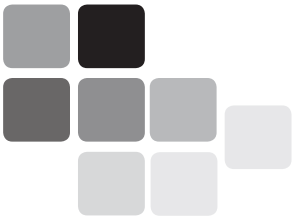
# A Community On the Move

## BELONGING AND MIGRANCY IN THE CAPE



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It seeks to advance dialogue and social transformation. Through research, analysis, community intervention, spirited public debate and grassroots encounters, the Institute's work aims to create a climate in which people in divided societies are willing to build a common, integrated nation.

The Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum's mission is to commemorate the Migrant Labour System and the history of hostel life in South Africa, and to create an historical and cultural research centre for all levels of academic and social realms. The museum aims at alleviating social illiteracy and unemployment amongst township residents, particularly the youth, and to trigger a consciousness about the past.


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# Foreword

The sharing of stories and lived experiences is an enduring part of the South African identity dating back to pre-colonial and colonial times. During the struggle against apartheid, stories such as detention without trial, mysterious disappearances and acts of resistance played a unifying role in drawing South Africans across the divides together. Post 1994, as communities redefine themselves in a democratic society, the search for ways to articulate their stories - both past and present - as a means to heal from the divides of the past becomes more crucial.

Nation-building in our young democracy requires opportunities for South African voices to be heard, particularly those from the margins of society, so often excluded, ignored or forgotten. During the first decade of our democracy the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) created a national platform for these necessary conversations to emerge. Through the public TRC hearings, many South Africans for the first time heard intimate personal testimonies revealing the far-reaching and devastating effects of Apartheid.

The TRC provided an unprecedented opportunity to hear and understand the heartfelt and previously ignored narratives of victims, perpetrators and bystanders alike. A truth not heard before, particularly but not only by white South Africans, emerged. Once revealed, this truth made it impossible for anyone to deny the apartheid atrocities, minimize their effects on the nation and its people, or even to continue justifying those events. But despite the recording of over 22 000 statements by victims, most stories remain untold at the end of the TRC process.

With the generous funding of the Department of Arts and Culture, the **Memory, Arts and Culture Project** provides a platform for some of the voices not heard through the TRC proceedings to share their stories. Different to the TRC initiative, the **Memory, Arts and Culture Project** fosters the sharing of personal truths through the medium of the creative and performing arts. In this way, the histories are not simply observed from an outsider's perspective, but internalized, 'claimed' and honoured by each creative process. Everyone can, through these projects, become part of the process of understanding, respecting and healing.

The **Memory, Arts and Culture Project** is essentially a peace-building one. Very importantly, this project leads to arts which are intended to be shared; it leads to engaging the wider community in the history through entertaining and provoking them with the arts produced.

The Memory, Arts and Culture Project has three components of which this book reflects one: *A Community on the Move: Belonging and Migrancy in the Cape*. The other two components, *Stories I Remember: A Northern Cape Heritage* and *Songs Worth Singing, Words Worth Saying*, focus specifically on the restoration of particular art genres which form part of the South African heritage.

This resource guide sets out to assist artists to promote nation building by using community research as the basis for the development of a variety of art genres. The Institute views this resource guide as an example of good practice and trusts that it will be a stepping-stone for the development of similar home-grown initiatives.

Executive Director:
Dr Fanie Du Toit

# 1
# About the project

## Introduction to the project

The intention of this project is to complement the well-established historiography on migrant labour with extracts from living memory – and to highlight the plight of a community whose identity is mainly based in the Eastern Cape, but whose survival depends on finding employment in the often brutal conditions of the Cape Flats through art. By bringing the forgotten margins to the centre, this project asks and answers the question: Who are the people in the taxis that file back and forth through the Huguenot Tunnel, ferrying thousands of people on a weekly basis across the thousand kilometres between the Eastern and Western Cape? How shall we remember them?

To examine the dynamics of this often forgotten group, residents of the township Lwandle in the Western Cape were invited to share their memories of life as migrant workers during and after Apartheid with over forty interviewers. The translated transcripts were used as the inspiration for a range of art productions in several creative genres.

For the story tellers of Lwandle, the year-end imbizo hosted by a project partner, the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum, was an acknowledgement of their existence and their contribution to the economy of the Western Cape, especially during the apartheid years.The museum was flooded by story tellers eager to have their stories retold in the classrooms of South Africa through the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum's education programme.



Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum

Participants explored two important topics: firstly, how the movement of migrant workers between the Eastern Cape and Cape Town was affected by the migrant labour system under the apartheid government, and secondly, the legacy of the forced migrant labour system in the Western Cape after Apartheid. The gathering of the oral histories was the first important component of the project.

However, the next steps were to make use of the material gathered in a creative context. The driving idea was that the stories should be expressed through a variety of art media. By engaging with the stories and interpreting them as works of art, the participants in the project were enabled to understand the stories and think through them not as objective outsiders, but as respectful participants in a creative process. The stories of others became the stories of their South African community.

How, then, were the oral histories used to inspire the artworks? Through separate and sometimes parallel artistic initiatives developed from the shared interview-transcripts. These included:

- the writing of stories based on the interviews
- artistic depiction of scenes from the interviews, through the medium of screenprinting
- screenprints transformed into useful everyday objects – the shopping bag
- the collaborative production of a drama script based on the interviews
- choreography of ballet pieces
- a photography project

Stories of the migrant workers were written by youths of Langa, Lwandle and Bonteheuwel. The stories and paintings depicting migrant life were screenprinted onto fabric by a group of fifteen unemployed youths from Lwandle and Langa. Women from the communities of Pinelands, Langa and Bonteheuwel met for eight consecutive Monday mornings to sew the screenprinted panels into shopping bags. While only one painting was selected for the shopping bag project, the young artists from the Lwandle community contributed to a collection of twenty paintings in total. These paintings are on exhibition at the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum, as a permanent tribute to the workers.

With the help of playwright and producer Fatima Dike, five Langa-based drama students collectively wrote a play based on the transcripts from the interviews with the migrant workers. The play, *AmaJoiners – Migrant Labourers,* tells the story of life in the hostels and the effect migrant conditions had on relationships. The Cafda Youth Dance Company facilitated workshops for six ballet dancers who were encouraged to use the transcripts as source material for the choreography of ballet dances. The performance entitled *Siya Phezulu, We Are Climbing Higher*, emphasized that although migrant workers faced tremendous hardships, they were like any other South African community, a body of people who are trying to improve their lives. The photography workshops resulted in the development of story boards and pop-up banners, which will be used by the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum in their School Outreach Programme.

The objective of this resource guide is to demonstrate how community-based research, collected by means of an oral history methodology specifically developed for oral history, can be used as source material for the creation of a variety of arts and culture resources. The material used in the resource guide stems from the learnings gathered during the implementation of the project.

Project participants were community-based workers and learners selected across age, race, gender and cultural barriers from the Western Cape communities of Bonteheuwel, Langa, Grassy Park, Pinelands, Retreat and Lwandle. Various workshops, ranging from basic oral history methodology and writing to art-specific workshops, were conducted during the months of July to September 2006 at different locations across the Cape peninsula.

The following art workshops were conducted with participants:

- A series of visual art workshops facilitated by Garth Erasmus
- A basic photography workshop facilitated by Faizel Brooks
- Writing skills workshops

- Dance choreography workshops facilitated by Wendy Abrahams of Cafda
- Scriptwriting workshops facilitated by Fatima Dike and the Siyasanga Theatre Company
- Sewing classes facilitated by Phambile Nge Thembe of the Pinelands Methodist Church
- An introduction to screenprinting, facilitated by Abubaker Williams

Faizel Brooks

Garth Erasmus

Fatima Dike

Following the successful art workshops in 2006, the Institute hosted two group interviews with members of the Lwandle community to foster understanding of how the legacy of the forced migrant labour system continues to affect post-Apartheid society, particularly in theWestern Cape.

Young professionals and students from the Eastern Cape now residing in Cape Town took part in this first group interview. This group shared their experiences of modern-day migrancy to Cape Town and discussed whether the city is indeed 'A Home for All' who choose to live in the province. The second group interview explored the experiences of members of the Treatment Action Campaign, focussing on their current HIV-positive status, which informed their decision to migrate to the Western Cape. The group interviews sought to understand the broad social and economic effects of the migrant labour system in Cape Town.

## How to use this resource guide

Teachers of History, Life Orientation, Dance, Drama and Art, as well as community-based art facilitators and project leaders will benefit from this particular resource. This guide is not intended as a practical teaching tool for the various art genres. Instead, its strength lies in its potential to assist art practitioners in using community-based research, based on oral history methodology, and dialogue forums to develop art pieces.

History educators will find that this resource guide is aimed at providing them with ideas and models to take an oral history project further than the initial interview phase. Learners are assisted in using the interview transcription as resource material to write stories, produce dramas and photographic narratives. Because the translation of the resource material to other art media requires a high level of skill and comprehension, educators are guided to the assessment of learners' understanding of the oral history project.

Life Orientation educators will benefit from this guide because the models and methodologies used are applicable to all its learning outcomes. The interview transcriptions may be used to assess learning outcome 4 (physical development) by using them to choreograph and perform a dance, for example. Likewise, this model can address learning outcome 2 (dealing with personal development) if learners, for instance, use the transcriptions to develop a photographic narrative. Art practitioners are encouraged to use oral history as a viable method to engage learners in using art as a vehicle to interrogate the past.
The process followed during the implementation of the project is explained in text boxes throughout the guide providing a step-by-step approach for similar initiatives. Briefly the project concept involved the following phases:
**Phase 1** Research
**Phase 2** Consultation with possible stakeholders
**Phase 3** Oral History Training
**Phase 4** Implementing Oral History
**Phase 5** Using transcriptions to develop art
**Phase 6** Presentation – A storytelling imbizo

Most importantly, this project highlights the responsibility of all South Africans, not least educators, to participate in and contribute to the ongoing discourse on nationbuilding. It provides simple and practical suggestions for the realisation of the broader goals of peace-building, understanding and transformation. We recommend that educators select a similar topic and follow the project implementation plan highlighted in the text boxes of the relevant chapters to facilitate the process of learning in their own classrooms and communities.

**Phase 1** Research

This phase included research on two levels. Firstly, research regarding possible partners, service providers and stakeholders was undertaken. It is important that the community supports the project and regards it as beneficial to the community. At the beginning of this project, the project leader met with the Lwandle Museum Board regarding the scope of the project, possible storytellers or interviewees and possible interviewers from the Lwandle community. At these meetings, decisions were taken regarding the selection criteria for interviewees, stipends granted to the interviewees and the logistical arrangements. The interviewers included members of the BonteLanga Community Healing Forum. Consequently, meetings were held with the forum to discuss the project and the role that the forum would play in the project.

In other situations, the interviewer may only require the permission of the interviewee. Interviewees have the right to know what the project is about and how the interview will be used. One should provide the interviewee with as much information as possible and invite him/her to participate in your research.

With this research, the project leader was able to conduct the second phase which focussed on consultation with relevant stakeholder groups. The second kind of research was aimed at providing participants with information about the topic: A community on the move: Migrancy and Belonging in the Cape.

Before embarking on the actual interview process in an oral history project, it is important that the participants understand the research topic. Bear in mind that Apartheid thrived on keeping people of different races and cultures apart. In the Lwandle community, for instance, the participants' understanding of 'migrancy' and 'belonging' needed to

be unpacked before interviews could be arranged with the former migrant workers in that community. The first workshop with selected interviewers used the research mentioned below to help them understand the oral history topic.

**Workshop 1:** Understanding migrant labour in South Africa
This workshop relied on group work activities. After unpacking the group's understanding of key concepts, their insight was enhanced by exposing them to the historical background of migrancy in South Africa.

## Defining migrancy

Migration is an age-old, worldwide phenomenon. The dictionary defines migration as 'the movement of a person or animal from one region, place or country to another'. Often migration is brought about by a personal or group decision based on social, geographical and environmental reasons. Historians and paleontologists have researched and documented the migration of Stone Age and Iron Age communities in Southern Africa. The movement of the Khoisan seeking land for grazing, favourable weather conditions as well as sources of food as part of their hunter-gatherer and pastoral lifestyle could be contrasted with the southward migration of the Nguni, a people with more settled communities with livestock and crop cultivation [1].

History teaches us that the decision to migrate is most often influenced by political and economic factors beyond our control. In this chapter, we will explore the history of the South African migrant labour system and its impact on the lives of migrant workers before and during the apartheid era, with specific reference to the Western Cape region.

The next chapter will discuss the lingering effects of the legislatively enforced migrant labour system in post-Apartheid South Africa. It will focus on

1. H.C. Bredekamp, "The Origin of the Southern African Khoisan Communities" in Cameron, T. and Spies, S. B. (eds.), *An Illustrated History of South Africa* (Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1986), p. 28-30.

interviews with former migrant workers who have made Cape Town their home. The views of young professionals and students who have migrated to the Cape after 1994 will provide insight into the legacy of the migrant labour system and how it continues to influence South Africans.

## Migration before Apartheid

The migrant labour system was gradually imposed on the South African population in precolonial times through the indentured labour system. During colonial times in the Cape, both the Dutch and later the British colonial powers who initially relied on slave labour, became dependent on forced labour as the need for labour increased.

The social stratification of people began by preference being given to those who had converted to Christianity and not necessarily people who were lighter skinned [2]. In the 1700's the Khoisan lost their land after they had been weakened by exposure to European diseases for which they had no immunity, and by working for the Dutch at the Cape. At the same time, the Khoisan had formed alliances with the Xhosa on the Eastern Frontier, in the hope that the alliances would strengthen their vulnerable position at the Cape in the face of the advancing colonising European powers. The response of colonial powers to these local alliances was to offer the Khoisan on the Eastern Frontier land and employment in order to diffuse a stronger alliance of resistance.[3] In effect, this was one of the wedges which split indigenous inhabitants from one another, by granting preference and privileges to one group over another.

Although the Dutch later relinquished control of the Cape to the British, the demand for labour continued as well as attempts to control the source of labour. The end of the slave trade in 1807 created a huge demand for an accessible, controlled and above all cheap labour force at the Cape. In 1809 the Cape governor, the British Lord Caledon, passed a charter restricting the movement and place of employment of the Khoisan and freed slaves at the Cape. This charter was very similar to the later pass system which controlled the movement of people and

2. I. Goldin, "The Poverty of Coloured Labour Preference: Economics and Ideology in the Western Cape", *SALDRU Working Paper No. 59* (Cape Town: South African Labour and Development Research Unit, 1984).
3. Ibid.

bound them to labour contracts.[4]
As part of consolidating their control of the Cape, the British executed a policy of land dispossession of the Xhosa, driving them out of the Cape, northeast beyond the Fish River. The land they lost was given to white settlers. Several wars waged against this land grab were fought from 1811 to 1878 and are known as Wars of Dispossession. Notably, this era marked the start of reserved land for the Xhosa in Transkei.

In 1828, Ordinance 50 reclassified freed slaves as 'freed coloureds'. Under this law, 'freed coloureds' were no longer required to use passes and enjoyed the freedom to choose employment. Unlike the rights given to 'freed coloureds' under Ordinance 50, Xhosa people under Ordinance 49 and the Masters and Servants Ordinance of 1842 were subjected to restrictions and classified as 'non-coloured'. This social division of people – now based on skin colour and not on religious affiliation as before – was used as a further attempt to diffuse an alliance between the Khoisan and the Xhosa at the Eastern Frontier in order to maintain the colonial power base at the Cape.[5] This was a strategy of 'classify, divide and rule'.

One such example is the devastation after the cattle-killing in 1856. After a vision which Xhosa prophetess Nonqawuse believed was from her ancestors, she informed her leaders that if they wanted to end colonial rule then they had to obey the instructions of their 'ancestors.' In her vision she was told that all cattle had to be killed, all grain destroyed and fields were to be left untilled. Her prophecy not only caused division amongst chiefs but brought starvation and left large tracts of land available. Many left their lands in search of food and labour enabling the British to provide immigrants with these vast tracts of farming land. Some historians believe that the 'vision' was a strategy conspired by the British keen to take control over Xhosa land and labour. Irrespective of the historical perspective, the cattle-killing enabled the British to enact a precursor to the pass law system which came into effect during Apartheid because parliament then legislated six Acts which controlled the movement of Xhosa people.

The discovery of gold in 1886 brought about the emergence of a capitalist economy in SouthAfrica, and an increase in the demand for gold on international markets. In South Africa, the discovery of diamonds and gold influenced the migration of labourers, mostly men, to South Africa from neighbouring African

4. I. Goldin, "The Poverty of Coloured Labour Preference: Economics and Ideology in the Western Cape", *SALDRU Working Paper No. 59* (Cape Town: South African Labour and Development Research Unit, 1984)
5. Ibid.

states (Angola, Malawi, Tanzania, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe). These foreign men worked alongside South African black migrant labourers. In addition, white labourers were brought in from England, while Indians came as indentured labourers on sugar plantations from the 1860s.

White English labourers were not subjected to the same discriminatory conditions as black workers, while coloured and Indian workers were not employed under the migrant labour system at all. By 1900, the land dispossession had resulted in the creation of 'reserves' for the Tswana, Pedi, Zulu, Xhosa, and Venda people. With the establishment of the Union of South Africa after the Anglo-Boer War (1899 to 1902), British imperialism, aimed at united white rule over South Africa, could be realized.[6]

Gradually, with the onset of industrialisation and a capitalist economy in South Africa, natural urbanisation occurred as people moved to cities in search of economic opportunities. The South African government attempted to make cheap labour available in order to sustain its emerging economy. Black communities were taxed, which created challenging conditions for land ownership and tenure. However, these measures did not ensure sufficient cheap labour. The South African state assisted the Chamber of Mines in seeking higher numbers of cheap labour. Recruiters were employed to find labourers in Mozambique. After the Anglo-Boer War the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association was established by the South African state to assist the Chamber of Mines in the recruitment of labour.[7]

The mining industry secured labour through agreements with neighbouring states, and pass laws were used to ensure that these labourers remained within the geographical mining areas. Black South African workers were subject to the same restrictions as foreign African workers. Black labourers were forced to live in males-only hostels and their labour contracts only allowed them to return to their families in the rural areas periodically. Hostels on the mines were divided by ethnicity, maintaining divisions amongst black migrant labourers.

6. T. Keegan, "Imperialism and the Union in South Africa", *Turning Points in History Book 3: Migration, Land and Minerals in the Making of South Africa* (Johannesburg: STE Publishers Ltd, 2004).
7. Ibid.


Men left their rural homes to find work in the urban centres

The first draft of the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 allowed the state to control the urbanisation of blacks, and this served formally to enforce the migrant labour system. Access to urban areas, which were reserved for settlement by whites, was limited to black workers in possession of passes. Migration of black workers to urban areas was controlled by keeping employment temporary and controlling the movement of male labourers back to their proper homes, which had been defined as being those in the rural homelands of South Africa, not in the cities. Any urban black person was seen as temporarily located there, away from his or her natural 'home' in the homelands.

In rural South Africa black males were recruited to work as contract migrant labourers in urban mines, agricultural and industrial work centres. They were required to move to their place of work and leave their families behind at their rural homes.

In addition to the escalation of profit-driven needs in an increasingly capitalist South African economy, political rights of South African blacks were further curtailed through restrictions on land ownership, on the right to vote, and differentiating between the political rights of the black and coloured populations through granting the franchise only to coloureds at the Cape.[8]

## An overview of the racist laws which affected migrant workers

In the early 1900's some coloured people were classified as white if they were of a certain socio-economic class and had 'white' physical features. Further discrimination was exercised by white trade unionists who allowed coloured tradesmen to flourish economically. In resistance to state discrimination based on race, black and coloured political movements were formed. One of the main groups in the Cape coloured population was the African People's Organisation (APO) led by Dr Abdullah Abdurahman. In solidarity with black resistance groups this organisation advocated privileges for the coloured community.[9]

Under genl J.B.M. Herzog's Pact government segregation laws were passed giving coloured males the right to vote while denying it to blacks, thus aligning coloureds and whites against blacks. This division in political power was met with protest from black as well as coloured political groups, leading to the first non-European conference in 1927. It was chaired by Abdurahman of the APO and Sol Plaatjie. A decision was taken to unify the black and coloured groups in resistance against the government.

During this time the Coloured Labour Preference Policy was gaining momentum in the Cape. Marian Lacey states that motivation for this preference for coloured labour in the Cape was to counter the need for cheap labour at the mines of the north, which was being drawn from the black communities of the Eastern Cape. Goldin adds that the effect of the Great Depression in 1929 on the availability of work for whites at the Cape led to the government restricting black labour at the Cape.[10]

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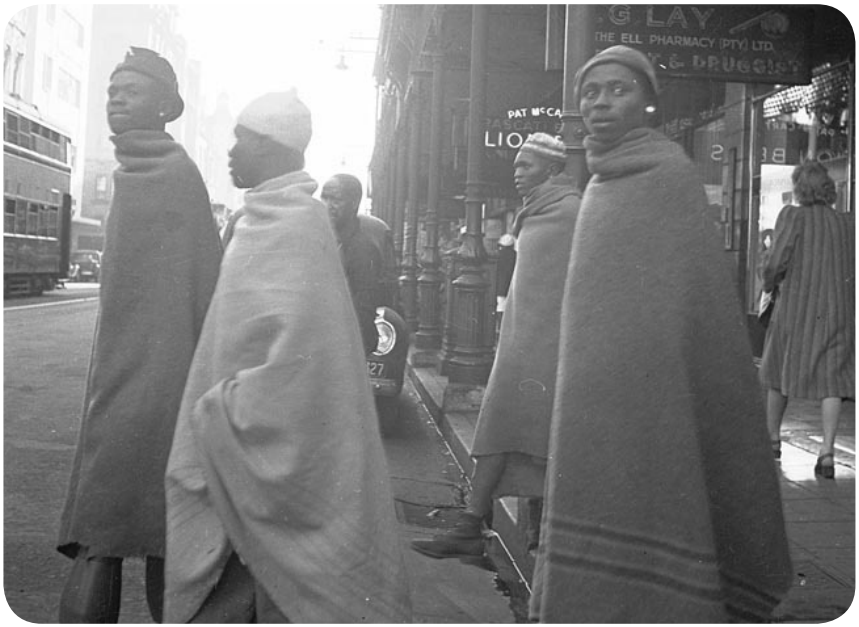
8. M. Legassick and F. de Clercq, "Capitalism and Migrant Labour in Southern Africa: the Origins and Nature of the System", in Marks, S. and Richardson, P. (eds.), *International Labour Migration: Histories and Perspectives* (London: Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1984)
9. I. Goldin, "The Poverty of Coloured Labour Preference: Economics and Ideology in the Western Cape", *SALDRU Working Paper No. 59* (Cape Town: South African Labour and Development Research Unit, 1984).
10. Ibid.

Under the Native Urban Areas Act No. 21 of 1923 the first forms of influx control aimed at keeping black South Africans out of urban areas came into being. The law allowed for the building of hostels as living spaces for male migrant labourers from the South African 'reserves'. Thus migrant labourers were separated from their families for long periods of time. The aim was to maintain the idea of the 'reserves' as permanent places of residence for black labourers, and that urban areas were only temporary places of work and not their primary residences.

The Act resulted in the pass system under which blacks had to show a pass in order to access urban areas, which were solely for white residents. The Native Urban Areas Act was amended in 1930, allowing the state the additional power to forcibly remove blacks from urban areas. World War II led to increased urbanization by black South Africans, and the Native Urban Areas Consolidation Act of 1945 was therefore promulgated to facilitate the control of the urbanisation of blacks in South Africa. The act required that the employers of migrant labourers had to demonstrate that these individuals would return to the Eastern Cape once their contracts had been completed.[11] In legal terms, the economy's dependence on migrant labour was thereby entrenched.




A recruiting agency for black migrant workers

11. Ibid.

The 1948 election victory of the National Party heralded the enactment of apartheid legislation. Urban areas were racially segregated, with poverty-stricken black areas isolated to the outskirts of a city, completely separate from the white residential area.[12] The idea of the homeland areas or 'reserves' – the term previously used by the British – was to move black people to areas of their ethnic origin or where they supposedly came from. An artificial link was thus created between every black person and his or her designated homeland.

Areas reserved for the so called 'separate development' of blacks were expanded to incorporate black residential areas or townships in urban areas as well as on the outskirts of the Homelands.[13] Under the policy of separate development townships were targeted for removal from urban areas and these blacks were sent back to the reserves. The 1955 census indicated that 65 000 black South Africans were living in Cape Town, 75% of them in squatter camps.

In the 1950's is was still state policy to distinguish between foreign and indigenous black labourers in South Africa, and with the homeland system and the policy of separate development black South Africans in the 1950's and 1960's became foreign labourers within South African borders. Under the more structured segregation policy of Apartheid, people were further categorised as follows: foreign migrant, internal African migrant, internal African non-migrant, coloured, Asian or white'.[14]

## The Western Cape during Apartheid – A coloured job-preferential city

Like the former colonial and later the Pact government the National Party applied the strategy of winning over the support of the coloured population to diffuse the potential alliance between coloured and black South Africans.

12. A. Baldwin, *Uprooting a Nation: the Study of 3 million evictions in South Africa* (London: Africa Publications Trust, 1974).
13. Ibid.
14. M. Legassick and F. de Clercq, "Capitalism and Migrant Labour in Southern Africa: the Origins and Nature of the System", in Marks, S. and Richardson, P. (eds.), *International Labour Migration: Histories and Perspectives* (London: Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1984)

The National Party viewed Cape Town as the homeland of coloured people, and unlike black South Africans who were moved to the reserves, coloured people were allowed to stay in Cape Town.[15]

The National Party government adopted a 'Civilized Labour Policy' which assigned a hierarchy based on race for employment: whites were first considered for employment, then coloureds and then blacks. The policy of influx control of blacks to urban areas was enacted by the Cape Peninsula government's Notice 1032 of 1949 which declared that black job seekers were not allowed in Cape Town for more than 14 days per year.

The Section 27 Native Laws Amendment Act of 1952 made it compulsory for all black women in Cape Town to be registered, and only women with permits could be employed in the city. This act limited the number of women in the workforce, resulting in poverty stricken homes as the income of the male breadwinners was limited.[16] In 1950, the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act segregated the Cape Town community along racial lines. From then on people of different races were separated in work, living and social spaces.

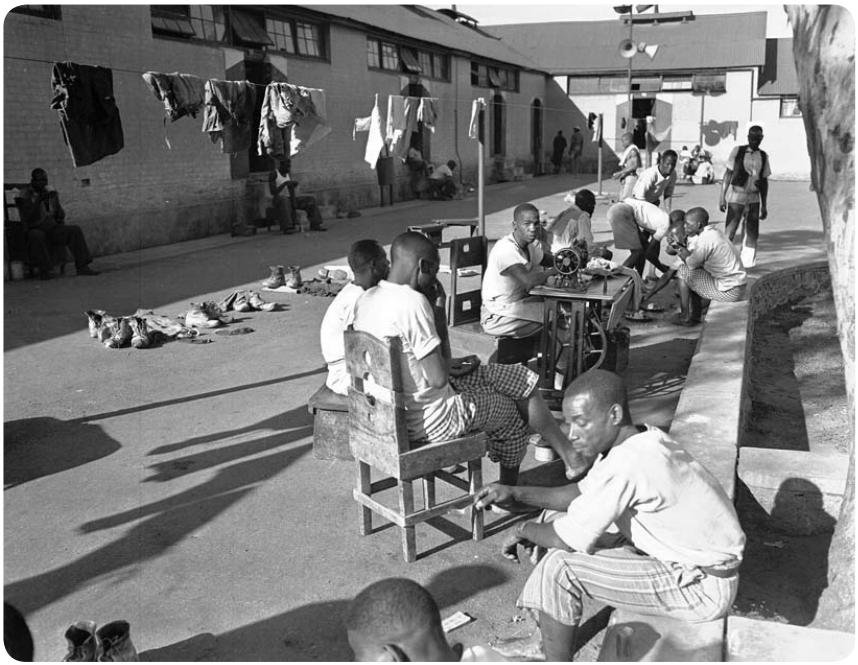
In 1954 the Cape Labour Preference Policy was consolidated in the Western Cape. In 1955 the Secretary of Native Affairs, dr W.M. Eiselen, outlined it as follows:

a) All Foreign Natives are gradually to leave the Western Province, and no more are to be permitted in this region.
b) The influx of Natives is to be strictly controlled.
c) The Union Natives already in this region are being screened with a view to repatriating the more newly arrived families.
d) The legally admitted remainder is to be housed in good rented quarters.
e) Where additional Native manpower is absolutely necessary, it should be obtained in the form of migrant labour, which can easily return home when its services are no longer required in the Western Province.[17]

15. I. Goldin, "The Poverty of Coloured Labour Preference: Economics and Ideology in the Western Cape", *SALDRU Working Paper No. 59* (Cape Town: South African Labour and Development Research Unit, 1984).
16. Ibid.
17. I. Goldin, "The Poverty of Coloured Labour Preference: Economics and Ideology in the Western Cape", *SALDRU Working Paper No. 59* (Cape Town: South African Labour and Development Research Unit, 1984. pp 10-11).

These measures taken by the state were met with resistance. The pass system, which was used as a measure of influx control, elicited popular uprising. The defiance campaign, in the form of strikes and stayaways, was a strong form of protest, and organisations like the Congress Alliance and SACTU were founded.[18] These actions made the Nationalist government revert to strategies of division between coloured and black communities at the Cape to avert a unified front against state restrictions and control. Between 1954 and 1962, more than 18 000 men and almost 6 000 women were by force removed from Cape Town.

In 1961 women were not allowed into Cape Town to live or work. Black women made up a very small component of the labour force in Cape Town. It was very difficult for them to find work and they were residents at the Cape in smaller numbers than men. They remained poor and dependent on men's income for their subsistence. Goldin states that the National Party government deliberately removed militant trade unionists and community leaders from the city.[19]



Living conditions in the hostels

18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.

In 1962 two parliamentary committees, namely the Standing Committee and Interdepartmental Committee, were established with the specific aim of implementing the Coloured Labour Preference Policy in the Western Cape, and the area to which this policy applied was expanded to include 68 magisterial districts. In 1964 the Bantu Labour Act further enhanced the power to the state to enforce this policy which legally obliged employers to employ coloured people in vacant posts. Only if they had proven that coloured labourers were not available could they hire black labourers, and contracts for black employees could not exceed a year. In 1967 the government announced that it intends to reduce black employment in Cape Town by 5% each year.

Businesses in Cape Town were fully supportive of influx control as a means of limiting the migration of black people to Cape Town. However, in many instances they expressed dissatisfaction at being prevented from using cheaper black labour for unskilled jobs. Their views were that coloured labourers demanded higher wages than their black counterparts and that coloured people were largely reluctant to do unskilled manual labour.

While there was support in the business community for influx control, there was also dissatisfaction about its strict enforcement in Cape Town compared to other parts of the country, because this resulted in Cape Town having a relatively low supply of cheap labour. Business also regarded coloured workers as lazy, prone to absenteeism and late-coming, as well as being expensive, and therefore preferred contracted and illegal black workers over permanent coloured workers. As a result, these black workers in the Cape were subject to low wages and long working hours. Their desperation to work and send money to the homelands compelled them to perform tasks which permanent black labourers and coloured labourers were not prepared to do. It was also easy to dismiss illegal workers.

Although employers faced a fine of R500 per illegal labourer employed, and illegal workers risked immediate deportation to homelands if they were caught, the illegal employment of black workers was widespread because businesses were able to bend the law and there was such desperation for work amongst blacks. This desperation for employment was the main force behind the migration of illegal labourers to Cape Town.[20]

20. I. Goldin, "The Poverty of Coloured Labour Preference: Economics and Ideology in the Western Cape", *SALDRU Working Paper No. 59* (Cape Town: South African Labour and Development Research Unit, 1984. pp 10-11).

## Living in Cape Town as a migrant worker during Apartheid

Influx control laws coupled with the pass law system prevented black South Africans from permanently settling in Cape Town, resulting in socio-economic and political challenges to the worker and his/her family. A direct consequence of these laws was the establishment of squatter camps in which the wives and children of migrant labourers lived. Before the hostel system came into being in the 1960's, migrant workers were restricted to coloured and black neighbourhoods such as Ndabeni, Kensington, Langa and Retreat. In the 1960's, however, the introduction of the hostel system placed even greater restrictions on the movement of male migrant workers. They were hereby forced to live in cramped males only communal quarters patrolled by hostel policemen. Married men were not allowed to live with their wives in these hostels, and it was not uncommon for hostel police to find women smuggled into the hostels by their husbands. Nor was it uncommon for women to live in the bushes near to the hostels or squat with strangers. Visiting hours over weekends were strictly monitored. Children had to receive permission to visit their fathers.

In the hostels, men had to do all domestic chores, and it was only much later, in the 1970's, that a series of protests resulted in migrant workers securing the right to live with their partners in the hostels. The hostel system fostered the Coloured Labour Preferential policy by restricting the movement of migrant workers and establishing Cape Town as the home for whites and coloureds.

It often happened that family members of migrant workers travelled from the homelands to Cape Town in search for their relatives, especially women looking for a husband. Extramarital relationships also played a major role in this state of affairs, and very often women had also had to leave their families in homelands after a husband's infidelity seeking employment. In other situations, the meagre wages of men left wives with no other alternative but to leave their children in the care of relatives and join their husbands in Cape Town.

Although black women had to settle in Cape Town in very bleak circumstances, many did find jobs as domestic servants. Those who were fortunate enough to qualify for passes could live on their employers' premises; others, who were unable to find alternative accommodation, built shacks, contributing to the rapid growth of squatter camps.

The apartheid regime went to great lengths to prevent black migrants from residing permanently in Cape Town, but in many instances migrants effectively found illegal ways to remain in or near the city, usually in very poor living conditions and vulnerable to social and economic exploitation because of their illegal status.

## Migrancy and Belonging in Cape Town today

Despite the change in apartheid laws, migration to Cape Town, particularly by blacks from the former homelands, has increased since 1994. Most of the migration to Cape Town comes from the Eastern Cape, which has experienced very high migration out of it over the last two decades, resulting in a distorted population pyramid, where a significant number of adults in the productive age groups of 25 and older have already migrated out of the region.[21] The search for economic opportunities, quality education and access to adequate health resources are cited by the interviewees as the main factors for migrating to Cape Town.

In the group interviews conducted by the Institute, access to HIV treatment in Cape Town is a deciding factor for the migration of people living with HIV/AIDS and their families. Governance in the Western Cape around healthcare provision, the roll out of anti-retroviral treatment and social education programmes makes Cape Town a desirable urban destination for people living with HIV/AIDS and their families. The presence and strength of civil society organizations advocating the rights of people living with HIV/AIDS (such as the Treatment Action Campaign) has added to the capacity of the Western Cape to respond more effectively in comparison to other provinces to the AIDS pandemic.

While more people are exercising their constitutional right to live and work in Cape Town, increased migration has negatively impacted on the city's service delivery abilities. Deane and Mertin estimate the migration to Cape Town as 16 000 people per year,[22] while Jasmien Jakoet puts this figure as high as 48 000 people per year.[23]

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21. www.iol.co.za "Cape Town Population Growth Set to Fall", 2006 June 8, Michael Morris.
22. www.mg.co.za "Poor vs poor in housing crisis", 2005 February 23, Nawaal Deane and Marianne Mertin.
23. Jakoet, J., "Assimiliation of Immigrants to the Cape Town Labour Market" *SALDRU Working Paper Number 06/03* (University of Cape Town, 2006).

Deane and Mertin states the housing backlog in Cape Town as 261 000 per year, based on the capacity of the City of Cape Town to provide only 11 000 houses per year.[24]


Hostel 33 was a former hostel in Lwandle for migrant workers

The shortage of housing in the city threatens national unity, particularly in the Cape where the demand for housing stretches across racial boundaries. Recent problems regarding the N2 Gateway project highlights this situation. The project was aimed at providing housing along the N2 national road which runs from the city past Lwandle, responding to the critical shortage of adequate housing and the squatter problem in the province. In 2005 a fire destroyed over 3 000 shacks in the Joe Slovo informal settlement near Langa in Cape Town, and in order to deal with the victims of the fire, these residents were moved to the top of the council's housing waiting list. This had led to anger and frustration amongst residents from coloured as well as black communities that have been on the waiting list for a longer period and felt that their needs were downscaled. Residents on the waiting list in coloured communities have been living predominantly as 'backyard dwellers', staying in wendy houses or shacks on the property of home owners. In the interviews conducted amongst residents on this issue, it was mentioned that Joe Slovo residents are mostly people from the Eastern Cape who have come to Cape Town for better opportunities; as opposed to other housing applicants

24. www.mg.co.za "Poor vs poor in housing crisis", 2005 February 23, Nawaal Deane and Marianne Mertin.

who were born in Cape Town. This again highlights the division between coloured and black South Africans who compete for the same limited basic amenities, in this case housing.

While access to basic services such as housing, water, sanitation, and food remain a priority for many migrants to Cape Town, focus group participants highlight interpersonal factors experienced in Cape Town. The common use of Afrikaans (one of the official languages) in the Western Cape has resulted in cultural and social adjustments in workplaces for migrating employees from outside of the province as well as employees from Cape Town. Workplaces have effectively become meeting places of South Africans previously separated by living space, language and racist labour policies. New ways of running meetings, different patterns of office chatter and culture in work spaces are evolving in an uncomfortable but democratic fashion, as the inherited culture of legal race-based dominance in workplaces is steadily changed.

Social spaces in Cape Town have also become learning spaces for black, coloured and white South Africans – all sharing the city's public spaces, and social time means that all residents get to know each other in ways previously legally forbidden. The homeland system of governance had separated black ethnic groups in South Africa, and urbanization and migration to Cape Town for the purposes of study presents, for instance, the opportunity to discover how diversity in different parts of South Africa manifested very differently.

# 3
# Remembering the system of migrant labour

Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum provided the participants particularly those that are not residents of Lwandle an opportunity to identify with key themes discussed in the workshop through the eyes of the neighbourhood. A walk through the community of Lwandle, including a visit to hostel 33 and a tour of the actual museum was part of Workshop 1.

## Introducing the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum

The Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum is situated in the Helderberg area just outside Somerset West, next to the N2 highway, approximately an hour's drive from Cape Town.

The museum was officially opened on 1 May 2000, International Workers' Day. It portrays the living conditions of migrant workers since Lwandle was established in the 1950's, and what life was like in single-sex hostels. It is a memorial to those whose lives were affected by the migrant labour system and by the pass-books which controlled the lives of black South African workers during the apartheid era.

Photographs, maps, visual artwork, reprints of letters and other historical documents are displayed along the walls of the old Community Hall. Visitors to the museum could go on a walking tour to the nearby Hostel 33, a migrant labourers' hostel that remained preserved. Locally designed clothes and recreated artefacts (e.g. wheelbarrows, suitcases, enamel mugs and plates) are also on display, and the museum also readily arranges a show by local musicians or visit the homes of members of the community.

The Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum is one of a series of community museums that were established since 1994, like the District Six Museum in Cape Town and the South End Museum in Port Elizabeth. People who were under apartheid excluded from the management of such public institutions have been active participants in these community projects, and through a new participatory drive the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum is challenging the established concept of

a museum. The majority of the members of the museum's board are drawn from the Lwandle community itself. In addition, local and other residents display their crafts at the museum, benefiting directly from the sales thereof.

## Contextualising the establishment of the museum

After the advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994 representations of culture and history in museums around the country was much talked about and debated. The process of racial exclusion from these institutions under apartheid meant that there was a greater awareness and examination of how knowledge is produced in museums, monuments and festivals. The complexities of, and debates around museum-community relations are explored here further.

Under the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) of the post-apartheid government the 'Hostel to Homes' project whereby hostel dwellers were to be given alternative accommodation, was initiated in Lwandle in the mid-1990s. Under this scheme the Lwandle hostels were intended to become family homes. . In February 1998, however, Charmain Plummer, an ex-teacher from Somerset West, wrote to the then Helderberg Municipality, urging them 'to consider keeping one (or even two) of the existing hostels and to keep a memory of what Lwandle was like before the renovations changed the landscape'. The Helderberg Municipality supported this proposal. A steering committee was convened to investigate the possibility of changing one of the former hostels into a museum. After a series of steering committee meetings and broader public consultations emerged the idea of calling the project the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum.

In May 1998 it was announced that room 33, known as Hostel 33, was to be allocated to a museum. The leaders of the museum project were Charmain Plummer and Bongani Mgijima. Mgijima, who partially grew up in Lwandle, eventually became the first curator of the museum. The District Six Museum, the National Monuments Council, the Helderberg Tourism Bureau and the Helderberg Council all supported the initiative to convert Hostel 33 into a museum, and the residents of Hostel 33 gave their approval to the steering committee in October 1998.

Because Hostel 33 was still occupied at that stage, the museum was without a

suitable site for storage, displays and administration. The first exhibition in May 1999 was a display of photographs titled *Raising the Curtain*, and because of the space problem, this exhibition of photographs taken in the township and donated by the photographers, was held in the old Community Hall. However, older members of the community felt that they needed the Community Hall for other purposes. They also believed the photographs of them were being used to make money, and they doubted the declared aim of the display, namely to establish and popularize the museum project. In July 1999 the representatives of Lwandle in the Helderberg Municipality proposed that Lwandle's old Community Hall as well as Hostel 33 be used as a migrant labour museum.

That the project was not without its teething problems is also evident from the fact that objections were raised against the second exhibition. It was claimed that the photographs of this exhibition were arranged in a way that reproduced apartheid stereotypes. That could be ascribed to the practice of basing the exhibition on guidelines provided by the community which led to personal rather than collective experiences being shared. In addition, it was realised, that it is necessary to discuss the representativity of a museum of migrant labour at national or provincial level.

Further conflict between the museum and a few community members arose when Hostel 33 had to be reconstructed to historic conditions. Its residents objected to their hostel being transformed into a museum while they had not yet been accommodated elsewhere. The slow progress of the Hostel to Homes project resulted in only four of the eight families resident in Hostel 33 being relocated by January 2006, with the remaining ones staying until March 2007 before they could be accommodated in RDP homes or hostels converted into family homes. This has meant that the museum can now develop Hostel 33 as an historical site.

Another issue which has emerged for the museum is the matter of the historical era to which Hostel 33 had to be reconstructed, i.e. whether the hostel had to look like it was before families joined the single men, or after wives and children were allowed; whether the museum had to be fitted for instance with curtains or the cardboard divisions which separated the beds. (At the date of writing this chapter, Hostel 33 reflected the later period, when curtains, cardboard and wooden structures separated the different units in an attempt to create privacy. In the early days these structures were not allowed by the authorities, and would have been torn down immediately.)


An exhibit in the Lwandle Migrant Labour museum of pass books belonging to former migrant labourers

Bongani Mgijima and Vusi Buthelezi, the first two curators of the museum, requested regular funding from the provincial and national government. These applications were, however, unsuccessful. The steering committee obtained R20 000 from the Western Cape Tourism Board, who was of the opinion that this was an opportunity for tourists to experience the lives of local people, past and present. Since then the museum has mainly had to rely upon ad-hoc annual grants from the Western Cape's Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport.

Since its inception the museum has also embarked on an initiative to interview young people who grew up in Hostel 33 and to document their experiences in order to supplement the recorded memories of the now elderly members of Lwandle.

## A brief history of Lwandle as a settlement for migrant labourers

In the 1950's African men who worked in various sectors of the Helderberg economy, mainly the fruit, canning and construction industries, generally lived in their employers' backyards, especially in Somerset West. The Stellenbosch Divisional Council of that time purchased 19 morgen of farmland from one Van Vuuren; a piece of land ideally located due to its proximity to industries and it not being too close to the residential areas of Strand, Somerset West and Gordon's Bay. This land, that was to become Lwandle, was intended for migrant labourers, and the Government Notice No 71 of 17 January 1958 declared Lwandle a location and a 'native' village. In that same year hostels were built for single male migrant workers to alleviate the lack of cheap labour in and around the Helderberg area. African men, the majority of them from the rural areas of the Eastern Cape, were then removed from their employers' backyards and relocated in Lwandle.

Lwandle's only access was, however, from the N2 highway, since the Strand, Somerset West and Gordon's Bay were blocked off by a railway line, the N2 and another road respectively. Lwandle's residents were also blocked off from the sea, giving an ironic twist to its name – the word 'lwandle' means 'sea' in Xhosa. Aerial photography of the area shows the arrangement of Lwandle's hostels in clear lines, and also its narrow access road, all of it designed to maximize aerial visibility.

The 43 hostels were similar to hostels in other parts of the country, and were structured like prisons, with one entrance and one exit, which were manned by security guards to prevent access by those without permits. Each hostel was rectangular, divided into two, with four units of approximately 3 $m^2$ in each half. There were two narrow single beds per unit, separated by a built-in cupboard. Up to this day some hostels still have asbestos roofing.

In the 1960's and '70's the wives of hostel residents followed their husbands to the city. Many worked as domestic workers, some with and others without passes. Others came in the hope of finding work, or because crops had failed, or wanting to supplement their husbands' income, or simply to find out why their husbands were not sending money home. Some trekked to and fro from the former Bantustans, and since they generally only returned home during their four weeks leave in December were for long periods separated from their husbands. With an already insufficient income, these men then had to support families both in Lwandle and their distant home. (The hostel and migrant labour systems' effect on the destabilization of families is explored in Chapter 3 of this book.) Children were left on their own, or were cared for by older children or relatives in the Eastern Cape while their mothers worked in Lwandle. Since the presence of children could have had alerted police to a woman's illegal presence, there were also cases where children were looked after by women in neighbouring townships while their mothers worked during the week.

Many of Lwandle's residents lived in fear of being arrested without a pass (e.g. men whose contracts had expired). Some women lived in the surrounding areas during the week – in areas that were set aside for people racially segregated under apartheid as 'coloured' , on farms or illegally with relatives who worked in the white suburbs of Somerset West. Also in those instances they had to keep hidden to avoid arrest. They would, for instance, have had to pay a driver to transport them to Lwandle where they stayed over for the weekend. Hidden in the car, they had to sneak into the hostels, unseen, as they were not allowed to walk about at night. Others would have arrived by bus in the early hours of the morning to avoid arrest. Security checks, sometimes in the middle of the night, disturbed their sleep and they had to resort to drastic measures, like sleeping in the bushes, or escaping through a window, to avoid arrest. Residents experienced this lack of freedom, with the constant threat of being arrested, as the worst aspect of living in Lwandle. Residents who were in possession of their passes sometimes informed the authorities of those without; apparently because informants were paid for this information. Hostel dwellers were dehumanized extensively by their lack of privacy, separation from their families, and ongoing invasion by watchmen and the police.

Each hostel developed its own set of rules, some electing a board (*ibhodi*) which governed behaviour and punished offenders. In some hostels, sex was not permitted, and men began sleeping in the bushes with their wives or girlfriends.

Several interviewees complained that they had been ill-treated by their white employers . They, for instance, mentioned that they were not permitted to use the same dishes as their employers, and had to sleep out in the open while being used to living in houses back at home.

Though more people arrived in Lwandle in the 1980's, due to the relaxation of influx control regulations and increasing poverty in the rural areas, facilities were not extended to provide for the increase in population. At that stage, between two and four families occupied the living space intended for two single men. Residents used makeshift beds (out of bricks and doors) to accommodate their children (some of whom on visit from the Eastern Cape) and double-bunks were brought in. Severe overcrowding resulted in a lack of privacy, which contributed to the spreading of a culture of violence (often alcohol-related) in Lwandle. Children slept under the bunks or on it with their parents, on the ground or on the makeshift beds. Needless to say, children were exposed to sexual activity from a very young age. The units served as kitchens, bedrooms, dining-rooms and bathrooms simultaneously, and interviewees remembered the horrors of filth, congestion and immorality. The sanitation provided was the so-called bucket system, i.e. outside toilets with buckets which had to be emptied. Because the buckets were emptied only twice a week, and residents generally used them during night-time, they often had to sit in a mess.

Many residents saved for a visit to their home towns – to attend funerals, connect with family or to tend to their crops during the ploughing and harvesting seasons. Generally, residents returned to their homes during their period of leave in December in order to visit their children who had been left behind. Trips were undertaken by train, bus, or a lift in a truck or car with friends or relatives. Much of the workers' wages was spent on transport to and from the Eastern Cape and elsewhere. Canned foods and second-hand clothes obtained in Cape Town were taken back to the Eastern Cape.

Entertainment over weekends in Lwandle included church services, concerts by residents themselves, and parties hosted for visitors from the Eastern Cape.

Though recreational facilities were absent, a beer hall was strategically situated at the entrance of the hostel complex. This is where hostel dwellers spent approximately a quarter of their wages. The beer hall of Hostel 33 got burnt down in 1993.

In the late 1980s residents of Somerset West and Strand embarked on a campaign to shut down Lwandle and move its residents elsewhere. The apartheid government supported them in this. The Hostel Dwellers Association, with the support of the Black Sash and other organizations, lobbied against Government's plans to close down Lwandle, and insisted on family housing instead. This resulted in the upgrading of the hostels. The hostel dwellers also campaigned for a school and a crèche, and in 1987 a primary school was started in Lwandle, supported by foreign and local donors. This was met with opposition from the Department of Education and Training, who closed the school down and threatened to fine one of the teachers because the apartheid government did not recognise the presence of families in Lwandle.


Lwandle community members sharing their stories at the storytelling imbizo

## Lwandle, a developing community

The population of Lwandle has grown exponentially, and as a township with a very basic infrastructure, it has attracted residents from all over southern Africa, not only from the Eastern Cape. There have, however, been several developments since its early days, and from the entrance to the museum, the police station and the Hector Petersen Memorial Library can be be seen. In 2004 street lights were introduced and new houses built. The Lwandle hostels have been incorporated into the individual homes in their vicinity, and where Lwandle initially was a residential area for single men it is now one for families.

Residents still complain about the high levels of unemployment in Lwandle, and cite excessive alcohol consumption, crime and violence, especially among the youth, as being problematic. Although boxing, rugby and soccer are popular forms of leisure, as well as hiphop and choir-singing, there are only a few recreational facilities. There are, for instance, only two soccer fields, in a poor condition, which serve approximately 42 teams.

While some residents regard their places of birth as their home simply because their parents were born there, others feel completely alienated from these home towns. Home for some is where their forefathers are buried; others feel they would like to be buried at Lwandle because they believe they have contributed to establishing the township. Some of Lwandle's residents still have property in their home towns although they are in some instances totally dilapidated. Others have to employ people in the Eastern Cape to tend to their livestock.

Some of the reasons interviewees cited for preferring to live in Lwandle were the availability of electricity, water and medical facilities, as opposed to a reliance on wooden fires, long distances on poor roads for medical services, and few job opportunities and failed crops in the rural areas. The relocation from a hostel to an own house in the township, albeit small, has also contributed to a sense that life in Lwandle has improved.

# 4
# Unpacking Oral History

Phase 3 focused on a series of workshops on Oral History. In Workshop 2, the interviewers defined Oral History, discussed its purpose, debated its reliability and engaged in issues regarding ethics involved in conducting an Oral History interview.

We understand History as a field of study where history is constructed through the process of enquiry. During this process the Historian investigates the past using different forms of evidence as the basis for historical enquiry. Sources of evidence can be physical, visual, Landscape, archaeological, written and/or oral. The historian is able to interpret these forms of evidence which helps to identify different points of view. In addition, the historian gains insight into historical content and concepts.

Simply put, historians try to find answers to questions about the past, its impact on the present and the future. Consequently, the evidence used has to critically evaluated in the process of constructing history. Evidence become reliable sources when it has gone through a thorough historical analysis which can place the sources in an accurate historical context.

Participants at the Oral History workshop

## Defining Oral History

Oral evidence includes oral testimonies, interviews, oral tradition, poems, songs and stories. Two main types of oral evidence exist:

- Oral testimony
- Oral tradition

Oral testimony refers to first-hand account of an event or situation which the interviewee or story teller experienced often referred to as Oral History. At times, the storyteller was directly involved in the event or situation, maybe the person was a mere witness or heard the event or situation taking place. Oral Historian, Donald Ritchie explains, 'Oral History collects the memories and personal commentaries of historical significance through recorded interviews'[25] He argues that personal diaries, speeches or recordings which does not involve a dialogue or conversation with an interviewer is not oral history.

Oral History is about recording the lived experiences of an individual during a recorded interview. The interviewee shares with the interviewer spoken memories about his/her life. The Interviewer gains an insight into how the interviewee felt, understood or viewed a particular event in his/her life. Simply put, Oral History can be seen as recorded conversations about someone's lived experiences.

An interview becomes Oral History when the recordings of the interview are transcribed verbatim or summarised in index form and stored in an archive, repository or library. It is also regarded as Oral History if most of transcription is reproduced as a publication. In other words, as far as possible the words spoken by interviewee should not be distorted or misinterpreted in the process of producing a written piece based on the interview.

We are accustomed to learning about our past through books, television and the media. Yet, for centuries people have constructed history through oral enquiry. As an historical form of enquiry, it is older than text-based enquiry. Through Oral History and Oral Tradition, we can learn about our past by interviewing and listening to people, particularly those whose stories have not being heard. By recording Oral History testimonies and traditions, we can help restore the dignity and self-confidence of South Africans who suffered humiliation under the previous government.

25. Ritchie, D *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*, Oxford University Press 2003

Oral History is not meant for a selected few people. It is inclusive all people regardless of their race, religion, culture and age. Oral testimonies can provide us with insight into people's lives: what they regarded as important, how they reacted to historical events or even personal events, what their social customs or traditions are etc. More, importantly, the voices of the marginalized can be heard.

The topics for oral history are endless. It need not only be about particular historical events. The way people live, dress, earn a living and spend their free time are interesting topics which will never become outdated. What matters is that the interviewer and later, the reader or researcher has information about a particular historical period and the people who lived during that period to gain insight and a better understanding of ourselves.

## The purpose of Oral History

Oral History can be used for different purposes by different people like archivists, researchers, attorneys, writers and learners. Primarily, it helps one understand the past and the present through the eyes of ordinary people and adds towards the construction of history.

The attorney, Roger Chenells, representing the ǂKhomani San in the land claims court case interviewed the ǂKhomani San about the whereabouts of their ancestral land. With the help of oral history testimonies and further research, the land of the ǂKhomani San, removed from them during Apartheid, was returned to them nearly twelve years ago.

Through oral interviews, communities can take ownership of their history by personally recollecting events, experiences and situations which occurred in their community. For example, students who participated in the school boycotts of the eighties are the leaders in society today. Many of them are parents whose children unlike themselves attend non racial schools. Their children would be interested to know whether they participated in the school boycotts and why they took the decision to abandon their classrooms. Likewise, it provides communities with an opportunity to acknowledge the past through memorialization. These interviews and transcripts can be used as part of an exhibition at the local library or school.

Curator, Mbelulo Mrbata takes the participants on tour of Lwandle

Oral History methodologies and techniques are used by academics as well as laypersons. One need not be a professional person to conduct and transcribe an Oral History interview, nor does one have to be a Historian to engage in Oral History. A community leader may be interested to interview people who were at school during the seventies and eighties to research the political songs sung by the learners. Very few of these 'toyi-toyi' songs are recorded for future generations. These songs form part of the Oral Tradition of the seventies and eighties.

## How reliable are Oral History testimonies?

Some historians argue that Oral History is subjective because it is based on the personal views of the interviewee. It is argued that sometimes the interviews take place long after the event happened. As a result, the memory of the person may have faded. Others argue, that the interviewee may end up glamorising and romanticising a particular event.

Oral Historian, W.D Ritchie says that 'Oral History is as reliable or unreliable as any other research source. Evidence, whether oral testimonies or written sources, should always be corroborated against other sources. The interviewer should always keep in mind that although the reliability of the oral testimony may be questionable, the information remains significant because we gain insight into a particular person or persons' perspective on how they understood things that happened in their lives. We can therefore gain different perspectives and in the process attempt to understand why the reactions of people to a particular event are different.

## The ethics involved in Oral History

The collection of stories through oral History requires standards which protects both the interviewee and interviewer. Whilst it is important for the interviewee to understand these standards, it is the interviewer who assumes more responsibility in ensuring that these standards are adhered to.

Importantly, the interviewer has to ensure that the rights of the interviewee are not violated. The interviewee must be told where the recording and transcriptions will be kept, who will have access to it and how it will be used and whether it is for research purposes, materials development or educational purposes. It is good practice to explain the project and the process with the interviewee. A consent form also referred to as a release form outlining these issues should be given to the interviewee to sign so that written evidence of the agreements reached can be kept in a safe place for future reference.

After the interview, the interviewee has the right to listen to the recordings and read the transcriptions. This provides the interviewee with the opportunity to clarify and rectify any misperception that may have crept in. If the recording and transcriptions have being translated, the translated version should be given to the interviewee as well. When the recording and transcriptions are used as research material for a creative writing piece, film or radio documentary, report or article for the media, once again it is the right of the interviewee to see the art form and agree to its publication and/or screening.

One of the responsibilities of the interviewer is to protect the integrity of Oral History as a field of study. Here are two examples of release forms. The first release form is used by the Centre for Popular Memory in similar Oral History Projects. The second is a form used by the Institute. These forms are merely examples and should be used as a guideline to developing a similar form for the purposes of your project.

## Example 1


Rooms 116 – 119 Beattie Building
Tel: (021) 650-4758
Fax: (021) 650-3611

*"People in South Africa have a dynamic, but often unrecorded heritage. The Centre creates spaces for these stories to be heard, seen and remembered."*

**INTERVIEW RELEASE FORM**[1] **Cat Number:**

This agreement[2] ensures that your interview is added to the archived collections of the Centre for Popular Memory in accordance with your wishes.

I _____(Interviewee) agree that:
First Name Surname

- This recording will be conserved at the University of Cape Town. All material will be preserved as a permanent public reference resource for potential use in research, education, publication, broadcasting and the Internet. Copies may be made available, in whole or in part, in any and all media, throughout the world.
- The Centre for Popular Memory, and thereby the University of Cape Town, shall hold the copyright to this recording.
- The Centre for Popular Memory is a non-profit organisation. Any revenue acquired from this recording will only be used to supplement the CPMs' archival projects.
- All public use is made in strict accordance with the uses and restrictions mentioned below.

**The use of the recording is subject to the following restrictions: (if any)**

_____

_____

_____

_____

Signed on: _____/_____/_____
Day Month Year

Interviewee signature: _____

In the presence of (Interviewer) _____
First Name Surname

[1] **This form needs to be accompanied by the CPM Accession Record Form**
[2] This agreement will be interpreted in accordance with South African law and, in the event of any dispute, the Courts of South Africa will have jurisdiction

**Example 2** A release/consent form used for the Forced Removal: a case study on Constantia project

**INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM**

THIS IS A JOINT PROJECT ON FORCED REMOVALS IN THE WESTERN CAPE BETWEEN THE INSTITUTE FOR JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION, THE DISTRICT SIX MUSEUM AND THE WESTERN CAPE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (EMDC SOUTH)

Surname: _____

Maiden Surname: _____

Names: _____

Gender + Age: M / F Age: _____

Address: _____

_____

_____

Phone (home): _____ Cellphone: _____

I _____ participated in an oral history project on Forced Removals from Constantia in the Western Cape, South Africa, as part of a joint project on Forced Removals in the Western Cape between the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR), the Metropole South EMDC Department of Education, Western Cape Provincial Government and the District Six Museum on

_____

_____

I understand that the tape/s and the transcript resulting from the oral history will belong to the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) to be used in any manner deemed in the interest of preserving and sharing the life experiences of people.

I hereby expressly and voluntarily relinquish all rights and interests in the tape/s and the transcript to the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR)

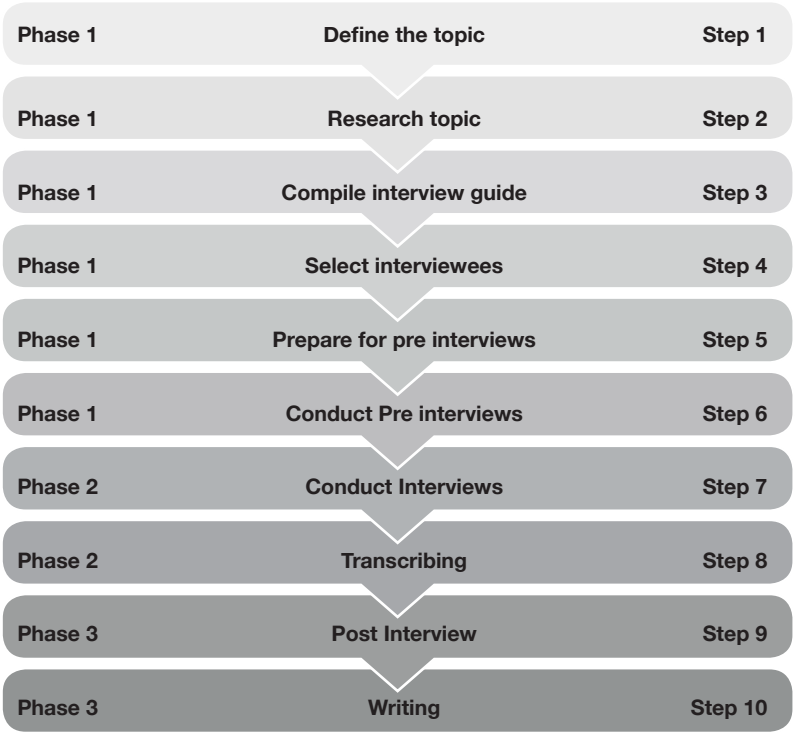
Signature: _____

Date: _____

Interviewers learnt how to prepare and conduct an Oral History interview in Workshop 3. This workshop offered participants opportunities to practice a mock interview. It is a practical, hands-on session that requires all participants to become actively involved.

## An outline of Oral History Project

This approach assumes that participants are working in peer groups or small groups consisting of three to four learners. For classroom purposes, it assumes that the Oral History Project is part of the educator's work schedule and teaching on the module has begun. Since the methodology has learnings across the curriculum, the Institute strongly recommends that the Oral History Project is completed as a collaborative approach with other subjects and teachers. Subjects such as Life orientation, Languages, Travel and Tourism, Geography are strong possibilities for the History educator to consider.




Flowchart; Oral History Project

## **Phase 1** Preparing for the interview

This phase includes steps 1 to 5:

**Step 1** – Clearly defining the topic
- Learners should be given the opportunity to unpack the possible topics.
- This is an important checking point to assess whether the groups is on the right track. A brief motivation of the topic, their understanding and what they hoping to research is helpful.

**Step 2** – Research your topic
- The group should be given time to collect other sources regarding the topic
- The group must be knowledgeable about the topic before the interview
- This step will enable the group to set an interview guide

**Step 3** – Setting the interview guide
- This should be a classroom-based or organization-based activity.
- The structure and type of questions should be mediated with the learners

**Step 4** – Selecting interviewees
- The selection of interviewees must be carefully thought out.
- Several factors must be taken into account. These factors include the level of knowledge the interviewee has on the topic, role the interviewee played, health of interviewee.
- Preliminary talks with possible interviewees are useful in guiding learners
- More than one person must be interviewed

**Step 5** – Preparing for the interviews
- Logistics are put in place for the interview eg venue, equipment, date and time
- Role play of the pre interview and interview can become a classroom-based activity

**Step 6** – Pre interview

- A Pre interview with the interviewee takes place to ascertain whether the person is able to provide the necessary information.
- This is an opportunity to clarify the process (before and after the interview) and ensure that the interviewee is comfortable with the logistical arrangements as well as the actual process.
- At this stage the interviewee is informed about the Consent or Release form that will be signed during the actual interview.

## Selecting interviewees

When selecting interviewees, ensure that you have chosen people who will be able to provide you with the information you require. Take into consideration aspects such as political and religious affiliations, how long they have lived in the community under study, race, ethnicity, gender and culture. Consider each of these aspects with regard to the importance to the topic.

Obviously, the choice is linked to the topic you have chosen. If the topic, for instance, is related to the Langa March of 1960, the interviewees would most likely be people who participated in the march. At the same time, the interviewer may want to interview people of different race groups and political affiliations with regard to the Langa March. These are decisions that may affect the interview guide and therefore the interviewer needs to have an idea of suitable interviewees before developing the interview guide.

## Preparing for the interview

Before meeting with the interviewee, the interviewer has to be thoroughly prepared. The interviewee has kindly given of his/her time and has agreed to share a part of his/her life. These factors cannot be taken for granted and therefore thorough preparation is a sign of respect to the interviewee. The time given to the interviewer should be used fruitfully because it may not be convenient to set up another appoint with the interviewer.

Customs and tradition differ from culture to culture. A good interviewer ensures that the interview and the interview guide will not offend the interviewee by not observing the cultural customs of the interviewee. For example, in the Xhosa tradition, it is impolite for a teenager to ask an elder questions about his work and the salary he earns.

## Compiling an interview guide

An interview guide is a set of possible questions that an interviewer compiles in advance and uses during the interview. It is merely a guide aimed at providing the interviewer with a set of questions to guide him/her during the interview. The interviewer need not strictly adhere to the guide. Circumstances during the interview may necessitate the need for follow-up questions. For example, the interviewer may find that the interviewee has mentioned an interesting point, and that more questions, which are not in the guide, are necessary to explore the point and get more information.

The first set of questions provides biographical detail and these are normally **closed questions**. For example: What is your age? Where do you live? These questions provide limited information and serve a particular purpose. For example: Did you join the army during World War II? Did you vote in the local elections?

However, the interview guide should as far as possible contain **open questions.** These are questions that prevent the interviewee from providing one-word answers. For example: What was it like to vote for the first time in your life? An open question allows – or compels – the interviewee to provide as much information as possible, and efforts should be made to structure questions in a manner that will allow for an elaborated answer.

**Precision questions** encourage the interviewee to provide specific information. For example: What was the name of the road that the march started from? What river did the great snake live in? When did the great snake normally appear? Who sang these songs? When were these songs sung? Be cognisant of the interviewee's cultural background when asking questions about time, distance and quantity. For example, the person may refer to a particular time period according to season whereas you, the interviewer, may be thinking in terms of the year calendar.

**Short probing and prompting questions** ensure that aspects that the interviewee may have disregarded as unimportant are expanded upon. Words such as 'discuss', 'describe', 'illustrate', 'compare', and 'expand' are good cues to help the interviewee. For example: Discuss your role in the school boycotts of the '80's?

Try to set one question at a time to help the interviewee answer the question adequately. Avoid **double-barrelled questions** which contain two questions in one. The interviewee should not be confused or pressurized by the question.

Avoid **leading questions** which hints at your personal view as an interviewer, or is based on your assumption about a particular event. For example: How did you feel about the brutal force used by the police on innocent people during the march? is an inappropriate leading question.

## Conducting the pre interview

Ask the interviewee which language the interview should be conducted in and allow the interviewee to decide on a convenient time for the interview. Get permission from the interviewee to use his/her name and information in the project. The interviewee should be told that he/she has the right not to answer certain questions and to stop the interview at any time. It is helpful to draw up a written contract or release form signed by the interviewee which gives the researcher permission to use the interview.

These arrangements are made during the pre interview. Prior to the pre interview, there may have being a formal meeting, telephonic or email conversation about the project. In the pre interview, the discussions previously communicated are mentioned again and the interviewer ensures that the interviewee is comfortable with the process.

### **Phase 2** Interview

**Step 7** – Conducting the interview

- Be punctual and well-prepared. Check the equipment before the interview
- Do not stick rigidly to the interview guide. It is only a guide. Clarify any information imparted that you don't understand.
- Arrangements for post interview made

## Preparations regarding the equipment

A tape recorder, portable radio-tape recorder, mini disk-recorder or a digital voice recorder can be used. Regardless of what you are able to use, always make sure that you have tested the equipment before conducting the interview.

Check the following:

- Batteries are sufficient
- Equipment is in working order
- Sound quality is acceptable
- Microphones are in working order

Double-check by recording a conversation, and then replay the conversation to ascertain the volume of the recording. A transcriber can be used to transcribe the interview or the transcriptions can be done manually with a pen and paper. The manual option is the best option to follow to prevent the loss of information, particularly utterances, coughs, show of emotions during the interview. Label each recording properly using the name of the interviewee, date of the interview and where it took place.

## The interviewer

Dress appropriately and be punctual for the interview. Explain the process to the interviewee. Ensure that the interviewee feels comfortable with the process. Introduce the project and its purpose to the interviewee. If the interview takes longer than the time agreed upon, stop the interview at the end of the allocated time and ask the interviewee if you may continue or arrange a follow-up session. Do not take it for granted that the interviewee will continue with the interview if the time has lapsed.

Here are some common mistakes that can occur, according to Dr Sean Fielding of the Centre for Popular Memory:

- arriving late
- interrupting the interviewee
- talking too much
- trying to solve the interviewee's problem
- interrogating the interviewee
- arguing with the interviewee

Hints on good interviewing:

- listen empathetically
- build trust between yourself and the interviewee
- admit to mistakes in an open and sensitive manner
- be humble and respectful
- allow for the moments of silence even though they may be awkward
- allow for the emotions that the interviewee may feel, for example tears
- don't feel guilty or responsible for the emotions displayed by the interviewee
- be patient and talk slowly
- Thank the interviewee for accommodating you, and give a token of appreciation, for example a thank-you note, chocolate or small gift.

### **Phase 3** Post interview

**Step 8** – Post Interview

- After the interview, the recording is transcribed or summarized.
- Recording and transcriptions are shared with the interviewee
- Any other relevant information is shared with interviewee
- The interviewee has an opportunity to amend, clarify or delete any aspect of the transcriptions.

**Step 9** – Oral presentation

- Report writing takes place. In the case of an art class, the art piece is developed using the recording, transcriptions and/or summary as oral research
- The art piece should be taken to the interviewee for approval.
- Oral Presentation is made

## Transcription

Transcribing is a long process which involves listening to the recordings and then writing down every word of the interview, strictly according to the recording. Its purpose is to provide a written account of the oral interview. This process is never a perfect one although there are ways of ensuring an as accurate representation as possible. These transcripts include hesitation, repetition, exclamation, emphasis, dialect and are called verbatim transcripts. However, nothing prevents the researcher from listening to the recordings as well since the recorded interview is regarded as the oral source. The master copy of the recordings should be kept in a safe place.

The best person to transcribe is the interviewer. It is best to think carefully about the decision whether or not to transcribe since it is a costly and time consuming process. The interviewer may decide to transcribe only the sections that will be needed for the research or to summarise the main themes which arose during the interview, using an index format. Normally, as in the case of this project the use of the transcriptions largely dictates decisionmaking. The transcriptions are normally used for various purposes, depending on the project. It can be used as the basis for a biography, article, play or drama, story, painting or even a sculpture. It may be used as oral research for the development of an exhibition to celebrate heritage.

> Transcribing the interviews was very challenging with tremendous learnings. Firstly, the interviews were conducted in Xhosa and had to be translated into English since most of the artists were English-speaking. Secondly, over twenty interviews were conducted translating in more than 15 hours of recordings. The transcription process took very long and was hindered by the need for an English version. Poor acoustics in the Lwandle museum rendered certain parts of the interview inaudible resulting in a second round of interviews. Editing posed another challenge to the transcription process. Admittedly, these challenges threatened the accuracy of the transcriptions. The script-writing group resorted to the recordings as opposed to transcriptions to develop their play.

## Transcribing process

The transcriber should have a good:

- typing skills
- hearing ability particularly with electronic equipment
- spelling and punctuation ability

A transcription document should:

- Contain information about the interview, name of interviewee, date of interview, name of interviewer, name of transcriber and the title of the recording.
- Typing should allow for double spacing to provide enough space for comments, deletions, amendments by the interviewee
- Provide margin space on one side of the page for editing, additions, headings or comments.

- Number the pages clearly indicating at the end of the page the name of the last speaker and starting the name of the same speaker on the next page
- Avoid abbreviations except when preceding a given name and or surname, indicating time (am or pm) or era designations
- Use parenthesis ( ) when transcribing nonverbal sounds or when explain a sound or disturbance. No capital letters are used. For example, (laughs); (both talking at the same time); (cellphone rings); I live in Durban (?? Or Durbanville (??)
- Use brackets [ ] to indicate words not used in the actual interview. Normally brackets are used by the editor as a means of explaining
- Use a dash when the interview is interrupted by another speaker, the sentence is incomplete or the interviewee has paused
- Avoid using ellipsis (…) in transcriptions.. It can be interpreted as gaps in the interview or inaudible section. Regardless of the interpretation, it leads to speculation and compromises the accuracy of the transcription.
- Use judgement when including crutch or encouraging words used in the interviewing. E.g. um, yeah, ah

## Summarising an interview

The following summary sheet can be used to merely summarise key themes and the order of the interview. For easy access to the recording, the time is noted in the first column followed by a brief description of the interview.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Interview with** | Kholiswa Gcani |
| **Interview date and time** | 23 April 2007 |
| **Interviewer** | Sandile Danster, Abeda Stoffberg |
| **Transcriber** | Lindiwe Madonci |
| **Recording** | Kholiswa 1/4/07 |

| Time | Description |
|---|---|
| **00:24** | Kholiswa Gcani is from Koelenhof Stllenbosch. Born in 1995. Family home in Sterkspruit in the Eastern Cape. Daughter of a migrant worker. Second generation of migrant workers |
| **02:37** | Speaks of the hardships her mother endured after her father died while working in Cape Town |
| **05:14** | Relates how she left school at the age of 12 to become a domestic in Mouille Point |
| **07:32** | Met husband in Bellville in 1974. He stayed at the hostels in Lwandle round about that time |
| **10:12** | Did not live with him even though they were married because of the laws. |
| **13:10** | Explains how the couple met secretly in the hostel |
| **18:13** | Recounts how the hostel guard caught them |
| **21:06** | Talks about her husbands' arrest for not having a pass |
| **28:00** | Explains the difficulty of looking after two homes |
| **33:01S** | Speaks about the tragic accidents and loss of family members |
| **48:35** | Relates her days as an employee at Gants |

During transcription, the transcriber should

- Start by listening to the entire interview.
- Make notes of important information about the interview. Phrases, places, topics, events. Refer make to specific notes taken during the interview
- Listen again for ten minutes, restart and then start typing word for word.
- Use punctuation constructively to help the process.

After transcribing the entire recording, the transcriber has a first draft. The draft is checked by listening to the recording again while reading the transcription. Minor changes and additions are normally made at this point. Light editing is made particularly in terms of repetitive crutch or encouraging words. Caution is taken not to rectify the actual words of the interviewer. The transcriber/interviewer prepares to take the transcription to the interviewee.

## After transcription

Once the first draft is printed, the interviewer takes it to the interviewee. At this point the interviewee will read the transcriptions with the intention to clarify, rectify and/or delete parts of the transcriptions that does not concur with his/her recollection. This is normally done in writing on the transcript and noted as the changes made by the interviewee.

During the project, the interviewers were not able to take the transcripts back to all the interviewees. In some cases, the interviewees could not be found, other were working or visiting the Eastern Cape. We did manage to speak to some of the interviewees about the transcriptions and how it was used to develop stories. We managed to share the stories with the interviewees and the rest of the community at a storytelling imbizo. This gave the interviewees another opportunity to rectify or clarify any misperceptions created during the production of the stories based on the transcriptions.

# 5
# Interviewing migrant workers at Lwandle

On a wintry morning in June 2007, the participants interviewed over 30 former migrant workers now residing in Lwandle. The participants were divided into groups based on residential location, gender, language, race and age to ensure that the interviewees felt comfortable with interviewees. For example, most of the interviewees preferred to conduct their interviews in Xhosa. At least one of the interviewees preferred to be interviewed by a group of males.

## Sample interview guides

Before the interviews, the participants developed a series of interview guides for different interviewees. Groups were asked to develop interview guides based on different themes. Below are samples of interview guides produced at the workshop.

### **Interview Guide 1** Going back home

**Introduction**

Good morning, I am _____ from _____.
This is my partner _____ from _____.
We are here to hear about your life experiences as a migrant worker from the Eastern Cape. Thank you for giving us this opportunity. We are going to record the interview and we want you to feel as comfortable as possible. Please, speak in the language that you feel most comfortable with. Do you have any questions to ask before we start with the interview? Thank you.

**Biographical Details**

1. What is your name and surname?
2. Where do you live?
3. Where were you born?
4. When were you born?

5. What is your clan name?
6. Are you married?
7. What is your wife/husband's name?
8. Do you live with your wife/husband and children?

**Going back to the Eastern Cape**

1. When did you come to Cape Town?
2. Where is 'home' for you, Cape Town or the Eastern Cape?
3. When was the first time you went back to the Eastern Cape?
4. What was the reason for going back?
5. What kind of transport did you use to go back the first time?
6. How much money did you pay for transport?
7. Will you explain what it was like to go back for the first time?
8. What was it like coming back to Cape Town?
9. Tell us about a trip back to the Eastern Cape. How many people traveled with you?
10. Did you stop along the way?
11. What do you take with you when you go to the Eastern Cape?
12. What is your fondest memory of the trip back to the Eastern Cape?
13. What traditions from the Eastern Cape have become part of people's lives in Cape Town?
14. Where would you want to spend the rest of your life?

We have come to the end of our interview. Thank you for your time.

## **Interview Guide 2** Weekends in the hostel

**Introduction**

Good morning, I am _____ from _____.
This is my partner _____ from _____.
We are here to hear about your life experiences as a migrant worker from the Eastern Cape. Thank you for giving us this opportunity. We are going to record the interview and we want you to feel as comfortable as possible. Please, speak in the language that you feel most comfortable with. Do you have any questions to ask before we start with the interview? Thank you.

**Biographical Details**

1. What is your name and surname?
2. Where do you live?
3. Where were you born?
4. When were you born?
5. What is your clan name?
6. Are you married?
7. What is your wife/husband's name?
8. Do you live with your wife/husband and children?

**Life in Cape Town**

1. When did you come to Cape Town?
2. How long have you been living in Lwandle?
3. What happened during the week in Lwandle?
4. What kind of work would migrant workers do?
5. Where did you work?
6. What did you do on Friday and Saturday nights?
7. What did you do on Sundays?
8. Tell us about a typical Sunday in Lwandle.
9. Who were the elders in the community?
10. How were they treated in the community?

We have come to the end of our interview. Thank you for your time.

## **Interview Guide 3** Experiences of male migrant workers

**Introduction**

Good morning, I am _____ from _____.
This is my partner _____ from _____.
We are here to hear about your life experiences as a migrant worker from the Eastern Cape. Thank you for giving us this opportunity. We are going to record the interview and want you to feel as comfortable as possible. Please, speak in the language that you feel most comfortable with. Do you have any questions to ask before we start with the interview? Thank you.

**Biographical Details**

1. What is your name and surname?
2. Where do you live?
3. Where were you born?
4. When were you born?
5. What is your clan name?
6. Are you married?
7. What is your wife's name?
8. Do you live with your wife and children?

**Life in the hostels**

1. When you arrived here in Cape Town, where did you live?
2. What was it like living in the hostels?
3. Could your wife live with you in the hostel?
4. Who fed and looked after you in the hostels?
5. What did you do when you were not working during weekends?
6. Could you send money home to you family?
7. Tell me more about how your family survived without you.
8. Did your wife join you in Cape Town?
9. If not, did you take another wife while you lived in the hostels?
10. How did it affect your family back in the Eastern Cape?
11. Were you ever locked up for not having a dompas?
12. Can you explain what happened?
13. How did the migrant community try to make life better for themselves in the hostels?
14. What was it like living and working in Cape Town?

**Going back to the Eastern Cape**

1. Where would you like to spend the rest of your life?
2. Where would you want to be buried one day?
3. What is it like going back to the Eastern Cape nowadays?

We have come to the end of our interview. Thank you for your time.

## **Interview Guide 4** Experiences of female migrant workers

**Introduction**

Good morning, I am _____ from _____.
This is my partner _____ from _____.
We are here to hear about your life experiences as a migrant worker or the wife of a migrant worker from the Eastern Cape. Thank you for giving us this opportunity. We are going to record the interview and want you to feel as comfortable as possible. Please, speak in the language that you feel most comfortable with. Do you have any questions to ask before we start with the interview? Thank you.

**Biographical Details**

1. What is your name and surname?
2. Where do you live?
3. Where were you born?
4. When were you born?
5. What is your clan name?
6. Are you married?
7. Do you have children?

**Early years**

1. How did you meet your husband?
2. Where did you marry your husband?
3. Why did you decide to leave your place of birth to come to Cape Town?

**Migration**

1. What did you do when you arrived in Cape Town the first time?
2. Tell me about your experiences when you came here for the first time?
3. Where did you live?
4. What were the living conditions like for you as a woman?
5. What kind of work did you do?
6. What did you like about your work?
7. What did you dislike about your work?
8. How much money did you earn?

9. Who looked after your children while you worked?
10. How did the women in the township get along with each other?
11. What is it like to be a migrant worker or the wife of a migrant worker?
12. Can you explain what it was like being a woman migrant worker in Cape Town?

We have come to the end of our interview. Thank you for your time.

## Checklist for the interview guide

The participants were asked to moderate their interview guides by assessing the relevance, validity and type of questions asked. Facilitators spent a long time on explain questioning techniques. The following checklist can be used for this purpose.

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| Have I asked questions regarding the biographical details of the interviewee?<br>**eg. name, surname, age, residence, place of birth, any other relevant information** | | |
| Have I asked open questions which will not allow the interviewee to simply answer yes or no?<br>**eg. Instead of asking, *Did you attend the Langa March in 1960?* ask, *What was it like attending the Langa March in 1960?*** | | |
| Have I set one question at a time?<br>**eg. Instead of asking, *Why did you participate in the march and where did you march from?* first ask, *Why did you participate in the march?* and then ask, *Where did you march from?*** | | |
| Have I asked precise questions?<br>**eg. Instead of asking, *What forms of anti-pass laws protests did people embark on?* ask, *What forms of protest did you participate in?* and, *Did you become an Umkhonto we Sizwe cadre?*** | | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Have I asked probing questions?<br>**Instead of asking, *Who participated in the march?* ask, *Why did you participate in the march?*** | | |
| Have I asked leading questions?<br>**Instead of asking, *Did you march because the Pass Laws were racist laws?* ask, *How did you feel about the pass laws?*** | | |
| Have I asked sufficient questions to gain enough information?<br>**Will the interviewee be able to provide me with sufficient information should I ask these questions?** | | |

Adapted from Institute for Justice and Reconciliation: Pass Laws in the Western Cape, An Oral History Resource Guide for Teachers.

## Interviews with migrant workers

At the end of Workshop One, the participants were able to empathise with the challenges that former migrant workers faced in Cape Town. Issues regarding 'belonging' became a central point of contestation. What did it mean to 'belong'? How could one 'belong' given the circumstances? Did they feel that they 'belonged'? The participants had their own questions which they needed to pose to the former residents of the migrant labour hostels in Lwandle. The issues raised by the participants are covered in two of the interview transcripts (edited for publication purposes) below. These interviews were conducted in Xhosa and were translated into English.

### Lungiswa Teka interviews Ephraim Nyongwana

| | |
|---|---|
| Lungiswa: | My name is Lungiswa Teka. I am MaKhumalo by clan name. Okay, I am working here in the museum, I am from Queenstown. I would like you to introduce yourself. |
| Ephraim Nyongwana: | Oh you come from Queenstown? Do you know the people from Thornhill? |

| | |
|---|---|
| Lungiswa: | Yho, I come from there. |
| Ephraim Nyongwana: | I am Ephraim Nyongwana, my clan name is Gamba. Ephraim Nyongwana. My family is divided into two groups. One is at Queenstown; the other group is Herschel, at home under Manxeba. I came here in 1952. |
| Lungiswa: | Where were you born? |
| Ephraim Nyongwana: | Herschel, under Manxeba. |
| Lungiswa: | When were you born? |
| Ephraim Nyongwana: | Me? I was born in 1934. |
| Lungiswa: | Yes, Father, tell me which side you would say is your home, here or in the Eastern Cape? |
| Ephraim Nyongwana: | Mine is the Eastern Cape at Herschel. I am here for work purposes. I don't want my home to fall down. Okay, I am the only one at home. I am here but my children are looking after my home. I have this home here, a working home. |
| Lungiswa: | When was the last time you went back home? |
| Ephraim Nyongwana: | Last December, I was at home. |
| Lungiswa: | Was there a problem at home? |
| Ephraim Nyongwana: | No, whenever I've got chance, I go back there to fix some things there. |
| Lungiswa: | What type of transport do you use to go home? |
| Ephraim Nyongwana: | Now we use buses, but before, we used to take a train. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Lungiswa: | What is it like when you go back home? |
| Ephraim Nyongwana: | As we are here in Cape Town, when you have to go home you feel alright because by then you miss your home so much. |
| Lungiswa: | Mh … |
| Ephraim Nyongwana: | When your are at home, your friends and relatives come and see you. That makes you feel good. |
| Lungiswa: | Okay. |
| Ephraim Nyongwana: | But while you're still enjoying being there, your time is over; you have to go back to your working place. Although your heart is still back home, you have to go. But you miss Cape Town too, because it's home as well. That's how we grew up. Half our life is here and half is there! |
| Lungiswa: | When you went back home, what things did you bring for your children? |
| Ephraim Nyongwana: | Oh, when you I go home, you carry lots of things. You prepare before because you know so-and-so is looking after me very well. You must bring him nice things to eat and clothes like blankets. You do this so the one who is looking after your home must feel good because he is doing everything, clean your yard and fixing things for you. Even the people who are breaking others' houses don't going to yours because there is someone there. Because there is crime everywhere these days. If you left your home alone and here in Cape Town same. During the olden days a person's home was respected .Years have changed. |
| Lungiswa: | What is it that you cannot do here and you can do |

it back home?

Ephraim Nyongwana: You can plough at home and here you cannot plough here. If you went back home during ploughing time, when you there you can plough or weeding. Here we do not have fields here. There are lots of things you can do there, for example, you work in the garden or fields. Sometimes your relatives have traditional function so you have to attend them.

Lungiswa: Is your wife still alive?

Ephraim Nyongwana: Yes, but this is my second wife. My first wife was here working at Gordon's Bay. She was attacked by stroke and she died here. Then I married the present wife. She is still alive.

Lungiswa: When did you get work here?

Ephraim Nyongwana: In 1952, I got a police job as SAP in the month of April. From 1953 then I went back home to do a traditional ceremony for my children and asked for a leave … that is when I stayed for longer period. I came back 1956 to my job as policeman. In 1955, no 1957, I stopped being a policeman because I had reasons. It was discrimination; black people were discriminated by the whites. They made it hard for us to work in the force. I was not happy how we were treated. We had to hit the black person first before arresting him. The coloured people, we were not allowed to do that to them. We were to pretend as if nothing happened. That hurts me a lot. For whites, we were not allowed to touch a white person.

Lungiswa: While you were a policeman, where were you staying?

Ephraim Nyongwana: We were staying at Mutual at work.

| | |
|---|---|
| Lungiswa: | They rented that house for you? |
| Ephraim Nyongwana: | Yes, rented for us as police, but when we moved to the hostel at Guguletu we have to rent by our selves. I was transferred to Paarl at Mbekweni there I got a house. I was renting it by my self. |
| Lungiswa: | How much did you earn then? |
| Ephraim Nyongwana: | The wages was too little then. We earn about three pounds ten. |
| Lungiswa: | How much? |
| Ephraim Nyongwana: | R7 a month sometimes R8 with overtime. |
| Lungiswa: | Did your wife come on this side? |
| Ephraim Nyongwana: | She did come but I was trying to get a pass book for her. |
| Lungiswa: | Was she expected to have a pass? |
| Ephraim Nyongwana: | Yes, she was not allowed to come here until I got her a pass. I resigned from the police and looked for another job. The white man in Stellenbosch did like it when I went looking for a security job there. |
| Lungiswa: | Okay |
| Ephraim Nyongwana: | I worked there at Stellenbosch as a security until I was transferred to Kuilsriver working in a firm of metal works. Then it was 1971 so I came to here |

at Strand.

Lungiswa: Were you a part of any organization then?

Ephraim Nyongwana: Yes, I joined the ANC and that influenced me for my resigning and it was fighting for our rights as black people. The other organization was the Organization of Hostel Dwellers. That organization was fighting for us that our children and wives must be allowed to come to us.

Lungiswa: Tell me about your life here.

Ephraim Nyongwana: There were a lot of difficulties here. For instance, if my child want to spend a Christmas with me, I had to go the municipality to have permission for the stay. The municipality gave a number of days after those days they have to leave.

Lungiswa: Yho.

Ephraim Nyongwana: If my children stay here beyond the given dates the municipality security will come and arrest them. Have to pay money at Strand to release her. Our wives as well were not allowed to come here. Have to leave her to stay at Blackheath and I paid a lodge for her. Her children were not allowed to visit her. She must be the only one staying there. She was also given a certain period to stay, after that period she has to go back home.

Lungiswa: Oh it was like that?

Ephraim Nyongwana: Yes it was bad. The other problem we face, are the people born here in the townships, they did not like us coming from the rural areas. They have passes. Some of them were good guys because they help us to hide our wives at their houses. While they are there our wives can't go out

because the whites are going to see them. Even if I find a place for her on the farm, she must stay indoors so that the farm owner does not see her.

Lungiswa: When you were staying in the hostel, did you have a headman?

Ephraim Nyongwana: No, it was chairpersons and the committee.

Lungiswa: How did they work?

Ephraim Nyongwana: They were dealing with conflicts, fights. Sometimes people get drunk and fight. They call a meeting discussing those kinds of issues.

Lungiswa: What did you to entertain yourselves, like on Saturdays?

Ephraim Nyongwana: We went to the field to watch our young boys playing the ball. Church believers went to Saturday services and non-believers went to the fields to watch the games.

Lungiswa: Is there any difference between the youth in your day and the present youth?

Ephraim Nyongwana: There is a big difference; youth of today don't want to be told. Youth of today, they do not treat their parents nicely.

Lungiswa: Yes …

Ephraim Nyongwana: For instance, then if I come from Herschel staying in the hostel with other young man not from the same area. They would ask me to keep their money. Then you could ask a young man to help with the washing and cooking and they will

do it easy. When you see us in the location with clean clothes, those clothes were washed by the young man. We are staying in the hostel together. We did not have wives there; we were helped by these young men.
If a young man got paid, he gave me the money and I went with him to open a post saving book. Then you can use it when you go home, sometimes I tell him, 'You must take this month's money home.' When they arrive at home they would tell their parents that money was kept safe by so-and-so.

Lungiswa: Thank you very much for you time, Father.

## Group Interview with Michael Velilamca, Buhle, Tlangi, Amanda, Aviwe, and Azola

The system of migrant labour still continues in a modern day context with 48 000 people migrating to Cape Town each year.[26] While Cape Town has a history of discrimination and social division enforced by the former state, its current service delivery strengths like its healthcare makes it a desired place for labour migrants and people who migrate for better living conditions. The following group interview conducted by intern Carmen Louw and a project leader of the Community Healing Project, Kenneth Lukuko, with young students and professionals reveals their mixed experiences of belonging in Cape Town:

Michael: 'My name is Michael Velilamca. I was born in Worcester, 1967. I left Worcester for 2 years and I went to the Northern Cape, Kimberley, in 1972. In 1975 I started work at the company of ……. I was doing road work. I traveled to Beaufort West and I traveled

26. Jakoet, J., "Assimiliation of Immigrants to the Cape Town Labour Market" *SALDRU Working Paper Number 06/03* (University of Cape Town, 2006).

to Richmond and I traveled to Graaff-Reinet. After the Graaff-Reinet I left the job and I went to Johannesburg in 1989. I worked in Johannesburg until 2003. My parents moved to Cape Town in 1985. At the time that I started working they moved to Cape Town at I section. 2003 I moved to Cape Town because we felt that things were getting hectic on that side in Johannesburg and I came and joined TAC. I'm a member of TAC; I joined TAC; my profile is actually social security and home affairs things dealing with the people around the community to help them because what I see is that people don't know what to do if they go to apply for things. So I help them with those things.'

Carmen: 'Michael, let's go back to Gauteng. What was hectic about it? You find out that you're HIV positive. Did you have any support there?'

Michael: 'Because the thing is, you will never have support there because you are surrounded there by people who don't understand what is it, this HIV. People were judging you that time and I feel that you need support if you want to go through processes. So you need people who can back you up. So I told my cousin Prince, because he was working as the spokesperson for TuMankosi. He said the best thing is to go to Cape Town because the way things are done in Cape Town you can get through this thing. That's why he said, "No, you must go." On the 28th May 2003 I came to Cape Town.' 26. Jakoet, J., "Assimiliation of Immigrants to the Cape Town Labour Market" SALDRU Working Paper Number 06/03 (University of Cape Town, 2006).

Carmen: 'So, what was he referring to when he said, "The way things are done."?'

Michael: 'Because how HIV and the way people do things in Cape Town when it comes to HIV and AIDS. Because in other provinces you find difficulties because maybe

from your health department maybe there's no … and there's no programmes, actually where people can access. Because people in Johannesburg are from different provinces so people are there for work. People are not there for supporting each other like here in Cape Town, because to have access in treatment; things like that. And if you can see in all these provinces you find it very different because Cape Town is the most powerful one in all these provinces. Because if Cape Town does a thing then those people from the health department get those things from Cape Town. Everything starts in Cape Town. Because having a big population in Khayelitsha – because everyday in Khayelitsha you get 120 000 people coming through from the Eastern Cape, all over. So Khayelitsha gets bigger and bigger. Now, this year, you've got 600 000 people who are living in Khayelitsha. It was; years before it was 400 … Do you see how big is Khayelitsha? Khayelitsha is bigger than … you can go to Guguletu. HIV/AIDS also. You can take the challenges you take from Khayelitsha; the access in treatment; how the nurses are good in Khayelitsha. Guguletu people are going to Tygerberg for treatment. Most of the people in Khayelitsha are going there where they know they won't spend money like the clinics. They go where they know they will get quality services.'

Buhle (Student): 'Well, my experience was the opposite of what he's experienced. It was totally opposite. When I came to Cape Town it was like, oh, okay, this is another Joburg type of thing 'cos I was in Joburg as well. So my aunt showed me around Cape Town – every where that we could possible go to. We went to Robben Island, Waterfront, all the nice places. I think maybe it was because I was more privileged to be staying with her and she was showing me all these nice places. I was expecting even the bad places as well but the treatment that I got was, eish, I think it was fair. Ja, and I was surprised to hear that, oh, there are also Sotho speaking

people around here. Well, that was interesting 'cos I was only expecting Xhosas and coloureds. Ja, that was the only thing I was expecting. And then when I came, damn, it was so packed. It's full of population – there were Sotho speaking people. I thought, oh, this is interesting. This is more or less like Joburg to me. So, I just adjusted to the environment and I got used to it. Within 6 months my aunt was like: Okay, you're fine now. You can spread your wings. I can see you know Cape Town from the back of your head. So for me my experience has been nice. I haven't, ja, all the people … maybe it's because I'm Xhosa. I don't have any problem and I don't have a problem to adjust to other people; other cultures or other people who speak different languages, which is … 'cos I'm used to that, ja.'

Tlangi (Student): 'I had the same experience as Mangi 'cos we're from the same place (Limpopo). So in Cape Town when you are darker, they think you are Nigerian and stuff like that. A makwerekwere…'

Tlangi: 'So, when I got here nobody said molo. 'Cos whenever you meet people they'll say molo, but they never said (it). They just stared at me. Most of them said, most of them said I look funny and stuff. I was like, what's wrong and stuff. And when I talked to my friends at school when I got into tech and got into tech life most of … most of them only knew how to speak Xhosa. That's the fluent language they can speak, most of my friends. English, it's hard, it's very hard. I'm not saying that I'm speaking English well, but most of the friends I have who are Xhosa, it's hard for them to speak English and Afrikaans while they have … they, they're in a small place where they can get to speak those languages but they still can't talk. They only know how to talk Xhosa. And they ask me, "Are you South African?" I'm like, "Yes, I am." And, uh, they ask me, "Which part of South Africa is Limpopo?" And I'm asking them, "Did you learn geography; did you have geography as

a subject in high school?" And most of them said yes. And like, "Do you know the tip of South Africa? You are in the tip now because Cape Town is the bottom part, Limpopo is the top part." So I'm like, "The other tip of South Africa." They didn't even know. They only know that it's Northern Province and that we have changed. It showed ignorance in terms of change. And ever since I've been here all I see from Xhosas, most of the Xhosa people I know, they are very ignorant here. Very ignorant. They see Tswana stories and stuff on TV but they still don't want to learn. And I learned most of the languages I can speak seeing it from TV. And when I talk to my friends in Sotho, they're like, (silence) and I change to Xhosa; I change to Zulu, like in a very simple way, but they… for a Xhosa person to learn one sentence in another language takes 5 years to teach them. So it was hard. I didn't understand how people can be this stubborn and be … (murmurs from the rest of the group).'

Amanda (previously studying and now working in Cape Town):

'But my experience from work: I was working in Claremont. Okay, I came to Cape Town in 2001 and I started at UWC and, uh, it was very difficult for me 'cos I grew up in the rural areas. I only knew Xhosas and, um, white people only in King William's Town maybe when I went to do groceries. And then I came here and I saw these Sothos, Tswanas, I mean all the different people that are speaking different languages. My experience, shame, it was difficult because we were called names. Like the Xhosas amaXhosa abaSotho …'

Carmen: 'They think that they're better? The Xhosas think that they're better?'

Amanda: 'Ja, ja. And they think that they own the world. They think that they can do whatever, *yabona* (you see)? So

*mna* (me) I had to learn to adjust to *iizinto* (things) so, okay, going back to my work experience now. I was working in a call centre in Claremont. Now what would happen there is that, uh, on Tuesdays we would have, uh, team meetings, right. Now I was the only black first of all in the group. Now most of the times when they would communicate with each other they would only speak Afrikaans. And then now …'

Carmen: 'Who were you working with? What were the racial identities?'

Amanda: 'It was actually a UK based company. Because it was in Cape Town most of the people that were employed there were coloureds. So, uh, this other black girl, Xhosa as well, came into the group. So, uh, during the meetings when they would speak their Afrikaans we would speak our Xhosa. But then now they would find it difficult for us to speak Xhosa and not try and speak Afrikaans because they would say, "This is Cape Town. Now you have to learn to speak Afrikaans." Because Afrikaans here is like (muffled). Ja, ja. It was quite difficult but then ja.'

Carmen: 'Did you overcome the language issue in that workplace?'

Amanda: 'Uh hum.'

Carmen: 'How?'

Amanda: 'Yo! *Haai* (no), Carmen! Come on, Okay?'

Carmen: 'As an office, how did the office overcome the language issue?'

Amanda: 'Um, *kaloku* (you know) the fact that *nam ngoku* (me now) the fact that I had this other person that was speaking Xhosa in a group, so now, um, when we

would have those meetings we would tell them as well that if you don't want to speak English because English is, I mean, the only language that we can understand each other, so if you don't want us to speak our Xhosa then you don't speak your Afrikaans as well. So, I think we just had to stand up and then, ja.'

Aviwe: 'So did you come to an agreement to speak English?'

Amanda: 'Ja, at the end we did.'

Azola (Working in Cape Town):

'I've worked in an environment where it was dominantly Afrikaans, and there were few black people. It was me and one guy. But the guy was at an advantage because *uyakwazi ukuthetha* Afrikaans (he knew how to speak Afrikaans) 'cos he grew up in Stellenbosch. So, which meant that I didn't have a problem so much. If you're not talking to me you can carry on. But if you want me to understand something then speak to me. So my; what I said to them was that I don't mind if people sit outside and they chat in their own language. I don't mind that because I know that in my own language as well it's difficult to explain each and every expression because it just doesn't sound the same. It just doesn't become; the joke is just not going to be so funny once you start to translate. But when it comes, I had to make it clear, that when it comes to work then let's talk, in meetings, in English. But then I could find that this guy could, I don't wanna say that he could be friends with more people at work, but he could be trusted more or favoured in a way because he sort of understood where they were coming from or whatever. So naturally it puts you at a disadvantage if a person cannot come to you and chat to you about how your day was or how you're doing emotionally because it's just a whole place. So that's just limiting. So that whole idea of saying, in meetings, let's just speak this, or whatever, it just puts a barrier, to me. I think it just puts a barrier when people are not willing to accommodate others. So for me, if we could be in a space,

ideally, where we could say "let's work around languages", then I would say let's find some commonality. Because once we say, "no, only the lecturer is going to speak in this language when we're trying to do this", or even at work, then I don't see how we as a country are going to succeed or progress when people are so protective of their own languages or they're not willing to learn where other people are coming from.

'And then another thing, among Black people, what usually happens: I used to work with this other Afrikaans lady. We were doing presentations together. So we walk into the presentation. It's full of 30 people. We were going to do a presentation on HIV/ AIDS. And then she introduces herself; I introduce myself. She's going to do 2 minutes of the presentation. I'm going to do 15. She starts to speak and everyone just lights up and is attentive. You start to speak and people look the other way around. And this is like black on black people and they're ignoring you. You came with this white woman and they'll listen to her more, because she's, I don't know ... It's the same thing that would happen in a restaurant. Then they would say, "sorry, ma'am" or whatever, whatever, whatever. Because the person serving me is the same age as me but maybe because we're the same skin colour they won't give me the same respect that they would give to a black client. So I don't know, I feel like something needs to be done there to highlight that if you're doing this job then you need to respect the other person. It's not about the race, it's about the other person. But with our history I don't know how you overcome that.'

Carmen: 'How does this sort of thing play out in the Eastern Cape or Limpopo? Compare what you've shared now with your places of origin.'

Mangi: 'Limpopo, for us, this issue of languages is rare to be found because we live in the same place so you can

learn more languages. So my neighbour, he's a Tsonga-speaking person; he's Swathi, so even when we grow up we grow up with languages around us. So you can't say, "I don't understand what languages are spoken in Limpopo." So, whenever you are speaking languages, there's this other point where you will understand each other. There's no point where you can say something about someone behind each other's back and not know. We just pretend that okay, we don't know…, so if I want you to speak about us I'll say, okay, I don't understand. So whenever they talk I'm like what the hell are they talking about? but knowing the language they are talking at the back. The way I would use it is, okay, I'll walk into this room and I'll be like okay, I'm talking this so they will think I don't understand this language and they'll start talking. But I'll find a point where I will respond to show them okay guys change a little bit. Change your mind; don't be like stereotype. We know we grew up in apartheid times. Our parents grew up in apartheid times, but some of them changed. Let us be like them and shake and put behind. So that's what we are doing in Limpopo. We try and put behind every barrier. We don't have to have barriers because barriers are stuff which make you not succeed, because you don't know what's in front.'

Nkwenkwe: 'Has it always been like that?'

Mangi: 'Yes. There's no … like … language issue there. We are trying to overcome those stuff. That's why like it's possible to go to a school and you will find that there is, like, English as a first language, Sotho, Tswana and Venda in the same school. If, like, it's not there they will, like, check they will put it in a particular … to accommodate everybody and those from rural areas. Where if there are Venda speaking people it's only Venda there; we only speak Venda.'

Carmen: 'What about relationships between black, white and coloured people in your province?'

Mangi: 'No, like in my community coloureds are so rare to be found. We just have white people so especially like the relationship with them is so hard because some of them are people who were gone and they like to learn our languages, you know.'

Carmen: 'What is the population of white people, the percentage?'

Mangi: 'I would say 2 to 10 there. White people there are not so much.'

Carmen: 'So perhaps, if I understand it, because the numbers are fewer, it's Buhle's earlier point, that the majority of people represented are represented through many African languages so white people then adapt; they adjust.'

Mangi: 'Hmmm …'

Carmen: 'What's it like in the Eastern Cape?'

Aviwe: 'It's the total opposite. Because what happens in the Eastern Cape, you, it actually like, I think it's the origin where Xhosa speaking people are from. That's where we originate from, you see. Everywhere you go you meet a Xhosa person. You will find, okay, maybe 1 out of 10, you'll find a Tswana speaking person. Everywhere you go you see Xhosas, Xhosas, Xhosas. So, it's so hard to just get out of the Eastern Cape and just … and come to a place like Cape Town where there's like a variety of languages. It's so hard to just adjust at that moment, you see. And especially, it's such a fact that even when I came here I found that there are Xhosa people so I got used to; I thought okay, what's the point of me getting used to other languages if my friends, most of

my friends, are Xhosas?' I found it difficult to adjust to them. But I, ja, I tried. For them, it's easier because they have Tswanas, Tsongas, Tsepedis. They grew up with those people around them so they understand each other. For us, we only know Xhosa and English mostly. So it's a bit of a contradiction, I can say.'

Mangi: 'There's also this thing of our languages, I mean, as my fellow friends from Eastern Cape, if they come to a place where there is another person from the same they like to group themselves; to associate themselves. Like, so they don't like to spread around. Not like I am: I am studying in Pentech and most of my friends they are not Venda but there are Vendas there. I make sure, okay guys, let me … like, I know we'll talk when we go home, so let me try to learn these others; other languages. So what I find from people from the Eastern Cape is that you'll never try to know a Venda person or a Tswana person.'

Amanda: 'Not really. It's not really about the Eastern Cape, guys. It's not really about the Eastern Cape at all. Look here, if you were to enter in this room and you find that, uh, five white people and, um, two black people I think it's normal, I think it's normal that, um, fine (clears throat and responds to comment from another interviewee) ja, you're gonna greet everyone, obviously. But then you're going to associate yourself more with black people.'

Aviwe: 'People you are used to.'

Amanda: 'Exactly. *Mna* (me) that's how I feel about the whole thing.'

Azola: 'Can I just say something on that.'

Amanda: 'It's not an Eastern Cape thing.'

Azola: 'When I was, when I went to the model C school, in class, neh, at the time there were very few black people. I think in my class at the time in VG there were only ten of us that were black in the whole standard. And we had like 75 learners in class. So, we all knew each other and everything. So, in the English class they would make sure that they put people that … they would put us; they would not put everyone in a group. Some of us who were more second language, there would be different – depending on your understanding of English, even if you were all doing first language, but … you would be put in different classes. So, those who were doing well in English would be in 8C or those who were … so it depended on that. 'So, the other day I came back from; I came home, 'cos I was not staying in hostel, which was very rare. So, and then my aunt said to me, um, 'How come you don't have white friends?' And then I thought how my friend was Siyabulela from Peddie. And Siyabulela and I used to get along very well. So … and then I thought about this and then this one day I noticed in class that I speak to my black friend because she understands where I'm coming from. White girls, their boyfriends walk into the house; they greet the mother, they greet the father. If I say to my desk mate, "Oh, my boyfriend, he stands on the corner of the street, and he has to *fluit* (whistle)," they're like, "What the hell for?" Do you understand?' (Laughter)

Azola: 'So, we've got more in common with my friend Siyabulela and she understands where I'm coming from and she understands everything. And she says, "*Tshomi* (friend), please *umpatetha umvubu*."

# 6
# Developing photographic narratives

The strength of this section of the project relied on the degree to which participants from different communities collectively took ownership of the final product. This, in its turn, depended on whether each person in the group contributed to the different phases of the photo narrative. The participants worked in groups of four or five. Although the contents of interview guide were agreed upon by the entire group, the interview was often conducted by one group member who could speak the language (Xhosa) of the interviewee. These interviews took place in May and June 2007. We took a break to allow for the transcription and translation process to be completed. In August, the writing workshops which preceded the photography workshop took place. Later, armed with the basic framework of the narrative, the groups participated in the photography workshops. Once the photographs were selected, edited and printed, the groups compiled their photo narratives which were then exhibited at a storytelling imbizo. The storytelling imbizo was an important event because it provided the interviewees an opportunity to approve the photo narratives of their lives.

## Writing the narrative

One of the biggest challenges facing the workshop facilitator was the different levels of literacy of the participants. The groups were carefully composed to ensure that each had at least one member able to write a basic storyline. The groups were trained to use inclusive methods which enabled even those who could not write to participate in the writing process. We are going to use the interview of Ephraim Nyongwana in Chapter 4 to unpack the workshop process below.

Participants using transcriptions to write their stories

## Taking the photographs

The informal nature of candid photography is best suited for photo narratives. We provided each participant with a disposable camera. The first session of the workshop focussed on basic photographic skills. Armed with their cameras, photographers took to the streets of Lwandle during the second session. The last session was held the following week when photographers used their printed photographs and the interview transcriptions to compile a photo narrative.

### Getting to know your camera

It is important to know the different parts of the camera and its functions before you start snapping away. We used disposable cameras which has its limitations but performed as well as any other camera. We planned to use candid photography so it was important that everyone knew how to hold the camera. The way one holds a camera affects the quality of the snap you take. Keeping the camera steady prevents blurring of photographs.

### The Rule of Thirds

Using your viewfinder, slect a point of interest for a possible photograph. Divide in your mind your field of view into thirds horizontally and vertically, creating four intersection points. Place your subject of interest near or close to one of those four points. You should have more detail in the background than just your subject of interest in the centre of your photograph.

### Composition

Don't just snap away! Spend time looking at the detail of the image or scene through the viewfinder. Remember, candid photography requires one to think quickly before the potential shot is lost. You have to think quickly about the interesting detail you want to capture in your photograph.

### How to take photographs which will influence the storyline

In our workshop, the participants were familiar with the interview transcripts. They collected a few old photographs from the interviews. The photographs they were about to take were intended to focus on the present lifestyle of the interviewees and their community. These new photographs had to develop the story further.

### How to take photographs which will influence the storyline

It was important for the photographers to know beforehand what they were looking for in a photograph. We used a variety of photographs to demonstrate this crucial element of the workshop. The participants were asked to tell a possible story based on a particular photograph. We found that this activity prepared the group for taking their photographs later on.

### Post-production

Once we took the pictures we used software packages like Photoshop or Corel Draw to edit some of the scanned photographs. This proved to be a specialised task and we could not complete it in the workshop context. We covered just the basic aspects of post-production and left most of it to the facilitator.

## Photographic narratives

The stories developed during the writing workshops were combined with the photographs taken by the participants during their photographic sessions in Lwandle. Here are two examples of the photographic narratives developed by participants. The first photographic story is written and photographed by Mzuvukile who went to the Eastern Cape in search of his mother in 2007.

### In search of my mother by Mzuvukile Eric Silolo

Sunrise in Gqwarhu

I was born in the Eastern Cape, in a small town situated between Queenstown and Umtata known as Cofimvaba, in the Gqwarhu location. My mother gave birth to me on the 6th June 1980, and my father named me Mzuvukile, meaning 'the home is awakened or resurrected'.

As my parents were unmarried and my mother was still attending school, my entrance into the world was untimely for my mother. A couple of days after I was born, my mother took me to my father's home.

According to our tradition, it is not fitting for an unmarried woman to have a baby. Her parents did not want motherhood to interfere with her schoolwork. As a result my mother separated from me when I was aged zero. From that day, my grandmother reared me until the age of three.

Getting water from the river.

Looking after the family livestock.

When I was three years old, my father migrated to Johannesburg with me where he worked in a gold mine in Carltonville. I lived with him and his brother for about eleven years. Schooling was not a priority for my father and I did not attend school. In December 1991, my father and I returned to the Eastern Cape. We lived with my grandmother, uncle, aunt and cousins.

My father left home to find a job and the happiest time of my life began … I'm talking about looking after the family's livestock, milking cows, ploughing the mealie fields, getting water from the river and many other things. Even though I had so much to do during the day, I was very thankful that my father left me behind while he searched for employment. I learnt so many things at home. And most of all, my grandmother and uncle took me to school for the first time in my life. I started grade one at age twelve in 1992.

Time at school flew, I passed all my grades. School was fun and all my school teachers adored me because I was a studious learner. But in the year 2000, after passing Grade 9, my world was rocked by a lack of money to further my education. It was a huge disappointment! Grandma's pension money was only enough for food and other household equipment. There was nothing much I could do, but look at them and cry. Fortunately, my cousin invited me to Cape Town.

The fields

Leaving home was not easy, of course. Everybody was concerned about the accidents which normally happen on one's way to the Western Cape. My granny was worried that I would change my attitude, conduct and personality to the lifestyle of the city slickers. She told me to never lose track of where I came from.

In January 2001, I attended Thandokhulu High School. Life was exciting, different and new. Back home, I was used to walking long distances to school with no food or money. Now, I had a lunch box, pocket money, and I travelled by train to school.

Soon my cousin found a weekend gardening job for me and I started to pay my own school fees and train ticket to school. Gardening and a casual job at Table Mountain paid the bills until I matriculated in 2003. In 2005, I found a better job at Fuji Image Centre in Tokai. I saved for a year to visit my family in the Eastern Cape.

Two hours walk to my mother's home.

My trip back home was significant, not only because I had not seen my family for four years, but I hoped that I would be reunited with my parents. I arrived home on a dry Sunday morning to the hugs and kisses of my family.

I was impatient to start my search and could hardly wait for morning. I walked for two hours from my father's location to the place where my mother grew up. On the way, I crossed two rivers and a mountain. When I got to where she lived, deserted, dilapidated houses stared at me.

Her neighbours told me that my mother and her family migrated long, long ago in the early eighties. He told me where they had relocated to and gave me contact numbers to call her. It took me another gruelling seven hours of crossing rivers and hiking over mountains to look for her.

I came back with nothing. I could not find her. I tried finding my father who was last seen in Umtata, but that too was fruitless. I was so tired and disappointed.

My search for my parents proved to be worthless and stressful. Regardless of all the difficulties I faced while searching for my parents, I had a wonderful time at home. My grandma treated me like a child. She would volunteer to make food for everybody.

Nothing had changed since the time I left. We still fetched water from the nearby river and wood in the veld for cooking. I enjoyed herding the livestock, far away from the busy streets of Cape Town. Back home, I had time to think …

I came back to Cape Town with life lessons one learns in places where the day-to-day lives of people depend on their walk with nature. I learned to cultivate self-control, sow sparingly by spending less, save the fruits of my labour and share my harvest with those who cared for me while I was growing up.

## When tragedy strikes

Below are the translated transcripts of interviews taken with Kholiswa. Using the transcripts, a story entitled *When tragedy strikes: Kholiswa Gcani's story* was written. The story touches on a number of themes that the groups discussed during the workshops. For example:

- The Western Cape's economy is based on the sweat and tears of migrant workers
- Belonging is not limited to one geographical location

**Helen Malgas and her group interviewed Kholiswa Gcani.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Helen Malgas: | Wat is u naam? |
| Kholiswa Gcani: | Ek is Kholiswa Gcani. Ek was gebore in Koelenhof, Stellenbos 1955, 3 Januarie. . My pa het daar gewerk in Nu Pipe. Maar my ouers het van die Eastern Cape gekom, van Sterkspruit. En toe trou ek met my man. Ek het my man in Bellville ontmoet. Die eerste keer wat ek hom ontmoet was op Bellville stasie. Toe praat ons, want ons was nog jong, Hy het hier in Lwandle gebly en so het ek vir Lwandle leer ken. Dit was 1974 toe ek die eerste keer hierso gekom het. My man het by Salvage en Lovemore gewerk tot 19 ? maar hy het hier gekom in 1968 en toe werk hy tot 1978 daar. Hy het Salvage en Lovemore gelos en die werk hy by 'n garage hierso in Somerset Wes. En um toe woon hy hier in Lwandle by room 84 in die hostels. |
| Helen Malgas: | So hy het hier gebly? |
| Kholiswa: | Ja, ek het weekends hier kom bly maar as ons hier kom dan moet iemand vir jou kom haal met 'n kar. Hulle het die plek waar die dokter nou woon, die UMKLOKLO Se kantoor waar die mense gehier het en al daai en dan moet jou man 'n kar huur wat vir jou binne in die hostel sal bring…… en ons kom van die wit huis, |

daai huis wat hulle nou noem die wit huis. Dan moet jy lê in die kar en as die kar by die hostel stop en as die kar begin stop dan met jy gou gou uit klim en in die hostel gaan om weg te kruip.

Ek onthou my man het sy werk verloor by die garage en ek het nie gewerk nie en ons het nie nou bly plek gehad nie en ons het 'n bietjie skelpies hier kom bly want die kontrakt was moes klaar en hy het nie die papiere gehad om hier te bly nie hy het die n pas gehad maar geluk het ek n pas gehad en ek moes maar kom slaap waar hy slaap hier in no 84 en ek onthou eendag maar gelukkig het die security geweet hy werk nie meer vir Salvage en Lovemore want die mense wat in die hostel gebly het was ook mense wat van Fort Beaufort Adelaide gebly gekom en daar was 'n ou wat hulle Lincoln Nbuwana genoem.

Hy het by Salvage and Lovemore kontrakt gewerk. Hy het altyd 'n plan gemaak. Ek onthou een oggend het ons nog in die bed gelê toe kom die security. Sy naam was Lumka en hy klop. My man staan op en loer. My man sê vir my, hier is die security en ons kom nie oor die weg nie. Hy klop en klop en my man sê hy gaan 'n ander sleutel haal en dan gaan hy oop sluit en ons vang. Toe maak my man die deur oop. Ek maak my toe en die security vra, 'wie lê daar 'en my man sê 'dit is 'n ander man wat nie gaan werk het nie.' En die security sê … maak jou oop en ek weet ek kan moes nou nie oop maak nie want ek is nie 'n man nie, en hy skud vir my en hy ruk die kombers af en hy sê ja, ek het geweet dus nie 'n man nie en hy staan agter die gordyne so dat ek kan aantrek en terwyl hy daar staan wys my man ek moet uit die venster klim. En hy vra my is jy klaar en my man gaan uit en my man sê vir hom 'laat sy reg aantrek wat jy gaan vir haar tronk toe vat' sê my man vir die Lumka en terwyl my man met hom praat toe klim ek deur die venster en hardloop ek.

Daar was nog 'n dag toe 'n ander security vir my gevang het. Hulahoo, hy was van die onderwereld. Hy was van die nasie met strepe in hulle gesig En die Hulahoo kry my in die bed en hy sê vir my man, 'Ja Lumka het my vertel jou vrou spring uit die venster uit maar vandag gaan sy die uit die venster spring nie.' Maar gelukkig toe hou my man vir Hulahoo was en sê vir my 'jy hardloop weg!'

Helen Malgas: Hoe was dit om in die Kaap te bly?

Kholiswa: Ja, ons het hier en daar gebly tot dat my man 'n ander job gekry het. My man het taxi gery vir Mr Shabangu in Firgrove, Macassar en toe kry ons 'n plek daar by die Portugese maar omdat my man nie 'n pas gehad het nie het die inspekteurs hom kom haal want hy het nie 'n pas gehad nie. Ek onthou die keer wanneer my man voorgekom het in Somerset Wes. Daar was 'n polisie man wat hulle genoem het Ray, soos ek verstaan het, het my man die polisieman se meisie gehad voor hy vir my gehad het. Hulle, twee het baklei oor dié miesie. Ek onthou daai oggend het my man in die tronk gelê het en ek het hof toe gegaan maar ek het nie geld gehad nie en my man kom voor. Die magistraat sê 'jy's gevang in so en so. In a kamer, jy mag nie daar gewees het nie, dit was onwettig want jy kontrakt is klaar'

Helen Malgas: Wat het toe gebeur?

Kholiswa Gcani: Ek het daai dag baie hard geskreeu in die hof, ek skreeu en huil, want die magistraat het klaar vir hom skuldig gevind en ek dink hy gaan tronk toe. En die magistraat gee aandag en ek sê vir die magistraat, 'die is my man en hy het by Salvage en Lovemore gewerk en die kontrakt is klaar en hy moet gaan werk' Die magistraat sê hy het 'n fine wat ons moet betaal. En ek sê ek het nie geld nie maar my broer werk my Gants ek sal hom gaan vra en toe laat hy my bietjie bietjie afbetaal.

En toe vra die magistraat waar gaan ons nou bly, ons moet terug land toe. Maar ek sê my man gaan weer 'n job kry met 'n kontrak. My broer het ons gehelp en toe trek ons Stellenbos toe. Daar het my man taxi gery vir Mnr Olifant in Khayimandi. Toe ry my man daar in Idasvallei tot in die dorp.

Helen Malgas: Het U en jou man ooit Oos Kaap toe gegaan om sy familie te ontmoet?

Kholiswa: Ja 1976 was die eerste keer wat ek my man se familie ontmoet in Fort Beaufort Kwandaba. Maar soos ek verstaan was my man gebore op 'n plaas, Krone in DIE Eastern Cape tussen Adelaide en Fort Beaufort en die baas van die plaas was Diklaas, hulle het hom so genoem maar sy naam was Douglas. Ok so 1976, toe gaan ons af. My skoonpa was oorlede en die enigste persoon wat nog geliewe het was my skoonma. En my skoonma het die plaas verlaat en in die land gaan bly. DIt was nie lekker vir my nie want dit was die eerste keer wat ek land toe was van dat ek groot is. Eers het ek gegaan toe ek jong was.

Helen Malgas: Kan u nog onthou die tye wanneer U land toe gegaan het?

Kholiswa: Ja, maar ek will graag vir jou vertel hoe het ons af land toe gegaan. Want ons was gebore hier in Stellenbos, in Koelenhof. My pa is 1965 afgesterwe en ek was tien jaar. Toe kan my ma nie meer in Nu Pipe woon nie want daar is niemand om vir ons te werk nie. En toe het hulle vir my ma gesê, die AD in Stellenbos. Sy moet terug land toe gaan want daar is nie imand om te werk by Nupipe vir ons. Toe het my ma land toe gegaan met ons. By daai het hulle daarom vir al my Pa se kinders so R20 gegee want my Pa het lang daar gewerk. Al my pa se kinders is daar gebore. Ons is diertien kinders van my Pa en toe gaan woon ons in Herschel, in die dorp maar die plek waar ons gewoon het was Kwandaba…..

en toe 1966 het my ma met ons terug gegaan en 1967 toe kom my ma terug na die witmense van NuPipe. Ons het nog altyd R20 gekry, dit was ek , Giljaart my broer wat nou oorlede is, hy was ouer as ek 1962 en ek was gebore in 1965, en my ouer broer wat agter my gebore is in 1966. Hy is Kholisile en my ander broer 1960 en my baba broertjie in 1964 en toe het my ma met daai vyf in die land gaan bly. Toe het my oudste suster getrou en die ander suster is siek. sy het daarom vir my ma gehelp om ons groot te maak.

My oudste broer was al getroud en hy kon nie vir ons gehelp het nie. My ander broers was in die myne en my susters het ingeslaap by hulle madams. Toe my pa afsterwe toe was ons tien kinders. Drie was alreeds afgesterwe. So in 1967 het my ma terug gekom en in Bothasig gewerk by Mrs Morris. Ek het altyd vir haar gebel dus maar nou dat ek nie meer bel nie. Toe werk my ma daar en los ons in die land want sy het nie geld gehad om ons hier te bring nie. Toe het my ma altyd vir ons geld gestuur en ons was op die skool daar. In 1968, my ma werk, in 1969 toe kom ek Kaap toe. Ek was Standerd 3.

Dit was baie swaar. Die geld wat ons gehad he, ons het gebruik vir kos. Ons het nie skoene of die maroon uniform gehad nie. Toe klim ek in ‘n kar van ‘n man wat altyd die skool kinders kom haal het daar, ek kom na my ma toe. My ma het ‘n sleep out job gehad. Daai Junie maand is ek elke dag met my ma werk toe, bietjie geleer en toe los my ma daai werk en werk gekry in Mouille Point. Daar het ‘n ander wit vrou gevra van my, of ek kan werk. Maar my ma wil hê ek moet skool loop. Maar ek vertel my ma date k haar kan help, met die skuld. Toe werk ek vir die vrou en kyk agter die kind maar die vrou het weg getrek… ek dink hulle het geskei. Toe kry ‘n swear van my ma vir my ‘n werk om ‘n blind kind op te pas. Daar gewerk in 1969, 1970,71 en 72 en toe los ek daai werk want daai kind moes skool

toe gegaan het hier in Worcester. Dus toe ek in Bellville werk en my man ontmoet. Daai jare was baie swaar in Lwandle.

Helen Malgas: Vertel van die dae hier in die Kaap.

Kholiswa Gcani Dit was baie swaar en hier in die Strand kon jy nie in die nagte geloop het nie want hulle sal u vang. Daai tyd as my man vakansie gekry het in Desember het ons altyd land toe gegaan. Met die trein. Toe hy daar by Salvage gewerk het, daai tyd was daar nie busse nie. Ek onthou nog die kaartjie was 6 pounds – R12. die geld was baie skaars. Hy het R26 per fortnight verdien maar die kos was nie so duur soos nou nie. Daai tyd was dit swaar maar ons het geweet hoe moet ons lewe vir die fortnight met die R26. Die geld moet hou en nog goed koop om weg te sit vir as ons land toe gaan.

Helen Malgas: Hoe het dit gevoel wanneer U land toe gegaan het?

Kholiswa Gcani: Ja, jy moes spaar. Want jy kan nie leë hande daar kom nie. En dan die transport.

Helen Malgas Hoe lang het dit geneem om te spaar?

Kholiswa Gcani Jy weet later het Salvage kaartjies gegee. Dan gee hulle die vrou 'n kaart maar net vir op gaan en miskien is daar iemand wat met 'n kar gaan en dan gee daai persoon se kaart vir ons

Helen Malgas: En dan wat as 'n mens afgaan land toe, hoe het die lewe verskil van die Kaap?

Kholiswa Gcani: Ja daar maak die mense kos buite. Maar my man het my alles vertel van sy familie. Hy is gebore in 'n baie arme familie, sonder 'n pa en sy ma het op 'n plaas gewerk en in 'n klein huise gebly. Hy het reguit gesê, 'ek is baie lief vir jou maar my ma se huis is klein, wag tot ek vir jou 'n huis bou in die land.' Maar omdat ek

lief was vir my man en nie vir hom wil verloor nie het ek gesê , 'Nee ons bly in sy ma se huis as ons land toe gaan'. En ons het daai huis groter gemaak. Ek is baie life vir my skoonma. Onthou sy het my nie aanvaar in die begin want ek was 'n Kaapenaar. Sy was van plan dat haar seun een van daai meisies moet neem. Maar ongelukkig was ek 'n baie mooi vrou. Ek is a Basotho en hy was Xhosa. Ek was 'n mooi vrou. Daai tyd het ek 'n broek gedra en ek was nie so vet nie.

Helen Malgas: So gaan hulle nog steeds af?

Kholiswa Gcani: Ek was nou daar Maart maand. Ja ek gaan gereeld af. Maar my man is oorlede in 2003. My ma was al oud toe sy terug land toe gegaan het. Ek het vir haar af en toe gaan haal. Toe raak sy siek en die dokter sê is haar hart, sy moet net rustig wees en stil wees op een plek. En toe los my man hier, om na my ma te gaan sorg. My man was gesond, gesond… en toe bel die kinders my, 'siesie kom …ompie is baie siek.' Toe kom ek huis toe om agter my man te kyk. En tussen daai tyd het my ma afgesterwe. Toe gaan ek weer land toe om my ma te begrawe. My ma is dood die Easter naweek en op die 1st may, toe was my kind.. ek het net een kind gehad, my broers se kinders, my susters se kinders en my oudeste broer… toe was hulle op pad land na my Ma se begrafnis, toe kry hulle 'n ongeluk. My dogter, my broer se twee seuns, die een sal klaar gemaak het in Bellville vir engineering en die ander seun het St 10 klaar gemaak in 2002 en my skoon broer se 5-jarige dogter was almal opslag dood. Dit was baie hartseer.

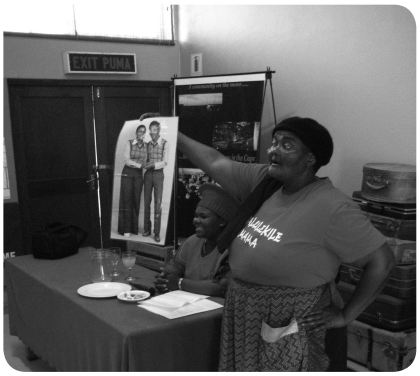
Toe was my broer, Giljaart ook siek. Ek kom terug na my Ma se begrafnis om my dogter te begrawe. Sy het 'n huis hier in Macassar gehad.

Helen Malgas: Toe was U dogter hier begrawe?

| | |
|---|---|
| Kholiswa Gcani | Ja hulle was nog nie in die land. Ek glo nie as jy afsterwe dan moet jy daar in die land begrawe word. Toe is ek in die trein, ek en my suster. Ons was net in Kraaifontein toe hoor ek dat my broer het na ons weg is, afgesterwe. Maar toe gaan ek om my dogter te begrawe. My suster is na Mfuleni om my broer's se kinders te begrawe. Ek het my dogter die Saterdag begrawe en dieselfde week, die Dinsdag toe moet ek terug gaan om my broer te begrawe. My man was nog in pyn. Hy was siek en hy sê nog, dit moet die laaste wees want ek moet terug kom om agter hom te kyk. Maar toe ek terug kom, het my man afgesterf. 27 Julie, het ek my man begrawe. My oorlede dogter het twee kinders gehad en hulle bly nou by my. Ek will graag die Christmas daar gaan want my kinders is baie lief vir daai plek. |
| Helen Malgas | Baie dankie vir die onderhoud. Ek het baie vandag kom leer. |

## When tragedy strikes: The story of migrant worker Kholiswa Gcani

My name is Kholiswa Gcani. I was born in Stellenbosch on the 3rd of January 1955. I am one of thirteen children of parents who came to Cape Town as migrant workers from Sterkspruit in the Eastern Cape. When my father died in 1965, the authorities sent my mother back to the Eastern Cape because there was no one who could work for our family. My father's company, Nu Pipe gave each child a R20 in compensation for the loss of my father who had worked many years for the company.




Kholiswa Gcani

We returned to a place called Herschel and in 1966, my mother was forced to leave five of us behind to return to Cape Town as a domestic maid. My eldest sister and brother were married and could not help my mother financially. The

second oldest sister who is very sickly contributed to the family income. But it was not enough…
In June 1969, I came on holiday to visit my mother who worked as a sleep out maid in Mouille Point. She would take me with her to work. On one occasion the neighbour of my mother's employer asked her if I could work for her.

At first my mother was relunctant to allow me to work. I convinced her that although I was only thirteen and still at school, the money was needed to help my younger siblings who like myself attended school barefooted in the harsh Eastern Cape winters.

I married my husband whom I met on Bellville station in 1974. He was working for Salvage and Lovemore since he arrived in Cape Town in 1968. He was staying at that time in the Lwandle Hostels in Room 84.


Block 13 was home to migrant workers from the 1960's.People are still living in these hostels in Lwandle.

Those years were difficult years in Strand. One could not work around at night as the police patrolled the area in search for Blacks without a working permit. Many of us, worked without a permit and ran the risk of arrest, if caught.

Even though we were married, we could not stay together in the hostel. My husband would arrange for a car to pick me up at the entrance of Lwandle at the white house. I would jump into the car and lay flat so no one could see me. When the car arrived at his room I would jump out as soon as the car stopped.

Wives of migrant workers were not allowed to live with their husbands. The laws were eventually relaxed to allow wives to join their husbands over weekends

Today, families can exercise their right to live together under the same roof.

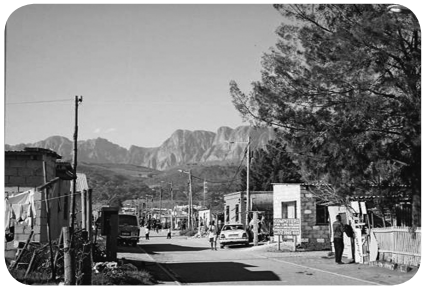
Now, my husband was actually staying illegally at the hostel because he had lost his job at Salvage and Lovemore and had no permit to work in Cape Town. Fortunately, he found work at the garage and the hostel watchmen were unaware of his new circumstances. The other men who were also from Fort Beaufort, my husband's home town covered up for him.

One morning, we were still lying in bed when the watchman knocked on our door. My husband peeped through the window and saw him. He knew if he did not open the door, the watchmen would fetch his own key and find me there. So, he opened the door. I covered myself with the blanket and when the watchman came into the room, my husband told him that it was another man who did not go to work. But he pulled the blanket and found me. He arrested me but while I was getting dressed, my husband distracted him and I climbed out of the window and ran away.

New homes are being built in Lwandle but shacks still remain a feature of the former migrant worker location.

Yes, it was a harsh life. My husband was often arrested for not having a pass and a work permit. I remember on occasion when the magistrate was about to sentence my husband I shouted at him that my husband was the breadwinner. My husband got a fine which I paid off. But still, we did forget our families we left behind in the Eastern Cape.

We went home regularly to his family and mine. At first, his family did not accept me because I am a Basotho and he is a Xhosa but later we got to understand each other and I was sad when I lost my father-in-law.



Life away from home was not always easy

Dealing with the loss of loved ones when you are far away is very difficult. I am use to Tragedy! In 2003, I went home, 'land toe' as we say, to look after my mother. I left a healthy husband and young daughter behind. While looking after my mother, I received a phone call beckoning me to come home to a sick husband. I came home and during the time I was nursing my husband my mother died. I went back home to bury my mother. While I was preparing for the funeral, my daughter and nephews were on their way to the funeral when they were killed in a car accident. My sister and I came home to bury her, my two nephews and niece in Kraaifontein only to hear that my brother had passed away in the Eastern Cape.

My husband asked me to come back quickly so that I could look after him. I remember him saying that he hoped it was the last funeral I would attend in a long time. But it was not so. On the 27th July 2003, my husband died. In one year between the months of May and July, I lost the people I loved so dearly and now I am left alone to rear my late daughter's two children.

It was during such sad, tragic times when I dreaded going home and yet it was the time that I needed the place called home the most!

# 7
# The shopping bag

The production of shopping bags sewn with screenprinted images of artworks inspired by the oral histories, was a collaborative process. In many ways, the shopping bag was a culmination of the efforts and energies of the diverse workshop groups. It is a clear example of an idea that can be generated from within the participant pool, and can harness the creative and practical energies of diversely talented people in such a way as to show that by working together, we can achieve more than working alone. The shopping bag proves the value of synergy in partnerships.

The first phase of the entire project involved consultation with all project participants and organisations. In this phase we explained the broad project concept and objectives. We asked the participants what they would like to gain from their participation. An issue which enjoyed the support of the majority was the ability to use their existing knowledge and new learning in an entrepreneurial context. One of the participants, Abubaker Williams, a screen printer, identified the opportunity to print the stories and the artwork onto different kinds of promotional gear, which could be sold. We saw the possibility of using Abubaker's ideas in a community development project where the skills of the community are harnessed together to develop a product. The shopping bag is a product developed by the collective energies of the writing workshop team, the visual art group, the participants in the screen printing workshop and the sewing collective.

One of the shopping bags made during the project


Participants in writing workshop

Participants in screenprinting workshop

The sewing ladies from Pinelands, Bonteheuwel and Langa

The fact that the final product (the shopping bag) relied on contributions of each workshop group motivated the respective workshops to exceed their goals. Surprisingly, the first time the groups met each other was at the storytelling imbizo after the product was produced. The getting together of the groups to recognise and acknowledge each others' role in producing over 300 shopping bags was in itself a testimony to how creating a platform for dialogue can serve as a catalyst for community development.

## Writing workshop

The writing workshops were expected to meet two outcomes, both meant to be used to enhance the final products of the other creative teams. The amateur writers were required to write narratives for the photography storyboards as well as short creative stories for the back panels of the shopping bags. Different writing techniques and styles were required to meet these outcomes. We used the first writing drafts developed for the photography storyboards as the basis for the short stories. The example below is based on the interview of Lungiswa's group with Ephraim Nyongwana.

*'Sidla imbadu' with utata uEphraim Nyongwana*
A peek into the life of Ephraim Nyongwana

I am Lungiswa Teka, born into the MaKhumalo clan in Queenstown in the Eastern Cape. I work at the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum. My interview with Tata Ephraim Nyongwana, uGambu, who was born in the hills and valleys of Herschel in the Eastern Cape in 1934, taught me to appreciate the rights which I enjoy as a young South African migrant worker today. Rights, which were denied to Tata Ephraim Nyongwana …

Unemployed, Tata Alfred came to Langa, Cape Town, in 1952 and he accepted the job as a policeman. For months he saved towards a train ticket to Herschel from his meagre wage of R7. Every month he sent R2 home to his wife for food and other necessities.

After three years of saving, he went home to perform *iimbeleko*, a traditional ceremony for his children. With twinkling eyes, he reminisces about his *ukubopha ihapsaki* (treasure trove) of blankets, clothes, chickens, and *ephethe umphako*, which he had lovingly hoarded for family and friends. Some were gifts to thank those who had taken care of his family and home during his absence.

The mood on the train was jovial as many passengers looked forward to the place called home … He looked forward to toiling in the fields. But most of all, he longed to see his children and his beautiful wife. The joy of seeing the Eastern Cape landscape again – *nomoya opholileyo* – compensated for months of loneliness and sacrifices. Here, he could think … think about his life in Cape Town as a black policeman enforcing the very apartheid laws which kept his family apart.

Upon returning to Cape Town, Tata left the police force to become a security guard. His wife, who managed to get a pass, joined him in Cape Town in the 1970's but they were forced to live separately. While he lived in the Lwandle migrant labour hostel, Tata's wife lodged in Blackheath. And while he could obtain a permit from the municipality to allow his children to spend Christmas with him, his children were by law not allowed

to visit their mother. He did not want them to be arrested for disobeying the stipulations of the permit. Besides, he would not have money to pay their fines if they were arrested …

Today, we can choose where we want to live and work, we don't need a pass and we can live with our loved ones.

*Written by Lungiswa Teka, Sandile Danster, Luvuyo Matywini, Nolitha Ntshauzana and Eunice Patiwe.*

## Visual-art workshop

Against the backdrop of the storytelling exhibition-panels at the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum, Garth Erasmus took a group of unemployed youth artists from the community through a series of art workshops. He started out by exploring the theme **Belonging and Migrancy in the Cape** with the young artists. The end results vindicated the wisdom of giving the participants an opportunity to share their personal experiences as children of migrant workers.

Workshop material: HB pencils, clipboards, A4 scribblers, A4 blank pages, acrylic paints, variety of paint brushes, tins, and newspaper.

**Day 1** – From perceptions to pencil sketching

The artists were asked to spend 30 minutes touring the museum. They were encouraged to focus on the photographs accompanying the storyboards developed from interviews with former migrant workers. Garth instructed the artists to question themselves about what they saw in the photographs. The artists' questions focussed on the posture and expressions of people in the photographs. One or two artists paid attention to the landscape and its significance in the photographs. The questions were then subjected to a group discussion where the answers given were explicitly formulated taking into account the participants

own experiences as children of migrant workers. The merging of the information obtained from the storyboards with their personal stories set the tone for the second session which included pencil sketching.

One of the photographs exhibited in the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum

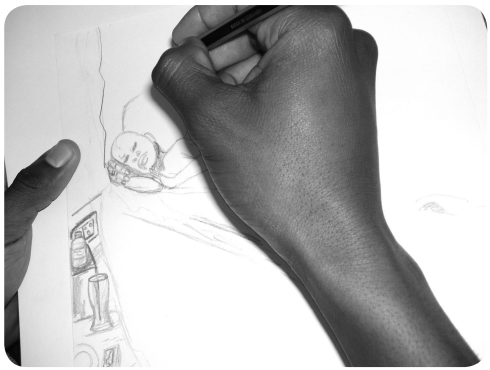
**Day 2** – A sketch tells a story

Pencil sketching

Each artist was expected to select a storyteller from the exhibition panels. The morning session was spent concentrating on how the sketching hand of the artist is guided by the detail which he sees. During the second session, Garth and the artists discussed how shading adds character to a pencil sketching. Once again, through this discussion the artists returned to the question of migrancy and belonging in the Cape as they drew comparisons between what the images of the storytellers revealed to them in their sketches and the interviews which they had listened to. The group discussed how the interviews had helped them to 'read' the images more attentively.

**Day 3** – Pencil sketching in earnest

Since the two previous days were spent in group discussions, Garth wanted the artists to have more time to apply what they have learned. The museum became a quiet retreat for the artists who took their chairs and clipboards to the second pencil-sketching project. For most of the day, the artists were left alone to sketch and reflect on their work. Garth spent his time mentoring each artist individually, paying attention to the finer techniques of pencil sketching.



Pencil sketching

The story about Mzuvukile Eric Silolo's search for his mother inspired a third series of visual art pieces. A series of photographs taken by Mzuvukile during

his journey to Cofimvaba was used as the basis for the creation of 12 art pieces retelling the story of Mzukukile.

The day ended with an exhibition of all pencil sketches by each artist.

**Day 4** – Painting techniques and the painter's palette

By now, the workshop had produced several pencil sketches, and he group was eager to start using acrylic paint. After a discussion on how an artist develops a collection of artworks, the artists were tasked to group their pencil sketchings into different collections. This process convinced the artists that the first set of sketches of the individual storytellers should remain in pencil. They felt, however, that each image spoke to them personally and they discussed ways in which they could carry across this conversation in the sketches. Consequently, Garth encouraged each artist to add a sprinkling of words to the images. Once again, the complex issues of migrancy and belonging emerged from the artists' choice of words.

Later the artists decided to paint the sketchings developed from the photographs of Mzuvukile. The first part of this session focused on brushes, colour mixing and painting strokes. Garth and the artists spent the rest of the workshop painting their sketchings. This collection is presently exhibited at the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum.

The sketches of artists are part of an exhibition at the museum.

## Screenprinting workshop

After the stories have been written in the writing workshops and the artworks drawn in the art workshops, the project participants were able to progress to the third phase, but this time with the assistance of Tradewinds, a screenprinting factory in Lansdowne. We chose two stories and one art piece to screenprint onto calico shopping-bag panels. These panels were cut according to a shopping-bag template designed by the sewing collective Phambile nge in Langa. We took a group of 15 participants from Bonteheuwel, Langa and Lwandle to an evening workshop at Tradewinds where the workers teamed up with the project participants to screenprint the 600 panels.

## The sewing collective

After having baked the screenprinted panels in a special kiln to preserve the colours, they were returned to the sewing collective. Phambile nge was founded by the Pinelands Methodist Church in the aftermath of the devastating fires that destroyed the Joe Slovo informal settlement. It offers basic and advanced sewing training courses to women in Langa and its surrounds. Phambile nge assisted women from Bonteheuwel and Langa to produce over 300 screenprinted shopping bags. These bags are the end result of the collective effort of the writing, art, screenprinting and sewing workshops facilitated across the Cape Flats.

# 8
# Scriptwriting: *amaJOINERS*

Fatima Dike, a well-known playwright, in collaboration with the Siyasanga Cape Town Theatre Company based in Langa, helped to produce the play *amaJoiners*. Applying the methods of improvisation theatre, she played an instrumental role in the writing and performance of the play. She assisted in compiling the script by not only helping with the technical process of scriptwriting, but also through a series of dialogue sessions with the drama group to ensure that they had a clear understanding of the theme.

## Four steps to scriptwriting development

**Step 1** – Becoming familiar with the topic

Our first sessions focused on listening to the recordings of the actual interviews. The transcripts served as a catalyst to start a conversation in the group. This process took us on a journey of remembrance of migrancy in Langa from the viewpoint of children growing up in the township. We gave each other the opportunity to share our personal recollections of migrancy and belonging in the Cape.

The performers needed to understand the cultural issues and dynamics, which were often hidden in the language, or were not expressed at all in the oral history interviews. Many of the most important issues were hidden under the surface of the stories told, and in the things left unsaid. These themes had to be teased out, as it were, in discussions and exposed by members of the scriptwriting and performance team. Interpreting the oral histories was an important first step in being able to use them as the foundation of the creative process. These are some of the issues which we deliberated on:

- The stages in the cycle of forced migration labour system: the innocence, the expectations underlying going to the city to work, the expectations regarding what they would bring home when they returned, the expectations of a better life.
- The destructive role of the *kwateba*, the employees of the government labour recruitment agency. These agents played a pivotal role in attracting migrant

workers to the city with promises of jobs, accommodation and an exciting city life.

- The beginning of moral decay for a vast majority of migrant workers: alcohol abuse, abandonment of traditional life-style and values, extramarital affairs and its consequences.
- The title *amaJoiners* is the derogatory term used for migrant labourers in the townships. Migrant labourers were expected to join the community, hence they were called *amajoiners* or *amagoduka*.
- The plight of the rural woman who came to the city seeking her husband who has abandoned her and their children.
- Survival mechanisms: prostitution, the advent of squatter camps, dealing with polygamy.
- The government's lack of understanding of the culture of respect in black society. For example, cultural space (living quarters or huts of the parents and children) in the rural areas compared to hostel living-conditions. A married man could not sleep in the same room as an uncircumcised or recently circumcised boy, and yet these circumstances prevailed in the hostels, where such cultural considerations were not respected or honoured.

**Step 2** – Improvisation theatre

We used the technique of improvisation. The plot centred on the social consequences of migration, and we considered the various related issues mentioned above and role-played each situation. For example, we would improvise a scene in which a migrant worker bribes a *kwateba* agent by placing money in his pass book. After having improvised a scene, one member of the group would start writing it. In this way, the whole group was included in the process of developing a script.

The first scene is set in the former homeland Transkei, and highlights the recruitment process. The focus then moves to the train journey to Cape Town, and the poor living conditions awaiting the unsuspecting migrant workers. In the second scene, the play deals with the loss of innocence and the early signs of moral decay.

Since we knew that our audience at the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum would be mostly migrant workers and relatives from the Eastern Cape, we decided to fuse Xhosa into the script. We knew this would probably not fall easy on the ears of a non Xhosa-speaking audience, but we felt that it was important to use

their discomfort to demonstrate how complex migrancy and belonging in the Cape was back then. We also wanted Xhosa-speaking people to identify with the characters in the play, and at the imbizo the reactions of the audience clearly indicated this. Someone would mutter, "It happened to me' or the women would react negatively to the prostitute character in the play as if it were opening old wounds. That is the beauty of theatre. The power of the performance is evident when the performers can improvise a memory or experience that the people in the audience recognize as their own, and when the play brings it back to them, even if it revives old, bad memories, it is clear that the goals of the performers to produce authentic theatre have been achieved.

**Step 3** – Casting roles

It is important for the facilitator to weigh up the strengths and weaknesses of the members drama group in the casting of roles. Because of the reliance on individual participation and improvisation, it should be expected that roles will change as they are interpreted and claimed by the various performers 'as their own'. Group members would be asked to improvise a number of roles before the final casting, to ensure a best fit of talents and enthusiasm to each role. This cast consisted of four characters: two mature male migrant workers, a youngster who has just arrived from the Transkei and a young 82 local woman. The characters get artificially forced into each others' lives through the dynamics of migration. The play is initially set in Transkei but eventually moves to the hostel room in Langa where older men share a room with a young man. From time to time, a girl comes in and out of these rooms looking for laundry jobs and eventually her laundry work leads to providing sex for money. Later on, the boy also tries to have sex with her for money. His attempts are met with the anger of the older men who, instead of beating him, fine him for poor behaviour. As the play progresses, the youngster abandons his traditional values and adopts the city ways.

The young woman had to perform multiple roles. She was also the letter writer and confidante of men who could not read or write, and she therefore had to write intimate letters to the men's wives, according to their instructions. The actress had to portray these many aspects of one woman, and it was important for her to be able to show that the character was also a trusted scribe and not just someone exploited for sexual needs. The actress needed to convey the complexity of a character that fulfilled both a highly-educated and respected function (scribe) and a commonly despised function (prostitute).

**Step 4** – Props

Once again, we improvised the required props. We knew that the play would travel from school to school and therefore we could not rely on a set stage. Our props had to be minimal. So we decided to use milk crates for beds, because they are easy to move around. Since we had access to horse blankets commonly used by migrant workers, we used the blankets to invest the play with authenticity. Also for the sake of authenticity, we made a few of the little suitcases that the migrant workers made from paraffin cans. When we performed the play at the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum, members of the audience immediately identified with the suitcases. Another important prop was sticks. In African culture, a man is given the stick of manhood on the day of his circumcision. This stick is never left behind and travels everywhere with him, so on stage it was an important indicator of the social status of each character, distinguishing the young man from his elders.

# 9
# Choreographing a dance

Choreographer and dance instructor Wendy Abrahams worked with four dancers from Retreat, Cafda and Grassy Park to develop a dance routine based on the information in the transcriptions. The frame boxes below provide insight into how Wendy and her team incorporated the insights and understanding gained from the transcriptions to their dance sequences.

FRAME 1:

There are three females and one male in the performance. The performance starts with an upbeat dance with buckets. There is melodic cheering. Movements include walking, leaning and floor movements.

We wanted to portray life prior to migration to the cities. The dancers connected with the interviewees' description of life in the Eastern Cape, particularly the fetching of water, the gathering of wood and the ploughing of the fields. The melodic cheering echoes the strong sense of familyhood evident in the interviews.

FRAME 2:

This second section has slower movements and music. Some dance sections start as a solo performance with the other dancers joining. Some dance sections have pairs of dancers together while other dances start as a solo with the male dancer

and the female dancers joining in. The buckets are used at times to indicate washing. At the end of the song the dance ends with the putting down of the buckets.

From the interviews, we felt that we could depict the rhythm of life in the Eastern Cape through the use of slower movements and music. We felt that the dance should demonstrate the values that families believed in and relied upon in the Eastern Cape as reported by the interviewees. The slower movements symbolize the value attached to familyhood and togetherness. The bucket dance illustrates productivity and the reliance on each member of the family to contribute to its wellness. It also symbolizes work as a means for survival. The laying down of the buckets indicates the exchange of rural life for work in the cities. It symbolizes migration to Cape.

FRAME 3:

This section starts with a narration, 'Passes, Feelings of Loneliness … and then 1994 came'. The music is more positive but not as upbeat as the opening music. The dance movements involve hands pointing upwards. There are ground movements.

We wanted to capture 'migrancy and belonging' very quickly in our dance sequences, because we wanted to place more emphasis on the hope which democracy brought us. The narration helped us to move quickly through this period. The dance sequences with the hands pointing upwards are linked to the narration and symbolize hope.

FRAME 4:

This starts off with an excerpt from Nelson Mandela's inaugural speech as the first democratically elected president of South Africa. Initially sticks are used as props. All the dancers have separate dance moves, while Thabo Mbeki's speech 'I am an African' is being read. The dancers end off with a bow.

We used the sticks to symbolize diversity and to challenge the audience to connect with and understand issues of belonging. Once again, we relied on the readings and the music to project the cultural diversity of our nation.

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# Acknowledgements

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**Oral History Workshops**

Facilitators: Mbulelo Mrubata, Valdi van Reenen-Le Roux

Participants: Abeda Stofberg,Abubakr Williams, Anelisiwe Masaseni, Ayanda Siyothula, Bradley Barrows, Coleen Losper , Edwin Mdlalana, Eunice Patiwe, Fagmeda Young, Galiema Snyman, Helena Malgas, Khokhelwa Sontshatsha, Lundi Tebeka, Lunga Smayile, Lungiswa Teka, Luvuyo Mkazi, Malile Maguma, Marco Bantam, Ndala Wanda, Nolitha Ntshauzana, Portia Speelman, Sandile Danster, Sisongiseni Mdwanya, Thandekile Noqhekwa,Thomas Esau, Thuliswa Zono, Toefiekah Forbes and Zamile Hleli

**Writing Workshop**

Facilitators: Valdi van Reenen-Le Roux, Kenneth Lukuko

Participants: Abeda Stofberg, Abubakr Williams, Ayanda Siyothula, Bongiswa Kayiyana, Bradley Barrows, Edwin Mdlalana, Eunice Patiwe, Fagmeda Young, Galiema Snyman, Helena Malgas, Khokhelwa Sontshatsha, Lundi Tebeka, Lunga

Smayile, Lungiswa Teka, Luvuyo Mkazi, Ndala Wanda, Nolitha Ntshauzana, Portia Speelman, Sandile Danster, Thandekile Noqhekwa, Thandisizwe Mgudla, Thembakazi Tolbadi, Thomas Esau, Thuliswa Zono, Toefiekah Forbes, Zamile Hleli

**Visual Arts Workshop**

Facilitator: Garth Erasmus

Participants: Cathryn Gordon, Khumbulani Khobocwa, Lundi Mama, Lunga Smile, Lungiswa Teka, Rufas Mva and Silindile Sihlangu

**Photography Workshop**

Facilitator: Faizal Brooks

Participants: Abubakr Williams,Ayanda Siyothula, Edwin Mdlalana, Galiema Snyman, Helena Malgas, Khokhelwa Sontshatsha, Lundi Tebeka, Lungiswa Teka, Luvuyo Mkazi, Malile Maguma, Ndala Wanda, Nolitha Ntshauzana, Nomalungisa Mgushelo, Portia Speelman, Sandile Danster, Sisongiseni Madwanya, Thandekile Noqhekwa, Thomas Esau, Thuliswa Zono and Zamile Hleli

**Drama, Scriptwriting and Performing**

Facilitator: Fatima Dike

Participants: Anita Ndevu, Sandile Danster and Zamile Hleli

**Shopping Bag Workshop**

Facilitators: Adelaide Bhatyi, Hydie Macdade, Jo Crockett and June le Grange.

Participants: Abeda Stofberg , Bongiswa Kayiyana, Eunice Patiwe, Fagmeda Young, Galiema Snyman, Gloria Ngxumsa, Helena Malgas, Neliswa Tshaka, Nolusindiso Putuma, Nomawethu Jonas, Nomthandazo Dyantyi, Nomthandazo Mditshwa, Nontsha Msungubali, Ntombozuko Magobiyane, Ntombozuko Mlonyeni, Pamela Guldenge, Phelisa Maduba, Philiswa Duda, Pumla Sonti, Thembakazi Tolbadi, Vivian B Xindibana, Welekazi Mjija, Zimbini Tyopho, Zusakhe Majija

**Screenprinting**

Facilitators: Sean Smit and Abubakr Williams.

Participants: Anelisiwe Masaseni, Ayanda Siyothula, Edwin Mdlalana, Helena Malgas, Lungiswa Teka, Luvuyo Mkazi, Nbnzukiso Msaseni, Ndala Wanda, Nolitha Ntshauzana, Nomalungisa Mguushelo, Portia Speelman,Sandile Danster, Sisongiseni Madwanya and Thandekile Noqhekwa

**Dance Workshop**

Choreographer: Wendy Abrahams

Participants: Brad Urion, Ciara Barron, Crystal Langeveldt, Jamie Erasmus Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum Mr Molo, Mrs Molo, Mr Thabo Phinda, Mrs Elizabeth Phinda,, Mr Mzuvikile Eric Silolo, Mrs Kholiswa Gcani, Mrs Nopasile Elda Nomnganga, Ms Nomabali Dingane Memani, Ms Nobantu Maqhiza, Mr Ephraim Nyongwana, Mr Tom Kula, Mrs Nomzimpofu Bhulana, Mrs Makhabane, Mrs Eunice Patiwe (Langa-based)

**TAC Focus Group Participants**

Neliswa Nkwali, Michael Velile Hamnca, Norute Nobola, Fanelwa Gwashu and Lungiswa Jack Mdende

**Student/Professional Focus Group Participants**

Amanda Mdabula, Tlangelani Valoyi, Busisiwe Matanga, Tshimangadzo Netshikhudini, Buhle Sihlali, Aviwe Monti, Nomtha Bell and Azola Goqwana

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