

Forced removals: a case study on Constantia

An oral history resource guide for teachers

Project of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation in partnership with the Western Cape Education Department (South) and the District Six Museum.

The project was generously funded by the Local Cooperation Fund of the Embassy of Finland.



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ISBN 0-9585002-2-3

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Dedication

This book is dedicated to those who have shared their memories about life in Constantia and the hurt and pain of forced removal.

Acknowledgements

We wish to extend our thanks and appreciation to Cecyl Esau of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation for coordinating this project; to Spencer Janari, History subject advisor, Education Management Development Centre (EMDC) South, Western Cape Education Department, who facilitated the relationship with the history teachers of the five participating schools; to Bonita Bennett of the District Six Museum who facilitated the visit to the Museum and the oral history training course for learners; and last but not least, to Mr CW Pietersen, former resident of Constantia, who was our guide during site visits to Constantia.

Members of the editorial team were Spencer Janari, Cecyl Esau, Carohn Cornell and history teachers Desiree Barnes, Henry Dirkse, Janine Kaptein, Tracey Petersen, Sandra Sauer-Jacobs, Cassiem Savahl and Lulamile Sibiya. Spencer Janari and the teachers designed the research project and the assignment. The remainder of the text was researched and written by Carohn Cornell. The maps on pages 6 and 28 were drawn by Janet Alexander.

We extend our gratitude to officials in the Embassy of Finland for their efficient and generous support.

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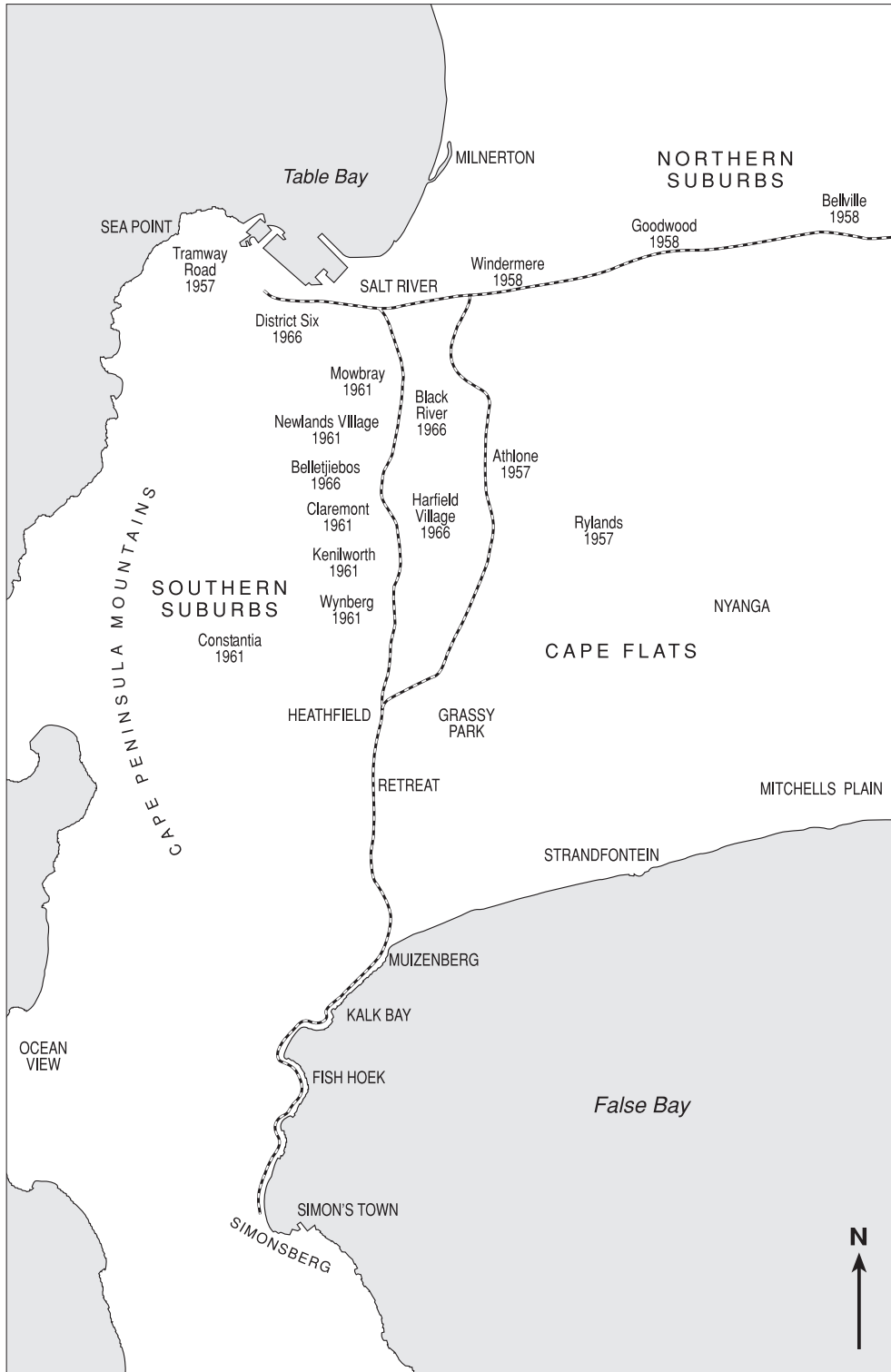
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Places and dates of forced removals in the Western Cape

Introduction

History should be a process of enquiry and debate based on evidence from the past. The evidence should include written sources as well as oral sources, whether based on living memory or on oral traditions passed down from generation to generation. Learners must be given opportunities for "doing history" as historians do it: engaging with authentic sources from the past and constructing historical knowledge from the evidence derived from the historical sources.

This publication, the result of one such process, tells the story of forced removals in Constantia. But it also illustrates how an interactive oral history project can be conducted within the parameters of the National Curriculum Statement. As such, it is aimed at teachers of History, particularly at Grade 11 level, but the ideas for classroom activities can be adapted to any grade at high-school level.

Partners in the project

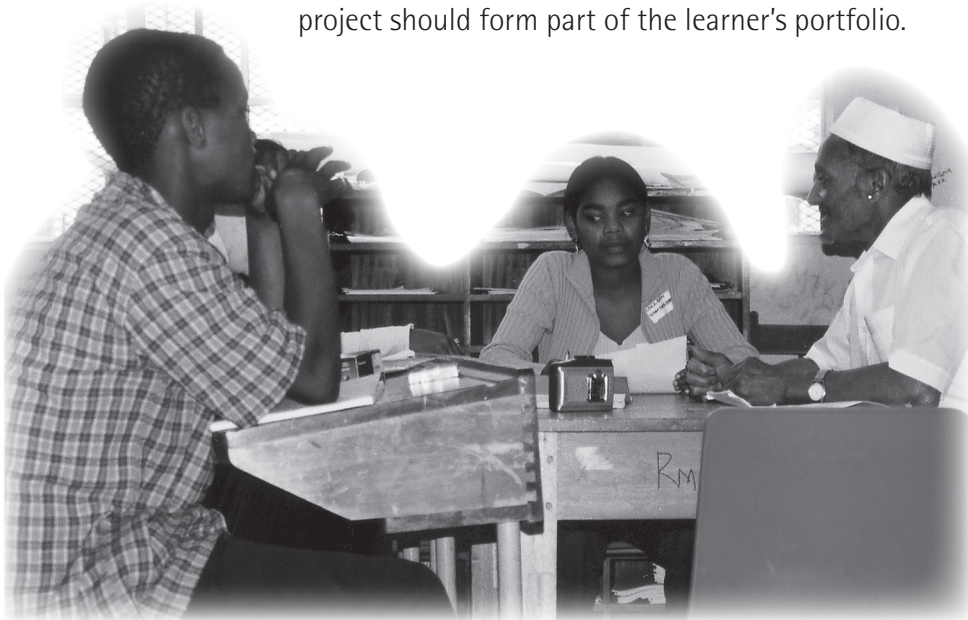
In 2005 the Education Management Development Centre (EMDC) South of the Western Cape Education Department, in partnership with the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) and District Six Museum, embarked on an oral history project. This brought together about fifty Grade 11 learners and seven teachers from five high schools in the Western Cape. The research topic was "Forced Removals in the Western Cape under the Group Areas Act". Learners explored the impact of this law on the lives of people in the Western Cape, using Constantia as a case study.

The 2005 project was a follow-up to a successful partnership between the EMDC Central and the IJR in 2004 that focused on the pass laws and resulted in an oral history resource guide for teachers, *Pass Laws in the Western Cape: Implementation and Resistance*.

Process

Five schools participated in the project: Fairmount Senior Secondary in Grassy Park, Fish Hoek Senior High School, ID Mkize High School, Lenteguur Senior Secondary and Sinethemba Senior Secondary. Meetings were held with teachers and learners at each of the schools to discuss the programme. Their response was positive – some were even keen to volunteer! The history teachers at each school selected learners to take part.

The actual project work (training, conducting the interviews, transcribing them and writing a story based on them) was to be done outside of teaching time but teachers included lessons to support learners doing the project. One suggestion was that the project should form part of the learner's portfolio.



Learners interview Mr Ismail Allie, a former Constantia resident

During the March school holidays of 2005, learners met for a two-day oral history training programme facilitated by Bonita Bennett, an experienced researcher and trainer from the District Six Museum. The training began with a visit to the District Six Museum. This visit exposed learners to the impact that forced removals had on people's lives. A guided tour of Constantia followed. Under the knowledgeable leadership of former resident Mr CW Pietersen, a hidden history of the area was revealed – one which left learners with a new insight into Constantia. Fairmount Senior Secondary School in Grassy Park was the venue for the rest of the training, where learners were given guidelines for conducting oral history interviews. The training was once again facilitated by Bonita Bennett.



Former Constantia residents, Mr Cassiem and Mrs Farida Kherekar, interviewed by learners

Two weeks later, Fairmount Senior Secondary was also the venue for a gathering of former Constantia residents who had been invited to share their memories of life in Constantia. This reunion was a time of both happy and painful memories for the former residents who had agreed to be interviewed. Some learners returned to Constantia a few weeks later for a longer tour with Mr CW Pietersen and were fortunate to encounter several other former residents and hear their stories.

After the interview tapes were transcribed, learners used the transcripts as sources for writing short life stories of the interviewees. Learners also reflected on what they themselves had learned from their research into the experience of forced removals. You can read these stories on the Institute website: www.ijr.org.za

Why focus on oral history? Why Constantia?

People throughout South Africa whose experience and historical knowledge were previously denied expression are now telling their stories so that new generations of South Africans can learn more about our country's past.

Many communities in the Western Cape suffered forced removals, so why focus on Constantia? The timeline for Constantia on pages 23–27 gives some idea of the importance of the area and its heritage. Moreover, compared to other areas, very little has been recorded about forced removals in Constantia. Many of the Constantia interviewees have never told their stories in public. The narrative, "Remembering Constantia", on page 32 captures the stories of former residents and is based on interviews done by learners. This is a contribution to the history of Constantia for those who plan to return and those who return only in memory. The collaboration of learners, former residents and others in the project has reclaimed some of the often forgotten history of Cape Town and the Western Cape.

Relevance to the curriculum

The second half of the resource guide discusses the relevance of oral history – and the topic of Group Areas removals – to the Grade 11 History syllabus and presents some ideas for application in the classroom. Both the topic and the oral history method meet syllabus requirements. The sample learning unit designed by the teachers and the subject advisor presents the framework within which the learning outcomes will be met.

Forced removals and Group Areas: an overview

This timeline offers an historical overview of displacement and forced removals in South Africa from long before 1948 and places Group Areas removals in that context.

Forced removals in South Africa: a timeline

The Group Areas Act was brought in by the National Party Government from 1950. However, there was residential segregation – and segregation in other forms – long before the policy of apartheid became the law of the land after 1948. Even before 1900, some areas of Cape Town were “whites only” by law and there was informal segregation in other areas. At the same time whites, coloureds, Indians and Africans were neighbours in areas like District Six, Salt River and Mowbray.

1901: Africans living in District Six and elsewhere in the city were forced to move to barracks in the Docks and to Ndabeni location, far from town, despite resistance (strikes and stayaways, mass meetings on the Parade, protest marches and delegations).

1913: The Land Act divided South Africa into “native reserves” (about 7 % of the country) where Africans could own land and the rest where they could not. In 1936 the land assigned for “native reserves” was increased to 13 % of the country.

1923: The Native Urban Areas Act decreed that all Africans should be segregated in locations.

1926–7 on: In Cape Town, Africans living in Ndabeni location were forced to move further out beyond the white suburbs to a new location, Langa.

1934: The Slums Act gave government the power to expropriate and demolish property in "slum areas" for the purpose of "social upliftment" – in effect, for whatever local authorities wanted to do with the land. Group Areas demolitions were preceded by decades of neglect by landlords, government and the city council, with growing urban decay.

1936: African voters (those few who were registered voters in the Cape) were removed from the common voters' roll.

1937: Africans were forbidden to buy land outside of rural reserves.

1938–9: The Cape Provincial Government and Parliament both tried to pass laws to enforce coloured residential segregation, but failed, mainly because of massive protests led by Cissie Gool and other members of the National Liberation League.

1948 on: The National Party Government extended apartheid to every aspect of people's lives. The Group Areas Act forced people of different racial classification to live in separate areas. When an area was classified white, people not classified white were forced to move even if their families had lived there for generations.

1949: The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act was the first major apartheid law (and in 1950, the Immorality Act was amended to make sex illegal between white and black).

1950: The Population Registration Act aimed to define who belonged to what racial group: white, coloured, Indian or African. The Group Areas Act aimed to stop mixed residential areas in South African towns and cities. These Acts split many families and caused many people to be driven from their homes or schools.

1951: The government took control of all property transfers and changes of occupancy that went across racial lines. By law, owners were not allowed to sell or rent property to people of the "wrong" racial group. The system was administered by the Group Areas Board.

1953: The Separate Amenities Act aimed to segregate South Africans from birth to death and beyond: at offices, beaches, restaurants, parks, bus stops, benches, post office counters, lifts, hospitals, ambulances and graveyards.

1955: Forced removals were carried out in Sophiatown, Johannesburg, sometimes described as Johannesburg's District Six on account of its lively cultural mix.

1956: Coloured voters were removed from the common voters' roll.

1959: Following the earlier implementation of segregated schooling, the Extension of University Education Act led to segregated universities: "whites only" (the universities of Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Pretoria, Natal, etc.); "coloureds only" (University of the Western Cape); "Indians only" (Westville); "Xhosas only" (Fort Hare); "Zulus only" (Ngoye) and so on.

10 February 1961: Constantia, along with other areas including Bishopscourt, Fernwood, Rondebosch, Claremont and Hout Bay, was declared a White Group Area.

11 February 1966: District Six was declared a White Group Area.

1960s–1980s: In Cape Town 150 000 people (including 60–70 000 residents of District Six) were forcibly removed under the Group Areas Act.

Since 1913, the figures for forced removals nationally, under various laws including the Group Areas Act, have been estimated at well over four million. This includes removals from "blackspots" in the rural areas, removals of farmworkers who were previously living on farms, and removals from many informal settlements. For example, in Cape Town there were violent forced removals and strong resistance from Modderdam, Crossroads and other informal settlements in the 1970s and 1980s. (The apartheid government actually planned to move all Africans living in Cape Town to Khayelitsha, not only from the informal settlements but also from the established townships of Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu.)

Group Areas removals in Cape Town

The notice from "the Group" usually gave a date by which the property had to be vacated. Removals and relocation to the townships followed the same pattern as the Sophiatown removals of the 1950s. The poor sub-tenants were moved first; landed property owners last. People were promised "suitable alternative accommodation" but were often intimidated into accepting houses that were either small and substandard, or too expensive. Government agents also caused confusion and alarm by using bribery, threats and corruption and by issuing illegal eviction notices with no offer of alternative accommodation. The chronic housing shortages worsened as the waiting list in Cape Town climbed to 24 000 units.

By 1982 about 150 000 people had been forcibly removed in Cape Town under the Group Areas Act. The vast majority were coloured Capetonians. They were evicted from older residential areas and from shack settlements alike. Apartheid planners were determined to put

an end to mixed areas (such as District Six, Woodstock and Salt River and some of the informal settlements) and to place a barrier between coloured and white areas – a railway line or a road or an industrial area, such as Epping Industria between Pinelands and Bonteheuwel.

Resistance

In the period when most of the Group Areas removals were taking place from the mid-60s to the early 80s – an era of brutal political repression – there was a rising tide of protest and resistance against apartheid in general. Inside South Africa, the struggle against apartheid continued with youth uprisings, the growth of union and civic organisations, strikes and consumer boycotts, the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and more.

There were protests against Group Areas removals in Cape Town but the removals continued apace (though here and there, in areas such as Woodstock and Kalk Bay, a few families found ways to outwit the system). In District Six after the removals, strong opposition to redevelopment by ex-residents and their interest groups, including the "Hands Off District Six" campaign, blocked government plans to implement housing development. The building of the "whites only" Cape Technikon was intended as a symbolic victory over District Six by the National Party – like building Triomf, a new white area, on the site of Sophiatown – but District Six remained a strong rallying point for opposition groups.

Social and economic impact of Group Areas

The destruction wrought by the Group Areas Act has been described as "Cape Town's Hiroshima" by the writer Richard Rive. Under the Group Areas Act, people not classified white were removed from some of the most beautiful parts of the city and peninsula, near the mountain and the sea. They were pushed out to townships they had never seen on the windy Cape Flats. They found themselves among strangers, far from workplaces and shops, schools and places of

worship, hospitals and other services. This destroyed communities and social support networks and disrupted family life, schooling and work.

Living conditions in the new townships were no improvement: there were serious complaints about small, badly built houses or flats; poor roads, lighting and community services; and the lack of safe spaces. The cost of commuting was heavy and relocation usually meant a dramatic rise in the cost of living.

In a paper titled "Breaking the web: Economic consequences of the destruction of extended families by Group Areas relocation in Cape Town" (1984), Don Pinnock gives a sociological perspective on the social and economic impact of Group Areas removals on displaced families and communities:

As families labelled coloured were being moved out of Harfield Village to make way for white developers, a graffiti slogan appeared across the walls of two Wesley Street houses. In letters a metre high it read: THE GROUP IS KILLING MY PEOPLE. The terrible truth of this slogan has yet to be systematically tested and the effects of Group Areas removals remain largely impressionistic. The first casualties were the old people. Thousands died as the machinery of the Act tore into the old established neighbourhoods. Among five families who were my immediate neighbours in Harfield Village, two elderly people died after their families received eviction notices and a third had a heart attack within weeks of removal. But these deaths were only part of the misery that the intra-city relocations were to cause. A less apparent effect was the destruction of social webs and the complex network of household commodity production and services which depended upon them. Because what gave way before the racist geopolitics was the extended family – the social and economic life-raft of the old ghettos. Not only were the fragile economic threads broken

by the mass removals, but they were prevented from being re-spun on the hostile sands of the Cape Flats because the extended families could not reconstitute themselves in houses built around the bourgeois ideal of the nuclear family. Families were either hopelessly overcrowded or smashed.

In addition to recording the breakdown of the extended family, Pinnock also tells how gangsterism grew. He records how the activities of gangs that had previously been "lower-income cultural groupings" in District Six, increasingly "took on an economic and illegal character" after relocation to the Cape Flats.

After the removals, the white areas occupied the most valuable land of the inner city and the mountain slopes of the Peninsula. The Group Areas freed valuable property within central Cape Town and places such as Newlands, Kirstenbosch and Constantia for development as expensive white suburbs that would pay higher rates to the city council. There was a property boom and white investors made fortunes, buying cottages cheaply, gentrifying them and selling them at a great profit. Old homes were demolished to make way for grander homes or shopping malls (like Cavendish Square, Maynard Mall and Constantia Shopping Centre) and institutions (like the Cape Technikon in District Six). Long-established schools and churches stood empty. All of this, as Pinnock notes,^s "added further to the displacement of memory" for those who could hardly recognise the streets from which they had been removed.

Separated from familiar community networks, people were stressed and vulnerable amidst the gangsterism and social disruption of the Cape Flats. However, many held fast to the traditions and social practices they brought from home, and managed to develop "new forms of social solidarity in sports clubs, religious organisations and cultural societies".

Land claims: compensation, restitution and development

The Restitution of Land Act passed in 1994 applies to people dispossessed of property through racist laws or practices after the 1913 Land Act and entitles people to get either their original land back or alternative state land. There is also an option of financial compensation.

The new Act created two structures: the Commission on Restitution of Land Rights (integrated into the Department of Land Affairs in 1999) and the Land Claims Court. The Land Claims Court makes judgments on land claims and decides what kind of restitution will be granted to the claimants. Claimants can be individuals, co-owners, a group or a whole community. Verifying claims often requires time-consuming archival research. Oral history testimony is legally recognised by the Land Claims Court. Long-term tenants may also claim if they have evidence of their tenancy (for example, rent receipts or testimony from neighbours).

Families have had to make difficult decisions: to claim or not to claim; to take the token amount of money or wait for land; to apply for the same property or not; to stay where they have made their lives for more than a generation or to go back. Many people decided not to apply because they did not want to relive the pain of the past. In some areas, however, ex-residents have formed organising committees to liaise with the Office of the Regional Land Commissioner. Some 200 former residents of Constantia have formed such a committee and are demanding the return of about 64 hectares of Constantia land, worth millions of rands.

Many questions face those who want to return. What land is left undeveloped? Who currently owns the land? Who has the right to return? Who will actually come back to live in the area? On what land? What would ex-residents like to see in the area they

were forced to leave? What about affordable residential housing? What relationship would those who return have to those who replaced them? How can the redevelopment and restitution process memorialise the experience of forced removals?

The long process has been frustrating for many claimants. Only a small proportion of claims has been finally settled.

In the Cape Town urban context there are many areas where it will be impossible for people to return to their original houses or land ... in some areas, for example, parts of Tramway Road and District Six, claimants will eventually receive new houses on the original land ... people's struggles for restitution are driven by dreams of returning to the home or community where they feel they belonged. But this struggle is also about wanting to be heard, wanting to be seen and wanting to be remembered.
(Field, 2001: 120)

The claim for restitution is not against those who now own the property but against the state: the state pays. It is ironic that the new government has to pay to make good the wrongs of the old system, out of taxpayers' money, while those who profited from the removals remain untouched.

Feeling the impact: a visit to the District Six Museum

A visit to the District Six Museum serves as a memorable introduction to forced removals and their impact on people's lives. The museum focuses on District Six, but it also gives a history of forced removals across Cape Town and nationally.

The oral history training programme for this project began with a visit to the Museum. For most of the learners and for some of their teachers, it was their first visit. These comments show how learners responded:

Museums sound dusty and boring but this is quite a lively place, like a community museum, a lot of people coming in and out – hectic – but it's a good place for doing research if you have more time.

It was shocking and it really touched me to see how apartheid hurt the people with forced removals and separate everything, even "whites only" benches. It was just stupid.

It's about District Six but there's more about apartheid and we saw some photos of a family who were forced to leave Constantia, from Zomerlust farm.

These simple but eloquent words on the dedication panel inside the Museum recall the many communities affected by the forced removals that took place throughout the country in cities, towns, villages and informal settlements between the 1950s and the 1980s:

*Remember Dimbaza.
Remember Botshabelo/Onverwacht,
South End, East Bank,
Sophiatown, Makuleke, Cato Manor.
Remember District Six.
Remember the racism
which took away our homes
and our livelihood
and which sought
to steal away our humanity.
Remember also our will to live,
to hold fast to that
which marks us as human beings:
our generosity, our love of justice
and our care for each other.
Remember Tramway Road,
Modderdam, Simonstown.
In remembering we do not want
to recreate District Six
but to work with its memory:
of hurts inflicted and received,
of loss, achievements and of shames.
We wish to remember
so that we can all,
together and by ourselves
rebuild a city
which belongs to all of us,
in which all of us can live,
not as races but as people.*

Also note the words on the brass plaque outside the front door of the Museum, placed there when the building was still used as a church at the height of the forced removals from District Six.

ALL WHO PASS BY
REMEMBER WITH SHAME THE MANY THOUSANDS
OF PEOPLE WHO LIVED FOR GENERATIONS
IN DISTRICT SIX AND OTHER PARTS OF
THIS CITY, AND WERE FORCED BY LAW TO
LEAVE THEIR HOMES BECAUSE OF THE
COLOUR OF THEIR SKINS.
FATHER FORGIVE US.

Use the words on the dedication panel as well as the words on the plaque to stimulate a class discussion on how to mark or commemorate the places of forced removals. The following questions could guide the discussion:

- Where are all these places?
- What do we know about their stories?
- What do they have in common?
- What differences are there between them?
- What other forced removals could be added to the list?
- What form could these memorials take?
- Where should they be placed?
- What dreams do we have for a rebuilt Cape Town?

Plotting the history: a Constantia timeline

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Who built Constantia?

For centuries before any settlers arrived from the interior or from abroad, indigenous Khoi herders inhabited the mountain slopes, the valleys and the plains of the Cape Peninsula. By the late 1600s the small European settlement at the Cape was expanding, taking over the ancestral lands of the indigenous people. The fertile and beautiful valley that we know as Constantia was named after the farm, Constantia, on the land granted to Governor Simon van der Stel by the Dutch East India Company.

Historians tell us that van der Stel built the fine Cape Dutch house at Groot Constantia (now a national monument) and planted 70 000 vines and 8 000 fruit trees and olive trees, as well as the famous oak trees, but it was surely the slaves who did most of the work. 220 slaves lived and worked on the estate in the 150 long years of slavery. Where did they come from? About two thirds came from around the Indian Ocean (27 from the islands of Indonesia, 73 from India, 22 from Madagascar and 20 from Mozambique) and about one third (78) were born to slave mothers at the Cape and were thus automatically slaves.

We know very little about the lives of the vast majority of slaves but some freed slaves and their descendants rose high in Cape society. When van der Stel died, the farm was divided into Klein Constantia,

Islam in Constantia

Bergvliet and Groot Constantia. Olaf Bergh, who bought Groot Constantia, was married to Anna de Koning whose mother, Anna of Bengal, was a slave. After Bergh died in 1724, Anna inherited the farm and ran it with the help of 27 men slaves.

Many slaves, including African slaves, were Muslim (or became Muslim) and are among the ancestors of the Muslim community of Constantia and the Western Cape. The records of 1744 state that Tuan Said and Hadji Mattarm, "Mohammedan priests", were said to have spread Islam through the kramats or holy shrines in Constantia and around the city. But at this time the only expression of religion allowed at the Cape was through the Dutch Reformed Church, so these two Muslim leaders were sentenced to work in chains on Robben Island.

In 1788 three ambassadors of the Sultan of Mysore in India – Mohammed Dervich Khan, Mohammed Osman Khan and Akbar Ali Khan – visited the Cape en route to France and at least one of them visited Constantia. It would be interesting to know whether these eminent men had contact with local Muslims. We know that there were devout Muslims at the Cape from the early years of the settlement (mainly political exiles and slaves), but it was only in 1798 that the first mosque in southern Africa was established in Dorp Street by Tuan Guru, after his release from Robben Island in 1793.

The Imams and office-bearers at the two Constantia Mosques have a strong oral tradition about the important role of Constantia in early Islam at the Cape, as well as private collections of documents and photographs.

Former residents all describe the close links between Muslim and Christian neighbours in Constantia. At the time of writing it is not known whether Christchurch in Constantia honours slaves and freed slaves among the ancestors of the congregation, as do certain other Christian communities, such as St Philip's Anglican Church in District Six and the Moravian Church in Elim.



A former Constantia resident, Mr Benjamin Davids, with learners

By 1788 Hendrik Cloete, the new owner of Groot Constantia, had 50 slaves and 20 Khoi servants. Once a week an ox or fat sheep was slaughtered to feed the slaves and they were also given wine – could we call this the start of the "dop system"? Cloete also obtained some slaves from a ship's captain in exchange for wine.

In the early 1800s there were 64 slaves (43 men and 21 women) at Groot Constantia. The records for 1816 show that among the slaves were skilled winemakers and barrel-makers, waggoners, carpenters and masons, tailors and shoemakers, cooks and domestic workers. We know from travellers who visited Groot Constantia that in 1780 Cloete had a whole orchestra of 15 slave musicians to play outside his bedroom every morning. In 1819, there were 74 slaves, 25 of them under the age of 16 at Groot Constantia. There were a number of other farms in the Valley, including Klein Constantia and Berglyet, whose past inventories and auctions record slaves as being included in their lists of possessions.

The slow ending of slavery

At the Cape, slavery was abolished in three stages. In 1795 the British took over from the Dutch at the Cape – except for the period 1803–1806 when officials of the new Dutch Republic were in control. The slave trade was abolished in British colonies from 1807. This meant that it was illegal to import new slaves but it was legal for slave owners to keep the slaves they already had and to buy or sell them and any children born to slave mothers. From 1816 on, the British had Protectors of slaves, first in Cape Town, and then in the countryside, so that slaves could complain about unfair treatment. But it was only in 1834 that slavery became illegal and slaves were freed. These so-called “freed” slaves had to work another four years, “apprenticed” to their masters, no matter how skilled they were. The apprenticeship was to make them fit for freedom in 1838.

While the masters were entitled to compensation for the loss of their slaves, ex-slaves had no right to compensation for their work and their suffering at the hands of their masters. It seems that there was a labour shortage on the Constantia farms after emancipation – did many of the former slaves move away from the farms but stay in the area?

From then on, all men, black or white, were supposed to be equal before the law. Men (but not women) had the right to vote in local and central government elections – but only if they earned a certain wage, or owned property.

Until recently, there was nothing to commemorate the lives of the hundreds of slaves who worked on the estate. However, the exhibition building next to the oak avenue that runs to the front of the manor house now houses some interesting displays about the slaves of Groot Constantia, though little is known about their lives.

Constantia to the present

From the mid-1800s to the 1960s Constantia remained the Valley of the Vines, a rural area famous for its wine estates, grand houses and stables. Like the neighbouring areas of Bishopscourt and Newlands, Constantia was an area of wealth and privilege for white Capetonians. However, there were far more coloured and black residents, some with roots going back generations (even to the time of slavery), who had been attracted to the area. There were the farmworkers who lived in farm cottages with their families, there were other families who lived in Strawberry Lane, Sillery Road, Spaanschemat River Road, Ladies Mile Road and elsewhere in Constantia. Some families had their own farms or businesses.

Since the mid-60s two major changes have been the forced removal of most of the early residents of Constantia, and the property boom and "development" which have gentrified the remaining cottages and converted many of the old estates into homes and amenities for the very wealthy.

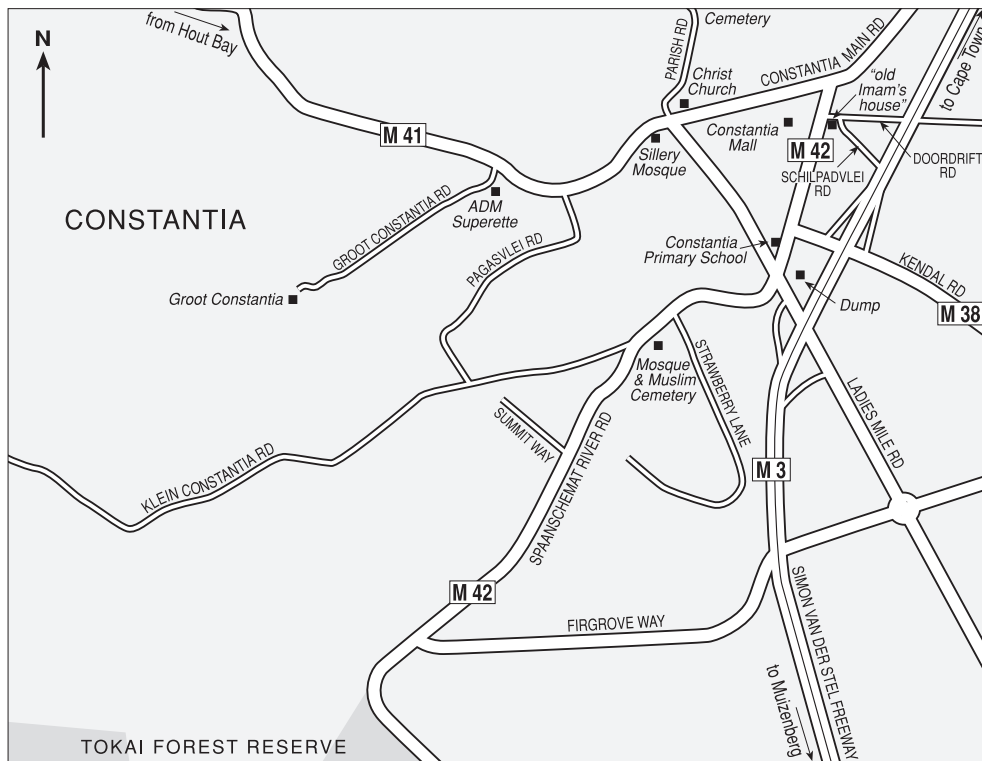


Learners interview Mrs Adelah Solomon

Seeing Constantia

Seeing Constantia: a guided tour in 2005

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Constantia landmarks

On 30 March 2005 a busload of learners and teachers visited Constantia with Mr CW Pietersen as their guide. On 30 April a smaller group of Fairmount learners and an educator were privileged to make a follow-up visit. This account is based on what was learnt during those unforgettable guided tours.

Constantia today is one of the wealthiest areas in Cape Town, with big mansions and gardens behind high walls, beautiful views of the mountain, green walks, expensive shops and restaurants, private schools with spacious grounds, and security companies on the alert. Properties are sold for millions of rands.

But there is a hidden history of Constantia and one needs a guide like Mr CW Pietersen – someone who lived in Constantia before the forced removals – to help one see Constantia with new eyes. Look out for the few important landmarks that bear witness to Constantia as it was until 40 years ago.

- The Sillery Mosque (and graveyard) is in Sillery Road. Imam Sardien is descended from the first imam of the mosque.
- The Mosque and the big Muslim cemetery in Spaanschemat River Road are still owned and used by former residents.
- Christchurch, the Anglican Church, has "coloured" former residents in its congregation; in the cemetery the graves of family members go back for generations and some former residents intend to be buried there, whether they return to live in Constantia or not.
- In Constantia Main Road, the ADM Superette – the only one of the old shops that was not demolished – is near the boutiques and delis before the turn-off to Groot Constantia. The house, garden and business have been in the Dawood family since 1917. Their old butchery, café and general dealer store have now been made into one shop. The Dawoods were the only family

not classified white who managed to stay on in Constantia. Mr Ishak Dawood, third generation in the business, explained that the family had to put the property up for sale but managed to make an arrangement with a white friend living overseas so that the property was transferred into his name. In the mid-70s when the family was told to move out to Elsie's River, they consulted two eminent lawyers, Mr Essa Moosa and Mr Dullah Omar, who threatened the Board with a Supreme Court action. After that, the family was left in peace.

- Near the ADM store is a dilapidated white cottage, which was the old post office and the police station. The latter was closed because as a former resident states, there was "too little crime in the area".
- At the corner of Ladies Mile Road is Constantia Primary School where generations went to school up to Standard 4 (now Grade 6). The bluegum trees were planted by Mr CW Pietersen and his schoolmates.
- The old street names – Spaanschemat River, Schilpadvlei, Pagasvlei, Sillery, Ladies Mile, Kendal – are still in use.

But you will have to look very hard to find any signs of the farms, cottages and shops that people were forced to leave behind when they were scattered in their thousands on the Cape Flats.

- The house of old Imam Pagoedien Allie, the carpenter, on the dirt road to Varkiesvlei still stands, but is now the trendy garden shop "Plaisir du Jardin" on a busy corner opposite the Constantia Mall.
- Mr CW Pietersen's farm at 1 Ladies Mile Road has been replaced by a garage and Woolworth's Food Store.
- The municipal dumping ground in Ladies Mile Road is on land where the Solomon and Kherekar families once lived and farmed.
- The green open space at the intersection of Ladies Mile Road and Spaanschemat River Road was the lively centre of village life: Mr Karjekar's U-shaped yard, cottages, butchery and shops were

demolished to widen the road that was never widened, and those who lived there were sent to the Cape Flats.

- In Strawberry Lane, where rows of cottages once stood among flower gardens, a lavish new development called "Strawberry Fields" advertises units from R2.25 million each; "die ou skool", once a small school and chapel for the local community, is now an upmarket property valued at over R6 million. If you want to know about Strawberry Lane, you could also ask the flower sellers in Rondebosch or elsewhere in Cape Town. Many of them have links with Strawberry Lane and stories to tell. Or in late summer, ask the older people selling hanepoot grapes at the roadside stalls in Constantia or at Constantia Nek.
- There is no sign of the small school near the High Constantia archway where the Pietersens, the Dawoods and others went to school.

Visiting Groot Constantia Museum

The best known farm in Constantia is Groot Constantia, once the home of Governor van der Stel. Many tourists and school groups come to visit the gracious old homestead. If you visit, have a good look at the huge historical timeline in the exhibition building next to the car park. This shows key events in the history of South Africa from pre-colonial times to the present, alongside key events in the history of the Constantia Valley.

In August 2005, it was a shock to find that for the period 1960–1980 there is no mention of the Group Areas removals that forced the majority of people living in Constantia to leave their homes and gardens, farms, schools, shops and places of worship. The Groot Constantia Museum is part of Iziko Museums of Cape Town, which has a public commitment to transformation. We hope that this small booklet may prompt Iziko to include the history of the people of Constantia who were forced out by apartheid legislation.

Remembering Constantia: interviews with former residents

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Little has been written about the recent history of Constantia and the forced removals. The narrative that follows outlines some of the key themes extracted from learners' interviews with former residents.

A fuller oral history would need to draw on other sources, such as the recorded interviews with former residents of Constantia conducted in the 1980s by Barry Gasson of the UCT Dept of Architecture and Planning, as well as the more recent interviews conducted by Bonita Bennett of the District Six Sound Archive, and Michele Paulse.

We are very grateful to our guide Mr CW Pietersen and to other former residents of Constantia who gave up their time to meet with learners on Saturday 16 April 2005 and share their memories.

Former residents tell their stories

A wonderful place to live – a paradise

Constantia was a gold mine ... it was so beautiful because of the flowers that we grew there, the vegetables, the vineyards, the valleys. Everything was so green ... the backdrop is the mountains and that was a beautiful place. It was almost like a paradise that time. If I talk to you about memories I can tell you until doomsday we live with the memories and we will die with the memories because we grew up differently from the township people. It was

almost like farms ... my father was a gardener and he always went to sell his flowers in Cape Town ... He had his own plot of land ... worked that ground with a spade. Imam Ismail Allie

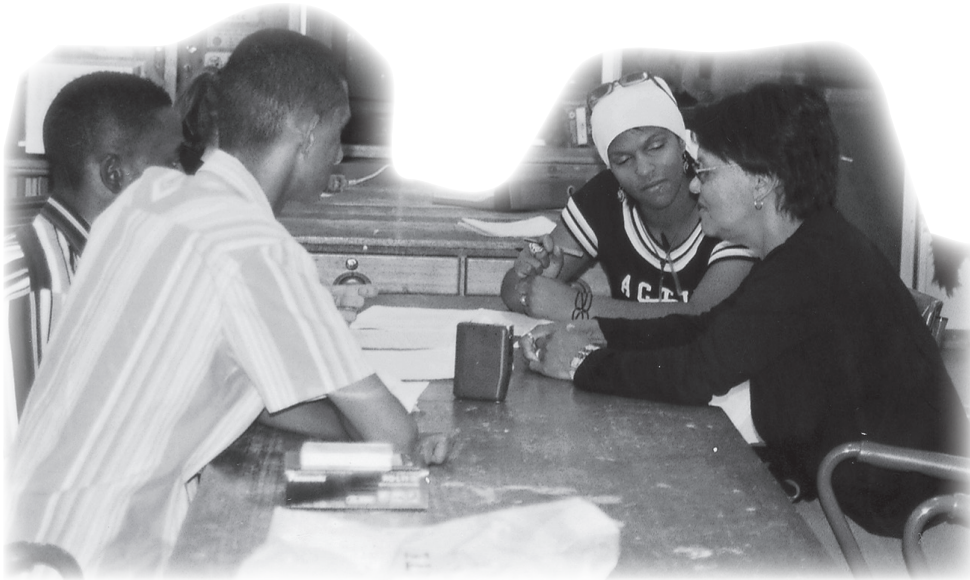
There weren't roads in Constantia, only sand tracks ... there were no names on the roads but they had a name. There was no electricity in Constantia. There was no running water but the people had water wells 60 feet or 50 feet deep. Then we had fountains gushing out of the ground and it was crystal clear. Most of the people used the water from the two rivers; they used to wash their clothes in the river; they used to come and collect the water with horse carts and donkey carts. Mr Allie Takay

Oh, the neighbourhood was beautiful! It was in a meadow and there were rivers – it was like heaven. Never a dull moment ... for fun we would listen to the hit parade on the small snakeskin radio, we would go for walks in the beautiful areas in Constantia.
Mrs Ellen Deane

I loved living in Constantia. It was free and you could move ... There was a river running and we used to make boats and paddle down the river. Mrs Marie Frans

We could go into the shops and get baskets and baskets of grapes. You can't do it now. We did a lot of gardening and planted flowers. Our father brought us up not out of Pick 'n Pay, but from our own garden at home, our own vegetables – tomatoes, beans, carrots. Beautiful flowers. They stood that high in the vlei ... dahlias, so pretty, poppies. All day I think about Constantia. When it was Christmas we used to stand and look out and it was just flowers from one end to the other. Mrs Kulsum Matthews

We never had lights in Constantia [but] we knew who was coming in the dark. It isn't like it is now in Lotus River that you have to be



Learners interview Mrs Ellen Deane, a former Constantia resident

scared to walk around. We were born there and we grew up there. So, we did not have what we have now – toilets in the house, water in the house – we did not have all that but we lived happily. And New Year, oh, then we went to Cape Town. We went to watch the Coons and my mother made all of us food – pickled fish.

Mrs Afia Allie

Constantia was like heaven and that was before the regime started removing the people from there. But before that ... I am talking now in the early 40s up to the 60s ... it was a wonderful place to live. People were all loving freely, knew each other, respected each other. Mr Benjamin Davids

We had two horses, we had a cow, we had donkeys, we had lots of chickens and pigs. A smallholding. Dogs and cats and all. I can still remember their names. Mrs Mary Petersen

My dad had a farm in Ladies Mile Road. We grew flowers, vegetables. Most of the vegetables were taken to the market.

We had to get up early in the morning to pick especially beans, mealies, carrots we used to make the bunches, pack it in a circle, like a tower, wash it off. On a Friday morning we had to pick those flowers before we went to school and make bunches, carry water. We didn't have taps. Our water came from wellpoints in our garden and fountains. We used to carry it with buckets and then fill the baths to put the flowers in and keep it fresh by splattering water all over until the afternoon, and then the flower sellers came to fetch it. Mrs Marie Frans

Constantia people were mostly farmers – carrots and cabbages and you name it. We had sheep there and cows there and we never went to the shop to get milk – we had our milk on the farm and chickens. Constantia people were hawkers ... in Adderley Street you see the flower sellers, my mother used to sell there with flowers from the farm ... in Constantia we sleep with open doors and we never close our windows and the air was much fresher than here. In the summer time, oh goodness me, it was all kinds of fruit. We didn't buy grapes. We go to the vineyard and we pick our grapes and our guavas and strawberries – you name it. There were flowers – gladiolas, roses, you name it. Constantia ground was very fertile. Mr Cassiem Kherekar

We had a big house – three bedrooms, big sitting room and a big kitchen and a large yard; we had a flower garden and we had a vegetable garden, fig trees and everything we had, so we lived out of our gardens. That house stand open a long, long, long time. No one moved in there. That house stands open ... It is a very sad story. Mrs Mariam Samsodien

The place was a beautiful place although there were wood and iron cottages and half cottages ... built on the farms. There was an abundance of fruit and during the time of grapes, as the lorry goes to the winery, you know, bunches of grapes fall off and you see

the grapes lying in the road. You never go hungry in Constantia because the next person will give you food. Mr Allie Takay

Safest, most peaceful place with no crime

The youngsters never had to fear walking in the road and walking in groups. That was the difference between where we are now and when we lived in Constantia. You could trust your children and you could trust the people. They were very safe. It was a crime-free place. Mr Benjamin Davids

Constantia had no crime, no gangsters. There was nothing like now the children take tik ... It was a very, very good atmosphere to bring up your children. If you go out at night and you say "Mommy, we are going to my auntie", it is two houses from there. We can sit there the whole night and they don't worry and if we sit late and then my father comes over and fetch us.

Mrs Mariam Samsodien

We could have walked there in the night time and we know in the dark who it is. I think that Constantia had very bright eyes at that time. You could walk until 1 o'clock or 2 o'clock in the morning. Everybody knows each other you know. Mr Cassiem Kherekar

There was no crime in Constantia. When I was young we had a police station there but they closed Constantia police station because there was no crime ... Our children was quite different from the people from town or other places, now they come and stay here ... Have you been to those houses in Manenberg? There one door is here and the other door right next to it. Now, your children get mixed up with these children or people and, you know, it's funny but you always learn a thing that is wrong more quickly than something good. I was very sorry for the children, man. We were now big – we can stand, but for the children it wasn't nice.

Mrs Mary Petersen

The surrounding areas like Diep River, Wynberg there were lots of crime and each of those areas had their own police station like still today. In the early days Constantia also had one. Constantia it is about four or five times bigger than Grassy Park, so if you see the area that they had to cover – two policemen and there was no crime and there was no work for them. That police station was removed. Mr CW Pietersen

We know each and everyone. We know who is who. There were no skollies in Constantia. No skollies, no rapes, no murders. Nothing like in the township. Imam Ismail Allie

A community across religious and racial differences

Constantia people were so close-knit – even the Christians and Moslems. They were one big family. If there was a wedding the whole of Constantia was invited – Christians and Moslems.

Mr Cassiem Kharekar

We were all like family and there were Moslems and Christians who lived like family ... a mix of cultures we would mix with the whites. We used to play with lots of the children and they were okay, and Moslems and blacks on the other farms ... The removals changed me a lot. I couldn't stand the whites. Nowadays I have learnt to forgive. Mrs Ellen Deane

Africans worked on the farms and sometimes during the school holidays the children used to come visit them and then we used to play with those African children. We always played together after school. Mrs Marie Frans

The families were all the same. I myself I sleep over with my Christian friends and at Christmas time when they go to church, then we Moslems we also go and then they go with us to the Mosque. Friendship – that was the whole environment in Constantia. Imam Ismail Allie

Strong oral traditions in the Muslim community of Constantia

In 1669, there is two holy people who have been buried there in Constantia. That was thirteen years after Jan van Riebeeck came here in Cape Town and they came here from Indonesia, from Batavia, from that island as slaves, so they intermingle with the people here – the Khoikhoi – the people who are working on the farms ... there was a timber business there at the bottom of the mountain there in Constantia, what we call Constantia Nek ... they worked there. Then the night time they put them in a cell ... and sometimes the guards would come and they are gone but the gates is closed, so they come to the people here [in Constantia] to live here, and then they intermingle and then inter-marriage with the people ... So that is where our history starts ... I think Constantia is the first history of the Malay people of Cape Town, before the Bo-Kaap. *Imam Ismail Allie*

Simon van der Stel moved into Constantia, according to this here, 1685. So maybe the name starts from 1685 [but] the Moslem people were the first in Constantia. There was this ship – with slaves or political prisoners brought to Table Bay. Now those people they were fighting with the Dutch in the Far East there in Malaysia, in Java, in ... but eventually the three leaders were caught and brought to Cape Town. Now instead of leaving them in the Castle [they] brought them to Constantia – they were frightened that the other slaves would start to riot or become restless, because those three people were very highly religious people and they were the religious leaders and social leaders. *Mr Allie Takay*

Deep roots

I was born 1938, third eldest of ten children; I am the fourth generation that stayed in Constantia. Imam Ismail Allie

A few of the people of Constantia owned the property they lived in since 1902 when they had an opportunity to buy a piece of land

... My great-grandfather was also born there. I have documents to show that my people have been there since the 1800s. The first headstone that my parents put on was in 1890 but before then several other of the family members were buried there but it was only at a later stage that we can [afford to] put walls and headstones ... After my grandfather, my father and I lived off the farm, 1 Ladies Mile. We exported grapes overseas – me and the Solomons family were the only people who exported grapes to England. [The removal] took my livelihood away. Mr CW Pietersen

When we moved out of Constantia I was 27... We had a shop also in Constantia, a grocery, general – my grandfather he actually ... he jumped ship in 1896. He lived up to the age of almost 100 years and he had three sons here and each son had a farm. My father's uncle had a farm with a shop in Kendal Road. My father had a farm in Ladies Mile and my other uncle had a farm. They were all farmers. It was just my one uncle that ran the shop. I took them on a drive the other day – our grandchildren – I took them to Constantia and I said, "There I stayed" and they said, "This is a beautiful place, was Dada born in this place?" and I said, "Yes, my father was also born in this place. You see that empty piece of land there, it is still there. It is lying there." Like my grandchildren they couldn't believe that there was coloured people living in Constantia. Like my one daughter she worked in Constantia by the shopping centre and the people asked, "Where were you born?" and she said, "I was born here in Constantia." They won't believe her. Mr Cassiem Kherekar

I was 40 something ... we had a shop on Kendal Road and opposite that was a butcher shop, and there was a farm stall, and there was two shops ... there was a prayer room, it must have been a very long time ago – in the early 1800s or so – they make a garage out of it and there was a shop or a butcher next to it and there was this farm building but it all belongs to the Moslems.

There was a very old graveyard there also next to the house. When the house went on sale, there was nothing that we could do. We couldn't cut off the grave, we had to sell lock, stock and barrel.

Mr Allie Takay

I have all my family buried there. I visit the graves regularly. Yes, we go there once a month and every Easter Saturday and Christmas Eve. Mrs Ellen Deane

I was born [in] Strawberry Lane 1924, eleven brothers and sisters all born in Constantia; about five of them they died in Constantia and were buried in Constantia. Mrs Mary Petersen

"Die ou skool" in Strawberry Lane and Constantia Primary

I used to stay in Strawberry Lane – the school was in the same road. The Principal was Mr Miller. He was very nice and we used to climb in the trees to get quinces and then we had to go play in the field. Mrs Catherine James

In Strawberry Lane, in those days we called it Spaanschemat River, I went to school. It was a sand track and there was a wood and iron building that was the DRC church. On Sunday they held church and during the week it was school. I went to school there until Standard 1, so we moved out to another school which stands there today on the corner of Kendal and Spaanschemat River Road – that was a European school before where all the farmers' children attended until it was closed in 1933 and in 1934/35 it was open for us until Standard 2 and the following year to Standard 4. Now those trees that you see standing there, there is a row of trees on the outside and a row of trees on the inside, now the trees on the side of the road, now one of those trees, I planted it. From Standard 4, so I went to Diep River High School and I must walk from Constantia to where the Diep River station is. Mr Allie Takay

Constantia Primary School, we had beautiful teachers, every year we had exhibitions and every Friday we had flower arrangements and we were given prizes for the first three in different categories ... We went with the teachers to children's homes, Princess Alice home, Lady Michaelis and the convalescent home in Diep River, with floral arrangements. Mrs Marie Frans

We went to school there and the school is still there and my father also went to school there – Constantia Primary School.

Mr Cassiem Kharekar

Segregation – then apartheid

The cemetery up there in Constantia, the one side was coloureds and other the whites. They call it segregation but afterwards it was apartheid. That was 1948. On the subway you can't go and then the station you must go this side, and that side. It was whites and coloureds there. I don't know why. I can remember when I was still small there was a lot of Irishmen, they couldn't speak Afrikaans. They all had coloured women so I couldn't understand what was going on ... our neighbour, she was an Irish woman, she had a black husband and they had a beautiful daughter. So I don't know why ... apartheid must come and the people were staying and living together all the time. That was the heartsore.

Mrs Mary Petersen

Even at that stage the whites refused to bury their people among the coloured people. If you come into the graveyard you will see on your left there is just a handful of whites there and it is the whole area right down to the end of the property that is coloured.

Mr CW Pietersen

And in the church the one side was for the whites and the other for the coloureds – worshipping the same God but we are separated and when it comes to the Holy Communion the

whites get first and then we must ... I didn't want to go to church. I almost let go of my religion. Mrs Ellen Deane

Well it was apartheid ... the Nats, they won this election from the United Party ... from there onwards it starts like we have to call them "Baas", or, whatever the case may be, "Meneer". Not Meneer but Baas. Every white man was called Baas but we had pride. We didn't tell them Baas. We make a joke of them. "Baas you see a policeman". Basie, Basie, Basie. Imam Ismail Allie

The apartheid era started in 1949 ... I think it started after the election when the United Party lost the election, the National Party took over and then it all started from there. It is all about colour. I would say part of it was because of the land because most of the coloured people in Constantia owned their own properties. We were moved by force to make way so that some of the whites could come and have some of the land which was taken away from the coloureds. Mr Benjamin Davids

Forced removals

I can remember it was a big, fat European man that come and say you must move. Now that time the old people like my father, like his friends: "You can't throw me out". They just live there. You can't throw me out. But they make it a European area at that time.

Mrs Mariam Samsodien

We were born there and we were happy there and then when the Nationalists took over they said that our colour is not right to stay there because we were coloureds and we had to get six months notice in 1964. They gave us papers ... they paid my father R22 000 for a whole farm. And my wife's family got R8 000 for the farm. Mr Cassiem Kharekar

Those that moved before us it was like a funeral every time because you just cry when you say goodbye. Devastated. It felt like death. Mrs Ellen Deane



Learners engage Mr Chris Pietersen, a former Constantia resident and their tour guide

These white people used to come there and used to come and measure the ground and then he used to ask them, "What are you doing?" and they used to tell him, "You will have to move sooner or later because this is going to become a group area and you will have to move out of Constantia." My granny, she said she is not going to move out of Constantia and funnily the year before we had to move, she died ... The night before we had to move, we were looking for where is my Daddy, and he was sitting around the corner crying. What was so funny for me was the day we moved our furniture just fell off the cart, so I was just wondering the furniture don't want to move either. Mrs Marie Frans

This man used to come there. I still remember his name; it was Mr Lowe and he used to come with a Volkswagen and he knock on your door and bring you a paper, Monday come there. Thursday we must move; there is a place for you in Manenberg, I don't even know the places. As I say, the people didn't know whether they were going or coming and they don't know the places to go. They say we must be out and everybody just has to. As I say you can't ask them what is going on. They just say "no, you must leave" as if something is going to happen there now. The people must now There is going to be an earthquake or whatever it is. You must just get out here and go. Mrs Mary Petersen

To think they send you to a place to Manenberg and you must go upstairs ... What do you do with all your stuff that is in the ground – all your plants, the water pump that you pump the water to the garden. The people just have to leave all that things just like that. Just like that. When you come there half of the flowers have been picked off. They take the plants out. We came and the pump was gone. You can't get the people who took it. When you come there half the flowers has been picked. We used to deliver it to the parade in Town. I was, say, 50, but we kept on with the ground there and we still continued with the garden. Me and my brother – he was older than me. Now when I left there, when he died – he died about seven years ago – when he died I still went on with the garden because I had someone who helped me with the garden. So I was 74 when I left Constantia. My whole life is from Constantia. Mrs Mary Petersen

It was very, very sad. You know I had never seen my father cry; I had seen my mother cry you know ... Before we had Boere neighbours in Constantia and I can still remember their names ... we prayed together. Sunday mornings my mother used to make koeksusters and dumplings and they came to eat and there was nothing in that that they are going to turn against us ... But when

apartheid came in, then we must say Baas Richard and Baas James. Mr Cassiem Kherekar

We were moved out because we were coloured and we did not belong in that place. It was apartheid and it was a law. We were forced out. I can remember there came around an inspector ... I was running the shop here on the corner of Kendal Road and Spaanschemat River Road and they told us you must get out and what can we do. So he said all right if you don't move out we send the bulldozer. So I said you better get bulldozers. So he asked where do you pay rent and I said the people on the property. I worked in Kendal Road so that was the only house still standing. The others were all bulldozed down, and I could have cried that day. The tears were falling out of my eyes to see them bulldoze the house to pieces ... I was hating the government – they want to keep the white people all on the white side and the coloured people dump there on the other side. Mr Allie Takay

The rumours were that it was going to be a Group Areas but there was never a time given ... and there were people that had houses with their belongings ... and those people sold their houses. They got peanuts for the houses. Next to nothing for the houses. The ground stands today – dead still. There is not a thing built on it. That was ground that people had houses on. Mrs Afia Allie

They did tell us for some time but like most people we did not want to leave Constantia. We were born there, married there, brought children up there, we don't know another place except Constantia ... they gave us places in Lotus River but there were people, like my uncle he did not want to leave Constantia. All the years he lived there and then he had to leave. They said if he did not leave, then they would bulldoze the house down. So he had to leave and we all had to leave and [today] there is just one house left and that is my uncle's shop. We used to visit him there.

When we were children he had a shop and okay he is dead but his children and grandchildren are there. As children we had to do it and we just accepted it. There were many people who still cry about Constantia. Mrs Kulsum Matthews

Ever seen an old man cry? It was very painful to tell you the truth. At the time it was like you have been taken for a ride and everything has been taken away from you and you have no right to fight back for it because you haven't got the power to do so. That is how we felt. It was terrible. Something I don't even want to remember if I can help it ... We had to have our stuff and furniture and whatever removed all by ourselves. There was no transport. We had to remove our stuff ourselves ... Most of the people had to leave some of their stuff behind especially their gardens and their garden tools like water pumps and machinery. Some of them had to leave it there and when they came back for it after a while, it was gone because it was taken.

Mr Benjamin Davids

Heartsore. Heartbreaking. There I saw big people cry. Big people. They go to one another but they can't talk, they just crying. They were heartbroken. I don't want to talk about it sometimes.

Mrs Mary Petersen

I know our parents cry a lot. Where they going now? Which place? They don't know because they don't know any other place ... We were the first people that moved out of Constantia because we bought a house ... Constantia is a history place. My mother is 98 but she can never, never forget Constantia. You know my father when we moved I think he was the saddest man in Constantia because he was the oldest man in Constantia when we moved to Lotus River. We had to take him every day to Constantia. You can't do a thing but to just sit there and look at what he had done for all the years. Mrs Mariam Samsodien

Did people resist?

It was a hateful thing but my Dad was firm on not hating people and to turn the other cheek which we did. At the time we couldn't resist ... otherwise they bulldoze your house down with furniture, with you inside ... it was a question of being locked up if you go against the government, you could [be] thrown away or got killed mysteriously. Mrs Ellen Deane

You ask: was there anything that you did to try and stop the government from moving you out of your home? What could we do? Nothing we could do. We were forced to move out of Constantia. Some of the people did not even have the time to pack all their things. Mr Benjamin Davids

We just had to carry on. What can we do? There is nothing that we can do. We just had to obey the laws of the land. You can't go to them and say this. They don't take notice of you. Even if you tell them that you were born here and all that, they don't want to hear that. For them it was just get out. Mrs Mary Petersen

They were affected very badly because they didn't want to move but they were compelled. There was force. Mr CW Pietersen

It is almost like ... forced removal ... I mean they tempt the people. It is almost like they say if you are not going to sell, then we are going to take it. That was an apartheid law. We are going to take it if you are not ... and what do they give the people – peanuts. I mean 5 000 ... 10 000 that was a lot of money at the time but compared to today. I mean it is millions that they get [for] a plot. Imam Ismail Allie

On the Cape Flats

We were living in Strawberry Lane, we were nine with my wife and myself and children. I had to now take them out of school to get

them into another school and it was in the middle of the year. Very much higher costs because of public transport – in Constantia you could walk to the schools. My own mother she was already an old age pensioner and she of course had to stand in and look after the children while my wife also went to help with the financial income. Mr Benjamin Davids

We didn't hate the people. We can't hate because that is their way of thinking but we know that there is a God upon our heads and he is the Creator and he gives us every sustenance. He gives us life and everything but they want us to take them as Gods. We must obey and abide by their laws and we know that wasn't just ... you can't put a force upon people that do nothing to you.

Imam Ismail Allie

Everyone was scattered as far as Manenberg, Grassy Park, Retreat, Lavender Hill and all the areas there. It was just sand and like living on a beach – a dirty beach, dirty sand. Everyone was just for themselves. If you see your neighbour ... and if they greet you that is fine but if not that's okay. Mrs Ellen Deane

Very, very bad. There were no doors, there was no ceiling in, there was no electricity. Lie in bed and it was like rain, like raindrops.

Mrs Mariam Samsodien

The government said that they would give you equivalent homes to those in Constantia. No, they didn't but what can we then do? We had to accept it. They really destroy us. When we stayed there in Parkwood they used to terrorise and they threw stones in our windows. Mrs Catherine James

Keeping links with Constantia

It is years ago and I still ... when I dream at night, it will be like still living there. Even though I will have my children and my husband

and all those around me ... And most of the other places there where the coloured people were staying, it was bulldozed down and it is still lying like that up until today. Mrs Ellen Deane

As I say, there the people was poor, they had a little burial society with the old people come together and to help one another and all that. We still have the burial society – it is 125 years old. Dr van der Ross's grandfather – he started it. Ja. Mrs Mary Petersen

Most of them, like, living in the new areas they couldn't adapt and they just died, especially the elderly. Those that didn't die most of them turned out to be gangsters and robbers because the area that they were moved to they had to either beat them or join them and we were not a violent community so most of them joined these gangsters. Mrs Ellen Deane

I went back there quite a couple of times a year or so just to see what was going on there and I found that most of the places was still empty, still standing there. Some were broken down, gardens were still there but of course it grew out of course. So it was quite heartbreaking to go there. I still visit Constantia now and again – very seldom because it is so built up. But it is free now with the new regime – the ANC in operation. You are free to go where you want to go. Before you never had the right to be in that area. You were questioned what you are doing here and who are you.
Mr Benjamin Davids

It changed our lives but it didn't change our action. We are the same people these days in 2005 – the people that we grew up with ... no change of attitude. It is only the way of life that we have to go through ... My heart was still in Constantia ... Everything is there – my value is there, my forefathers are there because they have been buried there. [But] the youth don't know what happened in our lives, our fathers' lives, our grandmothers', our

grandfathers' ... their mind was so intimidated through the years of apartheid that they don't understand history ... if I talk to my children about Constantia they say, "Daddy that is old time."

Imam Ismail Allie

Compensation or restitution: money or land

We were only tenants but we were offered a piece of ground from the new government but then we took the compensation instead. I think it is a very good process. Honest and fair. Will the government giving land back or giving money back ever make up for what they did to the people back in the 1940s and 1960s – moving them out? I don't think it will ever make up for how the people suffered. Even the money that they are offering us, the piece of land they offer the people. It will never make up for the suffering of the people in Constantia. Never. I will never have a grudge against this government ... I can't live with the past. You must go like our former President said: "We must bury the hatchet and live with peace and people." Mr Benjamin Davids

There were about 30 families that wanted money. It was only R22 500 but to them it will make a difference in their lives at this moment. There are those that must still be compensated for their land because they had a choice to get the land or the money. I personally worked with an investigator/researcher and most of those people got money but the others ... before the end of this year they will get land but you are actually not allowed to sell for five years. Mrs Ellen Deane

It's too late now to return

It will never ever be the same to live there. In the first place we won't be able to afford to live there. The house that you would have to build there would like bring down the valuation of the house next to you that is already there and people in Constantia live in mansions. I will never ever be able to. So I am better where

I am living, with selling that land and using that money to better the way I live. Mrs Ellen Deane

I don't want to go and stay in Constantia because all millionaires [are] staying there. I can't afford to build a house there because you can't build a pondok there – otherwise the Constantia ratepayers they are going to say, "Look at the house – the value is coming down." Mr Cassiem Kherekar

You must have a lot of money to go back to Constantia. You can go but you must have millions to live in Constantia.

Mrs Mariam Samsodien

I won't move back because it is unsafe to walk in the Constantia area ... I work still in Constantia, you can see the helicopters going over and keeping an eye out. It is very dangerous living in Constantia. There are many people who would like to live there again, but me? No. Mrs Afia Allie

It would be very nice to accept the ground but it is going to work out very expensive to have a house built in Constantia. At the moment to be very honest, it would be very nice to have the land back. I know everybody would say the same but it would be very expensive to be living in Constantia now. I have two sons already living in Constantia but of course that was before the land claim.

Mr Benjamin Davids

I don't think I would go back again. No. Too many memories. I don't want to go back. It will never be the same. New neighbours and all that now. Mrs Mary Petersen

It is not that easy. Selling your land for peanuts and fighting to get it back ... We were offered by the government that we can claim our land back ... They won't give you your original ground back.

The only place I would go back to Constantia is the day when I die and they bury me there. I will go back then. Mrs Adelah Solomons

For sure I am going back

I had big hopes [but] so far as today it is about 16 years and nothing has yet materialised – 16 years down ... it is definitely a great feeling to think that one day I will be able to go back. It won't be the same but the thoughts will be there and then I will be near my parents' graves and I can walk to the graveyards and sit there. But the people who lived there with me, most of them have gone. Mr CW Pietersen

Yes, I will go back, yes ... I don't know how long I am going to live but I know for sure I am going back there, when, when I die. They must bury me there because that is my place. I want to lay among my ancestors. It won't be the same because this generation now is our children ... You must be a rich man because now at the moment it is a rich man's paradise. You have to have money and you have to have the way of life. Imam Ismail Allie



Mr Chris Pietersen, a former Constantia resident, explains racial segregation at the cemetery

Responses from learners

What I learnt from the project

Oral history helps us to interact and even if apartheid is over, life is still difficult for some people.

I learnt how to listen to people's stories, to relate to their suffering.

There were lots of things about apartheid I didn't know – the sadness when you are being oppressed. This project inspired me to learn about South Africa's history.

At school we took forced removals as a joke, as if it never happened, but when we met the people from Constantia, that's when we learnt the real experience of apartheid. There were so many questions I wanted to ask – please give more time for the interview. I also found out that there was a white government at that time.

We learnt how to work as a group, collecting important data and conducting an interview.

I've learnt that people who were forcibly removed will never gain back what they had; that oral history is more interesting; and to be more patient and to listen to what other people have to say. We should respect one another no matter where we come from.

I'd like to ask the government of that time: what did they think, to remove these people from their homes? I would change the lives of those who were removed from their place.

I've learnt how people were treated and I've gained confidence to stand up for my rights and interacting with people of different cultures. In future I would talk more often, ask more questions and make more friends.

I've learnt to communicate with people I don't know, how to pronounce Xhosa names and a few words.

What I enjoyed most

I enjoyed interacting with other people and the ideas we shared with each other but most of all the diversity – being in one place with people of different races.

I enjoyed the second day because we had time to mix and interact with other students of different schools, different cultures and religions – so-called different races. Please can we get together more often, to interact with other learners.

It was amazing – fun and sad. I enjoyed working together with other groups. There's no discrimination. This project is good because it will educate the youth and bring us together.

At first I was tired and very nervous but I enjoyed being forced to meet new people and pushed outside my comfort zone.

It was the best experience I ever had – much better than sitting at home. I enjoyed being part of the project, the skills about interviewing people, and the food.

It was interesting travelling around Constantia to know its roots – do the people who live in the big houses know the history of the place?

I enjoyed interacting with the ex-residents of Constantia, especially Mr CW Pietersen. They shared their experiences with us and helped us to understand what they went through.

My family was forcibly removed and I enjoyed meeting other residents of Constantia because I can share with my family the experience.

This poem, written by a learner in the project, shows the impact of the oral history interviews.

Yesterday was a shame
Yesterday may seem like a game
Yesterday I was striving for fame
But today I am saving
The flowing of my blood
Through my veins,
Maybe signs of pain
But our freedom we've gained

I am an African
And never will my concerns be dropped in a bin
'cause discrimination I will question

I am a South African
With my mixture of blood

I am a leader
And I will challenge this world
With any domination
I will not be a defector

Terché April, Fairmount Senior Secondary School

Responses from teachers

Not another workshop

My first response was "not another workshop" but this was participatory and worthwhile for learners and for us as educators.

At first I thought it would be too time-consuming, I have around 53 in a class, but getting first-hand information gave learners

and myself more insight – it brought history to life. I must say I enjoyed it.

The value of oral history

Oral history is not just what ouma says, that's just part of it – the project explored oral history and contextualised more broadly.

This has built my confidence to work with oral history in teaching and to try it for myself.

It was good for learners to be learning from sources besides the teacher and the textbook.

Perhaps the most important thing is that the project has demystified the notion that research is for experts only, it has inducted learners into doing research. That's been motivational.

The apartheid legacy we need to overcome

It was good for all of us to get out of the usual environment – we tend to get stuck in the geography that apartheid left us.

Grade 11s were only starting school in 1994 – maybe that's why they seem to take apartheid as a matter of long ago. Meanwhile we live with the legacy in our education system, where we live, it's everywhere. Meeting the old people and hearing the inside story of Constantia was a shock for some learners. I think it made them go home and ask questions in their own families. Breaking the silence.

The best thing about the project was bringing the youth together across the usual barriers, with a common interest. We need to do that much more. Oral history is a good way in.

Oral history and the curriculum

Teaching and learning of History

One of the main objectives of History is to provide learners with the knowledge and skills needed to make critical social judgements in order to develop a critical citizenry in a diverse, democratic society within an interdependent world. Teachers can no longer merely tell learners about a topic or give them notes. They have to direct the teaching and learning process so that learners are able to construct their own body of historical knowledge, grounded in historical evidence.

History should be a process of enquiry based on evidence from the past. This means that learners must be given opportunities for *doing* History: engaging with authentic sources from the past and constructing knowledge from the evidence derived from historical sources. This approach introduces and mirrors in the classroom the way that historians work, and places learners at the centre of the historical enquiry.

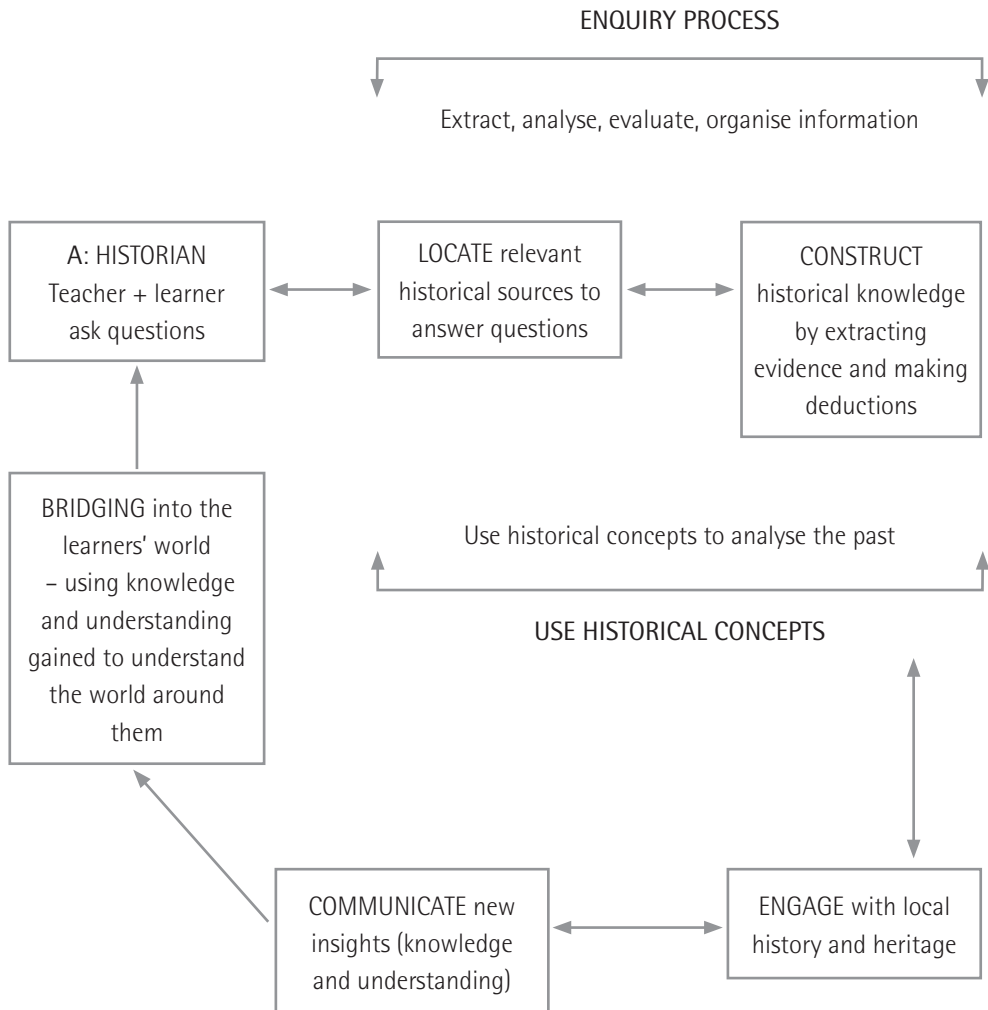
The process is illustrated in the diagram on page 59:

- The process starts at A when teachers or learners ask key questions within a topic and learners (historians) set out to answer these questions.
- Teachers provide sources, or learners gather sources from which they will get the information to answer the questions.

- Learners follow a process of enquiry and interpretation: asking questions of the sources; acquiring information from the sources; analysing, interpreting and organising the information. They then use appropriate historical concepts to analyse the past.
- Learners should then be able to extract evidence from the sources and make deductions.
- For some topics and key questions, learners could engage with issues of local history and heritage (for example, an oral history project).
- Learners then communicate their findings/answers/solutions in the required manner.
- Where possible, the relationship between their findings and the learners' own world is highlighted.
- The teacher has now helped learners construct their own knowledge in relation to a specific topic, based on the evidence gathered from the sources.

While this approach relates to all teaching and learning of History, an oral history research project is a very clear example of it. Learners are historians engaging with issues related to local history and heritage and their findings should enable them to see the relevance of the past in their lives and the world today.

Diagram illustrating the construction of knowledge in history



Doing an oral history research project

In the FET (Grades 10–12), History learners have to complete a research project to fulfil their continuous assessment (CASS) requirements. An oral history project fulfils this requirement and gives learners a real sense of the historian's role, as it allows them to construct their own piece of history based on oral testimony and other sources. However, an oral history research project requires much preparation on the part of the teacher and learners. Learners need to be aware of the advantages of oral history as well as some of the pitfalls.

Why use oral history?

- Oral history is another way to learn about the past – from people who have experienced historical events or have first-hand knowledge of events (that is, living primary sources).
- Oral histories provide opportunities to learn about people who are normally excluded from mainstream histories (so-called "ordinary people") or those who did not leave behind written sources. Oral histories can:
 - shed new light on well-known events
 - provide a different perspective on events
 - result in a more inclusive writing of history where the voices of the marginalised are heard.
- Experiences, stories and anecdotes about the past are passed down from generation to generation via the spoken word in many societies. Oral history gives voice to this indigenous

knowledge so often ignored by Western mainstream historians.

- Oral history gets learners to engage with local history and heritage. It connects them with their own history, the history of their families, their own and other communities.
- This contact facilitates understanding, respect and reconciliation where there may have been anger and divisiveness before.
- Oral history can help restore dignity and self-confidence where these may have been lost. Being asked to remember and tell someone about one's life emphasises the importance of one's own experiences.
- By shifting the focus away from leaders and organisations, oral history emphasises the role of ordinary people in the making of history.
- Finally, oral history provides learners with an opportunity to "do history", using the historian's tools in practical ways. This makes the study of History more interesting and relevant!

Some pitfalls

- Memories may be faulty. Often, similar events are confused with one another or remembered as a single event. People also incorporate what they have heard from other people into their own memories. It is therefore important for interviewers to encourage people to talk about *personal* experiences rather than what they have heard from others.
- The discussion and portrayal of events in the media, theatre or in museums could affect the way events are remembered.
- People often remember the past as much better or much worse than the present ("the good old days/the bad old days"). They could end up either glamorising and romanticising the past, or emphasising the negative aspects.
- Some interviewees may be inclined to tell the interviewer what they think he or she would like to hear or would find acceptable.
- Sometimes, interviewees might choose not to tell everything they remember.



Learners practise interviewing skills

Although oral sources may be unreliable at times (like other historical sources), they reflect what people felt and thought about events in the past and show how those events have been remembered. All historical sources should be cross-referenced with other types of sources. For this reason, an oral history research project should always be properly contextualised in the class: learners need to interact with numerous sources on the topic before they are asked to conduct interviews. This requires thorough planning.

Planning

When planning any research assignments, including oral history research assignments, syllabus requirements have to be met, while, at the same time, the task must be manageable for learners.

- Formulate a research question that gives direction and focus to the assignment and limits the size of the assignment.
- Give learners clear guidelines and assessment criteria at the beginning of the task.

- Set the assignment on a section within the syllabus, preferably while the topic is being covered.
- Ask learners to present their findings in the form of an essay addressing the research question.
- Encourage learners to consult a variety of sources (primary and secondary).
- Indicate whether and to what extent learners should work individually, in pairs or in groups. A significant portion of the work should always be done individually.
- Allocate class time for learners to work on the assignment, to develop interview questions, to practise mock interviews, and so on.
- Break the assignment down into smaller, more manageable parts. You can then set dates (interim deadlines) to monitor progress and give direction.
- Give learners these dates and the final due date at the beginning of the process.
- The assignment should have an introduction, a body, a conclusion and list of references acknowledging the sources used.

The oral history research project should form part of a larger learning unit where the historical context is outlined before the actual interviews. The assignment is part of and linked to all the other class activities on the chosen topic. This ensures that learners ask more meaningful and informed questions and that they are aware of the context for responses by interviewees.

Sample learning unit: a case study of forced removals in Constantia

This example of a learning unit was prepared by Spencer Janari (EMDC South), Tracey Petersen (Fish Hoek SHS), Lulu Sibiya (Sinethemba SSS), Janine Kaptein (ID Mkize HS), Henry Dirkse and Desiree Barnes (Lentegeur SSS), and Cassiem Savahl (Fairmount SSS). The overall question provides direction and focus to the learning unit and there are a variety of activities, including two CASS activities (a source-based activity and the research assignment).

Overall question: How did apartheid affect the lives of people in South Africa?

Time-frame	Content Focus	Resources	Activities
KEY QUESTION 1: What is apartheid?			
Week 1	Issues that will be explored include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Where did apartheid come from? What did it borrow from – segregation; National Socialism in Nazi Germany, etc. (apartheid as concept and ideology) Major apartheid legislation (e.g., Group Areas Act, Population Registration Act, etc.). 	Various sources (textual and visual) illustrating these issues.	Discussions; answering questions based on sources; a debate; an extended writing activity comparing apartheid to the Nuremberg Laws.
KEY QUESTION 2: How did the implementation of apartheid impact on the lives of South Africans?			
Week 2	This is a broad exploration of some of the effects of apartheid on South African society. One or two other examples can be examined here, but the focus is on the effect of the Group Areas Act on people's lives.	IDASA audio cassette: "A Knock on the Door", oral testimony of those forcibly removed from various parts of South Africa.	CASS activity: source-based task focusing on key question 2.

KEY QUESTION 3: How did Constantia change over time?			
Weeks 3 & 4	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The early inhabitants and character of the area. 2. The changes to this character before the Group Areas Act. 3. The changes after the implementation of the Group Areas Act and forced removals. The focus of this section is on forced removals from the designated area. 4. Some of the reactions to the forced removals, locally and internationally (link these reactions to human rights). 	<p>Sources taken from the Internet and newspapers.</p> <p>"Brown", a video produced by Other-Wise Media (this focuses on, among other things, a family that was forced out of Constantia; a copy of the video or DVD is available from the EMDC South Metropole's Resource Centre); a pre- and post-viewing guide for teachers to direct discussion and questions.</p> <p>Sources taken from the Internet and newspapers.</p>	<p>Self-study directed by questions provided.</p> <p>Pre- and post-viewing questions related to the video "Brown"; group and class discussions.</p>
Weeks 4, 5 & 6	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Constantia today: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The current character of the area • Land claims with respect to forced removals (concept and current status). 6. Oral history research project: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The form the oral history project takes in the class; outlining the process; interview/listening skills; generating interview questions; checking equipment; mock interviews. • Learners conduct and transcribe interviews. They then write a research essay to address the key research question. 	<p>Notes on oral history techniques.</p>	<p>Self-study directed by questions provided.</p> <p>Oral history research project (CASS activity): developing interview questions; conducting mock and real interviews; transcribing interviews; analysing interview transcripts; consulting other sources; drafting and writing research essay.</p>
CONCLUSION:			
Week 6	Wrap up the learning unit by reflecting on the overall question: How did apartheid affect the lives of people in South Africa?	Interview transcripts.	Group and class discussions: debate the issue of restitution and compensation in relation to forced removals.

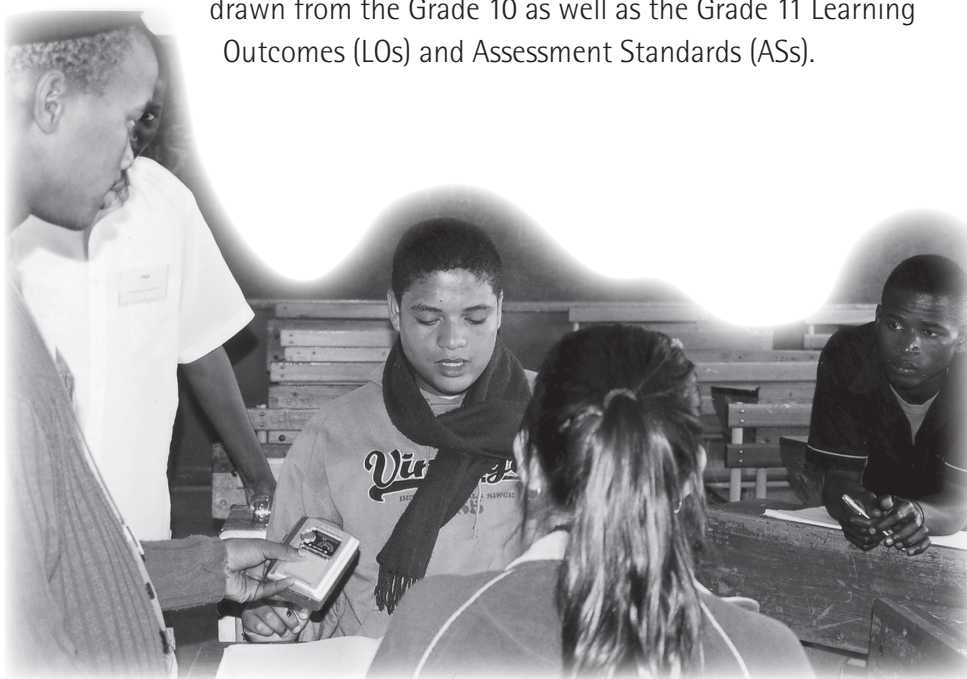
This learning unit is an example of a series of lessons and activities that culminate in an oral history research project. The findings and the interview transcripts could also be used as sources for further activities, and/or other learners could use them as sources when the same section of work is taught the following year. Learners get a huge sense of achievement when they see their work being used as sources in the History class; they realise that they are part of the process of constructing historical knowledge.

The learning unit immediately after this one could focus on the key question: "Were these apartheid laws challenged?"

Assessment criteria

Oral history research projects and assessment rubrics were prepared for learners at the participating schools. There is a different research question and assessment instrument for higher grade and standard grade. These are examples for you to use and/or modify to fit your context.

The assessment criteria used for both tasks are specific to the set tasks. However, an attempt is made here to illustrate the development of assessment criteria from Assessment Standards (AS), as will be the case when the NCS is implemented in Grade 10 in 2006. These tasks are set for Grade 11 where there is currently a differentiation between higher and standard grade, while there is none in the NCS. As a result, some of the standard grade criteria are drawn from the Grade 10 as well as the Grade 11 Learning Outcomes (LOs) and Assessment Standards (ASs).



Learners practise interviewing skills

While ASs map progression across the grades in terms of skills and concepts, teachers will sometimes find themselves working with various levels in the same class. In Grade 11 you would be working at the Grade 11 level with most learners but some may already be at the Grade 12 level, while others could still be working at Grade 10 level.

The LOs and ASs for History in the NCS can be found in the NCS document for History for Grades 10–12. An indication of the ASs used to develop the assessment criteria is given in the Assessment Rubric. The abbreviations used here, for example, 11.3.4 refer to Grade 11 LO3 AS4.

The content that we focus on in this learning unit is "Apartheid and its effects". At present it is part of the Grade 12 syllabus but in the NCS this topic is part of the Grade 11 content. However, it was felt that the Grade 12s have too much on their plate in their final year to take on this project as well. It is therefore done here with Grade 11 learners. We had to do the project in the first and second terms of the year, but it is probably better to do it in the third and/or fourth terms of Grade 11 when you are allowed to complete the Grade 12 research project.

Oral history project: HG

Senator PZ van Vuuren, in a speech in the 1950s, commented as follows on the reasons for and the impact of the Group Areas Act:

"We put that Act on the statute book and as a result we have in South Africa, out of the chaos which prevailed when we came to power, created order and established decent separate residential areas for our people."

Research question

How valid is Senator van Vuuren's statement on the reasons for and the impact of the Group Areas Act?

This is an oral history project. You therefore have to interview at least two people whose responses will help you answer the research question. There are various steps to this project:

Step 1: In pairs, identify people to be interviewed and then develop about ten interview questions.

Step 2: In pairs, conduct interviews.

Step 3: In pairs, transcribe interviews and hand them in on ...

Step 4: Working on your own, use information from the interviews and information from other sources to write your research essay in which you address the research question. Take note of the rubric that will be used to assess your project.

Due date: ...

Rubric for oral history project: HG

Assessment Criteria	LEVEL 1	LEVEL 2	LEVEL 3	LEVEL 4
Interviews (from transcripts)	No interviews conducted. Questions asked did not allow interviewees to express themselves. Appropriate interviewees were not selected, so little or no relevant information was gathered from them.	Interviews were conducted where questions allowed interviewees to express themselves, at times. Some of the interviewees selected were able to provide some relevant information.	Interviews were fairly well conducted where questions allowed interviewees to express themselves to a great extent. Appropriate interviewees were selected who were able to provide relevant information.	Professionally conducted interviews where questions allowed interviewees to express themselves fully. Appropriate interviewees were selected who were able to provide relevant information.
11.1.1	0-2	3-4	5-7	8-10
Understanding of the political and socio-economic power relations and illustration of their impact	No or little understanding of the power relations in South Africa at the time. Their impact hardly/not illustrated. OR Off the topic.	A basic/cursory understanding of the power relations in South Africa at the time. The impact of these at times/seldom illustrated.	A fair understanding of the power relations in South Africa at the time and their impact on people's lives is evident in the essay.	A clear understanding of the power relations in South Africa at the time and their impact on people's lives is evident throughout the essay.
11.1.3; 11.2.2	0-3	4-7	8-11	12 - 15
Use of evidence to support an argument	Unsound argument with very little or no substantiation. No other sources, besides interviews, consulted.	Uses some relevant evidence from the interviews and a few other sources to support an argument some of the time – argument seldom supported by relevant evidence.	Mostly relevant evidence from the interviews and other appropriate sources was used to substantiate a reasonable argument – not a balanced view.	Relevant evidence from the interviews and a variety of other appropriate sources was effectively used to substantiate a clear, focused and balanced argument.
11.3.2; 11.3.3	0-3	4-7	8-11	12 - 15
Planning and structure	Poorly planned and structured without an introduction or conclusion. Sources not acknowledged.	Planned and structured to a certain extent with a limited introduction and conclusion. Some sources acknowledged.	Planned and structured with an appropriate introduction and conclusion. List of sources acknowledged.	Well-planned and structured essay. Introduction and conclusion effectively used. List of sources appropriately acknowledged.
11.3.4	0-2	3-4	5-7	8 - 10

Oral history project: SG

Research Question

How did the lives of people change when they were forced to move [from Constantia/various places in South Africa] as a result of the Group Areas Act?

This is an oral history project. You therefore have to interview at least two people whose responses will help you answer the research question. There are various steps to this project:

Step 1: In pairs, identify people to be interviewed and then develop about ten interview questions.

Step 2: In pairs, conduct interviews.

Step 3: In pairs, transcribe interviews and hand them in on ...

Step 4: Working on your own, use information from the interviews and information from the other sources to write your research essay in which you answer the research question. Take note of the rubric that will be used to assess your project.

Due date: ...

Rubric for oral history project: SG

Assessment Criteria	LEVEL 1	LEVEL 2	LEVEL 3	LEVEL 4
Interviews (from transcripts)	No interviews conducted. Questions asked did not allow interviewees to express themselves. Appropriate interviewees were not selected, so little or no relevant information was gathered from them.	Interviews were conducted where questions allowed interviewees to express themselves, at times. Some of the interviewees selected were able to provide some relevant information.	Interviews were fairly well conducted where questions allowed interviewees to express themselves to a great extent. Appropriate interviewees selected who were able to provide relevant information.	Professionally conducted interviews where questions allowed interviewees to express themselves fully. Appropriate interviewees selected who were able to provide relevant information.
11.1.1	0–2	3–4	5–7	8–10
Extracts relevant information from sources to answer the question	Information used mostly irrelevant. No other sources, besides interviews, consulted.	Some relevant information extracted from the interviews and a few other sources.	Mostly relevant information extracted from interviews and some other sources.	Relevant information extracted from the interviews and a variety of other sources.
11.1.3	0–3	4–7	8–11	12–15
Uses the evidence to illustrate how people's lives changed	No or little use of evidence from the sources. A few or no changes in people's lives outlined. OR Off the topic.	There is some reference to their lives before and after the forced removals to illustrate some of the changes experienced by people. Not always supported by evidence from the sources.	Evidence used, most of the time, to illustrate the way people's lives changed. An adequate comparison is made between their lives before and after the forced removals to illustrate these changes.	Evidence used to clearly illustrate the way people's lives changed. An effective comparison is made between their lives before and after the forced removals to illustrate these changes.
11.3.3	0–3	4–7	8–11	12–15
Planning and structure	Poorly planned and structured without an introduction or conclusion. Sources not acknowledged.	Planned and structured to a certain extent with a limited introduction and conclusion. Some sources acknowledged.	Planned and structured with an appropriate introduction and conclusion. List of sources acknowledged.	Well-planned and structured essay. Introduction and conclusion effectively used. List of sources appropriately acknowledged.
11.3.4	0–2	3–4	5–7	8–10

Guidelines for oral history interviews

This guide was used by learners for their interviews with former residents of Constantia. It was designed for the training course but could be adapted for any life history/oral history project.

Constantia interview guide

The key objective is for the interviewees to share part of their life story, their recollections and stories of growing up in Constantia and to explore the impact of forced removals on their lives.

The questions below serve only as a guide in the interview process. You are free to change, add or leave out any questions. Phrase your questions so that they are clearly understood. When you ask your questions, use the forms of politeness that are appropriate. Remember that you will write the interviewee's profile *based on your interview!*

Biographical details:

- Full name (surname and name)
- Address (current)
- Place of birth
- Family details: parents, sisters and brothers.

Living and growing up in Constantia:

- What are some of your clearest memories of living in Constantia?
- What were school days like in Constantia?
- What did you do for fun?
- What was it like living in a community like Constantia before apartheid was introduced?
- What did living in Constantia mean to you?

On learning that you had to leave:

- When did you hear that you were to be removed from Constantia?

- By whom were you informed?
- What reason(s) was/were given for your removal?
- What was your understanding of why you had to move?
- How much time were you given to move out?

The day you had to leave Constantia:

- What do you recall of that day?
- What did you feel about being forced out of your community?

New neighbourhood:

- Where did you move to?
- Describe the neighbourhood you moved to.
- How did it compare to Constantia?

Impact of forced removals:

- What was family life like before you were removed from Constantia?
- How did your family deal with the new financial pressures?
- How did forced removal from Constantia change your life?
- Were there any positive aspects of the forced removals from Constantia?

Dealing with the years of separation:

- What links did you maintain with Constantia over the years?

The process of reclaiming the land/housing lost:

- Have you been part of the process to reclaim your lost house/land?
- What is it like to be part of the process to reclaim the land/house(s)?
- What will you do if you get your land back?

Oral history process:

- What was it like being part of this interview process?
- What do you think the value of memories like yours may be for young people today?

At the end of the interview, please thank the interviewees for their willingness to share their memories.

Interview process

A Before the interview:

1. Invite the interviewees to participate in your research (see an example of a letter of invitation on pages 76–77).
2. Research the background.
3. Prepare your questions.
4. Discuss with your partner(s) who will be asking which questions.
5. Decide whether you will use any aids, such as photos, maps or documents.
6. Confirm your appointment.
7. Practise with the equipment.

B On the day:

1. Checklist:
 - Test equipment ☐
 - Batteries or mains cable ☐
 - Cassette ☐
 - Consent form ☐
 - List of questions ☐
2. Pre-record details of the interview: your name(s); name of interviewee; place and date of interview.
3. Switch off your cellphone.
4. Introduce yourself. Confirm consent to record (off-line).
5. Switch on recorder. Ensure that the microphone is as close to the speaker as possible.
6. Introduce your project and purpose. Start off with a general, open-ended question.
7. Continue with the interview, and if you need to refer to your list of questions, do this as discreetly as possible.
8. Listen carefully – sometimes the interviewee will answer

your questions even before you ask them, or give valuable information you would not have asked for. Try not to interrupt.

9. Refer to photos, maps or documents if you have them.
10. When the interview has come to an end, thank your interviewee and explain the purpose of the consent form. Ensure that the interviewee has signed it.

C After the interview:

1. Label the tape, both on the cover and the actual tape. You should write down the name(s) of the interviewer(s), the interviewee's name, the date and place of the interview, and one or two lines to give a very brief summary of what the interview is about.
2. Mark this as the master tape.
3. If the interview has used a single tape mark as 1/1; for two tapes mark as 1/2, 2/2, and so forth.
4. Snap the safety tabs on the cassette to ensure that your interview is not erased accidentally.
5. Ensure that the tape is placed into whatever system has been decided upon by your teacher, together with the consent form.
6. Make your field notes as soon after the interview as possible. Identify anything that was significant for you. Mention any specific learning that took place: about the content of the interview, your own emotional response, technical knowledge, and so on. Comment on your experience of the interaction between yourself and the interviewee, and yourself and your interview partner.
7. Decide who will send the interviewee a letter of thanks.

Refer to the resource guide at the end for more suggestions about how to do oral history. There is also a section of the bibliography that focuses on oral history (see pages 87–88).

Invitation

Dear Former Resident of Constantia

Would you be willing to be interviewed by high-school learners to share your memories of life in Constantia and the Group Areas Act removals? We hope to find 25 or more former residents who would be willing to come together and be interviewed.

We cordially invite you to participate in this project for high-school learners on the theme of Group Areas removals in Constantia. The project is a partnership of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR), the Western Cape Department of Education (Metropole South) and the District Six Museum. The project will bring together 50 Grade 11 (Std 9) learners and their history teachers, from five Cape Town schools and from different cultural backgrounds: Fairmount Senior Secondary in Grassy Park, Fish Hoek Senior High School, ID Mkize High School in Gugulethu, Lenteguur Senior Secondary in Mitchell's Plain, and Sinethemba Senior Secondary in Khayelitsha.

- The learners will be trained to use the methods of oral history to uncover parts of our recent history.
- Learners will then interview a cross-section of former residents of Constantia.
- The learners will write stories based on the interviews.
- The project will work in consultation with the teachers to produce a Teachers' Resource Guide on forced removals, using Constantia as a case study.

Time: The interviews will take place on Saturday, 16 April 2005

Place: Fairmount Senior Secondary School, Grassy Park

Transport will be arranged by the project

The interviews will include the following topics:

- what it was like growing up and living in Constantia
- occupation, religious life, education, sport and recreation
- how people were informed that they had to leave
- what happened on the day people left
- what life was like in new surroundings
- connections over the years with Constantia
- experience of the land-claim process.

We believe that learners will learn a great deal from the interviews and the Resource Guide will bring into many classrooms the history that is too often ignored or forgotten.

Please feel free to contact me with any suggestions or problems you might have.

Yours sincerely

Cecyl Esau



Learners discuss the interview process

Participants in the project

The former residents of Constantia who generously agreed to be interviewed

Mrs Afia Allie, Imam Ismail Allie, Mr Benjamin Davids, Mrs Ellen Deane, Mrs Marie Frans, Mrs Catherine James, Mrs Edith James, Mrs Farida Kharekar and Mr Cassiem Kharekar, Mrs Kulsum Matthews, Mr Christiaan Pietersen, Mrs Mary Petersen, Mrs Mariam Samsodien, Mrs Adelah Solomon and Mr Allie Takay.

The teachers and learners who worked together on the project

Fairmount Senior Secondary School

Mr Cassiem Savahl and Ms Sandra Sauer-Jacobs and learners Ghulshaan Ahmed, Nezaam Abrahams, Mogamat Redhaa Adams, Terché April, Washiela Alexander, Mellisa Collop, Shaheema Matthews, Crystal Oliphant, Yolanda Overmeyer, Rensia Pallais, Jeaneve Paulsen, Marlon Phillips, Sherone Roach, Jade Sardien, Natasha Small, Mashnoenah Thebus, Qaasim Town, Arlene Velasco and Charl Williams.

Fish Hoek Senior High School

Ms Tracey Petersen and learners Carima Behardien, Mieke Botha, Christie Cope, Josie Jewiss, Viwe Maqungo, Tarryn Mey, Matthew Olckers and Crystal Rich.

ID Mkize High School

Ms Janine Kaptein and learners Xolani Bunu, Mkhusele Bushula, Zola Jamela, Collin Krwaxa, Tessa Makalima, Themba Marele, Sisonke Mshudulu, Ntomboxolo Msuthu, Yolanda Payi and Bongani Tawu.

Lentegeur Senior Secondary School

Ms Desiree Barnes and Mr Henry Dirkse and learners Olivia Abrahams, Yaseen Booranodien, Colleen van den Berg, Abigail Holm, Melissa Isaacs, Sharia Latief, Tancu Nomthandazo and Firdous Richards.

Sinethemba Senior Secondary School

Mr Lulama Sibiyi and learners Zukisani Booysen, Lungisa Constable, Gracious Diko, Zukile May, Xolisa Mpini, Inga Stata, Mzothando Witbooi and Khanyisawa Zangqa.



Former residents of Constantia, learners, teachers and other project managers

Resource guide

Videos and audiocassette

- Audiocassette "A Knock on the Door": oral testimony of people forcibly removed from various parts of South Africa (Cape Town: IDASA)
- Video "Brown": a young singer traces her family's roots in Constantia and the effects of forced removal (Other-Wise Media)
- Video "Last Supper at Horstley Street" (District Six Museum)
- Video "Cape Town's First Forced Removal – to Ndabeni and Langa" (Department of Historical Studies, UCT)

Poems and songs

For short poems and words from the heart about life before, during and after forced removals: *Words in the House of Sand: The Writers' Floor of the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum Foundation, 2000)

Ask students if they know any songs on the theme of forced removals. Ask rap or kwaito artists in the class to make their own songs. Older songs include "A Piece of Ground" (recorded by Miriam Makeba) and "Meadowlands" (recorded by Sibongile Khumalo and others).

Autobiography

These personal stories are interesting and very readable. The first three books are available from the bookstall at the District Six Museum at a cost of between R60 and R70.

Ebrahim, N. *Noor's Story: My Life in District Six* (Cape Town: The District Six Museum Foundation, 1999)

Fortune, L. *The House on Tyne Street: Childhood Memories of District Six* (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 1996)

Ngcelwane, N. *Sala Kahle, District Six: An African Woman's Perspective* (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 1998)

Rive, R. *Buckingham Palace: District Six* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1986)

Interdisciplinary work

For interdisciplinary work on the theme of forced removals, there are many books of photographs on Sophiatown (for example, by *Drum* magazine photographers, or *Sophiatown Speaks*) and District Six (works by George Hallett, Jansje Wissema, Jimmy Matthews, Jan Greshoff and others). You might like to look at *The District Six Museum Public Sculpture Project*, a well-illustrated book edited by C. Soudien and R. Meyer on sale at the District Six Museum for R35.

Research – a shortcut

This shortcut is recommended for learners who want to get the most value out of their reading in a short time.

The District Six Museum

Visit the District Six Museum and/or log on to their website www.districtsix.co.za for an excellent introduction to the history of forced removals. Of course, the Museum focuses on District Six

but it also gives a history of forced removals across Cape Town and nationally (on the big display panels along the walls). The Museum is open from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. on Mondays and 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. on Tuesdays to Saturdays. Phone (021) 461 8745 for information and to book guided tours for school groups.

Some essential reading

Cape Town in the Twentieth Century

For an excellent overview of forced removals in Cape Town and memorable stories about specific communities, look at *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century* by V. Bickford-Smith, E. Van Heyningen and N. Worden (Cape Town: David Philip, 1999). This big coffee-table book by three well-known academic historians is very readable and the text is illustrated with photographs, cartoons, maps and drawings, and lively short stories that bring the history to life. (If you'd like to go further back in history, look for *Cape Town: The Making of a City* by the same authors.) Available in libraries, and in bookshops for about R220.

Lost Communities, Living Memories: Remembering Forced Removals in Cape Town

If you want a single book that covers the subject of forced removals in more detail, look for *Lost Communities, Living Memories: Remembering Forced Removals in Cape Town*, edited by Sean Field (Cape Town: David Philip, 2001). This is a readable book, based on oral histories of forced removals with a practical section at the end on how to do an oral history project. It is available from major bookshops (about R130) and in some libraries.

It includes chapters by different researchers on Group Areas removals in Cape Town: Windermere, Tramway Road in Sea Point, District Six, Simon's Town, Claremont – though, unfortunately, not on Constantia. As you read the chapters, you will hear the voices of many people who suffered forced removals and told their stories to interviewers.

Also very valuable for educators is the introductory chapter, "Mapping Cape Town: From Slavery to Apartheid", which traces the roots of segregation long before apartheid became law. This chapter places forced removals in their historical context: from Cape Town's first forced removal in 1901, when African residents of the city were forced to move to Ndabeni, and then forced to move to Langa in the late 1920s, right up to Group Areas removals of people classified coloured, starting in the 1960s.

Handbook for oral history interviewing

This tiny 20-page booklet is available at R5,00 from the Centre for Popular Memory. It has practical guidelines for planning an oral history project, doing interviews, transcribing interviews, copyright release forms, and so on.

Those who have more time for research should consult the longer bibliography available on the website: www.ijr.org.za

Interested in oral history research?

There are two main oral history archives in Cape Town: the District Six Museum Sound Archive in Buitenkant Street in Cape Town, and the Centre for Popular Memory, based at the University of Cape Town.

- Contact these archives if you want to listen to interviews (or read transcripts of interviews) with people you're interested in, or from specific areas, or on specific topics. This is incredibly valuable for research, for community radio – and for the classroom.
- If you have audio or video recordings, photographs or documents that you think should be preserved for posterity, contact one of these archives to see whether they would like to have them. The archive will ask for written permission from interviewees.

The District Six Museum Sound Archive has hundreds of hours of audio- and video-taped interviews with people who came through forced removals – people from District Six but also from many other places, such as Protea Village (near Kirstenbosch), Sea Point, Black River, Claremont and Salt River. The archive also contains fascinating material on popular culture in Cape Town, the roots of Cape music, and more. Copies of the tapes and transcripts of interviews from this project with former residents of Constantia will be deposited in the District Six Museum Archive. The interviews will also be available on the website. Contact Bonita Bennett, Collections, (021) 461 8745 or bonita@districtsix.org

The Centre for Popular Memory (formerly the Western Cape Oral History Project) at the University of Cape Town has an archive of over 1 600 hours of audio- and over 300 hours of video-taped interviews collected since the 1980s, as well as many transcripts. The collection focuses on individual and community life histories of the Western Cape. Areas of interest include popular culture, heritage sites and the environment, forced removals, health and HIV, trauma and violence, and the experience of refugees.

The Centre offers oral history training programmes for individuals and community organisations and works with community radio. For further information contact the administrator, Sharifa Hellaby, shellaby@humanities.uct.ac.za or (021) 650 4759; the archivist, Renate Meyer, (021) 650 4758 or rmeyer@humanities.uct.ac.za; or the director, Dr Sean Field, (021) 650 2941.

Interested members of the public can access the interviews through the Centre, the Department of Manuscripts and Archives at the University of Cape Town and the website www.popularmemory.org

Bibliography

Impact of forced removals

For the national context of forced removals of over two million people, see references below to Platzky and Walker, or Harley and Fotheringham: both very readable.

Erasmus, Z. (ed) *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape Town* (Kwela Books and SA History Online, 2001)

Field, S. "The Power of Exclusion: Moving Memories from Windermere to the Cape Flats, 1920s to 1990s" (University of Essex: unpublished PhD thesis, 1996)

Fortuin, S.D. "Die Toepassing van die Wet op Groepsgebiede met spesiale verwysing na Bellville tot 1970: 'n Sosiaal-historiese Onderzoek" (University of Stellenbosch: unpublished PhD thesis, 1997)

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Jeppie, S. and Soudien, C. (eds) *The Struggle for District Six: Past and Present* (Cape Town: Buchu Books, 1990)

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Mesthrie, U. "'No Place in the World to Go' – Control by Permit: The First Phase of the Group Areas Act in the 1950s" in *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, vol.7 1994

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- Mesthrie, U. "Land Restitution in Cape Town: Public Displays and Private Meanings" in *Kronos* vol. 25, 1998/9
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- Pinnock, D. *The Brotherhoods: Street Gangs and State Control in Cape Town* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1984)
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- United Women's Organisation *Claremont: A People's History* (Athlone: UWO Claremont Branch, undated)
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- Whisson, M.G. *The Fairest Cape: An Account of the Coloured People of the District of Simon's Town* (Johannesburg: Institute of Race Relations, 1974)

Constantia

Cornell, C. "Who Built Cape Town" in *Cape Town Scenes* (University of Cape Town: Language Education Unit, 1985)

"Cape Flats 200 Claim Constantia Land Back", *Cape Argus* 28 March 2001

Jeffreys, K.M. "The Malay Tombs of the Holy Circle: The Tombs of Constantia" in *The Cape Naturalist* (1934-1939)

Van der Ross, R.E. "Nostalgiese Reis na Spaanschematrivier", *Die Burger* 19 Maart 2005

Worden N., van Heyningen, E. and Bickford-Smith, V. *Cape Town: The Making of a City* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1998)

Accessed 12/08/2005

Groot Constantia Museum Timeline: display panels

History of Groot Constantia,

<http://www.museums.org.za/grootcon/history.html>

<http://www.museums.org.za/iziko/slavery/constantia.html>

Constantia Valley History, <http://www.constantiavalley.com/history.htm>

Recent sources relating to land claims and planning issues

- Submissions by land claimants in Constantia to the Land Claims Commission, Wale Street, Cape Town: enquiries to the Project Officer for the Constantia area, Daniel Jacobs
- Two Heritage Impact Assessments by Nicolas Baumann and Sarah Winter, one for a property in Strawberry Lane and one for Sillery Nursery; the second draws on interviews with the claimant family, the Sadiens

Doing oral history

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Gibson, N. and West, G. *All History is local: Students as Archivists: The Arkansas Memory Project.*

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Perks, R. and Thomson, A. (eds) *The Oral History Reader*
(London: Routledge, 1998)

Portelli, L. *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1991)

Samuel, R. and Thompson, P. *The Myths We Live By*
(London: Routledge, 1990)

Vansina, J. *Oral Tradition as History* (London: James Currey, 1985)

There are also many examples of readable publications and documentary films – including local ones – that are based on life history/oral history interviews. Many explore important themes in accessible, everyday language. They can become valuable classroom sources and inspire learners to tell their own stories or stories of people they know.