BLURRED CONSCIOUSNESS: HOW BLACKNESS AND SPACE SHAPES IDENTITY
FORMATION AMONG SOUTH AFRICAN COLOUREDS AND NEW ORLEANS CREOLES

By

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ABSTRACT

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From an African Diasporic lens, and a Historical Sociology methodology, this dissertation investigates the ways in which intersecting connections of Blackness, space/geography, and identity-formation play a significant role in the formation of racial hierarchy. Applying theoretical concepts of *racial formation theory*, *métissage*, and *intersectionality* to my case study, the Creoles of Color and Coloureds are two ethnic groups that have similar historiographies in regards to their identity formation. The European-elite categorized, socially-constructed, and transformed heterogeneous ethnic groups into homogenous mixed-raced people and positioned in *métissage*, an ideology of "neither White, nor Black," establishing dialectical- and multifaceted-consciousness. The objectives of this study are to: 1) Examine how the concepts of space and identity formation articulate themselves in Westbury (Johannesburg) and the 7th Ward (New Orleans); 2) Investigate how race ideology continues to marginalize people of color in South Africa and the United States; and 3) Survey how Coloureds and Creoles interpret and incorporate Black consciousness, the African Diaspora, intersectionality, cultural-formation, and space theoretical concepts into their own identity through archived research, participant observations, semi-structured interviews, and focus groups.

This dissertation is dedicated to Mom and Dad.
Thank you for supporting me along this journey.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

The emergence of the black ghetto did not happen as a chance by-product of other socioeconomic processes. Rather, white Americans made a series of deliberate decisions to deny blacks access to urban housing markets and to reinforce their spatial segregation…

Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid*

For to be free is not merely to cast off one's chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others.

Nelson Mandela

The paradox of education is precisely this – that as one begins to become conscious one begins to examine the society in which he is being educated.

James Baldwin

Coloured identity in Westbury, South Africa, and Creole of Color identity in New Orleans, acquire complex and various meanings due to the unique racial histories and ideologies of the respective nations in which they were constructed. Race-based identities built on a Black – White binary placed limitations on those populations that fell "in-between" and outside the established norm. Coloured and Creole of Color formation–created by the European-elite, was a racial classification that involved *métissage*[i], and it was developed in the Cape of Good Hope (present day Cape Town) and Louisiana during the mid-seventeenth century. Within both geographic-spaces, these populations were classified as "mixed-race" groups, and they were placed as objectified buffers in-between "racially-pure" Whites and Blacks, established by the colonial states in Louisiana and Cape Town.

Historically, prior to European penetration in New Orleans, Louisiana and South Africa, the Indigenous communities of Indigenous Americans (referred to as *Indians*[1] by the colonists and enforced by the colonialists) and the Khoi and San people of the southern African region.[2] By the end of the seventeenth century, with combination of the Indigenous populations and enslaved African populations in both the New Orleans and Cape Town regions, the European settlers who supported the colonial-states were the minority.[3] Race was used as a social construction, an

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ideology, and a tool to divide and conquer the majority of the non-White population in South Africa and Louisiana, respectively.   Then, legislation—the implementation of laws—was put in place for the purpose of supporting institutionalized- and legalized-racism that maintained White supremacy, during the imperial and colonial eras in both the U.S. and South Africa, for the purpose of world-economic and -political sovereignty.[4]

In the modern era, *de jure* racial segregation involved State-government officials zoning specific areas and boundaries designated for Creoles of Color (classified, along with African Americans, as *Coloreds*) during the Jim Crow period. In the South African context, Coloureds were further marginalized and established as an intermediate "racial" group (and buffer) to segregate Whites from Blacks during the implementation of the apartheid regime in 1948. Since the end of apartheid, in 1994, the African National Congress (ANC) led government promotes a non-racial democratic society.   Yet, the Coloured community in Westbury (a township of Johannesburg that is focal to this study) still feels racially marginalized as an in-between group (neither Black, nor White) due to the memory of exile and spatial boundaries established during apartheid. In the U.S. context, since the passage of the various Civil Rights Acts (in 1964, 1965, and 1968), and the rise of the Black Power Movement, many Blacks in New Orleans continue to latch onto their Creole heritage as their primary identity.   Through an African Diaspora perspective, and a historical-sociological methodology, key theoretical concepts that will inform my dissertation are the theoretical components of *racial-formation* (Dubois 1903; Omi & Winant 1994), *intersectionality* (Cooper 1892; Lorde 1984; Crenshaw 1989), and *métissage* (Bernabé, Chamosiau, & Confiant 1989; Glissant 1997) in order to analyze how spatial boundaries and racial- and cultural-ambiguity shapes identity formation.[5]

SPECIFIC AIMS

The main objectives of this dissertation are to: 1) Examine how the concepts of space and identity-formation articulate themselves in Westbury (Johannesburg) and the Seventh (7th) Ward (New Orleans); 2) Investigate how race ideology continues to marginalize people of color in S.A. and the U.S.; and 3) Survey how Coloureds and Creoles interpret and incorporate global Black consciousness, the African Diaspora, racial- and cultural-formation, *intersectionality*, and socio-spatial theoretical concepts into their own identities) through historical methods, participant observations, semi-structured interviews, and focus groups.

Applying the *racial formation*, *métissage*, and *intersectionality* theoretical-concepts to my case study, the Creoles of color and Coloureds are two ethnic groups located in two vastly-different regions of the world; yet, they have similar historiographies with regard to their identity formation. The two primary research sites are the 7th Ward, New Orleans, and Westbury, Johannesburg sections. I focus on these two locations, because the 7th Ward and Westbury areas have similar historical occurrences of peoples classified as "mixed-race" who were exiled from former neighborhoods due to racial-politics enforced by the twentieth century legalized-segregation of the Southern U.S. Jim Crow and South African apartheid regimes.

Additionally, through the processes of qualitative and historical research methods, my data collection involves performing participant observations, semi-structured interviews, and focus groups, for the qualitative portion, as well as analyzing archived materials with the South African publication *DRUM Magazine*, church articles from the New Orleans Corpus Christi-Epiphany Catholic Church, and slave records collected from the Western Cape Archives and Records Services in Cape Town (which includes both trader accounts, court records, and plantation files serving as the primary sources). Also, my dissertation examines how these two ethnic groups

intersect in terms of analyzing how the concept of Black consciousness and spatial boundaries shape and transform identity and cultural formation. I analyze how global Black consciousness affects two racialized non-White communities. Incorporating interdisciplinary approaches to data collection are used to generate qualitative data for interpretation.

I focus on Coloured- and Creole-consciousness and how these identity formations were created during a different time and space, but, under similar political and economic realities, (they) are articulated within the twenty-first century–an era that adheres to the notion, in both the United States and South Africa, that the global society has moved past the concept of "race" through the notion and ideology of "color-blindness."[6] In Eduardo Bonilla-Silva's work, the term "color-blind racism" refers to the dominant White racial ideology of the modern era, in which Whites, under the guise of being color-blind, refuse to acknowledge the reality of racism and reject any consideration of how their own racial identity provided them with privileges, vis-à-vis people of color.[7] From a theoretical perspective, Bonilla-Silva posits that racism should be viewed as racial practices that are structural and systemic, as opposed to psychologically-driven.[8] Thus, the structure of race ideology must be set in place before an individual and/or society is mentally-effected by racism—either as a contributor or as a recipient. Then, why is interpreting the concept of "space" important when studying race, and, how does space impact identity formation?

In urban planning, the idea that "space" impacts everything is foundational to the field: the architecture; the landscape; the people living within those structures, and structural boundaries put in place, such as expressways, waterways, railways, parks, and walls that affect society as a whole, whether directly or indirectly. Additionally, "zoning", designated land-areas that are divided into separate sections or "zones," that allow or prohibit various forms of land-use enforced by the local or municipal government(s), has lasting ramifications among local citizens and stakeholders that

are invested in various neighborhoods, wards, parishes, or districts.[9] Teasing out the complex intersections between race and space provides researchers with an analysis that architectural historian Dell Upton has aptly termed, "the social experience of the built environment."[10]

Geography specialist Keith Beavon explains that the three acts that were particularly significant in affecting the geography of segregated Johannesburg were the Natives (Urban Areas) Act (1923), the amendment to the 1923 Act (1930), and the Slums Act (1934).[11] These acts were specifically directed towards Black (in this context of so-called "non-racially mixed South Africans") South Africans.[12] Beavon further specified that: "[the] Act could *not* be used to exclude Asians, Coloureds, or any other ethnic group. The legislative base for the segregation of other groups from Whites came about only in the 1950s after the promulgation of the infamous Group Areas Act."[13] Since Black South Africans were the largest racialized group within the non-White population, the colonial government focused on removing Blacks from land that was deemed the best quality in order to acquire the land for economic resource productivity and sustainability–gold production.[14]

By 1930, a total of 79 suburbs had been proclaimed under the 1923 Urban Areas Act, and 27,000 African people had been moved to existing compounds.[15] The South African Council of Churches explains that the mining revolution which lasted throughout the colonial period (based on the provisions of the Native Land Act (1913))–the years from the 1870s to the 1930s were crucial in the transition to a modern economy in South Africa.[16] Additionally, by rigidly restricting the land which Blacks could work on their own account, the act contributed to the on-going process by which Black cultivators and peasants were being transformed into laborers for White mine owners and farmers.[17]

In the U.S. context, the 1896 *Plessy vs. Ferguson* U.S. Supreme Court case led to further restrictive and discriminatory so-called "separate but equal" segregation laws, and a much more widespread socio-economic system of oppression was generated to retain the racial hierarchy system. This case in particular was monumental, not only to the southern United States, but also to the state of Louisiana, in particular, because Homer Plessy who was one-eighth Black, was from New Orleans, and a person of Creole heritage. Thus, the paternalism of Jim Crow flourished specifically because of Whites who supported a system built on the denial of Black power.[18]

In the midst of twentieth century South Africa, the implementation and enactment of the NP's apartheid regime zoned and rezoned to race-segregated spaces. Likewise, during the Jim Crow era U.S., northern states enforced covert racial segregation in the form of governmental enforced spatial boundaries which shaped *de facto* racially-segregated neighborhoods. However, in the Jim Crow south, Creoles of Color, and African Americans in New Orleans, were subjected to overt laws which enforced *de jure* racial-segregation. David M. Cutler contends that collective action of different forms: specific policy instruments such as racial zoning, restrictive covenants that excluded Blacks from particular areas, and organized activities, such as threatened lynching or firebombing, often discouraged Blacks from moving into White neighborhoods which perpetuated racial marginalization during the Jim Crow era.[19]

Similarly, Douglass S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton explain that, "barriers in spatial mobility are barriers to social mobility, and by confining [B]lacks to a small set of relatively disadvantaged neighborhoods, segregation constitutes a very powerful impediment to [B]lack socioeconomic progress."[20] Whether discussing race or geography, marking boundaries creates property rights, for it is (the) boundaries that define who gets what—who gets the most, who gets less, who gets nothing—who takes, and who gets taken.[21] However, the U.S. and South African

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governments supported legalized-segregation, because Jim Crow and apartheid served the interests of the White-elite during various periods.

Race and geography have one more important trait in common–they are both equally arbitrary systems of (dis)organization.[22] Colonialism, slavery, the various "codes" and "acts" (whether discriminatory or for "civil rights"), and non-/post-racialism ideologies have been put in place for protecting White-elite status and maintaining (the) social order. Whether involving enslavement, displacement and exile, exploitation (cheap labor), or exclusion (reservations) of oppressed bodies, at all costs, the White minority in South Africa, or the White majority in the U.S., maintained their supremacy out of fear of losing power based on region and context. Although Jim Crow and apartheid are non-existent in the twenty-first century, the remnants of the previous regimes continue to perpetuate racism and marginalization.

In the twenty-first century, those formerly *de jure* spaces did not immediately disappear into the atmosphere. Most families have remained in the same neighborhoods that were zoned and structured throughout the apartheid and Jim Crow eras. The majority of family descendants who were White and/or affluent, during colonialism and legalized racism, are still White and/or affluent. Similarly, for non-White descendants who were predominantly impoverished, ghettoized, and marginalized, during legalized racism in both the Americas and colonial Africa, many Coloured and Black people remain poor and are still classified as not "White." Then, social divisions embedded in institutionalized racism resulted from spatial-development formed during the legalized racism eras, and they continue to exist in the twenty-first century. The objectives of this study are not only to discuss how Blackness and space shapes identity formation among Creoles and Coloureds, but they are also to explain why, and for what purpose.

BACKGROUND & LITERATURE REVIEW

Jim Crow and apartheid were legalized-racism centered on race ideology and beliefs framed and socially constructed in order to perpetuate control within American and South African society.[23] As sociologist Howard Winant posits, the:

> *'borrowing' from the non-European world of cultural forms of all types–musical, literary, imagistic, and so on–although extensive, was not the central dimension of this debt. Rather, it was the use made of the 'other' to define the self,* **the reliance on difference to produce identity** *that constituted the cultural dimensions of modernity on the foundation of racial hierarchy.*[24]

In other words, racism was developed and used in order for one group to dominate over another group for social control. Sociologist Joe Feagin argues that, "the new nation formed by European Americans in the late eighteenth century was openly and officially viewed as a *white* republic. The founders sought to build a racially based republic…against those people…whom they deemed as inferior and as problems…"[25] Institutional law was always set in place to support only one group of people at the expense of "the Others." David R. Roediger suggests that when the "founding fathers" used the phrase "the pursuit of happiness," some of the happiness seekers had in mind, largely, the pursuit of property–people (bodies). In order for the western world to acquire this exploit, fifteenth century European imperialists penetrated into both Africa and the Americas simultaneously.

The late sociologist, historian, and activist-scholar W.E.B. DuBois states, in an assertive chapter titled "The Rape of Africa," that the rebirth of civilization in Europe began in the fifteenth century.[26] DuBois further clarifies that European explorers' interaction with the African world initiated the process of eventual colonialism and world domination. DuBois expounds that:

The Portuguese, Dutch, and British decimated the West Coast with the slave trade. The Arabs depopulated the East Coast. For centuries the native Bantu, unable to penetrate the close-knit city-states of the Gulf of Guinea, had slowly been moving south, seeking pasture for their herds and protecting their culture from the encroachment of the empire-building in the black Sudan.[27]

Enslaved Africans were primarily taken from the Western African coast and shipped to Central and South America by the Iberians (Portuguese/Spanish). As the Atlantic slave trade developed, slavery became associated with Blacks, and anti-Black racism became very powerful in Portuguese and Spanish America—slavery in the Americas was justified by racist ideology.[28] Sociologist Tukufu Zuberi asserts that:

…the idea that racial difference are the cause of individual social status and achievement grew out of colonialism and the enslavement of Africans and Native Americans. The rise of democracy occurred at the same time as enslavement and colonialism. The establishment of colonies in Africa, Asia, and America, distinguished the beginnings of the twentieth century. When Africans were emancipated in the West, colonization and segregation ruled the day in Africa and Asia. These apparent contradictions needed justification, and the birth of racial statistics gave scientific credibility to justifications for racial inequality.[29]

Establishing a dialectic of European-American freedom, supported by African and Indigenous enslavement (in both the Americas and Africa), provided the façade of democracy as a means to support the modern global White supremacist project. The combination of race ideology and enslavement was the catalyst for the birth of the so-called *Negro Problem* in the U.S. and the so-called *African problem* in South Africa.

Perceiving and categorizing oppressed groups of the enslaved Africans, and indigenous people, as subhuman, was put in place for the Americans to interpret freedom as an ideology that could only be pursued by White citizens. According to Omi and Winant, "without a racial identity,

one is in danger of having no identity."[30] People of color at times have used and transformed their racial identity, such as the U.S. Black Power or South African Black Consciousness movements of the 1960s and 1970s, as a socio-political identity in order to use it as a tool for agency and to contest discrimination and oppression. As former Black Panther President Elaine Browne asserts, Blackness is not simply a color, but "being Black is a condition."[31] In other words, it is much deeper than a complexion; Blackness is a particular lived experience and consciousness that is distinctive, intricate, and contradictory.

How can Blackness be real if race was socially-constructed out from nothing? As is discussed in further depth in Chapter 1, race was made for the purpose of maintaining economic and political autonomy—providing privilege for some and pariahs for others. Social scientist and Whiteness scholar David A. Roediger expounds that the fascinating connections between property and happiness hinge not only on the vocabulary of John Locke's political philosophy and its influence on American revolutionaries, but also on ways in which both property and happiness found meaning in their relationship to Whiteness and White privilege.[32] Similarly, anthropologist Arjun Appadurai asserts that commodities can provisionally be defined as objects of economic value.[33]

Racism practiced in the U.S. and South Africa produced oppression and exploitation amongst people of color as racism occurred throughout other colonized regions of the world: the Americas and Asia–for the purpose of western global economic- and political-domination. In the South African context, racial hierarchy determined the life-chances of all South Africans during the slavery, colonial, and apartheid eras. Likewise, during the Reconstruction era in the mid-nineteenth century, White American-elites did not want to lose power as a superior racial group.

Therefore, laws were put in place that restricted Blacks (Creoles and Americans) from becoming autonomous and prevented non-Whites from advancing within the free-market.

The White-elite effectively removed the majority non-White populations and restricted their access to resources determined by their racial classification in both regions of the world. In *What is Slavery to Me?*, South African feminist-scholar Pumla Dineo Gqola explains that:

> *...the relationship of historiography to memory is one of containment: history is always part of memory whilst history delineates a certain kind of knowledge system within the terrain of memory. Put differently, whereas memory is a shadow always hovering and governing our relationship to the present and the future, history is the art of recording and analyzing this consciousness of the past.*[34]

The suppression of indigenous history, and the strategic placement of the diverse and multi-ethnic population, designated "Coloureds" into a "racial"- and buffer-category; this at once made them superior to Blacks and inferior to the same because of their "lack of culture."[35]

The late historian Eugene D. Genovese emphasizes that:

> *...racism that developed from racial subordination influenced every aspect of American life and remains powerful. But slavery as a system of class rule predated racism and racial subordination in world history and once existed without them. Racial subordination…and the history of modern colonialism demonstrate, need not rest on slavery. Wherever racial subordination exists, racism exists; therefore, southern slavery and its racist ideology had much in common with other systems and societies.*[36]

In other words, racism formulated as a structure that was practiced through the socio-economic and political acts of colonialism and slavery, was intersected and trans-national. In both America and South Africa, "…systemic racism began with European colonists enriching themselves substantially at the expense of indigenous peoples and the Africans they imported for enslavement."[37] The narrative of slavery is usually understood as the enslaved West Africans

exported from the African continent to the so-called "New World." However, the global slave trade also involved enslaved Africans and South East Asians shipped to other regions of imperial Africa and the Americas.

In his chapter titled "Race and Racism in Historical Perspective: Comparing the United States, South Africa, and Brazil", sociologist George Frederickson disputed that in the South African context, although most enslaved peoples came from the African continent, the East Indies and South Asian population provided a substantial share of the enslaved population in the Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope.[38] Thus, enslaved Asians, along with enslaved Africans, started to blend together—essentially forming a single enslaved population. Similarly, in the Americas, Ladinos (Latinized Africans) and Islamized Wolofs, at times, encouraged and helped the indigenous Arawak to revolt against the Spanish and became repeatedly and universally prohibited in sixteenth century Spanish America.[39] The "creolization" process involved various methods of adaptation to a foreign place for the sole purpose of enslaved- Africans' and Asians' survival in both the Cape of Good Hope, South Africa and colonial Louisiana.

Hence, creolization not only created and incorporated blended cultures, but it increased the strength in numbers of the oppressed resisting against the European colonial powers. The late political scientist C. R. D. Halisi argued in his 1999 work *Black Political Thought in the making of a South African Democracy*, that during the early nineteenth century the: *Khoisan of the western Cape are the oldest people of South Africa; they were also transformed into the country's first indigenous proletariat…Khoisan resisted European settlement of the interior for close to three decades, costing them near annihilation.*[40] By the mid-nineteenth century, large numbers of Khoisan had drawn progressively closer to enslaved Africans and Asians in culture, status, and

economic function; together with the enslaved population, they formed the basis of South Africa's Cape Coloured population.[41]

Through the blending of cultures, sexual- relations and violence, miscegenation (race-mixing), and merging of the different languages, the creolization process formed a new community of the oppressed. Gqola suggests that: *the acknowledgment of creolization is central to this process, as is the creolization of the Dutch language into Afrikaans by slaves and of cultural practice by these communities and their descendants. Processes of creolization happen in proximity to and within different relations of power under conditions of slavery.*[42] The history of slavery has been obscured from South African common memory which often does not include slavery as a precursor and fundamentally-linked to colonialism. Also, similar to *Afrikaans*, *Louisiana Creole* was a language that was created by the enslaved African population through the creolization process during the seventeenth century.

In the South African context, cultural struggle and establishing ideologies transpired for maintaining social order and the colonial project. The historical experience of the Coloured people in Cape Town was based on, what had been taught by the ruling powers, two mythical lessons: 1. White is positive, and Black is negative; and 2. racial purity is superior to mixing.[43] Similarly, in New Orleans, "mixed-ness" represented a taint to White purity that included "African-ness" in the veins of mixed-raced people. Thus, mixed-ness or *métissage* was the antithesis of "Whiteness." Gqola further posits that while the Afrikaner and Coloured experiences and identities are hybridized, only Coloured identities are creolized identities.[44] Likewise, Winant suggests that the duality, complicated eventually by creolism, *métissage,* and the sometimes-ambiguous status of workers, soldiers, and peasants (in both the mother-countries and the colonies), nevertheless laid out the national-political axes of the modern racial order.[45]

Put another way, *métissage* established a complex racial hierarchy used as a catalyst for maintaining social order and White supremacy. Sociologist Kathleen Odell Korgen posits that: *in our white-dominated society, it is the mixing of white and non-white blood that makes (and has made) many Americans feel uncomfortable…Throughout U.S. history, the children of black/white interracial couples have faced general degradation.*[46] Creoles of color, and Coloureds, were classified as second-class citizens because of their African ancestry and out of fear that they would threaten the purity of Whiteness. Omi and Winant further suggests that, "…the fact is made painfully obvious when we encounter someone whom we cannot conveniently racially categorize– someone who is, for example, [obviously] racially 'mixed'…Such an encounter becomes a source of discomfort and momentarily a crisis of racial meaning."[47] Then, phenotype which included skin-color and facial features, continued to play a significant role in deciphering racial classification.

For example, *pencil tests and paper bag tests*[48] and other forms of tactics were used to determine who was an insider or outsider, who was "White," "Black," or "Coloured", in the South African context, or, who was "White" or "Black" in the U.S. supported by the *One-Drop Rule*[49], varied by region and colonial entity. Naturally, resentment occurred among multi-ethnic oppressed groups who were able to see how particular groups were able to benefit from certain privileges, especially through skin-color, given to them by the colonial government. Specifically, color determined economic, educational, and political privileges and opportunities for advancement.

Involuntary migration—the uprooting of bodies from the African homeland, transported into the unknown, and scattered throughout the four corners of the earth; state-enforced spatial and ghettoized boundaries; institutionalized racism rooted in the 350 years of colonialism and three

centuries of slavery; legalized segregation; and exile from established neighborhoods and continuous displacement through gentrification are contributing factors to perpetual disadvantage among Coloured South Africans and cultural and lineage supremacy of Creoleness among many Black Americans—challenges the notion of a non-racial and post-racial society.[50] These examples of social interactions maintain the racial hierarchal paradigm that expands spatial and economic division within the twenty-first century.

GAPS IN RESEARCH

The various uses of *creole* presents a problem in analysis; originally referring to American-born people of African descent, whether or not racially mixed, by extension, the term became associated with culture, and creole was applied to mixed populations, whether individuals were of African descent or not, as long as they were born in the Americas.[51] However, there are communities on the African continent that also refer to themselves as *Creoles*, *Krios*, and other monikers that are rooted from the seventeenth century term *criollo*.[52] The problem with the term lies in establishing the parameters of its use; in some constructions, birth was essential in establishing the boundary.[53] Then, *Creoleness* is determined not only by birth, but also the region where a person is born.

Yet, from an African Diaspora studies perspective, region (along with bias) plays a significant role in determining who is, and who is not, a member of the African Diaspora. Paul T. Zeleza emphasizes that African Diaspora Studies is often positioned primarily from an Atlantic Ocean perception, which silences the diasporic experiences of Africans that were dispersed during the Arab and Indian Ocean Slave Trades that occurred prior and simultaneously to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, depending on time and space.[54] Joseph E. Inikori emphasizes that:

> *...the magnitude of the mortality of between the time of capture and the final departure of slave ships from the African coast, as well as the numbers of death occurring during the*

process of capture, and the magnitude of further deaths caused by sociopolitical upheavals associated with the procurement of captives remain uncertain. (6)[55]

The uncertain amount of causalities, human bodies that perished throughout the entire *MAAFA*[56], from point of capture to the selling of people to slave-masters, unfortunately, will be a forever unknown. Also, diaspora scholar Robin Cohen asserts that the under-researched Indian Ocean African slave trade to Asia and the Middle East was enormous—perhaps as many as four million were involved—but it was the forcible transshipment of ten million people across the Atlantic, for mass slavery and coerced plantation labor in the Americas, that provided the defining misfortune that constituted the African Diaspora.[57] Then, within this perspective, New Orleans Creoles of color would be viewed as members of the African Diaspora, but not South African Coloureds.

Some African Diaspora scholars conservatively-believe that the African Diaspora can only be directed towards Africans involuntary captured, enslaved, and then taken out of the African continent and dispersed to other regions of the world. Then, enslaved Africans captured and shipped to other colonial-zones of the African continent would not be viewed as Diaspora. Zeleza states that, "among scholars of African Diasporas in Asia and Europe, common critiques are heard against the domination of the Afro-Atlantic model and the African Americanization of Afro-Europe and Afro-Asia."[58] The South African Coloured population encompasses a complex account of both Diaspora and Indigenousness.

The Coloured population is a multi-cultural and multi-regional descended group of people whose ancestors came from both the indigenous peoples of the Southern African region, along with the Trans-Atlantic and Indian Ocean slave trades that transpired between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. After generations of creolization and racialization processes, various ethnic

groups were morphed into a "Coloured" people in the Cape colony. Similar questions and experiences as asserted by African Diaspora scholars the late Ruth Simms Hamilton and Édouard Glissant pertaining to *home, identity, circularity/movement and nomadism, trauma*, and *consciousness* occur among South African Coloureds akin to African descendants from other regions of the world. Therefore, Zeleza suggests that African Diaspora scholars, "…need to de-Atlanticize and de-Americanize the histories of African Diasporas. In order for the field to grow, it is critical that the Afro-Atlantic and U.S. African American models of African diaspora studies be provincialized rather than universalized…"[59] In addition, previous research on the study of South African history and apartheid often focused on racial classification systems within U.S. White – Black binary terms and did not critically analyze how Coloured South Africans (and the Creoles of color for that matter) were strategically placed as a buffer between Whites and Blacks within the apartheid system.

Although Coloureds were minorities within the non-White Black African population, Coloureds were included in the majority of non-Whites that were classified as second class citizens during apartheid. Anti-miscegenation laws were implemented which made unions between Whites and non-Whites illegal.[60] Different repercussions occurred among the apartheid state designated racial groups that participated in *racial-mixing* that...*[i]f it is a Coloured-White relationship (of which there are not really so many) the two-people concerned have generally considered the matter carefully. If they decide to maintain their relationship, they usually leave the country. Coloured-Black mixing is more frequent, as it is not forbidden by law.*[61] Moreover, due to the high frequency of miscegenation, the color scale among non-White South Africans varied.[62] Thus, racial classification in apartheid South Africa was centered on contradictory measures since tests

were performed in order to decide by the law who was "White" or "Coloured" or who was "Coloured" or "Black."

Additionally, studying Coloured identity formation is further complicated due to the heterogeneity of the Coloured South African people. Multi-generational mixed-race populations of indigenous Khoisan[63] people, immigrant Africans, Asians from various regions, and multiple White ethnic groups make up the Coloured population due to a variable degree of mixture further complicates the study of the population. Moreover, many Coloureds self-identify as "Black," "Indian," "Chinese," or "mixed-race" based on the varied backgrounds, histories, and regions within South Africa. A South African individual many self-identify as "Black"; yet, on the South African census, that person is "racially-classified" as "Coloured." Thus, researching Coloured identity formation should be viewed in terms of comprehending race ideology and intersecting the concept of spatial boundaries–within this context, former Sophiatown residents were expelled to Westbury and other townships within the Johannesburg region enforced by apartheid era zoning policies.[64] Additionally, incorporating space as a concept within the theoretical framework will generate further discussion in the study of Coloured and Creole identity formation.

DISSERTATION CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter 1 will discuss the theoretical paradigms of *racial formation* and *intersectionality/critical race* theories that will serve as my theoretical frameworks for analyzing the concept of "Blackness" as to how it creates dialectics in relation to the *métissage* concept. Since the concept of *métissage* supports the idea of anti-Blackness and anti-Whiteness (in theory), and due to the different ways Creole and Coloured men and women were affected by the ideology, I will use the *intersectionality* (Crenshaw 1989) model intersected with racial formation theory (DuBois 1903;

Omi & Winant 1986, 1993) as my theoretical paradigm. Chapter 1 will provide the theoretical framework for this dissertation.

Chapter 2 will provide a historiography of Creole of color and Coloured identity formation. The aim of *Part 1* of Chapter 2 is to analyze and identify how the study of Creole identity has advanced over a period of time. Comprehending the history of various scholars' positions provides a specific context and period within the academy (and society) when historians and scholars from other disciplines were contributing to the production of knowledge in the study of Creole identity. This chapter will include the literature review of primary and secondary researched source materials pertaining to the Creole population portion of my dissertation.

Part 2 of Chapter 2 will discuss how I contend that the continual marginalization of Westbury residents reinforces Coloured identity formation due to the ghettoized environment inside the boundaries of the Westbury Township. Furthermore, this chapter will discuss how the historical memory of creolization, displacement, and exile held by many Coloureds, deflates the notion of a non-racial society in twenty-first century South Africa. This chapter will also include the reviewed literature of primary and secondary researched source materials relating to the Coloured population portion of my dissertation.

Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 will discuss the qualitative and historical research methods used to collect data in order to conduct my research with the goal of generating relevant and significant data for answering my research problem. These two chapters (Chapter 3: Coloured, Westbury community findings/Chapter 4: Creole of color, Seventh/7th Ward community findings) will also provide the various findings based on the archival data collected and generated through the viewing of slave inventory records, church records, and other tangible resources that are pertinent

for data collection, as well as qualitative data collection through performing participant observations, interviews, and focus groups conducted in the 7th Ward and Westbury.

APPENDIX

ENDNOTES

[i] *Métissage*, also referred to as *métis* is a French term meaning *miscegenation/race-mixing* of "neither White or Black," an ideology forced on a heterogeneous indigenous and enslaved population

[1] *Indians* was a label designated on the multi-ethnic Indigenous populations in the Americas by Christopher Columbus, who, in his search for Asia, thought that he had arrived in the East Indies (*Wilton, David Word myths: debunking linguistic urban legends. Oxford University Press, USA. p. 163. 12-02-2004).*

[2] Omi, Michael and Howard, Winant. *Racial Formations in the United States*. (New York: Routledge, 1986, 1994.); Halisi, C.R.D. *Black Political Thought in the making of a South African Democracy* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999).

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

[4] Omi, Winant. *Racial Formations,*1986, 1994.

[5] Delgado, Richard and Jean Stefancic, *Critical Race Theory* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2012).

[6] Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. *Racism Without Racists* (*Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010); Tim Wise, *Colorblind: The Rise of Post-Racial Politics and the Retreat from Racial Equity* (San Francisco: City Lights Publishers, 2010).

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] *Lamar, Anika. "Zoning as Taxidermy: Neighborhood Conservation Districts and the Regulation of Aesthetics." Indiana Law Journal. (December 1, 2015).*

[10] William A. Gleason, *Sites Unseen: Architecture, Race, and American Literature* (New York: NYU Press, 2011), 2.

[11] Beavon, Keith. *Johannesburg: The Making and Shaping of the City* (Pretoria: The University of South Africa Press, 2004).

[12] Ibid, 98.

[13] Ibid, 98.

[14] Ibid, 96.

[15] Ibid, 106.

[16] The South African Council of Churches, *Relocations: The Churches' Report on Forced Removals* (Southern African Catholic Bishop's Conference, 1984), 36.

[17] Ibid, 36.

[18] Hirsch, Arnold R. and Joseph Logsdon. *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization* (New Orleans: Louisiana State Press, 1992.), 263.

[19] Cutler, David M., Edward L. Glaser, and Jacob L. Vigdor. "The Rise and Decline of the American Ghetto," NBER Working Paper No. 5881. *Labor Studies, Public Economics*. January, 1997, 19.

[20] Massey, Douglas S. and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (President of the Fellows of Harvard College, 1993).

[21] Higgenbotham, Elizabeth and Margaret L. Anderson, ed., *Race and Ethnicity in Society* (Thomson and Wadsworth, 2006).

[22] Ibid, 148.

[23] Omi and Winant. *Racial Formation,* 1986, 1994.

[24] Winant, Howard. *The World is a Ghetto: Race and Democracy Since World War II* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 16.

[25] Feagin, Joe. *Systemic Racism* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 68.

[26] DuBois. W.E.B. *The World and Africa*. (Millwood: Kraus-Thomson Organization, 1976), 44.

[27] DuBois, *The World*, 31.

[28] Torres-Saillant, Silvio. "The Tribulations of Blackness: Stages in Dominican Racial Identity," *Latin American Perspectives*. 25, 3 (May 1998): 126-146; Midlo-Hall. *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas*, 2005.

[29] Zuberi, Tukufu and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva. *White Logic, White Methods: Racism and Methodology* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.), 5-6.

[30] Korgen, Kathleen Ordell. *From Black to Biracial: Transforming Racial Identity among Americans* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1998), 5.

[31] Browne, Elaine. "New Age Racism," 2008. (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8oYtzBf3z6g)

[32] Roediger, David R. *Colored White: Transcending the Racial Past* (Berkeley and Los Angles: University of California Press, 2002), 122.

[33] Appadurai. Arjun. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 3.

[34] Gqola, Pumla Dineo. *What is Slavery to Me?: Postcolonial/slave Memory in Post-apartheid South Africa* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2001), 8.

[35] Ibid, 13.

[36] Genovese, Eugene D. *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: First Vintage Books Edition, 1972), 15.

[37] Feagin, *Systemic Racism*, 69.

[38] Hamilton et. al, Charles V. *Beyond Racism: Race and Inequality in Brazil, South Africa, and the United States* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001), 2.

[39] Midlo-Hall, Gwendolyn. *Slavery and African Identities in the Americas* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 85.

[40] Halisi, *Black Political Thought*, 27.

[41] Ibid, 27.

[42] Gqola, *Slavery*, 29.

[43] Martin*, Trans-Atlantic Identities*, 71.

[44] Gqola, *Slavery*, 30.

[45] Winant, *Ghetto*, 23.

[46] Korgen, *Black to Biracial*, 1-2.

[47] Ibid, 5.

[48] *Pencil tests and Paper bag tests* were tests conducted for the purpose of inclusion and exclusion through the practice of *colorism*, rooted in race ideology. The pencil tests were administered by the South African apartheid government and occurred within the courtrooms to determine who would be labeled as *White*, *Coloured*, or *Black*. If the pencil was stuck in their hair, they were classified as either *Coloured* or *Black*, if the pencil fell out, then they were able to classify as White. On the other hand, the paper bag tests were created by lighter-skinned Blacks that were used to determine who was able to enter certain clubs, churches, become members of certain fraternal orders, and other exclusive organizations. If a person was darker than the brown paper bag, at times they were rejected from the establishment. There were exceptions to the rule depending on color, class, gender, and other social constructions and intersections.

[49] The *One-Drop Rule* is a rule that is rooted in slavery that occurred in North America, still adhered to in the twenty-first century United States. Mixed-race children that were the product of miscegenation and took the status of the enslaved mother. This rule only applied to people of African descent. There is no rule for U.S. citizens with indigenous, Asian, or Jewish ancestry. One-drop of African blood made some Black, no matter how White in appearance and/or phenotype (F. James Davis. *Who is Black?*, 2001).

[50] Hamilton, Ruth Simms. *Routes of Passage: Rethinking the African Diaspora* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2007.); Terrablanche, *Inequality*, 2012.

[51] Paul E. Lovejoy. "Transatlantic Transformations," in *Africa, Brazil and the Construction of Trans-Atlantic Black Identities*, 2008, 94.

[52] Stewart, Charles. *Creolization* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2007).

[53] Lovejoy, *Trans-Atlantic*, 94.

[54] Zeleza, Paul T. "African Diasporas: Toward a Global History." *African Studies Review* 1.53. (2010).

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

[56] *MAAFA,* A Kiswahili word for "disaster," or "great tragedy," and used by Dr. Marimba Ani to describe the African Holocaust, describing the histories of atrocities inflicted on African peoples and their descendants (Tim Wise. *Colorblind*, 2010). It is estimated that between 40 - 100 million were directly affected by slavery via the Atlantic, Arabian, and Trans-Saharan routes (www.theAfricanHolocaust.net). To this day, researchers have not been able to estimate the exact number of enslaved Africans killed during the 400 Century long Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.

[57] Cohen, Robin. *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*. (London: UCL Press, 1997.), 3.

[58] Ibid, 4.

[59] Zeleza, *African Diaspora*, 5.

[60] Van Der Ross, R.E. *Myths and Attitudes* (Cape Town: Tafelburg, 1979), 20.

[61] Ibid, 20.

[62] Ibid, 20.

[63] The Khoi and San (Khoisan) people are currently classified as *Coloured* in the African National Congress (ANC) governed South Africa. Historically, Khoi and San people (sometimes referred to as *Khoisan*) were classified as separate *races* from other African (Xhosa, Zulu, Tswana, etc.) ethnic groups that migrated to South Africa from other regions in Africa prior to European interaction–whom were classified as *Black*. However, many Black and Coloured South Africans have mixed Khoisan and African ancestry. Thus, South African history (race ideology created by European colonialists) have established the Khoisan (native South Africans) and African (*the Blacks*) as separate races (Fredrickson, 2001).

[64]Zoning policies enforced segregated townships based on race-classifications implemented during apartheid.

CHAPTER 1

The paradox of race in America is that our common destiny is more pronounced and imperiled precisely when our divisions are deeper.

Cornel West, *Race Matters*

What we realized is that the narrative is not going to change until "we" change it.

Monica Yorkman, Baltimore Transgender Activist,
The Global African: Black Transgender Lives Matter

To identify human beings by their race, to "inscribe" race upon their bodies, was to locate them, to subject them, in the emerging world order.

Howard Winant, *The World is a Ghetto*

The primary theoretical frameworks that will be used for analyzing Creole New Orleans and Coloured South African consciousness are the concepts of *racial formation theory, métissage*, and *intersectionality*. Importantly, these socially-constructed theoretical-concepts are porous and interconnected. Also, race ideology is only one form of social-construction. Other social-constructions exist as well, such as gender, class, and additional formed and designated groups. There are many people who are associated with several socialized groups, such as: Queer people of color; Black women associated with the Black Elite; Black men associated with working-class unions; *cisgender*[64] people of color; people who are mentally- or physically-disabled; European Jewish people and Jewish people of color; heteronormative people of color; Queer White people; transgender people; Afro-Latinos–people who are both of African descent and Latino; people with biracial ancestry; and so on. Then, *intersectionality* is an important concept used to analyze the interconnections and distinctions of people who are involved within different groups.

More importantly, the *intersectionality* paradigm can explore where and when privilege occurs (and disappears) within an individual, based on the/a society's view of normativity,

depending on place and space. Whiteness is not fixed or monolithic; it varies upon region

throughout the world, and it has changed, over time, in terms of who is included within the White

racial-category: White women; White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestants (WASPs); White non-Protestant

people such as Jews, Catholics, Muslims, Irish, Italians, Greeks, Slavs, etc. of European descent;

mentally-ill or physically-disabled White people; and White LGBTQ people have White privilege,

regardless of their intersections. White privilege furthers division among other oppressed groups

of color. Cis-gendered Black men have male/gender privilege, but they do not have White

privilege because they are not categorized as White. Racial stratification means the differentiation

of a given population into hierarchically superposed racial groups–its basis and very essence

consist in an unequal distribution of rights and privileges among members of a society.[64] The idea

of *race*, as oppose to *gender*, *sexuality*, or *class*, continues to set the parameter on the race-

hierarchal ladder for social engineering and maintaining White supremacy.[64] Therefore, a holistic

and progressive theoretical framework must be used, in this dissertation, to analyze the New

Orleans Creole and South African Coloured populations.

Specifically, the U.S. and South Africa promote and adhere to post-racial and non-racial

politics. Race ideology within our global society continues to be a sensitive issue in the twenty-

first century. The post-racial ideology is the view that America is "past" racism specifically due

to the implementation of the Civil Rights Act (1964), the Voting Rights Act (1965), and the Fair

Housing Act (1968); yet, many people of color are aware of subtle and covert racist acts that occur

in the present. Sociologists Eduardo Bonilla-Silva and Tim Wise both assert that the former

President Obama is a product of post-racial politics.[64]

Obama explains in his "Race" chapter that*: [m]oreover, I believe that part of America's

genius has always been its ability to absorb newcomers, to forge a national identity out of the*

disparate lot that arrived on our shores (231). Obama embraced the belief that the U.S. was indeed *one-America*, rid of racial discrimination due to the enactment of the various Civil Rights Acts (1964; 1965; 1968) and promoted himself as the facade of a true America–multiracial heritage and exposure to a multicultural background in a post-Civil Rights era. In response to the early May 2015 uprising in Baltimore, Obama (echoed by the Baltimore Mayor, Stephanie Rawlings-Blake) started with chastising "looters" and "thugs" for *destroying their own neighborhoods*. Although the majority of the protesting was peaceful, and public property (such as the public library and other public services) were not touched, the mainstream media, and Obama, focused on the value of property as opposed to the primary reason protestors were rebelling—the loss and devaluation of human lives, predominantly Black and Latino person's lives. These public responses made by Obama perpetuated the narrative, and showed the nation, that: *Blacks have a lot more work to do in order to become upstanding citizens within America.* Cornel West asserts that we confine discussions about race in America to the "problems" Black people pose for Whites rather than consider what this way of viewing Black people reveals about us as a nation.[64]

In the post-racial era in the U.S., the government has implemented measures that contribute to a system, such as *de facto* racial residential-segregation, that includes ghettoized neighborhoods plagued with poverty, police brutality, high unemployment rates, lack of, or low-quality, goods and services, "food deserts," local governmental shutdown(s) of several public high schools, increased high school dropout proportions among the minority youth, and disproportionate incarceration rates among minority juveniles and adults furthers social divisions within the United States.[64]

Likewise, in post-apartheid South Africa, the African National Congress (ANC) promotes *non-racialism,* a philosophy that the late freedom fighter, civil rights lawyer, and anti-apartheid

activist, Nelson Mandela, followed during the apartheid regime, which subsequently led to his arrest and over 20 years of imprisonment at Robbins Island. Additionally, many non-Whites are race-conscious due to their perpetual marginalization within society. However, these racist occurrences are structural, systemic, and, often, are hidden.[64] U.S. citizens of all backgrounds, regardless of race, gender, or sexual orientation, are able to attend the same schools, places of worship, restaurants, and other amenities. There are no posted "Colored Only/White Only" signs, and overt racial discrimination is deemed unconstitutional within post-Civil Rights America. Thus, the color-blind notion has created, among some members of society, the false impression that race problems are issues of the past; conversely, this notion encourages racial hierarchy to remain in place.

Racial Formation Theory

Race ideology is framed on the ideals of "divide-and-conquer" for the purpose of accumulating and preserving power.   More importantly, the idea of "race" supported the enslavement and forced-dispersal of heterogeneous Africans through centuries-long and involuntary-migration occurrences to the Americas, and other parts of colonial Africa, for European economic-sustainability.[64] *Racialization* has become a widely used term in discussions of racial and ethnic relations—indeed, it could be argued that it has become, "…a core concept in the analysis of racial phenomena, particularly to signal the processes by which ideas about race are constructed, come to be regarded as meaningful, and are acted upon."[64] However, sociologist Verna M. Keith explains that *racial formation theory* argues that racial projects construct the meaning of race via images and explanations about racial categories that are manipulated to maintain White dominance.[64] Yet, critically analyzing race from a sociological perspective, and conceptualizing how racial hierarchy perpetuates social division in the U.S. is important, since pioneer scholars

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came from various philosophies and were crucial in deciphering problems within society through an academic lens for discourse.

Karim Murji and John Solomos assert that the idea of racialization is useful for describing the processes by which racial meanings are attached to particular issues—often treating them as social problems—and with the manner in which race appears to be a, or often "the", key factor in the ways they are defined and understood.[64] However, Ali Rattansi stresses that although the concept of racialization is indispensable, and marks an advance in the study of what is generally called "race and ethnic relations", it cannot replace other concepts.[64] Questioning the "realness" of race should not be grounded in biology or genetics, but grounded, rather, in ways certain groups are socialized, classified, branded, and treated as inferior, by a group that has the authority to do so. Perhaps biology and genetics may be used as an ideology to establish the notion that a certain group as different because they are "inherently-inferior", which is solely an ideology rooted in power dynamics.

Social constructions of race, skin-color/phenotype, class, religion, gender, sexuality, disabled, and able-bodied and intersections of those groups incorporate hierarchy in a multitude of forms. When two or more groups coexist in the same society, there is a strong tendency, on the part of the more powerful group, to use race as criterion to justify a dominant and privileged position for itself.[64] Tukufu Zuberi and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva posit racism as a form of:

> ***White logic***...*refers to a context in which White supremacy has defined the techniques and processes of reasoning about social facts. White logic assumes the historical posture that grant eternal objectivity to the views of elite Whites and condemns the views of non-whites to perpetual subjectivity; it is the anchor of the Western imagination, which grants centrality to the knowledge, history, or science, as people with folklore but not culture.*[64]

Similarly, social theorist Joe Feagin asserts this logic, as enforced through the racial formation of the *White Racial Frame*, as an overarching White worldview that encompasses, "a broad and persisting set of racial stereotypes, prejudices, ideologies, images, interpretations and narratives, emotions, and reactions to language accents, as well as racialized inclinations to discriminate."[64] Then, White logic is an egoism and chauvinism that predetermines anyone that is viewed and deemed either respectable or deviant, or superior or inferior, from the perspective of the European-elitist(s). This ethnocentrism and Eurocentric-dogmatism spread throughout society, and it was facilitated by the academy as well as various other institutions/organizations. The professorial-racist taught others this logic through lectures and publications which reinforced the philosophy. For example, eighteenth century European pseudo-scholars, such as Johann Friedrich Bluembach and Carl Linnaeus, were viewed as trailblazers in the western academy and the European world; they designated racial categories that focused on skin color and skull shape to supposedly support separate human races.[64]

Although, Zuberi and Bonilla-Silva stress that "…we are not suggesting that racial subalterns…along with their White colleagues, have for the most part employed the White logic and White methods in their analysis of 'racial' matters and thus helped reproduce status quo."[64] As is discussed further in this chapter, many individuals within oppressed groups internalized what they were taught, or forced to believe, as "fact(s)" and/or as "truth(s)", and they accepted the rhetoric, decided by the powers that be, whether it was found within (the) government or within the academy. Yet, since race classifications have been socially constructed, social movements also exist that have contested those constructions.[64] In other words, there were several others, within oppressed groups, who never accepted the White logic. Hence, theoretical concepts of race ideology within the academy have been discoursed over various periods of time, place, and space

by several sociologists and scholars; this has occurred particularly among academic researchers of color within Africana Studies, the social sciences, rhetoric/literature, and the humanities. More importantly, studying racism and the African Diaspora from an Africana- and interdisciplinary-lens provides a process for presenting a counternarrative as to what, and whose, history or "his-story" is regarded as the truth.

African Diasporic Literature scholar Brent Hayes Edwards asserts that the African Diaspora should be interpreted through the lens of *décalage* which indicates the reestablishment of a prior unevenness or diversity–the multiethnic enslaved Africans who were brought to the Americas at various times and spaces, dispersed to a new set of occurrences, geographical boundaries, and circumstances that separated Blacks again to eventually form unique populations and ethnic groups.[64] In other words, *décalage* is a changing core of difference; it is the work of "differences within unity" —an unidentifiable point that is incessantly touched and fingered and pressed.[64] The ideology of race was a socially constructed and western phenomenon created by a group of European elitists, implemented through policies, practices, and procedures put in place to maintain social order.[64] Hence, racism must be understood as:

> *an all-encompassing **system** that works on multiple levels and results in an unequal distribution of privileges, resources and power between White people and people of color – **overall** – with Whites as the beneficiaries of that distribution.*[64]

However, *racism*, which several Africana Studies scholars, historians, social scientists, psychologists, and I argue is too generic a term, articulating and affirming the systemic- oppression and -disenfranchisement of non-Whites, should be specified as "White supremacy," a system created by the European-elite used to establish the world- power and economics.

Publisher and ethnographer Yaba A. Blay defines White supremacy as a historically based, institutionally perpetuated system of exploitation and oppression of continents, nations, and

peoples classified as *non-White* by continents, nations, and peoples, who, by virtue of their White (light) skin pigmentation, and/or ancestral origin from Europe, classify themselves as *White*.[64] White supremacy took on different forms established within the various European empires–whether, English, Spanish, Portuguese, French, German, or Dutch cultural views and positions of Whiteness. For example, westernized people of African descent from Francophone countries adhering to *Frenchness*, or Africans who became "cultured" or "honorary Frenchmen" was different from the rigidity of Anglo-Saxon racial purity; yet, both colonial philosophies supported race ideology and White supremacy which depended on the region and space of the colonial-entity.

In *Black Skin, White Masks*, the late Martinican psychologist and revolutionary Frantz Fanon asserted the psychology behind White superiority amongst the colonial-entity, in quote:

> *The colonial, even though he is 'in the minority,' does not feel that this makes him inferior. In Martinique, there are two hundred whites who consider themselves superior to 300,000 people of color. In South Africa, there are two million Whites against almost thirteen million native people, and it has never occurred to a single black to consider himself superior to a member of the white minority*.[64]

The conditioning of racial-inferiority among the oppressed was an action that was enforced by the colonial. More importantly, Fanon argued that part of the conditioning-process involved "assimilating" or "Whitening the mind" of the oppressed, either through Christianization or completing Western education, "in theory" for the purpose of shaping the oppressed into the mindset of inferiority.[64] Additionally, Fanon explained that the, "feeling of inferiority of the colonized is the correlative to the European's feeling of superiority."[64] Then, the various European powers, whether French, British, or Dutch colonial-entities, enforced superiority, through their cultural-White logic, over the colonized peoples socialized and racialized as "non-White." In other

words, conditioning the oppressed to be "dependent" on White people, and controlled by the colonial-entity, maintained the White supremacist project.[64]

Whiteness incorporated western ideals of: beauty; education; language; wealth; religion (specifically Christianity); philosophy; and respectability.[64] Political scientist Peter J. Wilson asserts that "respectability" is "the normal force behind the coercive power of colonialism and neocolonialism."[64] Power dynamics positioned in the ideas of those who were deemed respectable was embedded in race ideology. Thus, the White poor were granted "White privilege"[64] from the White elite in order for the "powers that be" to remain autonomous within the social order. Put another way, White privilege granted to Whites, regardless of economic-class, was used as a tool to provide an illusion/delusion that poor Whites could strive towards, and eventually advance to, the exclusive-elite class if they distanced themselves from enslaved Africans. White privilege birthed the "division-and-conquest" or "divide-and-conquer" schemes used to keep the European-elites in autonomous-power and self-determination. Hence, the opposite of Whiteness or, non-Whiteness; therefore, everyone who was rejected from inclusion of western norms and ideals, were designated into the pariah of *Blackness*.

As part of the ideological rationale for slavery, Blackness was defined as barbaric, savage, dirty/filthy, ugly, and evil, whereas Whiteness was defined as civilized, clean, virtuous, and beautiful.[64] The argument of African inferiority took firm hold of the American and British consciousness, and it became imbedded as a culturally created mindset and a major facet of the racial worldview.[64] In the South African context, racial domination was encoded as a means of unifying White ethnic groups previously at war.[64] Also, the reconciliation of the historical conflict between English and Afrikaans-speaking Whites transpired based on the foundation of legalized segregation in South Africa.[64] Through White solidarity, the minority power was able to maintain

hegemony over the non-White South African populations enforced through the state. Therefore, Whiteness is a rather multifaceted concept that must be analyzed from a holistic and global perspective, and is altered by the powers that be centered on context and region that changes over time and space.

New Orleans Creoles of African descent, African Americans, and South African Coloureds were a product of a convoluted ancestry of the oppressor and the oppressed, and they were subsequently became engrained with Christian values and European ideals of respectability within their psyches.[64] Also, with regard to the simultaneously-conflicting processes of racial-identity and cultural formation, Lewis suggests that, "…because race is and was not only marked but learned, produced, and reproduced in the matrices of daily living, at certain levels of consciousness African Americans accepted what they would at other times reject."[64] However, contradictions in race ideology continued into the twentieth century.

Angela James asserts, in the chapter titled "Making Sense of Race and Racial Classification" that "…terms like 'mulatto, quadroon, or octoroon,' these terms have been merely descriptive of differing degrees of Black ancestry and have never been carried any legal or social significance. Other racial groups in the U.S. context have not been subjected to the one-drop rule."[64] However, in the South African context, the population statistics from the first census of the Union contained data on three major racial classifications: "'European or White,' 'Bantu,' and 'Mixed and Coloured other than Bantu,'…The 'Bantu,' and the 'Mixed and Colored other than Bantu' categories were each composed of twenty-three 'racial' subclassifications."[64] As discussed earlier, race classification of the oppressed group was determined by the population size of the non-White population. In both New Orleans and the entire region of South Africa, due to the large African population that surpassed the European-minority group, the European-elite created a

"mixed-race group" that was separate from the so-called "pure-African" majority. From the beginning, "…the European settlers [in South Africa] saw the San and Khoikhoi as being from a different 'race' than the Bantu-speaking people they encountered in the 1770s."[64]

The San and Khoikhoi were classified as "Coloured" because of their predominant phenotype and natural yellow hue. Similarly, the indigenous Americans were viewed (at times) as "mestizos" in the Americas, adhering to the *métissage* concept. Again, through White logic, the Europeans decided for themselves that two African groups were inherently different, ignorant of either African groups' identity formation. The contradictory racial categories of the mixed-race population only persisted during apartheid. The 1950 Population Registration Act defined a: "Coloured person" [as] a person who [was] not a White or a native…This effort to clarify the racial classifications of 'Coloured' persons led to the conclusion that, 'some discrepancies are reflected in the…Coloured and Bantu population figures for certain districts…"[64] Again, how does race consist of these discrepancies? Race is not real; yet, "racialization" has real repercussions experienced by the oppressed and raced-groups.

Métissage

Métissage, also referred to as *miscegenation* in English*, is a concept of racial and cultural ambiguousness--neither Black nor White but something else—a *brownness* and a state of in-between-ness. Interrelated with race ideology*, métissage* was a concept created by White-elites in order maintain an illusion of racial- and cultural-ambiguity. Yet, in reality, *métissage* was a position in which oppressed groups strived for *Whiteness*; as such, they were either rejected or isolated from *Blackness*, also a creation by the White-elite. Hence, *métissage* was (and continues to be) an idea embedded within race ideology which was used to create division among and within raced groups for the purpose of maintaining the White supremacist project.

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Race ideology, specifically in this context of *métissage*, was used as a tool to establish a *pigmentocracy*.[64] In other words, *métissage* was implemented by the colonial-powers that be as a specific agenda, in a particular region, for the purpose of political sovereignty. Yet, Eugene D. Genovese stresses to risk some generalizations regarding miscegenation:

1) *Enough violations of black women occurred on the plantations to constitute a scandal and make life hell for a discernable minority of black women and their men.*
2) *Much of the planation miscegenation occurred with single girls under circumstances that varied from seduction to rape and typically fell between the two.*
3) *Married black women and their men did not take white sexual aggression lightly and resisted effectively enough to hold it to a minimum.*
4) *Most of the miscegenation had a profound and, in some respects, devastating effect on southern life.*[64]

Genovese's assertion adds to the level of complexity regarding the study of race-mixing within a slavocracy. The result of miscegenation created a growing brown population of *métis* (in French) or *mulatto* people throughout the Americas.   The intricacy within, and continuation of, miscegenation, involved many people of the African, European, and Indigenous ethnic groups as well as the various economic classes throughout several eras; essentially, it created a new group of people.

Whether multiracial (or not), *métissage* was a consciousness supported by race ideology that was (and continues to be) practiced and adhered to throughout the Americas, particularly within Francophone America. Virginia Q. Tilley argues that the "ethnicization" of racial groups— public redefinition as "ethnic" groups formerly understood as "racial"—has been a strategic discursive maneuver by governments seeking to mitigate the political tensions associated with racial politics.[64] Ethnicization was a specific divide-and-conquer device; it was used in intricate and often paradoxical ways and determined by the population (this should be read as: *the amount*

of enslaved-African and Indigenous peoples) of various racial groups in specific regions. This form of racialization and political processes occurred throughout colonial New Orleans and colonial Cape Town.

The colonial New Orleans' free Blacks (*libres*), who were searching for an identity, found their lives, and the places in which they lived their lives, bounded; Blacks did not choose to be demarcated as a separate group; they preferred, instead, to be admitted to, and accepted by, White society.[64] However, the development of group consciousness among the leading *libre* families was a long, complex process that was begun but not completed by the end of Spanish rule (from 1763 to 1800, and, in effect, from 1769 to 1803) in the early nineteenth century.[64] Group consciousness included distancing themselves from slavery once they were freed, and many and even took interest in it by owning their own slaves.[64] Thus, this group consciousness or *Creoleness*[64] was the racial- and cultural-ambiguity and nationalistic-colorism that represented *métissage* in New Orleans, and, to a larger extent, throughout Francophone Louisiana.

In other words, in this context, Creoleness, like Latin-ness, supported race ideology and the divide-and-conquer philosophy for maintaining White supremacy. Blackness represented the people who were enslaved. Thus, free Blacks and people of color wanted to separate themselves from enslaved Blacks; they adhered to the colonial power structure and western values of individualism and respectability, and they strived for Whiteness. Yet, acquiring Whiteness was an impossible feat for people of African descent in any position within the tri-racial hierarchy (unless their phenotype allowed them the opportunity to *passe Blanc*, a French term for "pass for White"). Paradoxically, free Blacks and people of color also adhered to Creoleness as a coping mechanism which involved the circularity and continuous creolization processes of identity and cultural formation.

Free Blacks who lived in colonial New Orleans inhibited "two psychological worlds": free and non-White.[64] Thus, similar to DuBois's double consciousness theory of African Americans who wrestled with identity involving whether their position in American society was *the African* or *the American,* within the three-tier racial hierarchy in Louisiana, *libres* grappled with a similar twoness: free, yet not included within White Creole society. However, never acting as one, free Blacks did not constitute a monolithic group in New Orleans or elsewhere; based on their position in society, some identified more with Whites, some more with enslaved Blacks, and an increasing number with each other.[64] Therefore, the process of consciousness building was beginning to bear fruit by the end of the Spanish era, and this would help New Orleans' Creoles of Color organize to resist and avoid rising discrimination under American rule.[64]

Several historians and social scientists have analyzed the uniqueness of the Creoles of Color who lived rather privileged lives and were free; hence, this population was often referred to as the *Free People of Color*, or *gens and femmes de couleur libre*.[64] What made the Creole of color experience unique, as opposed to creolized and free Blacks from Anglophone North America, was the simultaneous occurrence of creolization and Americanization (transforming into White American culture) that was developing in Louisiana—particularly in New Orleans.[64] Thus, creolization in the context of free and enslaved Blacks who were acculturated to European Creole (French and Spanish) culture in New Orleans.

As pointed out in "A Colorstruck World", Verna M. Smith quotes Myrdal who wrote that: *slaves more European in appearance commanded higher prices in the slave markets and were preferred as personal servants to white masters because they were considered to be more aesthetically appealing and intellectually superior to slaves with pure African ancestry.*[64] Colorism, which is the action that maintains *métissage*, and psychological colonization, also

referred to as *colonizing* or *enslaving the mind* of an oppressed group, created disorder and fractionalization for the oppressed (and autonomy for the European-elite) in colonial New Orleans and South Africa. The purpose of programming mental-slavery into the psyche of the enslaved was to force the enslaved to believe that they could not "do for themselves" (unless they were told to) and remain dependent on the master. Poet Ezra Pound stated: "*A slave is one who waits for someone to come and free him.*" Following the White supremacist project, the philosophy, psychology, and hedonism behind racialization, and the development of racial-hierarchy, was to program the enslaved into believing that: *the closer to Whiteness, the better the enslaved and the better the society.* In other words, the purpose was to create a mixed-race group of enslaved Blacks who did not have any connection to, or concept of, their African ancestors' previous lives of freedom in the motherland. Hence, miscegenation contributed to the erasure of memory (African consciousness) among the oppressed.[64]

However in the Cape colony, the British colonialists and other European-settlers' primary form of social-control was two-fold: 1) destroy the Indigenous Khoi and San people through various forms (warfare, miscegenation, etc.) and 2) shipping enslaved Africans, primarily from Angola, Mozambique and Madagascar, and enslaved Asians from various regions of the Asian continent, to a foreign space.[64] These two occurrences on the Cape Colony contributed to the oppression of the Indigenous and multi-ethnic enslaved populations' disconnection from their homeland(s). Colonialism and slavery in both South Africa and Louisiana were intersected actions of White supremacy that transpired for the purpose of mental- and social-control of the oppressed-body and psyche through the processes of shaming the enslaved and colonizing them into a mindset of servitude.[64]

More importantly, part of the mental-colonization process involved the literal torture and knowledge of the self that was beaten out of the enslaved, e.g., their former language(s), spirituality-systems, culture(s), heritage, consciousness, essence, and identity that established "the slave mentality." African-centered cultural anthropologist Marimba Ani asserts this conditioning-process as the "cultural and physical violence", directed towards Africans, wherein African people were forced to accept a concept of reality in which White people were superior to Black people.[64] The sole-purpose of the enslaved was to follow orders and comply with the masters' or overseers' commands. Robert Stam and Ella Shohat emphasize that "the critical agency of enslaved Africans in the Americas is all the more remarkable given that slavery as an institution tried to crush all knowledge, and even the desire for knowledge, on the part of the enslaved."[64] Therefore, the lack of knowledge of self among the enslaved Africans in the Cape Colony and colonial New Orleans was a strategic and systemic occurrence, facilitated by the White supremacist project, in order for the enslaved to be creolized, seasoned, and programmed.

Kreools (Dutch translation for *Creoles*) referred to locally-born enslaved South Africans who were born and acculturated to Dutch culture and were regarded as Creoles.[64] *Creole* was a term that was created by the colonial and imperial nation-states to separate newly arrived enslaved Africans from *seasoned* slaves as a form of divide-and-conquer for the maintenance of European self-rule. Due to the larger African and enslaved non-White populations in colonial South Africa, British policy evolved twin objectives, i.e., the defeat of powerful African states and uniting the Boer (Dutch/Afrikaner) Republics.[64] This policy was enforced due to the White minority fear of rebellion from the non-White majority communities. Afrikaners wanted to avoid British suzerainty over their republics; nevertheless, they needed support from the British army in order to further their ongoing oppression of African peoples.[64]

The White minority had to create a complex system of racial classifications for the purpose of creating division among the majority non-White population in order to maintain economic and political power. Similar to Creole identity, Coloured identity or *Colouredness* was dialectical in its formation because the notion of ambiguousness was applied to, and intersected with, (both) a racial and socio-political identity. Hence, Colouredness was created and established by the White-elite; yet, it was also adapted as a form of consciousness for the oppressed. For example, Wayne Dooling asserts that:

> *The members of this colonial ruling class enjoyed particular rewards and challenges. Foremost of these colonial rewards, as we have seen, was slave labour. Chattel slavery made the rapid accumulation of wealth possible and so obviated the need for noble pedigree required in European societies. One of the primary colonial challenges was an indigenous population that had to be killed, or conquered and domesticated. In time, the imported slave labour force and domesticated indigenous population ended up living and working side by side, a rare situation in the history of European expansion.*[64]

The late E. Franklin Frazier is correct in his insistence that the salient social divisions of the slave community—the distinction between the house servants, who learned the master's culture and language, and the field hands, who didn't—was imposed upon the slaves by their owners.[64] Then, this socialization of colorism that contributed to defining who was and who was not "cultured," adhered to Whiteness as the quintessential way for refining the self through avoiding Blackness.

That is, Blackness was something to be ashamed of due to their position within a racialized society. Then, "culture" becomes dialectical because the culture of Whiteness, specifically in colonial New Orleans *Frenchness* and in colonial Cape Town and Johannesburg *Dutch/Afrikanerness* and *British/Angloness*, represented someone (and/or patriarchal-lineage) who was deemed to be "cultured" or "with class." Illogically, Whiteness also incorporated White privilege regardless of economic-class or socialized-gender. Additionally, the culture of Blackness

was created by the oppressed specifically to ensure means for survival within a race- and class-based system, rooted from persecution as an enslaved people.

Interestingly, Eugene D. Genovese asserts that mulattoes did not constitute a separate caste in the Old South except among the well-to-do free Blacks of a few cities, and that Blacks and mulattoes worked side by side in the plantation Big House and in the fields–typically, the mulatto, especially the mulatto slave, was "just another nigger" to the whites.[64]   Then, the "house slave verses field slave" ideology was a mindset used to establish colorism and promote division within the already-fractured Black community.   Nevertheless, specifically in New Orleans, many lighter-skinned Blacks, along with their darker-skinned brethren, accepted this idea, contradictorily, as a means for survival for lighter-skinned Blacks and/or *libres*, often times at the expense of darker-skinned Blacks and/or the enslaved.   The superiority of mixed-raced Blacks was widely accepted in the enslaved population as a whole, and as a result of the status advantages and similarities between Whites and Mulattoes in physical appearance, speech, dress, and behavior.[64]

Rooted in race ideology and the structure of privilege, colorism took hold in the New Orleans Black community.[64] At times, ligher-skinned Blacks and mulattoes purposefully selected other light-skinned Blacks and mulattoes as marriage partners in order to maintain their phenotype through the process of whitening and adhering to the *métissage* ideology.   Additionally, many lighter-skinned Blacks discriminated against their darker brethren through creating exclusive fraternaties and soroities, blue-vien societies, and other social organizations (such as the Autocract Club in New Orleans) nationwide.[64]   Then, through *métissage* ideology, miscegnation, racialization, and colorism were imbedded in the creolization process of Africans transforming into Afro-Creoles/Creoles of Color and South African Coloureds.

Intersectionality

Although *intersectionality* is a theoretical framework that has been used and defined in a multitude of forms, within many social-science disciplines, and incorporated into theoretical frameworks such as Black- Feminism and Queer theory, the term was coined by Critical Race Theory (CRT) theorist, lawyer, civil-rights activist, and Black Feminist, Kimberle Crenshaw, in 1989. In Crenshaw's 1991 article "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color," she stresses that intersectionality is much deeper than a person who has multiple identities, but rather, it involves an individual who is affected through, "intersectional subordination…; in fact, it is frequently the consequence of the imposition of one burden that interacts with preexisting vulnerabilities to create yet another dimension of disempowerment."[64] However, Crenshaw clarifies that intersectionality is not being offered as a new theory of identity.[64]

Black Feminists who separated from the mainstream Women Liberation movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s, such as Audre Lorde, Patricia Hill Collins, Beverly Guy-Sheftall, Alice Walker, bell hooks, and countless others from various perspectives and lenses, articulated intersectional theory in their work prior to the 1989 *intersectionality* term was put into use as a theoretical framework. As stated in Audre Lorde's 1984's Sister Outsider:

> *…it is the responsibility of the oppressed to teach the oppressors their mistakes. I am responsible for educating teachers who dismiss my children's culture in school. Black and Third World people are expected to educate the white people as to our humanity. Women are expected to educate men. Lesbians and gay men are expected to educate the heterosexual world…*[64]

Although the word *intersectionality* was not used, intersectional language is read between Lorde's lines.

Intersectional language was used as far back as 1892, with scholar Anna Julia Cooper's work *A Voice from the South,* in which Cooper discussed oppression among Black women, specifically as to how Black women dealt with both racism and sexism (inter- and intra-racially) simultaneously, and it challenged patriarchy and misogyny among Black male scholars of the day such as W.E.B. DuBois and Marcus Garvey, both intellectuals who asserted the importance of stressing the fight to "*preserve Black manhood in order to uplift the entire race.*" The study of race is usually framed within a hetero-normative narrative, and, at times, it is frankly hetero-sexist. Our historical civil-rights figures such as Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, Martin Luther King Jr. (MLK), Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, and countless others usually discussed liberation in terms of obtaining freedom for the heterosexual or "straight" Black male. Black women's voices, such as those of Ida B. Wells, Anna Julia Cooper, Mary Church Terrell, and Ella Baker, and Black queer voices, such as those of Langston Hughes, Bayard Rustin (who mentored MLK), James Baldwin, Audre Lorde, and Angela Davis were few and far between. Also, the mainstream U.S. media typically discusses race in terms of "the war on and against Black men."

Movements such as **#BlackLivesMatter**, which started as a Black Queer Feminist movement, in 2013, by Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi, at times have been hijacked by cis-gendered straight Black men to serve a hetero-normative/-sexist agenda as opposed to the original intent as a movement meant for saving "all Black lives" regardless of social-construction of gender, sexuality, ethnicity, etc (and particularly for the most vulnerable: *Black women and Black trans-women*).[64] Black women and Queer- and Trans-Black people are usually silenced from the conversation, and their experiences are non-existent. Then, *intersectionality* was

created in order to bring attention to analyzing how women of color (and later extended to Queer- and Trans-people of color) exist and function within a socialized and racialized society.

Critical Race Theorists (CRT) Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic assert that "*intersectionality* means the examination of race, sex, class, national origin, and sexual orientation, and how their combination plays out in various settings."[64] I will take this theoretical framework a step further. My definition of *intersectionality* should be viewed as:

> *a research methodology that analyzes various forms of oppression incorporating the multiple "–isms" and "–phobias" (racism, colorism, sexism, heterosexism, homophobia/transphobia/queerphobic, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, classism, etc.), intertwined and embedded in social constructions, such as: race; gender; sexual-orientation; class; religion; mentally- or physically-disabled; able-bodied; nationality; etc., put in place allowing divide-and-conquer actions to occur in order for White supremacy to remain elusive and stagnant.*

White supremacy is extremely embedded in the psyche because of fear, both projected and promoted by the governmental-system, as well as the behavior(s) of the general public who receive, and are conditioned to adhere to, the rhetoric, ironically, at times, for the express purpose of survival.

Intra-racialism, colorism, cultural-antagonism, and classism often played a role, within the Creole of Color community, in determining who assimilated into, or tried to remain separate from, the African American community in Jim Crow-era New Orleans. Blay contends that colorism, "asserts a spectrum upon which individuals attempt to circumnavigate the parameters of the White/non-White binary racial hierarchy by instead assigning and assuming color privilege based on proximity to Whiteness."[64] Blay further emphasizes that the White ideal (Kardiner & Ovesey 1951)–pale skin, long, straight hair, and aquiline features–exacts prevailing and enduring influences on societal assessments of human value.[64] In race ideology, Whiteness relates to

humanness and normativity, as opposed to Blackness, which was (and in our present world, and continues to be) on the opposite side of the binary embodying "the Other."

From an intersectional position, colorism also reflects how Whiteness is supported by European ideals of White womanhood and beauty *meant for domesticity and weakness* on one side of the binary and *masculinity* related to Black women that were positioned within White supremacy as *born for the purpose of and built to "work."*[64] Ironically, both White and Black women were to serve the same White male, either as the dependent, dutiful wife, and/or the sexual-object, either as a kept free woman of color, or worse, the enslaved African/Black female worker who regularly had no options in the matter of her position. Then in this context, *métissage* reflects a conundrum of trying to avoid Blackness without fail, and striving for Whiteness, simultaneously.

Creoles of Color were trying the preserve their *Creoleness* of French and Spanish patriarchal mixed-race heritage and upper class, as opposed to accepting the reality of their state of *Blackness*, African matrilineal ancestry, and lower class; this only equated to (further) lack of privilege and racial segregation from Whites. Accordingly, issues pertaining to color that were fused within the varied cultural practices that distinguished Creoles of color from Black Americans perpetuated the blurred consciousness of Creole identity; this prolonged a sense of essentialism and triteness that furthered division among the two Black groups during Jim Crow.

Phenotype, which included skin-color and facial features, continued to play a significant role in deciphering racial classification. As postbellum Black codes destroyed the traditional intermediate caste, the mulattoes began to segregate themselves further from their black neighbors by means of establishing their own private schools as well as the use of such inventions as the "paper bag test" and the "comb test."[64] Pencil tests and paper bag tests, and other tactics, used to determine who was an insider or an outsider, who was *White*, *Black*, or *Coloured* in the South

African context, or, who was *White* or *Black* in the U.S. (supported by the "One-Drop Rule"[64]) varied by region and colonial entity.

In South Africa, the pencil tests were administered by the government, occurred within the courtrooms, and were conducted in South Africa, during apartheid, to determine whether someone was *White*, *Coloured*, or *Black*. If the pencil was stuck in their hair, they were classified as either *Coloured* or *Black*; if the pencil fell out, then they were classified as *White*. On the other hand, in the U.S. context, the paper bag tests were created by lighter-skinned Blacks, and they were used to determine who was able to enter certain clubs and churches, and who could become a member of certain fraternal orders and other exclusive organizations. If a person was darker than the brown paper bag, often they were rejected from the establishment. Incidentally, there were exceptions to the rule (depending on economic-class/status, gender, and other social constructions and intersections).

Sexual liaisons and interracial relations involved an intersection of race, class, gender, and power dynamics. Regularly, sexual violence and rape occurred among White-elites and impoverished Whites who asserted their White (and male) privilege over woman of African and/or indigenous descent. These rapes frequently produced mixed-race children. Women of color, particularly enslaved-African women, and women of African descent, were considered biologically inferior, and they were viewed as subhuman because of race ideology. The sexual exploitation of women of African descent, rooted in the absolute power of enslaver over the enslaved, was universal in the Atlantic world. The ways that White men and Black women negotiated their relations when freedom entered the equation shared that origin and never shed the imbalance of power inherent in it.[64]

In the early nineteenth century, courting of potential concubines would often occur at *Quadroon Balls*–dances held for the purpose of introducing young White men to free women of color.[64] The mothers and/or family members would negotiate, and essentially determine which White suitor would be a best fit for their daughter, not the other way around. These common-law marriages would often produce mixed-race children who were educated and provided for by their White fathers. At times, foreign-born men from England, France, and Italy often courted quadroon women.[64] This practice of miscegenation was so common that it developed into an institution, a system known as *plaçage*.[64] The environment and space of New Orleans was unique to other regions of the American south because of the culture of the White-elite who were in power during various periods prior to American penetration into Louisiana. In New Orleans, not only was interracial sex common, there were also a number of Black-White marriages in spite of the antebellum law prohibiting them.[64] However, whether or not the woman of African descent was free or enslaved, her life chances and economic security was always dependent on the White patriarch (whether they were involved in *plaçage* or enslavement).

Although, the cultural environment of colonial and antebellum New Orleans was a space where overt promotion and occurrences of interracial unions (*Quadroon Balls* and *plaçage*) occurred; romanticizing those occurrences did not exclude New Orleans from the social constructions of race that were put in place for the purpose of protecting White-colonial sovereignty. Also, how race relations transpired in colonial New Orleans and the Cape of the Good Hope does not change the reality of White male dominance along with the gendered positions of women of color. The intersections and social constructions of race and gender were the determining factor of the African and mixed-race woman's circumstance(s) within a slavocracy and social order. Consequently, *métissage* was a mental attitude of racial- and cultural-ambiguity

that was placed on mixed-race populations as a blatant form of divide-and-conquer among people of color within the racial hierarchy and social order. Whether populations categorized as *Black* were striving to become *Brown*, or mixed-race and indigenous individuals attempted to pass into White society, the multi-racial and multi-ethnic oppressed communities were striving to improve their life-chances, for themselves and their families, within a racialized society.

The majority of the New World's slave societies developed three-tiered social structures in which a class of marginal status, and frequently mixed origin, was inserted between Blacks and Whites.[64] New Orleans replicated that broader history, while the rest of the United States (with a few notable exceptions) constructed a rigid, two-tiered structure that drew a single unyielding line between *White* and *non-White*.[64] Many Creoles of Color in New Orleans, during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, at times asserted their pride and privilege over enslaved Blacks (sometimes owning enslaved Africans and Blacks themselves). Affluent Creoles of color were proud of their racial- and cultural-ambiguity of *Creoleness*, and their *gen de couleur libres* racial classification, due to the White Creole ancestry that ran through their veins. Paradoxically, although conservative compared to civil rights leaders, New Orleans *libres* challenged the race ideology of hegemonic Whites, increasingly so during the revolutionary last decade of the 1700s and first decade of the 1800s.[64] That was not the case in South Africa. The Coloured population was specifically treated as descendants from the enslaved and colonized populations in the Cape of Good Hope by the colonial-elite.

Colouredness often reflected a negativity which associated mixed-race people with miscegenation, as referred to Gqola's suggestion of carrying historical shame for their existence as mixed-race people.[64] However, many Coloureds were afforded privileges which included both economic advantages and, at times, better housing than their South African Black brethren. The

middle-men minority theory, rooted in medieval Europe, entered social scientific thinking by the nineteenth century; it focused on two important strands of middleman minorities—one stressed the situation of the minority-majority contacts, and the second emphasized the attributes of the minority.[64] In other words, the middle-man status of the Coloureds' economic-services benefitted the White-majority economy, and it followed the status quo which caused Black South Africans to remain as the proletariat class in colonial South Africa.

Still, it must also be clear that the opportunities were not at the same level of the White South African minority. The use of symbols to maintain group boundaries can thus be seen as a cultural strategy.[64] White supremacy/racism and race ideology was established and rooted in economics and power. "Race" solidified enslaved Africans into a status, and a pariah, created for the purpose of economic-exploitation. Then, similar to *métissage*, the middle-man minority furthered the relationships between ethnicity and economics to remain active.[64] The middle-man minority was a philosophy that promoted ethnic solidarity and ethnocentrism.[64] Additionally, the ethnocentrism projected among *the gen de couleur libres* was preserving the importance of *heritage* and *legacy*, particularly within the *libres*/Creole of colors' psyche. Established oral traditions, and acknowledgement of their ancestors, who primarily were born free, and acquired privileges due to their European ancestry, contributed to the colorism projected among the Creoles of color. However, in the South African context, in reality, the Coloureds were much more akin to Black South Africans in terms of subjugation, racial discrimination, and fear of brutality based on institutionalized racism enforced by the South African nation-state.

Likewise, although the free people of color were placed in a better set of circumstances due to their economic privilege, they were acculturated to White Creole culture and western modes of respectability, as well as White ancestry; yet, the Creoles of color were continually in an

unstable position of uncertainty, and they depended on the White patriarch for their privilege.[64]

The White patriarch decided whether or not they wanted to claim their mixed-race offspring. The *libres* were not eligible for or granted White privilege and would always be submissive to their White patriarch because of their African and indigenous ancestry.

Preservation of White control was centered on maintaining intermediate groups, which established a barrier between Whites and enslaved Africans, due to the large African population in Louisiana. As Sybil Klein explains, the word *Negro*:

> *...came to mean in Louisiana, prior to 1865, slave, and after the war, those whose complexions were noticeably dark... 'The pure-blooded African was never called colored, but always Negro.' The gens de couleur, colored people, were always a class apart, separated from a superior to the Negroes, ennobled were it only by one drop white blood in their veins...To the whites, all Africans who were not of pure blood were gens de couleur.*[64]

Thus, from the beginning, racial hierarchy in Louisiana, similar to colonial and apartheid South Africa, was decided by skin color. As researchers have noted, the tripartite system of race in the colony consisted of Whites, Coloreds, and Blacks, with the significant distinction between the two Black populations centered on slavery. As opposed to the White-Black racial binary used as a form of autonomy in the American colonies, privilege within the three-tiered racial hierarchy in Louisiana was constructed on White male heritage; this determined whether someone was classified as *Colored* (Creole of color in this context) or *Negro*–a member of the racial underclass. Although privilege was situated on White patriarchal heritage, non-White (free and enslaved) status was centered on matrilineal lineage. Thus, the established gender dynamics supported White male independence, and Colored privilege maintained White male autonomy.

The stability of the Creole of color autonomy became altered after the Civil War and Reconstruction eras. The positionality of many Americans changed, due to the ending of slavery and the opening of the free market, and the Creoles of color lost their footing within the middleman category. As a consequence, they became akin to African Americans, re-classified as *Colored* due to the Americanization of New Orleans, and adhered to the *One-Drop Rule* during the Jim Crow era. On the contrary, the Coloured South African population became more defined, during the apartheid regime, as a *separate racial group* from Black South Africans. Thus, *Creoleness* and *Colouredness* ideologies, among Creoles and Coloureds, at times tried to adhere to Whiteness; yet, they were denied privilege because of their African ancestry as well as the western- and race-ideological view of *Blackness*.

As with all social phenomena, race is a social concept, and the idea of race can only be properly understood within a given historical context.[64] In other words, race ideology served specific and unique needs of the White-elite determined by the region, the ethnic background of the European power, and the specific landscape of the oppressor and the oppressed. The discourse on the "clash of civilizations" is completely intended to cement Western racism and cause public opinion to accept the implementation of apartheid on a world scale.[64] So, how did this happen? How did the various western powers unite and colonize the entire world, during the modern era, through the man-made creation of race? Emily Clark suggests that:

> ...*Race was the basis for the system of chattel slavery that fueled the Atlantic economy. If it could not be imaginatively codified and its mechanism understood, manipulated, controlled, slavery was imperiled...Americans deployed in response to racial anxieties magnified by the Haitian Revolution. The American quadroon was another. Both were equally fanciful reductions of a complex reality.*[64]

Race ideology was the "glue" that kept slavery and colonialism intact in order to maintain the production of resources and economics dependent on the exploitation of Black bodies. The Haitian Revolution threatened the global system of slavery. Therefore, the White-elite had to create different and contradictory forms of maintaining White supremacy during the eighteenth century. Additionally, the subjection of eroticized women of color by White men is one of the key mechanisms and metaphors of colonialism.[64] The objectification of Black female bodies was another form of control that was supported by, and helped to maintain, the racist regime. In such instances, mainstream America defined itself (and its values) against an "Other"–usually a feminine, colored other.[64] Thus, slavery and racism, too, fit easily into the concept of domestic colonialism.[64]

According to the American narrative, Americans (Whites) gained independence from the British, after the end of the American Revolution, for the purpose of freedom and democracy. From the African American perspective, slavery "at home", supported by racism, maintained White privilege in order to preserve White power. Likewise, during the colonial era in South Africa, the Afrikaners (Dutch Boers), and the English, joined in solidarity as a "White"-minority in order to maintain western autonomy and White supremacy over the majority-populated oppressed group of the enslaved Africans and Asians.

South Africa's history of conquest and slavery, of racialization and resistance, is deeply implicated in the character of the colonial experience that is constitutive of a global racial modernity.[64] The Coloured population's ancestry was indigenous as well as diasporic. However, the White-elite predetermined how multiple African and Asian ethnic groups would be placed within the racial hierarchy. Therefore, individuals increasingly found their economic chances closely linked to their racial category.[64] Phenotype, which included skin-color and facial features,

continued to play a significant role in deciphering racial classification after the enforcement of both Jim Crow and apartheid.

Often, Black and Coloured South Africans wanted to pass into a higher racial classification, in order to strive towards improving their life chances and survival purposes, within a country that supported legalized racial discrimination. Many Blacks tried to pass as Coloured, and Coloureds who phenotypically-appeared White often passed as White (when opportunities existed). Blacks and Coloureds were able to apply to the South African court in order to request a change in their racial classification; this involved a series of tests (for example, the notorious "pencil test") that were "performed" in front of the South African court, and in front of the public, to determine the fate of the individual on trial. Based on phenotype (and, to a lesser extent, education and economics), lighter-skinned Blacks and lighter-skinned Coloureds were occasionally successful in securing a change in their racial classification. Similarly, there were a number of cases in which Creoles of color fought to have their race changed to "White" in front of the court of law.

Paradoxically, if the rules of law centered on race ideology that supported White supremacy, acknowledging not only to the court, but also to the public, that a citizen was fighting to change their racial classification was, essentially, akin to placing a scarlet letter on themselves. Several court cases occurred throughout the Jim Crow era as well as after the Civil Rights Acts (1964; 1965; 1968) were passed and implemented into law. One must question the ramifications of this process, as well as the type of society a person lived in, if someone wanted to change their essence in order to struggle for a better life. The great majority of Black people still resided in the South, where Jim Crow continued unabated, and peonage (sharecropping) remained the chief form of survival.[64] Consequently, although race ideology was used as a tool for producing privilege for

a select group within society, and generating hardship, disenfranchisement, and oppression for another group of people classified as *racial-minorities* or *non-Whites*, there were people of color, and members of the oppressed, who had continuously come to the forefront, and established social movements, in order to contest the racist policies supported by the government.

Creole of color intellectuals, and members of the late nineteenth and early twentieth Pan-Africanist *Négritude* movements, contributed to generating corrective scholarship on race matters. Black Creole writers in New Orleans attuned themselves to African-descended intellectuals from Francophone countries, such as Martinican scholar Aimé Césaire who personified the importance of Pan-Africanism.[64] Literature from various genres (romanticism, journalism, or academic writing(s)) included the significance of Creole of color identity formation and the study of "race" within New Orleans, Louisiana, (the) Caribbean, and French history based on perpetual race/societal problems that occurred within American society during the Jim Crow era.

Specifically, color determined economic, educational, and political privileges as well as afforded (or denied) opportunities for advancement. Thus, separation centered on the color-line determined the level of privilege and status allowed during Jim Crow and apartheid. However, Gavin Lewis states that: as part of the overall apartheid scheme, and in accordance with its belief that Coloureds formed a distinct *racial* group, the National Party (NP) (political party that supported apartheid) proposed nothing less than the total segregation of Coloureds from Whites within every sphere of life.[64]

Coloureds that were formerly privileged during the colonial period (economic opportunity for employment as skilled workers, lived in predominantly White neighborhoods, and attended predominantly White universities and other education systems) were now restricted from the ability of assimilation into the autonomous social order that was supported by the NP-governed

regime.[64]   Thus, Coloureds were banished from predominantly White and or racially-mixed neighborhoods, and they were forced to relocate to zoned *Coloured* townships. Creoles of color were also forced out of the French Quarter, and relegated to the segregated "wards", in the Jim Crow South, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Creoles were exiled predominantly to the Seventh (7th) and Eighth (8th) Wards and *Tremé*, separate from Uptown, which was predominantly African American. Although the U.S. Jim Crow era existed roughly 50 years before South African apartheid, there was overlap in similar actions, in both regions, for approximately 20 years (between the 1940s and 1960s of globally-legalized segregation).

The law is one of the most powerful mechanisms by which any society creates, defines, and regulates itself.[64] The U.S. and South African geography has, in part, been constructed by the legal system; thus, law constructs race.[64] In antebellum America, Blacks, free or enslaved, were not, and could never be, citizens, because they were "a subordinate group and inferior class of beings."[64] Additional overt methods of Jim Crow laws, and covert procedures of institutionalized, documented- and contract-based laws, or constructed forms of separation (bridges, highways, waterways, gates, walls, etc.) in the system of "ghettos", strategically segregated Blacks from Whites (and predominantly middle-class neighborhoods). Roger A. Fischer asserts that urban segregation often developed hand in hand with the decline of personal racial control and the rise of public accommodations.[64]

In the New Orleans context, the racial status of Creoles of Color were placed among the Black Americans during the Jim Crow era, and classified as *Colored*; the tendency among some New Orleans Creoles was to segregate themselves in their downtown neighborhoods, primarily in the 7th and 8th Wards, and the *Tremé* neighborhood sheltered within their unique history, language, and religion perpetuated a sense of distinctiveness.[64] The motives for segregation in Louisiana

were unique from those of other southern states.[64]   Perhaps, due to the cultural-antagonism

amongst White and Black Creoles, and perpetual penetration of Americanization that occurred

since the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. Additionally, through observing *métissage*, Creoles of

color, at times, saw themselves as "racially- and culturally-unique" and "different," thereby

isolating themselves from Black Americans, particularly during the early stages of Jim Crow in

the late nineteenth century.

Many affluent Creoles self-segregated from the predominantly impoverished African

American community for various cultural, and, at times, prejudiced, reasons due to social

constructions of race, color, gender, and class. Nevertheless, Creoles of color were forced out of

White neighborhoods due to fear (as well as threat to preserving "White purity"). On the contrary,

it was the South African government that maintained separation among the various non-White

South African communities.   Similar to the Jim Crow laws in the U.S., in South Africa, laws

(exclusion acts) such as the various colonial era "Native" Acts (1923; 1930) and the apartheid era

Group Areas Act (1950) were implemented for the purpose of legalized racial-segregation. The

various acts enforced urban planning and exclusionary-zoning rules and regulations (implemented

in the ordinances for the purpose of ghettoization and ethnic cleansing) as well as overt methods

of exclusion for maintaining the colonial project.

Racism, colorism, sexism, heterosexism, classism, and intersections of those socially-

constructed "-isms," support the division-and-conquest actions that maintain the network of social

order. DuBois provided a chapter dedicated to the "Black worker", and he used Marxian theory

providing the "Black worker" as a case study and representation of the proletariat class (the

economic underclass).[64]   DuBois contends that, prior to Reconstruction, the Black worker was

originally enslaved African labor, which included men, women, and children. Enslaved Blacks

were workers, whose labor was exploited in production, for the express purpose of generating profit in a capitalist market."[64]

In antebellum New Orleans, Creole Black leaders recalled 1852 as the year of the breakdown of their sheltered and privileged order.[64] Additionally, in order to protect their privilege and status, White Creoles, and Creoles of Color, originally combated Americanization that eventually penetrated "American" culture and values (enforcement of the White-Black racial binary in New Orleans).[64] With the approach of the Civil War, and as hostility between Whites and Blacks grew, the cultural and linguistic boundaries between the White Francophones and the Anglophones began to blur.[64] Both White Creoles and Americans increasingly perceived the entire *Colored* population (Afro-Creoles and Blacks) as the common enemy (regardless of their social status).[64] Confederate support, and the fear of losing to the Union, coincided with the fear of losing their privilege of White status within the racial order. The main motive of marginalizing the Creoles of color into the boundary of Blackness involved shifting the social order from "slave status" to "second-class citizen" that adhered to the White-Black binary and maintaining White privilege among White Creoles. Thus, when the Civil War became a reality, many White Creoles assimilated into Americanization in order to maintain their status and White privilege within the evolving American society.

During the Civil War, *gens de couleur* were often conflicted as to ways they supported either the Union or Confederate armies, during the Civil War, for the protection of their free status within a merging American society. However, due to the historical narrative of the Creoles of Color, and their semi-privilege of free status in New Orleans, by the mid-nineteenth century, African Americans, now joined by Creoles of Color, forged a pragmatic and prophetic political response to the limitations imposed on American democratic ideals by White supremacy.[64]

Southern slaveholding states that joined to create the Confederacy were fighting to preserve slave labor in order to maintain control of economic resources. On the other hand, the northern states supported the government fighting to preserve the Union (that benefitted from the slave regime as well). The North was not fighting for the abolishment of slavery.[64] After all, enslaved Blacks were viewed solely as commodities. Therefore, the only value of enslaved Blacks was for them to remain on the plantation for continued exploitation of slave labor. African Americans were silenced and ignored with regard to the early stages of war between the North and South. The concept of "civil rights" for enslaved Blacks was illogical to European colonialists, as well as the elites, and, in particular, to plantation owners. White elites used scare tactics to maintain racial hierarchy.

White leaders indoctrinated poor Whites, with White supremacist ideals, in order to further division between the White poor and enslaved Blacks. In the perspective of the elitist class, equality for Blacks meant that there would be a lack of capital, and (it) would destroy the southern (and northern) economic system. The elitist class oppressed both impoverished Whites and Black slaves. Poor Whites often worked on plantations as overseers, or assisted planters searching for runaway slaves.[64] From a Marxian and intersectional position, "in theory" it could be argued that impoverished Whites and enslaved Blacks should have banded together, along economic-class lines, in order to assert agency, and thus, to rebel against the White-elite (since both groups were exploited).

Of note, activist-scholar Michelle Alexander quotes sociologist William Julius Wilson, who contends that "[a]s long as poor whites directed their hatred and frustration against the black competitor, the planters were relieved of class hostility directed against them."[64] Again, poor Whites were protected by White privilege. Many Whites wanted to escape poverty, and they

aspired to own enslaved Blacks, as valuable commodities and investments, for the express purpose of acquiring/generating wealth to pass on to their children. Additionally, many impoverished Whites joined, and served, the Confederacy in order to fight for slavery to remain in place; this occurred mainly out of the/a fear that, if Blacks became free, they would be eligible to compete against Whites for jobs within the free-market. Thus, in Marxian theory, the Civil War was mainly an economic and political struggle.

However, Cornel West argues that society should reject the notion that structures are primarily economic and political creatures; this is an idea that sees culture as an ephemeral set of behavioral attitudes and values.[64] Culture is as much a structure as the economy or politics; it is rooted in institutions such as families, schools, churches, synagogues, mosques, and communication industries (e.g. television, radio, video, music).[64] Then, the American narrative of "One America united under one Christian God" excludes many American citizens(and, in particular, African Americans).

In the U.S. and South Africa, centuries of ghettoization has formed a racial and socio-economic underclass that, at times, has produced a generation of internalized nihilism and subsequently led many Blacks and Coloureds into a quagmire of hopelessness.[64] In the Louisiana context, many young Black males end up in Angola Prison (a correctional facility located on a former plantation where inmates still perform manual farm labor) and 90 percent of them eventually die.[64] Similarly in South Africa, Coloureds are disproportionately the largest ethnic group incarcerated in the ANC-governed South African prison-systems (this will be discussed further in the "Coloured Findings" chapter, Chapter 3).[64] Therefore, the perception of the U.S. and South Africa as post-racial or non-racial societies are far from a reality. The ideology of post-racism exhibits a malicious-genius, (specifically) because it makes overt racism a challenge to

prove, and this, in essence, subsequently supports the White supremacist project. These statistics reflect the reality that the U.S. and South Africa continues to be deeply rooted in racial politics that has yet to heal wounds that were instigated and established by the European-elite over 500 centuries ago.

APPENDIX

ENDNOTES

[64] Sociologists Kristen Schilt and Laurel Westbrook define *cisgender* as a label for "individuals who have a match between the gender they were assigned at birth, their bodies, and their personal identity." Kristen Schilt; Westbrook, Laurel (August 2009). "Doing Gender, Doing Heteronormativity: 'Gender Normals,' Transgender People, and the Social Maintenance of Heterosexuality." <u>Gender & Society</u> **23** (4): 440–464 [461].

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[64] Ibid, 18.

[64] Ibid.

[64] Edwards, Brent Hayes. *The Practice of Diaspora.* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2003), 14.

[64] Ibid, 14.

[64] Omi & Winant, *Racial Formations*, 1986, 1994.; Tim Wise "R.E.A.L. Talk – Undoing Racism in America's Cities," *National League of Cities*, 2015.

[64] Adapted from Hilliard, 1992.

[64] Blay, "White Supremacy," 6.

[64] Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skins, White Masks.*1952, 68.

[64] Ibid. 70.

[64] Ibid, 69.

[64] Ibid., 68-70.

[64] West, *Race,* 1993.

[64] Burton, R. E. *Afro-Creole: Power, Oppression, and Play in the Caribbean* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1997.), 158.

[64] *White privilege*–supported by race ideology, an ideology created in Europe which is used as a structure that supports White supremacy and superiority/power over non-Whites that are viewed as "the other," or the opposite end of the race spectrum, *Blackness*.

[64] Ibid, 27.

[64] Smedley, *Race*, 16.

[64] Marx, 1997, 39.

[64] Ibid, 40.

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[64] Zuberi and Bonilla-Silva, *White Logic*, 39.

[64] Ibid, 39

[64] Ibid, 70.

[64] Ibid, 70.

[64] *Pigmentocracy* has been adopted by social scientists to describe societies in which wealth and social status are determined by skin color. Richard Lynn, "Pigmentocracy: Racial Hierarchies in the Caribbean and Latin America," in *The Global Bell Curve: Race, I.Q., and Inequality Worldwide* (Augusta, Ga.: Washington Summit Publishers, 2008.), 25.

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[64] Ibid., 35.

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[64] Genovese, *Roll*, 1974.

[64] Glenn et. al., *Shades*, 27.

[64] Ibid, 27.

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[64] Ibid, 12.

[64] Ibid, 29.

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[64] Fischer, *The Segregation Struggle of New Orleans, 1862-77* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1974), 157.
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[64] Cox, Oliver C. *Caste, Class, and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1948), xxxii.

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[64] Thompson, Shirley Elizabeth. *Exiles at Home* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2007).

[64] DuBois, Sylvie, Megan Melancon. "Creole is, Creole ain't: Diachronic and synchronic attitudes toward Creole identity in southern Louisiana," Language in Society 29, 237-258, (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 241.

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[64] Ibid., 215.

[64] DuBois, *Black Reconstruction*, 55.

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[64] West, *Race*, 12.

[64] Ibid, 12; Nancy DiTomaso, *The American Non-Dilemma: Racial Inequality Without Racism* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2013).

[64] Marianne Brindley. *Western Coloured Township: Problems of an Urban Slum*. (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1976); Cornel West, *Race Matters*, 1993.

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CHAPTER 2

PART I: *Creole Identity Formation*

The definition varies from person to person and also from source to source…I always say that 'Creole' has as many definitions as the people that are defining it.

Florence Borders in *Spoken: Colorism and the New Orleans Creole*

New Orleans is one of the most unique and complex cities in the United States. The people, food, language, music, activities, and culture that occur in the space known as *The Big Easy* and *The Crescent City* are a rich mixture (primarily an Indigenous, African, European, and Caribbean flavor).   Carl A. Brasseaux states that, "outsiders have tended to view French-speaking Louisianans as a monolithic group sharing a common background. There are, however, more than a dozen distinct French-speaking groups in Louisiana, and they all played a significant role in the state's development."[64]   Therefore, when referring to Creoles in the New Orleans context, what does the *Creole* community truly mean, and how is it to be clearly defined? Are New Orleans residents referring to (the) second-generation children of French and Spanish colonialist during the seventeenth century? Are they referred to as *Creoles of Color*[64], the mixed-raced descendants of multiethnic Africans, French elites, or, to a lesser extent, Spanish aristocrats, and Native Americans, during/of the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries?

Scholars have studied the Creoles of New Orleans, Louisiana (NOLA) from perspectives stemming from an array of disciplines. Historians, intellectuals within the social sciences, the humanities, and Black Studies have previously deciphered these questions pertaining to the uniqueness of the Creole community throughout the centuries. Thus, the research methodologies, whether inter-disciplinary or multi-disciplinary, and different perspectives (whether Eurocentric or African-centered) have contributed to the level of complexity of studying, and articulating, Creole identity formation. Many researchers have been Creole-identified, themselves, and this

contributes to the level of bias in (the) methods used, or approach to studying, the process of Creole identify formation. Edward W. Said asserts that: *for the main philosophical and methodological reason that cultural forms are hybrid, mixed, impure…the time has come in cultural analysis to reconnect their analysis with their actuality.*[64]

The aims of this section (within chapter 2) are to analyze the historiography of Creole identity and cultural formation, and this will be significant for two reasons. The first reason is one meant to identify how/ways the study of Creole identity has advanced over a period of time. Comprehending the history of various scholars' positions provides a specific context and period within the academy (and society) when historians and scholars from other disciplines were contributing to the production of knowledge within the study of Creole identity. The second reason, examining how Creoles fit into the larger African American Studies (Black Studies), and U.S. historical studies contexts, will be significant to my broader case study.

Literature Review

The interpretation of Creole culture and people has varied not solely on the level of education, but also the individual scholars who performed the research on Creoles–especially if academics were members of *the people* the scholar was researching. However, differences in the understanding of Creole history occurred among Whites (Creole and American) and Black (Creole and American) writers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The nineteenth century White Creole historian, Charles Gayarre, had fancied himself as the chief architect of New Orleans' cultural and geographical mythology; in the same state, Gayarre embodied the White Creole identity: "in [his] veins there ran the mingled stream of French and Spanish blood" and, it went without saying no hint of the African."[64] Gayarre also asserted the notion that Americans were *invading* their values on "native Creoles" (meaning White people).[64] Gayarre,, in his 1848 speech rendering the history

of Louisiana ("Poetry and Romance in Louisiana"), gave Creoles a unique identity that was also squarely American and (he) sought to demonstrate that all Creoles were White, and (that) all Whites were superior to Blacks.[64] In other words, his geography of cultural proprietorship easily morphed into the geography of Whiteness.[64] Therefore, Gayarre's racist and White supremacism rhetoric, that centered on boundaries of "insider" and "outsider", distorted the romanticism of New Orleans as a cultural utopia. New Orleans was a cultural utopia for insiders (thus, signifying, and bringing attention to, Whiteness).

Gayarre tried to generate a Creole history that was exclusive to Whiteness. Hence, he wanted to define White Creoles as the direct descendants of the French and Spanish colonists who planted their flag and declared the tens of millions of acres of land in the Louisiana Territory (which then belonged to France in late 1699, by explorers Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville, and his brother Jean Baptiste le Moyne de Bienville).[64] Black (Creole and American) intellectuals also contributed to the historiography of Creole identity formation. "Influenced by the romanticism of their predecessors, the [nineteenth century] Creole writers of *Les Cenelles* were men who wrote poems and editorials aimed at infusing, into the reconstruction of the nation, a Creole vision of America. When faced with the black-white racial division, they chose to side with the black freedmen in their struggle for freedom and equality."[64] Creoles of color, and African Americans (both enslaved and free), were (considered to be) of a lower status in the racial hierarchy system within the Creole and American contexts. Creoles of color, and their descendants, would simply (eventually) identify themselves as *Creoles*—much to the horror of the White Creoles.[64] Due to race ideology, which included ethnocentrism and *scientific racism*[64] that occurred within the academy and society throughout the nineteenth century, White Creoles, such as Gayarre, naturally

did not want to be associated with people of color; especially people of color that referred to themselves as *Creoles*.

Mary Gehman quoted from Thomas Fiehrer's essay "The African Presence in Colonial Louisiana" (that) the consummate linkage of negritude and servility, the dominant feature of race relations in the American Old South, never fully emerged in Louisiana.[64] The Latin-European culture of the French and Spanish was different from the Anglo-Saxon/English. Additionally, similar to the Caribbean and Latin America, the religious practice of Louisiana was fundamentally Catholic, as oppose to Protestantism practiced by the *Americans*.

The macro-narrative of Christianity worked hand in glove with the reproduction of racial ideologies, to discipline peoples whose customs and behaviors did not conform to the puritanical (and tyrannical) desires of colonial contexts that confronted them; ultimately, this led to the formulation of a universal model of industrial education.[64] Under the French regime, the period from 1718 to 1763, the Code Noir sought to ensure social and political stability by assimilating enslaved and free Blacks into the Christian, specifically (the) *Catholic* community.[64] Furthermore, church policies designed to assimilate the Black population into the dominant social order were not intended to promote interracial intimacy.[64] Put differently, Christianizing people of color in colonial New Orleans was meant for the purpose of molding Blacks (both free and enslaved) into *cultured Negroes* or *honorary Frenchmen* who "knew their place" as subservient individuals within the racialized and socialized French colony. By calibrating culture as the index by which to measure civilization, missionaries, reformers, educators, and ethnologists sutured culture to race, helped to fuel the exploitation of imperial and colonial regimes.[64]

However, there were exceptions to the rule regarding missionary work and education (which included the players involved). In 1837, Henriette DeLille, a free woman of color, founded

the Sisters of Presentation (now known as Sisters of the Holy Family of New Orleans) also run by

free women of color; the organization provided nursing care and a home for orphans, and DeLille

later establishing a school for both free people of color and enslaved children.[64] DeLille was a

trailblazer because she did not adhere to the status quo of the Antebellum South. Moreover,

DeLille was a woman of color who founded the order within a slaveocracy supported by race

ideology. Although DeLille was born free, she knew that she did not have White privilege because

of her African ancestry. DeLille was not confined to the politics of religion and dogma used as a

structure to uphold White supremacy. She gave her life, completely, to her spirituality and faith

in God, which, for DeLille, reflected humanity and liberation for all people. DeLille used her

status as a free woman of color specifically for/towards the purpose of pursuing objectives that

would ultimately improve society. Nevertheless, the actions of White missionaries who generated

the de-Africanizing and civilizing of enslaved and free Blacks through their conversion to

Catholicism, was for the objective(s) for maintaining the White supremacist social order and

lessening of the threat of slave rebellions or an occurrence of *another Haitian Revolution*.

In the early nineteenth century, the Afro-creole folk religion of *voodoo* (imported by

Haitian immigrants), which included a number of White creoles, free people of color, and their

slaves, was practiced by many Whites, and it provides further evidence on the creolized culture of

New Orleans.[64] The flavor of Louisiana was more akin to the Caribbean, and Latin America, than

(it was to) the rest of the colonies in the U.S. during the Spanish regime:

> *Spain's attempts to counteract planter power by establishing a tri-caste racial order had*
> *resulted in unstable conditions. As free blacks and mulattoes assumed positions of power*
> *and authority within the colony, the ability to equate skin color with servility became more*
> *difficult. The practice of race-mixing [métissage (French) or mestizaje (Spanish)], another*
> *by product of Latin European rule, complicated matters. The inability to make racial*
> *distinctions on the basis of skin color contributed to the instability.*[64]

Therefore, the identity formation process of *Creoleness* involved free and enslaved people of African descent that acculturated and blended their varied African and Caribbean cultures into the dominant European (predominantly French and Spanish) culture; consequently, this established a hybridized and ambiguous culture. Through the creolization process and the geographic space of colonial New Orleans, the Creoles of color were established. Thus, creolization occurred in the context of free and enslaved Blacks that were acculturated to European Creole (French and Spanish) culture in NOLA.

In contrast, the American race-ideological position of mixed-race was a taint to purity (i.e., the White race. Although miscegenation occurred throughout the southern colonies, sexual liaisons and rape occurred, behind closed doors, and it produced mixed-race descendants who took on the status of the enslaved mother. Again, due to the American race ideology that was rooted in English purity, protection from race-mixing was for the fortification of the White-Black binary race paradigm as well as the preservation of control. As Dominguez explained, within the chapter titled "Defining the Racial Structure", a February 1857 bill was introduced, within the Louisiana state legislature, that defined a person of color as anyone with *a taint of African blood.*[64] Thus, the word "taint" referred to the binary racial structure that separated White from non-White (Black and mixed-race) Louisianans. In the New Orleans context, preservation of White control was situated on creating intermediate groups that established a barrier between Whites and enslaved Africans (due to the large African population in Louisiana).

In "Rewriting Race in Early American New Orleans", Nathalie Dessens argues that recent historiography have shown that if the binary opposition is often a correct representation of the debates over racial questions in early American Louisiana, it is mostly an overall over-simplification, and, because of that, it cannot account for all representation(s) of race relations in

Louisiana during the first four decades of American rule.[64] Dessens expounds, and says that, within the past three decades, historians have focused on the various privileges free people of color, and the "Black-elite", acquired that had made its place in the socioeconomic order during Spanish rule in colonial New Orleans.[64] Further, Dessens contends that race demographics shifted after the *Louisiana Purchase* (1803)—the free people of color population decreased while the influx of American and enslaved Blacks (the American's property) who emigrated from other regions of North America to Louisiana.[64]

The demographic shift was based primarily on changing the level of autonomy and control from that of a Latin society (Spanish/French) to (that of) Americanization (that which is associated with American standards).[64] Dessins argues that, for a very long time, historians have avoided addressing the specificity of the free people of color role within New Orleans society, and they assumed the need not to singularize the unique space of Louisiana from the rest of the South supported by slavery with regard to studying race and race relations.[64] Early White Creole and Anglo-American nineteenth century historians portrayed a NOLA Creole culture that did not include an African, multiracial, and multiethnic contribution; this was specifically due to (a) race ideology that was institutionalized within the academy (and enforced by the American nation-state). In the same token, nineteenth and early twentieth century American (White and Black) historians have often portrayed New Orleans *Creoleness* from a White-Black binary, as well as an American race ideological perspective, which, consequently, obscured the historical narrative of the New Orleans geographical boundaries supported by a multiracial and multi-ethnic/cultural base.

Although Creoles of color, and Black freedmen Americans, were privileged, due their *free* status, New Orleanians of African descent, as a whole, were denied upward mobility into first-

class citizenship (Whiteness) because of their African ancestry. Free Blacks faced the persistent danger of being kidnapped and sold into slavery, especially during the 1850s, when slave prices rose steeply, and this occurred especially in the newly settled regions of the South.[64] Yet, Creoles of color who had the privilege and knowledge to write about their experiences as people of color, within a society established on slavery and racial hierarchy, contributed to the historiography of Creole identity formation which centered on ways Creoles of African descent contributed to the essence of New Orleans history.

Rodolphe Lucien Desdunes explains that there were three classes of people of color in Louisiana: the children of the soil, those who came originally from Martinique, and those who emigrated from Santo Domingo (Haiti).[64] Desdunes further articulates that all three of the previous classifications he listed were all Creoles; they fused into one group united under the same conditions as though they had come from the same region and the same family.[64] One could argue that "the children of the soil" referred to people of African descent.

Desdunes was a civil rights activist and assumed more of an inclusive definition of Creoles–born in New Orleans, in 1849, of a Haitian father and Cuban mother (both of Saint Dominguan heritage); Desdunes chronicled the experiences and achievements of his people: Creoles of decidedly African descent.[64] Thus, as Creole-identified Desdunes wrote the original 1911 publication of *Our People and Our History* and performed participant observations among "his people." Desdues possibly interpreted the various creole groups of African descent forming a kinship group as a method of identity formation due to the circumstances and lived experiences during the end of the colonial period–slavery and racial hierarchy in NOLA. However, that position is not clear in his statement. Determining the reasoning for why Afro-Creoles from different regions formed a unified community is difficult to decipher; were the Creoles of color

from Louisiana and various parts of the Caribbean connected because they were of African descent, or was it because they came from various francophone countries, acculturated to and striving for "Frenchness"?

Desdunes remarks that: *'His pride in being Creole was more dear to him than his being a Louisianan, or than anything else pertaining to his origin. All his preferences and resentments stemmed from this.' This curious formation suggests that for Creoles of African descent, Creoleness is rooted in place but not tied to it.*[64] Therefore, the racial ambiguity of *Creoleness* provided a form of agency and an illusion of protection within the racialized and socialized order that enforced Jim Crow (which affected all peoples of African descent). Nevertheless, Desdunes wrote a monumental text that transcended the Eurocentric (European and Anglo-American) scholarship that was occurring during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Consequently, the African American multidisciplinary scholar and civil rights activist W.E.B. DuBois contributed to the Creole of Color historiography within his 1935 work, *Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880*:

> *There was systematic common law marriage between whites and mulattoes. The connections formed with the quadroons and octoroons were often permanent enough for the rearing of large families, some of whom obtained their freedom through the affection of their father-master, and received the education he would have bestowed upon legitimate offspring…They were all men educated either in France, or in private schools in Louisiana, and were in contact with some of the best writers and literature of the day. It is doubtful if anywhere else in the United States a literary group of equal cultures could have been found at the time. In 1850, four-fifths of the free [Blacks] living in New Orleans could read and write, and they had over a thousand children in school.* (154-155)

Desdunes and DuBois, both men of African descent, promoted a Creole history within their writings and publications that was focused primarily on the free people of color in New Orleans.

However, their approaches and perspectives were quite different. Creole of color Desdunes, focused on people of color in a nuanced fashion from an Afro-Creole perspective. This is to mean that Desdunes writings centered on the "Latin" aspect of Afro-Creoles that came from Francophone, (and, to a lesser extent, Hispanophone) countries, and, subsequently, they were creolized and acculturated to White Creole culture.

On the other hand, African-American DuBois studied the free people of color, as people of African descent, from a broader perspective, who lived within the geographic boundaries of NOLA and those who used terms *mulattoes, quadroon,* and *octoroon* that could be applied to people of color throughout the U.S. African-Americans, along with Creoles of color, are a multiracial people—specifically due to centuries of miscegenation. Additionally, DuBois also pointed out the racial hierarchal status of the "master/father" (meaning White first-class citizen) as well as their mixed-race children (who were automatically placed/positioned within a lower class). The level of autonomy among the free people of color was dependent on the White patriarch. Desdunes also asserts that, during the *Battle of New Orleans* (the first major battle for the *War of 1812*), *colored* troops who served the American army under Commander-in-Chief Andrew Jackson were treated as second class citizens: *Because of his state of dependence, the Creole of Color could not command the respect of his fellow men. He was, on the contrary, the object of hatred, contempt, and scorn. His so-called rights, revocable and tenuous, were subject to withdrawal at the pleasure of the governing class.*[64] Desdunes used terms such as "dependence" and "so-called rights" in order to describe the lack of autonomy and continuous social-instability Creoles of color had in colonial and antebellum era NOLA.

Similarly, DuBois supported the argument that the free people of color within the boundaries of NOLA was unique to the Black experiences of the majority during the American

historical antebellum era. However, DuBois saw the racial component of the people of color as synonymous with members of the larger African American community, since second and third generation Creoles of color were born primarily in North America. Thus, DuBois simplified the geographical boundaries in contradictory fashions in order to support his argument. Concerned by this overview, Desdunes criticized DuBois's northern trained academic and his generalizations of the South.[64]

In 1907, Desdunes wrote a fifteen page pamphlet entitled *A Few Words to Dr. DuBois 'With Malice Towards None'* criticizing DuBois's generalization that the southern Blacks lack book learning and industrial skills and states: "….The Negroes of the South do not deserve to stand under the indictment which the first part of the declaration conveys."[64] Desdunes suggested that the New Orleans Creole were learned and distinguished Louisianans of his race, and he went on to take issue with DuBois's position on matters of race, history, revolution, and rights.[64] In other words, Desdunes wanted to contest and debunk DuBois's ideas of southern Blacks' (including Creoles of Color) lack of intellectual capabilities, and he argued that there were southern Blacks that could indeed be members of DuBois's *Talented Tenth*. Yet, Desdunes also contradicted himself, since he used the Creoles of color as an example and presented them as synonymous with the entire population of southern Blacks. Desdunes also challenged DuBois further with regard to DuBois's position on Caribbean and NOLA history.

In the forward within *Our People and Our History*, Charles E. O'Neill, S. J. asserts that Desdunes fundamentally challenged DuBois's generalizations of Caribbean and New Orleans History[64] (particularly pertaining to DuBois's praising and uncritically accepting Toussaint L'Ouverture as the Black hero of the Haitian Revolution) and distinguished the hopeful, *Latin-culture Negro* from the doubtful, practical *Anglo-Saxon-culture Negro*.[64] Desdunes viewed

DuBois as an outsider, a northerner who provided a foreign wisdom of the South and Creole New Orleans history.[64] Although the positionality of the two scholars was fundamentally different, nevertheless, DuBois and Desdunes were contributing knowledge production to the historiography of Creole identity formation in order to deconstruct the racist notions of Blackness within the western academy. Also, DuBois and Desdunes wanted to provide a voice as non-White scholars, a particular perspective for the uplift of not only Creoles of color, but the entire Afro-North American region. The Eurocentric school continued to analyze people of African descent as objects (as opposed to subjects), and they ignored African contribution(s) to the development of society as a whole, as well as modernity, which supported White supremacy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In the distinguished 1903 publication *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois contends that the problem of the twentieth century was the problem of the color line.[64] In 1896, The *Plessy vs. Ferguson* U.S. Supreme Court case paved the way for further restrictive and discriminatory so-called "separate but equal" segregation laws (also referred to as the *Jim Crow Laws*). A much more widespread socio-economic system of *de jure* oppression was generated to retain the racial hierarchy system in the southern states. This case was important to the state of Louisiana, in particular, since Homer Plessy was one-eighth Black, and a Creole of color from New Orleans.[64]

After the confederacy lost the war, the original three-tiered racial system of Louisiana transformed into the predominant White-Black racial binary during the Reconstruction period. Genovese emphasizes that the "…two-caste system in the Old South drove the mulattoes into the arms of the blacks, no matter how hard some tried to build a make-believe third world for themselves."[64] Consequently, divisions among Creoles of color and Black Americans continued to persist, because of race ideology, Creoles of African descent feared the loss of their status within

the racial hierarchy (a privilege attained during the colonial period and one that persisted during antebellum NOLA) and transformation into *Blackness*—the racial underclass of American society.[64] However, Black scholars involved in the *Négritude* (meaning *negro-ness*/francophone Pan-Africanists) movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries argued that Creoles of color should not look to *France* as their place for salvation, but, instead, they should look to the African continent due to their African ancestry.[64] Debates among francophone African Diaspora scholars often centered around discourse about Pan-African ideology, which included the best methodological approach to analyzing the issue pertaining to global Black suffering, which included Creoles of color.

Scholarship pertaining to Creoles of color during the Jim Crow era involved the various Pan-African movements which provided a platform for discourse and knowledge production. Creole of color intellectuals and members of the early twentieth Pan-Africanist *Négritude* movements also contributed to generating corrective scholarship on race matters. Black Creole writers in New Orleans attuned themselves to African descended intellectuals from Francophone countries (former countries colonized by the French nation-state) such as Senegalese cultural theorist, poet, and politician Léopold Senghor, French Guinean intellectual and poet Léon Damas, and Martinican political-scholars Aimé Césaire and Frantz Fanon (who personified the importance of Pan-Africanism).[64]

However, Jim Crow era writers produced works which left little to the imagination, such as Creole writer Pierre Paul Ebeyar's 1944 publication *Paramours of Creoles: a story of New Orleans and the method of promiscuous mating between White Creole men and Negro and colored slaves and freewomen*. In the "Preface," Ebeyar clearly stated a distinction between Creoles (White French New Orleanians) and Colored people (non-White New Orleanians). Ebeyar

explains that: *Whenever an explanation of the colored people is given, those who have studied and are familiar with world conditions admit that the old Creole system was far superior to that exists today. Read this book, meet some of the colored people, and realize their great improvement on the true Negro.[64]* Ebeyar argued that Blacks acculturated to Creole culture were civilized, cultured, and dignified because of the White Creole (French) blood that runs through their veins.

In other words, Ebeyar provided a rather racist and chauvinistic naïveté which delivered a notion that the White man uplifted the Black race in NOLA through participating in common law marriage and miscegenation with free women of color and enslaved Black and mixed-race women (producing a *mixed-race dignified people*). In Chapter 1, titled "Jeanne, May, Pierre," of *Paramours of Creoles*, the *colored* woman made it clear that she was not Creole, but a person of color:

> *'No,' said Jeanne, 'I'm not Creole, May, but colored. There is a difference.'*
> *'Colored!' May had quite recovered from her surprise.*
> *'Yes, colored. You see, our race is a mixture of white and black. Of course, the amount of white and Negro blood among colored people varies according to their ancestry. The Creoles of this city were very precise and technical in everything they did; and following the rule rigidly that black contains no colors and that white contains all colors, they call us colored.'*
> *'But how can anyone so beautiful as you have any Negro blood in their veins?'…'I'm sorry, Jeanne, but you are so beautiful, and I have always associated the word colored with Negroes.* (1-2)

Teasing out the western insinuations of beauty, and what it meant to be beautiful (racial purity and Whiteness), the Colored character, Jeanne, explained the difference between Creole (White), Black (Negro), and mixed-race (Colored). Within the New Orleans context, although the Jim Crow laws classified all non-Whites (Colored/Negro) as people of color and second-class citizens (enforced

by the American nation-state), the historical Creole NOLA memory of mixed-race as an intermediate group still resonated among Creole intellectuals and NOLA society during the Jim Crow era.

However, there was also another school of thought that looked at Creoleness through a Pan-Africanist lens during the Jim Crow era. In the 1952 publication *Black Skin, White Masks*, Frantz Fanon asserts that "[e]very colonized people–in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its cultural originality–finds itself face to face with language of the civilizing nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country."[64] In other words, New Orleans Creoles of color, African Americans throughout North America, Afro-Latin Americans, and other hybridized, creolized, and colonized communities throughout the world, have tried to appease the oppressor in order to survive within a world socialized by designated class and caste groups. However, one must understand the difference between class and caste. Fanon's literature was written during a period when legalized racial-segregation in the American South halted the life chances of people of color in the U.S., and the Black freedom struggle during the 1950s was starting to gain momentum. However, institutionalized racism also occurred in the northern states.

Blacks were marginalized into ghettoized spaces in the inner-cities throughout the U.S. North.[64] Although difficult in many cases, people from certain economic backgrounds may have been able to shift from one economic-class to another, regardless of race. However, "caste" is a stagnant position within society (and a person's "caste" is a position held throughout their life). Indeed, Blackness is a caste-like group because of race ideology. Anyone who is deemed to be outside of the perceived normativity of Whiteness is fundamentally-linked to a caste- or pariah-like group. Fanon believed that Blacks were indeed a forever pariah who would only be able to

be liberated through revolution. Fanon was a philosopher from Martinique who studied under to tutelage of the poet Aimé Césaire. Césaire was an intellectual, and he adhered to Pan-African ideology, a philosophy that sought for the liberation of oppressed peoples throughout the world. Fanon further states that:

> *For the Negro knows that over there **in** France there is a stereotype of him at the pier in Le Harve or Marseille: 'Ah come fom Mahtinique, it's the fuhst time Ah've eveh come to Fance.' He knows that what the poets call the **divine gurgling** (listen to Creole) is only a halfway house between pidgin-nigger and French. The middle class in the Antilles never speak Creole except to their servants. In school the children of Martinique are taught to scorn the dialect. One avoids Creolisms. Some families completely forbid the use of Creole, and mothers ridicule their children for speaking it.* (10)

In this context, the Louisiana Creole language was very similar to African American Vernacular English (AAVE), also known as *Black English* or *Ebonics*. J. L. Dillard posits that "…one of the harsher sociolinguistic facts which must be dealt with is that the Afro-American languages and dialects correlates with the existence of a caste system."[64] Black English was (and is) a primary language spoken by a particular economic-class. Dillard further argues that:

> *In New Orleans, the mulatto-quadroon-octaroon group was aloof from and even scornful of the 'Negroes' until the Jim Crow laws lumped them all together. The elite **gens de couleur** group also tended to use Louisiana Standard French rather than 'Gombo' French Creole. In other states, the freedman and the house slave complicated the picture of a color-based caste system…In 1870, Elizabeth Kilham quoted a 'highly educated colored woman' who disliked to go to Negro churches because she was 'disgusted' with 'bad grammar and worse pronunciation.*[64]

In other words, Black English, or *Creolisms*, as asserted by Fanon, were looked down upon by upper-middle-class Afro-Creoles and African Americans because it was connected with slavery and the underclass. Yet, some would argue that speaking Black English or Louisiana Creole, as a

primary language, was about preserving culture and agency. Additionally, Creoleness embodied *métissage*[64], and many Creoles of color romanced about the idea of culture and the importance of heritage and lineage over race; yet, Creoles of color were restricted from White neighborhoods, and they were displaced and exiled from the French Quarter during the era of Jim Crow. Throughout the period of American suburbanization and *Urban renewal*[64] throughout the 1950s and 1960s, many Whites moved out of former inner-city neighborhoods. Few Creoles were able to move unless they either passed into White society (if they were phenotypically White), or (they) moved outside of the Jim Crow southern states.

Passing meant to conceal a unitary, essential, and ineffaceable racial identity, and substitute it with an artificial one, as in the oft-discussed case of a light-skinned Black person "passing" for white "for social, economic, or political reasons."[64] Also, it is important to recognize that, within an American context, if Creoles of color and African Americans had an opportunity to pass as White, some did, and others did not.

In *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, and Bucks*, film historian Donald Bogle asserts that the 1934 film version of *Imitation of Life* was a film ahead of its time that focused on race, questions of passing, and how families were destroyed when someone decided to pass into White society.[64] In the film, the so-called *tragic mulatto*[64] character, who broke ties with her dark-skinned mother in order to pass as White, was played by a fair-skinned African American actress, the late Fredi Washington. An important part of the film is a part in which the Peola character argued with her mother about her decision to pass into the White community. The Ms. Beatrice "Bea" Pullman character intervened, and she chastised Peola. However, Peola interjected, and she stated, "Oh I know that it is terrible of me Ms. Bea. But you don't know what it is to look White and be 'Black.' You don't know…" Ms. Pulman had the White privilege of not understanding,

specifically sympathizing with Peola's position as a fair-skinned Black person within a racist society. The margins of race become evident in the figure of the *mulatta*, who is repeatedly called to function as a racial borderland that delimits both Whiteness and Blackness.[64] In other words, the agency of an individual to determine his or her own pathway could challenge the structure of racial and social order at any point in time. Passing would require erasing an individual's identity (and past) in order to construct a new one. Hence, this is furthering identity formation towards Whiteness.

Although, passing and *métissage* were both considered striving for Whiteness, the former was a precise action of severing the former self, as opposed to the latter, which was a dialectical, convoluted, and conflicting form–restraining from *Blackness* to *Whiteness*. However, preferring to keep families intact, several Creoles, proud of their *métissage* and Creole ancestry, moved out of the Jim Crow-era New Orleans, and they relocated to northern cities such as Chicago, St. Louis, or out west to Houston or Los Angeles (along with many other African Americans that were not of Creole heritage). Generally speaking, people of color moved out of the South to escape race brutality, discrimination, and legalized-segregation (on top of escaping poverty) for the opportunity of improving their life-chances.

In the post-Jim Crow and Civil Rights era (post-1965), historians such as John W. Blassingame's *Black New Orleans* (1971), Sister Frances Jerome Wood's *Marginality and Identity* (1972), Roger A. Fischer's *The Segregation Struggle in Louisiana* (1974), Virginia R Dominguez's *White by Definition* (1986), Jean Bernabé, Patrick Chamoiseau, and Raphaël Confiant's *Eloge de la Créolité: In Praise of Creoleness* (1990), Gwendolyn Midlo-Hall's *Africans in Colonial Louisiana* (1995), and Richard D. E. Burton's *Afro-Creole: Power, Opposition, and Play in the Caribbean* (1997) have quoted Creoles who contributed literature to the study of New

Orleans history within their research; this recognition reinforced African significance. In some cases, scholars argued that the African majority in New Orleans served as the foundation of Creole identity formation.

Blassingame asserted: "since many of the free Negroes were Creole, their culture was decidedly European in flavor; the songs they composed, their concerts, and their literature were practically all in French."[64] Within the tri-racial hierarchy system, the lower the racial status, the lower the human value. Consequently, permeating the White-Black binary into the New Orleans environment meant restricting the chances Blacks had for advancement into the higher caste, and this occurred by remaining fixed within the racial order that supported White supremacy, Frenchness, and the American nation-state.

However, Dominguez provided evidence which supported that, in the twentieth century, Creole identity or *Creoleness* was separate from *Frenchness* (Whiteness).[64] This is shown within an interview Dominguez conducted:

> *A perceptive fifty-five-year-old informant was himself quite surprised when a younger Creole neighbor of his identified himself and his lifestyle as Creole. The fellow had made some remark about a woman who lived down the street who, in his terms, did not know how to enjoy the delicacies of life. She did not like shrimp or crab or oysters, and found this rather hard to believe. Suddenly his eyes lit up, confident that he had determined the reason for such unusual taste buds. 'Well,' he argued, 'she's not a Creole, that's probably why!' My informant shook his head in amazement, not because he thought the young fellow had said something outrageous but because he did not imagine that someone that young today would still be so overtly conscious of a Creole identity and culture.[64]*

Yet, Creole writers such as Bernabé, Chamoiseau, and Confiant, in *Eloge de la Créolité*, argued that the Creole people:

...are fundamentally stricken with exteriority. This from a long time ago to the present day. We have seen the world through the filter of western values, and our foundation was 'exoticized' by the French vision we had to adopt. It is a terrible condition to perceive one's interior architecture, one's world, the instants of one's days, one's own values, with the eyes of the other. All along over determined, in history, in thoughts, in daily life, in ideals (even the ideals of progress), caught in the trick of cultural dependence, we were deported out of ourselves at every moment of our scriptural history.[64]

In other words, Bernabé et al emphasizes that Creole people have based the core of their identity on *Frenchness* (Whiteness) as oppose to *Creoleness* (multiracial and multicultural identity) which embodies *métissage* that adhered to racial- and cultural-hybridity and ambiguousness.

Bernabé et al. defines Creoleness as: *the interactional or transactional aggregate of Caribbean, European, African, Asian, and Levantine cultural elements, united on the same soil by the yoke of history.*[64] Positioned on White supremacy, Bernabé et al. also asserts that Creole history (or, more precisely, Creole histories) was shipwrecked in colonial history.[64] Therefore, Creole identity is a New World phenomenon of creolization based on Old World actors that fused culture (religion), language, and race into the multiplicity and complexity of identities that created Creole identity Formation.[64] To put it another way, Creoleness represents a new people composed of a multitude of ancestries and histories.

However, does Creoleness not also apply to African Americans, in the context of being a new people? Again, White supremacy is a global incident. Bernabé et al. failed to include people of African descent of all varied European acculturation and creolization processes. Also, Bernabé et al. supported the divide-and-conquer philosophy by focusing on people of African descent who were/are affiliated with Latin (which should be read as European) culture which contradicts their position on avoiding Whiteness in order to define Creoleness. Then, Latin-ness and Creoleness

are intrinsically-linked ideologies because *métissage* is a camouflage used for supporting Whiteness (as opposed to affiliating with the African Diaspora).

Consequently, false memory created a pile of obscurities within the memory of Creole people.[64] The distortion of Creole history within the Eurocentric school, enforced by the American nation-state, has contributed to the blurred consciousness of Creole identity. Creole history was originally written from a White European perspective that ignored other primary factors that contributed to Creole identity formation. In other words, one-fourth (Europe) of a whole (Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean) has been the primary source of the study and memory of Creole identity within the twentieth century.

Similarly, Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon suggest, in the preface of *Creole New Orleans*, that Anglo-American historiography has seldom provided either the tools or the historical perspective to understand New Orleans or southern Louisiana.[64] Perhaps, due to their training, and sole focus on American History, American historians who lack training in French or Caribbean History (which aids in comprehending the entire picture of New Orleans history) provide a narrow perspective that misses many important levels of complexity (let alone the interpretation of how Creoles of Color fit into the larger New Orleans and American historical contexts).[64] However, Gwendolyn Midlo-Hall posits that historical and linguistic evidence has established that the Louisiana Creole language, "…was created by early African slaves who were primarily of Senegambian, Bight of Benin, and Congolese and Angolan ancestry, and, it was not imported from the French islands."[64] Additionally, due to the importation of more than 4,000 slaves and Haitian refugees who fled from the Haitian Revolution, combined with the free and enslaved Black population, who already resided in New Orleans, contributed to the re-Africanization of New Orleans culture in the early-nineteenth century resulting in NOLA by far to be the "blackest" city

in the U.S.[64] Thus, late-twentieth century historians asserted several positions of Creole identity formation which included race, culture, language, and the nation-state.

The study of Creole of color identity in the twenty-first century continues to produce an array of research within the academy such as Sybil Klein's *Creole* (2000), Sylvie DuBois and Megan Melancon's "Creole is, Creole ain't," (2000), Carl A. Brasseaux's *French, Cajun, Creole, Houma* (2005), Charles Stewart's *Creolization* (2007), Andrew J. Jolivette's *Louisiana Creoles: Cultural Recovery and Mixed-Race Native American Identity* (2007), the edited volume of *Africa, Brazil and the Construction of Trans-Atlantic Black Identities* (2008), Shirley Elizabeth Thompson's *Exiles at Home* (2009), Michaeline A. Crichlow's *Globalization and the Post-Creole Imagination: Notes of a Fleeing Plantation*, and Dessins's "Rewriting Race in Early American New Orleans" (2011). This research continues to critique and analyze scholarship by providing more of an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary methodological approach to articulating New Orleans Creole of color identity, and Afro-Creole identity in general. One must recognize that Creoleness, like Blackness, is not static. Hamilton, Glissant, and Crichlow, along with several African Diaspora scholars, emphasize that the meaning of Creoleness continues to change, and to have different interpretations that are grounded on region, time, and spaces generated from movements, either involuntary or voluntary. Then, Creoleness always encompasses a new phenomenon as articulated by Bernabe et al.

Within the twenty-first century, scholars within Black Studies, Mixed-Race Studies, Women Studies, and Gender Studies have also contributed to framing the particular questions that pertain to studying Creole identity within the academy. For example, Jolivette argues that in: *deconstructing Whiteness, it becomes possible for Creoles to assert and understand their Native American and African ethnic identities as more than assigned. It allows them to examine the social*

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and cultural influences of Natives, Africans, and Europeans equally and not from a racial dichotomy of White-other, where other is always already subordinate to Whiteness.[64] Jolivette explains that Creole-identified Louisianans should not perceive Creole identity as reflecting the French aspect which contributed to Creole identity formation. Creoles of color were acculturated to a European and Catholic, French and Spanish "Creole" culture, as African Americans were acculturated to a European and Protestant, Anglo-Saxon and British "American" culture which reflected new hybridized cultures that were established in the New World by European colonialists.[64] People of African descent throughout the New World creolized in varied regions of the Americas. Colonialism, slavery, and racism were global occurrences that followed within the local European nation-states during the colonial era.

Crishlow asserts the concept that "*hierarchical coloniality–assumed a particularly violent form in the Americas due to the widespread destruction of indigenous communities and the forced displacement of Africans to the region, thereby dramatically limiting the possibilities for basing a resistance on local historical communities.*"[64] African Diasporic populations, like the Creoles of color and African Americans, do not come from elsewhere in the same way that "immigrants" do.[64] Both groups were created, shaped, and made by the White-elite, specifically within the vast global-space of where the Old Worlds of Africa and Europe linked with the New World of the Americas. Then, within this context, Creoles of color are not unique or different from African Americans—who are also a "new people", if you will—not African, European, or Indigenous. Rather, they are a blend of all three groups with a varying mixture depending on the U.S. region, and other regions within the Americas. Yet, paradoxically, within the African Diaspora context, both the Creoles of Color and African Americans are raced as "Black" due to race ideology adhered

to in North America. The point I am stressing is that Creoles of color and African Americans are more akin to one another than separate and distinct groups.

Yet, some scholars suggest that there was a White population–the White Creoles—and a colored population—the Creoles of Color. Jolivette argues that the term *Creole* has always referred to those mixed-race persons born in the New World, as there was no substantial White female population to reproduce an all-White Creole population in Louisiana.[64] Therefore, Creole identity has always encompassed a mixture of race, ethnicity, and culture that fused and intertwined to result in the people of color known as the *Creoles of Color* in Louisiana.

Brasseaux argues that multiple European settlers (Italians, Irish, Germans, etc.) besides the French and Spanish; Acadian exiles from Canada; peoples of African descent who were captured from various ethnic and kinship groups in Africa, enslaved, and transported to New Orleans; Haitian and Cuban immigrants who emigrated from the Caribbean after the Haitian Revolution; French Jewish refugees escaping religious persecution in the provinces along the German border; and Asians from various countries (not to mention the countless number of White and Black American migrants from neighboring colonies) added their unique cultures, and penetrated an insurmountable amount of complexity in analyzing the geographic space of NOLA from a historical standpoint.[64] As a result, Brasseux argues that the environment of NOLA was based on a *French melting pot.*[64] However, how are the Creole populations in Louisiana identifying themselves within the twenty-first century?

Paul E. Lovejoy asserts that the problem with the creole term lies in establishing the parameters of it use.[64] Lovejoy's position would intersect within conceptualizing New Orleans Creole identity formation. If the complexity of the term *creole* has several meanings and representations, then, analyzing Creoles of color, and Afro-Creole identity formation, will also

include an array of different perspectives due to region, space, time, and context. Interestingly, Lisa Wade explains that, by the early 1900s, the creole term was racialized because White city elites, in search of White travel dollars, needed to convince tourists that New Orleans was a safe and proper destination—in other words, White.[64] Today, still racialized, the tern now capitalizes on the romantic concepts of multiculturalism.[64] Thus, various scholars in the twenty-first century have provided diverse findings which include multi-disciplinary and interdisciplinary studies offering an inclusive approach to explaining a specific space (NOLA) that had a diverse group of peoples (locals and immigrants–Black, White, Native American, and Asian) that came from four corners of the earth based on the processes of genocide (Native Americans), creolization (enslaved Africans fusing their culture brought with them to the New World into the dominant culture for survival purposes), assimilation (White immigrants) into the dominant White Creole (French/Spanish) culture, acculturation (colonized Native Americans and enslaved Africans) into White Creole culture, and miscegenation (European/African/Native American race-mixing) contributed to the birth of Creole of color identity formation.

The study of Creole identity formation continues within the twenty-first century. Since the implementation of Black Studies, Women Studies, Gender Studies, and Queer Studies, scholars from various schools within academia are contributing knowledge to the study of Creole identity formation. Thus, the concepts of Blackness, Creoleness, Whiteness, space, and identity formation are concepts that continue to be questioned and articulated within academia.

PART II: *Coloured Identity Formation*

The most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed.

<div align="right">Steve Biko</div>

Within South Africa, the memory of exile was a form of exclusion that uprooted *Black*[64] South Africans, during the apartheid regime, enforced by the Group Areas Act of 1950. Apartheid–legalized segregation framed on race ideology and beliefs that were socially constructed in order to perpetuate control within South African society.[64] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller suggest the concept of an ethnic minority always implies some degree of marginalization or exclusion—leading to situations of actual or potential conflict.[64]

However, the White-controlled South African government often displaced and dispersed Black South Africans into segregated townships.[64] The White minority effectively removed the majority of non-White populations by restricting their access to resources centered on their racial classification. If Coloureds were exiled to their current place of marginalization, inadequate living conditions, and lack of amenities and services, due to their racial classification, then *Coloured* identity will remain in place because of the narrative of forced migration. Thus, spatial boundaries often shape identity determined by occurrences in the past.

In this section, I will analyze how creolization and space—defined within the context of geographic boundaries and involuntary movements that are historically significant—are articulated among *Coloureds*[64] in Westbury, South Africa framed on their memory of exile. Ruth Simms Hamilton argues that we live in a global, political, social, and economic ordering system that continues to undergo change; yet, structural inequalities still exist today because they are historically conditioned.[64]

In the twenty-first century, apartheid positioned restrictions on non-White South Africans for a forty-six-year period, has been replaced by the African National Congress (ANC) government that promotes a "non-racial democracy"–the false notion that racism in South Africa is terminated due to laws passed by government officials that have determined overt racism as unconstitutional. Yet, Coloured-identified South Africans, and South African Blacks, are still marginalized in segregated neighborhoods that were established during the colonial and apartheid periods. This furthers race ideology, because the racial and socioeconomic structure has remained in place. Investigating how space and memory shapes identity can be interpreted in two forms: 1) do Coloureds perceive that they do not have the same opportunities as the Black majority due to their environment in post-apartheid/ANC-governed South Africa? Or, 2) could it be that their historical-condition of ambivalence or *Colouredness* is used as a form of agency in which Coloureds self-segregate as a means for survival and existence as a people?

The objectives of this section of Chapter 2 are to: 1. Discuss the historiography of Coloured identity formation and the creolization process throughout South Africa; 2. Discern gaps in research of the African Diaspora incorporating further analysis in Coloured identity and cultural formation; and 3. Survey how Coloured South Africans interpret and incorporate the beginnings of global Black consciousness (discussed further in depth in Chapter 3), identity formation, and space throughout the apartheid era.

Literature Review

South African historiography, over the last thirty years, has been consciously conducted under the shadow of the struggle to free that country from a pernicious racist regime, since the regime is now gone, history can be written differently.[64] However, it is important to understand the archived

literature and scholarship conducted during apartheid (particularly literature that produced a rhetoric for Black and Coloured South Africans).

For example, archived issues of *DRUM Magazine* (a South African magazine) produced publications that discussed an array of topics focused on the non-White perspective. *DRUM* (originally *African Drum*), founded in 1951 (one year after the implementation of the Group Areas Act), was a progressive (radical) magazine that positioned on the lives and perspectives of non-White South Africans who were affected by the apartheid regime.[64] However, the majority of advertisements in the magazine focused on "*Metamorphosas Beauty Cream*: Extra Strong" skin lightening creams, and "Pandora Permanent Hair-Strate" which catered to the era when notions of beauty were grounded in European norms.[64] Thus, skin-bleaching and hair-straightening occurred amongst South African Blacks and darker-skinned Coloureds who were striving for *Whiteness*[64] (which was a form of survival within the White minority controlled government). Nevertheless, *DRUM* provided a voice for non-Whites, and it critically analyzed the various implemented acts (laws); frequently reported on forced removals (primarily of non-White South Africans); reported on local politics; and published other groundbreaking articles that questioned the moral, political, socio-economic, racial, and gendered ramifications from apartheid. Although *DRUM* was founded by White journalists, and the editorial staff were Europeans, primarily from England, the majority of the *DRUM* staff (journalists and photographers) were Black South Africans.

As an African American researcher, it is vital in imagining the level of danger and risk (of either imprisonment, death, or both) Black and Coloured reporters and photographers may have encountered and endured. These various sacrifices of themselves transpired in order to generate a published argument denouncing and rejecting the brutality of non-White bodies (racial violence

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and police brutality) as well as legalized racism enforced within a governed society centered on race ideology.

The roots of apartheid lie within European ethnocentrism, which occurred during the second half of the nineteenth century and "ran rampant as Christianity and the Aryan 'race' were seen as the ultimate development of human progress."[64] Race ideology—a belief that the dominant group (insiders/inclusion) are inherently different, and superior to others (outsiders/exclusion)—was a European social construction and global phenomena used as a tool for world domination.[64] Scholars have yet to raise the problems of Africans' resistance to colonialism, and, until the 1960s, the African spectrum of slavery and European colonization of Africa has been widely ignored in African historiography.[64] Thus, South African history must be viewed within the larger context of African Diaspora history, which included the memory of European colonization (often referred to as the *Scramble for Africa*[64]) during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Creolization

The Dutch arrived on the African coast, in the early seventeenth century, after the Portuguese had spent over a century creating a trading network between Europeans and Africans.[64] In the South African context, although most enslaved peoples came from the African continent, the East Indies and South Asian populations provided a substantial share of the enslaved population in the Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope.[64] The concepts of *creolization*[64] proposed by Glissant, and developed by other West Indian thinkers, such as *Bernabé*, Chamoiseau, and Confiant (1989), converges with Paul Gilroy's contention that identity is more a process of movement and mediation than a question of roots and rootedness.[64] Enslaved Asians, along with enslaved Africans, in their seized-position, merged to form a single enslaved population through the process of creolization.

The history of slavery has been obscured from South African common memory which often does not include slavery as a precursor and fundamentally-linked to colonialism. *Afrikaans* was formed as a creole language, and it was created by the enslaved African population through the creolization process during the seventeenth century.[64] This involved the reformulation of the Dutch language, used as a form of protection and agency during the slavery era in the Americas and on the African continent. Creolization occurred simultaneously in the Americas and within Africa due to the various movements and adaptations from spaces and places of familiarity to an unknown and foreign future within both geographic regions.

The creolization process was a complex and difficult process, because enslaved peoples had to relinquish and acquire various lifestyles simultaneously. Modifying language, diet, religion, relations, and other routines, occurred in order to practice a new mode of life within a foreign space for the enslaved and adapting to an occupied land for the colonized. This process also involved the death of peoples either through warfare, massacre, and disease inflicted on peoples whose bodies were not acclimating to the new environments. The release of old traditions, and the creation of new customs, occurred within the seasoning process. Therefore, creolization should not be viewed solely as hybridized cultures, but, as Richard D. E. Burton asserts, in *Afro-Creole* (1997), rather, it is a *cultural-collision* and painful process of various peoples, with different histories, forced to come together (or repel against, depending on context) not only for survival purposes, but also to result in increased strength in numbers of the oppressed resisting against the European colonial powers.

Denis-Constant Martin describes, in the chapter "An Imaginary Ocean", that "the sea", the slave ships that brought enslaved peoples from various regions of the world, across the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, the multiethnic and multicultural groups of the enslaved from Madagascar,

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

The designation of *Coloured* as an ethnic group, by definition, implied an intentional effort to break the bonds of community between Black South Africans and their Coloured offspring.[64] This policy was instituted by English colonial officials just prior to the formation of the Union of South Africa as a White dominion, within the British Empire, in 1909.[64] Moreover, due to the African majority in South Africa, White colonizers had to develop a paradigm in order to maintain a social order of European rule.[64] Thus, history has always been used as a form of politics and control.[64]

Throughout the nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth centuries, the western academy (historians and social scientists) often studied people of African descent as objects. Western scholars ignored African contribution(s) to modernity, due to White superiority, which was, and

continues to be, a global phenomenon.[64] Thus, comprehending the interconnectedness of the African Diaspora, and South African history, provides a stronger context for understanding how the brutality of the apartheid regime that placed dominance over racially-designated non-White South Africans was rooted during the slavery and colonial periods.

Pan-Africanism and Garveyism in the Early 20th Century Cape Town

Coloured identity formation is rooted in Cape Town (formerly known as the Cape of Good Hope). The Cape colony was an important transportation hub due to the region's location along the coast of the Atlantic Ocean. Several foreign entities, throughout the centuries, traveled along the Atlantic Ocean, towards the South African coasts, for trade, such as occurred during European imperialism of the sixteenth century, and, later, the nineteenth/early-twentieth century colonialism period. Notably, Europeans were not the only group that migrated to the South African coast. George Shepperson asserts that "…the study, of back-to-Africa movements is an essential part of the concept of the African Diaspora, which loses much of its force if it is limited to dispersal in an outward direction only."[64] The majority of people of African descent viewed Africa as a spiritual homeland, a hiraeth, if you will, throughout various regions and eras. However, numerous migrants of African descent *traveled back* to the African continent on their own accord. These movements occurred primarily for survival, and escape from the racist regimes of Jim Crow and colonialism, in other regions of the Americas. Therefore, circular nomadism of a wandering people was an infinite occurrence for people of African descent.[64] Interestingly, some migrants of African descent expatriated to the Cape colony during the twentieth century.

The 1904 Cape colony census listed, within its borders, 438 Coloured West Indians, 93 American Blacks, and another 96 Blacks with unspecified origins. [64] The majority of West Indian and African American immigrants, known as *sea kaffirs*, were male.[64] During slavery in the

Americas, enslaved men had more autonomy than enslaved women did, and because of this, they were able to travel about, on and off of the plantation, running errands for the slave-owner/master. Burton asserts that men "flee the home environment, in which they feel marginal and undervalued, in favor of the street and its adjuncts, where in the company of men they can affirm and enhance their sense of their own value and identity." [64] Centered on the varied and intersectional social-constructions of gender, patriarchy, and male privilege, if granted an opportunity, enslaved men did not return, and they escaped from their plantations for the sole purpose of obtaining their freedom. Hence, space, viewed in terms of geographic- and geopolitical-boundaries, within the plantation, and exiting those confines, not only led to the perpetual movement of people of African descent, for the objective of liberation, but also the continuous notion and position of movement towards the unknown.

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

Additionally, while some fought in the British West Indian regiments, during the South African War (1899-1902), most men came to the region as sailors who used their maritime skills and their kinship ties to link up with the Trinidadian dock labor recruiter, James Wilson, to secure readily available, higher paying jobs on Cape Town's docks.[64] Several Caribbean and African

American expatriates were of an elite and educated class from their Diaspora countries of birth, and some of the West Indians became property owners, businessmen, and professionals who acquired wealth to send their children to English and American universities.[64] Thus, many African Americans and West Indians assimilated into the Coloured population, and they married local South African women. For example, future Garveyite Timothy Robertson, with his Coloured wife, owned a thriving farm, a grocery, and several rental properties in Parow, a rural village outside the city that reminded him of his home in British Guyana; Arturo Emile Wattlington, from St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, and another future Garveyite, was the city's first Black postman. He also owned property, operated a shop (where he sold American newspapers like the *Chicago Defender*), and financed the American education of his two sons; George Brownbill, a stevedore from St. Kitts, also sent both of his sons to America for their education; and the American Andrew Jackson sent his son to Edinburgh for medical training. The younger Jackson not only became the only Black doctor in late nineteenth century Cape Town, but he also reputedly had the most successful practice in the city. While not all African Americans and West Indians experienced such success in Cape Town, as a group, they seemed far better off than Africans and most Coloureds (almost all of whom were disenfranchised, coped with squalid living conditions, and occupied the lowest-paying jobs).[64] The life chances, economic opportunities, and class status African Americans and West Indians accumulated, in early twentieth century South Africa, would not have been possible in their home lands of the West Indies or in the Jim Crow era United States.[64]

In the early twentieth century, before 1910, American Blacks were classified as *honorary Whites* largely exempt from legalized racial segregation, prior to South Africa's evolving segregationist program.[64] Although American Blacks received a higher status in the racial hierarchy in pre-apartheid South Africa, their place was still dictated in society by White

supremacy. Honorary Whiteness was framed on the colonial government's White logic[64], in which the government established a belief and position that American Blacks were supposedly "racially-superior" to local Black South Africans. Unfortunately, many Black elitist immigrants, and Pan-Africanists, believed that they were "culturally-superior" to the local Capetonian Black and Coloured South African population, and they felt it was their duty to assert European notions of respectability, and western Christian values, in order to *civilize* the race and solve the global "Negro problem."[64] Vinson asserts that although African Americans were subordinated in Jim Crow America, they were viewed by Black South Africans as role models and potential liberators in their own battles against South African segregation. [64]

African Americans who traveled to South Africa during the height of colonialism, with the enactment of the Native Lands Act (1913) and the Native (Urban Areas) Act (1923), observed the conditions of the oppressive conditions of the African people.[64] As stated in a long letter to the "Southern Workman," a Hampton periodical, Orpheus McAdoo[64] protested, "There is no country in the world where prejudice is so strong as here in Africa…the native today is treated as badly as ever the slave was treated in Georgia."[64] Indeed, people of African descent from Africa and the Diaspora understood that their struggles were unified because of the colonial regimes rooted in Europe, and penetrated in Africa and the Americas.

Yet, American Blacks, particularly Pan-Africanists, and active members of the Garveyite movement, were not satisfied with the honorary classification, and they felt that it was their responsibility to uplift the Black race in South Africa. Black South Africans noted that, "'American Negroes'[64] were 'highly cultured, tough, hard back-boned…he-man types, aggressive and daring…who considered themselves on equal footing with any White man."[64] Thus, whatever the realities of the U.S., whatever African Americans had to endure there, the identification of

Coloured Capetonians with the U.S. meant the establishment of a link (imaginary yet extremely strong) between themselves and people who were seen as proof of the existence of a creative non-white, mixed (*metises*) modernity, recognized and legitimized by the Whites themselves, worldwide, and even to a certain extent, in South Africa.[64]

Henry Sylvester Williams, the Trinidadian born organizer of the 1900 Pan-African Conference, lived in Cape Town from 1903 to 1905, and he vowed that "…if the Coloured people of South Africa were willing to be kept out of the higher walks of life…their brothers in the West Indies were not."[64] Therefore, interpretation of each other's experiences presented a dialectical interpretation of the Diaspora; the Coloureds envisioned the United States as a *Black utopia*, a collective identification precisely because they combined hopes and progress and aspirations to modernity with a vision of the U.S. and its culture as mixed (*metis*)[64]; on the other hand, Pan-Africanists believed in the importance of continental Africans (which included Coloureds), and Blacks of the Diaspora, to come together and form a singular "Black racial identity" in order to fight for the liberation of global Black suffering.

Pan-Africanism was an ideology and a social movement fighting for equality through self-determinism. However, as discussed by Khoi Liberation Movement associate, Dr. Leonard Martin, "throughout the world, what became colored people or mixed people [which includes African Americans, Creoles of color, Afro-Caribbean peoples, Afro-Latinos, and other groups] have always been prevented to live in terms of who they think they are."[64] European and western imperialism centered on race ideology contributed to the cultural confusion amongst Africans and the African Diaspora. In other words, continental Africans, and Blacks of the Diaspora, saw in each other, an imagination, instead of the other's reality. Then, both groups were racialized in

different regions/contexts for the same purpose—the social control of generated racial hierarchy for the maintenance of global White supremacy.

The American Black population steadily declined, after the 1930s, in Cape Town, due to the growing segregation policies taking shape and being implemented into the White controlled South African government.[64] The absorption of the population into the Coloured communities also factored in the decline; American Blacks, almost all of whom married Coloured women, fathered children who were eventually identified primarily as Coloured, although many remained intensely aware of their Caribbean and American heritage.[64]

Legalized Segregation in Early 20th Century Johannesburg

Due to the demographic of a non-White majority in colonial South Africa, British policy evolved twin objectives: the defeat of powerful African states and uniting of the Boer (Afrikaner) Republics.[64] This policy was enforced due to White minority fear of rebellion from the non-White majority (Black/Coloured/Asian/mixed-race) communities. Afrikaners wanted to avoid British suzerainty over their republics; nevertheless, they needed support from the British army against African peoples.[64] Racial domination was encoded as a means of unifying White ethnic groups previously at war.[64] The reconciliation of the historical conflict between English and Afrikaans-speaking Whites transpired based on the foundation of legalized segregation in South Africa.[64] Therefore, through White solidarity, the minority power was able to maintain hegemony over the non-White South African populations enforced through the state.

However, industrial legislation laws of the early 1920s permitted Coloured people, along with Indians and Whites, to enter the skilled trades. Creating economic opportunities for Coloureds and Indians, during the colonial period, was a strategic move with the ultimate goal of establishing ethnic divisions among non-Whites (in order to avoid an autonomous non-White

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majority). Coloureds were also entitled to draw the established wages, enter into the processes of

industrial negotiation or conciliation with employers, and, if need be, to strike legally, and Blacks

were excluded from these processes.[64] Based on the effect of the legislation, there emerged a

middle class among the Coloured people; this middle class consisted of artisans, especially in the

building, furniture, leather, textile, garment, and engineering industries.[64] Coloured tradesmen

received benefits (over Blacks) by being tied to the White wage structure.[64] Thus, due to these

economic privileges available to Coloureds, Black workers were relegated to menial and unskilled

labor, and this kept Blacks at an economic disadvantage.[64] However, throughout the history of

colonial and apartheid era South Africa, all non-Whites were treated as second-class citizens, and

this was enforced by various legislated acts that supported the autonomy of White minority rule.

Consequently, land confiscated from Black South Africans, and forced removals from their homes

to other designated spaces zoned for Blacks that arose in the colonial period, continued into the

apartheid era, thereby maintaining the colonial project.

apartheid (Group Areas Act, 1950)

Although Coloureds and Blacks were both categorized as *non-White*, during the apartheid regime,

Coloureds were privileged racially due to their mixed ancestry during the colonial period (prior to

the establishment of the apartheid regime). Apartheid was implemented and governed by the

National Party (NP) in 1948 with the passing of the *Group Areas Act* two years later.[64] Phenotype,

which included skin-color and facial features, continued to play a significant role in deciphering

who was categorized as White, Black, and Coloured, after the enforcement of the regime. Various

White ethnic groups in South Africa included the Afrikaners, English, Jews, and other European

immigrants. However, varied White ethnic groups benefitted from White privilege, regardless of

their religious affiliation. The White-elite minority needed allies in order for apartheid to maintain the social order in South Africa.[64]

The non-White Coloured population was divided into seven subgroups: Cape Coloured, other Coloured, Malay, Griqua, Asiatic, other Asiatic, and Chinese. Specific to terminology, the word *other* and the term *non-White* were equally dehumanizing terms that produced a feeling of inferiority.[64] Moreover, members of the Coloured intelligentsia, political leaders, teachers, and other professionals, were drawn from the upper echelons of the Coloured community; the majority of Coloureds were of the rural and urban underclasses, and they remained outside of the Coloured political organizations.[64] In the South African context, White supremacy was used to create a crude notion that Coloureds were one people who did not have a history; this relegated them to dependence on their privilege designed by the patriarchal racial order. Race was used as a tool that separated people on the basis of race, color, and class that was regulated and supported by the apartheid social order. Hence, the racial classification of a South African, within the social order, determined the condition of their exile.

As part of the overall apartheid scheme, and in accordance with its belief that Coloureds formed a distinct *racial* group, the NP proposed nothing less than the total segregation of Coloureds from Whites within every sphere of life.[64] Therefore, Coloureds that were formerly privileged during the colonial period (economic opportunity for employment as skilled workers, live in predominantly White neighborhoods, and attend predominantly White universities and other education systems) were now restricted from the ability to assimilate into the autonomous social order supported by the regime.[64]

Coloureds were exiled from Sophiatown to Westbury (formerly the Western Native Township), rezoned for Coloured occupation in 1963.[64] Although the apartheid government

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enforced exile of South Africans from their homes to Westbury and other Johannesburg suburbs, during the early 1950s and throughout the 1960s, there were non-White South Africans who resisted and challenged the regime policies. Simultaneous and continuous movements of coerced migration occurred amongst Coloureds from Sophiatown to Westbury, and Africans who were dispossessed from their homes in Westbury to Soweto (Southwest Township zone) and the Meadowlands. Coloured and Black South Africans were native to the South African land and soil—essentially African land and soil. State enforced removal from African homes, and confiscation of their property, supported the overall seizure of their African heritage and established the memory of their displacement.

The removal of the Black population of the Western Areas had long been demanded by residents of the surrounding White suburbs; as removal began, resistance to it emerged from within the Black community as well as among liberal Whites.[64] Publications focusing on resistance against the regime policies included the article "Sophiatown Big Shots Fight for Their Home," in *DRUM*; the December 1957 issue discussed resistance to removal of Sophiatown residents to Meadowlands.[64] This article was one of several periodicals that discussed the state of forced removals and coerced migration of Black South Africans from formerly racially-integrated neighborhoods. Additionally, four organizations challenged this opposition: the Anti-Expropriation and Proper Housing Committee (AEPHC); the Sophiatown, Martindale, and Newclare Non-European Ratepayers' Association (SMNNERA); the Western Areas Protest Committee (WAPC); and the ANC.[64] However, the regime's willingness to deploy immense levels of police force made resisting removal difficult.[64] Thus, the memory of forced exile from Sophiatown to Westbury, coerced migration from one geographic space to another space of marginalization, isolation, and poverty, caused many Westbury citizens to remain in a perpetual

state of Colouredness. Chapter 3 will discuss in depth how Colouredness persists, regardless of the ANC-governed South Africa's ideological-position of a non-racial democracy in the twenty-first century.

APPENDIX

ENDNOTES – Part I – Creole Identity Formation

[64] Brasseaux, Carl A. *French, Cajun, Creole Houma: A Primer on Francophone Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005), 87.

[64] The term *Creoles of Color* will be used interchangeably with *Free People of Color*, *Afro-Creoles, Black Creoles, Franco-Africans, Mulattoes, mixed-race Blacks, Coloreds,* and *Negroes* throughout this paper.

[64] Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 14.

[64] Thompson, Shirley Elizabeth, *Exiles at Home: The Struggle to Be American in Creole New Orleans* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2009), 118.

[64] Ibid, 119.

[64] Ibid, 119.

[64] Ibid, 119.

[64] Rider, David P. "Slavery in Early Louisiana." (http://www.dickshovel.com/slavery.html).

[64] Klein, Sybil, ed., *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), xxii-xxiii.

[64] Brasseaux, *Cajun, Creole, Houma*, 90.

[64] *Scientific racism* involved nineteenth and early-twentieth century theoretical frameworks on race and ethnicity have transformed from a biological ethos, the idea that people from different communities throughout the world are naturally different based on genetics, has changed to viewing race and ethnicity as social constructs (Omi & Winant, 1986; Stanfield II & Dennis, 1993; Chavez & Guido-DiBrito, 1999). Currently viewed as dated within the academy, several nineteenth century and early twentieth century European and Euro-American scholars and social scientists supported several of these racist movements based on ethnocentrism–bias beliefs that Africans (and people of color in general) were mentally-degenerate and biologically inferior to Whites viewed as the *superior* race.

[64] Gehman, Mary. *The Free People of Color of New Orleans: An Introduction* (New Orleans: Margaret Media, Inc., 1994), 33.

[64] Baker, Lee D. "Missionary Positions," in *Globalization and Race*, 2006), 37.

[64] Bell, Caryn Cossé. *Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protestant Tradition in Louisiana, 1718-1868.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004), 12.

[64] Ibid, 13.

[64] Baker, 38.

[64] Davis, Cyprian. "Henriette Delille: Servant of Slaves, Witness to the Poor" (New Orleans: Sisters of the Holy Family, 2004).

[64] Hall, 87.

[64] Bell. *Revolution,* 29.

[64] Dominguez, Virginia R. *White By Definition: Social Classification in Creole Louisiana* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1997).

[64] Dessins, Nathalie. "Rewriting Race in Early American New Orleans," in *South and Race/Staging Mobility in the United States,* http://miranda.revues.org/2296, 2011.

[64] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[64] Genovese, Eugene D. *Roll Jordan Roll: The World the Slaves Made*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1972), 400.

[64] Desdunes, Rodolphe Lucien. *Our People Our History: 50 Creole Portraits*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1911, 1973), 3.

[64] Ibid, 3.

[64] Thompson, *Exiles*, 13.

[64] Ibid, 13.

[64] Desdunes, *Our History*, 4.

[64] Ibid.

[64] Ibid, xviii.

[64] Ibid, xviii.

[64] Desdunes argued that Jean Jacques Dessalines was the true hero of the Haitian Revolution and stated that L'Ouverture was the Booker T. Washington of Haiti due to his willingness to accept a position of authority in the French administration (*Our People and Our History*, 1973, preface, xviii.).

[64] Ibid, xviii.

[64] Thompson, *Exiles*, 273.

[64] DuBois, W.E.B. *The Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1903), 13.

[64] Plessy vs. Ferguson, *U.S. Supreme Court Case*, 1896.

[64] Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll*, 431.

[64] Massey, Douglas S. and Nancy A. Denton. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass.* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1993).

[64] Thompson, *Exiles*, 2009.

[64] Ibid, 2009.

[64] Ebeyar, Pierre Paul. *Paramours of Creoles: a story of New Orleans and the method of promiscuous mating between White Creole men and Negro and colored slaves and freewomen* (New Orleans: Windmill Publishing Company, 1944).

[64] Fanon, Franz. *Black Skin, White Mask* (United Kingdom: Pluto Press, 1952, 1986), 9.

[64] Cutler, David M., Edward L. Glaser, and Jacob L. Vigdor, "The Rise and Decline of the American Ghetto," NBER Working Paper No. 5881. *Labor Studies, Public Economics*. January, 1997.

[64] Dillard, J. L. *Black English: Its History and Usage in the United States*. (New York: Random House, 1972), 230.

[64] Ibid, 231.

[64] *Métissage* (also referred to as *mestizaje* and miscegenation) is an ideology, a mental attitude that is rooted primarily within Latin America and "Latin" societies. Historically, *métissage* was placed on mixed-race populations by the White-elite as an overt form of divide-and-conquer among people of color within the racial hierarchy for the purpose of maintaining White privilege and supremacy. *Metissage* also produced a sense of racial- and cultural- ambiguity that projected an *in-between-ness* and *Brownness*.

[64] *Urban renewal* (known unofficially as *Negro removal* coined by the late poet and activist-scholar James Baldwin), was interlinked with suburbanization during the 1950s and 1960s in the U.S. Former jobs hubs that were moved to the suburbs and the Eisenhower administration era freeway system, affected many former self-sufficient African American and Latino neighborhoods throughout the U.S. Many housing units were destroyed and low-income families were forced into zoned and government/state/city-enforced housing projects, at times known as *vertical ghettos*.

[64] Belluscio, S. J. *To Be Suddenly White: Literary Realism and Racial Passing.* (Columbia and London, University of Missouri Press, 2006), 9.

[64] Bogle, D. *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, and Bucks: An Interpretive History of Blacks in American Films.* (New York, The Continuum Publishing Company, 1994), 59.

[64] The *tragic mulatto* character in literature a stereotypical fictional character that appeared in American literature during the 19th and 20th centuries, from the 1840s. David Pilgrim, "The Tragic Mulatto Myth," (November 2000). The "tragic mulatto" is an archetypical mixed-race person, a "mulatto," who is assumed to be sad, or even suicidal, because they fail to completely fit in the "white world" or the "black world." As such, the "tragic mulatto" is depicted as the victim of the society in society divided by race, where there is no place for one who is neither completely "black" nor "white." Ariela J. Gross, *What Blood Won't Tell: A History of Race on Trial in America*, 61.

[64] Zackodnik, Teresa C. *The Mulatta and the Politics of Race*. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2004), 9.

[64] Blassingame, John W. *Black New Orleans: 1860-1880* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1971), 13.

[64] Dominguez. *White by Definition,* 1986.

[64] Ibid, 81.

[64] Bernabe, Jean, Patrick Chamoiseau, and Raphael Confiant. *Eloge de la Creolite: In Praise of Creoleness.* (The John Hopkins University Press, 1990), 76.

[64] Ibid, 87.

[64] Ibid, 98.

[64] Ibid, 87-94.

[64] Ibid., 98.

[64] Hirsch, Arnold R. and Joseph Logsdon, *Creole New Orleans* (1992), xiii.

[64] Ibid, xiii.

[64] Midlo-Hall, Gwendolyn. *Africans in Colonial Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1995), 68.

[64] *African American Culture in New Orleans*, www.museumofthecity.org; Hall, *Africans*, 298.

[64] Jolivette, *Louisiana Creoles*, 4.

[64] Stewart, Charles, Ed. *Creolization* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, Inc., 2007).

[64] Chrislow, Michaeline A. *Globalization and the Post-Creole Imagination* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009), 84.

[64]Clifford, James. "Diasporas," *Cultural Anthropology* 9.3 (1994): 302-328.

[64] Jolivette, *Louisiana Creoles*, 9.

[64] Brassaux, *Cajun, Creole, Houma*, 2.

[64] Ibid, 2.

[64] Lovejoy, Paul E. "Transatlantic Transformations," in *Africa, Brazil and the Construction of Trans-Atlantic Black Identities*, 2008, 94.

PART II – Coloured Identity Formation

[64] Lisa Wade, PhD. "What is Creole?" *The Society Pages* (https://thesocietypages.org/socimages/2015/03/27/ what-is-creole/)

[64] Ibid.

[64] *Black* in this context includes Black and Coloured (a racial classification placed on heterogeneous South African non-White communities) South Africans that were classified as *non-White* and affected by the apartheid regime. I will say *South African Black* to specifically designate between the *Coloured South African* populations.

[64] Omi, Michael and Howard Winant, *Racial Formations in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 1986, 1994).

[64] Castles, Stephen and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (New York: Guilford, 2009), 35.

[64] *Townships* were established during the colonial periods when segregation started to take place under English rule based on race and class. Prior to apartheid, working-class Blacks, Coloureds, and Whites lived together in Sophiatown. Segregation based on race ideology did not occur until the apartheid regime in Johannesburg.

[64] *Coloureds* are a heterogeneous and mixed-race group that consisted of the indigenous Khoisan, African immigrants that came from the northern regions of Africa, enslaved West Africans and South East Asians, Chinese, and Europeans.

[64] Hamilton, Ruth Simms. *Routes and Passage: Rethinking the African Diaspora* (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 2007), 28.

[64] Goodhew, David. *Respectability and Resistance: A History of Sophiatown* (Westport: Praeger, 2004), 170.

[64] Rabkin, David. *Drum Magazine (1951-1961): And the works of Black South African Writers Associated with it*. The School of English, United Kingdom: The University of Leeds, 1975.

[64] *DRUM Magazine*, Johannesburg, South Africa (East Lansing: Michigan State University Library, Special Collections.) February 1959, 6.

[64] *Whiteness* i.e. *White privilege*–White privilege was supported by race ideology. Often, Black and Coloured South Africans wanted to pass into a higher racial classification in order to strive for life changes and survival purposes within a country that supported legalized racial segregation. Many Blacks tried to pass as Coloured and Coloureds that appeared White often passed as White when opportunities existed. Blacks and Coloureds were able to apply to the South African court in order to request a change in their racial classification which would involve a series of tests (for example the notorious *pencil test*). Based on phenotype (and to a lesser extent education and economics), lighter skinned Blacks and lighter skinned Coloureds were sometimes successful in having their racial classification changed.

[64] Walter R. Johnson, *Dismantling Apartheid, A South Africa Town in Transition* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 2.

[64] Ibid, 2.

[64] Boahen, A. Abu. *African Perspectives on Colonialism* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1987), 35.

[64] The *Scramble for or the Partition of Africa* refers to the various European nation-states that unified in conquering the African continent during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although contested, Ethiopia was the only African country that was never colonized (A. Abu Boahen, *African Perspectives on Colonialism*, 1987:27).

[64] Johannes Menne Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1815* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 84.

[64] Frederickson, George. "Race and Racism in Historical Perspective: Comparing the United States, South Africa, and Brazil." In *Beyond Racism: Racism and Inequality in Brazil, South Africa, and the United States* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001), 2.

[64] *Creolization*–an ongoing process of blending cultures, acculturation, and miscegenation essentially creating a new culture and identity (Isidori Okpewho, Carol Boyce Davies. *African Diaspora*, 2001; Gwendolyn Midlo-Hall. *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas*, 2005; Charles Stewart. *Creolization*, 2007).

[64] Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double-Consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 19; Denis-Constant Martin, "An Imaginary Ocean: Carnival in Cape Town and the Black Atlantic," In *Africa, Brazil, and the Construction of Trans-Atlantic Black Identities* (Trenton: African World Press, 2008), 65.

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

[64] Martin, "Imaginary Ocean," 64.

[64] http://www.sthelenaisland.info/slavery/

[64] Ibid.

[64] Mattera, Don. *Sophiatown: Coming of Age in South Africa* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), xiv.

[64] Ibid, xiv.

[64] Fredrickson, *Race and Racism*, 23.

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

[64] Boahen, *African Perspectives*, 1987.

[64] Shepperson, George. "African Diaspora: Concept and Context". *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora*. (Ed. Joseph E. Harris. 2nd ed. 1993), 49.

[64] Glissant, Edouard. *Poetic of Relation*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997).

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

[64] *Sea kaffirs*–or 'American Negroes', generic terms used that South Africans used to describe westernized, English-speaking Blacks from overseas, were primarily British West Indians from British Guyana and the economically depressed islands of Jamaica and Barbados (Ibid., 284).

[64] Burton, *Afro-Creole* (Cornell University Press, 1997), 160-1.

[64] Vinson,"Sea-Kaffirs," 284.

[64] Ibid, 284.

[64] Ibid, 285.

[64] Ibid, 286.

[64] Ibid, 286.

[64] Zuberi, Tukufu and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva. *White Logic, White Methods: Racism and Methodology* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.). *White logic* supports the White supremacists' psyche, the notion of who is/is not affiliated with *Whiteness*.

[64] *Negro problem*–Booker T. Washington et al. *The Negro Problem*, 1903; W.E.B. DuBois. *The Souls of Black Folk*, 1903; Gunnar Myrdal. *The American Dilemma*, 1944. Nancy DiTomaso. *The American Non-Dilemma*, 2013.

[64] Vinson, Robert Trent. *The Americans Are Coming! Dreams of African American Liberation in Segregationists South Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012), 2.

[64] Ibid, 2012.

[64] Orpheus McAdoo and his Virginia Jubilee Singers were an African American a cappella group, originally a member of the *Fisk Jubilee Singers* that toured the world during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. (Robert Trent Vinson. *The Americans are Coming!*, 2012), 2.

[64] Ibid, 18.

[64] *American Negroes*–refers to Black expatriates from *the Americas* and of the African Diaspora.

[64] Vinson, "Sea Kaffirs," 287.

[64] Martin, "Imaginary Ocean," 71.

[64] Vinson, "Sea Kaffirs," 286.

[64] Ibid, 70-71.

[64] "KhoiSan Roundtable Discussion Jhb 2016." (www.youtube.com)

[64] Ibid, 302.

[64] Ibid, 302

[64] Halisi, *Political Thought*, 35.

[64] Ibid, 35.

[64] Marx, Anthony. *Making Race and Nation: A Comparison of South Africa, the United States, and Brazil* (New Brunswick: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 39.

[64] Ibid, 40.

[64] Van Der Ross, *Myths*, 85.

[64] Ibid, 85.

[64] Ibid, 85.

[64] Ibid, 85.

[64] Beavon, Keith. *Johannesburg: The Making and Shaping of the City.* Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 2004.

[64] Halisi, C.R.D. *Black Political Thought in the Making of South African Democracy,* Indiana University Press, 2000.

[64] Hugo (1978.), 200.

[64] Lewis, *Coloured Politics*, 251.

[64] Lewis, Gavin. *Between the Wire and the Wall: A history of South African 'Coloured' Politics* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 245.

[64] Ibid, 245.

[64] Randal, Peter and Mrs. P.C. Burrow. *Johannesburg's Coloured Community: with especial reference to Riverlea.* S.A. Institute of Race Relations, 1968), 12.

[64] Goodhew, David. *Respectability and Resistance: A History of Sophiatown* (Westport: Preager, 2004.), 146.

[64] *DRUM*, 76-81.

[64] Goodhew, *Respectability*, 146.

[64] Ibid, 147.

CHAPTER 3

...the guise of objective study was ideologically determined and culturally biased production of knowledge-discourse orientations rooted firmly in historically specific folk notions of socially constructed racial differences and their sociological, political, and economic consequences.

John H. Stanfield, II, *Race and Ethnicity in Research Methods*

METHODS

Historically, Eurocentric scholars restructured the truth by establishing a history crushing and destroying African and Black peoples' contribution to modernity, centered on blatant biases for preserving White supremacy. Tukufu Zuberi asserts that:

> *...statistical analysis was developed alongside a logic of racial reasoning. That the founder of statistical analysis also developed a theory of White supremacy is not an accident. The founders developed statistical analysis to explain the racial inferiority of colonial and second-class citizens in the new imperial era.* [64]

Therefore, research methods in African American and African Studies (AAAS) should encompass critical analysis and reinterpreting history that would involve incorporating the African and Black narrative and not simply rewriting history through the use of bogus biases. Certainly, research cannot completely irradiate human bias, because documented research is conducted to support an agenda of correcting historical-wrongs; however, AAAS scholars are responsible for conducting research in a way that contributes to presenting a counter-narrative, unlike the nineteenth century Eurocentric school, for the purpose of generating comprehensive and genuine knowledge production.

Preliminary Studies

I established my research network during the summer session of 2013 while completing my international internship requirement for my AAAS doctoral program. Through the process of snowball sampling, I was able to communicate with a well-respected former facilitator at the

Westbury Youth Centre (WYC), a community center located in the Westbury Township, and I remained in contact with him throughout the fall 2013 and spring 2014 academic school year.

Formerly contracted with various non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (Khulisa, St. Johns, etc.), WYC is now independently run by Reginald Botha, CEO. Many Coloured citizens have formed non-governmental organizations (NGOs) due to the minimal support from the ANC. Some of the staff members at WYC are certified social workers who are involved in various services; some are involved in HIV/AIDS education and support, and some are probation officers, etc. The majority of the NGO management staff are White which causes problems with other staff members who are from Westbury; the Coloured staff often feel that since the White WYC employees do not have cultural affinities and familial ties with Westbury, they often do not know the needs of the youth who volunteer at the center.

The *youth* who are affiliated with the center are between the ages of 18 and 35. Many youths come from broken and unstable homes. Several youths affiliated with the center have served time in jail/prison for an array of reasons, and some of these are illegal drug activity, crime, and/or violence. Many youths have not completed *matriculation*[64], while others have attended some college. The goal of WYC is to provide Westbury youth with options for growth, healthy forms of social-activities, and development-whether they are goals for pursuing higher education (college/certification(s)), developing a skill/craft (photography, dance, music, arts, etc.), entrepreneurship, or training for motivational speaking. For example, WYC youth frequently speak to high school and elementary students about the importance of HIV/AIDS education and awareness, graduating and passing matric as opposed to being involved in drugs (whether abusing or selling drugs), prostitution, and other forms of illegal activity which could lead to incarceration, drug dependency, and/or death. However, the problem is that many Westbury youth often stay

within the space of Westbury, and they do not frequently venture outside of the area. Many Westbury staff try to encourage the youth to expound their horizons, and they encourage them to understand that there are other opportunities in other regions of metropolitan Johannesburg, and South Africa as a whole.

FINDINGS

Qualitative Research Methods/Participant Observations- Johannesburg

During my stay in South Africa, between May 7th, 2014 and June 23rd, 2014, I conducted qualitative research that included performing semi-structured interviews with Coloured-identified individuals who live in the Westbury Township (a suburb outside of Johannesburg), Gauteng, South Africa. I also conducted participant observations in Westbury, Sophiatown, Johannesburg, Pretoria, and Durban, South Africa. As a Black-identified American, I felt at home within the context of Black American culture–the Coloured South Africans that live in the Johannesburg/Westbury region. Of course, African American culture is multilayered, multilingual, and multifaceted. However, my social interactions and observed behavior of several Coloureds revealed that they were noticeably attuned to varied facets of Black American and African Diasporic culture. The Westbury residents ranged in phenotype that incorporates skin color, facial features, and hair textures akin to African Americans. I saw many cultural continuities in African American culture in Westbury, with regard to fashion (hip-hop style clothing), hairstyle (hair salons and barbershops), spaces of worship (churches and mosques), and mannerisms of the residents. The majority of the taxi drivers in the area are Blacks or Coloureds (non-Whites).

Although Coloureds and Blacks are both non-Whites, they are aware of their cultural/ethnic differences. *The Ipenema Club* is a night club whose clientele is predominantly Coloured and disk-jockeys (DJs) play rhythm and blues (R&B) music. The club was comparable to lounges that

catered to(wards) an older African-American clientele (25 years and older) in the U.S. The environment felt similar to my childhood neighborhood, on Chicago's Southside, and it could be reminiscent of any U.S. marginalized and predominantly African American neighborhood. My interaction and experience with the Westbury residents is what moved me to learn more about Coloured South Africans and to learn how they identify themselves within the "non-racial" twenty-first century South Africa.

Out of 10 interviews, I was able to communicate with a Westbury resident, and elder, who was able to discuss his memory of exile from Sophiatown to Westbury, during the height of the apartheid regime, when Blacks and Coloureds were displaced from their communities, during the 1950s. Although Westbury was my research site location, visiting neighboring towns was also important in order to understand how adjacent environments interacted with the Westbury Township. So, other than volunteering at the WYC, I visited various amenities: restaurants; barbershops; Westbury residences; and churches located in Westbury. I further led a focus group of six (6) Coloured South Africans in Westbury.

The second period of qualitative research methods occurred between May 15th and June 29th, 2016, in South Africa. Other than my research in Westbury, it was also imperative for me to visit Cape Town, South Africa, which occurred between June 18th and the 23rd, since Western Cape was where the Coloured people were established in the seventeenth century. Through additional participant observations, and communication with Coloured- classified or associated people, it became evident that their identity does not necessarily synch with their classification. In other words, how they view themselves, whether as *mixed-race*, *brown*, *Khoisan or indigenous*, *Black*, *African*, *or South African* will vary on the individual, or they may identify with multiple classifications, depending on the context, as well as through their own lived experiences.

The racial climate in twenty first century Johannesburg, South Africa continues to be affected by twentieth century era apartheid. For example, at a bar, I was provoked by an intoxicated White woman, of Afrikaans and Irish descent, who told me that I should "f%*@ America." She believed that, as a White Afrikaans woman in post-apartheid South Africa, she was very much a victim, because she "lost her privilege", and she stated (while she was sipping her wine and smoking a cigarette) that she had it harder, as a White woman in South Africa, than I did as a Black man in America. However, when I questioned her reasoning, and asked how she came to that conclusion, she became silent. Perhaps, if she had not been intoxicated, the incident would not have occurred in such an abrasive manor. Yet, the saying goes: *the truth comes out when…*. This idea of "losing privilege" is debatable, because privilege is often misconstrued as something that is tangible, or something that is of fixed value. Specifically, privilege is "what you do not see" (i.e., certain unearned advantages an individual has within a socially-constructed society). Privilege is not having to worry about certain problems that may arise for not conforming to the status quo of various social-constructions–whether it is White privilege (regardless of socialized-gender); male/gender privilege regardless of racial-hierarchy; light-skinned privilege regardless of ethnic group; religious-afflation privilege; hetero-normative privilege; cis-gendered privilege; etc. Then, from that perspective, I saw this White woman simply as a woman who could not handle her liquor, within a privileged position, and a person who was "coming for me" as a person of color within a race-hierarchal society!

On the other hand, I connected with Coloureds at the bar, and we were able to discuss issues of identity, how Coloureds saw me as "one of them", and they were aware that their racial classification would change if they came to the states. Also, I was mindful that, because of my racially-ambiguous phenotype, I would probably have had a completely different experience if I

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were of a darker hue. Then, perhaps not, because many of the Coloureds that I interacted with would be classified as darker-skinned or brown-skinned African Americans in the U.S. My main point is that my interaction with the Coloureds, at the bar, was an experience of familiarity. We understood that our intersections of Brownness and Blackness were similar; yet, they were different due to our various perspectives and lived experiences within our spatial boundaries as to how race plays out in the post-racial U.S. and non-racial South Africa.

Qualitative Research Methods/Participant Observations – Cape Town

On the second day in Cape Town, we participated in the local "CitySightseeing Cape Town: Hop On, Hop Off" tour, which provided a broad historical and contemporary synopsis of Cape Town. From the beginning, the tour provided a narrative that catered to the European tourist. African history, particularly South African history, occurred prior to European penetration. Yet, the history of the cape started at its "founding" by European colonization on this tour. While, the history of colonialism was discussed in a subtle way, slavery, of course, was not. The tour recording had to discuss apartheid, and the history of District 6 [64], which was an integrated working-class neighborhood, and a place known for the displacement of Coloured people into zoned Coloured townships enacted by the Group Areas Act of 1950, but the primary focus of the tour centered on the English and Dutch colonialists.

The tour recording also discussed the indigenous Khoi and San people, but, it was clear they were considered "the other." Colonialism was not called out for what it was, a taking of land that was not for the Europeans to take in the first place (specifically through violence). I was irked the most by the other tourists. Their accents sounded North American; yet, I could not determine if they were American or Canadian. However, after the tour recording talked about the Khoi people, and how their land was taken through "warfare", I overheard a White male tourist state,

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"those trees are very beautiful." It was not that what he had said was not true. Cape Town is a beautiful coastal city, with roads built through the forest (which gives you a sense of what Cape Town was during the ancient times). Specifically, I felt his comment was inappropriate and disingenuous in relation to the (prior) recording detailing the Khoi and San experience. In short, I felt the tourists were out of touch. Perhaps he felt at peace with nature and not with colonialism and slavery. I could not read his mind; yet, I could deduce, from his comment, that he (and possibly the other White tourists who accompanied him), did not want to recognize and understand the truth of European colonialism and the lasting effects of apartheid that displaced South African Blacks and Coloureds from their former communities.

Many of those descendants of families exiled from District 6 during the late 1960s, to a zoned Coloured township, during the height of apartheid, are now living in poverty in shacks known as the Cape Flats; these shacks form (and signify) an important remaining barrier, on one side of Table Mountain[64], and Whiteness and affluence exists on the other side of the mountain in the twenty-first century. I could sense the cognitive dissonance on that tour bus! Another critique was that other tours, such as "wine tours" and "bird-watching tours," were included within the same discussion of colonialism and apartheid, as if "wine" and "bird watching" exist on the same level of importance. Certainly, a wine tour and a bird-watching tour would never co-exist with, or be connected to, the history of the Jewish Holocaust.

Still, the history of Cape Town tour was highly informative, since the live tour guide was a Coloured-identified Capetonian affiliated with "Cape Town Free Walking Tours", and he talked about the history of slavery and how the enslaved population, primarily, built the city. I selected this specific tour because this particular tour guide was Cape Coloured, and I thought that he would give an authentic tour, within a deeper context than other tours, due to his lived experience as a

Coloured Capetonian during the apartheid era. We started at Greenmarket Square, which is located in the hub of downtown Cape Town, positioned between Longmarket Street and Shortmarket Street. During the eighteenth century, Greenmarket Square was a place where the enslaved population, which included a diverse mix of peoples from West Africa (primarily Angola), Mozambique, Madagascar, and South East Asia, would meet to congregate, create/play music, and tend to commerce. Standing in this space was quite similar to my experience of walking through Congo Square, centered within Louis Armstrong Park, in New Orleans. The brick/cobblestone-style streetscape was similar in both squares.

Both Greenmarket and Congo squares were places where local versions of Jazz music were created. In Greenmarket Square, "Cape Jazz" was formed, and in Congo Square, "American Jazz" music was born. From an African Diasporic view, both the Creole/African American musical form, and the Coloured South African rooted form of Jazz music, were, within themselves, creolization processes. As stated by Hip-Hop scholar and sociologist Tricia Rose, African Diasporic music is, "…essentially top-shelf medicine for chronic trauma."[64] In other words, Jazz in both New Orleans and Cape Town would not have been created if it were not for the lived-experiences of the enslaved population and their descendants.

Excitingly, I encountered fellow African Americans, primarily undergraduate students from the Historically Black College University (HBCU), Jackson State University, at the District 6 Museum. My homesickness wore off for a bit, and I was able to communicate with the dean and some of the students. They talked about racist encounters with White locals and how they were told that they had to leave from another museum because they were viewed as "a threat." I was angered when one of the students told me that they were not able to have access to resources in order to complete their projects. I argued that, due to the size of their group, local White, Black,

or Coloured Capetonians were not used to a large Black international group, and that they were probably both intimidated and racist. I also noticed that when I chatted with some of the students, some of the White patrons at the museum were looking at us with suspicion. You know when you are being watched……

What I am observing and comprehending, from my experiences in Cape Town, is that although there are still issues regarding race and racism in post-apartheid South Africa, there is also a sense of ownership of the past. There, they have a memorial dedicated to the enslaved people who built Cape Town, and they also have preserved the actual slave auction block where bodies were traded and sold (located on a major intersection). The city planners and local government could have destroyed and sanitized the space, but, instead, they chose to incorporate the slave auction block into part of the history within the streetscape. On the contrary, as Post-Traumatic Slave Syndrome theorist, Dr. Joy DeGruy, stated "America's pathology is her denial." We will see how the National Museum of African American History and Culture, a Smithsonian museum, in Washington D.C., will hopefully, in time, alter this truth.

Historical Research Methods

The voluminous archive of the Dutch East India Company, in Dutch – *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (VOC) controlled, constructed, and delimited the presence of slaves in the paper world of the VOC Empire.[64] *Slave Lodge*[64], directly across from Greenmarket Square, was built in 1679 and is the oldest building where the VOC captives were confined.[64] The best way to describe their "housing" is "prison-like", and they lived there in squalid conditions. Enslaved bodies were transported from other regions of Africa, St. Helena Island, and Southeast Asia, and they were detained at the Slave Lodge prior to auction. After the British Occupation of the Cape, and the 1807 abolition of the Slave Trade in the British Empire, Slave Lodge became government offices,

and later, the first Supreme Court, which, in the process, was subsequently stripped of its slavery history.[64]

As discussed by our tour guide, the enslaved were labeled with new names, and they were usually classified either by the month of the year the captive person was brought to the cape, by the country they were from, or by both. To this day, many Coloured people have surnames such as "January, February, December, van Mozambique, van Zanzibar, or van Madagascar."[64] Though, similar to other regions of the African Diaspora, many enslaved peoples took on the surnames of their owners, especially if slave masters fathered children with enslaved women. Slaves in the VOC paper world might be elusive, but they are not absent, and can be evoked, if only in a spectral form, by historians, film makers, and activists today.[64]

I also visited the Western Cape Archives and Records Service office, in downtown Cape Town, to view any tangible archived-paper material that would be relevant to my research. I asked the records monitor if there were any slave records on file, and she explained that the majority of the files were in the process of being digitally-recorded for internet use. However, there were some files that were still available, and they provided me with slave inventory records that were from the early to mid-1800s (referred to as "Inventory of the Slave Office: 1816-1848)."[64] By a proclamation date of the 26th of April, 1816, the registration of slaves was made compulsory.[64] The reasoning for this was due to the high volume of "Free Blacks" who were living on the Cape during that period. Though the content in the records was rather dry, it was the interpretation of the material that was key. Of specific note, what I found especially interesting, with this particular file, was the description "Slave Complaints."[64]

Under "Slave Complaints" were sections such as "Slave Complaints and Law Proceedings: 1828-1833…[and] List of Slaves confined in the Cape Town Prison as Complainants: 1831-

1834…"[64] Though these records are highly informative, more importantly, a certain truth, as stated by G. Groenwald, in 2005:

> *In spite of the phenomenal amount of paper the Dutch East India Company (VOC) administration of the Cape left behind, there is only very rarely enough information available to sketch the life of an individual slave.*[64]

The enslaved population throughout the Diaspora was not viewed as what they were, human beings with souls, but rather, they were treated as property and commodities. Unfortunately, we, as historians, social scientists, and Africana scholars can only imagine what forms of agency were taken amongst the enslaved, themselves, to still craft out some type of life within a slaveocracy. Then, this agency among people in bondage, enduring chronic trauma, was not merely to preserve some of their culture that was lost, but to also create new forms of life and identity for the primary purpose of survival.

Interviews

Nelson Mandela promoted "non-racialism"—a philosophy that endorsed the idea that society should look past social-constructions/racially-stratified categories and, instead, focus on the humanness of the individual. However, does that idea hold up within the twenty-first century in Westbury?

Identity Formation

The formation of the Cape was laid on the basis of suppressing the Khoi and San, and socially-engineering the "Coloured" people.[64] There was no concept of "Coloured" or "Colouredness" prior to the foundation of British colonialism, followed by the National Party (NP) governed apartheid regime. Coloureds, during the regime, felt that they were not White enough; currently, Coloureds feel that they are not Black enough, in ANC governed South Africa, because affirmative action services are often denied to Coloureds specifically because they do not speak an indigenous

African language (Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, Venda, etc.).[64]   My first interviewee argued that, prior to apartheid, he did not recall anything that related to the concept of "race."   Everyone in the working-class neighborhood of Sophiatown lived together, regardless of ethnic-background, as one people.   For this first interviewee, Colouredness does not mean anything, because he remembers a time when there was no concept of being "Coloured."   He refused to identify as Coloured, or even to comprehend what "Colouredness" is, because he remembers not being Coloured prior to the apartheid regime.   Colouredness, to him, represented not having knowledge of history, and it also meant having a lost identity.   He is from South Africa; hence he identifies as an African from the Southern-region of Africa.   His granddaughter identified as a Coloured and trivializes her identity.   This interviewee felt that that term is a belittling term (similar to "Black").   Is there a nation of Black or Coloured/Brown people?

Blackness was inflicted upon people of African descent in the New World by another/other nation(s) of people.   These European-elites were from a foreign land, and they entitled themselves to rename people who came from many nations; additionally, they forced these multilingual and multiethnic Africans into being one "Black" people.   Similar to the African Diaspora, people of mixed-race descent in South Africa, along with the indigenous Khoi and San people, and nations of African people who immigrated to South Africa, were classified as "Black" or "Coloured" by a foreign entity.   The indigenous Khoi and San people of South Africa were classified as "Coloured", due to their naturally yellow-skin and sandy-colored, tightly coiled hair, as opposed to the Zulu, Xhosa, Venda, and Tswana, who were primarily of a darker hue classified as "Black."   How can an indigenous people be classified as mixed-race?   Race was never about "*the other*." *The other* was created in order for Whiteness, political-autonomy, and world domination, as a Western-European project, to rule the universe.   Although Blackness has been "taken back" by people of

African descent, due to the Black Power and Black Consciousness movements, it is important to clarify and acknowledge that *Blackness* was created by the European-elite. Religion was also used as a political tool which has lasting effect(s) on the Coloured community.

A young female interviewee, and Westbury Youth Centre (WYC) youth member, asserted that religious affiliation is a strong indicator for Coloured identity. For example, there are differences between Muslim- and Christian-identified Coloureds. As stated, "for instance, a Christian and Muslim dates, the families are going to have a bit of a trouble, because Muslims based on their views and the Christians based on their views, so the family won't really accept you with open arms because, um, you don't share the religion." (2). However, she referred to herself as part of the new generation, meaning, folks that were born during, or after the end of apartheid, in 1994. "It's different. We're going to interact with a different race, a different religion…'Cause love has no race, no color, no age. We look definitely past that". Additionally, "those staunch Muslims, and those staunch Christians, where they'll still look at that. But then, some parents raise their children at the point where they say, you know, 'You can look past people's…you can make it a better community and a better world.' To look past it." (2) In other words, there is a division between people moving away from the past and others who have difficulty getting over apartheid.

My third interviewee, a young male in his thirties, and fellow WYC youth member, asserted an interesting perspective, positioning that everyone is mixed. In other words, we are all one humanity. Likewise, another young male interviewee argued that whether you are White, Black, Coloured, or Indian, there is no difference. (1) He believed that we are all one humanity and (he) felt that "it's…not race that's the problem. It's…the manner you present yourself." (1) The confusion lies because some people acknowledge their mixed-ness, and others do not. As

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stated, "I feel that basically everyone on this planet is mixed. But there are certain individuals that acknowledge that they are mixed. And there are certain individuals that feel that they are not mixed. They might look a certain way. They may be extremely dark or extremely light." (1) He further explained that "…as a Coloured person, I call myself Coloured, something that I am not ashamed of. And I don't feel that it's something derogative. It's something that I identify with because me calling myself a Coloured means that I acknowledge that I am mixed and I appreciate it. I am not ashamed of who I am." (1) Similarly, another male interviewee, who also works as a facilitator at WYC, viewed Coloured identity from a position of someone who is dark-skinned.

The WYC facilitator explained that race was referred to as "area codes" based on skin color, hair, etc.; however, he also argued that race "…is more language because you can be dark as hell but you can only speak English or French…Like for me, I was born Coloured, right? And I'm dark skinned so when people look at me, they think 'Oh. He's a Zulu,' you know, or, 'He's a Xhosa.' But when I open my mouth, they can tell…" (1) Hence, Coloured identity for him was primarily language, since he was not perceived as a Coloured due to his phenotype. He is often mistaken for Black, until he starts to speak. That is why he preferred to see himself as an "African…Because it makes no sense, because we are all human beings…because in terms of identity, it just confuses things even more." (7) Then, "identity" furthers "division." He further emphasized, "that [is] why I think we are lost. Because all these people are running around looking for identity and a sense of belonging." (8)

Yet, I would argue that the problem is not identity. The problem is that White supremacy has created much detachment and disorder within the oppressed communities. This chaos incorporates heteronormativity/homophobia, religious affiliations, colorism, xenophobia, sexism, cultural-antagonisms, and other social-constructed groups that cannot respect people's affiliation

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with multiple identities. In the twenty-first century, Whites, Blacks, and Coloureds are all South Africans. (5) However, homophobia and xenophobia has grown within the past twenty years. One of the WYC youth members explains that "before, six, seven, eight years ago…there's no gays, no lesbians." (5) Westbury has a rather strong population of Coloureds affiliated with Christianity and Islam. Both religions, at times, preach against homosexuality, which can cause friction and isolation among secular and queer Westbury residents. That is why *intersectionality* is very important when it comes to acknowledging people that are associated with different "communities". I use that term broadly, because people affiliated within those groups are not always cohesive.

Also, it is important to recognize that everyone is privileged, in certain and various ways, due to their affiliation with multiple communities. (8) Interestingly, Cassandra thought that "race" is the same as "ethnicity." A fellow female WYC youth member stated that "When I think about race, I think about the different ethnicity…um Coloured, Black, Indian, they're different." (1) However, she believed that, regardless of ethnicity, they are all South Africans, so ethnicity should not matter. (1) Though, when I asked her what Colouredness represented to her, she responded, "I think…it's different. It's not White. It's not Black. I think it's just different, yeah…We fall between those two, I think." (4) She adhered to the majority/majority's position of what it means to be Coloured. *Was not White enough during apartheid, currently is not Black enough during the ANC-governed South Africa?* Yet, she does not like the term "Coloured." She said that, "I like to say that I'm South African." (5)

In terms of race, another male youth member argued that race is viewed by, and based on, phenotype. He stated that, "…you get your Blacks. You get your Whites. You get your Coloureds, you know. And when you get into Coloureds, you get different kinds of Coloureds as

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well." (1) However, he made it clear that there is diversity within the White groups as well. Jacobs specified that, "…you get the English speaking White person. You get the Afrikaans speaking White person…" (1) Although, there are 11 official languages in South Africa, not every South African is proficient in all 11 languages. Many South Africans are either bilingual or trilingual, but many other South Africans, particularly South Africans who are impoverished, speak primarily Afrikaans and may know certain English words—particularly, older citizens who reside in Westbury.

He also highlighted (that) religion also has a factor that relates to language. For example, some Coloured Muslims speak Arabic, and some Coloured Catholics are able to speak Latin, which is represented as the sacred language of Catholicism (in the western world).   He contended that what makes Coloured identity unique in Westbury is the constant interchanging of English and Afrikaans (which produces its own pidgin language).   However, I brought up the importance of having multiple identities. I explained that, due to African American history, "I can have a Black identity, but I can also have a multi-racial identity as well." (16) I further discussed that I understand how people can view you based on the context of their environment. For example, due to my light hue, my accent, and because I cannot speak an indigenous language, I was automatically viewed as a "Coloured" person. However, paradoxically, Jacobs viewed himself as "Black." He identified, "…I'm Black because I'm from Africa, even though I'm from the Southern part of Africa. South Africa is in Africa, so I'm Black…. But according to my skin color, and what I was taught, uh, I'm Black." (18)

When I asked another male WYC member to assert his view of race (or what his idea of race is), he asked, "Are you joking?!" (1) He continued by stating that he "doesn't believe in it. I don't believe in race." (1) He explains that although he was born in 1988, he does not remember

apartheid, since the regime was abolished when he was 4. (1) Regarding race, he felt that there is a strong disconnect between the older generation that was alive, thoroughly remembers, and is afflicted by apartheid, and members of the younger generation, who were primarily born either around the ending of apartheid, or shortly afterwards, who have no recollection of the brutal regime. Although he did not believe in race, he, however, viewed that "ethnicities" play a much stronger role because of the specific persons' cultural background. (1)

He asserted that, "…with the Black race, there are certain cultures that they follow that Coloured people do not follow. There are certain cultures that Coloured people follow that Black people do not follow and so forth with White people." (2) Again, language is an important factor which distinguishes the Coloured community from other groups in South Africa. "…A lot of Coloured people have a specific way of speaking…certain languages that you will only…Coloured people will…understand." (13) Then, identity formation incorporates group consciousness centered in certain experiences, including language/communication that determines what makes a person a "Coloured". He asserts that Colouredness is rooted in classification that "…was picked out for us…in the apartheid times." (4) He understood the history of his racial classification. Then, race trumped all other social-categories.

Additionally, positionality on *who is or who is not* a Coloured occurred at a dinner party facilitated by my host family. All of the guests who were in attendance were Coloureds. There was a total of ten participants. I felt nervous, because I was presenting my research on Coloureds to Coloureds! However, the question and answer session was the best part of the event, because the discussion flowed into a focus group. One of the questions a guest member asked was how is it best to be called African, if your ancestors are from India? She felt that, because a lot of her family ancestry is from India, she identified more with Asians. However, another guest articulated

that when he came to the states, he represented himself as an African, first. Another guest explained that he is half Indian, but he stated that he did not look like an Indian because of his curly hair. One more member of the group explained that many people think that she is White, but she strongly asserts Colouredness, because she is proud of her mixed-race ancestry. My host explained that she does not like the Coloured terminology, because of the negative connotation attached to the name, and also, Coloured was a name placed on her by the apartheid government. She would prefer a different identifier, and she stated that she was proud of her culture, but not (proud of) the name placed to signify her culture. However, one of the guests explained that if the Coloured category was taken away, then that would destroy the Coloured community, and also, that would obscure the Coloured people further in South Africa. Additionally, she explained that the culture of the Coloured community is very similar to that of Afrikaners, in terms of language, cuisine, and religion. In conclusion, the group had varied opinions as to what does, or does not, signify Colouredness.

Several Coloureds feel that the term is derogatory, because it was a name designated to them by Europeans.[64] However, due to the existing high levels of poverty, and economic and political marginalization, many cling on to the Coloured definition because of their current state/s of suffering.[64] LaPoorta affirmed that "…I realized that even though I am Black which is a state of mind for the struggle, a state of mind for the question of affirmative action, but deep down in my heart I am mixed, I'm a Coloured person."[64]

The question of what qualifies as mixed-race in South Africa continues to generate dialogue amongst Coloureds. While in South Africa, I went over to my host family's friend's apartment for dinner. All of the South Africans who attended the dinner party were Coloured-identified. One of my friend's guests started the conversation, and asked me, "…if I now know

why Coloureds are referred to as Coloureds, as opposed to Blacks?" I explained that Coloureds are similar to African Americans. She further explained that many people view Coloured South Africans as separate from *mixed-race* South Africans. For example, the concept of biracialism, in this case, a South African who is half *Indian* and *White* or *Black African* and *Coloured* or *Black African* and *White* are viewed as mixed-race (meaning *biracial*, not *multi-generational mixed-race people*). Her point was that Coloureds are not a *pure-race*, due to their history, which includes an array of ethnicities from diverse backgrounds that eventually settled in South Africa. Dependent on varied time and space, the apartheid government lumped descendants of mixed-race families, enslaved West-Africans and South Asians (seventeenth-nineteenth centuries), Chinese, Khoisan, and Malays into one category as *Coloured*. Yet, if someone is half *Black* and *Coloured*, only then is that person perceived as mixed-race. I explained that, similar to Coloureds, African Americans who are multiracial descendants of Africans, Europeans, and, to a lesser extent Native Americans and Asians, are usually not viewed as a mixed-race or multiracial people.

In the American narrative, African-Americans are often viewed in one-dimensional terms as *Blacks* (or descendants of enslaved Africans that did not have a viable culture), were brought over to North America during the trans-Atlantic slave trade, and assimilated into Anglo-American culture. By the same token, the South African narrative views Coloureds as second-class citizens who do not have a history and who are assimilated to Afrikaner culture.[64] Additionally, many South Africans (White, Black, and Coloured alike) do not view African Americans as *Black* people. For instance, a Coloured-identified South African male friend of mine, a product of a Tswana (African) mother and White (Dutch) father, is married to a Coloured woman who identifies as a Black woman. He explained that he views African-Americans as mixed-race people, and he does not see me as a Black person within the South African context, but rather, he sees me as a

Coloured person especially due to my phenotype, because I am a lighter-skinned African American. However, he understands that I am Black from the mainstream American perspective. Interestingly, he pointed out that he will say/use the term Coloured in order to avoid going into a long drawn out conversation, but he views himself as (considers himself) a Black person. He does not understand how Coloureds feel that they are not Black or White, but are Coloured. Essentially, he believes that type of thinking does not make sense, and he views me as *his people–brown people.*

Thus, the concept of Blackness in South Africa is centered on a dialectic; on one hand, Blackness is framed on lineage, language, and history. For example, are you culturally-identified as *Zulu*; *Xhosa*; *Venda*; *Tswana, etc.*? Do you speak one of the nine indigenous African languages? Then again, Blackness is also centered on lived experience, attitude, consciousness, and the struggle that all non-White South Africans suffered and experienced, during apartheid, grounded on the Biko led Black Consciousness Movement.

Circularity: Spatial Boundaries – Inclusion versus Exclusion

R.B. Lee asserts that there is an estimated "2.5 million Coloured South Africans would identify themselves as Khoi or San."[64] According to the latest census results of 2011, the Coloured population totals approximately 4,539,790 or 8.9% of the South African population.[64] The contradiction and question of indigenousness versus Diaspora-ness is at the core of Colouredness. Or, rather, it is the intersection of indigenousness linked with the African and Asian Diasporas. Then, "Colouredness" is the complexity of a socially-constructed group of people, such as the KhoiSan movement fighting the ANC for obtaining acknowledgment of their roots, that includes language and culture, strategically- and continuously-ignored by both the apartheid regime and the ANC; yet, they experience the Diasporic sense of rootlessness.

There are cultural distinctions in the various Coloured communities; there is not one solid Coloured community. There are clear distinctions between Cape Town or *Capetonian Coloureds,* Durban or *Dubanite Coloureds,* and Johannesburg or *Jozi/Joburg Coloureds.* Boundaries play a significant role in deciphering various Coloured communities. I asked a WYC youth member if there was a different Westbury culture (from a Capetonian Coloured culture). He answered that, in Cape Town, Afrikaans is still the primary language spoken. However, he asserts also, that in Westbury, influenced by television and the United States, African American "type of slang" is incorporated into their language. In essence, the language in Westbury is a form of creole that is constantly evolving. (2)

Coloureds from Durban speak primarily English because of English rule during the colonial period and strong British presence throughout the apartheid regime. Westbury Coloureds, within the Johannesburg region, often speak a pidgin language of English and Afrikaans. Due to region (space), it becomes clear who is, and who is not, from a specific neighborhood. Thus, there is often a disconnection between various Coloured communities due specifically to language. A Coloured man from Durban, and Johannesburg resident for 15 years, explains that *Jozi* Coloureds often feel that they are owed something, based on their history as second-class citizens. He further asserts that many Coloureds will not work in fast food restaurants (or other jobs that are deemed beneath them, or viewed as menial), and he argues that Coloureds are lazy; thus, many remain in a state of an economic underclass. He continues with his assertion that Coloureds in Durban are different, due to their English colonial work ethic, as opposed to Afrikaner acculturation in Johannesburg, and they work a variety of jobs for survival. Yet again, spatial boundaries, Whites (English or Afrikaners) that were in varied South African regions of power and European cultural

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practices during apartheid, often determined identity formation and consciousness within the specific environment of the Coloured community.

Additionally, this man emphasized that many Coloureds are a prideful people, who latch onto the "victim card" of previous ills from apartheid, and they do not work in order to break away from the Coloured stereotype of *being lazy* within a twenty-first century South Africa. He did not consider himself a Coloured, because of the negative connotation that relates to the Coloured term; instead, he identifies as *mixed-race*.

James Arvanitakis and Nicky Falkof contend that racial identities have become stronger, despite the ANC's call to a utopian and color-blind non-racialism.[64] Interestingly, in 2008, Chinese South Africans won a legal battle to be considered previously disadvantaged, which makes them a kind of *honorary Black*.[64] Thus, Chinese South Africans can benefit from Black economic empowerment strategies—a development that has been extremely contentious, given the sudden increase in Chinese immigration, as that powerful economy digs its claws ever deeper into southern Africa.[64] Yet, Coloureds cannot benefit from honorary Black status.

It is these particular cases that make racial classifications paradoxical when there are literally exceptions (Chinese South Africans) to the rule. What does Blackness mean? What is the meaning of Colouredness? How does race work when some people do not fit into those neat classifications of who looks like a Black or Coloured person? Then, inclusivity (and exclusivity) depend on both the societal notions of what Whiteness and Blackness represent in a particular environment. For example, the WYC facilitator explained that there are Black South Africans who move to a predominantly Coloured neighborhood "…and, if they can find a space to build [their] own house…their kids [grow] up being dark as hell. And they only speak Afrikaans or English…because they are from our communities." (2) Hence, movement shapes their identity,

because survival means being able to adapt to a foreign environment for the purpose of assimilation within that dominant population.

One of the youth male members clarified that many Coloured communities were started because many mixed-race people felt ostracized within Black neighborhoods. Hence, voluntary migration and self-segregation occurred, at times, for the sole purpose of survival. He explains that "…they had to come and live here in this community, where there were many more mixed Coloureds…and he felt quite comfortable because he was just seen, as like, an outcast." (16) He further specified that "…our grandparents, and our great-grandparents, are first generation Coloureds. They could relate with each other's problems, like, 'Oh, he has been seen as an outcast so our family doesn't accept us, our community doesn't accept us. Let's come together and let's have our own community." (16)

He made it clear that there "…will always have people that…want to be in power and they want to like, see themselves as superior." (1) Social-constructions are created by groups in power that want to direct their supremacy over people who affect individuals who live within various societies. Interestingly, Williams expounded that "*New Jack City* and *Boyz in the Hood*. But especially *New Jack City*. *Wow* (whispered shout)! People saw Neil Brown wearing all these expansive clothes, nice cars, and selling drugs and then everyone wanted to love that lifestyle." (4) Coloureds often looked to Black American culture as an influence on Coloured identity. However, members of Westbury wanted to be rid of gang-violence and focus on community redevelopment.

Dr. Don Mattera, a former Westbury resident who was involved in the life of gangsterism and crime, was called in as a leader to improve the community. Additionally, various churches came together, prayed, and, miraculously, things changed; however, yet as gangsterism stopped, now we have another problem. *Drugs…* (6) One of the male youths contended that "…by 2000,

things started changing with like the, crystal meth." (6) Interestingly, Williams affirmed that "…to be quite frank, quite open about it. A lot of…these drugs comes from Nigerians." (6) Then, there are a lot of outsiders who contribute to the drug-problem within Westbury.

Although apartheid ended, poverty has remained in place. Although there are businesses and amenities that serve the community, the majority of businesses are owned by immigrants/outsiders and not Coloureds themselves. Additionally, cultural-antagonisms continue to play a role in the twenty-first century. He continued that "If you can go down to that police station…the Sophiatown Police Station…the majority is just Black Africans, and, they're now mixed Coloured like us, and, they actually don't like us…they tell us straight, 'We don't like you Coloureds.' Those police at that station…They are corrupt police, they are in there." (8) Hence, the prison-industrial complex is a global issue.

Interestingly, one of the WYC male members considered himself to be Black. He continued that "we do consider ourselves Black. But the thing is, in this country, because we have been separated, we have been called a different name. People still have a tendency to use the term Black, on us, when it's necessary." (8) In other words, for interest-convergence purposes, the ANC government may include Coloureds for certain quotas and political actions. He asserts how divide-and-conquer is used "to conquer a race or nation, you have to divide them, and that's what happened here. Then even separated the tribes in this country also…Zulu people one side, etc." (9)

There is also *colorism*[64] in Westbury, and many people adhere to Eurocentric ideals of beauty. Colorism occurs within the Coloured community. One of the WYC youths, who is a light-skinned Coloured man, explained that "Most people in my street, I was picked on. I got my ass kicked on a *daily* basis just because I was light-skinned." (12) I asked if these were other

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Coloureds. He replied, "Yes." (12) Again, the intricacies of Colouredness are much deeper than Black, White, and Coloured. There is division within the Coloured community which is historically-rooted. He further explained that "some girls, you know, 'I don't date light-skinned guys. I like dark-skinned guys." (13) Similarly, one of the female youth members asserted that if she "dated a Black guy, um, my parents will like, have us to say, 'I can do better.' It's like, they have that mindset." (2) Then, in the twenty-first century, colorism and xenophobia transpires in South Africa which adds further intricacy to race relations in the post-apartheid era. Although tribalism occurred in South Africa, prior to European penetration, the European-elites created further division by playing on existing tribalism in order to maintain White supremacy.

Language was further used as a tactic to establish division amongst different ethnic groups and socially-engineered races. One of the WYC youth members asserted that "people feel like English is superior. If you speak English, you're superior, you're *better*. So, I've noticed a lot of kids, coming up now, people actually make the kids speak English and not Afrikaans because they feel that it's inferior." (17) However, many people teach English as their primary language to their children, because they know that English is the dominant language of the world. Hence, many Coloureds want to prepare their children for better educational and employment opportunities in order to improve their children's life-chances through being proficient in English.

He further explained that he "…noticed also the British government, wherever that they went to, whichever countries that they colonized, they used this exact same strategy. They used it in India. Whereas, some Indians are Muslim, some are Hindus. They used that same strategy to let them fight against one another." (9) Killing the men and raping the women occurred throughout the world (which established new mixed-race populations).

The WYC facilitator also explained that there are exclusive communities that restrict people based on economic-class. For example, he argued that "it's very elite for you to go in, you need to have a pass, like, two day notices, and all that kind of stuff." (2) After apartheid ended, out of fear of retaliation and loss of control, many Whites moved back to their home countries, such as England, Australia, and other European countries. He referred to these movements as "White flight" which is essentially fear of Black people (power) and fear of retaliation for historical wrongs. Yet, when Mandela took over, "that's not actually what happened." (3) Mandela was a humanist, and he truly wanted a non-racial South Africa where everyone lived in harmony, and there was freedom for all South African citizens. However, many White South Africans who have remained in South Africa have since constructed security walls around houses, businesses, schools/universities, and several other amenities. The argument they offer is that they are protecting their property due to increased crime rates. However, these forms of protection are nothing more than perpetual fear, structural- and self-segregation, and they present a false sense of security. There is a "Whites only" town called Orania, populated by an Afrikaner population, that contains a vigilant group "for protection", and they have created their own currency, so clearly, segregation is transpiring in the present day "post-apartheid era."[64]

In the post-apartheid era, one of the male youth does not believe that a non-racial society is possible. One of the male youth members argued that "We are all different, so, there would always be…differences within us. So, no, I don't think so...And because we are not the same, we will never have the same views" (5-6) This particular youth member's background is different from that of the majority of the interviewees. He and his family moved to Westbury, when he was four, from Port Elizabeth. He explains that Westbury was specifically made for Coloured people. (6)

After 1950, when the *Group Areas Act* was enforced, everyone was uprooted from Westbury to other areas throughout the Johannesburg metropolitan area. He (the youth) said that "Coloured folks were in the middle, and the Blacks, were at the bottom...I would say that the White people used the Coloured people as a shield, to…separate them from the Black folks." (7) Hence, the divide-and-conquer tactic of creating and establishing a new people *Coloureds* were used specifically for the purpose of isolating and marginalizing the Black majority in order to maintain White supremacy. He furthered this notion by stating that they "did not regard [us] as people, they regard us something that could protect them against, what…they said the Black people were. You know, bad, so they couldn't defend themselves. Therefore, they used the Coloured people." (7) He continued by explaining that "…this word, called Coloured, was just invented from whoever, to say that you are not White." (22) When he used the term "shield", I thought of a mental, physical, and ideological boundary. A shield has no heart or soul. A shield is an object, a thing.

Interestingly, this is also how language was used as a divider among the races. "The White guy told you…write down something. And then you, out of your own, you could write down and make sense out of the order. A Black person, you needed to tell him what to write. Then only, he could write." (8) During slavery, Blacks were not taught to read nor write. Mixed-race children were often privileged if their master/father educated their children, which was a dialectical form of control: 1) Blacks were restricted from reading/writing to establish a caste-group, and 2) Coloureds were privileged with reading/writing the master's language and restricted and erased from their indigenous and African roots of language/communication, simultaneously forming their blurred consciousness. Then, language often divided people.

During apartheid, the employment sector was also divided among race. Jacobs positioned that the "White man was in charge. The Black man was the ordinary worker with the Coloured

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people. But, they never chose a Black person to become a foreman…We were always in the middle." (9) Again, the Coloured was the middle-man--the link between the White man and the Black man. The Coloured man interacted with the menial labor-level Black worker and with the White supervisor.

After apartheid ended, in 1994, "the Black folks came in power and then they told the…Coloured folks that 'You weren't part of the struggle.'" (9) One of the youth members articulated that "First, we were used to defend the White folks. And when we did that, the Black folks, they came and approached us, and they told us, 'This is nonsense, what these people are doing, 'cause this is our country'…And once we help them…they got the country back. But still, not even one Coloured person got the recognition for it." (10) Tamara Braam (1999) of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, delivered a heartfelt monologue about her own perceptions of the *Coloured Problem*:

> *…Coloured people are the first to lose their jobs. We're talking about affirmative action, here. In the old regime it used to be job discrimination, now its affirmative action. Jobs are for Xhosa speaking people…The conflict of African and Coloured has to be resolved. This requires education to learn to respect one another. It must come soon…Many people forgetting. We too fought for freedom in this country. We have not been passive. Many of our people were shot down at Port Elizabeth in 1971—that was the Coloured Sharpeville. The Coloured people are a political factor, we're going to stay one only if we unite. We must stand as one.* (253)

The structure of the current ANC government is parliamentary; it heavily relies on the terms and definitions that emerged from the apartheid regime. Additionally, as stated by Dr. Leonard Martin, associated with the Khoi Liberation Movement, "Coloureds do not understand their location within the race hierarchy."[64]

Then, many Coloureds feel that they were bamboozled, and used, by the Black majority and the autonomous Whites, and this contributes to the narrative of: *not being White enough, or*

Black enough. Interestingly, one of the youth members was one of the few interviewees who believes that non-racial society is not possible. He sensed that people "…still live in a time frame of 1976." (2) He is referring to the Soweto uprising that occurred at a high school which led to the death of Hector Pieterson, one of hundreds of students killed during the uprising. He explained the apartheid mindset as a "…disease that people can't get out of." (2) This disease he was referring to is the sickness of the slave mentality.[64] If White supremacy is the ailment, then racism is the virus that continues to grow, fester, and metamorphosize in order to adapt to the change within the societal environment. In other words, in order for White Supremacy to remain in power, the powers that be have to remain ahead, and change, before the society changes. Hence, ideology is key to positioning people to be confused, hoodwinked, suppressed, and divided amongst each other (either along racial-, religious-, sexual-, gender-, class-, or cultural-lines) in order for the elites to remain separated and elusive from the masses.

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

Coloureds suffer from above average joblessness, above average poverty, and a lack of politico-socio-economic interventions from the ANC.[64] In both 2001 and 2002, the National Injury Mortality Surveillance System (NIMSS) recorded a disproportionately large number of Coloured homicides in the total reviewed: 14% in 2001, and 13% in 2002, compared to the 9% share held

by Coloureds in the national population.[64] According to the Department of Correctional Services, Coloured people are also over-represented in the nation's prisons.[64] Coloured people are also nearly twice as likely to be imprisoned as Black South Africans.[64] People born into families of wealth, power, and inherent cultural and social capital have resources and access that others born into poverty do not have access to those networks and services .[64] In other words, there are some people who are either initiated into, or, otherwise, restricted from, social circles because of their family history. Then, the combination of divide-and-conquer tactics, administered by the colonial and apartheid regimes, along with self-loathing are emotions that are passed down from generation to generation. Clinical psychologist Joy Degruy stated that "If you are broken…your children are also going to be. You are learning from broken people."[64] Unfortunately, years of discrimination and oppression, have left Coloureds with a massive inferiority complex.[64]

Racial inequalities in schooling attainment, income level, and employment status persist in post-apartheid South Africa, and racial residential segregation is significantly associated with educational attainment for Blacks and Coloureds.[64] Additionally, Blacks and Coloureds are less likely to receive health care (in comparison to Whites and Asians).[64] Thus, in ANC governed South Africa, the race ideology framework of the former regime lingers, because the non-White majority (Blacks and Coloureds) are perpetually marginalized.

African Diaspora: Consciousness, Trauma, Memory, Legacy, & Home

Apartheid erased the diverse histories of the Coloured and South African Black groups. The majority of Coloureds do not know their history and/or lineage "because we don't care about origin of Coloureds because we don't even know where we come from." (14) The Port Elizabeth native WYC member said that the "White folks were in charge of everything. And, they didn't want to give the Black people nothing. Now because they were having such intercourse with the Black

folks, so most of the children that came out, came out Coloured." (8) He furthered that "We were brought together…like an experiment. You know, it's like someone one day experimented to see what was going to happen. And then when they saw this Coloured coming out, they said 'No, we like this.'" (15) The global-colonial project involved: 1) the annihilation of the indigenous people; 2) importation of foreign African and Asian slave labor; 3) murder of the African men through warfare and rape of the women to establish power, colony, and footing within a foreign place for the purpose of economics and stealing resources for autonomy and sustainability.

Michael Abrahams, former Coloured-identified Westbury resident, WYC employee, and professional photographer explains that many Coloureds view their own community as lazy and not driven for growth and development in a productive way. In other words, many Westbury residents play the victim card, are not forward-thinking, and focuse heavily on the past: *apartheid*– the apartheid mind-set has trickled down to younger generations. Consequently, the imprints of the architects who enforced colonialism and apartheid continue to have mental control over several Coloureds in a post-apartheid environment. Additionally, there are issues of self-loathing, and, as stated by one of the female youth members, "Blacks, they'll push their people to be successful, especially with Whites. Like, they'll give you a way so that you can do that, so you can achieve anything. With Coloureds, like, they don't want to see the next person succeed." She expounded that "I want to prove my parents wrong. You might not believe me now but one day, I'm going to achieve something in life." (5)

As Abrahams states, *many Westbury residents are a product of what they do not know* (2014). Then, playing victim is a coping mechanism which is counterproductive to the mental liberation of victimhood and economic prosperity. Moving forward is often difficult, especially if a person does not have knowledge of where his or her roots lie.   Memory plays a particular role

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between South Africans who lived during the height of apartheid and the younger generation, who were born during the transitionary period from the apartheid supported National Party and the African National Congress (ANC) that came into power in 1994. One of the WYC coordinators explained that his mother was so affected by apartheid that "when I took her to Sophiatown, she was afraid to walk around there!" (4) He was trying to explain to his mother that de jure segregation has ended. Trauma and memory are primary experiences that many Coloured South Africans who endured during apartheid still latch on to. However, there is still a different outlook on what life is like in South Africa due to the memory that an individual has, or does not have, about apartheid. Hence, different experiences within the same family can occur due to time, space, and place. The WYC coordinator also asserted that Colouredness is:

> *…very, very difficult to identify because we have no king. We have no… leaders that stand out. We just like a bunch of people that just live here. Like, the Zulu have a king, Xhosa have a king. All the other races around us have their own king their own way, but we…just have not no faith, we have no identity. We just, came, into being.* (10)

She stressed that it is important for Coloureds to know their history. "Colouredness is about overcoming obstacles, pushing forward, and having a strong belief in God. Race was labeled by man; specifically, White men…It's more of ancestors, where they come from…Coloured means coming from a generation where ancestors come from or where Coloureds come from or where Black people come from." (1)

Likewise, one of the male youth members argued that a person's lineage and heritage is much more important than their race. He stated, "in my opinion, it's not based on your color. It's based on, you know, your ancestors, that culture that they followed that they passed on generation to generation to generation. Be it in food. Be it in music. Be it in clothing…" (2) He continued that "Coloured comes from slavery and so forth, South Africa is the only, I would probably say is

the only country that still uses the word." (7) When I asked what Colouredness means to him, he responded that "my ethnic history…is what makes me Coloured." (8) Then, *Colouredness* does not only represent what the White-elite created, but also their history of how they became a people from intricate and multicultural histories. In other words, heritage represents what someone is born into and the knowledge of his or her roots. (8) However, the blurred consciousness comes into play when: 1) someone does not know their heritage and; 2) latches on to a memory or a story that may or may not be true for the purpose of trying to connect the current broken pieces of a puzzle that was transpired by historical wrongs. Interestingly, one of the other male youths said that since apartheid has ended, there is a connection with Black South Africans. He stated "We are accepting that…our ancestors, and those, are Black as well. So, we are coming to accept that we are as well Black. So, yeah, you could say we are connected with Black people." (3) Understanding the past, and obtaining knowledge of what White supremacy has done to the Coloured people, has generated a consciousness that amplified during the Steve Biko led Black consciousness movement that occurred in the 1970s. As Brindley (1976) states:

> *The way of life of Western Township is illustrative of a people who have had no choice as to where and how they should live, whose opinion is never asked for and whose feelings are of no concern…This is acutely detrimental psychologically and socially.* (85)

The knowledge of one's self is much more important than a label used to exploit and marginalize for another groups' gain. The late Asa Hilliard asserts that "it is the knowledge of one's history that gives a strong sense of belonging and identity, which provides the basis for group unity, which provides the basis for political and economic power."[64] The lack of knowledge of their history founded on White supremacy, and absence of self-worth, is passed down from generation to generation which perpetuates the position of *Colouredness*.

APPENDIX

ENDNOTES

[64] Zuberi, Tukufu and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva. *White Logic, White Methods: Racism and Methodology* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.), 5.

[64] *Matriculation*–referred to as *matric*–are required standardized tests that students have to pass in order to receive high school diploma.

[64] District 6, a former multi-racial, multi-cultural, and multi-religious affiliated working-class community in Cape Town, similar to Sophiatown, was designated as a "White area," in 1966, resulting and adhering to the Group Areas Act of 1950, enforced by the National Party, head of the apartheid regime. The predominant Coloured population was exiled from District 6 to the Cape Flats which is now a highly drug-infested and impoverished area.

[64] Table Mountain is one of main nature-based attractions in Cape Town.

[64] Rose, Tricia. "Loving the Gift and the Gift-Giver," *Dominican University Blues and the Spirit Symposium Keynote, May 31, 2014.* (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nn44Soe-CBQ)

[64] Worden, Nigel. University of Cape Town "Cape Slaves in the Paper Empire of the VOC."

[64] The Slave Lodge, which was converted to many uses throughout the years, is now part of Iiziko Museums of South Africa, Cape Town.

[64] Iziko Museums of South Africa.

[64] Iziko Museums.
[64] Ibid.

[64] Ibid., Refiguring the Archive (Cape Town: David Philips, 2002).

[64] Compiled by: JA Mouton, 1941 March. Retyped by: MI Bronkhorst, 2014 April.

[64] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[64] "Inventory of the Slave Office," Western Cape Archives and Records.

[64] Iziko Museums.

[64] "KhoiSan Roundtable Discussion Jhb 2016." (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ocffg1v2DWU)

[64] (*I'm Not Black, I'm Coloured*, 2009).

[64] Chace, Kiersten Dunbar. *I'm not Black, I'm Coloured: Identity Crisis in the Cape of Good Hope* (Cape Town: Monde World Films: 90 minutes, 2009).

[64] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[64] *Afrikaner culture*–All of the Coloureds that I met in South Africa predominantly spoke English as their primary language, not Afrikaans. Although Coloureds understand a particular dialect of Afrikaans (often referred to as *Coloured Afrikaans*) and may use certain words or phrases in their speech, English is still the dominant language used among the majority of Johannesburg area Coloureds. However, the original term *Afrikander* was originally associated

with the people of color at the Cape. In other words, the term "Afrikaner" was another term for "African," meaning someone of African descent throughout the Diaspora, particularly stolen from other locations in Africa and transported to the Cape during the slave trade. (Patric Tariq Mellet, May 27, 2016)

[64] Lee, R.B. "Indigenous Rights and the Politics of Identity in Post-Apartheid Southern Africa." In B. Dean and J.M. Levi (eds.) *At the Risk of being Heard: Identity, Indigenous Rights, and Postcolonial States*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2006, 97.

[64] South African Statistics 2011 http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications /SAStatistics/SAStatistics2011.pdf. Chapter 2, 21.

[64] Arvanitakis, James and Nicky Falkof, "Race Still Rules South Africa," (http://www.newmatilda.com/2013/04/19/race-still-rules-south-africa, 2013).

[64] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[64] *Colorism*–discrimination based on skin-color and phenotype, a term coined by African American author and educator Alice Walker (1982). Colorism in South Africa has historical significance rooted in slavery and colonialism. Many Coloureds that lived a rather privileged life during apartheid usually were of a lighter hue and often could pass for White or applied to change their racial classification. The majority of Coloureds that remained in the Westbury Township have noticeable non-European features, varied hair textures, and darker skin. Many lighter-skinned Coloureds that married White South Africans during apartheid often left South Africa and moved overseas to North American and European countries.

[64] Legacy of Apartheid. By EO TV (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=keYa8EzWefA)

[64] "KhoiSan Roundtable Discussion Jhb 2016." (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ocffg1v2DWU).

[64] *Willie Lynch Doctrine*, 1712: Joy Degruy, *Post-Traumatic Slave Syndrome*, 2008.

[64] Peach, Mark ed., *Being Coloured: Coloured identity, history and future* (Cape Town: WB Peach Media and Communication, 2011).

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

[64] Ibid, 61.

[64] Ibid, 61.

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

[64] Degruy, Joy. *Post-Traumatic Slave Syndrome*, 2008.

[64] Adhikari, Mohammed, ed. *Burdened by race: Coloured identities in southern Africa* (Cape Town: Cape Town UCT Press, 2009.), 252.

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

[64] Ibid, 89.

[64] Hilliard, Asa. *The Master Keys to Study Ancient Kemet*, 1987.

CHAPTER 4

...the question is not whether White scholars should write about or attempt to know the experience of people of color, but whether their interpretations should be taken to be the most authoritative.

bell hooks, in *Race and Ethnicity in Research Methods*

METHODS

The aim of the New Orleans portion of my dissertation is to study how the concepts of Blackness, "space" defined within the context of geographic boundaries that are historically significant, and identity are articulated among Creoles of color within the post-Hurricane Katrina era. Many Creoles of African descent have since left NOLA and moved to other cities and states in the U.S. due to the devastation caused by the hurricane in August of 2005. However, there are many of Seventh Ward Creole heritage who left Jim Crow-era NOLA with the hopes for a better life and, more specifically, to escape racial-terror that occurred in the southern U.S. Survival is the ability to tap into what is familiar and adapt simultaneously. Hence, multi-generational trauma, resulting from racism, is the result for perpetual circularly, movement, and escape for the purpose of survival among people of African descent.

Although racial-hierarchy is defined as a socially-constructed paradigm that has been researched, analyzed, and critiqued within Africana Studies and the Social Sciences, articulating how "space" can transform and shape identity adds depth to studying how Blackness is articulated within Black Creole identity which will be my contribution to academic research.

The cultural landscape of Louisiana is one of the most complex, if not *the* most complex spaces to research and examine, in rural North America.[64] Specifically, the New Orleans (NOLA) urban landscape, and the Latin (Spanish and French) and Caribbean style architecture provide a unique environment within the southern U.S. NOLA culture was isolated because New Orleans, prior to bridge-development, was, for the most part, an island that did not have many people

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entering or exiting. The geography of New Orleans contributes to the uniqueness of the region. This study will investigate how intersecting connections of Blackness, space, and identity are formed and embodied, due to racial hierarchy supported by race ideology—beliefs that have been framed and are socially constructed in order to perpetuate control within society.[64]

In the twenty-first century, legalized racism (Jim Crow) that placed restrictions on African Americans for roughly a century has been replaced by "post-racism"—the false notion that racism in the United States is terminated due to laws passed by government officials that have determined overt racism as unconstitutional, furthers race ideology. This study will further argue how Black Creoles fit within the larger Black/White color line binary that persists in the U.S. Utilizing a qualitative methods approach, I will engage in conducting participations, semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and archival research.

Preliminary Studies

The procedure that I used to accomplish the aims of this project involved producing data collection by conducting scheduled semi-structured interviews with ten (10) subjects. Selecting the subjects involved snowball sampling–I contacted two individuals who knew the two subjects and who were able to provide contact information (telephone numbers and email addresses) in order for me to set up the appointments, meeting times, location(s), and dates of the interviews. The process of this research project was iterative; that is, data collection and research questions were adjusted according to what was learned, and the questions were open-ended—following the qualitative methods model.[64] Since the research questions were open-ended, the questions were reflected to fit the specific aims of this research project. Once the data is analyzed, then I will be able to interpret it (the data) in order to determine if the results will support my research argument: that Blackness and space does in fact shape Creole of color identity.

The two interviews were recorded on my cellular phone and transcribed for documentation purposes and assignment requirements for my qualitative methods course, prior to the approval of my dissertation proposal defense. I notified both subjects that the interview assignment would be conducted for my course, and (that) the interviews may be included for further research. After the interview questions were transcribed, I compiled summaries from both interviews and separated the summaries into specific themes based on repetition from the interviewees in order to create a summary table and generate the coding process.   The final process involved coding[64] and clustering my interviews in order to form variables, then inputed for data analysis and interpretation of the data analyzed.[64] The two subjects who were interviewed for this project provided different responses that pertained to tackling the research problem and to determine whether Blackness, along with the spatial boundaries of the 7th Ward, NOLA, shape identity among Creoles of color. Perhaps, if both of the interviewees had Creole-identified parents, the findings for this project may have changed. This qualitative method approach was used to determine if the data collected and analyzed would prove my argument that: space does, in fact, shape Black Creole identity in the 7th Ward.   My goal was to generate meaningful data that would support my research problem.

FINDINGS

Qualitative Research Methods/Participant Observations

The space within the French Quarter felt somber during my initial site visit during the weekend of August 20th, 2015. That was probably due to the fact that I visited New Orleans on the tenth year anniversary of Hurricane Katrina, a catastrophic event which caused tragic devastation throughout the New Orleans metropolitan area. The architecture in the French Quarter was unique and striking. A lot of White tourists and fellow visitors assumed that I was a local, and quite a few

asked for directions. These occurrences made me refer to France Winddance Twine's article discussing how race and racism, directed towards researchers of African-descent (or of color in general) may occur while they are on site.[64] Twine states that as a brown-skinned traveler of color: *"Your handbook lacks any specific hints for the brown traveler who many encounter racism and color prejudice…This gap in your introduction results in an implicit assumption that foreign travelers are European or of European descent…"* [64] This happens especially when traveling to different countries that have different notions of race, such as South Africa. For example, due to my light-skinned hue, and ethnically-ambiguous facial features, I am not necessarily viewed as an African-American or as a Black person. Then, experiences among people of color will be varied due to environment, context, and region. New Orleans, in particular, takes on a world of its own in terms of environment.

Vibrant colors. Catholic churches. Narrow streets. Landscaped squares. I felt like I was walking through history and felt the colonialism myself! The French/Latin/Caribbean-style architecture reminded me of my past travels to France (Europe in general), Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, and Miami, Florida, in certain aspects. Specifically, the buildings of the French Quarter are of a Mediterranean style also found in southern France.[64] Many visitors from all over the world come here. There is a lot of "sin", including strip clubs, hotels, and bars located on Bourbon Street. Yet, paradoxically, it is very "American" in terms of tourists/tourism. It is a metropolitan American city which had various types of eateries, such as "Vietnamese po'boy shops" and other businesses that you would find in other cities in the U.S. Additionally, as with many other American cities, where there is a predominantly Black population, the eateries tend to cater to the particular demographic. For example, I asked my Uber driver for the day, who was a Black male, and a Detroit native, if there were any restaurants adjacent to the African American

History Museum located in *Tremé*. He suggested that I go to "Lil Dizzy's Cafe." Through our conversation, and cultural exchange as African Americans, I knew that it would be a Black-owned restaurant. After discovering that the African American History Museum was closed indefinitely, I proceeded to the café.

At "Lil' Dizzy's Cafe", although I had a White female waitress, the ambiance of the restaurant was very similar to any soul food restaurant that you would visit throughout the U.S. The restaurant has a familiarity that you are welcomed "home", particularly as a Black customer. Urban Adult Contemporary, R&B music blared from the radio at the café. I could have been at "Gladys Knight's Chicken and Waffles" in Atlanta, Georgia, or "Mellow Yellow" located in the Southside Chicago, Hyde Park section, or "Gregory's" in Lansing, Michigan. You know when you are in a Black American-owned restaurant space. Interestingly enough, I overheard a couple of Black customers (I discovered that the visitors were from Philadelphia, after a later brief conversation) asked one of the Black waitresses if the painted man on the wall, who is also the owner of "Lil' Dizzy's Café", was White or Black. The owner's name is Wayne Baquet, whose surname gave me a clue that he probably has Creole ancestry. However, the waitress clarified by exclaiming that, "the owner looks White, but HE'S BLACK!" There is a sense of uniqueness and intricacy when it comes to questions of heritage and status pertaining to Creole identity in New Orleans. Yet, questioning someone who appears phenotypically-White and is ancestrally- and culturally-Black or African American is not solely a "New Orleans thing." Questioning someone's racial-ambiguity is a common occurrence throughout the U.S. I know, because I am asked all the time, as a non-New Orleans native, and a light-skinned Black Chicagoan the "what are you?" question. This is only one example of New Orleans' concept of race that occurred on my visit to the "Big Easy."

Interestingly, I asked a local (a Black man) the direction where "Congo Square" was located. He was not sure and asked a White woman who was also an outdoor food vender. She yelled at the top of her lungs "*I AM GETTING SICK AND TIRED OF HEARING ABOUT THAT DAMN KATRINA THING*!" I was shocked at first, then I considered the source. She continued, "It's over now, they should get over it…." I am proud that I kept my composure, and responded, "Thank you. Have a good day" and proceeded on my path towards Congo Square. Her statement and attitude reminds me of the many White (and some Black…...) peoples' reactions to anything that relates to discussing slavery–*it was so long ago; get over it; my family did not participate in the slave trade or own slaves;* and *my family did not own slaves.* Anytime history deals with people of African descent, most people want to either position their views as if it was either not significant or that it is something society should quickly get over and move on. Similar to how Americans want to forget the past and move towards a post-racial future, the White woman vendor appeared to want to move past the reality of institutionalized racism and White supremacy, and have New Orleans centered on a biased ideal which includes a cultural utopia of colorblindness. Very telling.

Congo Square, located within Louis Armstrong Park, was haunting. I was trying to imagine how this space was utilized during slavery. Multicultural Africanity, predominantly West and Central African in nature, along with the intricacy of acculturation and blending of indigenous, Caribbean, and European culture established the complex nature of "Afro-Creoleness" specifically New Orleans Creole of color identity formation. David P. Rider explained in "Slavery in Early Louisiana" that:

> *In New Orleans, both Africans and Indians could be seen on Sundays in Congo Square, the Sacred Ground. The singing, drumming, dancing, and story-telling of west African traditions melded nicely with their counterparts in Indian traditions. Congo Square was*

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the only place in America where slaves were allowed to congregate on their own and do as they pleased.[64]

Congo Square was a space where people courted for the purpose of establishing friendships, sexual liaisons, kinship networks, spiritual and religious interactions with various ethnic groups, and contributed a framework for the continuous and paradoxical nature of spirituality, religion, and debauchery practiced in New Orleans, which was intertwined and intersectional. I stood on the very ground that enslaved Africans did who spent their leisure in a space and place of commerce, play, music, spirituality, culture, and creolization; this was multi-engaged space, used for the main purpose of survival within a house of bondage.[64]

The following day, I performed participant observations in the Seventh (7th) Ward. Walking through the neighborhood was chilling, because it appeared that this area was still recovering from Hurricane Katrina, 10 years ago. Again, I saw bright-colored homes that appeared in French/Latin/Caribbean-style architecture. However, in the 7th Ward, many of the buildings were dilapidated, blighted spaces, and a public library and bank were no longer in existence except for their shell and moniker. Desolately, on Saint Bernard Avenue, is a 1997 civil rights memorial, funded by the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc., honoring the prominent Creoles of Color who were involved in the Black freedom struggle, such as Homer Adolph Plessy and Alexander Pierre (A. P.) Tureaud; possibly ravaged by the hurricane, it has been abandoned and not maintained.

I chatted with a man who presumed to be a Creole of color. The resident appeared White, but as soon as he started talking, I assumed otherwise. After our brief chat, he said, *"may God be wit chu!"* I responded, *"And also wit chu!"* As a baptized Catholic, I remember those phrases spoken during my formative years attending Mass. It was at that very moment that I felt as if I had blended into the space and was not seen as an outsider. Although, I am not from New Orleans,

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and I am not Creole-identified, I knew exactly what he meant by saying, "*may God be with you.*"

Therefore, in a sense, I was able to relate from a religiously-affiliated perspective. However, deeper than religion, I felt a spiritual connection with the elderly man. It was hot outside; yet, I felt a nice breeze while walking through the neighborhood. Perhaps the breeze represented the spirits of the people who lost their lives during the catastrophic event ten years ago. The man spoke in a way that represented that *everything was going to be alright*.

I walked through the Tremé neighborhood, which led me back to Congo Square, where I was the previous day. I did not realize that the 7th Ward, Tremé, Congo Square, and the French Quarter were in walking distance to each other! In other words, the square separates the American tourist center of the French Quarter from the boundaries of Tremé and the 7th, 8th, 9th, and Lower 9th Ward neighborhoods. Gentrification and construction exists along North Rampart Street, dividing the French Quarter from Congo Square/Louis Armstrong Park. The geographic boundaries were clear-cut and profound, because the development occurred specifically on the French Quarter side of North Rampart Street. This is why participant observations, which include visiting the site locations in person, are important and key to conducting thorough research.

Historical Research Methods

According to the Louisiana State University (LSU) Libraries, inventory of enslaved Africans in Louisiana started in 1719.[64] Records also included court cases, baptismal/sacramental records, and marriage licenses of free people of color. At the period of the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, at least one in six of the roughly 8,000 people living in New Orleans was a free person of color.[64] The first official U.S. census of Orleans Territory in 1810 counted 7,585 free persons of color, compared to 34,311 Whites, and a total population of 76,556.[64] Additionally, thousands of refugees from the revolution, both Whites and free people of color, arrived in New Orleans, often

bringing African slaves with them.[64]   While Governor Claiborne and other officials wanted to keep out additional free Black men, the French Creoles wanted to increase the French-speaking population of Haitian immigrants for the purpose of maintaining White Creole sovereignty.[64]

At the time of the Haitian Revolution, nearly 90 percent of these immigrants settled in New Orleans.[64]   The 1809, Haitian migration brought 2,731 Whites; 3,102 free persons of African descent; and 3,226 enslaved persons of African descent, doubling the city's population, in which the city became 63 percent Black in population, a greater population than Charleston, South Carolina's 53 percent.[64]   This data is striking because people of African descent, who were living their lives as free people, was not a reality for the majority of African Americans in other southern U.S. regions; this was particularly true for people of African descent in Anglo-America during the colonial and early antebellum periods.   Hence, the historical context of the making of Louisiana, and New Orleans history in particular, provides a perspective maintaining the complexity of "American", specifically African American and African Diaspora, historical research.

Interviews

New Orleans: Life and Culture Before and After the Hurricane

Even though I traveled to NOLA for this years' 2016 Mardi Gras celebration as a tourist, I was still engaged in "participant observation/s mode" (as I was still a graduate student researcher). Mardi Gras is also considered a local holiday in NOLA, which meant that all parks/recreation and governmental buildings were shut down during Fat Tuesday before the sunset of Ash Wednesday. However, it was not until I chatted with a New Orleans resident, who I was connected with through a family friend, during this past visit (from May 2nd to May 5th, 2016) that I learned that post-Hurricane Katrina Mardi Gras, in 2016, was not the same as previous Mardi Gras that had occurred during the days of Jim Crow legalized segregation. As it was explained to me, there, apparently,

was a "Black Mardi Gras" and a "White Mardi Gras." Prior to the building of the Claiborne overpass, during the late 1960s, the Black Mardi Gras (which included Creoles of color) started from Uptown, and it subsequently moved towards Downtown.

Additionally, my friend explained (that) the Mardi Gras Indians, also referred to as Black Indians, were not known outside of the Black community prior to Hurricane Katrina. Smith-Simmons made a similar statement:

> *Back in the old days Zulu and the [Mardi Gras] Indians were not part of Mardi Gras. Or white Mardi Gras, I should say. It was part of black Mardi Gras and black Mardi Gras happened on Claiborne street. We did not go to Canal street. Or St. Charles Avenue. Or pretty much anywhere else white people were celebrating.*[64]

The Mardi Gras Indians originated from the various Black longshoreman who worked in "gangs" along the docks. Interestingly, NOLA was one of the strongholds of the Marcus Garvey UNIA movement. The longshoreman assisted in shipping Garvey's newspaper "Negro World" to other regions of the African Diaspora, including Cape Town, South Africa, from the New Orleans docks.[64] The Mardi Gras Indians come out to celebrate only three times a year: 1) Mardi Gras day; 2) St. Joseph night; and 3) Super Sunday. Members of the Mardi Gras Indians design elaborate costumes and accessorize within beadwork from the Congo which are assembled throughout the year prior to the celebrations. During these three separate events, the Mardi Gras Indians travel between Uptown, Downtown, and the West Bank. Then, Mardi Gras represents various meanings for different people. Yet, Mardi Gras, like other forms of "American culture" also must be understood as heavily influenced by an African Diasporic and creolized energy, essence, and contribution. In other words, Mardi Gras has much more meaning and significance than becoming inebriated and lifting up your shirt to grab some beads...

I also learned that Mardi Gras, in the segregated "Colored/Negro" community, from the Jim Crow era up to pre-Hurricane Katrina, was very much a family-oriented occasion which included folks "grilling and BBQ-ing" throughout Claiborne Avenue. However, the building of the freeway system decimated the already segregated Black neighborhoods and destroyed the majority of Black commerce and businesses along Claiborne Avenue. Local civil-rights activist Dodie Smith-Simmons explained Claiborne Avenue formerly: "Oak trees lined the neutral ground, businesses and homes, churches, so it was like a real neighborhood."[64]

This included barrooms that were created specifically for establishing an underground market to take care of Black New Orleans' citizens who were restricted from obtaining insurance and other services/amenities from White businesses. Funding was provided to take care of costs to perform proper burials of family and kinship networks in the neighborhood. Other forms of business occurred in the back of the barrooms, out of fear of inspections from White NOLA police officers who were often affiliated with the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). Edgar Chase III, aka Lil' Dooky, son of the local-favorite "Dooky Chase's, Since 1941" restaurant owners Leah (known as the "Queen of Creole Cuisine") and the late Dooky Jr., states that, intentionally or not, racism was a factor in the interstate being built over Claiborne Avenue:

> *People don't know that they're making decisions on race, it's unconscious that they are…But the power that they have tends to favor those who look like them. Power doesn't flow to those who really need it but it flows to those who are a certain color who already have power.*[64]

Not unique to NOLA, and similar to other cities throughout the U.S., the freeway system was a strategic plan that furthered Black marginalization and ghettoization throughout the 1950s and 1960s. When my 87-year-old interviewee and I drove around the 7th Ward, she was shocked by the drastic-change of the neighborhood. She explained that many of the houses in the area are

nonexistent. On every block, she exclaimed, "*Oh my word!!! Umph, umph, umph……*" She made it clear that this 7th Ward is not the same 7th Ward she remembered, as a former resident, during segregation. Hurricane Katrina has also contributed to further changes in the New Orleans landscape, both environmentally and demographically. However, she was not sure if these homes were destroyed due to Hurricane Katrina or if these homes and businesses were torn down prior to the construction of the expressway during the urban renewal periods of the 1950s and 1960s. Urban renewal and suburbanization occurred simultaneously throughout the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s. Many 7th Ward residents who were afforded the opportunity to move the suburbs, did so.

The 87-year-old's nephew explained that a lot of 7th Ward residents moved to the New Orleans suburb, Gentilly, also referred to as the *New 7th Ward* (due to the large amount of former 7th Ward residents who moved out of the old neighborhood), a few minutes north of the Old 7th Ward. (6) His family specifically moved to Pontchartrain Park neighborhood in 1955. (7) He further explained that Pontchartrain Park was a huge development for African Americans that opened in the early fifties since it was built for GIs coming back from World War II. (7) However, his cousin explained that Gentilly Woods:

> *…was a White subdivision. And the neighboring subdivision, not separated by anything but a local canal, was the Black subdivision, Pontchartrain Park. And we didn't work together, we didn't walk together. You couldn't walk through this area to get [to the] Black subdivision. Didn't have a bus system. And…if you walked through here, you probably got beat up, eggs thrown on you, and the police stopped you.* (7)

His family moved to Pontchartrain Park, in 1965, during the end of the legalized segregation era. Although laws were passed for civil rights, acts do not change the mindset of the people who were conditioned to apartheid living conditions.   Since many 7th Ward residents were young

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professionals, and educated, numerous middle-class 7th Ward residents with growing families moved to neighboring suburbs. When I asked if there was any Creole identity left in the 7th Ward, the nephew answered that "…just like most areas of New Orleans close to downtown after the late seventies when people started moving to better areas…those neighborhoods became primarily rental properties." (12) He further explained that, in the eighties, "…a whole different…segment of the population moved in…all the drug activity that came with…you know, crack-cocaine and all that stuff, it affected that neighborhood just like every other inner-city…" (13) His cousin further added:

> *…their parents died, and the grand-parents died. The properties were sold, and they…set up livin' in other states. They couldn't make any money here. And, some, intermarried, you know, White people, and you couldn't bring 'em back down here. You woulda got arrested. And, as time went on, education changed the faces of, the Creole neighborhoods. I mean, I stayed-it was still Creole after Katrina, everything got washed out, and people got mis-placed…* (8)

Creoleness and Space as Discussed by New Orleans Natives: Inclusion versus Exclusion

Through the process of snowball sampling, I was able to connect the family of one of my interviewees. The extended family members included his 87-year-old aunt and her son. All of them were born and raised in the Seventh (7th) Ward. However, the majority of families have since left, some during various periods of the Jim Crow era, and a massive amount of families left at the height of Hurricane Katrina. The matriarch made it clear that the Creoles in the 7th Ward were segregated from both Whites and Blacks, and she further explained that among Black New Orleans residents, the Creoles of color were different from non-Creole Blacks who lived in Uptown, which bordered the 7th Ward along Canal Street. However, the 87-year-old matriarch explained that

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many men from the Tremé/6th Ward suburb of the French Quarter, married 7th Ward women broadening the community. Her son explained:

…if you wanted to meet a girl, you had to go by their house, and you sit down there. And the daddy might talk to you. He might not talk to you. And all the children sittin' on the sofa with you when you lookin' at TV. It took you about thirteen visits before you even went out with 'em. And you ain't getting no kiss. And everything was arranged…" (18)

The majority of 7th Ward families were traditional and conservative. He comically stated that, "We went to church every day, Monday through Monday." (19) He also discussed that there were:

…Creole communities, and it was [a] different culture…Yeah, it was separate. It was different…I can say that it was [a] Black community, but way back, you didn't say Black. It wasn't [a] Black community, it was Creole communities, and Negroes. You called anybody Black, you had to throw down. (12)

His mother further discussed that the 7th Ward was a tight-knit community; it was one in which everyone knew each other, and it was frankly a claustrophobic space, because she stressed that there was not any type of privacy due to the level of closeness among various families. She continued to refer to the 7th Ward environment as "sick" and jokingly-exclaimed that, "…we are some complicated niggas!"

However, she explained the positive memories of the 7th Ward during segregation: "…we had our own doctors, pharmacists, law practices, craftsman…almost a damn clan…almost self-sufficient…" If residents were not involved in craftsman and carpentry professions, families stressed to their children to become educated and attend college for the betterment of their lives. It was family tradition for extended family and friends to help build houses during the weekends.[64] The importance of heritage, inheritance, and maintaining multi-generational wealth was tradition within the typically 7th Ward family. As stated by my 87-year-old interviewee's nephew:

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...my mother's family, my great-grandmother built the house, a shotgun double, in the Old 7th Ward...and it was just family tradition, whoever married in the family would live on one side and my great-grand parents always lived on the other side...So my mother, my uncle, grew up in the house. I have cousins, all grew up in the house...When my parents married, they lived in the house...My great-grandfather told my grandfather, who was his son-in-law, 'Hey, save your money, build your house.' (6)

The nephew made it clear that *Creoleness* for him in the old neighborhood "…didn't really [have a] label…It was part of the neighborhood that we identified with. But…it's definitely a culture." (20) Additionally, the 7th Ward community's life was centered, and revolved, around Catholicism.

As stated in *The Josephites and the African Community*, "The city of New Orleans was long recognized as a natural focus for the missionary efforts of the early Mill Hill Fathers and their successors, the Josephites."[64] The 87-year-old's son explained that Catholics of different races and cultures did not mingle together. He stated that in "…Uptown you got…an Italian Catholic church on side of the street and directly across the street, you have an Irish Catholic church. They didn't visit each other." (15) Due to Jim Crow era racism, Creoles of color were restricted from siting in the front pews of their former Catholic churches due to their racial-classification as *Colored*. Then, out of protest, many families moved their worship space to Corpus Christi-Epiphany Church, located along 2022 St. Bernard Avenue, a church that has served the 7th Ward community for over 100 years. Orchestrated by Reverend Samuel J. Kelly, S.S.J., in 1916, Corpus Christi was specifically established with a territory to serve African American/Black Catholics from the Mississippi River to Lake Pontchartrain (five miles) and from Ursuline Avenue to the downtown boundary of New Orleans. (12)[64] Since September 24, 1916, the entire 7th Ward community were wholly-baptized and married at Corpus Christi-Epiphany Church.[64] Current Corpus Christi Pastor, Josephite Father Henry Davis, who is also of New Orleans Creole heritage,

asserts that "the church and its location here in the Seventh Ward has always been connected with a very proud, traditional, Catholic people…There's a great sense of ownership of the parish."[64]

Likewise, Leah Chase explained that her father was a staunch Catholic and made it clear to her that she was not to associate with non-Catholics, regardless of their race/ethnicity.[64] Although, Chase was raised outside of New Orleans, in Madisonville, Louisiana, her heritage is tied with NOLA.[64] Hence, religion, in this case, Catholicism, at the time, was primary to Creole culture and identified as a signifier in terms of "who is" and "who is not" Creole.

Though my interviewee from the 9th Ward explained that although he was raised Baptist, he later converted to Catholicism. Perhaps his interaction with the Creole of color and strictly-Catholic community, and working as a teacher at a Catholic school in New Orleans contributed to his religious conversion to Catholicism. His wife explained that her experience was different in Uptown since her neighborhood was predominantly African American and Protestant, as she is religiously-affiliated with the Baptist community. She discussed issues within her family as one of the lighter-skinned members in her family. They both stressed that colorism is much deeper than simply "Black versus Creole", because colorism often occurred within families, whether Creole or non-Creole. However, she explained that her memory of colorism occurred during high school. She made it clear that "darker-skinned people were looked down upon." Interestingly, she explained that most Black people outside of the Creole community referred to all Creoles of color as *Passe Blanc*, which described people with fair-skin, European-features, and "good hair", but, more importantly, she associated the term with Creoles who did not view themselves as either Black or White, but "Creole."

Humorously, Chase discussed that she is always asked "who are and/or what happened to the Creoles?" responding that, "the Creoles married those Uptown Negroes… there aren't any

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more Creoles! Thank God for that."[64] In other words, she referred to some of the Creoles as folks who were thought to be a better stock of Black people, superior to non-Creole Blacks, specifically, "Uptown Negroes." As Chase stated, "…they tended to…they had that elitist feel about them."[64] Similar to how many upper-class White people viewed working-poor Whites, derogatorily-referred, at times, as "poor White trash", a classist term created by White-elites–the same group that created race ideology and established colorism among non-White groups.

Put another way, the Creole Blacks were conditioned into the divide-and-conquer ideology to believe that they were "different", and they lived their daily lives in a way to adhere, and more importantly preserve, the ideology. On the other hand, it was also accepted from non-Creole Blacks, as they too were conditioned into maintaining the divide-and-conquer philosophy. "It was what it was", and, in some cases, "still is." Chase referred to how many Creoles of color staunchly-adhered to their "Creoleness" as "funny."[64] The distinction made between the Creoles themselves and the "Americans" met with disapproval from William Pickens and Walter White, two national leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), when they visited "The Big Easy" in the 1930s.[64] In 1934, while at the Autocrat Club, Pickens exclaimed that "I hear you are trying to have three races here in New Orleans. [In] most other places, we have trouble enough with two races, with three races here you must be having a regular picnic."[64]

Four years later, White stated, in front of a crowd, that "Negroes and Creoles maintain a division in New Orleans that is a definite hindrance to progress."[64] Whites' comments were met with "murmured objection" from the nearly one-hundred social, professional, and business leaders who gathered to hear him in a banquet at the Rhythm Room.[64] The 87-year-old's nephews clarified that:

The only reason they let him into the 7th Ward, 'cause he had darker skin…was because he had good hair…So you hear about the paper back test…and honestly, most of the people

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that lived in that neighborhood looked like us…It was a certain…tone of skin are lighter…and, certain texture of hair. And, that's what was acceptable in that neighborhood. (11)

Métissage maintained the colorism practiced through the action of "paper bag tests" restrictive fraternal orders, and societies such as the "Autocrat Club" as well as various balls that occurred during the Jim Crow era. The nephew further explained that "…you go to the Seventh Ward, and everybody's your cousin…Because all those families intermarried…and that's pretty much the story of my family. Both sides of the family are from…within blocks of each other." (12) Similarly, his cousin, the 87-year-old's son explained that "…everyone intermarried, and intermingled, and the…culture stayed the French culture, the Spanish culture, the English culture, those were the majors. But you had an influx of Asians and Hungarians, and Germans, and Jews…Cubans…" (3) Self-segregation within an already segregated space was conflictingly maintained for the purpose of holding onto an uncertain legacy that was restrictive, from the beginning as being a people of African descent.

The spatial boundaries between the wards was pivotal to clashes among people who were viewed as either insiders or outsiders. This supported the nephew's statement that Creoles are:

> *…not separate from being Black, but, part of the reason it existed is because most of those people were not accepted in the White community or the traditional African American community. So, they kinda created their own space, and then…when that happens, people tend to…stick within their community…* (12)

These spatial boundaries contributed to the cultural-cohesion of the various neighborhoods, and cultural-friction, that occurred when people entered different wards. I also felt that it was important to interview New Orleans natives that have either moved away from the NOLA region and/or were not affiliated with the 7th Ward or Creole of color community. Again, through the

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process of snowball sampling, I was able to interview a married-couple. Both are educators, and New Orleans natives, who married in 1998, and have since resided in Atlanta, Georgia. Interestingly, although both were born within the city limits of New Orleans, the husband and wife were raised in two different wards. The husband is originally from the downtown/9th Ward neighborhood, and his wife was raised in Uptown. It was interesting conversing with them because they had two different experiences due to the varied neighborhoods where they resided. The husband explained that he had experienced encounters with both the Creole of color and middle-class African Americans, because he was raised in "the projects" an unofficial term for "public housing." He also clarified that the 9th Ward was mostly middle-class, above Canal Street, and poor, below Canal Street; he referred to New Orleans as, "a tale of two cities."

He experienced a mixture of colorism and classism as a former 9th Ward resident. Also, he stated that frictions tend to arise when people "leave their comfort zone." He further asserted that people who were not from the 9th Ward viewed the entire ward as "lower-class." In essence, the spatial-boundaries within the specific ward were the security-net for each of the specific residents within those neighborhoods. My 87-year-old interviewee's nephew explained that:

> *…during the eighties and nineties…that whole meaning of ward became something different because when it became associated with the neighborhood, gangs so to speak…New Orleans technically never had gangs…because that's how people identified themselves…the violent stuff…Eighth Ward versus this ward. Ninth Ward versus that ward. There were songs made about it, you know. That was when Bounce music was comin' about."* (19)

In other words, the various wards were "mini-cultures" within the main New Orleans-culture. However, the married couple humorously discussed how they have to explain a lot to their children, who are Atlanta natives, regarding the cultural-uniqueness of NOLA, such as the Mardi

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Gras Black Indians and the Zulu Parades that occur, during Mardi Gras, when they visit NOLA for family visits.

A former 7th Ward and Gentilly suburban-resident explained that he was familiar with the boundaries, Churches, community centers, municipal governments, schools, and other services located within the 7th Ward zone. On the other hand, a 76-year-old interviewee was born in a Chicago hospital, raised in Atlanta, and had little knowledge of the 7th Ward, NOLA environment. I asked her the question, "How strong is a Creole identity in New Orleans?" She responded, "I am not quite sure." (2) However, the former 7th Ward resident identified his father as a Creole, as opposed to the Atlanta resident who stated her grandmother Creole-identified. As explained by the former 7th Ward resident, Creole-ness referred to someone who was:

> *Passionate–a real driven group of people who define themselves and how they want to be referred…Because even to go through, 'well you know I am Creole'–it feels so pretentious sometimes, you know, or I will make sure that there is a distinction because I am not Black, I am 'Creole'-quiet as it is kept, that is what that is about.* (4)

He was explaining his personal experience from within the environment, and margins of my target site location, which still resonated with him throughout the interview. Similarly, the 76-year-old Atlanta resident discussed the spatial boundaries and distinction(s) between the 7th Ward and the 9th Ward as, "…heavily African American." (3) Consequently, the former 7th Ward resident explained how Creoles chose to marry non-Creoles:

> *…it was taboo. And I used that word specifically because my mother was not Creole, you know because my father was Creole and he did not look Black–it just mattered that he was not Black and that they were together…I remember the dirty glares and that was in the seventies ('70's).* (4)

Marriages between light-skinned Creoles, usually women, and dark-skinned non-Creole African Americans, usually men, were often described as "mixed" marriages.[64] Although, his father was a

"light-skinned Creole", and his mother was "Black" Dominguez's assertion supported his explanation of how he felt in his own terms, and distinguishing between "Creole" and "non-Creole," based on his lived experiences within the 7th Ward, NOLA. However, the 87-year-old's son explained that "…a Black man, or a Creole boy if he…didn't look White, he couldn't marry a White girl or vice-versa. Now…a White man could have a Black woman have children with 'em, nothin' happen to 'em. But, that's just the way it was." (12) He further stated that by the late 1960s, we "…said it loud, 'I'm Black, and I'm proud'…but everybody was *Colored* back then." (12)

Similarly, in the article "Creole is, Creole ain't: Diachronic and synchronic attitudes towards Creole identity in southern Louisiana," Sylvie DuBois and Megan Melancon assert that when asked how they identify themselves (American, African American, Creole American, Creole, or other), the majority of the respondents selected the African American label, regardless of their linguistic ability in Creole French.[64] Yet, my 87-year-old interviewee's nephew clarified that most the old Creole French language has faded. He stated that his:

> …*great-grandmother spoke French…and, her sisters, my great-aunts spoke French. But my grandmother tells me, the only time they spoke French was when they didn't want the kids to know what they were saying…so that language totally died in my grandmother's generation. She said she had one aunt that was persistent, that tried to teach them…* (23)

Similarly, Chase asserted that the Creoles of color, which she referred to as formerly a "society" is, for the most part, non-existent in the twenty-first century.[64] Dubois and Melancon report that the younger and middle-aged respondents tend to adopt the African American label (70% and 68%, respectively) much more than the older generation (33%). [64] DuBois and Melancon explain that the far reaching effects of the Civil Rights movement, with its emphasis on *Black Power* strongly influences their middle-aged and younger interviewees.[64] Additionally, according the U.S. 2010 Census, the Black New Orleans population was over 50% (60.2%) which would produce a

chocolate city–an unofficial term used to describe a U.S. city that is 50% or more populated with African Americans.[64] Thus, the racial demographics in NOLA, and interviews of Louisianan citizens themselves, supports the argument that the essence of Creole identity is heavily influenced by remnants of multigenerational African Diasporic formations. Additionally, and paradoxically, within a racialized twenty-first century society, continuously-supported by White supremacy and the *one-drop rule*, Creoles of color and African Americans are viewed by the dominant society as the same due to shared African ancestry.

Gentrification: Further Displacement, Exile, & Circularity

Interestingly, my 87-year-old interviewee's nephew explained that the 7th Ward is, "…one of the few neighborhoods that's left, that isn't being…regentrified, that -gentrification is not goin' on…" (13) He further continued to explain that the 7th Ward is "…prime real-estate 'cause noone's touching it yet..." (13) He made it clear that he would like to, "…own a piece of the Old Neighborhood." (14) I explained to him that if he had property in the old neighborhood, at least he would be able to have more of a voice for preserving the essence of the historic 7th Ward community within a post-Hurricane Katrina space.

However, gentrification efforts of former pre-Hurricane Katrina, and predominantly African American neighborhoods, have been replaced by market-rate housing, coffee-shops, and amenities catering toward predominantly middle-class, predominantly White, patrons. My 87-year-old interviewee's son explained that "…gentrification, and…I think as a result of Katrina, and floodin' in New Orleans. New Orleans was like a bowl of Cheerios, and you just pour the milk on top of it. Everywhere had water but everybody didn't get water on their property." (8) His cousin added that, "…it's just a totally different place now." (15) One of my interviewees asserted that what has not changed are the job positions of Black people within the hotel industry. Most of

the minimum-wage service jobs, such as doormen, domestic workers, cooks, and waiters/waitresses are held by Black people. This was true during Jim Crow and after. Although gentrification is occurring throughout the U.S., in New Orleans, these efforts appear more disgraceful, because, in retrospect, Black exile was started by a hurricane that wiped out the former residents and resulted in an opportunity for private-sector stakeholders and conservative New Orleans policymakers to rebuild, and, therefore, specifically serve a different racial- and economic-demographic. One of my interviewees asserts that post-Katrina gentrification efforts have brought in more Whites moving into neighborhoods that, prior to the hurricane, were predominantly Black. The wife of the husband and wife couple I interviewed explained that what makes her upset is how many of the Whites have also become more involved in the Zulu Parades, donned in *blackface*[64], which she asserts was unheard of prior to Hurricane Katrina.

Gentrification and cultural-appropriation are intersectional occurrences that contribute to diluting (which should be read as whitewashing and taking over) the original space of Black and African Diasporic culture in New Orleans. The mainstream diminishes the value of the particular.[64] Then, gentrification furthers the superficiality in maintaining an ideology of New Orleans as an American tourist center. This occurrence also contributes to the well-known saying asserted by the oppressed: *"the mainstream society loves the culture, but not 'the people' that created the culture."*[64] The nephew of my 87-year-old interviewee explained that "there's one…old Creole business that…is supposed…to be redeveloping right here on Saint Bernard…is Vaucresson sausage…right across from the Autocrat…it's like a second…or third generation business." (16)

New Orleans native Vance Vaucresson, family owner of Vaucresson's Sausage Company, who describes the 7ᵗʰ Ward as the "Mecca of '*Creole culture*'" states "what comes with

gentrification? Property values rising. Property taxes rising. Insurance rising to the point that Creoles of color generationally can't afford to live there."[64] My 87-year-old interviewee's son added that, "…people just started movin' and people couldn't rebuild. They…couldn't get money, or they didn't have insurance. This never happened before…You had floods here, you had hurricanes, it didn't last but a day or two." (9) He continued that, "New Orleans had ten projects, and that was on the books in 1997 to tear the projects down. I'm sure that was 8,000 people. Now where…do you put all 8,000 people…So, they wanted it gone, and they wanted them gone." (9) Scholar-activist Angela Glover Blackwell explains that the government's failure to respond was not just because people were Black, or they were poor; people were left in that crisis because they were Black and poor.[64]

The value of not only Black life, but the impoverished residents of all races and ethnic groups were ignored during times of need. Sadly, as stated by a former Lower 9th Ward New Orleans African American resident who lived in public housing, expressed his feelings of the gentrification that occurred throughout his former neighborhood: *it makes you feel horrible. It makes you felt like you weren't worth the investment.*[64] So, it stands to reason, post-Hurricane Katrina gentrification contributes to the perpetual circularity of people of African descent, people exiled from their former residences, and this only serves to maintain the White supremacist project.

APPENDIX

ENDNOTES

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[64] *Coding*: In my case, coding involved *hand coding* which included selecting key themes (age, family, inclusion/exclusion, race/ethnicity, New Orleans, etc.) by hand from the interviews for the purpose of creating measurable variables in order to cluster and input into SPSS for data analysis (Bernard 2011:300-304).

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[64] Dubois, Sylvie and Megan Melançon, "Creole Is, Creole Ain't: Diachronic and Synchronic Attitudes toward Creole Identity in Southern Louisiana," *Language in Society* 29, 2 (June 2000), 253.

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[64] Brasseaux, *French, Cajun, Creole, Houma*, 2005.

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[64] Race and population demographics for the U.S. Census are conducted in ten year increments. Thus, the statistics has perhaps fluctuated due to Hurricane Katrina which led to the evacuation of several New Orleans citizens including a significant number of African Americans (*The African Americans*, 2013).

[64] Blackface was popular during the late 19th and 20th century, in which White actors/entertainers (and later African American actors/entertainers) apply dark-Black make-up and white makeup placed on the lips contributing to making fun of supposed "African Americans" which contributed to the racism directed towards the African American community during the Jim Crow era.

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CONCLUSION

Sure, I got a French name! But, they say I'm Black!
See my skin? I don't look Black…
But, they say I'm Black, so I'm Black.

Excerpt from *Creoles of New Orleans*

The Black man rules the land.
The White man owns the land.
By the way of the land is the Coloured man.

I'm Not Black, I'm Coloured

Researching how Blackness and spatial-boundaries shape identity formation, among the New Orleans Creole of color, and Westbury, South African Coloured communities, is still pertinent in the era of twenty-first century post-racial ideology. The historiography of the colonial period treated Africa primarily as an extension of Europe; this occurred primarily because of its widespread use of European concepts as well as adhering to a Eurocentric point of view.[64] Since Jim Crow and apartheid have ended, post-Civil Rights era America, and post-apartheid South Africa, appear, (on the surface) to have expelled racism, especially since there are past and current administrations with Black presidents in office—the former U.S. President Barack Obama and the current South African President Jacob Zuma, respectively. Yet, sociologist Joe Feagin argues that:

> *…[t]oday, there is a general denial in the white population that [people of African descent] have contributed much to American (or western) development and civilizations. This denial is part of contemporary racist misunderstandings of the reality of the history of the west.*[64]

In other words, racism continues to exist because people (consistently) rely on the ideology of race and the pathology of Blackness; they adhere to the mainstream American and western narratives of history as safeguards for maintaining White supremacy. Socialized-Others, at times,

take on the minds of the oppressor; they project self-loathing within themselves, and they are prejudiced towards others within their own socialized-group(s). Moreover, there are people who exist (and live) through illusion/delusion and others who seek/acquire knowledge for physical and mental liberation. However, either "freeing the mind" or remaining "mentally-enslaved", at various periods of time and space, are both modes for survival within a racist society.

Since the nation's "founding", the U.S. has incorporated laws as a source of protection for orchestrating and maintaining White supremacy, as well as supporting race ideologies. The American narrative portrays a notion that the country was founded on individual liberties; but, in actuality, the U.S. was built on group histories, people have been included as groups, excluded as groups, and enslaved as groups.[64] Democracy and racism have been mutually-constitutive, and they have shaped each other within the U.S.[64] However, the reality of democracy was contrary, because all bodies were not treated or served/protected equally. The infamous U.S. Naturalization Act of 1790 stated:

> *all free white persons who, have, or shall migrate into the United States, and shall give satisfactory proof, before a magistrate, by oath, that they intend to reside therein, and shall take an oath of allegiance, and shall have resided in the United States for one whole year, shall be entitled to the rights of citizenship.*[64]

The majority of African-descended Americans, at this time, were still enslaved (and subsequently viewed as three-fifths of a human).[64] During the Reconstruction era, from a political standpoint, there were debates among the White-elite as to "what to do with" formerly enslaved African Americans. Some government-officials thought of sending Blacks back to the Africa continent.

The majority of African-descended peoples, which included Creoles of color, were born in the Americas and they had ancestors who were in the Americas for at least three centuries before the wave of European immigration to Ellis Island, New York (during the nineteenth and early

twentieth century). Although European immigrants were considered non-White, upon their entrance to Ellis Island, throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Black Americans were never allowed to assimilate into Whiteness because of race ideology.

The eugenics movements[64] in the U.S. and Europe, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; racial violence (rape, lynchings, and pogroms) in the Jim Crow era U.S.; and the *Scramble for Africa*[64] in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which involved warfare, ethnic cleansings, confiscation of land, and banishment of indigenous populations to government, established reservations in order to support colonialism. These various catastrophes that the European and western powers penetrated on people of color and ethnic groups perceived as "the Other", such as Jews, Muslims, Arabs, and Armenians, ensued throughout the world. These events essentially formed a new world order focused on the objective for global White domination. Therefore, several nineteenth century and early twentieth century European and Euro-American scholars and social scientists supported several of these racist movements positioned on ethnocentrism and scientific racism–bias beliefs that Africans (and people of color, in general) were mentally-degenerate and biologically inferior.

The majority of Black Americans (and several members of African Diaspora), have little to no knowledge of their own history. The late African-centered scholar and psychologist Asa G. Hilliard asserts that Black people must claim their own creativity, and the process of studying ancient African history; only after they do, then conscious Blacks learn how western scholars destroyed African memory and African culture."[64] This mis-education is not merely a lack of education; but it is a lack of critically-thinking, analyzing, and/or questioning what is being taught and determined as fact by the teacher (and, in the same vein, is assumed as the truth by the learner).

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The late Carter G. Woodson, known as the *father of Black history*[64], affirms that the western academy "…has been the education of Negroes. They have been taught facts of history, but have never learned to think. Their conception is that you go to school to find out what other people have done, and then you go out in life to imitate them."[64] Again, as discussed throughout this dissertation, adhering to the White logic: *Europeans display a unique mental vitality and purpose, that Europe is the fundamental source of new ideas, and that both Europeans and non-Europeans agree that this is the normal and proper order of things.*[64] The Europeanization of human consciousness has allowed for people of color to not have the power to view history critically; then, if a person studies "uncritically", there is not anything residual except for a western perspective.[64] With critical- and conscious-thinking, comprehending history will take on a different form of analysis.

Historically-speaking, the Civil Rights Movement was essentially the ethnic cauldron that melded Black New Orleans into a single whole (to a greater extent than it had been since the colonial era).[64] The younger generation/s of Creole descendants abandoned their Creoleness (and identified with their Blackness) due to the reality of how Jim Crow marginalized the entire Black community in order for White-elites to maintain racial hierarchy and socioeconomic control. Hence, as a cohesive unit, the Black community was asserting agency in order to demand equal rights as New Orleans citizens.

Black New Orleans residents of both French and American ancestry were connected based on their shared African ancestry, and their second-class status, and they were never viewed as *equals* to Whites (Creole or American) throughout the various periods in New Orleans and American history. As Thompson asserts, "Du Bois portrays the African American consciousness as a Creole terrain, a tension-filled place where competing formulations of racial and national

identity vie for relevance."[64] Thus, the anticipation for Black Creoles to become *American*, in the

Jim Crow era, was a failure, because Americans of African descent in the U.S. (which included

Black Creoles in Louisiana) were restricted from assimilating and integrating into the late early

twentieth century American society based on social constructs of the color line and the American

societal position of Blackness. In other words, once the Jim Crow laws were in affect within the

American South, distinction(s) between the Creoles of color and Black Americans became blurred

(since all people who were of African descent were considered a racial-underclass who adhered

to the one-drop rule).

Legalized-segregation in the southern United States, constructed on race ideology, allowed

for representatives of individual states the authority to discriminate against African Americans

without ramifications from the federal government. Thus, individual southern states were able to

maintain White superiority and autonomy through the support of restrictive laws enforced by the

state governments. Omi and Winant argue that, "most racial theory fails to capture the centrality

of race in American politics and American life."[64] Put another way, the "idea" of race is embedded

within the society and the political system. As stressed earlier in this chapter, an individual's life

chances within society are determined by their physical appearance, which includes phenotype,

skin-color, and racial classification. Similarly, Delgado and Stefancic contend that Critical Race

Theory (CRT) questions the very foundations of the liberal order, include equality theory, legal

reasoning, Enlightenment rationalism, and neutral principles of constitutional law.[64] CRT theory

tries not only to understand the social situation but, it seeks to change it; it sets out not only to

ascertain how society organizes itself along racial lines and hierarchies but it intends to transform

it for the better.[64] The late Derrick Bell, one of the originators of CRT theory, asserts, in the 1992

publication, *Faces in the Bottom of Well*, the following:

Indeed, the racism that made slavery feasible is far from dead in the last decade of twentieth-century America; and the civil rights gains, so hard won, are being steadily eroded. Despite undeniable progress for many, no African Americans are insulated from incidents of racial discrimination. Our careers, even our lives, are threatened because of our color. Even the most successful of us are haunted by the plight of our less fortunate brethren who struggle for existence in what some social scientists call the 'underclass.' Burdened with life-long poverty and soul-devastating despair, they live beyond the pale of the American Dream. What we designate as 'social progress' is not a solution to the problem in a particularly perverse form. (3)[64]

Bell articulated how institutionalized-racism (specifically White supremacy) is incorporated into, and embedded within, the law; also, it seeks to understand how it contributes to "the persistence of racism in America."[64] Since the U.S. (along with South Africa) are racialized societies, laws were put in place since those nations' founding(s) for the purpose of maintaining social order.

Bell also articulates ways the U.S. (and western powers in general) tend to use racial symbols in order to portray an illusion that the U.S. is post-racial.[64] Such as President Lincoln, known historically as the great liberator, who "freed the slaves"; the various federally-mandated civil-rights acts (1964; 1965; 1968); the memorialization of the late Martin Luther King, Jr. with his "I Have A Dream speech" (1963) as the great-integrator; and the nomination of Barack Obama as the first African American President of the United States. These various milestones in U.S. history have contributed to an ideology promoting the idea that the U.S. is not a racialized society. Colorblindness, and post-racial viewpoints, simplify the complex history of the U.S. and trivialize the reality of White supremacy. Hence, post-racialism contributes to the idea that our society has moved on from the past and into a peaceful and pleasant future.

From a global perspective, various forms of post-racialism have taken on various systems. For example: in South Africa, the African National Congress (ANC) has come to power under

the banner of *non-racialism*, and, in the U.S., the tide seems to have turned against race-based compensatory policies toward "color-blind" constitutionalism.[64] Color-blindness is supported within the U.S. government and South African parliament as argued in CRT theory grounded on institutionalized-racism. Much as Jim Crow racism served as the glue for defending a brutal and overt system of racial oppression in the pre-Civil Rights period, colorblind racism serves, today, as the ideological armor for a covert and institutionalized system in the post-Civil Rights era, and this new ideology has become a formidable political tool for the maintenance of the racial order.[64]

Wise's concept of *post-racial liberalism* (which ties into Bonilla-Silva's frame of *abstract liberalism*) is inadequate for remedying persistent racial inequities–those inequities are themselves too often the result of racial discrimination and race-specific injuries perpetuated by Whites against people of color. They are not, as post-racial liberalism insists they are, the result of race-neutral economic cultural factors; applying "universal" solutions to said inequities will likely fail to fully ameliorate them.[64] This racist tactic of post-racialism, the false notion that not all Americans see race, and live in a color-blind society, was created and implemented during the Nixon Administration also known as the Southern Strategy.[64] Alexander explains that one of Nixon's key advisors, H.R. Haldeman, recalled that "…Nixon himself deliberately pursued a Southern, racial strategy: 'He [President Nixon] emphasized that you have to face the fact that the whole problem is really the [B]lacks. The key is to devise a system that recognizes this while not appearing to'."[64] Therefore, post-racism is effective because of its lack of overtness and creates an effort for victims of racism to challenge.

After the various civil rights acts (1964; 1965; 1968) were passed, code words were used to refer to Black people without using the word *Black*. For example, during Reagan's campaign, not-so-subtle code words such as "welfare queen" and "criminal predators" were used, in a

colorblind manner, in order to camouflage the racism directed towards the African American community.[64] Again, these colorblind terms perpetuated the old racist stereotypes of the Black community as lazy and a threat to mainstream society. The Reagan campaign provided "…appeals, targeted to poor and working-class whites…Reagan's racially coded ["War on Drugs"] rhetoric and strategy proved extraordinarily effective, as 22 percent of all Democrats defected from the party to vote for Reagan."[64] The Republican Party, acting on behalf of White-elites, was capable of deceiving mainstream American society through promoting fear and maintaining social control.

The society's truncated public discussions of race suppress the best of who and what we are, as a people, because they fail to confront the complexity of the issue in a candid and critical manner.[64] Race is a global phenomenon; yet, various experiences pertaining to race are embedded in our psyches as a dialectic among the socialized-*Others*, and universality and colorblindness are adhered to by the privileged group and the powers that be.[64] Bonilla-Silva asserts that when Whiteness becomes normative, it works like God: "in mysterious ways".[64] In other words, White supremacy has bestowed White privilege to a select few, and this has allowed those groups the privilege of viewing themselves as "normative" and "mainstream."[64] The media (historically and currently) has played a vital role in perpetuating stereotypes of various categorized-groups that contribute to how Whites view or perceive people of color, religious-minority groups such as Jews and Muslims, and members of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer (LGBTQ) communities——even if mainstream society does not interact with these groups on a personal level.

In the post-racial era in the U.S., the government has implemented measures that contribute to a system of mass incarceration that keeps the racial hierarchy system in place. Additionally, Whites are also victims of the class system, because many impoverished Whites are also part of

the *Prison-Industrial Complex*.[64] However, a disproportionate amount of non-Whites in the U.S. prison system reinforce racial divisions.[64] Robert H. Jordin, Jr. states that, in some communities, the number of prisons built are based on the number of students that do not graduate from high school.[64] Furthermore, Alexander argues that: "[o]nce you're labeled a felon, the old forms of discrimination–employment discrimination, housing discrimination, denial of the right to vote, denial of educational opportunity, denial of food stamps and other public benefits, and exclusion from jury service–are suddenly legal."[64]

In the post-Jim Crow era, and within an ideological position of post-racism, the pathology of Blackness continues throughout academia, politics, and mainstream society. Remnants of nineteenth century scientific racism further seep through, such as the late Richard A. Hermstein and Charles Murray's 1994 publication *The Bell Curve*. *The Bell Curve*, argued the connection between IQ scores, intelligence, and race, was reinforced by the eugenics theory that supported Black inferiority.[64] Additionally, the late U.S. Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia stated (that) many African Americans are simply not ready for accelerated academic rigor, and they should be contained in remedial courses.[64] Also, the new U.S. president's campaign-slogan, "Making America Great Again" was about dismantling President's Obama's 2008 campaign slogan "Hope and Change". The narrative of the 45th U.S. president, Donald Trump's slogan, "Making America Great Again", is about destroying the small steps of progress our ancestors have made within the long Black freedom struggle towards obtaining real freedom; clearly, it is not a philosophy of hope or freedom. Trump's slogan signified the tragic-reality of adhering to the status quo of White supremacy.

White supremacy continues, because of people in places of power (and White privilege) who are given a platform to inject racist rhetoric. Science has since proven that there is no such

thing as race(s) of people. We are one human race. As scholar John H. Bracey, Jr. asserts: *racism is the failure to look into the face of any other human being and see yourself.*[64] Generally speaking, Whites are awarded the privilege within a race-hierarchal society to assert the notion that racism does not exist, because racial-oppression does not affect them within their individual lives. In other words, Whites can say that since racial-oppression does not exist in their world, then racism does not exist. Then, out of fear, keeping the masses (including Black folk and people of color) within society ignorant (either through monitored or biased media) monitoring the education system and cultural institutions maintains the racial- and social-hierarchal order.

In the U.S. context, mainstream America has had (and continues to have) a problem with the politics of mainstream Black America.[64] West suggests that a prophetic framework should replace Black cultural conservatism with Black cultural democracy—instead of authoritarian sensibilities that subordinate woman and degrade gay men and lesbians, Black cultural democracy promotes the equality of Black women and men and the humanity of Black gay men and lesbians.[64] West's recommendation is similar to that/those of CRT theorists who suggest the vitality of African Americans collaborating with other intersectional communities, such as the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered, and Queer and/or Questioning (LGBTQ) community(s), and feminist groups, in order to demand liberation and justice in a holistic manner. Yet, racialized class antagonisms continue to occur within our society. An abundant quantity and quality of public goods and services continue to support middle-class, affluent, and White neighborhoods, as opposed to supporting areas that are predominantly occupied by African Americans and Latinx.

In New Orleans, the marginalized neighborhoods that are separated from the French Quarter, with a predominant Black population (which includes Black Americans of Creole ancestry) were the most critically affected by the cataclysmic Hurricane Katrina on August 29,

2005.[64] African American New Orleans residents living in concentrated poverty often earn barely more than $20,000 a year, and concentrated poverty is the product of decades of public policies and political measures hardship.[64] Perpetual hardship contributes to continuous socio-political consciousness among people who are affected—in particular, people of color. However, former Black Panther Party (BPP) president Elaine Browne argues that "we have come to the point that we have forgotten to think about why we are here in the first place…we [as Black people] are willing to suffer our own ongoing oppression without any resistance."[64]

Socio-political movements that fought for social change dissolved, and many people involved with the struggle either were assassinated or *went underground* due to the fear generated by the nation-state. The nation-state feared that these social movements would overthrow the governments that have continually-benefitted from Black (and other socialized-*Others*) peoples' suffering since the nation's founding in the U.S. and imperial Europe's penetration into the African continent, circa 500 years prior. These revolutionary movements posed a threat to the power retained via the state. Direct colonialism has largely ended, and imperialism lingers where it has always been, in a kind of general cultural sphere, as well as in specific political, ideological, economic, and social practices.[64] In fact, it was colonialism that essentially underdeveloped the African continent: "African and Asian societies were developing independently until they were taken over directly or indirectly by the [western] capitalist powers."[64] African states were not resisting modernity; Continental Africans were counterattacking the colonial project of European exploitation and oppression.

The colonial tactic of divide-and-conquer, which has been the driving force for maintaining White supremacy (since the fifteenth century), has perpetuated further xenophobia and polarization among Africans (which allowed for the minority community of educated Africans

to remain dependent on the colonial power for individual success). *AngloAmerican* South African Company[64] owns several properties, throughout South Africa, for the purpose of mining production (rooted during colonial South Africa) which is still one of the leading forms of economic productivity and sustainability in the regional South African market. Therefore, economic sustainability, rooted in colonialism, persists today in post-apartheid South Africa. The contemporary state is a neoliberal state represented as small and weak due to a shift from market-based solutions of problems and propensity to privatization of its functions.[64] The nation-states of the twenty-first century still operates within, and depends on, capitalism as a mode of maintaining political autonomy. The neoliberal state governs (in part influences) the valid objectives of governance and the institutional infrastructure within which our lives take place.[64]

This infrastructure governs through a drive for containment, by zoning bodies, to certain spaces (or by criminalizing bodies deemed "out of place") regardless of whether we are speaking of consumerism or criminalization.[64] Policed-bodies of African, Latino, and Indigenous descent, particularly within spatially-marginalized and inner-city areas, at times monitored by predominantly White police units, are further incidences of institutionalized-racism rooted in the history of race relations and White supremacy in the U.S. For example, Angola Prison, located on a former plantation, and situated a hundred and forty miles northwest of New Orleans, is the country's largest maximum-security prison in the state that imprisons more people per capita than any other in the United States.[64]

The global *prison-industrial complex*[64], which depends on convicted labor for profit and the privatization of services such as education, health care, and other amenities purposed to serve the public, causes further division between the elite, upper-middle classes, and the working poor —a population composed disproportionately of people of color in both the U.S. and South Africa.

In post-hurricane Katrina New Orleans, governmental distribution of wealth, and resource hoarding from private-sector markets, continues to support goods and amenities overwhelmingly provided in suburban and predominantly White neighborhoods.

Moreover, the French Quarter, the area least affected by the hurricane (but also the home for American and international tourism) was financially-supported during the aftermath of Katrina. In the Lower Ninth, Ninth, Eighth, *Tremé*, and Seventh Wards located closest to where the levees broke, and where the hurricane ravaged those areas, predominantly affected African Americans (including people of Creole heritage). Further, governmental cutbacks affecting schools, lack of investments in Black-owned businesses and resources, crime-ridden neighborhoods, and economically devastated and blighted areas, exacerbate existing problems in predominantly African American neighborhoods in the New Orleans region.

In both the U.S. and South Africa, the nation-states project also adheres to the ideology of post-racialism—the notion that we, as a society, have moved past race. In both contexts, the enactments of the Civil Rights Acts (1964; 1965; 1968) and the abolishing of apartheid with the ANC replacing the National Party in 1994 have eliminated *de jure* racism. However, institutionalized-racism continues to exist within the twenty-first century. Paradoxically, institutional-racism is also enforced through the federal, state, and local governments in the U.S. as well as within the multiple provinces and parliament in South Africa. Presently, there are no overt laws such as "racially-designated" *de jure* neighborhoods which occurred during the colonial and Jim Crow periods. However, "racially-segregated" *de facto* neighborhoods, residential areas established during the race-regime periods, remain in place.

These *de facto* areas are plagued with poverty, police brutality, high unemployment rates, lack of (or low-quality) goods and services, and "food deserts." Also, local governmental

shutdown of several public high schools, increased high school dropout proportions among minority youth, and disproportionate incarceration rates among juveniles and adults, furthers social spatial- boundaries within the United States and South Africa. In New Orleans, although the 7th and 8th Wards and *Tremé* were historically known as the "Creole enclave," distinguishing who is, and who is not, Creole is much harder to discern in the twenty-first century. Creoleness is now viewed more so as a culture and lineage as opposed to a race of people. Yet, there are many Creoles of color who still cling to their heritage as their central identity. Additionally, efforts to recover from Hurricane Katrina still continue.

The 100-year-old Corpus Christi-Epiphany Church continues to hold Mass, and it launched the 7th Ward Community Center, located on the church grounds, in the summer of 2015. The center provides additional resources, and sanctuary, for 7th Ward residents. Also in place are other organizations and online communities, such as CREOLEGEN, LA CREOLE, and the Louisiana Creole Heritage Center (housed at Northwestern State University of Louisiana).

In the South African context, based on the qualitative data collected and presented in Chapter 3, Coloureds continue to feel isolated (and considered an in-between group) within the ANC-governed South Africa. Many Coloureds agree with the assertion that they were *not White enough during apartheid, and are now, not Black enough, in ANC-governed South Africa*. Part of this claim is due to economics and perpetual marginalization.

South Africa remains under-housed, with the majority of the African population, and a sizable section of the Coloured population, residing either in shacks or in altogether substandard dwelling conditions.[64] Moreover, private landownership, outside of the urban areas, remains largely a White affair, and the legacy of racial inequality in this range seems likely to prove one of the most intractable to solve (short of wholesale appropriation of land/s).[64] Racial inequalities

in schooling attainment, income level, and employment status persist in post-apartheid South Africa, and racial residential segregation significantly determines the relative levels of educational attainment for Blacks and Coloureds.[64] Additionally, Blacks and Coloureds are less likely to receive health care in comparison to Whites and Asians.[64] Currently, in ANC-governed South Africa, the race ideology framework of the former regime lingers, because Coloureds are perpetually-isolated, and markets supply resources that continue to support the White minority in predominantly middle-class areas.

Although, South Africa adheres to non-racialism in ANC-governed South Africa, applications for jobs and universities (known as varsities, in South Africa) still use *Coloured* as a "racial" category for an applicant to select. The 1996 South African Census committee relabeled a category to "African/Black" (instead of just "Black") to distinguish between the Afrikaners and the indigenous Africans, both of whom refer to themselves as Africans.[64] However, the decision was made to maintain the "Indian/Asian," "Coloured," and "White" classifications, and the decision was justified by the claim that most people in the country recognized and understood the categories.[64] Many Coloureds, particularly invested in the BCM during the 1970s, politically-identified as "Black" with regard to the struggle. Mbele asserts what Black Consciousness had taught us: that it was the mission of the *system* for us to kill one another so that white people could continue to dominate us.[64] Instead of political movements that served "only *Black/African*, only "so-called" *Coloured*, or only *Indian/Asian* interests", uniting as an oppressed group established a socio-political consciousness of *Blackness*: meaning, joint members in solidarity in regard to *the struggle*.

However, many Coloureds identify as "mixed-race", and there are also Coloureds who identity as "African" due to their indigenous Khoisan ancestry. The former politically-radical

Coloureds feel betrayed by the ANC for not acknowledging their plight, and it essentially holds them within a marginalized and intermediate space of ambiguity. Like the South African census, the U.S. Census continues to require U.S. citizens to select their race (for documentation). Then, this leads to the question: *Why are race classifications still needed in societies that promote post-racialism or non-racialism?* Colouredness, in the South African context, is still rooted in race ideology that was enforced by the nation-states during the imperial and colonial eras. However, within the Coloured community, many leaders manage and facilitate community-development projects in order to improve opportunities for members of their communities.

Reginald Botha, CEO of Westbury Youth Centre (WYC), who works along with Tracy Dennis, coordinated and provided training sessions/workshops for entrepreneurs who wanted to take their startup businesses to the next level. This included workshops led by other entrepreneurs (such as the gardening workshop project), facilitating events for potential networking events, having guest speakers (such as myself) explaining the importance of establishing a/your brand, and planning your own "life journey" as opposed to following someone else's dreams.   The purpose of the WYC was to encourage and enlighten its members. The WYC staff promote the understanding that the world is their members' "oyster", and they have the opportunity to achieve a variety of dreams if they are ambitious and dedicated. Whether their members' goals are short term ones (training and taking their exams in order to obtain matriculation) or long-term ones, such as registering for classes at the varsity level, becoming an entrepreneur, or doing both, the WYC supports those endeavors. The aim of this project was to expand the horizons of Westbury youth and help them understand that there are more opportunities outside of the boundaries of Westbury. Westbury is an area formerly known as Western Native Township, and it was constructed during the apartheid regime for the purpose of ghettoization and marginalization not

only of racially-segregated groups, but also those marginalized from opportunity and restricted from improving their life chances within a race-hierarchal society. This project was one of several projects that Botha and Dennis are involved with the WYC.

Other programs at WYC include tutoring and temporary-housing for senior-level high school students who are preparing for matriculation. Botha explained that since many of the students come from extremely dysfunctional households, providing temporary room and board, a library, and study rooms at the dormitory (located within the center) provide an environment where students can study and prepare for their exams in comfort and solitude. Additionally, Botha explained that, since they have provided this service for the Westbury students, the matriculation-rate has increased from 35 percent to 80 percent within the 2015/2016 academic school year. As a researcher, to see WYC (and the youth affiliated with the center) grow, throughout my four years of study and volunteering at the youth center, gives me hope for a better future for the new generation of South Africans living in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Additionally, there is a growing population of Coloureds who are reclaiming their African-ness and indigenousness through the Khoi Liberation Movement, which involves former anti-apartheid freedom fighters such as Don Mattera and Leonard Martin, arguing that the ANC-governed South Africa still adheres to racial hierarchy that was established during the colonialism era, instituted by the British.[64] The objective of these socio-political movements of Black Theology, Pan-Africanism, Black Power, and Black Consciousness are to instill the consciousness of Blackness into all non-Whites (which included Afro-Creoles, Coloureds, and Asians), as it was *their duty* to join the freedom struggle as a collective for global liberation, regardless of the level of oppression individuals endured.

Through the importance of adhering to Pan-Africanism, and following the messages of former scholar-activists (such as Fanon and DuBois), the Khoi Liberation Movement is looking at how the vitality and importance of knowledge of the self is key to physical liberation. One profound and important statement that Dr. Leonard Martin made was the following one:

> *...you cannot have an Afrocentrism without the Khoisan or Coloured people, who are the descendants... 'Black Nationalism' has to include the descendants of the Khoisan people who are the oldest descendants of Southern Africa...A fabricated Blackness, a convenient Blackness and lack of not knowing the self, contributes to the White supremacist project.*[64]

Consciousness comes from an awakening, and development of empowerment, within a racially, culturally, economically, and politically marginalized group.[64] Thus, within Westbury, Coloured consciousness is centered on their socioeconomic status and isolation within the confines of the township. Several Coloureds of a higher socioeconomic status often move into affluent and overwhelmingly White neighborhoods. The leading cause of migration out of the Coloured areas is to escape crime, drugs, and other disparities that plague Westbury. Hence, further research will need to be conducted in order to investigate how Creoleness and Colouredness are articulated within societies that adhere to the politics and ideologies of post-racism.

White supremacy/racism continues to be viewed within a cis-gendered, male-dominated/-privileged, and hetero-normative/-sexist lens, which excludes and silences women of color, and people of color who are also members of the LGBTQ community; accordingly, it adheres to gender and sexuality bias. Also, the perpetual circular nomadism of African Diaspora peoples, whether forced or voluntary, and throughout various periods of time, place, space, and context, contributes to the blurred consciousness of identity formation that allows for White supremacy to remain in place.[64] From an academic perspective, the *intersectionality* framework should

incorporate the different disciplines (such as History and Sociology, along with Africana Studies and other various Ethnic Studies, LGBTQ Studies, Women Studies, Gender and Sexuality Studies, etc.) and utilized as a paradigm for praxis.

My dissertation builds on the work of scholars of Afro-Creole heritage, Coloured South African intellectuals, African Diaspora scholars, historians, sociologists, psychologists, Black feminists, critical race theorists, literary scholars, poets, and other intellectuals within academia and within the movement. My work reflects the importance of "being on board"; it stresses how important it is to think critically in an intersectional positionality and create a paradigm that is based on a transformational approach that can be applied in the twenty-first century. My research matters, because twentieth century discourse pertaining to investigating the *Negro problem*[64] continues, in the twenty-first century, because of uninterrupted suppression of the Black and Brown body. Therefore, my future post-doctoral research will focus on redefining, rearticulating, and regenerating the epistemology and knowledge production in Africana Studies and Historical Sociology. This research will also involve creating new forms of discourse, and it will remain up-to-date with the changing times within society–whether attuned to technology, socio-economic, political, and social media outlets in the twenty-first century and beyond. Then, unity, empathy, compassion, and respect of difference should be the objective used to strive for "oneness" within humanity.

APPENDIX

ENDNOTES

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[64] Alexander, *The New Jim Crow*, 44.

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