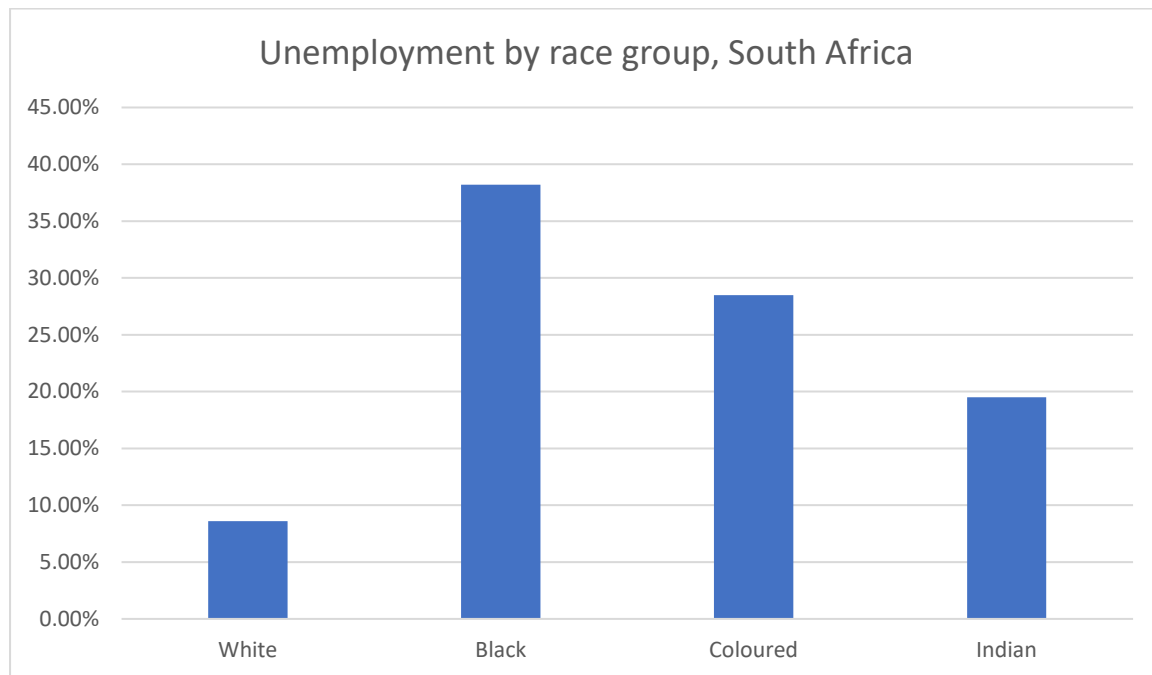
Unemployment by race group, South Africa

Fig 1.1. Unemployment by race group. Q2, 2021, South Africa (Stats SA, 2021).

This highlights the currency that whiteness still has in South African society (Van der Westhuizen, 2022), that even after nearly three decades of democracy and affirmative action policies, white South Africans still occupy senior leadership positions in many organisations. Issues of race, power and privilege saturate everyday life in present day South Africa, with a clear divide along racial lines. Though political power has shifted, economic and social power remains firmly entrenched in the hands of wealthy white South Africans. The term white monopoly capital is commonly used in reference to the influence and control that white citizens have over the economy in post-apartheid South Africa. An example of economic influence is the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE). In 2017, a study found that only 23% of shares traded on the JSE were done so by black South Africans. The majority of shares were traded by whites (Anwar, 2017). Considering that South Africa's black population is more than 80%, JSE share trading does not reflect the demographics of the country.

Regarding land redistribution, more than 80% of South Africa's land was in the hands of whites under apartheid. Today, it is estimated that white South Africans still own approximately 70% of South Africa's land (Smith, 2019). Taking into account South Africa's white population is less than 8% of the population, this is evidence of the inequality that still exists in the country decades after political freedom was gained.

Decolonisation

In the context of the research questions, decolonisation is an important lens to look through. The coloured community was a creation of the colonial project. With the process of decolonisation underway in various ways and at differing paces in South Africa and Aotearoa, it is important to understand what decolonisation is and would mean for a community whose identity is challenged and may cease to exist as a result.

Decolonisation is understood by many as the process of undoing the colonial legacy of countries that experienced colonisation and imperialism. The United Nations refers to it as the self-determination of indigenous people the world over (Quintero, 2012) to achieve equality and freedom. It also explores restorative justice in regard to the economy, politics and culture (Heckenberg & O'Dowd, 2020).

Frantz Fanon, one of the earliest and most prominent voices for decolonisation, was a twentieth century philosopher from the former French colony of Martinique. His many writings have been used as a blueprint for decolonisation frameworks in Africa and around the globe. In *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961, p. 19), he asserts the need for land to be returned to colonised people to give dignity back to indigenous communities: "for a colonized people the most essential value, because the most concrete, is first and foremost the land: the land which will bring them bread and, above all, dignity."

In addition, Fanon (1961) discusses the power that settlers have in the writing of history and the societal norms and narratives that develop as a result. He suggests that because history is told from the perspective of the coloniser, the land from which the settler came is presented as the model to which we should aspire. He makes this point by stating that the storyteller is an important part of the story that is told, because the individual telling the story has the power to shape the narrative. The process of decolonisation looks for approaches that indigenous communities and people of colour can use to regain the power that was taken away from them. Storytelling is central to African culture and tradition, and its use as a methodological framework is culturally relevant and affirming for research focused on individuals of African descent. Tuwe (2016) used the African oral tradition of storytelling as a methodology to investigate the challenges and experiences of African communities in Aotearoa New Zealand regarding employment and wellbeing. He argues that for the perspectives of Africans to be critiqued through social science research, culturally appropriate methodological frameworks must be used.

Acclaimed Kenyan writer and academic, Ngugi wa Thiong'o's (1986) essay *Decolonmakessing the mind*, explores the effects of English being forced on indigenous communities in Kenya, and by extension, all colonised societies. He argues that the struggles faced by African communities are not due to their actions or choice but a result of history. He states that struggle can only be overcome through social transformation that deconstructs imperial legacies and systems. The newly created systems need to properly reflect the communities they cater to in order for them to be effective. In *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Smith (1999) explains the effects of colonialism and imperialism on indigenous communities in Aotearoa New Zealand and the world. Similarly, to Thiong'o, she elaborates on the disconnection from history, language and social ways of doing and thinking caused by colonisation.

In a Black Lives Matter discussion (2020), American anti-racist activist, Angela Davis, discusses the need for diversity efforts to be truly meaningful. She states that for this to occur, entities need to stop practicing performative inclusivity and implement ways of thinking and doing that reflect indigenous people who are black, indigenous and people of colour. This is reflective of decolonisation strategies that seek to understand and include worldviews beyond the West and settler groups in colonised nations. As Davis (2016) expresses in her collection of essays on struggle and oppression, the focus on liberating minds should be as important as liberating society. Chizoba's (2014) exploration of Afrocentric education discusses the need for African traditions, histories, and knowledge systems to be recouped to effectively begin the process of decolonisation.

Both colonised nations, South Africa and Aotearoa New Zealand are exploring approaches to decolonisation in post-colonial society. For example, the public discourse in both countries is reflecting on and challenging their colonial names. A 2022 petition to officially change the name of New Zealand to Aotearoa was signed by more than 70,000 people (Dexter, 2022). In South Africa, there have been calls for many years to change the name of the country to Azania (Babatunde, 2017). Since the fall of apartheid, many cities and towns bearing English and Afrikaans names have been changed to names that reflect the indigenous languages of the region. In 2022, the South African government stated that name changes needed to occur at a faster pace (Business Tech, 2022).

South Africa achieved political liberation in 1994 when Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was elected President in the country's first democratic election. Whilst political changes started to alter the face

of the nation, the ANC were aware of the challenges involved in building an equitable society that undid the damage that the apartheid and colonial governments had done for close to 350 years (Everatt, 2016). Political liberation occurred in 1994, but mental, social, and economic emancipation is an ongoing process for people of colour in South Africa. From education to history, justice and healthcare, South African society had operated only using Eurocentric worldviews for centuries. African worldviews were rejected. The Eurocentric ways of doing and thinking in South Africa presented a simultaneous challenge and opportunity for the government to reimagine and redesign the country for it to become an African nation that reflected the culture, languages and worldviews of its people. Regarding decolonisation in education, the need for culturally affirming research was evident. Research in the South African context, and about its people, should seek to "deconstruct oppressive ideologies and to create counter-stories required for transformation and liberation" (Sonn, 2010).

Aotearoa New Zealand is also involved in the process of decolonisation in the twenty first century, but a major challenge is the country's demographics. In Aotearoa, Māori are a minority group. This adds to the complexity of the process of decolonisation when most of the country's population are European. Vercoe (1998) argues that for decolonisation to be achieved in Aotearoa, Māori require self-determination and independence from the crown: "Tino rangatiratanga is a total transformation of society. It requires a programme of decolonisation which effectively educates people about the history of this country" (Vercoe, p. 85). In the book *Imagining Decolonisation*, Elkington et al. (2020) reflect on the need for the people of Aotearoa to have a clear understanding of colonisation in the New Zealand context, and how it dispossessed Māori. They state that Kiwis would only be able to make sense of decolonisation when they understand the impacts of colonisation. For those classified as coloured South African who now reside in Aotearoa, the conversation around decolonisation is pertinent. In a society that is challenging colonial norms and racist ideologies, those classified as coloured would need to question whether the identity label can exist if decolonisation were to take place.

Migration: from Azania[5] to Aotearoa

Migration is the process of individuals leaving the land of their birth to resettle elsewhere for greater economic or educational opportunities, due to political instability or other reasons (Bhugra, 2004). Coloured South Africans began emigrating during the apartheid era and there has since been a small but steady movement of coloureds leaving South Africa (Langsdroff, 2018). Most South Africans

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[5] The name of South Africa before it was colonised.

emigrate to different parts of the Anglosphere, namely Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America. Though immigration data in these countries is not split by apartheid classifications, in Australia, emerging research shows that coloured migrants make up a small but significant amount of the South African diaspora (Sonn, 2010). In New Zealand, there are more than 6,000 of the 90,000 plus South African community who self-identify as coloured. Recent emigration data from South Africa shows that those in the diaspora are only expected to increase (Peter, 2019).

Safran's (1991, 2009) definition of diaspora asserts that its members share the following characteristics:

1) They, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original "center" to two or more "peripheral", or foreign regions;

2) they retain a collective memory, vision or myth about the original homeland – its physical location, history and achievements;

3) they believe that they are not – and perhaps cannot be – fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulted from it;

4) they regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return – when conditions are appropriate

5) they believe that they should, collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity; and

6) they continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethno-communal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship. (p. 3).

The coloured community in South Africa is complex in that since its formation, long before the introduction of apartheid, it has held a contentious place in South African society. For the colonial government, the creation of a coloured racial classification helped create a buffer between white and black people (Sonn, 1995). Though the coloured community were not segregated by law until apartheid was introduced, the racist colonial regime achieved segregation by limiting access to land, the economy and education for those classified coloured. The coloured classification came with it privilege and disenfranchisement. Whites, who created the racial hierarchy, were aspired to by many coloureds long before apartheid was introduced. Many coloureds hoped that assimilation to white

culture would result in greater acceptance into the dominant society and ultimately lead to better social and economic status (Adhikari, 2005).

Generational assimilation to white culture is seen in the way that coloured South Africans live today. The overwhelming majority of twenty-first century coloured South Africans are unable to speak or understand an African language and are only able to converse in Afrikaans or English, languages introduced by European settlers. Post-apartheid tropes from the coloured community include laments on not being white enough under the apartheid system and not being black enough in democratic South Africa (Adhikari, 2013). The notion of not being black enough is linked to South Africa's affirmative action programme of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), which seeks to redress inequality and create space for black people in the economy. The BEE programme does include coloured people in its definition of black but given the community's social standing in the apartheid era racial hierarchy, at the dawn of democracy, those classified as coloured were financially better off than those classified as African. Thus, individuals classified as African are more likely to be at a greater disadvantage and are given opportunities for work and business over coloured people with equal qualifications and experience.

In post-apartheid South Africa, many coloureds see the new society they live in as regressive (Isaacs-Martin, Petrus, 2012). Whilst certain jobs were reserved for coloureds in the apartheid era, democratic South African society enables people of any background or racial group to pursue career opportunities. Coloureds who choose to leave South Africa, along with other non-black South Africans, cite affirmative action as a leading push factor of emigration (Wessels, 2016).

Migrants typically expect their adopted land to improve their lives, and the lives of their families. Whilst this is true in some respects, migration also comes with sacrifices and losses. An international survey conducted by Statistics Norway on migrant satisfaction showed that immigrants in Norway are slightly less satisfied with their lives than the rest of the population (Amundsen, 2017). A 2008 research study (Khawaja, Mason) exploring the predictors of psychological distress in South African migrants to Australia highlights the gravity of leaving one's life in the country of their birth and starting anew in a foreign land. It also found that stress manifesting in the form of depression, psychosomatic complaints and anxiety was common amongst participants in the study. For coloured South Africans, the added complexity of identity reconstruction can be added to the list of issues to make sense of in their adopted land. Safran's (1991) definition of diaspora highlights the difficulty that migrants have in fully being accepted in a new society, and the resulting alienation and insult that can be experienced. The no man's land that the coloured community is positioned in South

African society adds complexity to this notion, as the community were not accepted in the land of their birth by the colonial and apartheid governments

Though New Zealand experienced colonisation and imperial conquest much later than South Africa, both nations were colonised by the British. Added to the complexity of South Africa's colonial history, the Dutch held power before and after the British. As a result, contentious issues of race, equity and equality exist in both countries. Indigenous groups and people of colour in Aotearoa New Zealand (Cormack, 2019) and South Africa (Sibeko, 2017) have lower social indicators than white citizens. Instances of racism play out in both societies, overtly and covertly, with countless examples of discrimination that Māori face at many levels in New Zealand society (Cormack, 2019). Other groups such as Pacific peoples (Tuilaepa-Taylor, 2019) and black New Zealanders (Nakhid, 2018, 2017) also experience racism at multiples levels of New Zealand society. The coloured community's lived experience of racism in South Africa has left the community feeling dismayed, and whether real or internalised, the sense of ethnic marginalisation is felt by the community in present day South Africa (Parkinson, 2018). As South Africa has experienced a sharp rise in emigration, New Zealand has simultaneously experienced a surge in immigration from South Africa. Between 2019 and 2020, more than 7,000 South Africans migrated to New Zealand (Business Tech, 2020). These statistics do not disaggregate data according to South Africa's racial classification, but from Statistics South Africa's emigration data every year, it shows that most are white South African.

Coloured South Africans who migrate to New Zealand exchange one racially complex society for another. New Zealand's history of ethnic hybridity began once British settlers arrived. The country's first national census in 1851 only counted the European population. In 1867, Māori were counted in the population count (Rocha, 2012). By the twentieth century, racial mixing was not uncommon in New Zealand society, with mixed race people being referred to as half-castes (Meredith, 2000). Though New Zealand never introduced policies prohibiting miscegenation, the state structured society through colonial policies that favoured Europeans. Similar to South African rule in the colonial and apartheid eras, intermarriage between Māori and Europeans was seen as a way of achieving social assimilation for Māori (Rocha, 2012). 'Half-caste' children held an interesting position in between the Māori and Pākehā, and racial classification usually depended on the cultural identification of parents. If culturally, the child was more Pākehā than Māori, that is what he or she would be classified as Pākehā and vice-versa (Anderson, 1991). In the latter half of the twentieth century, migrants from the Pacific arrived on the shores of Aotearoa, followed by migrants from various parts of Asia, with most Asian migrants coming from India and China (Singham, 2006).

Acculturation

In the context of the third research question which seeks to understand how co-researchers' identity in Aotearoa, it is important to get an understanding of acculturation and how it can affect the way in which coloured South African immigrants choose to identify. The concepts that will be explored in this section include assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation.

Whilst the co-researchers involved in this study have individual identity journeys, they are all immigrants. They have each undergone the process of acculturation, as they have had to navigate a different society and culture. Literature exploring the of acculturation will be useful in gaining a nuanced understanding of where in the acculturation paradigm each co-researcher sits, and how it affects them psychologically.

The process of adjustment from one culture to another, acculturation is the way in which individuals adapt to the norms of a new society (Lakey, 2003). Zimmerman, et al (2006) assumed that there are four two-dimensional possibilities of how people view their ethnic self-identification as they embrace new or shed old ethnic identities: people can feel integrated, that is they feel strongly connected to both the host and the home country, and the feelings can co-exist; people can feel assimilated, meaning that they completely adapt to the host country and disengage from the country of origin; they can feel separated, in the sense that they maintain strong connections to the country of origin and only a weak link with the host country; or they feel marginalized, that is they have loose connections to either the host or the home country.

Berry's (2005) model of acculturation styles will be explored in-depth in this section.
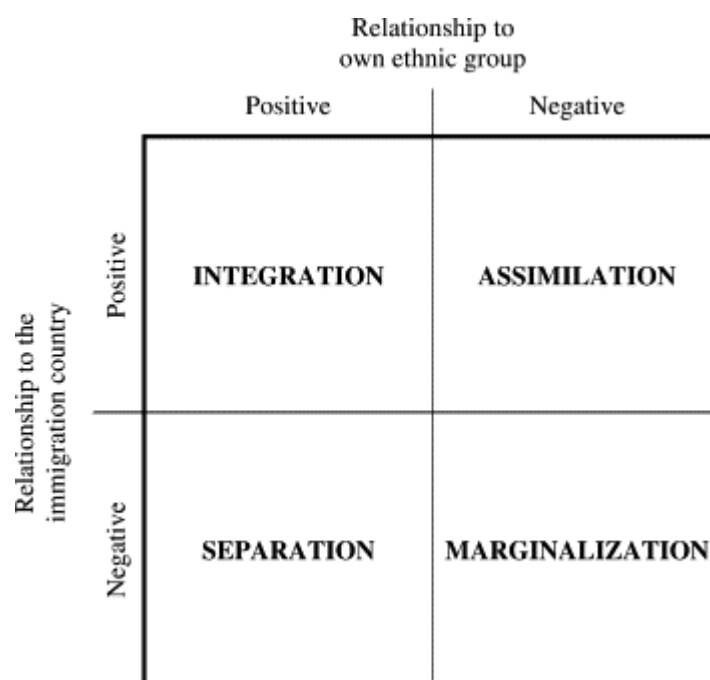
Figure 1: Berry's model of Acculturation styles: Integration, Assimilation, Separation and Marginalisation.

The following explores each of these dimensions to account for how the people of this research might reflect on their experiences of being coloured South African in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Assimilation

Assimilation is the phenomenon of an individual that is new to a society adopting the culture of those in the host nation (Tahat et al., 2020). It refers to the adaption to a new way of life and the culture of a host country at the expense of the attachment felt towards the home country.

The focus on assimilation assumes that individuals can fit in to a society and adapt more easily and quickly if they work to look, sound and act like the dominant group in their host country. Assimilation becomes more difficult for people of colour when phenotype cannot be easily masked or changed.

A study exploring the lived experiences of post-Apartheid South African immigrants in Australia (Sonn et al, 2017) stated that while Australia prides itself on multiculturalism, several authors have highlighted that the country continues to imagine itself as a white nation (Hage 1999; Stratton 2011), with its racialized history denied or barely acknowledged. This suggests that colourblind racism, the notion that all people have equal opportunities and racism does not exist (Burke, 2018), is a normal part of Australian society. Whiteness, according to Hage (1998) is a "fantasy position of cultural dominance borne out of the history of colonial expansion" (p. 20), which has implications for belonging and the identity construction of immigrant groups. Some have suggested that whiteness constructs Indigenous Australians as non-Australians and designated migrant groups as 'perpetual foreigners' (Nicolacopoulos & Vassilacopoulos 2004, p.142) in Australia.

For some coloured South Africans who migrate from their homeland, assimilation may be a way of creating a new identity that is less contrived and more generally accepted.

> "The stories in our research revealed the ambivalence generated by being classified as 'coloured' and positioned in between black and white groups, of being oppressor and oppressed, of being neither black and nor white. The condition and positioning also generated a mixture of responses. For some the group membership designated 'non status', for others it was derogatory, and they hated it, while for some it was just the way that things were — that is, what they knew, and their life-world" (Sonn, 2010, p.5).

This suggests that coloured identity can be quite fluid outside of South Africa. Once an individual is taken out of the society where their imposed racial classification is understood and accepted, it may be easier to embrace other identities as other self-identification labels may be less likely to be challenged by others.

Integration

Integration for first-generation immigrants is widely viewed as the optimal form of cultural adaptation. It is defined as a process where people are able to adopt both the dominant culture of the society as well as their original culture, combining the two simultaneously.

Immigrants who are well integrated tend to have more positive trajectories in their host nation. Zimmerman et al. (2006) found that integration was a better outcome for immigrants to Germany in comparison to assimilation and marginalisation because immigrant were able to practice their culture and embrace the culture in Germany. Findings also showed that levels of integration were higher the longer an individual permanently resided in Germany. This suggests that immigrants may find themselves in the categories of assimilation or marginalisation in the early years of resettlement but lived experiences can cause them to transition to feelings of integration. Integration would come as a result of a migrant feeling that they have been able to successfully retain their own culture as they embrace the culture of their adopted society.

Vermeulen (2017), in a research study on the identity of South African migrants in New Zealand made a point about the question that immigrants are faced with in Aotearoa regarding their ethnic identity. She suggests that migrants need to critically think about how they will live out their culture in a society as multicultural as Aotearoa, and how they need to decide what elements of Māori culture they embrace. Dupont and Lemarchand (2001) argue the same point. This suggests that the process of integration can be a continuous thought and decision-making process for some. It may also be influenced by the individual's quest to find their place in the world and who they are in relation to peers and contemporaries. Achieving integration may take a few years for some, whilst for others it may be a much lengthier process. It must also be understood that some individuals may never become integrated into the society of the host nation.

In his research about the lived experiences of post-apartheid Muslim South African migration to Brisbane, Vahed (2008) shared interviewees' views on the difference between integration and assimilation. The data from the study showed that integration can be interpreted differently. Some participants found sharing spaces with locals to be integration, whilst others found assimilation to be engaging in acts that contradict their beliefs. Within the realm of integration interpretations, individuals' personal beliefs and comfort levels must be considered. In many instances, a well-

integrated first-generation migrant would display positive feelings towards both the host and home nation, having close ties with elements of their community or ethnicity of origin as well as with those of the host nation.

Integration for first-generation coloured South African immigrants in Aotearoa New Zealand may constitute the use of their mother tongue, traditions, customs, and values whilst still embracing and practising elements of the host nation's culture.

Separation

Immigrants who cling to the notion of home at the expense of life in the host country experience separation. Contact with individuals from the host nation is minimal, and individuals experiencing separation only make contact when necessary (Choy et al., 2021).

For some immigrants, an experience of culture shock may also increase the likelihood of separation being experienced. Culture shock is the trepidation and disorientation that an individual experiences when immersed into a new environment or culture (McCluskey, 2020). Its stages include honeymoon, frustration, adjustment and acceptance. In such instances, the immigrants lived experience in the host country may differ from their perceived expectation.

When immigrants are unprepared for the changes in their new host country, they can experience cultural vulnerability, which can lead to issues they did not expect when they left their heritage country (Winbush & Selby, 2015). This includes mental health-related issues. Some studies show that immigrants who experience separation are six-times more likely to suffer with anxiety (Choy et al., 2021). If they are uncertain of what is expected from them in New Zealand society then varying degrees of culture shock, often manifested by grief and feelings of loss, may set in (Barkhuizen, 2005; Igoa, 1988; McInnes, 2012); Vermeulen, 2017).

Differences in language, race, and religion to most individuals in the host nation may increase the likelihood of separation being experienced amongst immigrants. Research shows that perceived discrimination can influence immigrants to turn to ethnic and religious groups for a sense of belonging (Jaspal, 2015). When individuals make a conscious decision to only interact with members of their own ethnic or religious group, separation occurs.

Whilst none of the coloured participants in the Post-Apartheid South African Immigrants in Australia research study (Sonn, 2017) shared sentiments of separation, it cannot be assumed that no coloured South African migrants experience separation. The fear of cultural loss and identity may spur individuals to express their culture more prominently, at the expense of adapting to life in their host country.

Though the separation approach is perceived in a negative light, a positive aspect of it is the ability and freedom of individuals to exist in a society that does not force them to assimilate with the majority. As a result, a strong cultural identity is formed in the host nation and individuals are less likely to experience loss of cultural identity (White, 2016). With that said, it can be surmised that if a migrant experiences feelings of separation, it would be unlikely that they would be able to feel a sense of belonging in the host nation. They are most likely to feel like they belong in the land from which they emigrated.

Marginalisation

Defined as a strategy of acculturation which involves low contact with the new culture and a low ability to maintain cultural heritage (Vermeulen, 2017), marginalisation leaves immigrants feeling like outsiders in the society they are currently in as well as the society they come from. For immigrant groups that have already experienced marginalisation in their homeland, these feelings can be amplified in a foreign land where little is known or understood about their culture and background.

The coloured South African community were marginalised under the apartheid system, having a classification imposed upon them and being forced to live as a somewhat homogenous group. Even though coloured people experienced marginalisation, the group simultaneously experienced privilege, having access to opportunities that black people classified as African did not. The fundamental reason for this acquiescence in their own oppression among coloured communities is patently clear. The original motivation behind the expression of a separate coloured identity, and the most consistent dynamic behind its subsequent assertion under white supremacist rule, was to claim and protect a status of privilege relative to Africans (Adhikari, 2013).

As a label that does not exist outside of southern Africa, coloured emigrants from the region find difficulty in explaining their background in foreign lands, even though for generations, the imposed label has been embraced and developed into a culture. When immigrants are not able to maintain their cultural identity and have little contact with New Zealanders, they can feel marginalised (Vermeulen, 2017). For coloured South African immigrants to new host countries, explaining their background can be difficult. Additionally, people they interact with in the host nation could make assumptions about their heritage or race that may cause confusion, which may lead to them to question their identity.

Pan-African ideology believes that all people of Sub-Saharan African descent are black and should stand in solidarity. Being of African descent, coloured South Africans naturally fit into a globally accepted definition of black. However, this notion is still challenged and rejected by many coloured

South Africans. "It has been instilled in us and our mothers and fathers… from a very young age that anything that is connotated with black is so wrong and so bad and so ugly, so that's why I think so many coloured people aren't okay with being classified as black" (Coloured Mentality, 2017).

Summary

The review of literature exploring identity, black consciousness, colonisation and decolonisation, migration, and acculturation provides valuables insights into what may influence the interpretation of coloured identity amongst the co-researchers involved in this study.

It has looked at the formation of coloured identity in South Africa as a by-product of European settler arrival in the seventeenth century and explored the viability of a coloured identity in societies that are undergoing the process of decolonisation.

The next chapter will focus on the methodological framework created specifically for this research study, with the aim of affirming the cultural values of the co-researchers.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This research aims to understand the struggles of identity that those classified as coloured in the South African context are faced with when emigrating from the land of their birth, specifically in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand. The methodological framework applied to this research seeks to generate new knowledge by considering the cultural background of the participants and creating a space for those involved to share their views in a culturally relevant and safe environment. By using a research methodology that is familiar to the participants, more honest views of identity construction and reconstruction of coloured South African migrants in Aotearoa New Zealand are likely to be shared, with those involved sharing their stories and perspectives of what it means to be coloured, what it means to be coloured outside of South Africa, and how they identify in Aotearoa.

This chapter explores the reason for a qualitative approach to this study, gives an overview of the uBuntu worldview, explains in depth my uBuntu research framework from the shisa nyama research method to the ukhamba method of analysis and indaba presentation of the research, and how they appropriately reflect my uBuntu research methodology. It is also important to note that the indigeneity of the uBuntu research methodology that I have developed does not adhere to the Western structure that would normally be followed in a methodology chapter.

Qualitative approach

To understand the lived experiences of New Zealand immigrants who are classified as coloured in the South African context, a qualitative approach was required. Qualitative research is exploratory in nature, seeking to understand individuals' views and ultimately discover new insights (Austin & Sutton, 2014). Crossman (2020) describes qualitative research as a social science research that gathers and analyses non-numerical data to get an understanding of social life relative to a specific group of people or location. A quantitative research approach was considered but was deemed inappropriate for this research topic. Quantitative research focus on gathering data through measurements of scale. It is considered objective and provides a view of finite data. Methods include surveys, polls, and questionnaires. Analysis of the data occurs through numerical comparisons and statistics. This approach does not provide the depth of understanding to properly explore the research topic. Qualitative research, with the aim of understanding the construction of social reality through the perspectives of participants, was considered more appropriate as it allowed for in-depth perspectives to be explored. Qualitative research methods employ focus groups, interviews, and observations, and data analysed and predominantly reported through the development of themes provide more valuable insights. A qualitative research approach enabled a greater depth of understanding of the lived experiences of the individuals participating in this study.

Moving beyond Eurocentric worldviews allows for opportunities to give voice to the views of those classified as coloured South African in Aotearoa New Zealand and is important because little is known or understood about this community. Conscious of the fact that the coloured community is a colonial creation and is always discussed in the context of the coloniser, it was important to me to frame the research outside of a Eurocentric paradigm. Using an indigenous research methodology will shift the research from a space where inequalities are perpetuated, to research that is intentional about meeting participants where they are, in contexts that are affirming and culturally safe. Nakhid and Farrugia's (2020) work on culturally affirming methodologies for research involving African communities in the diaspora reveals the transformative nature of the research process. Using culturally appropriate ways of thinking and doing allowed the individuals involved in the research to feel a greater level of ownership in the research process.

Elabor-Idemudia (2002, p. 231) asked this question of understanding the difference between indigenous and Western worldviews in her work in participatory research:

> How is it possible to decolonise (social) research in/on the non-Western developing countries to ensure that the people's human condition is not constructed through Western hegemony and ideology?

This question is valid for research with indigenous communities and people of colour the world over. The need to understand communities in ways that are culturally affirming is pressing, because when this is done, the research shifts to incorporate the community's ways of knowing and doing, making it more meaningful. Affirming research methodologies also enhance the sense of belonging, authenticity, and cultural relevance for those involved (Nakhid & Farrugia, 2020).

The coloured South African community have African ancestry, and whilst the apartheid regime worked hard to tell coloured people that they were not African, DNA cannot be denied. The myth of being un-African or not African enough, can be dispelled by the fact that the coloured community in South Africa live in accordance with uBuntu even though they may not be aware of it (Adhikari, 2013). This is evident in the community solidarity that is displayed in fighting against social ills such as gang violence, drug problems and safety. During the anti-apartheid struggle, coloured communities actively practiced uBuntu, with the 1983 launch of the United Democratic Front (UDF)[6] in Mitchell's Plain, an apartheid-era coloured only community in Cape Town. In addition, the African spirit of solidarity in empowering individuals and communities at grassroots level to overcome colonial regimes across the continent is evidence of the power of community and uBuntu in action.

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[6] An umbrella group that brought together anti-apartheid groups from churches, unions, community organisations and student lobby groups.

For these reasons, an uBuntu research methodology was deemed appropriate to underpin this study as it is anti-dominant and community focused (Chilisa, 2012).

Research conducted into the collectivist[7] nature of racial groups in South Africa found that coloured people were more collectivist in nature and prioritised interdependence over independence (Adams, Van de Vijver, De Bruin, 2011), thus the selection of a community focused methodology is necessary.

uBuntu worldview

Though difficult to translate into English without losing its essence, uBuntu is widely known as the belief in a universal bond of sharing and community that connects people (Lubner, 2020). At its essence, the philosophy of uBuntu focuses on the value of community as the most important part of one's life. In this context, community encompasses the relationships that people nurture and grow with God, other people, their ancestors, the land, sea, animals, and plants (Gichure, 2015). The uBuntu ontology asserts that we are not born human, but that we become human through our relationships with other people. As a result, people embrace their humanity as they grow in relationship with those around them. In its longer form, uBuntu is explained using the isiXhosa proverb, *umuntu mumuntu ngabantu*, meaning a person is a person through other persons (Letseka, 2013).

Originating in southern Africa, the uBuntu worldview is widely known and applied in South African and Zimbabwean society (Ulvestad, 2012). It played a crucial role in the liberation movements and transition to democracy in both nations (Kubow, Min, 2016). Focused on shared humanity, uBuntu can only be lived out and realised through dedicated action in addressing issues of social justice. Its role in the freedom movements of Zimbabwe and South Africa was therefore crucial and obvious. To see others as people, equal to us, uBuntu values and practices must be implemented (Finnegan, 1994). Under apartheid rule, the mass mobilisation of organisations fighting for the same mission became commonplace. Political, religious and community groups worked hand in hand to oppose the apartheid government and its oppressive laws. This was uBuntu in action.

The uBuntu worldview gained international attention for its role in South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission: a restorative justice initiative that sought to deal with the apartheid crimes inflicted on victims by perpetrators. The commission was led by South Africa's first democratically elected president, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, and anti-apartheid freedom fighter, Emeritus Archbishop Desmond Tutu. In post-apartheid South Africa, Desmond Tutu has advocated for the application of uBuntu to build a more equitable and inclusive South Africa. In his 2000 book,

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[7] Emphasising the needs of the group over the needs of the individual.

No Future Without Forgiveness (p. 35), Tutu expands on the concept of uBuntu stating "A person with uBuntu is open and available to others, affirming of others, does not feel threatened that others are able and good, for he or she has a proper self-assurance that comes from knowing that he or she belongs in a greater whole and is diminished, when others are tortured or oppressed, or treated as if they were less than who they are." As Tutu (2000) discusses, the uBuntu worldview is underpinned by values that are lived out in community with others.

uBuntu research methodology

When selecting an appropriate methodology to underpin my research, I was intentional about selecting a framework that would be able to appropriately connect with those involved in the study. I was not comfortable using a Western methodology due to its lack of relevance to the community. Gaining meaningful insight of a community borne out of colonisation required an underpinning that moved away from Eurocentric ways of thinking and doing. Therefore, I developed a methodological framework using the principles of uBuntu. Underpinned by the uBuntu worldview, this framework decentres the researcher and gives all participants equal value in the research. Instead of the researcher extracting information from respondents, the research participants become co-researchers and co-owners of the research. This is key to the uBuntu worldview, where each individual has equal value.

The uBuntu worldview informs the way of life of African communities across the continent and is woven into the fabric of South African society. By selecting a methodological framework underpinned by uBuntu, co-researchers invested in this research study would have their cultural ways of thinking and doing affirmed and validated.

As a research methodology, uBuntu is reflective of the interpretive paradigm, which seeks to understand the lived experiences of individuals. Each person's subjective experience of the world is valid because it is their lived reality, and reality is socially constructed. Everyone's social reality is created and understood by the connection they have with other people and that which is non-living. Western worldviews focus on the individual – the I/You relationship – whilst indigenous worldviews focus on the community – the I/We relationship (Chilisa, 2012). A methodological framework based on the uBuntu philosophy, like other indigenous research methodologies does not claim that truth is absolute. Unlike the Eurocentric belief in universalism and imposed knowledge, uBuntu research focuses on the creation of new knowledge based on an individual's personal experiences – past and present – and view of the world (Heleta, 2018).

An uBuntu based methodology would place emphasis on the value of the spoken word, as the tradition of storytelling is central to African culture and has been used as a means of passing down

knowledge from one generation to the next (Tuwe, 2016). The stories that are told by elders in African communities are purposeful and people focused. They are born out of the experiences and struggles of forefathers and mothers and teach listeners moral lessons. Woven into the stories are elements of history, tradition, and values. The participatory experience of African storytelling makes it an interactive communal experience where knowledge is shared amongst the group.

At its core, the uBuntu paradigm is about the importance of community. In an uBuntu research process, the community play an active role in setting the agenda, whilst simultaneously being the agenda (Seehawer, 2018). This is reflective of the holistic nature of indigenous research methodologies the world over, such as Kaupapa Māori (Santana, 2020), Afrocentricity (Mkabela, 2005) and methodologies based on the Native American medicine wheel (Chilisa, 2012). To this point, I was intentional about the selection of my topic and the way in which my research has been conducted from the start. Understanding the reconstruction of identity for those classified as coloured South African in the diaspora has always fascinated me, but for many years, I knew that this interested a number of friends and family members in the community in Aotearoa. Therefore, I decided to explore this research topic, as it was important to many people in the community that I have had the opportunity to get to know and share in conversation with.

The lack of a pre-determined agenda and avoidance of reaching a pre-determined outcome is purposeful otherwise the needs and interests of the researcher are prioritised over those of the community. It is essential in an uBuntu research framework that the participants are not merely informants for the purpose of collecting research data. The participants play the role of co-researchers in the generation of new knowledge as a community.

I consulted with coloured South African family and friends who understand and live the complexities of the research topic to help me formulate the themes to discuss when applying my method. Being a member of the community, my knowledge and understanding of the issues are valid, but not universal. Relying solely on my own interpretation and views of coloured identity to inform my themes of discussion will compromise the collaborative nature of the uBuntu research process. The community members with whom I have consulted are diverse in age, gender, language, and region of South Africa, to ensure that the topics of discussion do not speak only to the interests of a certain demographic.

The emphasis of forming positive and authentic relationships cannot be overstated in an uBuntu research framework. Thus, the way in which participants are engaged with from the start needs to align with the values of uBuntu. The approach of snowball sampling (Naderifar et al., 2017) was used to select participants for the study. To align with the uBuntu framework, the snowball sampling

method is referred to as community assisted sampling. This method was deemed appropriate given the small size of the community, and limited number of individuals who fit the participation criteria. I began with selected family members and friends in the community to participate, and they in turn identified suitable participants for me to contact. In line with the importance of oral tradition in African culture, prospective participants were called and told the origins story of the research topic. I explained my longstanding fascination and interest in understanding coloured identity outside of South Africa and the many experiences that I shared and heard from others who were classified coloured in the South African context who now reside in Aotearoa. In every conversation that I engaged in with prospective co-researchers, I had the privilege of learning about each individual's identity journey, even if it was just a glimpse. Each individual was open about their perspectives on the research topic and how it impacted their lived experience. Within the conversation, I shared the purpose of the research, how it would be conducted using an uBuntu methodological framework, and what their involvement would be. Participants were informed that their role in the uBuntu research process is active and they would be co-researchers in the research process. This is essential because in the uBuntu worldview, al individuals have equal value and make a significant contribution to the community. Everyone was made aware that their involvement was of equal value, whether they chose to share in great detail or listen and absorb what others are saying. The understanding of participants as co-researchers is vital because it affirms the focus on working as a community to create new knowledge (Seehawer, 2018). The participants' involvement in the research process is not to inform me of what I need to know and then leave, it is to engage in conversations on the topic of identity construction that are relevant and beneficial to them as individuals and members of the community who are grappling with this issue. The uBuntu research process must be designed so that the relationship is reciprocal, enabling us to learn from each other. The participants also played a role in the analysis of the data. Once the research has been submitted, there will be another opportunity for all co-researchers to meet, hear and further discuss the research findings, and ultimately continue to build on the relationships that have formed as a result of the research (Santana, Nakhid, Nakhid-Chatoor & Wilson-Scott, 2019).

The way in which each co-researcher is treated is also essential in an uBuntu research methodology. Fundamental to the uBuntu philosophy is the understanding of justice and equality. It espouses the view that an injustice for one is an injustice for all (Molobela, 2017), and that the humanity of one individual is deeply connected to the humanity of others. Thus, the research being conducted must live out the values of uBuntu. It should be conducted with humility, hospitality, warmth and kindness, not as personal characteristics and values that are aspired to, but as values that are

embodied in relation to our interactions with each other. Mbigi and Maree (1995) developed a conceptual framework of the key values of uBuntu in society, known as the collective fingers' theory:

- Survival – being able to co-exist despite challenges and threats to life and an acute awareness that harm to one is harm to all
- Compassion – awareness of each other's situations and reaching out to help
- Solidarity – the need to operate in community to achieve success
- Dignity – taking into consideration our human worth and interconnectedness
- Respect – treating others with respect and respecting yourself, because if you are not able to respect yourself, how can you authentically respect someone else

The interdependency of the collective fingers' theory is crucial in the uBuntu worldview because when one finger moves, all the others move too. These values were woven into the topics of discussion in the data collection.

In an uBuntu framework, relationships extend beyond people to include other living and non-living elements (Seehawer, 2018). This encompasses our relationships with our ancestors, fauna, flora, the land, and sea. In the context of ancestors, the collectivist nature of coloured South African communities means that elders (grandparents and great-grandparents) are treated with respect and are valued for the knowledge they hold of the past and generations that came before them. With the history of coloured people in South Africa dating back to the seventeenth century, most coloured South Africans mixed race identity goes back at least two generations. The uBuntu framework therefore creates a space for those classified as coloured South African to discuss and explore their African ancestry.

Criteria for co-researchers

The uBuntu research framework requires participants to operate as co-researchers by being included in as many parts of the research process as possible. For this reason, the people involved are referred to as co-researchers upon agreeing to participate in the research findings.

To understand the lived experiences of coloured South African immigrants in Aotearoa New Zealand, the voices of those in the community need to be heard. Therefore, co-researchers involved in the study would need to have been born in South Africa and classified as coloured in the South African context. To be eligible, the co-researchers must have also been raised culturally coloured. This means that the person would need to have lived in a community classified as coloured by the apartheid Group Areas Act law and raised by coloured parents.

Following on from these parameters, the co-researchers must have knowledge of South Africa's social, political, and racial dynamics.

Each co-researcher must be permanently residing in Aotearoa New Zealand at the time of the study, and be based in Auckland, as the research would be conducted in my home, in Auckland. The co-researchers must also have lived in Aotearoa for at least five years, to understand the social, political, and racial dynamics of this country.

All involved must be eighteen years or older. Lastly, a mix of genders, ages, languages, and hometowns in South Africa will be sought for the study to ensure that diverse views are represented.

Details of co-researchers

Pseudonym	Gender	Age range	First language	Hometown
Cora	Female	50	Afrikaans	Cape Town
Drew	Male	52	Afrikaans	Cape Town
Cindy	Female	32	English	Durban
George	Male	67	English	Durban
Maria	Female	46	English	Pretoria
Vanessa	Female	55	Afrikaans	Port Elizabeth
Lester	Male	56	Afrikaans	Port Elizabeth
Andrea	Female	25	English	Durban
Reese	Male	26	English	Durban
Mary	Female	55	English	Durban
Zane	Male	35	English	Durban

Shisa nyama research method

The research method applied in an uBuntu framework must be consistent with the uBuntu worldview. Given the indigenous nature of the uBuntu research methodology which I developed, I believed it was important to also use an indigenous research method that spoke to the values of uBuntu and was community driven. For this reason, I developed the shisa nyama research method.

Shisa nyama, literally meaning 'to burn meat' in isiZulu is a social gathering where meat is cooked over a charcoal fire and those in attendance share in conversations around the fire. Also known as a braai in South Africa, shisa nyama gatherings are commonplace in South African society and are an opportunity for family and friends to connect and share in discourse over a traditional meal. The

world's first shisa nyama dates back more than one million years, with ash being found in a South African cave in 2012 that hints to the origins of cooking over a fire (Kaplan, 2012). The first nations people of South Africa, the Khoekhoe and Sān, who in modern day South Africa are classified as coloured, engaged in communal discourse around the fire. A university of Utah study (Wiessner, 2014, p. 1) explored how Khoesān conversations around the fire impacted human social and cultural evolution by creating a sense of community and encouraging ideas:

> Firelit activities centered on conversations that evoked the imagination, helped people remember and understand others in their external networks, healed rifts of the day, and conveyed information about cultural institutions that generate regularity of behaviour and corresponding trust. Appetites for firelit settings for intimate conversations and for evening stories remain with us today.

The act of people coming together to share in conversation and community at a shisa nyama is uBuntu in action. This is something that is typically done in coloured communities in South Africa and in their adopted land, Aotearoa. Braai Day, an annual event held in Auckland, creates a space for South Africans to share in food, community, and conversation in Aotearoa. Attended by many coloured South Africans, the event is seen as an opportunity for the community to celebrate their culture and connect with each other (Wessels, 2016). At a shisa nyama, meat is cooked over an open fire, and likewise, those gathered engage in open conversation. A shisa nyama promotes communication that is authentic and unfiltered, making it an appropriate method to engage in meaningful discourse that provides insight into the identity reconstruction of those classified as coloured in the South African context.

The coloured South African community, being familiar with a shisa nyama, are more likely to trust the research process and speak openly about personal issues and perspectives. By using a culturally affirming method, greater importance is placed on the location, time and way in which knowledge is shared amongst members of the community, which affects the way in which participants engage (Nakhid & Farrugia, 2020).

A shisa nyama would typically take place at the home of the host, with guests being welcomed into the personal space of the host and shown African hospitality. To ensure that the research is conducted in a culturally affirming way, it was held at my home. In African culture, hospitality is central to life. Welcoming guests into your home is an important part of African culture. It is an uBuntu value that speaks to the need for us to actively live in community (Hailey, 2008). As explained by Nakhid and Farrugia (2020) in their article exploring ffirming methodologies in two African diasporic contexts, the practice of sharing and coming together are culturally common

amongst African communities on the continent and in the diaspora, as they speak to values of hospitality and sense of place.

Knowledge was shared at two shisa nyama events each involving five co-researchers. The participants received text message reminders leading up to the event.

At each shisa nyama, an array of traditional dishes was prepared. These included uphutu (maize meal porridge), chakalaka (spicy tomato-based relish), morogo (braised spinach), irostile / roosterbrood (bread baked over the fire) and a variety of meat such as sosaties (chicken kebabs), wors (beef sausage) and lamb chops. The food selection was important, because these are dishes that would typically be served at a shisa nyama and are culturally familiar to the participants. The non-meat dishes were prepared beforehand, whilst the groups participated in the cooking of the meat dishes around the fire. Whilst cooking the meat, the conversations began. Two audio recording devices were used, with more than five hours of recordings.

The topics or themes that were selected in consultation with members of the coloured community in Auckland were as follows:

- Origins, ancestors, and the importance of whakapapa in the South African context
- Colouredness
- Blackness
- Africanness
- Kiwiness and sense of community in Aotearoa
- Acculturation in the New Zealand context
- Future generations of coloured South African immigrants in Aotearoa New Zealand

The above-mentioned topics were introduced naturally and did not follow a linear pattern. Topics were introduced at any point, with most organically being discussed following on from an earlier topic that felt linked to it. The absence of time limits enabled the conversations to flow without co-researchers feeling hurried. This enabled each topic to be discussed to the depth that the community in attendance felt appropriate. Participants were free to share as much or as little as they felt comfortable. Fernandez Santana's (2020) research exploring the culturally affirming Caribbean methodology of Liming and Ole Talk as an appropriate way of exploring Caribbean identity in Aotearoa, applied the same principles, giving community members control of the conversation. It resulted in the sharing of knowledge and creation of new insights of the community in Aotearoa. The selection of topics of discussion as opposed to structured questions was intentional, as it placed ownership in the hands of the co-researchers, as they were able to take

ownership of the topic and ask further questions to the group and discuss the topic for an unrestricted time.

uKhamba data analysis

When selecting an appropriate way to analyse my data, I struggled to find an existing process that reflected the values of uBuntu, and which truly engaged the participants as co-researchers. All Western data analysis methods that I encountered relied on the researcher to make sense of the data and ultimately create new knowledge from their perspective of what was most pertinent in the process of data collection. To avoid falling into a trap of analysing the data in a way that compromised my uBuntu methodology, I sought supervisory guidance to find an indigenous approach that could be adapted to my research context. A Pacific research study (Tucker, 2020) using the concept of a magic malolo to analyse data collected was particularly interesting to me. The magic malolo, a fish in Pacific culture, was used as a culturally relevant symbol for participants to decide which elements of the discussion in the data collection was most relevant to them. This gave the participants control of what themes and sub-themes made up the findings. In essence, they actively engaged in the data analysis as co-researchers. This approach resonated with me strongly for that reason.

Applying a culturally relevant and appropriate way of conducting my data analysis was the natural next step. Given the importance of community in an uBuntu research framework, I developed the uKhamba data analysis approach. Ukhamba is a ceremonial beer pot made from clay. It is used in Zulu culture, where a group of people sit together and pass around the ukhamba for each person to have a taste of umqombothi (traditional beer). The uKhamba symbolises unity and the communal act of sharing (Kaufmann, 2013), values that are fundamental to the uBuntu worldview.

After all topics were discussed at each shisa nyama, participants were given pieces of paper and asked to write down the points of discussion that they found to be most relevant. The uKhamba was be passed around for each co-researcher to add their notes in. The most mentioned points made up the themes and sub-themes that were explored in the findings – co-researchers were made aware of this when they made their selection.

Indaba presentation of the research

The uBuntu research methodology sees no end to the relationships that have been formed as a result of the research concluding. Instead, it requires the relationships and sense of community that have been built through the research to continue for life (Swanson, 2009). To continue the process of relationship building, I developed the Indaba presentation of the research. The key findings, discussion and recommendations of the research will be presented in the form of an indaba (a

meeting in isiZulu), where all co-researchers will have an opportunity to meet, hear, and discuss the outcomes of the research. In line with culturally relevant practices, food and drinks will be shared. This has not taken place yet. The Indaba will be hosted once the research has been submitted. The intention is for this to occur regularly over the coming years, so that the relationships that have been formed can continue to grow. While it cannot be assumed that the relationships will last a lifetime, it is hoped that this would be the case.

Limitations

The research questions in this study will be explored in detail, and the research aim will be achieved through the creation of new knowledge and insights in the discussion chapter, but it must be acknowledged that this study does have limitations. Firstly, the outcomes of the research cannot be representative of the coloured community in Aotearoa. Being qualitative in nature, the research only required a small number of co-researchers to share their knowledge and perspectives. Conclusions can therefore not be drawn about the experiences of the co-researchers reflecting the views or feelings of the majority who are classified as coloured South African now living in Aotearoa. Secondly, the lack of existing research in this space has made it difficult to compareor contrast identity construction of coloured South African immigrants in Aotearoa or other countries. Conversely, the strength of this research study lies in the uBuntu methodological framework that I developed. Through the creation of a research methodology that was culturally affirming, I was able to create a space where knowledge was shared openly and candidly amongst the group. Those involved became invested in the research process and were aware of their involvement as not being informants, but partners in creating valuable insights in this research area.

Summary

When considering a research methodology that would be most appropriate for my research, I discovered that there was not a framework that I came across that adequately reflected the research topic and community involved in the research. The research methodology which I created, based on the African philosophy of uBuntu, has community at its core. From the selection of the research topic to the point of submitting the research, the community are involved. The components of this methodological framework are intertwined and in line with uBuntu worldview, they cannot operate in isolation. The diagram below displays the overlapping relationship between the method, method of data analysis and dissemination of the knowledge shared and created out of this research journey.
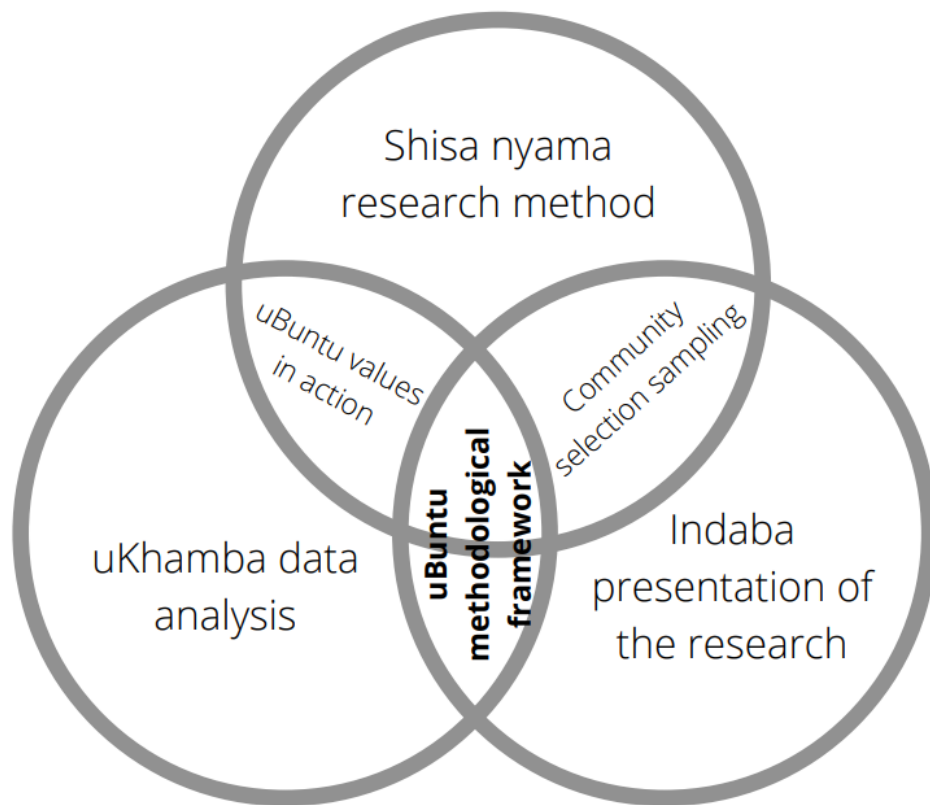
In the findings chapter, I will explore the perspectives of the co-researchers. From the intimate and sometimes painful experiences shared in the results section, it will be clearly shown that the uBuntu research framework created an environment in which these types of stories can be brought to light. In the following chapters, the relevance of the uBuntu research framework will be highlighted, as the research questions of what it means to be coloured, what it means to be coloured outside of South Africa, and how the co-researchers identify in Aotearoa, is explored in-depth through the stories shared.

Chapter 4: Findings

This chapter explores key findings from the conversations that the co-researchers participated in at the two shisa nyama events. While no structured questions were asked to the two groups, the researcher did have topics for discussion. Some were specifically mentioned, whereas others organically emerged out of connections to other discussions. The shisa nyama method provided a safe space for co-researchers to share their stories in an environment that was culturally appropriate. The co-researchers found the uBuntu methodology to be culturally affirming and relevant. This will be explained in further detail in this section.

The main themes that emerged from the shisa nyama events that will be presented in this chapter include whiteness, coloured identity, black identity, mixed-race identity, South African identity, African identity, Kiwi identity and self-identification.

The white way perceived as the right way

The nuances of the coloured lived experience in South African society were discussed in detail by the co-researchers, and similar to typical conversations about coloured identity, coloured people in South Africa are framed in their proximity to whiteness. This is evident in the respect that coloured people who speak in accents that are typically white, or chemically straighten their hair receive. This section explores issues of colourism, passing for white and privilege in the community.

All co-researchers involved in this research study are classified as coloured in the South African context, but phenotypically, the group acknowledges their diversity in pigment, physical features, and hair texture. The differences in appearance amongst coloured people in South Africa and how it affected individuals' lives was a topic of discussion that most co-researchers commented on. Differences in aesthetics mentioned included skin colour, eye colour, the curliness of an individual's hair and facial features.

The social ranking amongst members of the coloured South African community based on skin colour and how much closer they looked and sounded to white people was elaborated on by Cindy, a brown skin co-researcher. She shared her experience of the way in which she was treated by a classmate at Sunday school in South Africa:

> I think in our community there is a lot of nastiness if you're different. If you're not the same as them, then there's a problem. I remember this one girl. I'll never forget her – Lauren. She was a coloured girl, but she had this straight red hair and big green eyes, and she was the biggest cow to me. I never had that treatment from white girls at my school, but the coloured girls were nasty.

Cora also acknowledged colourism as an issue:

> It's all about if you have nice long hair, if you have long straight hair, and if you aren't beautiful, then you don't get treated as well as the beautiful people. That's the reality of it. And there's the distinction between the fairer coloureds and the darker coloureds. It's a definite thing – colourism.

As these examples suggest, the assimilation to whiteness was discussed amongst the co-researchers, with hair texture and colour being a focus point. Coloured people with straighter hair were seen as more superior and made straight hair something to aspire to in the community in order to be treated better.

Stories were also shared of the opportunities that fair skinned coloured people were afforded in comparison to those who looked phenotypically black. Mary's explanation of the migration of her mother's siblings highlights this:

> My grandparents (Mauritian grandpa and Dutch grandma) had eleven children, and out of the eleven there were five who were fairer skinned with blue eyes and blonde hair, and six who were darker, so a real mix. And in those years, because of apartheid, the ones that were fair with the blue eyes and blonde hair, they all went overseas. So, a lot of my mum's brothers went to Canada and (the UK) London, and they're still there. And the others stayed in South Africa.

The benefits that coloured people who could pass as white received was also explored in further detail. Vanessa's parents were both classified as coloured, but her mother could pass as white. She commented on how her mother and father were treated differently in public:

> Who decided that a white person is better than any other colour? If you've got fair skin then you're better than everybody else – you deserve big land and you deserve all of that. My dad was brown skinned and my mum was fair like me, but even when they were married, he had to go in the 'nie blankes' *(non-white)* (entrance) and she had to go in to the 'blankes' *(white)* (entrance).

Vanessa, also being fair skinned like her mother, made an observation about how her skin colour affected her life in apartheid South Africa:

> He (my husband) says that when we were dating people used to look at us because they thought that I was white and he was coloured. But I must admit, I never experienced the whole apartheid thing. It never affected me.

These comments reaffirmed that to be white meant being able to navigate South African society more readily and ignore or dismiss the privileges as expected, to the point that being able to pass as white, limited the exposure Vanessa had to some of the race distinctions that disadvantaged those around her. The arbitrary and racist laws of the apartheid era were also discussed at each shisa nyama. Vanessa explained the way in which the apartheid government used the pencil test[8] for racial classification. Mary gave an insight in to the racial classification for newborn babies:

> We went to Coloured Affairs[9] when I had my daughter. There was bantu affairs (for black South Africans), Indian affairs and coloured affairs. Well, I don't know what the white one was called. They had a counter, and you'd take your baby and show it to them and so they decide what it's gonna be. So you don't know what they're putting down. Then you get the birth certificate and… on your identity number there's your date of birth, then there's another row of numbers – right at the end there are two digits which state your race.

This process meant that the apartheid government had control in determining the identity of South Africans. It was at the discretion of the home affairs employee what racial classification each child received taking away the agency individuals are said to have when developing their cultural identities. Furthermore, rather than developing their identities in the socialisation with family and friends, children were categorised, and such a categorisation became a marker for life.

Vanessa shared her experience of the way in which the two-digit classification at the end of her identity number afforded her privilege when she was waiting in a government queue to collect an unemployment cheque. Though she is classified as coloured in South Africa, her identity number had the two-digit number that those classified as white would receive. She was told that she did not need to wait in the long queue for coloured people and could stand in the express queue for white people.

> Before we came to New Zealand, I had to do my unemployment (paperwork). The coloured queue used to go down this road and that road. I used to walk in and get my cheque. I thought, well, I'm going to take advantage of this.

It seems that the disadvantages of being coloured led Vanessa to use the system to her advantage by invoking her white identity.

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[8] An arbitrary apartheid rule to determine whether a fair skinned individual was white or coloured.
[9] An apartheid era government department officially known as the House of Representatives, which dealt with aspects of society relating to coloured South Africans.

In the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, the assimilation to whiteness for those classified as coloured in South Africa still exists, as displayed in the question that Cindy posed to the group at the first shisa nyama about the distinction that many make in Aotearoa about being South African and not African. Upon further discussion of Cindy's question, it was pointed out that many choose to identify as South African when asked because South Africa has many white people, unlike most other African countries. Cindy's point suggests that in Aotearoa, many in the community still believe that assimilation to whiteness is preferable.

Musings on the coloured lived experience

Most of the co-researchers were familiar with the point in their family history where miscegenation began. The stories that were shared all featured painful experiences of loss and hurt in some regard. Cindy and her father George shared the story of his grandmother's relationship with a European settler in the colonial province of Natal, now known as KwaZulu Natal.

> My grandmother was brought across as an indentured labourer from India. She was a very feisty character and she landed here. She was working in the cane fields. She was spotted. She was working for a farmer – my grandfather. He was German. A stock farmer. He obviously had eyes on her at some point, so he recruited her not only for the sugar cane, but he also brought her into his house to serve as a maid for tea. She was about 16 and Ma (my mother) said he was almost like a father figure to her. That's how the relationship established. He was already married at the time, and he had kids.

Cindy also shared insights from her grandmother's childhood (George's mother). Her grandmother was raised by a Christian pastor, not her biological mother or father. In addition, all her siblings were raised in different environments as well.

Other co-researchers shared similar experiences of the pain that came with racial mixing in South Africa's colonial era. Cora's coloured grandmother married a white man who was forced to make a choice between his family and his partner:

> My grandmother and her sister married two white Afrikaner guys and because they married these guys, the guys had to come live in the coloured community, they were ostracised. Up until today, we don't even know who they are and who's in their family because they were from Knysna. My grandpa and his brother weren't allowed to mix with their family… because they married coloured women.

Mary's mother, a first-generation coloured person in colonial South Africa grew up knowing only one side of the family, which means that the connection to her European relatives was lost:

My mum's dad was Mauritian, and my gran was European – her parents were Dutch. We know a lot of my grandfather's side of the family - they were all Mauritian.

All co-researchers were aware of the points at which their family lines became coloured through the interracial mixing of different race groups, apart from Drew, who shared that he was adopted. Despite efforts to reconnect with and learn more about his parents and ancestry, he has been unable to learn more about the diversity of his ethnic background.

From the ancestry of the co-researchers, it is evident that white ancestors who had love marriages with people of colour were rejected by their parents and extended families and that continued to leave a mark on the generations to come. Many lacked an opportunity to develop a more nuanced understanding of relatives and family connections and, in some cases, it was clear that the co-researchers were still experiencing the generational trauma that their older relatives had endured. Their examples speak to the clear othering and separation that accompanied interracial mixing and how the endemic nature of racism under the apartheid regime inevitably fractured families that struggled to overcome the hierarchical race classifications. The stories of these co-researchers reaffirm not only how their families' coloured identity emerged but how coloured people were perceived even within their own family dynamics.

Effects of being classified as coloured

The co-researchers shared what the effects of being classified as coloured meant for people in colonial and apartheid South Africa. Mary's family were impacted by this when her grandparents' estate was taken over by the government because their non-white children were not able to possess land in a whites-only area:

The area where my grandparents lived – where my mum and her ten siblings grew up were what you would call in those days a 'whites only' (area), but we were the only brown ones in the area. But when my grandpa died first, and then my gran died later, none of the kids could inherit the house because it was Group Areas Act.

She further went on to describe the sense of loss and dispossession experienced by her mother and her mother's siblings, who were not able to inherit the home their parents owned because the land was reclassified as only eligible for whites to live on. This resulted in the house being owned by the state and the loss of opportunity for generational wealth and land rights in Mary's family.

The dispossession of land, capital and economic success was a common experience for people of colour in apartheid South Africa. Drew shared the impacts that the introduction of apartheid spatial

planning laws had on his father who was a successful businessman prior to the introduction of these racist laws:

> My dad was a priest, and he was a qualified plumber. He worked for Standard Bank, and he had his own business before that as well. He did all the plumbing in most of the houses in Pinelands. And when apartheid was introduced, he lost his business. He basically went from (up) here to (down) here – to nothing. For him it was very difficult.

Pinelands is an example of many communities across South Africa that was reclassified white under apartheid to move people of colour away from central business districts. The move not only upended families but diminished their capacity to earn a livelihood creating further disadvantages.

George shared a bizarre account of the challenges of being a person of colour buying land in a "whites only" suburb towards the end of the apartheid era:

> There was that in-between of play-white. So if you wanted to aspire to a more white lifestyle, you lived in a play-white area. A typical example is when I bought my house in Durban North. That house was in a white area, so being a coloured person, I had to go around to each of the neighbours asking them to sign if they are comfortable with us staying there. You needed permission from the House of Assembly[1] (to live there).

George further explained the process he went through to get all of the residents on the street to approve his application to buy a home on the street. Whilst most of the homeowners on the street were white, there were some Indian and black families who were already in the neighbourhood. This was in the early 1990s, in the dying days of the apartheid system. Despite the breakdown in apartheid, the remnants of the system remained making it difficult for people to emerge from an oppressive regime without having to gain the acceptance of white people. Clearly the ideologies of apartheid had led to loss of wealth and prospects that came to be associated with the coloured identity.

Racism and its psychological effects

The older co-researchers who shared their experiences and views at the shisa nyama events have vivid memories of life during apartheid. Mary's childhood memories of her aunty, who passed for white, made her reflect on how the apartheid system's discriminatory laws affected her even as a young child:

> So my mom's sister, who was fair and blond, she would take me on the bus to town. But when she got on the bus, she got on a white bus and that was fine. She paid her fare. She hid me. So all my memories of her, she'd get me on the bus. That was the amazing thing. How

did she get me past the driver? Yeah, but I couldn't sit on a seat. She'd put me here in between her legs, but I was on that same bus as her - how she got me on and off. And then I also have memories of being in the city and town. It was nie-blanke; so white toilets and non-white toilets. So she'd go into the toilet and leave me on the roadside because I couldn't go in because there were people watching. I know I used to be terrified standing out there. Of course, not knowing if she'll come out. At that time she didn't say to me 'you can't come in because you have a darker skin than me, you can't use the toilet' I just didn't know why this was happening. I just knew I was being smuggled on the bus to the city.

These arbitrary laws were considered normal under apartheid. People of different races had access to different government facilities, toilets, transport and more. Mary commented that looking back on that experience she sees how bizarre it is for a young child to be left alone outside a public toilet because she was not white. It is evident that this traumatic experience contributed early on to Mary's identity development as being othered. Children learn much about their identity from family. Even though Mary was very young and may not have understood why she was left outside at the time, the experience stuck with her because she knew that it was not normal for a young child to be left alone.

For Lester, the racism he experienced in his work setting was overt yet completely normal in the South African context:

There's a total difference as to how I am respected here (in Aotearoa New Zealand). Back home, when you worked at the white man's place, you'd ask for a glass of water, but you'll never get a glass of water. It's in a cup – those chipped enamel cups – and you had to sit somewhere else. You couldn't even eat on his property, basically. I had to go sit outside, basically on the street, to eat my lunch. I was good enough to do the job for you, but not good enough to even get a proper glass of water.

He further described the clear separation that existed between white and non-white people in South Africa. It was not normal for white people to treat people of colour equally in the South African context. He contrasts that with the New Zealand way where Pākeha treat him with respect but keep him at a distance. He elaborates by sharing that he gets along well with so many white people in Aotearoa New Zealand but has never been invited to a white person's home to share a meal.

Drew shared his disappointment in not being able to study the degree of his dreams because he did not meet the racial criteria:

I finished school in 1984 and I always wanted to be a nature conservationist, because I wanted to be a game warden. The only place that did that was Cape Technikon[2] in Boeka. So I applied… and about three months later I get a reply with two lines on it and in red it says "this job is reserved for whites only".

Drew's experience would not have been unique, as many degree level jobs were reserved for white South Africans under the apartheid system. As a result, he was not able to pursue this as a career and pursued opportunities that coloured people had access to during apartheid. The fact that they delineated roles contributed to the systematic racism experienced by people of colour. They acted as a means of ensuring people of colour remained subordinated and were not given the tools or capabilities to challenge their positions within society.

The co-researchers agreed that the racism experienced in South Africa was accepted in society, and though completely wrong, there was a general awareness amongst South Africans that racism exists and is the reason for inequality in South African society. There was also agreement that in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, there was a much lower perception of racism as an issue in society, and somewhat of a rejection of Aotearoa being a racist society.

Despite acknowledging less racism in Aotearoa, Cindy shared a distressing experience of being aggressively spoken to when picking her daughter up from a primary school in East Auckland:

Dad used to do a lot of pick-ups (of my daughter from school) because I was working. This particular time I was with him, and the school had this thing about parking… and they were very pedantic about how we parked obviously. This particular time, we got a park and we were by someone's driveway and they actually gave us permission and said it's fine (to park there). I was sitting in the passenger seat and this lady comes to the window and did this (banging on the window), so I took the window down and she had this face of pure hatred and anger (and started shouting), "Do you know what you're doing? It's people like you who have no respect!" And she was this close to me, shouting and screaming in my face, and at Dad. And Dad had said that there were a couple of these people giving him these looks, but I have never had someone that close shout and scream at me in my face, and it rattled us. I tried to explain to her that we had gotten permission, and we just said sorry, and we moved the car. Then I got out to pick my daughter up and then I was just like "No, that's not okay" Then this chick starts walking back towards me… and I said to her "The way you spoke to my father and I was completely unacceptable and I just want to ask if you would ever talk to a white person in that way?" And she was like, "How dare you call me racist!" And I said to her, "Just think about that the next time you address someone of colour."

Cindy's father George also noted how the aggressor's facial expression completely changed when she was confronted with the question about how she would talk to someone who was white. He saw her expression change from arrogant to shocked and almost reflective. Consistent with research exploring racist behaviour, people hate being called racist, taking offence to the description, even though their actions clearly display racism (Nairn, 2021). This is why microaggressions of individuals stating "I'm not a racist, but…" exist. She also notes that this was not the first time that her or her daughter had experienced racism at the school, and she was aware of other mixed-race children at the school who experienced racism:

> One of my friend's children was called the N word three times, and this child (the perpetrator) was not being dealt with. That's why my daughter feels safer with people of colour.

Maria's son also attended the same East Auckland school at primary level. She commented on the lack of understanding and awareness of diversity at the school:

> My son was asked by one of the kids why he's brown. He was seven or eight (years old), coming from South Africa.

Drew's daughter also experienced racism at a West Auckland high school:

> When my daughter was at College, they put her into a lower class because of the colour of her skin, and they told her straight up (that was the reason). We went and spoke to the Deputy Principal about it and she said "It can't be. This will never happen. We all marched against apartheid." She was one of the top performers, but she was told that the brown kids don't do as well as the other kids.

Drew went on to explain that his children's experiences of racism takes him back to the experiences that he had growing up in South Africa, and that was something he did not want his children to have to deal with in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Experiences of racism also affected the co-researchers' abilities to integrate, with one co-researcher noting worries of whether their kids would ever be accepted as Kiwi because they did not look white enough and others experiencing instances of racism that their children had experienced in the New Zealand schooling system and in public.

Many of the co-researchers shared stories of the negative effects the apartheid system had on their parents and grandparents. Whilst the younger co-researchers, having grown up in post-apartheid South Africa, have more limited experiences of apartheid, the older co-researchers had vivid

accounts of these experiences and how it affected them personally. My lived experience mirrors that of the younger co-researchers; I have experienced racism and discrimination growing up in South Africa, but for my parents and grandparents it was much more an accepted part of daily life.

Career limitations and opportunities

The apartheid system allowed people of colour limited career opportunities, with specific roles assigned by race, and restricted entry to university.

George discussed the career distinction between coloured people that was fuelled by the apartheid system that reserved trade jobs for coloured people in the societal ranking of the system. This meant that most coloured men would do a trade of some sort, and only a very small minority were able to go on to university study:

> That's another differentiation between coloureds – the job description. There's a tradie (tradesman), a welder as opposed to a professional person. I felt that as I was going through maturity, because guys would say "you think you're better than us because I'm a welder or boilermaker. You went to university". And I never thought that I carried myself like that, I was just me.

Most coloured men worked as tradesmen because these roles were designated for them. The possibility of university study was limited due to the quota of coloureds able to enrol and the cost of study for the predominantly working-class families in the coloured community.

Cindy touched on the similarities of her mother's career journey in contrast to that of most coloured women under apartheid. Her mother went to university and became a social worker. This was a stark contrast to the careers that her mother's sisters pursued – jobs that did not require tertiary study.

Understanding money and its power

The co-researchers at the first shisa nyama also agreed that, in the coloured community, there was little understanding of money and its value. Drew said:

> When it came to finance and money, our parents never spoke to us about those things. The only thing was never get a credit card. They never spoke (to us) about investments. They didn't understand money. And unfortunately, some of us, including myself, have (now) let our kids down by not teaching them those things.

Maria also commented on the limited knowledge her parents had of how money can be made and spent. She shared that her parents could not give good advice about money because it was not something familiar to them.

Cindy pointed out how financial literacy was not unique to white people, as Asian communities also have a much greater understanding of business principles than those in the coloured community. She asserts that financial literacy was taken away from the community.

Values in contrast with social norms in Aotearoa

The co-researchers also discussed the difference in values of the coloured South African community in Aotearoa New Zealand compared to more accepted Kiwi values. Cindy elaborated by referencing the friends' homes she would go to in high school that were accepting of things that were not normal in her family.

> I have this thing, and I think it's because of my experience growing up here. My daughter has friends from all different walks of life, but I'm always concerned about her white friends' influence because that was… because I've got hang ups and when it comes to the family home, those were the houses that I used to go to where the parents allowed us to drink and socialise.

Drew shared his experience of host parents at sleepovers with anecdotes of his daughters' friends who know him and his wife very well, because of the warmth and love they show them. He commented that his children's friends have told them how different their parents are compared to what they are used to, because they treat them like they are their own children.

With all of the co-researchers at the first shisa nyama being parents to intermediate aged children and older, the conversation moved to social norms amongst friends. Maria shared her thoughts on parental involvement in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand and how it differed to the expectations that coloured parents have:

> My middle son, he is turning seventeen. When he was a bit younger and he had these friends coming to sleep over, I was so surprised that some of the parents would not call me to confirm that their child was sleeping over. I'd ask him "do they know that he's here… no one has called me to check if their child is here." He says that I am the only parent who would call and find out, but that's the way that we were brought up.

From the discussion on family values, it was clear that the values the co-researchers were describing as typical coloured values were more conservative, whilst the Kiwi values they were paralleled with were more liberal.

The meaning of being coloured in Aotearoa

Most co-researchers did not identify as coloured when asked by people in Aotearoa New Zealand. Though the older and younger participants had clear views of what being coloured in the South African context meant to them, there was consensus that there was difficulty in explaining coloured identity succinctly outside of South Africa. This led to most choosing to move away from using the coloured identity when describing themselves to others.

Andrea, one of the younger co-researchers, shared her experience of the way in which she is usually asked about her identity:

> When I first came to New Zealand) no one knew what a coloured was. People don't ask you… they say, "what are you?" They don't ask you where you are from. "No, but what are you really?" I say South African, but South African is not good enough. So, then they want to know your specifics, like what's your mix – (they would say) "aah… that's interesting". Or they assume I'm Indian. So, I get that, or "what are you?"

She shared that identifying as coloured in Aotearoa New Zealand was tiring because of all the questions she would be asked about what it means to be coloured. Ultimately, she found that when she identified in a way that she thought would be simpler, she was still met with several questions. All the younger co-researchers commented on the exhaustion they felt from having to provide in-depth explanations to people about their identity when using the term coloured. This, along with living in Aoteaora New Zealand for a longer time than they lived in South Africa, contributed to the active decision to not identify as coloured when asked. My perspective is similar to Andrea's in some ways. I understand the complexity of identifying as coloured in a societal context that has little understanding of South Africa's colonial and apartheid history and its impact on people groups. I also shared with the group that in recent years, I have found it easier to identify as African instead of coloured.

Lester, one of the older co-researchers, shared that he was proud to identify as coloured in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand. He found that the coloured identification came with positives and negatives, but from his perspective, it had more positives, thus he actively decided to identify as coloured. Lester's perspective on coloured identity gives an insight in to the way in which South Africa's apartheid government were successful in their project of racial segregation and marginalisation. Under the apartheid system, the coloured South African community were forced to live as a homogenous group. The negatives that he mentions could speak to the racism that the community experienced in the South African context, whilst the positives could speak to the privilege that the community experienced, having access to opportunities and resources that South

Africans classified as black were not privy to. Adhikari's (2013) research on coloured identity in South Africa found that the classification was embraced by the community because it positioned them above those classified as black or African in the apartheid hierarchy.

While most co-researchers refrained from identifying as coloured to others, there was acknowledgement of the camaraderie that came from talking about coloured identity with others who were classified as coloured in the South African context, because there was an understanding of the lived experience and complexities faced. Sonn (1995) suggests that negative experiences such as racism, prejudice and discrimination may be factors that help from group unification. This was clearly displayed in the common ground that the co-researchers felt in being able to share experiences that were validated and endorsed by others in the group who had had similar encounters. The co-researchers also commented on the uBuntu methodology in the creation of an environment in which it was culturally normal to share openly, with two co-researchers making mention of the traditional food and hospitality provided stating that coloured people "put on a spread" and make sure that guests feel at home.

A 2011 exploration of coloured identity in post-apartheid South Africa (Taylor et al, 2011) found that those who identify as coloured in present day South Africa find unity in the similarities in lived experiences in coloured communities, food, dress, speech, and the collectivist approach, and now less about skin colour. The co-researchers shared similar views of what makes them coloured, with Andrea stating:

> Coloured, for me I associate it with a culture, so I am coloured by culture. It's more than just the colour of your skin. It's what we do as a group, how we gather, what our families prioritise, and your values and morals.

Though both groups found comfort in somewhat shared lived experiences of being coloured, there was awareness that without an immersion in coloured culture in South Africa, it is difficult to be coloured in Aotearoa New Zealand. Reese, one of the younger co-researchers, shared that if he was to have children one day, he would be more likely to teach them about African identity than coloured identity. Vanessa echoed his views by stating that for her children to understand what it means to be coloured, she would have to take them to the coloured community that she grew up in so that they have context of coloured culture.

Most co-researchers agreed that identifying as coloured was tiring and unnecessary in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, hence the decision for most to refrain from using it.

Self-identification

After sharing their lived experiences of identity in the South African context, the co-researchers shared their experiences of identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. The co-researchers were also asked how they currently identify.

Some chose one identity, whereas others chose more than one. The results are illustrated in the bar graph 1.1. below.

1.1. Co-researchers self-identification
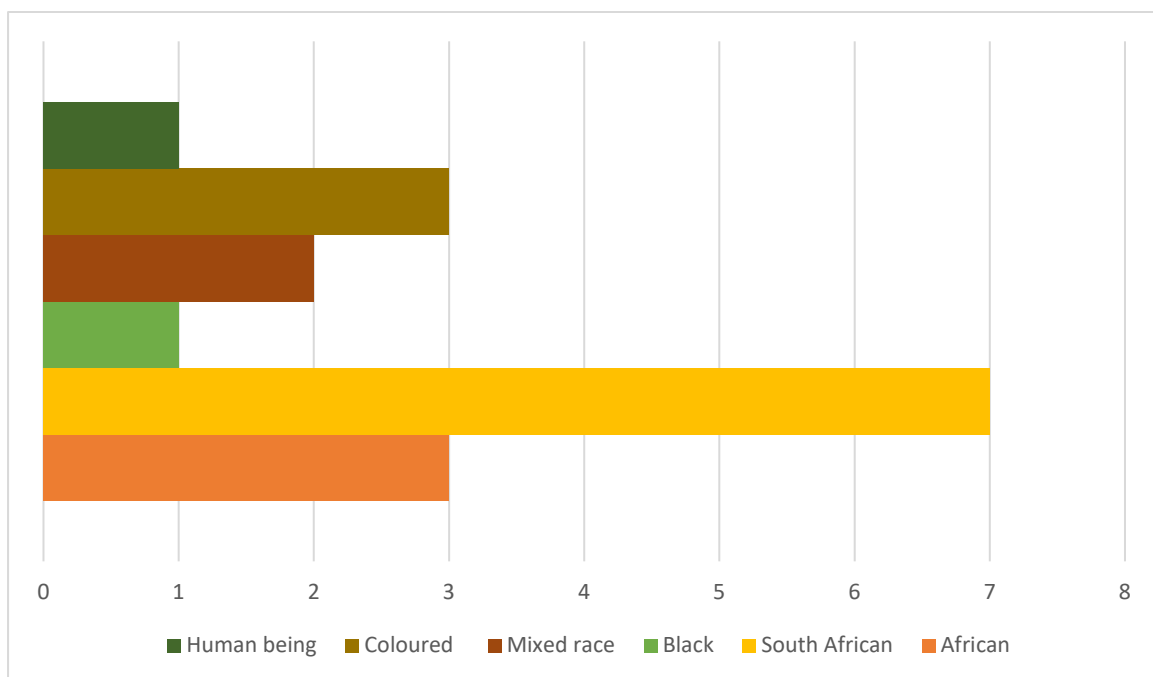
The perspectives of the co-researchers were diverse when it came to self-identification. As displayed in the bar graph above, most chose more than one identity. Most chose the national identity of South African; others chose an ethnic identity – African; and an equal number chose a racial identity of coloured. Few chose to identify as mixed race or black. One of the co-researchers refused to embrace a national, ethnic, cultural, or racial identity, and opted to be classified only as a human being, reasoning that she chose to identify in this way to move away from labels.

When asked how they responded when asked in Aotearoa New Zealand what they identify as, most co-researchers felt it was a difficult question to answer:

Cindy: That is the worst question. (People would say things like) "you're so exotic."

Cora: I say that I'm South African and then they'd ask, "So are you black?" And I would say, "No, I'm classified as coloured." Then you have to go down the whole rabbit hole.

Drew: And for them it's too much – it's a mind blow.

As the co-researchers spoke about the multiple identities they embrace – from South African to African, coloured, and black, Lester, the oldest co-researcher, shared his perspective of why he chooses to identify solely as coloured:

I'll go with (identifying as) coloured because of how I was reared. It will stay with me for the rest of my life – that name – because I'm used to it. So, I won't change to anything but that. And I'm happy being that because it moulded me into the person I am today. It sticks with me, and I'm happy to die with it – being a coloured.

Conversely, Andrea, the youngest co-researcher in her twenties shared that she did not feel an affiliation or strong pull towards coloured identity.

The co-researchers agreed that the difficulty in explaining their identity to others is a constant challenge that gets tiring, because their responses are usually met with further questions.

Black: being and becoming

The ten co-researchers involved in this study were asked to list all the descriptors they use to self-identify. Most stated more than one identity descriptor, but only one participant identified as black. Of note, two of the ten co-researchers spoke openly and proudly about being black during the conversation, but when asked to anonymously write down how they identify to others, only one stated that they identify as black. The conversations about black identity were met with trepidation from most co-researchers. All the older co-researchers, aged over 50, apart from one, struggled with being identified as black. As stated by Cora, in South Africa, coloured people were different to black people because they lived very differently. For her, that was the main factor that differentiated a coloured person and a black person. Conversely, Drew, another older co-researcher, had views that aligned with Steve Biko's Black Consciousness Movement.

Cora: (Growing up) you just knew (that you were coloured). It was so evident in your life. You'd watch tv and (see) that's how the white people lived and that's how the black people lived. So, you know that you were coloured. And it's almost like everybody wanted you to just stay there.

Drew: For me, I never classified myself as coloured. I always classified myself as black.

Cora: But you're not black.

Drew: I am black – because I'm not white. That's the way I saw it. You're either black or you're white. There was no in-between. They put the in-betweens in there, but for me, there was no in-between.

Amongst the younger co-researchers, there was more comfort with being identified as black. Reese, in his mid-twenties, shared his perspective:

It's been a journey for me. Only recently have I started leaning into the blackness part of it (my identity). It's also because coloured identity, I feel so disassociated from, because so much of my life I've grown up here. So much of what I've consumed is black culture, African American black culture, or the diaspora's black culture. It's been a long journey; I'm still figuring things out as well.

Vanessa, one of the older co-researchers, stated that she would not identify as black, but that her teenage daughter identifies as black. This showed that the co-researchers who lived in South Africa for a longer period held more rigid and defined views of identity. It can be deduced that the apartheid government's rigid views of identity played a significant role in the more singular views of identity shared by a number of the older co-researchers.

Mixed-race: the semantics of being in-between

When discussing identity descriptors, the co-researchers spoke about the challenges that came with identifying as mixed race. Consensus emerged amongst the group that the understanding of mixed-race identity in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand tend to be limited to a view that each parent must be of a different race group, whereas this is not the case for most people classified as coloured in Aotearoa.

I used to say I was mixed and then they'd ask which parent was white and which parent was black, but that's not quite how it works (Reese).

None of the co-researchers have a parent who is classified black or white in the South African context. All co-researchers, apart from Drew who is unaware of his lineage because he was adopted, are at least second generation coloured in the South African context.

The co-researchers agreed that this simplified view of mixed-race identity is the reason why most of them refrain from using it nowadays. It also results in more follow up questions. One of the co-researchers commented on the fatigue of having to constantly explain herself, something that she believes would not be the case for someone who was white, as it would be assumed that they were born in New Zealand.

As one of the most genetically diverse groups in the world (Beck, 2013), members of South Africa's coloured community are likely to have very diverse ancestry. It can be inferred that outside of South Africa, it would be no different for coloureds in the diaspora.

In recent years in the United States, a similar conversation has come to the fore about how to identify people of multiple backgrounds (Donnella, 2016). The term multiracial has been more commonly used in recent years to encompass the diverse ethnic makeup of more and more people. The use of multiracial as an identifier was not discussed at the shisa nyama events but based on the co-researchers' trepidation around blanket terms which led to more questions from people asking about their identity, it can be suggested that most would not be keen on using this term.

South African or not South African enough

The identity descriptor that the co-researchers felt most comfortable identifying with was South African. Seven of the ten co-researchers shared that they identify as South African when asked. Whilst the national identity of South African was most popular, the co-researchers still found it problematic in some instances. Co-researchers commented on the misconceptions held by New Zealanders of what a South African looks or sounds like. Some were met with further comments from questioners about not looking South African.

The complexity of trying to reason with others about whether they are South African enough was lamented on by the co-researchers several times during the conversations. A shared view existed amongst the groups that white South Africans in Aotearoa New Zealand would be met with less intrigue and interrogation about their identity because New Zealanders had a greater understanding of them being naturalised as South African. The co-researchers felt that this was not the same for coloured people in New Zealand.

The co-researchers agreed that time spent with South African friends in New Zealand strengthens the South African part of their identity. Vanessa stated that when she first arrived in New Zealand, she and her husband did seek out other South Africans with which to connect:

> For us, we did look for other South Africans. I guess, just to make you feel a little bit more welcome. Just a piece of home. Even if they were insincere or whatever, it was just someone from home.

The desire to feel a closer connection to the country of their birth also led several of the co-researchers to actively participate in keeping South African culture alive in Aotearoa New Zealand, with five of the ten co-researchers playing key leadership roles in Auckland's South African community.

When discussing African identity, Drew also stated that many coloured people in Aotearoa New Zealand opted to identify as South African exclusively because it distinguished them from the rest of Africa, which is perceived as poor and underdeveloped.

Vanessa shared the identity views of her children, ranging in age from late teens to late twenties who found it easier to identify as South African than as coloured.

> My kids now don't see themselves as coloured, but as South African. For them to understand coloured identity, you'd have to take them back to Cape Town or Port Elizabeth and say "this is how we grew up".

From the co-researchers' discussions, it is clear that identifying as South African, whilst most preferred, still comes with issues and confusion.

African: children of the motherland

Three of the ten co-researchers in this study chose to identify as African. At both shisa nyama events, different perspectives were given on identifying as African. Cindy, a co-researcher in her thirties felt comfortable embracing her African identity and posed a question to the group about why members of the coloured community in Aotearoa New Zealand purposely separate themselves from other Africans in the diaspora in Aotearoa:

> Do we do that intentionally or unintentionally to separate ourselves from Africa? I feel like we do that a lot as South Africans and people from other countries do look at us (knowing) that we actively do that (Cindy).

Drew's response to her question was met with controversy:

> We do it, but we do it for a reason because as much as we don't want to say it, we don't want to be black.

He further went on to state that most South Africans in New Zealand would classify themselves as South African but "would not classify themselves as African because Africa is seen as black Africa – poor and underdeveloped."

Similarly, Statistics New Zealand also refrain from classifying coloured South Africans as African, under the Middle Eastern, Latin American, and African category. Census data from Stats NZ shows that those who state that they are coloured South Africans are placed in a category of 'other'.

For the co-researchers who lived under the apartheid system, the difficulty in embracing an African identity may be a result of the apartheid government's racial classification system that considered

Africans to only be those of exclusively African heritage. In present day South Africa this issue persists, with coloured citizens not being considered African by government standards (Masondo, 2020).

Vanessa stated that she would classify herself as African but made the distinction that she sees herself specifically as Southern African, as she has more in common with Africans from Zimbabwe, Namibia, and Botswana due to language and cultural similarities. She went on to distinguish herself from Africans from other parts of the continent. This suggests that amongst some of the older co-researchers, there may be a view that those classified as coloured in the South African context who now reside in New Zealand are too different from other Afro-Kiwis to also identify as African.

Having settled in Aotearoa with his parents, Reese found African identity as more relevant for future generations than coloured identity:

> I think for our next generation no, (coloured identity) won't be something they'd identify with. I want to bring my kids up and teach them about something, but I think that African identity would come before coloured identity.

Most of the co-researchers who resettled in Aotearoa New Zealand at a younger age felt comfortable identifying as African and embraced an African identity in New Zealand. The generational differences in perspective regarding identifying as African can clearly be seen.

Kiwi: will we ever be Kiwis?

The co-researchers, all of whom were migrants to Aotearoa New Zealand, have diverse experiences of the way in which they were able to adjust to life in a new country. All have resided in Aotearoa New Zealand for more than ten years; some nearly twenty years.

George arrived in New Zealand in 2001 from Durban, South Africa. He was relocated from a South African metropole that was diverse in population in comparison to a small town in New Zealand that had very few people of colour:

> My interview was done from South Africa. I was interviewed over the phone. I was successful with that interview, so they paid my relocation costs (to move from South Africa to New Zealand). A family with three children – we didn't know where we were going to. So I applied, but they didn't know that I could have been black or coloured. They were expecting a white man to jump off that plane.

They did treat me differently. According to their perceptions, that should have been a white man's job. Within the first three months (of that job), I felt very uncomfortable. That's another place where I experienced racism.

He remained in the job for four months and decided to leave citing difficulties with colleagues and the challenges of living in a small mostly white New Zealand town. He relocated to Auckland with his family after leaving that job.

Drew arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand in 2002 with his wife and two children. He shared his experience of how the differences in work culture between South Africa and New Zealand was difficult to adjust to because in Aotearoa great emphasis is placed on being polite at the expense of being honest:

In my second job in New Zealand on the service desk for Ernst and Young, I sent an email to one of the solicitors and I said, "Can you do this?" I got a verbal warning for that because that was rude. How can you tell someone to do that, you need to ask them (gently). My thing was that they've got a problem and I'm telling them to do this, but no you can't tell anyone to do anything.

He further discussed how the direct style of communication in South Africa can be very difficult to navigate in New Zealand because of the focus on being nice and polite over getting a good job done. This is something that he still struggles with in New Zealand.

In the New Zealand work setting, Cora struggles with the way in which she is treated in comparison to Pākeha colleages:

I have experienced racism at work. You see how differently you are treated to a Pākeha person. And I call them out on it because I think that I'm not going to stand for it. They don't realise that they're treating you differently, but some people get away with a lot because they're white and then you must just deal with it and be the bigger person.

She further explained the frustration she feels when she sees white colleagues not being held to account for things that would not be tolerated if it was a person of colour in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Though all of the co-researchers have spent a significant amount of their lives in Aotearoa, none were able to comfortably identify as Kiwi. Andrea, the youngest co-researcher, shared feelings of being a third culture kid, unable to truly fit in in Aotearoa and South Africa.

For me, South Africans will say, "oh, so you've got an accent, so you're a Kiwi". But I'm like, "I'm South African." I'm from South Africa. Then Kiwi's will say, "oh, you're South African."

> It's this thing of never fitting in. So you're not enough of something, but you're not enough to be something.

Reese, the second youngest co-researcher revealed that he recently received his New Zealand citizenship but made sure that he retained his South African citizenship as well, because he does not feel Kiwi enough to only have New Zealand citizenship.

Lester, the oldest co-researcher in the study, commented that though he supports New Zealand's national sport teams, he does not feel comfortable calling himself Kiwi.

The co-researchers did not make specific comment on whether they have successfully integrated into New Zealand life, but from the discussions, it was clear that there were barriers that prevented them from feeling a true sense of integration.

What was clear, however, is that some co-researchers had engaged in assimilation tactics to make their lives a bit easier in Aotearoa New Zealand. Vanessa shared the way in which she changed her pronunciation of words because she got tired of being misunderstood. Others shared similar experiences of changing the way they spoke to fit in and be more easily understood in New Zealand society. There was a feeling amongst some co-researchers that self-preservation tactics helped them to cope better with being different.

The feeling of being othered also affected some co-researchers' abilities to embrace a Kiwi identity, with Mary stating:

> If we are in the mall, people just stare and you think is your zip undone or is your top…? So, is it curiosity because people ask us all the time, "so, what are you?" So, I'm still trying to find out what is it that they really want to know when New Zealand is such a multicultural society.

For Reese, the questions about his identity and where he is from are interpreted as New Zealanders asking him why he is here, because his white friends are not met with the question of where they are from.

It can be surmised that all these factors play a role in the co-researchers' collective inability to use the term Kiwi as an identifier.

Summary

This chapter provides in depth accounts of the co-researchers' perspectives on the coloured lived experience in South Africa and Aotearoa. It reveals how the identity views of the knowledge sharers involved in this research study may have evolved after many years in Aotearoa. The findings are

different to what I expected when starting this research journey. I expected a stronger pull towards African and black identities amongst those involved. Whilst this was the case for a number of the younger members, the older co-researchers tended to find comfort in explaining their coloured identity to those who are unlikely to have an understanding of coloured identity in Aotearoa.

It is evident that the uBuntu research framework created a safe space for knowledge to be shared, challenged and processed. Whilst co-researchers challenged each other's views at times, it was done respectfully, and the recipients were open to different points of view. The shisa nyama method promoted these values, as even though some co-researchers had just met each other, they felt that they were in an environment with trusted friends and whanau[10].

These findings illustrate the complexity of coloured identity in the land of its creation, South Africa, and in an adopted land, Aotearoa. In the next chapter, I will discuss how identity has been constructed and reconstructed for the co-researchers, and what this could mean for future generations of coloured immigrants in Aotearoa.

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[10] Family in te reo Māori.

Chapter 5: Discussion

The aim of this research study is to understand the way in which those classified as coloured in the South African context, make sense of their identity in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand. The research questions explore the topics of what it means to be coloured, what it means to be coloured outside of South Africa, and how the co-researchers involved in the study self-identify. Using the uBuntu research framework that I developed, I engaged in meaningful discourse with the co-researchers. When I began this research journey, I predicted the key findings of the research would include a rejection of coloured identity in Aotearoa for some involved in the study. Interestingly, none of the co-researchers rejected the coloured label outright. This chapter will explore the reasons why I believe some involved still choose to embrace the term.

The key findings of the research focused on the way in which coloured identity in South Africa is tied to white identity, and the assimilation towards whiteness that many coloured people still cling on to. It looked at the coloured lived experience in-depth in the South African context. This included how being classified as coloured shaped an individual's life and limited their access to opportunities, to the psychological effects of racism and discrimination, finances, and careers. In the context of Aotearoa, coloured family values, experiences of racism and what coloured identity means in New Zealand were explored. How the co-researchers self-identify in Aotearoa and each of the identity labels they choose to use were also discussed.

As mentioned in the methodology chapter, the uKhamba technique was to be applied to the data gathered in the previous chapter and, for this reason, shaped the discussion to come. The uKhamba complements the uBuntu methodology. Preference was given to it because although Western qualitative data analysis approaches were considered, I strongly felt that selecting a Western approach would compromise the indigenous research methodology and method of this study.

The ukhamba, a Zulu ceremonial beer pot is commonly used in Zulu culture at events. At the end of the shisa nyama events, the co-researchers were given post it notes and asked to write down the points of discussion that they found to be most relevant. An African bowl, representing the uKhamba, was then passed around for each co-researcher to add in their selection(s). Co-researchers were not restricted in the number of discussion points that they could write down. The themes that will be explored in this discussion that relate to the research aim and questions are the five most common topics that were selected. The use of te reo Māori vocabulary, such as whakapapa, were specifically written down by the co-researchers. The themes that will be discussed include whakapapa and the origins of coloured identity, the coloured lived experience, adapting to life in Aotearoa New Zealand, generation gap experiences and being South African.

Whakapapa and the origins of coloured identity

The ten co-researchers who participated in this research were all aware of their roots and the origins of their coloured identity through miscegenation in colonial South Africa. Most shared detailed accounts of the points in which racial mixing occurred in their families. Eight of the ten co-researchers shared their stories. One co-researcher was adopted, so was unaware of his biological genealogy. Interestingly, of the seven remaining, only one made mention of an African ancestor in their family line. The others focused only on their European or Indian ancestors. Though all co-researchers would have African ancestors, most did not make mention of their African ancestors. This is not uncommon in coloured communities in South Africa. Adhikari (2006, p. 467) discusses this in his research of expression of coloured identity in twentieth century South Africa:

> The principal constituents of this stable core are the assimilationism of the coloured people, which spurred hopes of future acceptance into the dominant society; their intermediate status in the racial hierarchy, which generated fears that they might lose their position of relative privilege and be relegated to the status of Africans; the negative connotations, especially the shame attached to racial hybridity, with which colouredness was imbued; and finally, the marginality of the coloured community, which severely limited their options for social and political action, giving rise to a great deal of frustration.

Coloured identity under apartheid was closely attached to the notion that success was achieved through aspirations and assimilation to whiteness in phenotype, lifestyle, and values. Evidence of this is seen in the voting patterns of South Africa's first democratic election in 1994 (Harvey, 2016). The election that ended white dominant government rule in South Africa saw most coloured citizens voting in favour of the apartheid National Party. Though anti-apartheid activism dominated coloured communities in the late 1980s and early 1990s, many coloured people still voted to be governed by the white apartheid government instead of the African National Congress, South Africa's non-racial liberation movement (Eldridge & Seekings, 1994). The perceived fear of an uncertain future where coloured people would receive greater racial prejudice from the black liberation government than the apartheid government influenced most coloured voters in South Africa's Cape province, now split into the Eastern, Western and Northern Cape provinces, to vote for the incumbent National Party in the country's first democratic election (Taylor, 1994).

Research into the lived experiences of coloured South Africans in post-apartheid South Africa (Adhikari, 2006) show that coloured people still hold white people in higher regard than people of other race groups, based on their assimilation to whiteness. This suggests something about the potency of ideologies of white privilege and currency it still has in the minds of those classified as

coloured. The reluctance to be othered and the hope of being given in-group privileges may be linked to the omission of African heritage when the discourse of ancestry was discussed.

The coloured lived experience

The co-researchers shared the complexity of being coloured in a foreign land and the lack of meaning and understanding that the classification has outside of South Africa. The racial hierarchy that exists in South African society, with those classified as coloured and Indian sitting in-between those classified as black and white, gave coloureds an intermediary status with limited opportunities in society (Sonn, 2003). Though the coloured classification was an oppressive label given by the colonial rulers of the time, it became widely accepted and embraced by the community (Adhikari, 2013). A number of co-researchers' responses mirror this in many ways. There was consensus amongst the co-researchers that the coloured classification provided a sense of shared understanding of lived experiences with others who are classified as coloured in the South African context who now live in Aotearoa New Zealand. Much of this comfort was attributed to the similar identity struggles amongst the group. This indicates that the common lived experiences of the co-researchers in some respects helped foster a sense of belonging that can lead to self-acceptance and more positive self-esteem. All co-researchers confirmed the difficulty in defining their identity to others who did not understand what the term 'coloured' means.

The coloured lived experience in South Africa was compared to the coloured lived experience in Aotearoa New Zealand. Racism and discrimination were issues that were discussed in both contexts, with co-researchers sharing painful experiences in both countries. Some expressed surprise in the racism experienced in Aotearoa New Zealand because they assumed that racism only existed in South Africa. Similarly, Sonn (2013, p.6) in his exploration of identity and oppression amongst coloured South African migrant in Australia, found this to be true as well, stating "Oppression and racism, although negative experiences, do not lead to only negative outcomes. Negative and/or threatening experiences, such as racism, prejudice, and discrimination, can serve as factors that unify and mobilize groups". The responses of the co-researchers are confirmation of this, with a strong sense of unity being outwardly expressed. During the shisa nyamas, it was common for group members to share nods of approval when an experience of identity was discussed. At many points of the conversations, a co-researcher would share a painful experience of racism that was met with empathy from the group. A deep sense of understanding of and connection to the experiences of other members of the group was visible. It was evident that the co-researchers felt a sense of safety in expressing views that were instantly understood by others present. This suggests that the social interaction experienced at the shisa nyama events validated the feelings of the co-researchers.

There were many instances where co-researchers expressed an acute awareness of how their experiences of growing up coloured in South Africa has caused them to intentionally cling to aspects of their upbringing that align with their values and aspirations and reject the aspects that they find problematic. In South Africa, coloured people lived in working-class communities with limited access to adequate resources and opportunities (Adhikari, 2004). This was commented on by the co-researchers as they shared their frustration in the lack of generational wealth in their communities and lack of awareness amongst their parents and grandparents of how to spend money and become financially secure. This was attributed to the impact of colonisation and dispossession experienced by the community. There was mutual agreement of the need to equip future generations with this knowledge, with the goal of creating generational wealth.

Adapting to life in Aotearoa New Zealand

The co-researchers shared diverse experiences of adapting to life in Aotearoa New Zealand. The group discussed experiences during their early days of migration up to their experiences in 2021. Whilst all co-researchers expressed their gratitude to be a part of New Zealand society, it was evident not all co-researchers felt like they had fully integrated into life in their host nation.

Berry's (2005) model shows that integration enables an individual to achieve a positive relationship with those in the host nation and those of their own ethnic group. The co-researchers shared their views on how they were able to integrate in some ways. For several co-researchers, getting involved in community groups that celebrated South African culture in Aotearoa New Zealand and which helped them connect with other South Africans was beneficial.

The co-researchers involved in this study shared ways in which they assimilated to make life easier in Aotearoa New Zealand. This includes changing the way they spoke to make themselves easier to understand for members of their host nation, and to fit in. This strategy of code-switching is one that is common amongst migrants and people of colour: "Broadly, code-switching involves adjusting one's style of speech, appearance, behaviour, and expression in ways that will optimize the comfort of others in exchange for fair treatment, quality service, and employment opportunities" (McCluney et al, 2019). This suggests that code-switching may affect the identity development of the co-researchers, as they learn strategies of self-preservation that make them less different to the majority group.

 One of the younger co-researchers expressed that intentionally changing the way she spoke enabled her to fit in more easily. An older co-researcher shared her experience of changing the way she pronounced certain words to avoid being asked to repeat herself in her work setting.

One co-researcher shared her preference to socialise with other South Africans as a way of feeling more closely connected to her home nation when she first arrived. She also shared that her brother in South Africa asked her why she chose to leave South Africa "if she only hangs out with South Africans in New Zealand". This suggests a desire to separate from members of the host country to strengthen connections with those of one's own ethnic group (Berry et al, 2005). It may also suggest that the unexpected culture difference between South Africa and Aotearoa New Zealand led to the co-researcher intentionally distancing herself from Kiwi culture in certain aspects for fear of her loss of identity. From the responses of the co-researchers, it was not perceived that anyone felt marginalised in New Zealand society.

Whilst most felt that they had been able to integrate in their host nation, none were able to comfortably embrace a Kiwi identity. All co-researchers expressed reservation in being called Kiwi or describing themselves as Kiwi, citing their phenotype as a barrier to being accepted as Kiwi. A study exploring the identity construction of Chinese migrants in Aotearoa New Zealand (Chan & Spooney, 2017) supports this sentiment, with participants unable to embrace a Kiwi identity due to their Chinese phenotype that made them different to those typically seen as Kiwi. This also speaks to the prototypical characteristics of what makes an individual a Kiwi that can produce barriers to self-identification. Experiences of racism would only add to an individual's resistance towards embracing a Kiwi identity. One of the younger co-researchers shared a typical conversation he would experience when asked 'where he was from' and how his white friends were never questioned about where they were from. He went on to state that he interpreted such questions as 'why are you here?' and were contributing factors to his inability to classify himself as Kiwi, when 'Kiwis' themselves did not see him as Kiwi. The co-researchers in the group agreed. Following on from his insights, others in the group shared similar experiences. Insights from the 2011 New Zealand Election Survey show that a proportion of New Zealanders share these views, with 44% agreeing that 'immigration threatens the uniqueness of our culture and society' (Tan, 2017). Findings such as this suggest that for some, being Kiwi may be linked to the notion of being an elitist in-group, where acceptance cannot be attained for those who do not fit the limited and stereotypical characteristics of what makes a person Kiwi.

Generation gap experiences

In the conversations shared at the shisa nyama events, it was evident that the younger co-researchers' views differed to the older co-researchers for the most part. Many of the older co-researchers did not feel discomfort in identifying as coloured in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, with the oldest participant stating that coloured is a term that he embraces because he was born with it 'and is happy to die with too'. This echoes the findings of Sonn and Lewis' (2009)

research of coloured immigration and identity in Australia exploringthe complexities of identity construction in an adopted land. Their findings showed that the coloured identity label is disrupted and is positioned as black in the Australian context. For many of the co-researchers, being referred to as black was not easily accepted. Only two co-researchers openly embraced their black identity, with the second youngest co-researcher sharing that he is on a journey of understanding when it comes to his black identity. Many of the older co-researchers struggled to see themselves as black due to the rigidity of racial classification in South Africa. Mohammed Adhikari (2004) explores the identity struggles of the coloured community in post-apartheid South Africa, uncovering the myriad of questions being grappled with – from whether coloureds should express their identity as black or African or South African, or some or all these identity descriptors.

The same questions arose at the shisa nyama events, with one of the younger co-researchers challenging the group on whether those classified as coloured in New Zealand identify as South Africa to separate themselves from those classified as African. Overall, the younger co-researchers engaged in more thought-provoking questions about identity, seeking to understand why some identities were clung to in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand. Reese, the second youngest co-researcher, felt that African identity is more relevant to future generations who are classified as coloured South African in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand. His perspective was shared by the other co-researchers who settled in New Zealand at a younger age.

From the conversations, it can be suggested that the younger co-researchers had a less accepting and more critical view of identity than those who were older. Their views on identity also tended to be more nuanced in terms of the acceptance of embracing multiple identities. It must also be reiterated that the older co-researchers had very different experiences to those who were younger. They shared common experiences of apartheid and racism, for example, with other older co-researchers in the group. Younger members could not relate to these conversations in the same way, because they did not experience it. It also indicates that it is more difficult for an individual to change their outlook when they are older, as perspectives are entrenched in many instances.

Being South African

The co-researchers agreed that a South African identity was the most used identity when asked by New Zealanders. In many instances, it was discussed that further questions would be asked about their South African identity because they did not typically look South African from the perspective of some Kiwis. The group agreed that there was a shared feeling of being seen as an other when they used the South African label. This phenomenon of being othered in an other category is explored by Sonn (1995, p.437): "Some respondents speak about being different in Australia and constructing

identities as 'South African' within the broader discourses of multiculturalism. In Australia they claim 'South African' to identify themselves to others, because there they also belong conditionally, as a different 'other'."

The group went on to discuss the invisibility of South Africans who did not neatly fit into the categories of black and white in New Zealand. This is predominantly because most immigrants from South Africa are white. Many white South African's are not visibly identified as immigrants in Aotearoa New Zealand (Bedford, 2004) because they phenotypically look like Pākeha. For the majority of coloured South Africans in Aotearoa, this is not the case. Though New Zealand is a multicultural society, the co-researchers still found that New Zealanders struggled to understand that South Africa was also a society with people of many different backgrounds and ethnicities. This suggests that New Zealand society may be ideologically multicultural, but not the case in reality. As highlighted earlier, during the conversation about South African identity, one of the younger co-researchers posed a question to the group about the use of the South African label to distinguish themselves from Africans migrants from other countries on the continent. The other co-researchers agreed with her point. This suggests that even in the New Zealand context, those classified as coloured South African may still be trying to assimilate to whiteness because of its perceived value.

Summary

In the methodology chapter, I laid the foundation for the research to be undertaken using an uBuntu methodological framework. Based on the findings from the shisa nyama events, I was able to make valuable insights that related back to my original research aim and questions. From the relation of coloured identity to whiteness, to the sense of solidarity in shared lived experiences, struggles embracing a New Zealand identity and the contrasted experiences of co-researchers of different generations, I have been able to gain understanding of the way in which the co-researchers involved in this study make sense of their journey of identity development.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This chapter brings the research study of the identity construction of individuals classified as coloured in the South African context who now reside in Aotearoa New Zealand, to a close by summarising the key findings of the research in the context of their relevance to the main research aim and the research questions. The contribution of the research will be discussed along with its limitations and recommendations for future research.

The key findings of this research study show that the coloured lived experience is nuanced in the context of South Africa and Aotearoa. Whilst all the co-researchers have lived in Aotearoa for many years, all were in different stages of the evolution of their journey of identity. Some chose to embrace identities that felt a stronger connection to than coloured identity – being African or black, others chose the national identity of South African, and one chose to proudly identify as coloured. The research questions of what it means to be coloured, what it means to be coloured and how the co-researchers identified in Aotearoa, were addressed in detail. Through the co-researchers' discourse, it indicates that the longer an individual who is classified as coloured in the South African context lives in South Africa, the more difficult it is for them to question their coloured identity. Further findings show that coloured identity outside of South Africa can be difficult to retain as it is not accepted or understood in most other parts of the world. The national identity of South African also was not comfortably used by many co-researchers due to the further questions and comments received about not fitting the phenotypical stereotype of a South African in Aotearoa. This suggests that an individual is more likely to evaluate their identity when their self-identification labels are challenged by others.

Contribution

This study has created a space for the lived experiences of those classified as coloured in the diaspora to be heard. This is of great value because it gives voice to a community that has been marginalised in South Africa and has been under-researched. The uBuntu research framework also presents researchers who are working with African communities to use a paradigm that seeks to validate the worldviews and culture of those involved in the research. It also creates an opportunity for researchers to assess the way in which they conduct their research, as the uBuntu paradigm requires community involvement from the starting point of the research process. The shisa nyama research method is an authentically African way of engaging with research participants in a space that is space and culturally affirming. The uKhamba method of data analysis compliments the shisa nyama research method as it ensures that the research participants play an active role in selecting the themes to be analysed and explored. The Indaba presentation of findings completes the research framework in a way that reflects the uBuntu worldview, as it brings people together again

to share in community and conversation. Underpinned by uBuntu values, I believe that the research framework I developed can be transformational for research involving the African community in Aotearoa, Africa and beyond.

This study also fills the gap for research on the coloured community in Aotearoa as no other research studies investigating the perspectives and identity development of those classified as coloured who now reside in Aotearoa has been found.

In many ways, the key findings of the research confirm existing research involving those classified as coloured who live in the diaspora. The complexities of the community are confirmed in the results, as well as the diverse ways of interpreting coloured identity outside of the land that created said identity. The co-researchers had varying degrees of comfort identifying as coloured to those who were not coloured in Aotearoa, but all agreed that they felt comfortable identifying as coloured when they were around other in-group members.

If just one contribution is taken from my research by those in academia pursuing research in the future, it would be that the communities and individuals that the research is about are made the priority. This means that the research is designed to reflect the values and culture of the researched community. Diverse worldviews exist, and for research to be meaningful to diverse communities, it must be underpinned by worldviews that affirm those cultures. I believe that my research has achieved this in its own small way.

Recommendations

This research study created a space for the complexity of coloured identity to be understood better beyond South Africa's borders. The findings from this research will add to the discourse of Aotearoa New Zealand's diverse ethnic groups and can provide government departments such as the Ministry for Ethnic Affairs with a resource that helps to understand the diverse people groups of Aotearoa. This research can also be used to highlight Stats NZ, the official data agency of Aotearoa, of the 'othering' of those who identify as coloured South African on census data. Currently Stats NZ classifies coloured South African responses outside of all ethnicity categories, in an 'other' category. Given the African genetics of this people group, it would be recommended that those who identify as coloured South African for ethnic classification purposes be placed in the MELAA – Middle Eastern, Latin American, and African category, as they are African. Future research in this space can explore the use of the uBuntu methodological framework for research involving Africans.

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