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Temporal representation in narratives of forced removals:

a narrative analysis of life story texts

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Abstract

In this thesis I have examined the life stories of three victims of forced removals. It is based on an understanding that there is much that we can learn from the lives of 'ordinary people' and that the oral medium is a rich source of understanding other aspects of society.

Chapter 1 sketches the background of this study, and the socio-political context within which it has grown. In the main theory section (chapter 2), I provide a general overview of the tools of narrative-based discourse analysis which I have used for my work and lead into a consideration of theories of memory and time. I focus particularly on aspects of representation of time in narrative and explore the nature of traumatic memory in relation to this.

In chapter four, my analysis draws attention to the different ways in which narrators make sense of the traumatic event in their lives. In fact, my analysis demonstrates that trauma shares fewer features with 'events' (as understood by Portelli, Ricoeur and others), and seems to correspond more closely to an understanding of it as 'duration'.

I conclude that the concept of linear time is not the organising principle in the narratives which I have examined, and that the forced removal has been a central occurrence around which the rest of life – and narrating about life – is understood.
Declaration

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature : [Signature]

Date : 18.02.05
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Chapter One: INTRODUCTION

When we have made an experience or a chaos into a story we have transformed it, made sense of it, transmuted experience, domesticated the chaos. (Okri 1997)

This thesis is an examination of the life narratives of three victims of forced removal. I have focused on the management of the dimension of time in the narratives to demonstrate the central place that the narrators have given to this traumatic event in making sense of and telling about their lives. The effects of this one event, datable in historical time, simultaneously have dimensions which extend beyond the confines of a specific time and without reference to the traumatic event, the rest of life cannot be narrated.

My interest in this enquiry has its origins in my work as a researcher for the Western Cape Commission on Land Restitution during 2001/2002. The project on which I worked had as its main aim the verification of details relating to the act of dispossession of approximately two thousand victims of forced removals (further details are provided on pages 3-5). The project relied in part on the oral testimony of claimants and witnesses, and it is during that stage of the research that I became acutely aware of the tension that existed between the narrative need to locate a central event in a historical time, and the research need to locate the event in historical time. Although this is not intended as a comparative study, I do occasionally make comparative comment on the interviews derived from that process (which I refer to as the first set of interviews), and the subsequent interviews which I generated for the purposes of this study (which I refer to as the second set of interviews).

My hypothesis is that the narratives of the victims of forced removals are not organised around the concept of linear time 'within which' events took place. Rather, the act of dispossession is recounted as having been experienced as a central event 'around which' the rest of life has taken place. Life events before and after the dispossession are in narration related to the traumatic event, and this is demonstrated by the narrative devices relating to temporal organisation used by the narrators.

The research for this thesis has been conducted using the tools of discourse-based narrative analysis. I have drawn from other disciplines in various ways. Significant among these have been history, particularly oral history methodologies and studies in history and memory. The study is based on an understanding of language as being both a tool for and site of enquiry; as both constructive and reflective of reality.
the focus has been on an analysis of the narrators' texts, it also includes a consideration of macro- and micro-contextual factors (such as specific socio-economic conditions, the general political climate, the actual interview situation) which might have influenced the narration in both content and form.

A variety of factors – both current and historical – have given rise to the conditions which form the basis of the narratives being studied. I will now refer briefly to these.

1.1 Historical context of forced removals
The history of South Africa in the twentieth century, and in this instance of Cape Town, cannot be fully understood without reference to the various measures introduced by the state to implement separate development and urban control. Although the Group Areas Act was introduced in 1950 as a legal instrument of segregation, segregation policies and forced removals had happened before then. According to Bickford-Smith (2001: 15) some areas in Cape Town were reserved by law for whites from as early as 1880, and there was informal segregation in other areas.

At the turn of the century many whites felt that segregation was a good idea and a way to protect their own economic interests. Policies to separate whites and blacks in hospitals, jails and schools were introduced and implemented. Over time, segregation policies were introduced by law, and these were eventually given further expression in the various acts of apartheid legislation. The first large-scale removal in the Western Cape was the 1901 removal of Africans from various residential areas in and around the city, to Ndabeni. Health fears relating to the spread of the deadly bubonic plague were given as reasons for this. The Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, WP Schreiner, however, seems to have articulated very clearly the underlying dominant attitude of the government to the African component of the population:

We have in the neighbourhood of Cape Town some 10,000 raw natives. They live all over the place and they are learning all sorts of bad habits through living in touch with European and coloured surroundings. We cannot get rid of them, they are necessary for work, what we want is to get them practically in the position of being compounded. Keep the natives out of harm's way, let them do their work, receive their wages and at the end of their term let them go back to the place whence they came, to the native territories.

Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, WP Schreiner, quoted in C. Saunders, The Creation of Ndabeni (1979: 169-70)

Various legislative instruments of control empowered local authorities to enforce population control measures, some of which are listed below (although this list is not exhaustive):

- 1902 Native Reserve Locations Act
- 1923 Native (Urban Areas) Act
- 1930 Urban Areas Act
- 1934 Slums Act
Local authorities had a range of mechanisms to enable them to exercise – by force, coercion, or intimidation – very stringent population control.

While the history of forced removals has been well-documented, the toll on individuals and families has not always been fully understood. As a consequence, individual lives were broken, families torn apart and communities destroyed – but many were sustained by the stories, myths and simple acts of resistance which took on different forms. There was the overt political resistance, community solidarity events, the quiet resistance of staying on until the bulldozers arrived to demolish the house, the transportation of symbols of the ruptured life to wherever people were moved to: sand and stones which represented the land, stories, memories and rituals which kept places alive even after they had been physically destroyed. These acts give confirmation to Ben Okri's description of oppressed and displaced people as being transplanters: 'They take their earth with them, carry with them their rituals as codes of continuity in the new world' (2001: 128).

1.2 Research context
The telling of stories about their experiences has become an important way for people to make sense of these for themselves as well as for others. For some, the revisiting of traumatic memories of the past meant relief and release; for others, it brought back strong emotions linked to the trauma of loss and suffering, which they had chosen to forget.

As part of its programme of restitution and redress the post-apartheid government instituted a process whereby those affected by the various acts of forced removals could lodge a claim for a form of compensation in respect of such removal. Regulations provided for in the Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 of 1994 served as a procedural frame for this. Implementation guidelines are detailed in the Government Notice, 703 of 1995: Government Gazette 16407 of 12 May 1995 in the section: Rules of the Commission on Restitution of Land Rights. Restitution options were put to claimants, of which one had to be selected. With some variation according to the area-specific circumstances, claimants were given the following general options:

- financial compensation
- return to the area of removal
- move to an alternative area.
Individual claims had to pass through different stages before settlement resulted in one of the above options. After being lodged, the claim had to be deemed valid, based on the acceptance criteria as detailed in the aforementioned Government Notice (703 of 1995) which specified the conditions which needed to be met by the claimant. After this process of validation, each individual claim had to be verified, during which process claimants had to provide evidence that they had in fact resided in the area being claimed for, at the time when, according to the archival records, people were forcibly removed from that place.

In my work as part of a team of researchers for the Western Cape Commission on Land Restitution during 2001/2002, I was involved in the process of verifying claims. Through this I became immersed in the life histories of families who were the victims of forced removals during the 1950-1970 period. The terms of reference of the research project required that verifiable evidence of the claimant having resided in the area of forced removal be collected in support of the claim. For this purpose, printed documentary proof was regarded as the preferred evidence of choice. In situations where such documentary proof was not available, oral evidence was accepted as proof. The aim of the oral evidence was to support, on the level of factuality, the claim that the individual had in fact lived in the area being claimed for during the relevant time-period. Researchers listened to accounts with the aim of extracting factual data which was verifiable, in order to substantiate the claim. Oral accounts were then transposed into written formats which needed to take the form of sworn affidavits in order to meet the set requirements.

The procedure involved asking set questions from a questionnaire, responses to which were entered onto the form by the interviewing researcher. Claimants were asked to provide biographical information: name, identity number, current residential address, etc. They were then asked a series of questions relating to the area from which they had been forcibly removed. These included questions concerning the place from which they had been removed, date of dispossession, family members who were forcibly removed, names of deceased co-claimants, description of the property being claimed for, names of neighbours, etc. It was rare that claimants simply responded to the specific questions being asked. Often, responses were interspersed with narratives of personal experience which in many instances were extremely detailed and emotively retold. Responses to the last set of questions (particularly 2.11; 2.15; 3) which called upon the claimant to recount as much of the act of dispossession as they could recall, were filled with detailed narrations. What became abundantly clear early in the research process and consistently throughout, was that claimants were providing much more than factual accounts of the

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1 A copy of the questionnaire is attached as Appendix 1.
removal being researched. Their oral accounts went beyond the required provision of information, much of which was embedded in narratives which told about their lives, then and now. A listener keyed in only to isolate factual information (such as dates, place markers, names of neighbours, landlords, etc.) would miss the nuanced significance of much of what was being told. The reconstructions, the flashbacks and flash-forwards, the evaluative comments interspersed in the telling: all of these might signify to the ear untrained to listen to narrative – especially autobiographical narrative – inaccuracies, even falsities. Sometimes internal consistency was absent as there was not always a direct correspondence between the information provided in these more free-flowing narrative accounts, and the information supplied in response to the set questions. Often people would give very detailed accounts of their current lives – narratives which fell completely outside of the terms of reference of the project.

Here I would like to refer specifically to aspects of temporal representation as ‘location in time’ which was an important feature of the verification process. The actual act of dispossession had to be proved to have taken place within a specific time-period for the purposes of legal compliance. Because of what seemed at the time to be failures of memory, many claimants battled to give specific dates and chronological accounts of events relating to the forced removal. Some people had moved several times from various places and often collapsed time-frames in telling about these. Sometimes the order of the moves seemed to be incorrectly communicated, dating the move outside of the time-period indicated by archival records. The researchers’ need to extract data plottable along a linearly-arranged time-line cued them to try to listen to these stories as if they had been lived in ‘... life time as if it were a continuous line of chronological marks’ (Brockmeier 2000: 62). A more analytical study of narrative theory and the temporal ordering of events within narrative renders this difficulty more comprehensible. Claimant-narrators were being required to transpose what they were telling in narrative format - the organising principle of which is not linear time - into a framework in which calendric time was of the utmost importance. These narratives were more than chronological recounts, they were being composed using various temporal frameworks, combined in ways that made sense to the narrator.

How were we to listen to these stories? How to understand the inaccuracies, the seeming contradictions which often permeated much of the telling? How to report on these within the frame provided for by the verification project?

2 The Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 of 1994 specified that dispossession as a result of racially discriminatory practices had to have taken place after 19 June 1913 in order for it to be considered as a valid claim. Oral testimony had to include a date of dispossession, which was then verified by archival research for consonance with the listed year of the Ordinance or Act pertaining to that area.
Posing these questions alerted me to the fact that there needed to be a different way of listening, understanding and giving value to these stories. Although framed within the post-1994 metadiscourse of restitution and healing in South Africa, the institutional and administrative requirements of the process did little to support this wider frame. By their actions (i.e. oral narrations) claimants were in effect demonstrating the value of narrative and healing truth\textsuperscript{4} while we were more focused on the forensic aspects of truth. Underlying the construction of the verification process appeared to be the assumption that the 'truth' of the forced removal experience was eternally stored as a discretely packaged memory which could be reproduced by the claimant and inserted into a linear, institutional process. The centrality of the memory of the forced removal to the lives of the affected people was unquestionable; the detail and chronology of events were understandably altered by the passage of time (for most people this had taken place at least thirty years prior to the lodging of the claim) as well as by subsequent experiences and the perspective gained from looking back.

Portelli (1991) refers to the discrepancy between fact and memory as enhancing the value of oral sources as historical documents. According to him, the configuration of events by narrators is not the result of faulty memory, but is in fact actively and creatively generated by memory and imagination in an effort to make sense of crucial events and of history in general. On reflecting on the variances in oral testimonies, Portelli reminds us that oral sources are '...not always fully reliable in point of fact. Rather than being a weakness, this is however, their strength: errors, inventions and myths lead us through and beyond facts and their meanings' (1991: 2).

1.3 Structure of this thesis
The main body of this thesis consists of three chapters, which are preceded by this Introduction and followed by a concluding chapter. In chapter 2 I provide the theoretical framework within which I have undertaken this study. In chapter 3 I describe the methodological framework used. In chapter 4 I provide an analysis of the narratives of three victims of forced removal which focuses on the different levels of temporal organisation evident in their stories and the way in which traumatic memory plays a key role in configuring the story.

\textsuperscript{4} The TRC made allowance for various notions of truth. \textit{Factual or forensic truth} which corresponds with the familiar legal or scientific notion of bringing to light factual, corroborated evidence; \textit{personal or narrative truth} which affirmed the value of telling stories to give meaning to the multi-layered experiences of the South African story, \textit{social truth} which refers to the truth arrived through dialogue; \textit{healing or restorative truth} which places facts and what they mean within the context of human relationships. Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report, Volume 1 (1998).
Chapter Two: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter I outline the key concepts that have formed the basis of my analysis of the three narratives. I summarise the main discourse theories that I have drawn on, emphasising the important contextual factors which are crucial in any attempt to understand the complexities of narrative texts. I then present the theories of memory – particularly traumatic memory – that have contributed to my understanding of the narratives. Finally, I give an account of the theories of narrative and time on which I have drawn.

2.1 Discourse

For the purpose of this study, I have regarded discourse as meaning '... language in use: language used to do something and mean something, language produced and interpreted in a real-world context' (Cameron 2001: 13).

The 'real-world' context of the original interviews which captured my interest was the land claims process. They were conducted for the purpose of verifying and validating this quasi-legal process. This specific discursive activity thus had a very real and practical function to achieve, i.e. to produce factual, verifiable information in order to corroborate a claim. Bourdieu (1976, quoted in Slembrouck 2000: 22) emphasises the need to take into account the goals that language interactions are meant to achieve, and the ability of speakers to use language as a strategic tool to achieve these goals. Contrary to what many students of conversational analysis would uphold, Bourdieu argues that the need to be understood is not the primary goal of communication. He argues that speakers adapt their language usage to achieve very specific strategic outcomes - such as to be believed or to influence a decision – and this overrides the need to be understood. His argument certainly holds true for the land claims interviews as these were geared towards achieving a very clear objective, i.e. to establish a claimant's right to submit a claim.

The second set of interviews which I have examined in closer detail, are those which I conducted with a small number of the above group of interviewees. The purpose and method of these interviews was different from the first: they were meant to be life stories told in a more informal context. 'Now I can tell you my whole story' was what one of the interviewees said to me as I was preparing the tape recorder before his interview. He had been expressing some of his frustration to me about the earlier interview (to verify his land claim) which I had conducted with him. He had felt that the questions from the questionnaire were an interruption to his 'whole story'!

Language is constituted by a number of dynamic, constructive processes and is more than a static channel through which to communicate auditory information. Bakhtin (1981) asserts that the real unit of communication is the utterance: language given voice. He describes the utterance as being the concrete manifestation of words, phrases and sentences which, until spoken, remained abstractions. 'After all, language enters life through concrete utterances (which manifest language) and life enters language through concrete utterances as well' (Bakhtin 1981: 63). Only when

1 Mr NQ, whose narrative I analyse in Chapter 4.
actualised in living speech through the formation of a series of utterances does language come to life and assume a place in reality.

Fairclough (1992) too, stresses the importance of understanding the dynamic link between language and life. He describes discourse as the ways in which people act upon the world, act upon each other and represent the world. Language is thus both reflective and constitutive of society.

2.1.1 Language and ideology

Ideology as '... a conception of the world that is implicitly manifest in art, in law, in economic activity and in the manifestations of individual and collective life' (Gramsci 1971: 228, quoted in Fairclough 1992: 92) plays a role in all choices that we make, including our choices about language. Mostly, these are subconscious choices shaped by perspectives that have become hidden over time. The discourse analysts Fairclough, Halliday and Van Dijk ascribe particular importance to the ideological dimension of discourse. They argue that our written and spoken texts bear traces of ideological positioning which may have become so 'hidden' that their manifestations appear normative. Ideology, having become invisible in this way, thus forms part of all aspects of public and private life. A speaker's ideological position with respect to gender, class, identity and societal power structures, for example, will influence linguistic choices with regard to words, style, form, content and manner of expression.

2.1.2 Language as social practice

Social context has an important influence on language production both in form and content (according to Fairclough, Bakhtin and Halliday). Socio-hierarchical relationships are of particular significance and influence many aspects of discursive relationships in much the same way that ideology does.

Fairclough describes three constructive functions within the discursive interaction which he regards as crucial. He calls these the identity, relational and ideational functions. The identity function refers to the way that social identities are established in the discourse; the relational to how the social relationships between the participants are set up and the ideational function relates to the way that texts 'signify the world and its processes, entities and relations' (1992: 92). The interaction between these three functions determine the manner and content of all discursive interactions.

Bakhtin presents very strong views on the dialogic nature of language production, going as far as to describe the dialogue, as exchange of words, as being 'the most natural form of language' (1981: 117). He emphasises the interactional dimension of language which plays a part in shaping the content and the style of interaction. Bakhtin identifies addressivity as a key element in the construction of utterances; each utterance takes into account the one that preceded it while also anticipating and expecting a response -- and so an interactive chain of utterances is built up dialogically. Even utterances such as those in lectures, dramatic monologues and speeches are monologic only in outward form, as their construction is based on the assumption of a responsive
and receptive audience. The existence of a consumer (listener) – present or assumed – is a constitutive feature of the spoken text. As not all responses are immediately and overtly articulated, even silence can be considered to be a response. Interview contexts are more overtly dialogic, and it is useful to be reminded here of the constitutive role that the interviewee plays in the construction of a narrator's life story.

The Bakhtinian concept of the chain of utterances led me towards a recognition of the collective dimension of individual voices. While the personal life stories which I recorded are all powerful and meaningful in their own right, they are simultaneously representative of a wider community story. It was interesting that without exception, the narrators all made reference to the life and trauma of the community in telling their own stories. Cameron (2001) reminds us that a voice which is wholly individual runs the risk of being completely incomprehensible. As individuals we tend to believe that our opinions and words 'belong' more to us than they actually do, while this is only true to some extent. Our choice of language or dialect, selecting what is sayable and what best left unsaid, the way in which we structure the stories that we tell and even the decision about whether to employ or subvert any norms or conventions – these are all individually selected but socially determined.

We speak with the voices of our communities, and to the extent that we have individual voices, we fashion them out of the social voices already available to us, appropriating the words of others to speak a word of our own. (Lemke 1995: 24-5 quoted in Cameron 2000: 19)

2.2 The text and beyond

2.2.1 Talk as text

Deborah Cameron quotes a British Telecom spokesperson as referring to life as ‘...in many ways a series of conversations’ (Cameron 2001: 7). Continuing the metaphor, she writes that people’s conversations, then, can be a source of evidence about other aspects of their lives. Life story interviews as one kind of ‘conversation’ can provide significant insights into how individuals experience and process social events. They add value to our existing knowledge by developing our understanding of what these events mean in the lives of people. In addition, they help us to understand ways in which people construct meaning in their lives, narrative being one of the vehicles that enable people to do this.

As important as the discursive process, is the outcome or ‘product’ which results from it. Most often it is the text that is available to us for detailed study. Fairclough (1992: 64) describes Michael Halliday’s reference to the ‘textual function’ of discourse. He points to structural aspects of texts that can be described and understood by studying them directly. They include ways in which information is foregrounded, backgrounded, taken as given, linked to other texts both preceding and anticipated. A fuller understanding of what texts signify can be gained from taking contextual conditions into account. Textual analysis cannot stand apart from reference to the broader social context, the specific context in which the text is produced, or the relationship between the interacting parties as these are important factors in text production.
2.2.2 Pretextuality and pre textual gaps

I would like to refer to dimensions of pretextuality as described by Maryns and Blommaert (2000) whose work I have found beneficial in my examination of the claimant narratives. They define pretextuality and pretextual conditions as 'conditions of sayability, differential distribution of access to these conditions, and social evaluations attached to such differences' (2000: 1).

Some of the salient pretextual conditions of the interviewees are directly linked to their socio-economic circumstances, particularly as experienced in the apartheid period which constituted the major portion of their lives. These conditions would have affected many aspects of their lives: access to homes, formal education and job opportunities. They would have shaped their encounters with bureaucracy, their involvement with civil society and their opportunities to be 'heard'. Familiarity (or lack of it) with the requirements of the formal interview – the need to be concise, precise and coherent – would influence their engagement in the process. Maryns and Blommaert argue that differential access to opportunities is what contributes to the creation of 'pretextual gaps'. These gaps have a negative effect on perceived competence and participation in certain processes, particularly institutional and bureaucratic processes.

Pretextual gaps can be understood in the light of Bourdieu’s concept of language as symbolic capital accumulation of which is differentially determined by various forces operating in society. Socio-economic conditions play a significant role in determining an individual’s – as well as community’s – ability to accumulate such capital. Like financial capital, symbolic capital is a commodity to be bargained with in different contexts. According to Bourdieu:

Situations in which linguistic productions are explicitly sanctioned and evaluated, such as examinations or interviews, draw our attention to the existence of mechanisms determining the price of discourse which operate in every linguistic interaction (e.g. the doctor-patient or lawyer-client relation), and more generally in all social relations. (1976, quoted in Slembrouck 2000: 22)

While not explicitly setting out to do so, the land claims interview did tend to 'evaluate' the linguistic production (i.e. factual information and the level of coherence and economy of communication) of claimants participating in the process, most of whom had had limited access to pretextual conditions which would have rendered them more 'competent' in the process.

In this regard, I refer to the tensions between the institutional requirement that interactions be focused and concise, and the narrative need experienced by many claimants, to spend some time ‘wandering over the temporal map’ (Ochs 1997: 191) in order to make a point. I have found the research done by Maryns and Blommaert on the official processes involved for African asylum-seekers in Belgium, to be very useful in my consideration of the land claims processes. They identify the demands of the official process which focused on establishing the validity of the interviewee’s right to be part of the asylum-seeking process. ‘Validity’ seemed to signify very different things to the two parties (interviewing official and applicant). To the asylum-seeker being interviewed, the often
horrific experience which led to flight from home was the basis of validity: to the interviewing official, validity was measured by rigidly-defined interview conditions which needed to be met. The official’s need for the interview to be criteria-based and efficient seemed opposed to the applicant’s need to contextualise by giving extended narrative.

The United Nations Human Rights Commission guidelines for interviewing asylum-seekers are used in the training of the Belgian interviewing officials. The section entitled \textit{Interviewing applicants for refugee status (1995:59-38)}, sub-section \textit{Relevant factors for assessing credibility}, indicates that:

\ldots not only should the sequence of events and supporting statements be logical and consistent, but there should be some linkage between the places, times, events, and other factors which form the basis of the claim.

Earlier in the document, \textit{fluency, clarity and detail} are also mentioned as being important. Although produced for a different context, these guidelines are not unlike the guidelines contained in \textit{Government Notice – 703 of 1995} referred to previously (in chapter 1, page 3) used in the South African land claims process. Both have the effect of cueing officials to listen in a particular way. Neither set of guidelines takes into account the applicant’s need to make highly contextualised responses. The design of both processes seems to be based on the notion of an ‘ideal’ applicant who would be linguistically competent (in a formal context) and who would be able to provide \ldots unequivocal answers to unequivocal questions\ (Maryns and Blommaert 2000:7). Most claimants in the land claims process did not fit this profile. Accepting that validity needs to be established, the understanding of what constitutes this could be broadened. The institutional understanding of consistency and validity does not allow for the inconsistencies in chronology which are characteristic of even the most coherent narrative. Asking applicants to provide background information about their circumstances leads into a process of autobiographical remembering which involves \ldots a back-and-forth movement between the past and the present that furthermore relates to the future\ (Brockmeier 2000: 54). Furthermore, \textit{because chronological operators of time always remain tied to the notion of sequence (a sequence of “nows”, that is), they are simply not appropriately complex ... if faced with the much more sophisticated fabric of narrative time construction}\ (Brockmeier 2000: 54). An additional consideration linked to this is that the stories of the claimants have their centre in traumatic events which affected them personally and which were often experienced as chaotic, disordered, and for some, unspeakable. Gaps in chronological accounts as well as inconsistent chronology would not be unusual under such conditions.

\subsection*{2.2.3 Intertextuality}

Intertextuality refers to the relationship that all ‘new’ texts have to other texts that have gone before, thereby making the link between past and present. Fairclough describes the concept of intertextuality as ‘historically transforming the past – existing conventions and prior texts – into the present’ (1992: 83). Whether in opposition to or in support of one another, there is always a relationship between texts. Sometimes borrowing and referencing is done on an overt level, but most times it is
sulx:onscious. The dialogic nature of text production thus refers not only to the relationship between producer (speaker, writer) and consumer (listener, reader), but also between texts and other texts.

An important background text to the interviews for both the land claims process and my research, was the post-1994 grand narrative text of reconciliation and transformation. This gave rise to a ‘new’ vocabulary and a range of discursive practices. Conspicuous in this regard were the public hearings which formed part of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) process, where formerly private stories of loss, grief, pain and suffering were inserted into the public domain in a very intense way. The audio, visual and printed texts of radio, television and the print media helped to grow these associated public discourses. The public – some of whom entered the land claims process – gradually became accustomed to hearing ‘people like themselves’ telling their stories in public, and receiving validation for telling them in their own ways and words. All things being considered, I believe that the TRC has contributed in a significant way to asserting the value of orality and to the valuing of subjective experiences as communicated through the notion of narrative truth. Like the TRC, the land claims process also called for people to insert their experiences into its process although in a different way.

Returning to the first set of land claims interviews: prior to the interview, claimants would have gone through a process of lodging their claims, which meant filling in the official claim forms. Thereafter, various meetings between claimants and land claims officials were convened, at which times the expected procedure was laid out in great detail. The texts (speeches, question-and-answer sessions) produced at these meetings became influential scripts, even cues to people as to what information to foreground in their stories.

In addition to drawing on existing textual content, new texts also draw on conventions from other genres of text production. These conventions range from the most formal at the one end of the spectrum (court-room proceedings, job interviews, forensic investigations) to very informal at the other end (casual chat between friends, family mealtime conversations). The conventions for each end of the spectrum are very distinct, but in between the two extremes there are a range of discursive situations which are in fact a blend of more than one type. Goffman (1981) refers to the concept of framing to describe the way in which participants organise their experiences in terms of recognisable activities (i.e. as an interview, a game, an investigation, etc.). His frame analysis emphasises the multidimensionality of many social interactions, which do not have to be either one type or another, but can in fact be a combination of frames shaped by the context. Frames of interaction consist of an interplay between the pre-determined generic conventions and contextually-constructed frame(s). In this sense, the land claims interviews were mostly framed as more than one type of ‘event’. The prerequisite of the process which required that a legally-compliant document be produced at the end of the interview, demanded the formality of a structured interview. However, asking people to share

2 An explanation of TRC notions of the truth is provided in chapter 1, page 5.
their experiences of forced removals required a different frame at the same sitting, and needed supportive listening rather than the objective listening of the legal frame.

The feature of texts 'borrowing' conventions more closely associated with other textual genres is referred to as 'interdiscursivity' by Fairclough (1992: 85). Post-1994 South Africa has given rise to the formation of several interdiscursively-constructed, generically-mixed processes. The land claims process is only one example, as a 'people-centred' process which became translated into a quasi-legal one by the need to establish validity and eliminate false claims. Oral testimony was considered to be an acceptable means of verifying information, but only if this was transliterated into the form of a sworn affidavit. In fact, the term 'oral evidence' was more frequently used, once again embedding the legal dimension of the process through the language used.

In reflecting on issues relating to the achievements of the TRC, Sean Field comments that 'While the TRC aimed to contribute to the emotional "healing" of apartheid survivors, the TRC process was primarily a politically motivated, legal and administrative process' (1997: 7). This has been partially true for the land claims process as well. While the purpose is framed within the discourse of restitution, redress and human rights, it is also very clearly framed within a legal and administrative structure which has as part of its construct very clear and rigid notions of truth and reliability. It could even be said that at times the process as designed was at cross-purposes with itself. While attempts were made to create pathways for disempowered communities to insert themselves and their stories onto the national agenda, sometimes the very construction and implementation of such processes resulted in the disempowerment and frustration of the people it sought to serve.

2.3 Narrative, memory and time

The dominant need within official processes (such as the land claims process) to rely on tangible records which can be dated and chronologically ordered influences people to think that these (i.e. datability and chronological flow of time) are intrinsic features of time itself. Recent work, however, calls into question the notion of time 'as such', claiming that we do not experience a flow of time, only a succession of situations and events (Lowenthal 1985: 220). Regulators of time such as calendars and watches are human constructions which we impose on our experiences so as to order and measure them. Chronological ordering by calendric dates has become a necessary part of contemporary living and we are sometimes influenced to conflate a method of structuring life, with the nature of life itself.

Narrative, as a way of ordering and attributing meaning to human experience represents time in a way which is not just a linear flow of 'nows' (Brockmeier 2000: 54). In this section I explore the ways in which temporality finds expression in narrative through the process of remembering. Since current theories all point to the interrelatedness of narrative, memory and time, I have treated
them in this way in my analysis of the narratives in Chapter four. However, for reasons of convenience, in this section I have discussed them separately.

2.3.1 Narrative structure and meaning

Elinor Ochs and Lisa Capps (2001: 1) refer to personal narrative as being ubiquitous, acquired in childhood and embedded within the many activities of everyday life: casual conversations, educational activities, religious ceremonies, journal writing, testimonies and various other interchanges which we engage in on a daily basis. Common though its occurrence is, narrative is extremely difficult to define in a distinct and unequivocal way. Its many manifestations defy a singular definition as it tends to draw on elements from various other discursive forms as needed in the context.

The description of the structure of oral personal narratives provided by Labov and Waletzky (1967) continues to be a useful one, and provides a way of understanding narrative as being more than a recount of a succession of events. Their framework includes five elements which each serve a different function within the narrative. The abstract summarises the point of the story; the orientation provides background information regarding time, place and participants; the complicating action contains the main action of the story; the evaluation clarifies the narrator's perspective on the subject matter of the story, and the coda brings the narration back to the present.

This description of narrative elements and their functions provides us with a way of understanding clauses in the narrative that do not seem to move the action along, but instead fulfil other interactional functions, such as: familiarising the listener with the overall point of the story and the background information essential to understanding it (as in the abstract and orientation), and offering commentary from the narrator (as in the evaluation). Orientation and evaluation are not necessarily encountered in any specific order and can be found interspersed throughout the narrative. In telling about traumatic events, strong feelings are evoked in narrators and evaluation is a constant thread running through the narrative, occurring frequently and in various ways.

While being useful as a tool for perceiving commonalities of narrative and understanding how these are linked to each other, the elements described above seem to be most clearly evident in narratives which are concentrated on telling about a specific event (as in the 'danger of death narratives' quoted in Labov and Waletzky 1967) which took place in a clearly-defined time and place. When narrators are focused on particular incidents, the narrative is more likely to be formed in a relatively structured way which makes these elements more apparent.

In analysing life story narratives - a genre in which the boundaries of events are more fluid than when talking about specific events - additional ways of understanding its structure need to

3 I use 'temporality' here as suggested by Ricouer (1984a), to mean human, experienced time as distinct from historical time.
be applied. Particularly when a traumatic or life-changing experience has had a formative place in a person's life, the manner in which this finds expression in the narrative in some ways mirrors the place of the trauma in this person's life: it is an ever-present reality which forms part of every aspect of daily living. In his analysis of testimonies from Holocaust survivors, Lawrence Langer (1991: 5) refers to the *cotemporality* of memory as an aspect which often becomes a controlling feature of narratives about traumatic events, as narrators often have to perform the difficult function of integrating the events into the rest of their lives. There is a sense in which the traumatic event 'belongs to' a time past while simultaneously 'belonging to' the present life. A Holocaust survivor, Charlotte Delbo, responds to a question about whether she lives with Auschwitz after her return: 'No, I live beside it. Auschwitz is there, fixed and unchangeable, but wrapped in the impervious skin of memory that segregates itself from the present “me”.' (quoted in Langer 1991: 5). Indication, then, that traumatic memory defies proper integration into the general schema of the life story and does not lend itself to a logic of linear narrative formulation.

Life stories, then, reflect a simultaneity of 'times': while all occurrences take place in datable time, the experiences associated with them extend beyond the confines of that time. The meaning distilled from the experience may remain, while the datable details of the occurrence recede in memory. Ben Okri (1997: 113), reflecting on the way that a story (or experience) moves from being realized in real time to becoming a timeless entity, says that:

> Stories do not belong to eternity. They belong to time. And out of time they grow. And it is through lives that touch the bedrock of suffering and the fire of the soul, it is through lives, and in time, that stories – relived and redreamed – become timeless.

### 2.3.2 Narrative dimensions

The *dimensional approach* to narrative as proposed by Ochs and Capps (2001) is a useful way of understanding the multifarious forms of personal narratives. This framework allows for flexibility in understanding narrative form and makes the distinction between personal narrative and more 'tightly organised narratives, with coherent thematic progression of actions, reactions, and resolutions more amenable to formal analysis' (2001: 18). They describe narrative as a genre which is complex both cognitively and discursively, and which usually contains either all or some of the discourse components indicated in Figure 1 below.

![Fig. 2.1: Discourse components of narrative (Ochs and Capps 2001: 19)](image)

4 'Recount': a category of personal narrative used by Martin and Plum to refer to '...a sequence of events that are presented by the teller as unfolding unproblematically...' (1997: 301).
The dimension of chronology as far as it contributes to overall narrative coherence – or not – is the one which is of particular interest to me in this study. Ochs and Capps also refer to this dimension as being one of the clearest distinguishing features of narrative, as the temporal sequencing of two or more events is considered by many to be the hallmark of narrative, although this is not always the case (2001:18).

2.3.3 The life story as narrative
Charlotte Linde (1993: 3) defines the life story as a particular kind of personal narrative which expresses 'our sense of self: who we are and how we got that way.' Although a life story is personal and individual, she points to its social dimension as it is also a medium through which individuals position themselves in relation to a social group.

Linde goes on to isolate some distinctive features of life story narrations (1993: 4). They are:

- **social units**, as they are the outcome of an interaction between interlocutors
- **oral units**, being different from written biographies
- **discontinuous units**, as a 'complete' life story needs to be told over a long period of time.

While some narrative theorists emphasise the potential that narrative has to help people to construct meaning within their lives, Jackson (2002) offers a caution in this regard. He advises against attributing too much value to the ability of narrative to clarify the discordant things of life and to assign meaning to meaningless occurrences. He reminds us that there are occasions within human experience which remain beyond the level of understanding. Traumatic experiences would fall within this category, as these often resist proper integration into memory and remain within the realm of incomprehension, oftentimes un-narratable. Jackson concedes that in storytelling difficult experiences, individuals who had little control over the course of life events, would at least have a measure of control over the attribution of meaning to these.

2.3.3.1 Coherence, consistency and chronology in the life story

"Now a thing is a whole if it has a beginning, a middle and an end".

"Now, where will I find my beginning?"

When applied to the life story, Aristotle's concept of wholeness extends beyond a chronological understanding of the beginning, middle and end. In telling his/her story, a narrator will start at a specific point in time and continue telling the story until it reaches an end in the time of the telling. In deciding on where to start, a plot needs to be fixed upon as a point which will determine the direction and flow, the beginning as well as the end of the narration. This narrative centre (the plot)

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5 Aristotle Poetics (53b26)
6 Words of interviewee Mr NQ when asked to talk about his life.
thus holds the rest together, serving as an indicator of how far back in time to go in the telling, and how far ahead to project. Even while referring to the notion of looking back and looking ahead in time, it is important to understand these points of reference as being multi-dimensional, of which the temporal dimension is but one. The centre linked to the plot is a conceptual centre, not a chronological middle. It extends into the temporal dimension and becomes the point which has a firm location in the world of historicity and temporality. The reaching backward and forward from it then becomes the narrative as it forms around the plot, with the constant interplay between causes and effects, thens and nows, finding a beginning and an ending.

In drawing attention to some of the differences between oral and written narrative, Langer refers to the reassuring appearance of form which written narrative provides: '(A) written narrative is finished when we begin to read it, its opening, middle and end already established between the covers of the book. ... Oral testimony steers a less certain course, like a fragile craft veering through turbulent waters, unsure where a safe harbour lies – or whether one exists at all!' (1991: 17).

As he prepares to tell his life story, the interviewee quoted above tries to find a place to start and eventually settles on a starting point which gives meaning to his plot or point of the story. Ricouer comments on the effect of establishing a plot in order to configure a story and its beginning:

> It is as though recollection inverts the so-called order of time. By reading the end in the beginning and the beginning in the end, we also learn to read time itself backward, as the recapitulating of the initial conditions of a course of action in its terminal consequences. (Ricouer, 1981: 176)

Ochs and Capps (2001: 4) point to the attempts that narrators make to create an overarching storyline held together in linear narration, which ties together events that in reality might have been haphazard, simultaneous or conflictual. This results in '... a relatively soothing resolution to bewildering events, yet it flattens human experience by avoiding facets of a situation that don't make sense within the prevailing storyline' (2001: 4). Maurice Halbwachs (1980) uses a very graphic illustration to demonstrate the human need to make connections between things. He describes how, by looking to the sky and observing individual stars, 'we readily imagine that by merely tracing an imaginary line between them we confer on them some sort of unity' (1980: 41). In the same way, he says, we link random experiences into a narrative whole, making links between events that have a retrospective connective relevance.

The distinction made within narratology between fabula and sjuzet is also helpful as a means of understanding the configurational strategies which narrators impose on their experiences in order to emplot and narrativise. Fabula refers to the events located in historical time which are experienced by the individual, while sjuzet refers to the 'narratively composed synthesis’ which draws on the fabula but at the same time also deviates from a chronological path (Brockmeier 2000: 54).
The subjective nature of the oral medium makes it a potentially rich source of information on how individuals make sense of their lives. Alessandro Portelli (1991) takes a firm position in this regard, viewing the discrepancies encountered in oral sources (as demonstrated in his interviews with the Terni community about the death of Luigi Trastulli) as being a strength rather than a weakness. He argues that discrepancies in facts can lead us beyond these (facts) and into their meanings. Paul Thompson (1998) concurs, believing the tentative and ambivalent features of oral accounts to be closer to the human condition than singular, linear written accounts. His view resonates with Mark Freeman's description of this aspect of daily living: "... as a general rule we don't just live linear, moving inexorably through one thing after another; we live spirals of remembrance and return, repetition and reconfiguration, under the spell of ... mythopoeic desire" (1998: 47).

2.4 Memory

An awareness of the past is essential to our well-being (Lowenthal 1985: 185). Memory, as one of the vehicles for knowing about the past, is what links our current state of being with a past state of "having been". It is through the existence of the past in the present that we can know about the past, but at the same time we need to distinguish the past from the present in order to gain perspective on it. In the words of the Popular Memory Group (1982: 211) quoted in Sean Field (1993:7): "... memory is, by definition, a term that directs our attention not to the past, but to the past-present relation. It is because "the past" has this living active existence in the present that it matters much politically."

The past, then, is known through the imprint which it leaves in the present. David Lowenthal uses the example of the Swahili understanding of the "living-dead" to illustrate a community's understanding of the significance of the existence of the past in memory. In this understanding, those who die are regarded as the "living-dead" for as long as they remain alive in the memory of others. They only become 'completely' dead when the last person who had known them personally has also died. So, too, the ancient Greeks equated a forgotten past with death: for them, only the dead had no memories (Lowenthal 1985: 197).

As briefly referred to in the earlier section on narrative (section 2.3.2), the remembered past extends beyond the act of linear recall and recollection. Events past are remembered both for the reality of having occurred, as well as for the reality of their imbued meanings which may resonate even throughout an entire lifetime. This is poignantly stated by Walter Benjamin: "An experienced event is finite — at any rate confined to one sphere of experience; a remembered event is infinite, because it is a key to everything that happened before and after it" (quoted in Portelli 1991: 1).

Memory is more usefully thought of as a process than a finished product. Recent research indicates that there is no repository of facts from the past stored as memory. Rather, it is a present creation using past experiences and information to formulate a meaningful construction, relevant
now. It involves '... unraveling fragments of the past as it really happened; fragments of a past desired; and fragments of a past which meets current (and expected) future demands' (Field 1993: 10). As new experiences are incorporated with the old, as some things are forgotten, as others are 'interfered with' with by current experiences - the way in which an individual communicates events to others from memory may be altered from one occasion to the next. Linde's reference to discontinuity as being a feature of the life story (1993: 4) takes these factors into account, accepting that the same person talking about the past on different occasions may communicate this in very different ways. Portelli (1991) describes how personal stories are influenced both by the quantity of time passing (i.e. the amount of experience accumulated by the individual) and the quality of time (i.e. what the narrator wants to emphasise at the time of the telling).

While we experience our lives in the present time, it is almost impossible to focus only on 'now'. We live with a constant awareness of what has gone before and in anticipation of things to come. Freeman describes how, although '... bodily speaking we do indeed "go on" in time, the situation is often quite different psychically: we seek to revisit the morning before we arrived at work, or the previous day or month or year, we land back in the present, now informed by the visits just made; we concentrate on what's next, both in the immediate and distant futures' (1998: 42).

Halbwachs (1980) refers to all thoughts, events and experiences as leaving within us a residual trace in the form of either clear memories or vague recollections. 'Sparks' to memory sometimes restore clarity to apparently forgotten occasions. These sparks could be visual images, conversations, smells, spatial reconnections or direct questioning, to name but a few.

In understanding the manifestations of memory in the narratives of forced removals, Lowenthal's distinction between two different types of memory, based on the different functions that they perform, has been useful. He calls them:

• instrumental memory which refers to memories which 'resurrect facts not feelings' (1985: 202) and provide calendric and other 'barren' yet practical markers of life; and

• reverie, which describes memory encapsulating emotions as well as events. Memories of this type are often vivid and intense, both pleasant and painful.

Most people with healthy memories are able to employ both types of memory within the course of daily living.

The extent to which experiences are integrated into memory depends on the nature of the experience (Caruth 1995: 153). Familiar and predictable experiences are easily assimilated into mental structures without much attention being paid to the fine details. Unusual or frightening experiences - such as loss of home - may not easily fit into existing cognitive schemes and may be remembered either with absolute clarity, or may defy integration. Again I refer to the narratives of

7 Luigi Trastulli was a steelworker killed in Terru, an industrial town in Italy, in a clash with police. Alessandro Portelli conducted a number of interviews with people in the community about the incidents linked to Luigi's death.
referred to the removal as being sudden, as being an interruption to a day which seemed like any other in which they went about their usual daily routines of going to work, cooking the meal, doing the laundry - and then the rupture. So, while in reality there might have been some form of advance warning in the form of prior notice or announcement, the fracture, in its intensity and suddenness, overshadowed this historical fact. Some interviewees provided an abundance of contextualizing information (as in the above examples) while taking very long to get to the 'point' as understood by the interviewer. The point for the interviewer in this context was the actual detail of what happened: who was there; how did it happen; when did it happen? This is an example of what Lowenthal (1985) refers to as calendric and sterile instrumental memory. Using what can be described as reverie, interviewees wanted to convey the immensity of the trauma experienced so that this process, named as one of restitution, could try to make amends for the horror that was experienced. Factual details were dispensable whereas conveying how it felt and what it meant to people was not.

Edelman (quoted in Van der Kolk and Van der Hart 1987: 169) declares that 'what memory processes best is not specific events, but the quality of experience and the feelings associated with it. This appears evident in the narratives of forced removals which formed part of the land claims process. The many details that people provided to explain the trauma which accompanied their moving seemed redundant in terms of what was required. For example, in response to questions about the physical act of eviction, claimants often prefaced these with details such as 'it rained that day'; 'it was while I was doing the cooking'; 'I was working in the garden' or similar orienting information both for themselves and the interviewer. It seems that reminders of what they were doing at the time served as tangible receptacles for retaining the feelings associated with the act. A few people could even recall what clothing they were wearing. These concrete activities and material objects encapsulated some of the accompanying emotions. The 'quality of experience' referred to above is what seems to have tinged the event with the horror which was remembered for much longer than the detail required by the claimant interview process.

2.4.1 The need to forget

We often think of forgetting as a negative trait linked to dysfunctionality. While this is sometimes true, it is not always the case. Trauma for example, does sometimes result in pathologies linked to memory loss, as do age and illness. However, the healthy mind also cannot commit every aspect of life to memory and needs to defocus from certain occurrences, allowing them to fade.

A prevalent view is that the more you remember, the better off you are. In fact to generalize and act effectively requires not an encyclopaedic but a highly selective memory and the ability to forget what no longer matters. (Lowenthal 1985: 194)

Just as an awareness of the past seems to be essential to mental health, so too is the need to forget, contradictory though it may seem. The mind does not have the capacity to store every detail
of every experience and has to exercise a great degree of selectivity for its own survival. Lowenthal explains that, in order for us to remember what seems to be most meaningful, we need to continually discard and conflate memories. It is through editing out extraneous detail that we are able to classify and bring order into what may be remembered chaos. Vivid though our recollections of certain events might be, we remember much less detail than we think we do.

The aforementioned account of the need to forget refers to the physiological need of the mind to discard some information in order for it to be functional. In addition to this, in apartheid South Africa there was sometimes also a political dimension to the need to forget. Political activists involved in the anti-apartheid movement often had to deliberately try to 'forget' information which might have been incriminating to themselves or others. Rusty Bernstein refers to a time when 'people have been tortured and killed for their memories of names, places, times', and when 'survival has required that memory be deliberately suppressed, and every written record burnt, shredded, flushed away or even swallowed' (1999: 3). He goes on to talk about a group of South African students whom he met in Moscow, and he remembers thinking that 'Their elders told them little, preferring silence and forgetting as protection for themselves and their families' (1999: 3). Forcing oneself to forget and suppress memories could also be regarded as placing stress on the mind, and could lead to a measure of dysfunctionality as well.

Maurice Halbwachs (1980) emphasises the centrality of 'the group' in sustaining memory. Accepting that some memories have to make way for others, he claims that the memories most easily sustained are those that are directly associated with the group(s) with whom we are in constant contact and conversation. Not only does the group talk about common experiences, but their very presence serves as a connective thread to the events and feelings associated with it. As connectedness with the group recedes, so too do the associated memories: '... in the absence of any pathological disturbances, we gradually grow more remote and isolated from certain milieus not quite forgotten but only very vaguely remembered' (Halbwachs 1980: 30).

2.4.2 Traumatic memory

Life-altering trauma literally has a mind-blowing impact on the process of remembering. No analysis of narratives linked to traumatic memory can be undertaken without some consideration of this.

The physiological understanding of human trauma is usually taken to mean an injury or jolt to bodily tissue, resulting in an injury or disturbance. In the case of trauma to the tissues of the mind, disruption often results in the person's 'interior landscape' being totally dominated by the occurrence and as a defensive act the mind may try to shield itself from further damage (Erikson 1995: 183). Acts that brutely defy the regular patterns of life are experienced as traumatic. Examples include physical acts of violence, psychological torture, displacements from home. These introduce a break from life as it should be, and their effects are retained for much longer than the details. Research in the field of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) identifies various pathologies that are characteristic of traumatic memory. These range from partial to full amnesia about the event, or total
dissociation from it. According to Greenberg and Van der Kolk (1987: 191) such failures of memory can paradoxically coexist with the opposite: intruding memories and unbidden repetitive images of traumatic events. Some people experience perpetual flashbacks in which the disturbing actions are replayed to them, resulting in part from a failure of the mind to integrate the traumatic experience which it processed ‘outside’ of its normal channels.

Langer (1991) refers to the notion of coterminality as one of the controlling principles of testimony. In developing this discussion on temporal duality, he calls upon Delbo’s distinction between deep memory (mémoire profonde) and common memory (mémoire ordinaire). Although not an exact correlation deep memory seems to correspond very closely to Lowenthal’s reverie, while common memory corresponds closely to instrumental memory. Common memory, Langer explains, ‘... offers detached portraits, from the vantage point of today, of what it must have been like then. Deep memory thus suspects and depends on common memory, knowing what common memory cannot know but tries nonetheless to express’ (Langer 1991: 7). This is a useful distinction to make while listening to narratives about traumatic events as it helps to explain the doubling (Langer 1991: 5) which frequently happens as narrators construct and tell their stories. It seems that the two kinds of memory encroach upon each other during the telling, interfering with the striven-for smooth flow of the narrative. Langer’s explanation helps the listener / reader to make sense of what seems to be a combination of smooth, chronological telling and disjointed narrative, coming from the same speaker during the same telling. Such fragmented telling where some narrators at the land claims interviews presented clear reminiscences about periods from long ago, but became vague and incoherent when asked specific questions, was often understood either as failure of memory, or as deliberate deception.

In describing the importance of routines and patterns of life, Jackson (2002) explains how in every society people follow routines such as leaving leave their homes at the start of each day, and return at the end of the day to recover and recount their experiences. While this is an overgeneralised description of ‘people’ and how they structure their days, it serves the purpose of drawing attention to the shock induced by the destruction of hearth and home. The chronological theme of return as a narrative ending has been ripped out of life and out of the story by the forced removal. It is understandable that the ‘speechless terror’ described by Van der Kolk (1987) defies regular narrativisation.

The traumatised mind sometimes holds onto a particularly shocking moment, involuntarily plays it over and over and does not allow it to return to its chronological place in the past: ‘The moment becomes a season, the event becomes a condition’ (Erikson 1995: 83). It seems that memory tries to repeat lessons which it has not understood in order to try to bring about comprehension and integration. The mind needs to return to it often to try to resolve it. Unresolved events only seem to lose their hold on memory and slip into a vague past once the conflict is resolved (Lowenthal 1985: 203). Caruth (1995), in referring to flashbacks as one of the pathologies of the traumatised mind, aptly describes them as telling about a history that literally has no place: ‘...
neither in the past, in which it was fully experienced, nor in the present, in which its precise images and enactments are not fully understood' (1995: 153).

Langer (1991) refers to one of the necessary functions of common memory as being that of trying to mediate atrocity through references to the 'normality' that was possible in the midst of the horror, in focusing on the nurturing that took place between family members during their darkest moments, by referring to the expressions of care and concern for others, common memory needs to assert - possibly in order to maintain some sanity - that some aspects of life as it should have been took place in the midst of horror. Claimant narratives also occasionally referred to assistance from neighbours, from strangers, sometimes even kindness expressed by officials who were responsible for carrying out the process of forced removals. In order to survive the trauma, the mind seems to have needed to focus on familiar aspects that fitted into the general schema of life as it could and should have been.

2.4.3 Collective memory
Most of the previous references to memory in this chapter have been about its construction and manifestations as an individual process. However, memory also has a collective component (Halbwachs 1980; Lowenthal 1985; Erikson 1995) which '... endures and draws strength from its base in a coherent body of people' (Halbwachs 1980: 48). Collective memory is a common instrument which all individuals draw on, although in different proportions (Halbwachs 1980: 48). Just as dialogue and interaction are essential components of the construction of the utterance, they are constitutive features of memory as well.

While many aspects of memory are decidedly personal, individuals generally do not live in isolation from each other, and mutual experiences and observations are common in the various collectives within which we interact: family units, residential communities, interest groups and social clubs. Our perspectives and recollections are verified by those of the others who people these groups. We are part of the stories of others and they are part of ours. Interactions with others may also serve the purpose of sparking off recollections which had been latent for a long time. 'In fact, we need other people's memories both to confirm our own and to give them endurance' (Lowenthal 1985: 196).

Trauma also has a social dimension which can damage the fabric of a community. Erikson uses the term 'collective trauma' to describe the blows to the '... basic tissues of social life that damage the bonds attaching people together and impair(s) the prevailing sense of community' (1995: 185). This was particularly evident in the case of forced removals, which resulted in communities systematically being torn apart and the buildings eventually being destroyed. The associated trauma very definitely had both individual and collective dimensions. In the conversations that took place between claimants while they were waiting to be interviewed, much talk was exchanged about remembering past community activities – the 'do-you-remember' kind of recollections that connected people to a past which had become a 'foreign country' (Lowenthal 1985). Many of these recollections were of a nostalgic nature: 'memory with the pain removed' (Lowenthal 1985: 8). For the group there clearly
was a life before the removal and a life after it, the removal having been one of the collective life-altering events. What was also significant was that the collective identities of residential groups were very strongly defined as people were able to share recollections with others whom they had never met before. While our own treasured memories are individual and very personal, we generally find gratification in linking our own past with the collective memory and public history (Lowenthal 1985: 197). The traumatic act having been one of disconnection, part of the restorative act was embedded in reconnection. In a strange way, it seems as if individuals felt affirmed by the awareness that the tragedy which befell them was a collective tragedy, not personally-directed acts for which they might have in some way or other felt individually responsible. Lowenthal describes how ‘(M)any an old person, reduced in status and resources, “makes frequent trips to the past” to validate himself in his own eyes, saying in effect: “I was a strong, competent, beloved person once – therefore I am still a worthwhile person”.’ (Lowenthal 1985: 43).

2.5 Time

The concept of time is the focal point of this study: I have tried to examine the ways in which narrators make sense of and represent time in their narratives. Telling about ‘the time of one one’s life’ (Brockmeier 2000: 51) involves not only the interplay between past, present and future, but also a synthesis of different temporal orders described in different ways by the scholars I have consulted. Brockmeier contends that narrative is the only form which is capable of representing this complex synthesis of human time construction.

2.5.1 The preoccupation with time

Understanding time has been the preoccupation of many scholars. Theories have abounded, dilemmas have been presented, resolved and re-presented in different forms. It has been the preoccupation of many song-writers, poets, novelists and film-makers. Does time exist outside of human experience? Do our various understandings of time shape our lives or does universal time exist? My own questions in the context of this research relate to how temporality is represented in narrative and what this signifies within the narrative. Despite the many answers and theories that have since emerged, we can still find some consonance with St Augustine’s fourth century ruminations on the nature of time: ‘If no one asks me, I know what it is. If I wish to explain it to him who asks me, I do not know’ (Outler MCMLV: 254). As he continues his explorations, Augustine concludes at the end of Bk XI of his Confessions that the complexity of time includes the present-ness of memory (the past), the present-ness of direct experience (the present) and the present-ness of expectation (future). Heidegger (1962, referred to by Ricoeur 1980: 171) concludes too, that there is indeed a plurality of times, and that temporality can be best understood by accepting a plural unity of future, past and present.

6 Memoria, contitus and expectatio: a pattern that corresponds roughly to the movement represented in Augustine’s Confessions: starting with direct experience, back to supporting memories and forward to the outreach of hope and confidence in God’s provident grace.
In our general need to be concise and economical in our language usage, we usually refer to time as a single concept. A more considered view of time leads us to understand it as consisting of a multiplicity of dimensions. Earlier in this paper I have referred to time as understood in various contexts and by different writers: the suggestion of autobiographical times of Jens Brockmeier (2000); Heidegger's *time for this and time for that* (Ricouer 1980); the timelessness of stories as described by Ben Okri (1997); Langer's extemporality of memory (1991) and Ricouer's inversion of time (1981) amongst others. Their perspectives have been illuminating as to ways of thinking about time itself as well as about temporal representation in narrative. While Augustine laments the limitations of language in giving verbal expression to the concept of time in all its fullness, it seems that we do have a non-linguistic understanding of it which goes beyond the illusion of regarding it as a singular and linear concept. We generally make sense of conversations, films and written texts which involve flash-backs, flash-forwards and interjectory anecdotes which interrupt the chronological flow of what is being told, without losing track of the point of the story.

Heidegger (in Ricouer 1980: 181) refers to our *thrownness among things* which makes descriptions of our temporality dependent on our attention to things of our concern (*das Vorhandene*) in the world into which we are thrown. These concerns, of which preoccupation is the daily mode, bring time out of its neutral being-there-ness as a series of abstract instants as we decide, based on our experience in the world, that this is the right time to do something or not; that there is a *time for this and a time for that*. But a day is not an abstract measure; it is a magnitude which corresponds to our concern and the world into which we are thrown. According to Heidegger, 'the primacy of the past in the structure of Care is what underlies the unity of the 3 dimensions of time... the primary direction of Care is towards the future... the impulse toward the future is at the deep level of temporality...' (quoted in Ricouer 1980: 181). Recent work on time, particularly narrative time, has developed the notion of the existence and interconnectedness of times.

### 2.5.2 Theories of time in narrative

Scholars who point to the understanding that time as such - as a vast temporal stage upon which we enact the histories of our lives - does not exist include Heidegger, Ricouer, Portelli, Lowenthal, Brockmeier, Freeman, Ochs and Capps. On the one hand, we do experience one thing after another; on another level, we experience many things at the same time as others. The 'one thing after another' that we experience is influenced by both external factors and the 'things of our concern' previously referred to, and would thus be configured very differently for each person. Thus, there can be no time universal that exists in a neutral way outside of human concerns. Telling a story is therefore not so much a reflection of time as a way of taking it for granted (Ricouer 1980). Stories are about successions - of events, actions, thoughts, feelings - but these successions are narrative constructions and not necessarily experiential mirrors. Ricouer refers to theories of both history and

* *das Vorhandene* is a term used by Heidegger to describe the 'things' in life which are focal to our lives, and which draw our attention to their occurrence and their place in the realm of temporality.
fictional narratives which '... seem to take it for granted that whenever there is time, it is always a
time laid out chronologically, a linear time, defined by a succession of instants' (1980: 171).

Lowenthal argues that the ' ... contingent and discontinuous facts of the past become
intelligible only when woven together as stories' (1985: 218), reminding us that life does not present
itself to us in the form of ready-made stories, but is configured into stories by subsequent human
processes.

In trying to express the complexities of time, writers have used different ways of representing
it as a multidimensionality. For example, Heidegger (1962) refers to physical time and existential
time as well as historicality, temporality and 'within-time-ness'; Ricouer (1980) speaks of narrative
time, clock time, and the circle of narrativity and temporality; Portelli (1991) describes dimensions
of linear succession and vertical simultaneity; Brockmeier (2000) uses the term autobiographical
time to refer to a series of temporal modes within narrative and Freeman (1998) distinguishes
between mythical time and historical time. While drawing on all of these theorists as far as their
works relate to narrative, I have found the frameworks proposed by Ricouer and Portelli most useful,
and I have drawn on them more extensively than others.

Ricouer (1980) describes Heidegger's three levels of time which he draws on in developing
his own hypothesis: within-time-ness is different from linear time although it shares some features
with it being datable, public and measurable; historicality emphasises the significance of the past;
the plural unity of present, past and future points to their inseparability. Ricouer then goes on to
formulate a framework for understanding the relationship between narrative and time in which he
argues that firstly, 'narrativity and temporality are closely linked'; secondly, there are 'different
levels of temporal organisation'; and thirdly, it is the 'plot ... the intelligible whole that governs a

I have found Ricouer's framework useful in understanding the narratives that I have studied,
particularly his claim regarding the centrality of the plot. In configuring their stories, interviewees
have organised their stories around what they had selected as the plot rather than using chronology
as an organising principle. I illustrate the characteristic configuration in Figure 2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life before</th>
<th>Traumatic event</th>
<th>Life after</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* date</td>
<td>* date</td>
<td>* date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* quality of life</td>
<td>* quality of life</td>
<td>* quality of life</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 2.2: Characteristic configuration of plot**

In the plot, the logic of chronology is not crucial as it is a different logic which guides the narrative.
Ricouer differentiates between the chronological and non-chronological dimensions contained in
narrative. They are the episodic dimension which distinguishes the events of the story, and the
configurational dimension through which the plot construes significant wholes out of scattered events. The configurational dimension determines which episodes will be included and which will be discarded, as illustrated in Figure 3 below.

Figure 2.3: The centrality of plot to narrative

Arrows moving toward the centre represent events which are remembered, configured and spoken into the plot. Arrows moving away from the centre are events that happened but are discarded either by memory or because of lack of relevance to the narrative.

I turn now to Portelli who has written extensively about the structuring of oral narratives and I refer to his understanding of how narrators use and conceptualise time in their narratives. One of the ways in which he describes personal narrative is as a '... confrontation with time... implicit in the attempt to carve out a special time in which to place the tale – a time outside time, a time without time' (1991: 59).

Portelli regards time as a continuum, and believes that in order for an event to be placed in time, the continuum needs to be broken down into discrete units. This division takes place on two planes which he calls 'linear succession' and 'vertical simultaneity' (1991: 69). The linear, horizontal plane corresponds roughly to Heidegger and Ricoeur's 'within-time-ness' and has the features of being public and datable. On this plane, sequential units allow us to distinguish one 'moment' from the next. The vertical plane represents the plane of occurrences taking place simultaneously in a particular time period (e.g. an hour, a year). In any given 'moment', a number of things are usually happening concurrently, some of which we may be aware of, and others not. The things that come to our attention are Heidegger's das Vorhandene, foregrounded in our attention by the element of care.

Portelli further describes three vertical strata used by narrators as organisational devices. He calls them:
i. **Institutional**: this is the broad sphere of politics, governments, elections, national and historical events.

ii. **Collective**: this refers to the life of the community, neighbourhood, the workplace, and rituals.

iii. **Personal**: this refers to events within the domestic realm, the private and family life which consists of births, deaths, marriages, children, personal involvement on the above levels. (1991: 70)

Portelli distinguishes between *event* and *duration* which sheds further light on how narrators ascribe meaning within their stories of trauma. The term 'event' implies a specific and defined point in time while 'duration' suggests an ongoing occurrence. One of the noticeable features of the forced removal narratives was that the aspect of ongoing duration featured very prominently. As I will illustrate in my analysis, narrators often spent more time talking about events preceding the main act of removal and then also the ongoing consequences, while the actual act received less narrative prominence. In trying to understand the place of the traumatic event in their lives, it has been important to regard the 'concept of "event" and "duration"' as 'more a matter of how we look at (and narrate) history, than something inscribed into "objective" reality' (Portelli 1991: 73).
Chapter Three: METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I detail the key methodological approaches that I have employed during the course of this study. I proceed this with an overview of my own general orientation to research, and go on to describe the life history interview as my method of data elicitation. I then proceed to explain the ethnopoetic approach to data representation that I have used as part of my analysis. This is followed by a description of the tools of narrative analysis which I have drawn on, and an elaboration of the aspects of temporal organisation which I have found useful in my data analysis. Lastly, I explain the grounds for the selection of data for detailed analysis, and comment on issues relating to the interpretation, re-entextualisation, and archiving of the interviews.

3.1 General research orientation

I believe that research should not promote the interests of the academy only, but should in some way also contribute towards social knowledge and transformational practice. I believe that this is particularly true for research projects which involve documentation and analysis of the lives of people, especially those who have not formed the traditional academic audience and who would not have the capacity to access its resources and research findings.

My own formation, of which my academic formation has been an important part, has always been in the context of an understanding of "community" (particularly the dispersed community of dispossessed and dislocated people) and within democratic processes. All of the projects I have been involved in, both professionally and as a volunteer, have kept me firmly located in this context. While accepting that this research paper should follow the regular academic trajectory, I will attempt to ensure that it also finds paths towards other readers in different contexts.

I have attempted to maintain a balance between being methodologically sound within an established research paradigm and being true to my belief in a democratic approach to knowledge-creation. While trying to generate material for my own research, I maintained a real interest in the lives of the people I interviewed. Their stories were not only data for me, but were also opportunities for them to share their very painful stories with an interested and empathetic listener. I tried to honour the nature of traumatic memory, as made clearer to me through the work of Langer and Canth, by conducting the interviews in a respectful way. All of the interviews which I conducted were within a relationship which had grown over time. I have been privileged to have access to interviewees' personal stories, and my relationship with them extends

1 "... loosely defined as any group of people who share a common identity" (Ritchie 1995: 186). My above reference to 'community' is based on the above broad understanding, in which I would like to emphasise the communal or 'group' component which features strongly as a motivational impetus.
beyond the immediate needs of this paper. Through my work at the District Six Museum I plan to continue the making of their ‘discontinuous life-stories’ (Linde 1993: 21) by engaging the narrators in further interviews and programmes.

3.2 Oral history as method
The term oral history is often used interchangeably to refer to the research method of collecting narratives through in-depth interviewing, the actual recorded interview or the written transcript (Yow 1994). Some historians regard life stories, life histories, testimonies and life reviews as different categories of the broad oral history methodology, while others use these terms to mean the same thing. When I use the term oral history in the context of this study, I use it to describe a method of collecting data by recording an interview with a narrator. I use the term life story to refer to a particular way of doing oral history, which has as its focus the individual and his or her ways of attributing meaning to life experiences. Oral history interviews as conducted by historians are usually event-based.

In referring to oral history as a ‘specter ... haunting the halls of the academy’, Portelli (1998: 63) draws attention to critiques levied at the methodology. The growth in recent writings about the value of oral history seems to indicate that the method is losing its dubious status. Criticism included perceptions of its subjectivity and dependence on the frailties of human memory. Its proponents have come to its defence partly by showing that more traditional methods of historical enquiry - particularly historiography - are as subjective and selective in their collection and organisation of information. They argue that oral history can indeed occupy a firm place in the realm of valid research methods.

My main interest in using the method was to understand how narrators dealt with temporality, how they organized their fabula into sjuzet. I chose to work with oral narratives because, in the communities from which my informants come, telling and listening to (life and other) stories is a more familiar activity than writing or reading them. It was also the medium most readily available to this group of claimants for making their lives and opinions known beyond their specific community. The insertion of the previously 'unvoiced voices' into the country's narrative has been growing in importance since the 1970s in South Africa, as it has elsewhere. Minkley and Rassool refer to attempts made by the anti-apartheid movement in the 1980's to insert 'voices from below' into national history (2002: 92). Oral history as a tool of resistance as well as a tool to document resistance, grew as a practice and was inserted into a 'people's history' which '... produced a politics of history as weapon, tool and vehicle for

2 By 'a democratic approach to knowledge-creation' I mean an approach which recognises the knowledge that resides in people not usually regarded as 'teachers', and which engages in processes that affirm interactive learning and teaching.
empowerment' (2002: 93). In the District Six Museum, for example, the focus on orality developed from the belief in ‘... a radical historical practice that is both committed and socially engaged. There was also the influence of emerging features of a transforming South African society in the age of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in which telling, confessing, healing and catharsis were seen as necessary for national reconciliation and social reconstruction’ (Layne and Rassool 2001: 146).

I locate my study and methodology within this ideological context.

Oral narratives have their own particularising features. I have attempted to remain aware of the distinct characteristics of oral narratives while I have been analysing them, and have used tools appropriate to the oral medium. The criticism of ‘subjectivity’ has often been used to call into question the validity of oral sources, but many oral historians (Portelli; Field; Thompson; Ritchie) remind us that this is a strength of the source, and point to the particular biases and strengths of all sources. Bearing this in mind, I have listened to the narratives with an expectation that the flow of spoken text would be ‘interrupted’ by hesitations, uncertainties, self-correction and inconsistent chronology – these being some of the features of life stories presented orally.

Portelli’s passionate assertion of the value of oral narratives is illuminating. He maintains that oral narratives tell us more about the meanings of events than about the events themselves (1998: 67), but he also stresses that this does not imply that oral narratives have no factual validity. Since my aim in this study is to focus on the meaning of events, to understand new meanings not necessarily to learn about new events, I have found the oral history approach to be the most appropriate for my purposes.

3.3 Data elicitation through interviews
An interviewer is more than a gatherer of data. He or she is also a co-constructor of the interview text. One of the necessary tensions of research interviews such as the ones that I conducted for the purpose of this study, is that the interviewer has in some ways to minimize overt interaction in order to produce free-flowing stories. As a result, the tangible products of the interview (audio recordings and transcripts) often have the appearance of being largely monologic. One should not forget, however, that a silent presence is still a presence and therefore part of the dialogue, as Bakhtin, Cameron, Ochs and Capps and others have argued.

Portelli (1991: 31) describes the interview as ‘an exchange between two subjects: literally a mutual sighting’ thus drawing attention to the fact that the roles of ‘... “observed” and “observer” are more fluid than it might appear at first glance’ (1991: 30). He points out that the view which informants construct of the researcher involved
impacts on the information which they are prepared to share with him or her. He refers to a situation where he had been ‘... playing the ‘objective’ researcher and was rewarded with biased data’ (1991: 31). The informant in that situation was cautious about revealing his own ideological position, not being sure of what Portelli’s was. He had constructed an image of Portelli as a stereotype of his class, manner and speech, and produced a narrative based on this understanding. Whereas in quantitative research interviewers need to be neutral and objective, qualitative research design recognises that establishing good rapport with interviewees (which may include making a perspective known) can be an essential component of obtaining good data: ‘(Q)ualitative research is generally not so much concerned with obtaining accurate replies to close-ended questions, as with full and sincere responses to relatively open-ended enquiries’ (Hitchcock and Hughes 1989: 121).

The meetings I had with interviewees prior to the recorded interviews made allowance for their need to ‘view’ me as much as I wanted to ‘view’ them. During this time they expressed an interest in who I was, where my family was from and why I was interested in their stories. I tried to represent myself authentically but without revealing the specific aspect of their narratives that I was interested in examining. It was through this process, I believe, that I was able to arrive at the recorded interview stage having minimised the potential of the research interview for foregrounding unequal power relations. Portelli (1991: 31) makes a strong argument for trying to minimise the unequal power relations within the interview context, while acknowledging that the inequality is a product of social conditions, and not one that can be solved within this one context only.

The traumatic events embedded in the life stories of the people I interviewed also required that a relationship of trust be established, to give appropriate honour and value to the narratives which were shared with me. Empathetic listening, according to Field (1999: 5) emphasises the important constitutive role that the interviewer can play in the production of oral history narratives and this can transform the experience into more than a knowledge-gathering session.

Interviews which ask all informants the same questions in the same order are suitable for quantitative research. Such tightly-structured interviews would not have served my research purpose, which was to explore the variety of ways in which people structured their narratives in a situation closely resembling a natural speech context. An interview with a rigid format would not only have foregrounded my own interest in temporality too starkly, it would also have given so little room for interviewees to create their own temporal structures that it would have rendered the data useless to me. I chose to conduct all of the interviews myself so as to have some measure of consistency
with respect to the nature and degree of listener intervention, and also for the reasons
given in section 3.1 above.

I asked interviewees to talk about their lives in a very general way. Before the
recorded interview, I had described to each person how I had become very interested in
the life stories of 'the elders' through the course of my work. I said that I wanted to do
some research on stories of that kind for my own further studies, and that I was
interested in gathering stories about different people's lives. This general orientation
proved to be sufficient explanation to all of my informants in terms of establishing the
logic of the interview, and helped them to understand why I had no specific interview
questions. However my first two interviews proved to me that this orientation was too
generalised for some people, as these interviews turned into very general conversations
about life, in which the narrator was not the main protagonist. I realised that in my own
determination not to direct the telling of the narratives and by wanting people to tell
their own stories in their own ways, I had provided too little guidance as, ultimately, I
did want to elicit very specific kinds of talk. It became clear that I needed to give
informants more of a focus even if not specific questions. I accepted at that point that I
could only try to minimise my own intervention in the process, and that I could not
‘disappear’ from the story completely. I thus asked the next interviewees to look back on
their lives, and to tell me about the important things - good and bad - that would make
up their life stories. This provided more of a focus and allowed me to concentrate on
listening after posing the initial solicitation. I was able to offer only minimal
interventions in the form of back-channeling, affirmations as required by conventions of
politeness, responses to humorous anecdotes, and some questions requesting
clarification.

3.4 From oral to audio to written texts
My need to analyse the narratives produced in the life history interviews required that I
record and transcribe them. For the purposes of unobtrusiveness all the interviews were
recorded using an analogue audio recorder with built-in microphone, although this latter
feature might have compromised on the quality of the recording.

Ochs (1997) points out that transcription is not a neutral process of laying out
spoken words onto a written script, but involves the insertion of the transcriber's
ideological position into the process. She emphasises that no transcript can claim to be a
direct representation of the speaker's meanings since the transcriber's interpretation is a
component in this process as well. Blommaert and Slembrouck concurred: ‘... transcription
conventions do not originate in a sociolinguistic vacuum’ and selection of such
conventions ‘... constitutes an important step in the process of constructing a particular
kind of voice out of an auditory performance. To transcribe speech is to turn it into a
voice with features indexing the social situatedness of the speaker’ (2000: 13-14).
I have found the criteria they say should be considered in choosing transcription conventions and formats, to be very useful. They refer to the need for **accuracy, authenticity, readability, interpretive relevance and credibility** (Blommaert and Slembrouck 2000: 14). The ethnopoetic approach to the representation of oral narrative, as suggested by Hymes (1996) and Gee (1999), meets the above criteria. Ethnopoetic transcription helps to foreground the patterning and the meanings embedded in the patterns by using the conventions of oral performance rather than the conventions of written texts as principles to guide the transcripts. Regarding cadences and pauses as organising devices in the narratives rather than focusing on features of (written) sentences, serves to highlight the evaluative and expressive aspects of the stories.

Although much of Hymes' work on ethnopoetics is linked to other types of oral narratives (i.e. narrative performances used to entertain and educate which involve 'culturally modeled groups of lines' (1996: 203), some of the characteristics he identifies can be found in life story narratives. His work has revealed that, among other characteristics, performed oral narratives are organised in terms of lines and groups of lines, rather than in terms of sentences and paragraphs. The relations between lines and groups of lines are based on the general principle of poetic organisation which he calls equivalence, and which may involve any feature of language (stress, tone, accent, syllable, initial consonant, etc.) (Hymes: 1996: 166). My transcripts take into account these organisational features.

In keeping with the ethnopoetic method I have not used punctuation marks in the lines, with the following exceptions. Firstly, I have used a question mark to indicate when I have asked a question during the interview. Secondly, I have used inverted commas to signal when the narrator is quoting another speaker and [?] to indicate indistinct speech. I have numbered the lines consecutively, and have used letters to indicate a number of lines that are linked to a single idea unit. This line numbering helps to indicate the relative position (within the narrative as a whole) of the extracts used in chapter 4.

Below I provide an extract of two transcripts from one of the narratives to illustrate the differences between sentence-based and ethnopoetic transcripts.

*Mr NQ: Sentence-based transcript*
So we went to PE. We tried to get somebody, and we had somebody. He had a big lorry open lorry. He load us - about twenty - and he cover us with a sail. He sit like that on the lorry, and he told us not to worry about the provision [?]. Tomorrow morning we will be in Cape Town. Alright, we go

34
and, following day in the morning, before it get clear it was dark. They stopped it. They drop us in George, in that mountains.

**Mr NQ: Ethnopoetic transcript based on pauses in narrative**

so we went to PE
we tried to get somebody
and we had somebody
he had a big lorry
open lorry
he load us about twenty
and
he cover us with a sail
we sit like that on the lorry
and he told us not to worry about
the provision
[?] tomorrow morning we will be in Cape Town
alright
we go
and
following day
in the morning
before it get clear
it was dark
they stopped it
they drop us
in George
in that mountains

An additional advantage of an ethnopoetic transcription of data like mine is that it does not trigger expectations of standard English in the way that a conventional written text does. None of the interviewees spoke standard English or standard Afrikaans.

3.5 Data selection

For the purposes of this study I recorded eight life history narratives. Two of the recorded interviews were not appropriate for the purposes of this study for the reasons explained in 3.3 above. Having considered all of the narratives in the light of the theoretical perspectives which I had adopted, I selected three interviews for detailed analysis. They are instances of different types of temporal organisation.

- Mr NQ demonstrates very clearly how the notion of the *plot* shapes his story, and how the representation of his life forms a series of cycles of return and repetition within a linear sequence. Each phase of his life as indicated in the narrative is marked by the start of a new cycle in his journey.
• Mrs MN narrates a story which creates the illusion of being firmly rooted in the
temporal realm of historicality as she makes clear reference to dates which
demarcate the different episodes in her life. However, closer examination shows that
the episodic dimension is just one of the levels at which her story operates, and that
she uses the historical markers as a device to tell her story which has at its centre,
continuous movement.

• Mrs GT presents what seems to be a very disjointed story, which shuttles back and
forth between times and places without any apparent organisation. Changes in the
quality of life seem to be what, for her, mark off the time periods of her life.

3.6 Central concepts in the narrative analysis

Since the central concepts are explained in detail in chapter two, I refer only briefly to
them here.

The analysis is premised on the commonly accepted differentiation between what
Brockmeier (2000) (and others) call fabula and sjuzet. Further, I draw particularly on
Ricouer’s hypothesis regarding narrative and time, and his identification of the episodic
and configurational dimensions of time (Ricouer 1980); on Portelli’s theory of
characteristic structural modes, levels and strata in oral narrative, and his distinction
between event and duration (1991: 69-70). Where appropriate, I also refer to the work
of other theorists, in particular Freeman (1993; 1998) who distinguishes between
historical time and mythical time; and Brockmeier (2000) who identifies six modes
of temporal ordering, namely linear, cyclical, spiral, circular, fragmentary and static. I
draw on theories of memory, particularly Langer (1991) for his account of
cotemporality, and Lowenthal (1985) for his distinction between reverie and instrumental memory.

3.6 Interpretation and re-contextualisation

Katherine Borland (1998: 321) refers to what ‘we’ as researchers do:

We identify chunks of artful talk within flow of conversation, give them physical existence
(most often through writing), and embed them in a new context of expressive or at least
of communicative activity (usually the scholarly article aimed toward an audience of
professional peers). Thus we create a second-level narrative based upon, but at the same
time, reshaping, the first.

Portelli (1991: 76) cautions against an overzealous desire to make narratives fit
into preconceived patterns of discourse, which could result in the meanings of the stories
being lost. Although he is referring at this point to historians, I think that it is a
worthwhile caution to note. A strong awareness of the ‘voice’ of the narrators has played
an important part in my research. However, while being cautious about imposing my
interpretation onto aspects of the text which might not be part of the narrators’ intended
meanings, I realise that my own voice should not be edited out of this paper. Even while
attempting to be true to the text, I have come to accept that the levels of analysis which I
have used are the result of my own interpretation, and this is a necessary part of the research.

The need to analyse required that a secondary text be created to fix the ephemeral oral interview into a stable format. This meant that the spoken text had to be transliterated into a more tangible product. Recording and transcribing the text created other versions of the spoken text, i.e. audio recordings as well as electronic and printed transcripts. As indicated above, transcription is itself a process of interpretation, and the theory of transcription adhered to by the transcriber becomes an additional layer of re-entextualisation. Regardless of the conventions selected, aspects of the oral performance will be lost in the transcript, for example, changes of intonation and speed. Finally, another layer of re-entextualisation has also occurred with my insertion of the texts into this study which is undertaken in an academic research context. My voice in this text is, in turn, also shaped by the demands of the academic institutional base within which I am working.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the partiality of the oral history narrative used in this study. Portelli (1998) explains that partiality refers to the unfinished nature of the narrative as well as to the narrators' taking of sides. He asserts that irrespective of beliefs or histories, historians and sources are seldom on the same side, maintaining that "(T)he confrontation of their different partialities – confrontation as "conflict", and confrontation as "search for unity" – is one of the things that makes oral history interesting" (1998: 73).

3.7 Archiving the interview recordings
I suggested to the interviewees that copies of their recorded interviews be deposited with the District Six Museum Sound Archive, for inclusion in its oral history collection. I explained that this would make their stories more widely accessible than they might be if they only remained as part of this academic paper. They have all agreed to my suggestion and have indicated their consent on the signed release forms. In this way they will also be able to access one another's stories. I have provided the interviewees with audio copies of their own interviews.
Chapter Four: ANALYSIS

4.1 Interview with Mr NQ

4.1.1 Biographical details

Mr NQ was in his late 70's at the time of this interview. According to his story he had arrived in Cape Town from King Williamstown in 1948. After living in various places he settled in Rylands, from which area he was forcibly removed when it was declared an Indian group area. He then moved to Nyanga East, and later to Guguletu where he still lives.

I had met Mr NQ during the land claims process and had conducted a verification interview with him as part of that process. An avid conversationalist, he was very keen to have his life story recorded when I approached him about this research project, and told me that at last he could tell me his 'whole story'. Although Mr NQ's first language is Xhosa, he opted to conduct both the land claims and my interviews in English.

4.1.2 General comment

The metaphor of the journey stands out strongly in Mr NQ's narrative. Within what I have regarded as the main journey (from King Williamstown to Cape Town), there are a series of shorter journeys which deepen our understanding of the complexity of the main one. Each stage has a starting point, as well as an end-point which signals the start of the next stage. In a repetitive cycle of interwoven journeys, each is characterised by an interruption of some kind which alters in some way the direction or nature of the journey. Each of the narrative parts which I have identified is organised around a distinguishing disruptive event.

I have found the following division into parts useful in identifying patterns and rhythms both in the form and content of this narrative. The tabular form (Table 1) of representation has proved to be both useful and limiting. It has been useful in that it has helped me to mediate meaning for myself in terms of uncovering the patterning of the text. At the same time, its usefulness has led me to discover a limitator, as the formations which I have discerned correspond more to cyclical representation than tabulation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PART OF THE STORY</th>
<th>LOCATION / DESCRIPTION OF JOURNEY</th>
<th>INTERRUPTION</th>
<th>LINES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Part 1 starts</strong></td>
<td>Start of journey from King Williamstown</td>
<td>Interruption 1: driver conceals passengers in forest along the way</td>
<td>18f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Part 1 resumes</strong></td>
<td>Leaving forest, coming to Cape Town</td>
<td>Interruption 2: truck has breakdown in Paarl, just outside Cape Town; journey ends unexpectedly</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Part 1 ends abruptly</strong></td>
<td>Paarl, outside of Cape Town</td>
<td></td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Part 2 starts</strong></td>
<td>Arrive in Jakkalsvlei; moves to Langa</td>
<td>Interruption 3: can’t stay because they don’t have passes</td>
<td>65-80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Part 2 ends</strong></td>
<td>Manage to get passes</td>
<td></td>
<td>131b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Part 3 starts</strong></td>
<td>Moves to Athlone</td>
<td>Reminiscence 1: refers back to life in Athlone</td>
<td>132a-154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Reminiscence 2: talks about youth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Reminiscence 3: refers to life in Athlone / Rylands</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Reminiscence 4: compares different phases of life</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Part 4 ends.</strong></td>
<td>End of narrative</td>
<td></td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1 : Parts of the story
4.1.3 Plotting a beginning

Alright from 1948 we were aiming to come to Cape Town...

From King Williamstown

in reflecting on beginnings and endings of narrative, Ricouer (1992: 160) states that ‘...there is nothing in real life that serves as a narrative beginning; memory is lost in the early hazes of childhood; my birth, and with greater reason, the act through which I was conceived belong more to the histories of others ... than to me. As for my death, it will finally be recounted only in the stories of those who survive me.’

The narrative beginning for Mr NQ in telling his life story to me is a point which seems to be one of the sense-making centres of his life. It is significant that he does not choose to start with his place of birth or early childhood, but rather at the journeying-point which seems to hold much significance for him in looking back over his life: the point at which he decided to travel from King Williamstown (where he grew up) to Cape Town (where he now still lives). It is towards the end of his story, in one of a series of flashbacks (lines 191-199; 206a-214b; 215a-257c; 258a-268) that he refers to his youth as he reflects on aspects of his life which have had a positive effect on his ability to cope with his later and current life circumstances.

The telling of one's life is not a mere recount of events 'unfolding unproblematically' (Martin and Plum 1997: 301), but is an active process in which the teller has to select a beginning and an end-point. Mr NQ's narrative seems to illustrate Ricouer's description of how the notion of 'plot' determines the ebb and flow of the story. In deciding (at whatever level of consciousness) that the series of journeys would form the basis of his narrative, Mr NQ selects the starting point and retrospectively configures the elements of the narrative so that they all fall within the general logic of the plot. The ability to 'emplot' makes it possible for narrators to create coherent wholes out of scattered events.

Guguletu, 2003 is the spatio-temporal 'resting place' from which this story is told. It is in some ways 'journey's-end'. Retrospective configuration of the series of journeys as the main points along Mr NQ's life creates the momentum which moves the narrative along. The first one (from King Williamstown to Cape Town) is a formative journey which starts a cycle
of travel and interruption, of arrival and departure, and it occupies prominence and is given in detail in the story.

4.1.4 Maintaining coherence from one episode to another
Ricouer (1988) refers to the temporal property of narrative as the 'chronological dimension'. This is a feature of all narrative, although life story narrative displays more complexity than a mere ordering of events, recounted in sequence (Ochs 1997). Mr NQ starts his story by locating it historically in 1948 (line 2b). In line 136 he tells of an incident which took place in 1952. In line 189b we are reminded again of the location in linear time when he mentions that he met his wife in 1973. In between these time markers he indicates linear episodic progression by frequent use of the sequencing conjunctions such as so, and and then. As is common in autobiographical narrative, Mr NQ uses the progression of linear time as an ordering device, both as structure and object of construction (Brockmeier 2000: 51).

It seems that he uses the method of sequencing by conjunctions more frequently in parts of the narrative which involve movement through time as well as physical spatial movement. The following extracts illustrate this (sequencing conjunctions have been printed in green).

_Leaving King Williamstown_

- we went to PE 6
- we tried to get somebody 7
- and we had somebody 8
- he had a big lorry 9a
- open lorry 9b
- he load us about 20 10
- and 11a
- he cover us with a sail 11b
- we sit like that on the lorry 12
- and he told us not to worry about ... 13
Arriving in the forest

...we went there to the forest we sit there 12 o'clock we feel hungry and we see an old man sitting on a verandah we ask him about a shop he says no, there's no shop here and we ask him we see he's got a lot of sheep and we ask him if he can sell us one sheep he says yes how much you going to charge he says he's going to charge us that time one pound ten shillings and we pay him we carry the sheep and went to go to the forest

Moving from Athlone to Nyanga West/ Kraaifontein

that time when we were moved there the coloured people they laughed at us they say ja they are going to throw you near the sea alright, we say it's alright they didn't know they were going to be behind us when the Group Areas comes and then comes Mitchell's Plain also as well so they tried to demolish this Nyanga West and Kraaifontein and they built new the buildings

Mr NQ frequently uses the discourse marker alright to indicate a move from one thing to the next. In contrast to the use of conjunctions to indicate of spatio-temporal movement in the story, alright usually heralds a narrative movement from one thing to another within the same space. He also uses alright to orient himself as narrator. The following table illustrates some examples (the discourse markers and what they signify have been printed in red sequencing conjunctions and what they signify printed in green).
### Table 4.2: Interruption in journey to Cape Town

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>others say no man let's take the dry bread</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alright we eat the dry bread</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he load us again</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sssshh...</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘til we come to Paarl?</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and then we have a puncture</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alright he say we must get off</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he’s going to take us to the station</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alright</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he buy us some tickets for the train</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and then he say we must get off to Elsies River</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transition: from deciding to eat the bread to actually eating it. Movement of travelling to Paarl, followed by a puncture. Transitional action, from occurrence of puncture to instruction to get off vehicle. Transitional action from arriving at station and buying tickets. After the puncture, tickets are bought at the station and they prepare to travel to Elsies River.

### Table 4.3: Arrival in Cape Town

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaffir beer here umqombothi</td>
<td>72b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alright we drink</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what were we to do</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>somebody say ‘no’</td>
<td>75a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>let’s go to Langa</td>
<td>75b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we went there by foot to Langa’</td>
<td>76a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to main barracks</td>
<td>76b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where we know people</td>
<td>76c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alright we come there</td>
<td>77a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>everyone where this single man</td>
<td>77b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alright we went there</td>
<td>78a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we sit there</td>
<td>78b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they shout</td>
<td>79a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘where you going to?’</td>
<td>79b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘why you come here?’</td>
<td>79c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘you are going to be caught’</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alright</td>
<td>81a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>somebody say ‘hey’</td>
<td>81b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we must go to (?) for a dompas’</td>
<td>81c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alright, we went to</td>
<td>81d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transition from decision to action of drinking beer. Repeats the above transitional movement. Transition from one person talking to another. Transition from decision to go for a dompas and actually going.

### Table 4.4: In Cape Town

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dom and Longo</td>
<td>88a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>steel</td>
<td>88b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from PE</td>
<td>88c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alright I asked them where is Dom and Longo</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they say it’s in Elsies River</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I went there</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there was a forest</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alright don’t say I’m rude</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I tell the whole speech</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transition from talking about Dom and Longo to asking about it. Transition in speech from telling about where he was travelling to telling about an incident unrelated to the ‘point’ of the telling.
In addition to the markers signalling movement, Mr NQ also describes a series of interruptions in his narrative whose resolution provides the movement in the story. Each part of the physical journey has an interruption which leads into the next part. In part 1 of the narrative, the driver interrupts the journey by stopping to conceal his passengers in the forest for reasons of his own safety (lines 19a–50). Still in part 1, the truck breaks down before they reach their intended destination (lines 58–64). In part 2 Mr NQ and his companions cannot stay in Langa because they do not have the correct documentation (lines 76a–82). In part 3 his stay in Athlone is interrupted by the forced removal (lines 155–157).

After the series of journeys and movements which occupy approximately 66% (parts 1–3) of the entire text, the rest of the narrative does not reflect any further disruptions. In parts 1–3 the episodic dimension as described by Ricoeur seems to assume prominence. In part 4 in which he reminisces and offers commentary on current life, the episodic dimension is not apparent. The reminiscences contain no interruptions. It is very unlikely that this absence corresponds accurately to the fabula of his real-life circumstances, but it is reflected in the configured sjuzet as constituting a more stable time, when he had arrived at his final destination: Guguletu, 2003.

4.1.5 Story time and text time
In configuring his narrative and foregrounding what seems to be the most pertinent aspects of his life through the narrative, Mr NQ seems to use deceleration as one of the devices to draw attention to them. Part 1 of the story is very detailed and contains some signals of measurable time. These indicate that this part of the journey takes place over a very short period, maybe two or three days as the following extracts from the text illustrate:

- tomorrow morning we will be in Cape Town
- following day (implication that it is the same day)
- 12 o’clock (implication that it is the same day)
- we sit there the whole day
- in the evening (implication that it is the evening of the above-mentioned day)

44
Despite its apparently short duration in linear time, this part of the story assumes great prominence in the text time created in the narrative. It is told with attention to what seems to be minute detail. The slow and deliberate pace of narration stretches part 1 so that it occupies a large part of the text time, out of proportion to its real-time length when considered in relation to the whole story. As indicated above, part 1 of the journey takes place over an estimated three-day period, but it occupies approximately 25% of the entire text which describes a period of more than fifty years. There is thus no directly proportional relationship between text time and the real-life time of events. Factors such as perceived significance and centrality to the plot play a role in what narrators decide to highlight. Including specific details in the telling slows down the pace of the story, extends the text time duration, and signals to the listener that this is an event of note.

The following is an attempt to compare the real-time duration of the different parts with the text time, relative to each other.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PART</th>
<th>ESTIMATED REAL-TIME DURATION</th>
<th>LENGTH OF TEXT</th>
<th>TEMPORAL CHARACTERISATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3 days</td>
<td>64 lines</td>
<td>Linear; chronologically extended</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>no indication of duration or location within time</td>
<td>67 lines</td>
<td>Fragmented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>± 10yrs (1952-1962)</td>
<td>23 lines</td>
<td>Linear; chronologically contracted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>± 40yrs (1962-2003)</td>
<td>126 lines</td>
<td>Non-linear; frequent movements between time periods</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2 shows clearly that the different parts of the story do not carry equal weighting in terms of contribution to the narrative whole. While '1948' in part 1 serves as narrative beginning, it is also a configurational centre around which the rest of the narrative evolves. Part 2, consisting of 67 lines, does not have any indication of location in historical time, but it is clear from the text that it represents a much longer period than part 1. While Mr NQ represents part 1 at a slow and considered pace, part 2 is contrastingly presented as a whirlwind of confusing events and is told more rapidly.

I present the following extract from Part 2 as an example of unclear and somewhat fragmented real-time duration. I have marked from A to N the lines which indicate a linear 2

---

2 Rimmon-Keenan (1983) makes the distinction between text time and story time.
3 This is my estimation, based on the various signals given by Mr NQ in the text.
movement from one thing to the next, and printed these in pink text. Immediately after saying that he and his companions had just arrived at Elsies River Station, Mr NQ continues:

(A) alright we get off
we are frightened for the police
there's a place they call Jakkalsvlei

chhh ... others they got an address there

(B) kaffir beer here umqombothi
alright we drink
what were we to do

somebody say no
let's go to Langa
(C) we went there by foot to Langa
to main barracks
where we know people
alright we come there
everyone where this single man stays
alright we went there
we sit there
you shout
where you going to?
you are going to be caught.

alright
somebody say, hey
we must go to (?) for a dompas
we come there, we want a job (?) alright ?
that day I say no
my hands
I swear
I say no i'm going back again
(E) and then I went back to Langa
I had a reference for Dom & Longo

....

Dom & Longo

steel

from PE

alright I asked them where is Dom & Longo
(F) they say it's in Elsies River
I went there
there was a forest
alright don't say I'm rude
I tell the whole speech
that time there was ladies
who selling their body
Ohhhh ... what we going to do here

I went to Elsies River
I got there
they say 'no the reference is alright'

'have you got a dompas'

I say 'no I have a reference'

he say 'no you must go to native affairs'

that time native affairs was in Observatory

I go see Mr [?]

(1) then I go there

Mr [?] he say 'no'

you must be classified as a coloured'

I say 'alright'

make it'

(2) and then he make it

I'm in there

he took me there as a coloured

but mind you I'm staying at Langa

where the Bantu people stay

(K) and then come Monday

this man

'hey dompas dompas'

I show them this

he say 'no man, you can't stay here when

you got this go to administrative Langa'

that time it was still Rogers [?]

at Observatory [?]

(1) I say alright I'm going to make a dompas

and then I make a dompas

then he made me a dompas

alright

(M) I took it to the office

and

(N) to my work and then I work I work I work

As can be seen, the lapse of time is not clear here. For example, did they proceed from the station to the beer-drinking place to Langa on the same day that they arrived? Reference to 'Monday' in line 121 (marked as K) seems to indicate that this took place relatively soon after the arrival at the station, or might it have been a particular Monday which is marked in Mr NQ's memory as significant? It is not possible to deduce from the narration when all of this took place.

In text time there is very little difference between the way that movement from lines 66-131b in part 2 is narrated, and the way that the journey contained in lines 1-64 in part 1, is told.

Yet, other textual and contextual indicators signal that the movement from lines 127 to 131b, then to line 132a in part 3 especially, spans a much longer time period. By the time Mr NQ arrives in narration at line 132b which equates to his arrival in Athlone, it is 1952 ('that was 1952' line 136).

4.1.6 Stability through changing times

In contrast to the movement, flux and uncertainty of the earlier sections, Mr NQ does indicate moments of stability in his life, particularly parts 2, 3 and 4. He does not do so overtly, but suggests this through his repetitive use of verbs linked to stable activity carried out by himself. The following table illustrates this:
Table 4.8: Lexical indicators of stability

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexical indicators of stability</th>
<th>Part in narrative</th>
<th>Line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to my work then I work I work I work</td>
<td>Part 2</td>
<td>Line 131b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we stay there we stay we stay we stay</td>
<td>Part 3</td>
<td>Line 147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and then I stay I stay I stay</td>
<td>Part 4</td>
<td>Line 169b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alright we stay we stay we stay</td>
<td>Part 4</td>
<td>Line 177</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In line 131b Mr NQ says: ‘... I work I work I work.’ A few lines later (line 136) he mentions that it is 1952 (the previous reference to a date was 1948) so it does seem as if the period indicated by line 131b was an extended period of time. This point of stability represented by work seems to correspond to a respite in the many changes of residence. The stability and the ability to work for an uninterrupted period is preceded by his success in obtaining of a ‘dompas’ (line 128) which legitimises his expectation to experience stability. This stability is interrupted by the move to Athlone.

In line 147 Mr NQ uses this rhythmic and repetitive linguistic device when he talks about what seems to be an extended stay in Athlone/Rylands. The repetitive use of the word ‘stay’ in line 147 foregrounds the act of remaining, not the place where this took place. It is further emphasised by the lines which precede it. Thus the sequence of the lines is as follows:

yes behind we stayed there
we stayed there so many years
we stay there we stay we stay we stay

Line 169b is preceded by indicators of stability and followed immediately by the description of a move. In real-time, there must have taken a time-lapse between the arrival and the actual move (maybe years?).

we stayed there we built a church there
I stayed there
and then I stay I stay I stay
and then come now to Guguletu now
we moved to Guguletu

48
The reference to the building of a church in line 168 underscores the aspect of stability and serves as a marker of having found a place to settle. For Mr NQ the church building seems to be a metaphor for stability. He also refers to a church building earlier in his story when he tells about life in Athlone / Rylands before the forced removal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lines</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>145b</td>
<td>there’s a big church there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146a</td>
<td>yes behind we stayed there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146b</td>
<td>we stayed there for many years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Line 177 too, is preceded and followed by other indicators of stability. Mr NQ prefaches the description of his stay in Kraaifontein by saying that he got married and settled for a while. His arrival at another stable resting point after the disruptive move is thus cemented by the stability represented by marriage. The stability is ruptured by his wife leaving him because of a physical difficulty which he has and which she has difficulty in accepting. Stability is then ushered in by his marriage to his second wife, a stability which extends into the present time and place.

err...I married when err...
when I came to Kraaifontein
I met somebody
we married
alright we stay we stay we stay
we got married
we stay as a wife and a husband
alright
now
on the other way
I had a little trouble on my body
you see
she couldn’t stand for it
weak
I was too for her
so (s)he got somebody
and then I stay alone
until I get my wife
we meet together with my wife
1973
and err... ‘til now

(lines 176a-183c = stability)

(lines 188a, 188b = rupture)

(lines 189a, 189 = stability)
It is interesting that Mr NQ's use of this rhythmic pattern of movement and rupture is mostly confined to times when he wants to indicate fleeting stability within the flux of movement. It anticipates a stay which will result in a further move. In talking about living in Guguletu in 2003, Mr NQ does not seem to speak of this as if it is a transitory stop but a place of rest. This seems to have been true for most of the other narrators as well: while they were moved to Guguletu under forceful circumstances, it had since become home to them, a place where they had recreated a sense of community. The 'stay, stay, stay' device does not seem to be appropriate because it is still a present condition, not a stay which in experienced reality has a beginning and an end to it.

4.1.7 Concluding comments: cycles of return
The metaphor of the journey stands out strongly in this narrative. In the series of movements initiated by the first journey from King Williamstown to Cape Town, interruptions create a sense of 'repetition within irreversible change' (Rimmon-Keenan 1983) as they recur again in the subsequent journeys. Mr NQ's retrospective selection of incidents, arranged in various cycles of interruption and resumption leads us through his story from 1948 into the present. His choice of significant events seems to suggest that as protagonist in 1948 his journey was directed towards the present in 2003. However, he as narrator now knows what he as protagonist (then) did not, but the story seems to end at a point where it seems as if it were its natural, logical, or spiritual telos' (Brockmeier 2000: 64). Arriving in the present it seems as if it has been 'a life, as it were, lived and told full circle' (Brockmeier 2000: 64).

The metaphor of the journey suggests a progression; the interruption of the journey suggests a blockage. So while there is a sense of constant movement, it is not a developmental movement leading to growth. Similarly to Mr NQ, the other two narrators whose stories I have analysed later in this chapter also foreground their struggles for stability and continuity against many odds. Each interruption is a thwarting of this desire. Brockmeier (2000) comments that repetitive actions often feature strongly in autobiographical narrative, in which narrators emphasise recurring themes or occurrences.

So, the cycle starts:

from 1948  
we were aiming  
to come to Cape Town

It ends in 2003:

but now we're still very nice
4.2 Interview with Mrs MN

4.2.1 Biographical details
I was introduced to Mrs MN by her neighbour whom I had interviewed for this research paper. She was very interested in what I was doing and was keen to be interviewed. By the time of the interview I had met Mrs MN on two or three other occasions previously. We did the recording at a neighbour's home in Guguletu. When I arrived to do the interview, she explained to me that she had arranged this so that we could talk in peace. She runs a spaza shop from her house and there was a strong likelihood that we would be disturbed by customers during the interview. The interview, however, came to an abrupt end when a fellow church member arrived and started a prayer as she stepped over the threshold. An unplanned if not altogether unexpected prayer session emerged from this, at which time it was indicated to me that I should turn off the recorder, and stay for the prayers.

During the visits leading up to the interviews, I experienced Mrs MN as a lively and expansive conversationalist, so I was quite surprised at the 'economical' life story she told, which was lacking in the lively anecdotes to which I had grown accustomed. At first I thought that it was due to the presence of the tape-recorder, but she seemed extremely relaxed during the course of the interview. Maybe the economy can be explained by her comment to me afterwards that she had just given me what she regarded as 'the real facts'.

Mrs MN was about 66 years old at the time of the interview. English is one of the languages she speaks, Xhosa being her first language. The interview was conducted in English. She had been living in Guguletu since 1963 (the date given by her during the interview) when she had been forcibly removed from Koeberg (which she refers to as Primrose Street in the interview). From her account, this was the second forced removal that she had experienced, the first one having been from Kensington (which she refers to as 10th Avenue) where she had lived from 1948 until removal in the 1950's.

4.2.2 General comments
Mrs MN tells what seems to be a very linearly-arranged story, with frequent references to dates as markers of the different episodes of her life. In doing the ethnopoetic transcription, I have identified pauses which seem to function as structural markers in the narrative. I have grouped the lines into parts, the ends of which were signalled by extended pauses. I have tried to distinguish between pauses which seemed 'meaningful' to me, and the ones which seemed to be hesitations as she occasionally struggled to find the right word. I indicate this division into parts of the narrative in the following table. I have identified the main idea in each part.
Table 4.9: Table indicating different parts of narrative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part of story</th>
<th>Main idea unit</th>
<th>Lines</th>
<th>Feature in narrative signalling transition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Arrival in Cape Town</td>
<td>10a-c</td>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Establishment of a home</td>
<td>11a-c</td>
<td>Complication (fire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Move to different house</td>
<td>12a-c</td>
<td>Pause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Evaluating comment on stable state</td>
<td>13a-16c</td>
<td>Pause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The introduction of the pass laws</td>
<td>17a-f</td>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Complication (pass laws)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Forced removal Evaluating comment on happy life before removal</td>
<td>18a-37</td>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Complication (removal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Destruction of happy life</td>
<td>38-46</td>
<td>Pause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'you see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Life in Kensington</td>
<td>47-52b</td>
<td>Pause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Husband’s illness and return to Transkei</td>
<td>53a-558</td>
<td>Complication (husband’s illness)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Death of husband</td>
<td>56-50h</td>
<td>Complication (husband’s death)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Return to Cape Town Second forced removal</td>
<td>57a-62b</td>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Complication (move)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Making a living</td>
<td>68-73</td>
<td>Pause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Current life</td>
<td>69a-72</td>
<td>Pause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Reminiscence about life in Kensington, compared to current life</td>
<td>78a-93</td>
<td>Pause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Current feelings about life</td>
<td>94-113</td>
<td>Differences between paradise and Guguletu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.3 Discourse markers

Accompanying the extended pauses, various other devices seem to signal transition from one part to another. Mrs MN frequently uses the discourse marker 'you see' during the course of narration which seems to serve different functions. Sometimes she uses it as a communication strategy to make sure that I am still following her story. At other times 'you see' seems to serve as a closing statement, signalling an end to one topic and a movement to the next. It is used to conclude sections 6 (line 37); 7 (line 46); 9 (line 55g); 10 (line 60g); 13 (line 76) and 14 (line 93).

At other times, reference to a date accompanies a pause and signals a move to the next topic. Sometimes the dates close off a period and at other times they introduce a new one. Examples of these are contained in sections 1 (concluding line 10c); 5 (introductory line 17a); 6 (introductory line 18a); 10 (concluding line 60h) and 11 (introductory line 61a).

In addition to the passage of time which allows life to move through the different time periods, sometimes the passage is disrupted. Sometimes it is the disruption, not the passage of time, that moves the narration along. Examples of such temporal transitions (Labov and Waletzky 1967; Labov 1972) are found in sections 2; 5; 6; 10 and 11.

The following rudimentary formula can be applied to illustrate the various combinations of temporal transition indicators used in this narrative:

\[
\text{part } x / \text{pause} / \text{date} / \text{part } y
\]

\[
\text{part } x / \text{date} / \text{pause} / \text{part } y
\]

\[
\text{part } x / \text{you see} / \text{pause} / \text{part } y
\]

\[
\text{part } x / \text{complicating action} / \text{pause} / \text{part } y
\]

4.2.4 Ricouer's episodic and configurational dimensions

Mrs MN's narrative is one which appears on the surface to be chronological sequence, with its episodes firmly located in historical time, and with a date as her starting point. Like Mr NQ's, her life story also starts with a journey to Cape Town. While his story includes the journey, hers starts with her arrival.

The first four parts of the story (indicated in the table above), are presented with the episodic dimension being the most prominent. In the various parts of the narrative, I have indicated sections where a disruption forms the basis for the transition from one part to another. Parts 2, 5, 6, 10, 11 and 12 contain complicating actions which impact on the following course of life events. These disruptions or complications seem to fall into two separate categories which I have called major and minor. The minor ones are those...
which, although they had consequences, were dealt with at the time as a directly responsive reaction. An example of this is the fire in part 2:

but those shacks were burnt down
so with my husband
we moved to 10th avenue
where we built a plot

Traumatic though it must have been at the time, the effects seem to have been immediately felt and dealt with. The response of rebuilding a home enabled them to continue with life 'as before'. The complicating actions in the narrative which I have called major, seem to have repercussions that echo throughout the narrative and throughout her life. Firstly, the introduction of the pass laws in section 5 serves as an omen for the further destruction of life. Her first reference to the pass laws comes as part of a linear sequence of events in section 5:

by 1952
there came
came the pass laws

Later in part 6, as she comments about the quality of life during the pre-removal period, she says:

but all the time
we were so happy
but once the pass laws came
we were in a hell

Placement in historical time gives Mrs MN a useful starting point as she aligns the selected events of a life along a diachronic pathway. A fusion of time orders emerges as she constructs what Brockmeier (2000) refers to as autobiographical time, in which the chronological order of the jabula is constructed into the order of the sjuzet, the narratively composed synthesis corresponding closely to Ricouer's configurational dimension of narrative.

4.2.5 Evaluation: life now and life then

Mrs MN tells the story of her life where she as the narrator looks back and describes the life of the protagonist who encounters different obstacles along the way. As the narration arrives in the present, the protagonist and the narrator become one. Mrs MN's evaluative comment comes through very strongly at times as she comments on the quality of life in Kensington before the forced removal. Indirectly she implies that this is what life might have been like if they had stayed in the area. Sometimes the evaluative comment is overtly done by direct comparison, while at other times it is implied. For example:
we were happy there for a long time.
(Implied comparison to a forthcoming time during which happiness was absent).

but all the time we were so happy but once the pass laws came we were in a hell.
(Direct comparison between a state of happiness and what came after).

4.2.6 Location in time and dislocation from place
The episodic dimension starts with her arrival in Cape Town, and ends with the last of a series of moves, to Guguletu where she is still now resident. The story thus starts with a spatial referent linked to a calendric date of arrival:

I came here in Cape Town in 1948.

As the story arrives at the present spatial location (Guguletu) she arrives at the corresponding temporal dimension, i.e. now, by saying: as I am doing even now.

This signals an entry into the present, where she sustains her narration in a non-episodic way. She comments on the quality of her life as she now experiences it, then goes back to life 'then' and makes a comparative comment on the quality of life in what she calls 'paradise city.'

I'd rather stay in Kensington as I told you we called Kensington the paradise city we were so happy there.

It is interesting that Mrs MN's references to spatial moves are always accompanied by a temporal referent, pointing to the interconnectedness between the spatio-temporal dimensions. In addition to the above example, she also makes the following references:

then about '53 to '54 then come the removal.

since our house was removed in 1955 '56 now with my husband I went to Transkei and in '56 we went to Transkei.
then in 1959 I came back to Cape Town
now here in Guguletu
there's no other place
since 1963 July 23rd I was given this house

4.2.7 What you must know about me to know me’

Linde proposes what she calls a non-technical definition of the life story, as ‘what you must know about me to know me’ (1993: 20), being the unspoken question which narrators seem to understand that they must respond to, in telling their life stories. In this context, what does Mrs MN feel that she needs to communicate about herself in order to be known? A noticeable aspect is that frequent references to work punctuate her narrative. It features as a thread of continuity running through the narration. She represents herself as having had the ability to be productive through all of the hardships and complications of her life. It is this stable self in relation to the realm of work that connects Mrs MN now, to Mrs MN in 1948, and to all the other periods of her life.

The reference to work seems to me to signify two aspects of life in the narrative:
(i) Stability
(ii) Agency

(i) Stability
Mrs MN indicates stability by referring to circumstances in which it was possible to carry out productive, income-generating work. In what I have described as part 4 of the narrative (lines 13a-16c) when Mrs MN interrupts the linear flow to make an evaluative comment on the quality of life in 10th Avenue (we learn later that 10th Avenue is located in Kensington), she makes her first reference to the way that she earned a living during this stable time. She links the state of being happy (line 13a) as a state of being stable (13b), linked further to a state of being productive (14a-15c – indicated in red).

we were happy there
for a long time
I was doing some business
like vetkoeks
and Sterilised Dairy were delivering there
sour milk
I was selling it
tried to help my husband because
he was getting a small wage
from united flock [?] in Voortrekker Road

61a
61b
88a
88b
89

56
Her next reference to her work life follows in part 6 where she starts to tell about the
violent act of removal, inserting the reference to work unexpectedly. Again breaking the
linear sequence, she tells in line 28 how this time of stability, characterised by work, was
ruptured by the violence of the removal:

a tractor 25
what you call it? 26a
that chain 26b
and broke down 27a
the shacks 27b
everything is broken there 27c
at the time I was doing small chars 28
that also happened to me 29
my house was blown down 30a
all my things 30b
two bedrooms a kitchen and a dining-room and those things in
there 30c

In lines 33a-37 she again embeds a reference to work within a commentary on the
quality of life. She speaks of the 'cans' in line 33b which seems to link with her earlier
mention of the milk that she sold as part of her business (lines 15a-15c). Although not
overtly stated, I understood her reference to 'those cans' to be part of the earlier
narration about how her furniture was destroyed (line 30a).

I had a small garage for milk 33a
those cans from Sterilised Dairies 33b
you see 34
but all the time 35a
we were so happy 35b
but once the pass laws came 36a
we were in a hell 36b
through their apartheid 36c
you see 37

In line 70b she points to the continuity she was able to maintain, from her disrupted past
into the present:

...as I am doing even now 70b
In lines 61a-d she describes how she returns to Cape Town after having been forcibly removed for the first time, and after her husband's death. The need to earn a living provides the logic for her return and is part of an implied search for stability, understood from her reference to the domestic realm and her need to provide for her children. Work is again linked to stability.

then in 1959 I came back to Cape Town to work for my kids because I had five children at that time

In lines 78-81 she embeds her reference to work in the middle of a description of the happy life in Kensington:

I'd rather stay in Kensington as I told you we called Kensington the Paradise City we were so happy there everybody was doing this and this and this so much by our small businesses we had some savings

As her narration moves to a close, Mrs MN refers to the fact that when she was moved from Kensington to Guguletu (lines 98a-101), she was still productively employed:

since I left Kensington it was Paradise City for me my life changed when I came to Guguletu by that time I was still working you see working 'till I get the pension
For Mrs MN the things of her concern were clearly embedded in the dignity and connectedness that being productively employed meant.

Jackson (2002) refers to how narrativisation allows narrators to gain a measure of control over interpretation of aspects of their lives which might have been out of their control. For Mrs MN, the loss of agency imposed by the forced removal is counterbalanced in the narrative by her attempts to take control of agency, and this she does through the activity of working. The following table contains examples of loss of agency and how she tries to counterbalance this.

### Table 4.10: Agency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loss of agency</th>
<th>Control of agency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>we were given those passes</td>
<td>17d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my house was blown down</td>
<td>30a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>since our home was removed in 1955 '56</td>
<td>55a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they moved us to these houses</td>
<td>67b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The important point that Mrs MN conveys about herself is that she was able to maintain her stability throughout the troubled times: her home being destroyed by fire, the illness and subsequent death of husband and two occasions of being forcibly removed. She has managed to retain the ability to work and retain some dignity.

Mrs MN as the worker is the continuous theme running through the life of discontinuity. That is the feature that remains constant throughout the narrative. While the linear mode traces the movement of events through the narration as one thing follows after another, the protagonist remains stable throughout the movement and changes over time. Her working self resists the change and continues through the periods as the stable self, representing the configurational aspect of her narrative in which she draws together events from different times and emplots them into a thematic whole.

4.2.8 Duration and event

A home destroyed by a bulldozer and chain must have been an event of note. Yet, Mrs MN places this occurrence in a stark linear sequence and never refers to the specific act again in her narration. She mentions in passing that her work implements were destroyed along with her furniture and home. This seems to be evidence of the distinction between the event as an act having occurred 'in' time, on a particular datable occasion – and the act as a duration. Mrs MN skims over the occurrence very quickly,
moving on and concentrating more on the durative aspects: the meaning of the occurrence. The event is compressed into very little textual space, constituting a small portion of the story duration. She uses the occasion not to dwell on the description, but rather uses it to illustrate how it contributed to the end of ‘paradise’. Events endure in the consequences which follow.

Her minimal reference to the destructive act is also typical of traumatic memory recall as described by Langer (1991). One way of dealing with unintegrated traumatic memory is to gloss over the action because the narrator cannot find the words sufficient to express the horror of the experienced act.

Mrs MN occasionally breaks her episodic mode to comment on states of being and to offer some form of evaluation on the quality of her life.

I was doing some business 14a
like vetkoeks 14b
and Sterilised Dairy were delivering there 15a
sour milk 15b
I was selling it 15e
tried to help my husband because 15a
he was getting a small wage 16b
from United Flock [?] in Voortrekker Road 16c
they come 39a
these police with long sticks 39b
seh 40
they kick off those drums with kaffir-beer 41a
you see it makes unhealthy because it smells 41b
and those who were selling liquor 42a
the spirits 42b
they make a hole and put them underground 42c
they’ve got those long sticks 43a
they do like this 43b
you see 43c
and feel at the bottom 43d
you see 43e
and they chop off those bottles 43f
those bottles of brandy or anything 43g
Her combination of narrative and other tenses allows for the interpretation that this was not only a once-off occurrence but a regular part of the fabric of the community.

### 4.2.9 Vertical strata

Portelli (1991: 69, 70) refers to three vertical strata around which most narrators tend to arrange their narratives, generally speaking. These he names as *institutional, collective and personal*. Narrators may use one, two or all of these in various combinations in order to interpret the events of their lives.

The following table illustrates the dominant strata selected by Mrs MN, as indicated in the different parts of the narrative.

**Table 4.11: Vertical strata**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Stratum</th>
<th>Topics in this stratum</th>
<th>Space referent in this stratum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>Private and family life</td>
<td>The home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Personal/Collective</td>
<td>Private and family life/ Community</td>
<td>The home; The neighbourhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>Private and family life</td>
<td>The home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>Private and family life; jobs</td>
<td>The home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Collective</td>
<td>Community; collective involvement in 'institutional' episode</td>
<td>The neighbourhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Personal/Collective</td>
<td>Private and family life; collective involvement in 'institutional' episode</td>
<td>The home; The neighborhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Collective</td>
<td>Private and family life; collective involvement in 'institutional' episode</td>
<td>The neighbourhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Collective</td>
<td>The life of the community</td>
<td>The neighbourhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>Private and family life</td>
<td>The home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>Private and family life; death</td>
<td>The home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>Private and family life; work; children</td>
<td>The home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>Private and family life; work; death; children</td>
<td>The home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>Private and family life; children</td>
<td>The home</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1. I have understood the notion of 'home' to be more fluid than Portelli might have meant it, as some of the references in this context refer to the lack of home; I have understood it to mean issues relating to the home, more than a physical space.
2. *those shacks* in line 11c implies that there were others in the community so affected.
3. I have also used 'the neighborhood' in a different, non-stable way, as a site of struggle.
4. I have understood 'we' in line 17d to include members of the community other than herself and her husband.

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4.2.10 Concluding comments

Mrs MN as the worker is the continuous theme running through the life of discontinuity. That is the feature that remains constant throughout the narrative. While the linear mode traces the movement of events through the narration as one thing follows after another, the protagonist remains stable throughout the movement and changes over time. Her working self resists the change and continues through the periods as the stable self, representing the configurational aspect of her narrative in which she draws together events from different times and emplots them into a thematic whole.
4.3 Interview with Mrs GT

4.3.1 Biographical details

Mrs GT lives in Guguletu and was 66 years old at the time of the interview. She had been forcibly removed with her mother from Oakdale in Bellville, in the late 1950's or early 60's. I had met her during the course of the land claims process and she often visited me during the weeks that we were stationed at a community centre in Guguletu. This continued even after the process of her own claim had been completed. In casual conversation I told her about my growing interest in people's stories and that I was looking for people willing to have their stories recorded. She expressed a great interest and invited me to visit her. She told me that she ran a business from her home in order to support her extended family of school-going grandchildren and grown daughters who were unemployed at the time. I was advised to come in the morning as this was the quiet time for the business. When I arrived for the interview at her house, I discovered that she ran a shebeen at her home for which she was very apologetic and even though it was not very busy, we were interrupted on two or three occasions by customers.

4.3.2 General comment

Mrs GT describes herself as being equally fluent in Xhosa, English and Afrikaans. As can be deduced from her interview, she attaches great value to placing herself in relation to a linguistic community from which she believes she has been separated. During informal conversations with me before the recorded interview she made frequent references to herself as being coloured and not African as suggested by the area of residence allocated to her family during the period of implementation of the Group Areas Act. She pointed out that this was the reason that she could speak Afrikaans so well. I then realised that I had not picked up on her earlier signals to me regarding her usage of Afrikaans, which for her was a feature associated closely with 'colouredness'. She often initiated a switch to Afrikaans in conversations with me. Retrospectively, I understood that she had been expressing her identification with me based on a stereotypical group identity which she had assigned to me. This reminded me of earlier comments that she had made regarding her perception that the coloured land claims staff were more competent than the African staff. Issues relating to her own self-identification often surfaced during the interview – directly and indirectly. Early in the interview she switched over to speaking Afrikaans completely. She also referred directly to her coloured identity several times as part of her life story.

1 The land claims process verified claims according to the different group areas, as people who now lived in particular areas would have been moved there as a result of specific, racially-based legislation. This verification project was called the African Tenants Verification Project.

2 In the Western Cape in particular, Afrikaans is closely associated with people who had been classified as coloured.
Most of this interview was conducted in Afrikaans. I have transcribed the interview and translated the transcription. I have divided the narrative into topic-based sections. In this interview more than the others, I have found that the ethnopoetic method has helped me to detect meanings and connections which had not been apparent to me, neither during the interview nor while listening to the recording of it. In this interview I felt the need to ask more questions than I had done in the others, because there were more occasions where I needed clarification. A significant feature of Mrs GT's story was the fragmented way in which the narrative proceeded, both chronologically and in terms of narrative style. This fragmentation occasionally obscured meanings which emerged for me through the visual architecture of the ethnopoetic structure.

Although I have tried to stay as close to the original Afrikaans as possible in my phrasing of the translation and in my attention to pauses to indicate line divisions, sometimes there is not a one-to-one correspondence between the lines because of the differences in word order between the two languages. I have included the original Afrikaans text alongside the translated text in all my references. I have used italics for the Afrikaans and regular type for the English translation. For ease of reading, I have placed the extracts from this interview into lined frames.

4.3.3 Fabula and sjuzet
In trying to understand the dimension of Mrs GT's story which corresponds approximately to the concept of the fabula (Brockmeier 2000), I have constructed the following rudimentary chronology (column 1 in table below) inferred from her narrative. I place alongside this, another column (column 2) which indicates the directional flow of the narrative (her sjuzet). I have isolated what seemed to me to be the main point of every 'section' of the sjuzet and used these points to describe the main idea units.
### Table 4.12: Sequences: fabula and ajus\u0301etz

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sequence of main events</th>
<th>Sequence of main idea <em>ajus\u0301etz</em></th>
<th>Lines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• includes reference to difficulties created by 'wrong' surname and related difficulties</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• includes reference to issue of disputed surname</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Mother dies</td>
<td>4. Move to mother's 'own plot' in Bellville</td>
<td>216-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Moves to Guguletu (the2), 1965</td>
<td>5. Comment on good life in Bellville;</td>
<td>248-30g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• mother's property</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• story of two shopkeepers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• good life in Bellville</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• good memories of school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Guguletu (now)</td>
<td>6. Comment on life soon after move to Mau-Mau</td>
<td>37944a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Shebeen in Guguletu</td>
<td>7. Death of mother and resulting difficulties</td>
<td>458-461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Story of neighbour losing her home</td>
<td>8. Story of neighbour losing her home</td>
<td>486-51c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• includes reference to difficulties imposed by surname</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Reference to family living in Elsies</td>
<td>10. Reference to family living in Elsies</td>
<td>57a-61b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Description of the actual move from Bellville</td>
<td>11. Description of the actual move from Bellville</td>
<td>62a-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Description of the early days in Mau-Mau</td>
<td>12. Description of the early days in Mau-Mau</td>
<td>75a-78f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• includes commentary on difficulties relating to coloured / African identity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Commentary on move from Bellville</td>
<td>13. Commentary on move from Bellville</td>
<td>80a-87e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• story of murdered man (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• story of murdered man (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• story of children robbed in house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Expression of desire to live in coloured community</td>
<td>15. Expression of desire to live in coloured community</td>
<td>1086-g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• grandchildren at school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• story of neighbour's rude grandchildren</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• unemployment of daughter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• economic struggles of family and the need for her shebeen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be deduced from the narrative sequence in column 2 of the above table, Mrs GT frequently leaves the path of chronology (Brockmeier 2000: 59) and presents a synthesis of events, feelings, perspectives and illustrative stories. Like most narrators of autobiographical narratives, she wanders over the temporal map (Ochs 1997: 191) selecting a combination of meaningful life events and experiences from the vast store available to her.

3 In her telling, Mrs GT conveys two different descriptions of Guguletu, accompanied by her different perspectives now and then. This sometimes conveys the impression that she is talking about two distinct places.
4.3.4 Ricouer's configurational and episodic dimensions

In this interview, Ricouer's dual dimensions are realised proportionately differently from the previous two interviews: while the episodic dimension appears dominant in the other two interviews, the configurational dimension seems to be more prominent here. Mrs GT's narrative is densely punctuated with evaluative comments and comparative descriptions, rather than reflecting an obvious chronology. She in fact leaves the path of chronology very early in the narrative after placing herself very clearly in calendric time:

I was born in Bellville 1a
1940 2b

She launches straight into what is obviously an important life issue to her: definitions of her racial identity. These issues are embodied in her surname and in the way that she represents herself through language. In line 2a she links herself to her lineage as represented by her mother and her maternal surname:

my mother was Emma Thandeki 2a
and her surname was Emma Thandeki 2b

In the next line she switches to talking in Afrikaans, which she maintains for most of the interview:

| ek moes nou Gladys van Wyk gewees het | I had to be Gladys van Wyk now | 4c |

Linked to the pertinent issue of her surname change is the move to Mau-Mau, and she goes on to explain that in direct response to my question of 'How come?'/ 'Hoe dan so?' (line 5). Her reason is not very clear, but it seems that she understands it within the context of racial classification and the different group areas which were allocated to racial groups during the period of forced removals. Language, names and surnames were some of the ethnic markers which identified people with one group at the time and she alludes to this in her response to my question:

| because hulle kon nie | because they could not | 6a |
| daar waar ons gewoon het | there where we were living | 6b |
| met kleurlinge en witmense | with white and coloured people | 6c |
| vir ons gaan nie aan nie | they could not accept us | 6d |

Throughout the narrative Mrs GT came back to this point in ways that sometimes seemed unrelated during the interview, but which surfaced as linked during my analysis. The issue is important to her and runs throughout the narrative as a sub-theme. From the start of the interview it seemed to serve a configurational function in constructing her narrative from the *fabula* of her life, and it remains as an unresolved issue continuing into the present.

66
4.3.5 Plural unity of past, present and future

The following things of her concern seem to have been constant throughout her life and are the ones around which she structures much of her comparisons between stages of her present, past and future. As previously discussed, life stories are by their very nature about the individual in the past, about 'the past of the present' and the present of the past in 'life' (Brockmeier 2000: 66). They also include aspects of the 'coming-towards' of human experience which is located in the future and in the notion of care as described by Ricouer (1980).

The following surface as the most prominent concerns / cares which come to the conscious attention of Mrs GT through her narrative, and are expressed in various ways which combine past, present and future concerns:

- her own racial identity as signalled through her surname and language usage
- loss of place, which she links in part to racial identity and categorisation
- loss of community as a safe space in which to live and work.

To illustrate the manifestations of each of these concerns I have quoted extracts from the narrative and colour-coded them to indicate present, past and future. I have used red to indicate past, green to indicate present and pink for future. Sometimes, however, more than one temporal focus is implied in a line, and I have used the appropriate coloured asterisk (*) to mark the lines.

Concern with racial identity in the past and present are sometimes only referred to obliquely through references to changes of surname and language (see 4.3.2) At other times they are mentioned more directly.

douére tyd | that time | 3a
--- | --- | ---
one het lekker dse gê-had | we had good days | 3b
en n bieëjie, sêg maar nie so baie nie | and a little bad but not so much | 3c
want | because | 4a
one | we | 4b

douére tyd was lekker tyd? | that time was lovely | 17b
moer net | but just | 18a
die verskillende | the difference | 18B
one moet nou nie ‘Thandeki’ genees het nie | we were not supposed to be ‘Thandeki’ | 18e
one moet nou ‘van Wyk’ | we should be ‘van Wyk’ | 18d
Mrs GT's mother’s loss of property ownership in the past had consequences for her (Mrs GT) in the present and future as it affected her housing situation, particularly when her mother died.

Again, the past occurrence of the forced move to Guguletu has consequences still currently felt in the present of the ongoing struggles of life associated by Mrs GT with that area.

The loss of community as a safe space became a more prominent issue for Mrs GT when her mother died (although she goes on to extend the issue of safety beyond her own personal circumstances into the general life of the community).

It is interesting that a resolution to Mrs GT's housing dilemma is found in her reconnection with the past community of Bellville.
It is interesting that a resolution to Mrs GT's housing dilemma is found in her reconnection with the past community of Bellville.

| noit's die lewe baie verskillende | now life is very different | 90b |
| baie verskillende | very different | 90c |
| ek kan nie die deur oopmaak as 'n mens klop nie | I can't open the door when someone knocks | 91a |
| ek kan nie vra nie | I can't ask | 91b |
| wie is dit? | who is it? | 91c |
| dan se hulle hulle's politie | then they say they are the police | 91d |
| en as jy oopmaak | and when you open | 91e |
| dan maak hulle vir jou dood | then they kill you | 91f |
| ons is nie safe hier nie | we are not safe here | 92a |

Implied in the above description is a comparison between the living conditions now, and those during previous years in Bellville, particularly in lines 90b and 92a.

Evident in Mrs GT's narration, is the multi-dimensionality which exists even within the notions of past, present and future. For example, the past is not one time as such, but consists of many different segments: yesterday, last year, this morning, twenty years ago, etc. The past is an ever-expanding segment as it absorbs more and more of the present with the passage of time. Mrs GT talks about the move to Mau-Mau and Guguletu, for example, as past occurrences. The move to Mau-Mau was experienced as a rupture from a happy life in Bellville. However, in relation to the subsequent move to Guguletu, Mau-Mau is described differently (see line 38b in the table below). The current crime-ridden Guguletu as described by Mrs GT, seems like a different place from the one she describes earlier: the Guguletu of the distant past seems to be idyllic when observed from the perspective of 'now'. She represents Guguletu in a way which makes it appear as two distinct places, although the distinction is not a spatial one but a temporal one. The following extracts illustrate:

In lines 11a-c she describes how they moved to Mau-Mau.

| en toe | and then | 11a |
| trek ons nou daarne toe | we moved there | 11b |
| die plek se naam is Mau-Mau | the place's name is Mau-Mau | 11c |
The situation in Mau-Mau was very different:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Afrikaans</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>dis twee kamers</em></td>
<td>it was two rooms</td>
<td>38d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dining room en 'n bedroom</em></td>
<td>a dining room and a bedroom</td>
<td>38e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>een slaapkamer</em></td>
<td>one bedroom</td>
<td>38f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ons was nou</em></td>
<td>we were now</td>
<td>39a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>klopmense</em></td>
<td>lots of people</td>
<td>39b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>toe moes ons op die grand slaap</em></td>
<td>now we had to sleep on the floor</td>
<td>39f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>en anders onder die tafel</em></td>
<td>and others under the table</td>
<td>39g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>en anders onder die bed</em></td>
<td>and others under the bed</td>
<td>39h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

She describes the move to Guguletu:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Afrikaans</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>en toe moes ons nou hier</em></td>
<td>and then we had to come here</td>
<td>37a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>suaar kom kry</em></td>
<td>to struggle</td>
<td>37b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>in Guguletu</em></td>
<td>in Guguletu</td>
<td>37c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Having said this, she follows up this statement by continuing:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Afrikaans</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>in Mau-Mau</em></td>
<td>in Mau-Mau</td>
<td>37d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>daar in Mau-Mau</em></td>
<td>there in Mau-Mau</td>
<td>37e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wat ons daar gekom het</em></td>
<td>when we got there</td>
<td>38a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>toe hig ons lekker</em></td>
<td>we lived very nicely</td>
<td>38b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So, in relation to the life in Bellville Mau-Mau was bad; in relation to Guguletu it was preferable. Her evaluation at the time of the move differed from what it is today.
In a later portion of her narrative she talks about early days in the area. While living in Mau-Mau she went, presumably with friends, to swim in a dam in Guguletu. She describes this as a time of innocence, when young boys and girls were able to swim together, naked and carefree. Contrasted to this is her description of the present-day Guguletu in which she focuses on various aspects of criminal activity and on the disrespect shown to elders by the youth. The next extracts illustrate the contrastive narrative. I illustrate this contrastive narrative in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X</th>
<th>Y</th>
<th>Z</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;daai was ‘n dam daai&quot;</td>
<td>that was a dam</td>
<td>76e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;daai uws ‘n dam&quot;</td>
<td>that was a dam</td>
<td>76f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;dan kom ons van die skool af&quot;</td>
<td>then we came from school</td>
<td>76f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;ons het van Mau-Mau af ne&quot;</td>
<td>we came from Mau-Mau</td>
<td>78b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;toe kom ons swem hiera&quot;</td>
<td>to come swim here</td>
<td>76c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;kaal kaal kaal&quot;</td>
<td>bare bare bare</td>
<td>78d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;dit was lekker tevore&quot;</td>
<td>it was so lovely before</td>
<td>76e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;ons het nie geweet nie&quot;</td>
<td>we did not know about</td>
<td>78f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;die is ‘n meisie dis ‘n jong nie&quot;</td>
<td>this is a boy this is a girl</td>
<td>78g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;ons trek sommer vir ons kaal kaal&quot;</td>
<td>we stripped ourselves bare</td>
<td>78h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;dan swem ons dan swem ons&quot;</td>
<td>then we swam and swam</td>
<td>78i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;dan gaan ons weer huis toe&quot;</td>
<td>then we went home again</td>
<td>78j</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In contrast, Guguletu many years later:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X</th>
<th>Y</th>
<th>Z</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;nou’s die lewe baie verskillend&quot;</td>
<td>now life is very different</td>
<td>90b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;baie verskillend&quot;</td>
<td>very different</td>
<td>90c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;ek kan nie die deur oopmaak as ‘n mens klop nie&quot;</td>
<td>I can’t open the door when someone knocks</td>
<td>91a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;ek kan nie vra nie&quot;</td>
<td>I can’t ask</td>
<td>91b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;wie’s jy nie&quot;</td>
<td>who’s at the door</td>
<td>91c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;dan se hulle hulle’s polisie&quot;</td>
<td>then they say they are the police</td>
<td>91d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;en as jy oopmaak&quot;</td>
<td>and when you open</td>
<td>91e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;dan maak hulle vir jou dood&quot;</td>
<td>then they will kill you</td>
<td>91f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;ons is nie safe hier nie&quot;</td>
<td>we are not safe here</td>
<td>92a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What Mrs GT communicates through these different perspectives is that her life has deteriorated over time, as one of the side effects of the initial move which has spiralled her into a series of unsettling circumstances. The configuration of her account of her changing circumstances reflects this decline. She evaluates each place in relation to the previous one from which she has moved. From wherever she looked back the previous place appeared to have been better. At the time of living in Mau-Mau, Bellville was the ideal; at the time of moving to Guguletu, Mau-Mau was viewed as being much better; from the perspective of Guguletu in the present, the early idyllic days in Guguletu seem more desirable.
4.3.6 Event and duration

As with the other narrators examined in this study, Mrs GT does not dwell on the actual act of removal until prompted by my question to which she responds with passionate detail.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Afrikaans</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hulle het nie eers vir ons gewaarsku nie</td>
<td>they did not even warn us</td>
<td>62a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hulle se net</td>
<td>they just say</td>
<td>62b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ons moet by 'n plek gaan</td>
<td>we must go to a place</td>
<td>62c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daar waar ons net swart mense is</td>
<td>where there are just black people</td>
<td>62d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ons het gehuil</td>
<td>we cried</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ons het</td>
<td>we did</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dit was baie sleg gewees</td>
<td>it was very bad</td>
<td>68a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dit was baie baie erger</td>
<td>it was very very bad</td>
<td>68b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>want die lorries staan al klaar daar</td>
<td>because the lorries were standing there</td>
<td>68c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en die mens met die byle</td>
<td>and the men with the axes</td>
<td>68d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>68e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en wat is die</td>
<td>and what's that thing</td>
<td>68f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crowbar</td>
<td>a crowbar</td>
<td>68g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hulle was al klaar hier</td>
<td>they were there already</td>
<td>68h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before and after this section, her narrative concentrates on the consequences and effects of the removal on the rest of her life, including her current life. She communicates these felt effects in the form of direct and implied contrasts between life 'then' and life 'now'. As in the other narratives referred to earlier, she seems to indicate her current care by focusing on consequences which had duration beyond the occurrence of the act or event.
4.3.7 *Then and now*

This is a particularly striking characteristic feature of Mrs GT’s story. Her story is infused with direct and implied comparisons.

Some of the contrasts between life then and now have been mentioned earlier in this section in illustrating various other points. Rather than repeating them, I will only refer to them:

**Direct comparisons**

In lines 36a-37a Mrs GT describes some of the features of her school life in the old town that stood in contrast to life in the new place:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>in die skool was lekker</th>
<th>at school it was lovely</th>
<th>36a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ons het melk gokry in die skool</td>
<td>we got milk at school</td>
<td>36b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>botter</td>
<td>butter</td>
<td>36c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en kaas</td>
<td>and cheese</td>
<td>36d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wintertyd is dit sop</td>
<td>winter time there was soup</td>
<td>36e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wintertyd is warme melk</td>
<td>winter time there was warm milk</td>
<td>36f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brood en kaas en al</td>
<td>bread and cheese and everything</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contrasted to lines 37a-c:

| en toe moes ons nou hier | and then we had to come here | 37a |
| swaar kom kry | to struggle | 37b |
| in Guguletu | in Guguletu | 37c |

In lines 52-53b life in Bellville is again directly contrasted with life in Guguletu:

| so ons sukkel hier in Guguletu | so we struggle here in Guguletu | 52 |
| is nie meer soos tevore nie | it’s not like before | 53a |
| want daar in Bellville het ons lekker geuskop | because we lived nicely | 53b |

**Indirect comparisons**

In lines 16a-17b Mrs GT refers to the good life before the move, foreshadowing the change of life circumstances to be ushered in by the move to Mau-Mau.

| in Bellville ja | in Bellville yes | 16a |
| in Oakdale | in Oakdale | 16b |
| en | and | 17a |
| dou tyd was lekker | that time was lovely | 17b |

Earlier in this section I provide an extensive extract from Mrs GT’s narrative to illustrate her different perspectives. The overcrowded conditions described in lines 38d-39h in the table stand in contrast to the spaciousness portrayed in line 50a.

Throughout the latter part of her narrative, particularly section 14 (lines 89-106c) and section 16 (lines 111-152) Mrs GT paints a verbal picture of the rampant crime in Guguletu which creates an implicit but vivid contrast to the happy life ‘before’.
4.3.8 Closing comments
Mrs CT's narrative displays many of the complexities involved in trying to synthesise different time orders into a coherent whole. She also reveals the difficulty of incorporating a traumatic story – which has an unintegrated existence in memory – into a life story. Her narration is less about events than evaluative descriptions of the quality of life in different places and at different times.

She launches her story in a fairly traditional way which seems to anticipate a chronology ('I was born in Bellville 1940') but no overt chronology emerges after this dating in historical time. The only other dated references are when she refers to '15 years later' and when she tells when she managed to get her own house. She accounts for life in Guguletu in the same way, providing descriptions of criminal activities in which the time of occurrence is not important. She refers to them to demonstrate the 'ordinariness' and habitual nature of these occurrences which illustrate the quality of life in Guguletu.

What at first seemed to be an extremely fragmented story, displays a great degree of coherence and patterning on closer examination.
Chapter Five: CONCLUSION

Often while involved in the research for this paper, I was reminded of the opening line of a book which read: ‘Dedicating oneself to the remembrance of traumatic history is a curious practice’ (Simon, Rosenberg and Eppert 2000: 1). This I remembered not so much while grappling with the theory, but more while conducting the interviews and listening to the narratives over and over while transcribing and analysing the texts. The process of analysis forced me to engage with the many layers of meaning as these became clearer to me even after I thought that I had understood the stories.

In the formal research proposal for this dissertation, I articulated a focal research question thus: ‘How is the dimension of temporality represented in the narratives of their lives, by people who have suffered traumatic events, such as forced removals?’ There were linked sub-questions: ‘How is the traumatic event represented? Is it central to the narrator’s telling of his/her life-story, and does it recur as a central reference point around which other events - in fact, the rest of life - are organised?’ My initial observations on which the proposal was based led me to suggest that the traumatic event would indeed be central, but I had not then realised at how many levels this would be the case.

Although it was not the purpose of this study, I found myself forced into thinking of an answer to the questions: ‘Was it right to ask of people to relive trauma so that (my) knowledge could be deepened? Should we just let people forget?’

My experience in conducting interviews for the land claims process was that when people were asked the direct question about their experiences of being forcibly removed, they mostly started from that point ‘in time’ and then proceeded to link the rest of their lives to this event in observable and conspicuous ways. They spoke about illnesses, deaths and other misfortunes resulting from this experience. The central focus of such narratives was unequivocal. In asking some of the same people to tell their life-stories framed much more generally, they referred to the centrality of the removal in ways which were often unexpected to me. While I expected the centrality to be much more apparent, in most cases it was implied more than directly told as a sad and traumatic story. It was clear that the removal had had a great impact – still felt – in the

lives of people. What also became clear was that the removal was not an 'episode', but was part of an experience whose effects echoed and endured beyond the act. For some people, 'forced removal' referred to a whole range of ruptures and disconnections from their communities. For others it was the culmination of a range of acts of dispossession, preceded by raids on community trading places, pass laws, clearance of slums: a range of government-based activities aimed at 'endorsing out' large groups of people from where they belonged. It was an extended story of being out of place.

In a sense one of my initial questions should have been phrased differently from 'How is the traumatic event represented?' as my analysis has led me to realise that perceiving the trauma as a single event is erroneous.

Disconnection and rupture were themes running through all the stories, even the most positive ones. While I expected narrators to start at the centring event as they had mostly done in their land claim interview, it surprised me that this was not the case in my research interviews. Some started by telling me about times leading up to 'the' removal; others started telling their stories from the present; a few started from what seemed, initially, to be a randomly-selected time and place. Some stories were told in very fragmented ways, while others were told as a series of cycles, transitions and ruptures. Some people even glossed over the act of removal and referred in greater detail to its aftermath. It was interesting that narrators did not always present themselves as victims and that some told their stories with a measure of triumphalism, seeing themselves as survivors who had managed to live until this time when restitution and return were possible.

Portelli (1991) refers to three vertical strata around which most narrators tend to arrange their narratives. Conspicuous in all these stories was their arrangement around the stratum of collective life in addition to the expected stratum of personal life. Personal struggles for survival were linked in the narrative to the communal struggle. Dislocation from place was also experienced as a rupture from the fabric of community life.

It is around the 'things of their concern' that the plots of the stories are configured. Mr NQ foregrounds repeated journeying, Mrs MN focuses on her struggle for stability in all of the places she has lived in, and Mrs GT draws attention to her battle with her identity in relation to communities where she lived. The episodes they select to talk about are infused with these. I had observed the frustration felt by some claimants in trying to tell their stories in the land claims process. Many felt that what was important to them, 'the things of their concern', had not been heard. Some even felt that they had not been believed. This, coupled with the slow pace at which the Land Commission has
been able to process the large volume of claims for settlement, contributed to a sense of disempowerment felt by some of the people. It is ironic that a process designed to bring about restitution should result in further frustration. In this paper I have occasionally referred to the tensions which existed between the administrative needs of processes such as this one, and the needs of communities of people who have been traumatised. While having the space to tell a life story is not equivalent to restitution, it does contribute towards giving a greater sense of belonging, especially to people who have been unvoiced in the past. It is also important that we do not 'conflate the attempts by politicians and lawyers to achieve political closure with the apartheid survivors' struggles to reach a degree of emotional closure' (Field 1999: 7). It is my belief that the land claims process has not adequately taken into account the nature of trauma and the power of the loss of place which it has to deal with in settling claims.

South Africa today is fertile ground for oral history projects. It has become a popular method of research in many disciplines. Many projects are focusing on developing local knowledge, and an increasing awareness of history and heritage has added to this prominence. Oral history as method makes it possible for people with limited literacy to engage in knowledge-production. In the ongoing spirit of restitution and redress, people's stories are being valued and documented. I see this research as contributing towards this body of knowledge which is focused on listening, learning and uncovering meaning.

Coming to the end of this research has not been the end of the process for me. I have emerged with a greater understanding of the nature of trauma and the multiplicity of meanings which we still need to understand in the lives of people. I have, however, managed to answer the question which I asked of myself at the start, about letting people forget. It seems that mostly people do not want to forget. They do want to move on but they cannot forget and they do not want their stories to fade into oblivion. Without fail, all the people I approached were willing to tell their stories even those who thought themselves to be 'bad' storytellers. In addition to making my written contribution towards the field of understanding trauma and interpreting meaning in personal narrative, I hope to be able to make their stories known. One way of doing this will be by ensuring that their stories are heard by the many people who access The District Six Museum's oral history collection on a regular basis.

In the words of Simon, Rosenberg and Eppert (2000: 7), this dissertation has been 'the story of telling the telling of the story.'
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APPENDIX 1

TENANT CLAIMANTS:

AFFIDAVIT

I the undersigned,

Surname                              First names

ID number                              Sex (M/F)

hereby swear that my present address is:  

Present full address ......................................................

... ...

and that the facts contained in this statement are within my personal knowledge unless the context indicates otherwise and are to the best of my belief true and correct.

1. RELATIONSHIP TO DISPOSSESSED

1.1 The area from which eviction took place was ........................................

1.2 I was myself evicted. Yes/No

1.3 If you were not yourself evicted then give the name of the person who was evicted (henceforth the dispossessed).

1.4 Describe your relationship to the person who was evicted:

The dispossessed was:

(A) my wife/husband/partner

(B) my father/mother, stepfather/stepmother, guardian (if you were a formally or informally adopted child)

(C) my grandparent
(D) the parent of my spouse (if the spouse is deceased and his/her children are under 18 years of age)

(E) the grandparent of my spouse (if the spouse is deceased and his/her children are under 18 years of age)

(F) other

1.5 Draw a family tree showing your relationship to the person who was evicted:

Example: Person evicted (name)
          |                           |
          Daughter (name)         |
          |                           |
          You

(Please supply a certified death certificate for each of the persons connecting you to the person who was evicted who is deceased (eg parent, grandparent).)

Name of deceased .................................................. Place .................................... Year of death ..............

Name of deceased .................................................. Place .................................... Year of death ..............

Name of deceased .................................................. Place .................................... Year of death ..............

1.6 Either: (a) If you the claimant were not yourself evicted, and are a child of the dispossessed, then do you have brothers and sisters; or, alternatively, does your deceased spouse have brothers and sisters? If so, please name them.

...........................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................

Or (b) If you the claimant were not yourself evicted, and are a grandchild of the dispossessed, then do your parents have brothers and sisters? Do these brothers and
sisters have children? Do you have brothers and sisters? Please name all these people.
...........................................................................................................................................................................
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...........................................................................................................................................................................

[If these are eligible claimants, you will need a power of attorney from them giving you the authority to make the claim on their behalf]

1.7 Are you aware of any relative of yours who has also made a claim for restitution as a result of a dispossession from the same property as you are claiming for? Yes/No
Name of person (s)
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................

2. THE DISPOSSESSION

Note: The person evicted (whether you or your relative described above) is referred to from here on as the DISPOSSESSED.

2.1 Address where the dispossessed lived when evicted:
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................

2.2 How many rooms did the household of the dispossessed occupy in the building?
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................

2.3 What was the size of the building? How many floors? How many rooms?
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................

2.4 How much rent did the dispossessed pay?
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................

2.5 Who was the rent paid to? State? Municipality? Private landlord? Other?
2.6. What was the name of the landlord (if appropriate)?

2.7. Was the dispossessed a tenant or a sub-tenant?

2.8. Period of time that the dispossessed lived in the area from which evicted (in years):

2.9. Date the dispossessed was evicted:

   Year............. Month.............

2.10. Do you have any written proof of the dispossessed’s residence at the address from which he/she was dispossessed. (e.g. lease agreement, rent slips, receipts or letters with name and address on etc)? Yes/No

   If not then it will be necessary to get two sworn affidavits from persons resident in the area from which the person was dispossessed testifying that the person was a resident at that address and was forcibly evicted.

2.11. Why was the dispossessed evicted?

2.12. Do you have any written official document regarding the dispossession? Yes/No

2.13. What area was the dispossessed evicted to?

2.14. Can you name any neighbours of the dispossessed before he/she was evicted?

   Name................................. Address.................................
   Name................................. Address.................................
   Name................................. Address.................................
   Name................................. Address.................................

2.15. Can you provide any other verbal evidence to substantiate the claim that the dispossessed lived at the address from which he/she was evicted?
3. THE ACT OF DISPOSSESSION

3.1 Write what you know of what happened from the time the dispossessed was informed about the eviction until the time he/she had to leave the house. If necessary, use additional paper for this.

4. COMPENSATION

4.1 Did the dispossessed receive any monetary compensation from the State? Yes/No.
If so, how much?

4.2 Do you consider the compensation adequate? If not, give reasons

4.3 Are you presently living in accommodation that you own? Yes/No

4.4 If not, do you pay rent. Yes/No  Or other?

4.5 (Optional to answer) What is your present average household income?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Range</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below R1000 a month</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R1000-R2000 a month</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2000-R3000 a month</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R3000-R5000 a month</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above R5000 a month</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.6 What form of compensation for dispossession would you be happy with? Please prioritise your choices, numbering the blocks 1 to 3. 1 is your first choice, 2 is your
second choice, and 3 is your third choice.

1. To receive monetary compensation
2. To improve present residence with monetary compensation
3. To be resettled on the land from which eviction took place
4. To be settled on alternative land with housing assistance

Signed (claimant) ........................................ Date ........................................

I certify that on this ...................... day of ...................... 2001 in my presence at
 ........................................ the claimant signed this affidavit and declared that
she:
a) knew and understood the contents thereof
b) had no objection to taking the oath, considered the oath to be binding on his/her
conscience and uttered the words "I swear that the contents of this affidavit are true, so
help me God" OR
c) objected to taking the oath and affirmed that the contents of this affidavit are true.

................................................................. Commissioner of Oaths

The following documents have been certified and attached:
Identity document ................................................................. Yes/No/Not Applicable
Death Certificate(s) ................................................................ Yes/No/Not Applicable
Marriage Certificate(s) ............................................................. Yes/No/Not Applicable
Affidavit(s) ............................................................................. Yes/No/Not Applicable
Power of Attorney .................................................................... Yes/No/Not Applicable
Documentary proof of residence .............................................. Yes/No/Not Applicable
APPENDIX 2A

Interview with Mr NQ
Interviewer: Bonita Bennett (BB)

BB
you can start anywhere you like in terms of your own life

NQ
alright
from 1948
we were aiming
to come to Cape Town

BB
from where was that?

NQ
from King Williamstown

BB
okay

NQ
so we went to PE
we tried to get somebody
and we had somebody
he had a big lorry
open lorry
he load us about 20
and
he cover us with a sail
we sit like that on the lorry
and he told us not to worry about
the provision
[?]
tomorrow morning we will be in Cape Town
alright
we go
and
following day
in the morning
before it get clear
it was dark
they stopped it
they drop us
in George
in that mountains

BB
Yes?

NQ
they say we must go into the forest
they will come late because they were frightened to be caught.
BB
who was the driver, whose lorry was it? 23

NQ
the lorry was 24a
somebody who was doing transport 24b
you see 25

BB
I see 26

NQ
and we went there to the forest we sit there 27
12 o’clock we feel hungry 28
and errr three of us went to look for a shop 29
we couldn’t get a shop 30
and errr we see an old man, sitting on a verandah 31
we ask him about a shop 32
he says no there’s no shop here 33
and we ask him 34a
we see he’s got a lot of sheep 34b
and we ask him if he can sell us one sheep 34c
he says ‘yes’ 35
‘how much you going to charge’ 36
he say he’s going to charge us 37a
that time 1 pound ten shillings 37b
and we pay him 38
we carry the sheep 39
and went to go to the forest 40
we slaughter him 41
we got no water 42
we got no salt 43
we make a fire 44
we make a braai 45
we eat and now we feel thirsty 46
somebody say, hey you must be careful for the lions 47a
because that time the lions were dangerous 47b
anyway we send somebody for the water, he brought us the water 48
we drink 49
we sit there the whole day 50
in the evening they came 51
they brought us 52a
a loaf of brown bread 52b
somebody say 53a
throw this bread to him, to his face, you see 53b
others say no man lets take the bread 54
alright we eat the dry bread 55
he load us again 56
ssshhh... 57
‘til we come to Paarl 58
and then we have a puncture 59
alright he say we must get off 60
he’s going to take us to the station 61
alright 62
he buy us some tickets for the train 63
and then he say we must get off to Elsies River 64
we don't know the places it's the first, the first time we come there
alright we get off
we are frightened for the police
[?] there's a place they call it Jakkalsvlei
we went there [?]

BB
did you know any people there in Jakkalsvlei?

NQ
no we don't know
ehhh ... others they got an address there
kaffir beer here umqombothi
alright we drink
what were we to do?
somebody say no
let's go to Langa
we went there by foot to Langa
to main barracks
where we know people
alright we come there
everyone where this single man says
alright we went there
we sit there
they shout
where you going to
why you come here
you are going to be caught.
alright
somebody say, hey
we must go to [?] for a dompas
alright, we went to
we come there we want a job [?] alright [?]
that day I say 'no'
my hands
I swear
I say 'no I'm going back again'
and then I went back to Langa
I had a reference for Dom & Longo

BB
Who?

NQ
Dom & Longo
steel
from PE
alright I asked them where is Dom & Longo
they say it's in Elsies River
I went there
there was a forest
alright don't say I'm rude
I tell the whole speech
that time there was ladies
who selling their body
Ohhh... what we going to do here?
[?]
they call us ‘come here come here come here’
let’s go
the other one came take my hands
‘come here’
we don’t understand Afrikaans
‘jy verstaan nie wat ie se nie, kom hieras’
alright [?]
this place is got such a thing like that
such nice ladies
alright I went to Elsies River
I got there
they say ‘no the reference is alright
have you got a dompas’
I say ‘no, I have a reference’
he say, ‘no you must go to native affairs’
that time native affairs was in Observatory
I go see Mr [?]
then I go there
Mr [?] he say ‘no
you must be classified as a coloured’
I say ‘alright
make it’
and then he make it
I’m in there
he took me there as a coloured
but mind you I’m staying at Langa
where the Bantu people stay
and then come Monday
this man
‘hey, dompas, dompas’
I show them this
he say ‘no man, you can’t stay here when
you got this Go to administrative Langa’
that time it was still Rogers [?]
at Observatory [?]
I say alright I’m going to make a dompas
and then I make a dompas
then he made me a dompas
alright
I took it to the office
and
to my work and then I work I work I work
I left
to Athlone
sorry

(interruption at door)

we went to Athlone
i go for a priest there
that was 1952

BB
Were you married already?
no not yet
I'm still a bachelor.
I was still young that time and
I was very nice-looking young man you see
(both laugh)
and alright
I paid for the house
[?]

BB
Where was this?

NQ
dear the doctor [?] what you call it?

BB
Habibia? The college?

NQ
in Johnson Road
there's a big church there
yes behind we stayed there
we stayed there so many years
we stay there we stay we stay we stay
and err
I tried to get somebody
somebody who could fit together
alright
I like too much church
for my lifestyle
I accept Jesus when I was 15 years
'til now
I say God is still wonderful
now they're moving us there
[?]
everything must go away
that time it was Nyanga West
'til I move here
and then I went to stay in Kraaifontein

BB
oh not in Nyanga West?

NQ
it was together

BB
oh

NQ
Nyanga West was this side
and end I had somebody there I know
to Kraaifontein
not Kraaifontein the one that is there
here here here it's near Section 4
it was Kraaifontein
we stayed there we built a church there
I stayed there and then I stay I stay and then come now to Guguletu now we moved to Guguletu and err ... em ... we stay and we stay in Guguletu 'til now

BB
So when did you get married?

NQ
err I married when err when I came to Kraaifontein I met somebody we married alright we stay we stay we stay we stay we got married we stay as a wife and a husband alright now on the other way I had a little trouble on my body you see she couldn't stand for it weak I was too weak for her so he got somebody who was staying together at Rylands alright he marry her alright and then I stay alone alright until I get my wife we meet together with my wife 1973 and err... 'til now it was very nice there, because we stayed very nice.

BB
In Rylands?

NQ
In Rylands and money we had all the money because we didn't have any expenses and just to buy food and pay rent not the rent actually it's ... for the plot?
but the building was your own?

yes it was mine yes
we were very sorry because err...
we were forced
to come out
all the Bantus
the Group Area
alright when we came here it was very difficult
but in the long run
we get used to it
and that time it was still rough
persons kill another and so on

where's this?
in this Nyanga West and so on

okay oh when it was new?

it was new yes
that time when we were moved there
and the coloured people they laughed at us they say 'ja'
they are going to throw you near the sea
alright we say it's alright
they didn't know they were going to be behind us
so when the Group Area comes
and then now comes Mitchells Plain also as well
so they tried to demolish this Nyanga West and Kraaifontein
and they built row the buildings
mind you
as I was growing up
I didn't get, err...
my father and mother
they passed away about '48 and '43
I went to stay to somebody
another place there
and I was clever to the school
but I couldn't have somebody to take me forward
and I went, my first work
I went to Natal
in the mines to try to pick me up

before you came to Cape Town
before I came to Cape Town
and from there, then I come back
I want to go forward for the school
but I didn’t have somebody to send me to school
when I came here to Cape Town and then I start
now to take night school and so on [?] and I couldn’t go any further
because I was
loving the church
and the old people liked me
and they took me to the church and
from there on [?] when I was young
I always go with the old people
and they liked me because I was a singer

I’m still singing
and errr...
it’s very hard
to grow up
on your own
but I thank God because
the lady which growed me up
she was a strict woman
I couldn’t even go play on the street
no
I must work in the house
and it was not my own mother
when I’m becoming when I grew up and then I say
why this mama treat me like that
just because I’m not her child
but now
I thank her
because she teach me everything
as people they used to say I am a jack-of-all-trades

now em...
inside outside
here
so she gave me
what can I say ...
A good background?
NQ
Err...
and I live well now
everywhere in the house
I cook
I cooked myself
BB
Really
NQ
uBmm ...
I baked
and now I'm an old-age man
BB
not so old
NQ
I'm not so old but
my legs
I can't do nothing
that time in Rylands
it was very nice because
we could do anything we like ...
BB
Like what?
NQ
we do parties we do jiving and so on
you see
and that time we were staying there like we stayed [?]
when the boy comes out of the bushes
we used to make
(gestures with hands and vocally to indicate party / celebration)
every day coloured people they like that you see
we stay very nice and there was no such
things to say that somebody steal somebody
and killing somebody
very nice there
you can go 12 o'clock 2 o'clock on the streets
you're not afraid of anything
BB
so why do you think why did it change when
you came to Kraaifontein, Nyanga West?
NQ
well, it's what-you-call-it
group area
because at that time
[?] was standing there
trying to take all the black people away
as they were saying
that's why they make the group area
BB
So why do you think the people’s behaviour changed when they came to a new place?

NQ
but now
because they put us together
one there one there one there
now we know one another
you see
that time you couldn’t go anybody or go to somebody
[?]
but the group area put people together
that’s why now
everybody now
just comes like that
and we did not know about those politics
those [?]
and so on
but now we’re still very nice
Interview with Mrs MN
Interviewer: Bonita Bennett (BB)

BB
I just to say your name
and say that I am interviewing Mrs Nonkelela
at NY 97

MN
number 8

BB
and she lives at number 8

MN
Guguletu

BB
Guguletu
you can start now
don’t worry about the tape

MN
alright
I came here in cape town
in 1948
I stayed in 8th avenue
in the shacks
but those shacks were burnt down
so with my husband
we moved to 10th avenue
where we got a plot
and we built there
four rooms
we were happy there
for a long time
I was doing some business
like vetkoeks
and sterilised dairy were delivering there
sour milk
I was selling it
tried to help my husband because
he was getting a small wage
from United Flock[?] in Voorterkker Road
by 1952
there come
came the pass laws
we were given those passes y’know
papers
like a receipt
you see those passes
then about '53 to '54
then came the removal
first were bachelors
you see
then our hose
come from the bachelors
the municipality
just had a trekker
what do you call it

BB
a tractor?

BB
a tractor
put a what you call it
that chain
and broke down
the shacks
everything is broken there
at the time i was doing small chars
that also happened to me
my house was blown down
all my things
two bedrooms a kitchen and a dining-room and those things in there

BB
the furniture as well?

MN
that's it
I had a small garage for milk
those cans from Sterilised Dairies
you see
but all the time
we were so happy
but once the pass laws came
we were in a hell
through their apartheid
you see
those who were doing the kaffir-beer business
they come
these police with long sticks
neh
tyhey kick off those drums with kaffir-beer
you see it makes unhealthy because it smells
and those who were selling liquor
the spirits
they make a hole and put them underground
they've got those long sticks
they do like this
you see
and feel at the bottom
you see
and they chop off those bottles
those bottles of brandy or anything
you see
so our life was like hell
not nice
no more paradise
you see
although we have that
the clinic
CAFDA
there was a bazaar too
There

BB
and this was all in Kensington?

MN
in Kensington
yes
and it was that time everything was so cheap
you see
then
since our home was removed in 1955 '56
now
with my husband I went to Transkei
he was sick from the accident
you see
he had an accident by train
you see
I never got even a cent from the accident
so we went to Transkei in
'56
then on 1 January he died
you see

BB
that same year
the next year?

MN
he had the accident in 1954
april
and in '56 we went to Transkei
then on 1 January
the new year
he died
you see
'57
then in 1959 I came back
to Cape Town
to work for my kids
because I had five children at that time
I stayed in
Koeburg
Burton street
for such a short time
and in Nyanga East
by my sister
for such a short time
then I stayed for five years now
in Primrose Street number 16
but as for the land claim they say
you must claim where you stayed for a long time
so I didn't manage it with Primrose Street
you see
where I stayed
then until
from Primrose Street they moved us to these houses
you see
so since my husband was dead
I was the breadwinner for my children
I tried to make businesses
always businesses as I am doing even now

BB
are you still busy with that?

MN
selling
yes I'm still busy
with cigarettes
chips and those powder chips
and sweets
such things
to assist this pension
so I'm happy with my life like that because I can't do otherwise
but my children are big now
we are married
and my sons have got also their houses with their wives
I'm staying with the oldest daughter
here
although she came
she came
with that particular time such as holidays
she's staying by her daughter-in-law in green
Summer Greens
in Summer Greens
you see
what else do you want to know
I'd rather stay in Kensington
as I told you
we called Kensington the paradise city
we were so happy there
everybody was doing this and this and this
so much by our small businesses
we had some savings
you see
we always
I always met other women by [?] post office
there's where we put our money in the post office
there
you see
Kensington was the best
by that time
but now it's occupied by the coloureds
it's a coloured location
so we can't go back there
you see
now here in Guguletu
there's no other place
since 1963 July 23rd I was given this house
I don't want to move nowhere
it's been a long time too I've been here
so I want my body
to lie on that number 8 house
when I'm going to the graveyard
you see
so you’re here to stay?

like to stay here

I think you are the second person who asked if I like to stay in this house

so I say

yes

I like it

I will never move again

since I left Kensington

it was paradise city for me

my life changed when I came to Guguletu

by that time I was still working

you see

working ‘til I get the pension

sit down

do the small business here

in the house

that’s all

and was it very different

coming to stay in Guguletu?

yes

because we were

we didn’t know each other

others came from town

others came from what y’call?

from Plumstead

those places

here we are from all the places

so we don’t know each other

but by staying we combine

no we know each other

you see

we are staying nicely

Visitor (arriving)

hello, let us pray...
**APPENDIX 2C**

**Interview with Gladys Thandeki**  
(Mrs GT)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>GT</strong></th>
<th><strong>BB</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I was born in Bellville</td>
<td>1a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>1b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Oakhurst</td>
<td>1c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my mother was Emma Thandeki</td>
<td>2a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and her surname was Emma Thandeki</td>
<td>2b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dourie tyd</td>
<td>3a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ons het lekker dae gehad</td>
<td>3b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en 'n bietjie sleg maar nie so baies nie</td>
<td>3c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>want</td>
<td>4a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ons</td>
<td>4b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ek moes nou Gladys van Wyk gewees het</td>
<td>4c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>GT</strong></th>
<th><strong>BB</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I had to be Gladys van Wyk now</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>GT</strong></th>
<th><strong>BB</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hoe dan so?</td>
<td>how come?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>because hulle kon nie</td>
<td>6a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daar waar ons gewoon het</td>
<td>6b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>met kleurlinge en witmense</td>
<td>6c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vir ons gaan anvat nie</td>
<td>6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ek dink later in die jare</td>
<td>7a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so na vyf teen jaar</td>
<td>7b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toe laat hulle ons uit trek</td>
<td>7c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ons moet Guguletu toe gaan</td>
<td>8a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toe kon ons mos nie daai tyd Guguletu nie</td>
<td>8b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en toe vat hulle ons</td>
<td>9a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toe se hulle ons gaan Mau-Mau toe</td>
<td>9b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die Mau-Mau</td>
<td>9c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is Nyanga East</td>
<td>9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OK</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en toe</td>
<td>11a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trek ons nou daarna toe</td>
<td>11b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na die Mau Mau</td>
<td>11c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die plek se naam is Mau Mau</td>
<td>11d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maar is Nyanga East</td>
<td>11e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toe woon ons mos daar</td>
<td>11f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maar</td>
<td>12a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voor</td>
<td>12b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ek het in</td>
<td>12c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RC onder</td>
<td>12d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RC Skool</td>
<td>12e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>BB</strong></th>
<th><strong>GT</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OK. In Bellville</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Bellville</td>
<td>OK In Bellville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Hartle</td>
<td>14a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ons meeneer was Mr Hartle</td>
<td>14b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our teacher was Mr Hartle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>GT</strong></th>
<th><strong>BB</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in Bellville?</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Bellville?</td>
<td>in Bellville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Bellville ja</td>
<td>16a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Bellville yes</td>
<td>in Oakdale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Oakdale</td>
<td>16b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en</td>
<td>17a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dou tyd was lekker tyd</td>
<td>17b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that time was lovely</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentence</td>
<td>Number(s) in Document</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maar net</td>
<td>18a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die verskillende</td>
<td>18b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ons moet nou nie ‘Thandeki’ gewees het nie</td>
<td>18c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ons moet nou nie ‘van Wyk’</td>
<td>18d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nou waarvandaan kom daai van ‘van wyk’?</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ek dink</td>
<td>20a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my ma se broer</td>
<td>20b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>het seker gedaan ‘van Wyk’</td>
<td>20c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toe draai tot ‘Thandeki’</td>
<td>20d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moes ons nou</td>
<td>21a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nou ons eie plot</td>
<td>21b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my ma – eie plot gekry het</td>
<td>21c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eie plot gekry</td>
<td>21d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en toe later aan</td>
<td>21e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toe’s dit nou my ma se eie plot</td>
<td>21f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en</td>
<td>22a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toe trek ons zou van daai klein pliknetjie af</td>
<td>22b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toe gaan ons na my ma se plek toe</td>
<td>22c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my ma se eie plot</td>
<td>22d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en toe woon ons lekker daar</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en</td>
<td>24a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die verskillende dou tyd en die tyd</td>
<td>24b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is die geld besigheid nou</td>
<td>24c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ons moes water ge-betaal het</td>
<td>24d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daai tyd?</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dit was pennie</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ons het nie die sent nie</td>
<td>27a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pennie</td>
<td>27b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en iemand wat water kom vra</td>
<td>28a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is 2 pennie</td>
<td>28b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en</td>
<td>29a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vleis was baie goedkoop</td>
<td>29b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as my ma slaghuis toe gaan</td>
<td>29c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dan weet sy</td>
<td>29d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as sy</td>
<td>29e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daai was nou nie</td>
<td>29f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tien rand nie</td>
<td>29g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is was vyf pond</td>
<td>29h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vyf pond is die vleis</td>
<td>29i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dan verkoop sy ook daarvan want sy</td>
<td>29j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>het mos alg vertrekke geahd</td>
<td>30a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en die mense wat daar woon</td>
<td>30b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koop hieraas by ons</td>
<td>30c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en brood e vetkoek en alles</td>
<td>30d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>het sy verkoop</td>
<td>30e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soos ek nou besigheid hier by maak</td>
<td>30f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en</td>
<td>31a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ons het</td>
<td>31b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘n winkel waar’ ons altyd koop</td>
<td>31c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is Chinese winkel</td>
<td>31d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
en 'n ander winkel was 32a and another shop was
ons 32b we
ek weet nie 32c I don't know
ek ken nie die man se naam nie 32d I don't know the man's name
maar by was 'n Jood 32e but he was a Jew
toe gee ons 32f so we gave him
'n naa 32g a name
hy's 'No Hey' 32h he was 'No Hey'
want hy roep 32i because he shouted
by staan daar baitekant 32j he stands there outside
dan roep hy 32k then he shouts
'hey hey hey is goedkoop hieres 32m it's cheap here
kom kom kom kom 32n come come come come
yizani! 32o yizani
yizani! 32p yizani
toe gaan ons nou 32q then we went now
toe noem ons 32r then we called him
'No Hey' 32s 'No Hey'
dan gaan ons na No Hey toe 32t then we would go to No Hey
'No Hey' 32u 'No Hey'
dan No Hey gee ons 32v then No Hey would give us
in sent brood 32w a cent's bread
daat tyd het ons nie sente gehad nie 33a that time we did not have cents
ons het pennie brood 34 we had penny bread
dan gaan ons 35a then we went
dan kry ons 35b then we got
in die skool was lekker 36a at school it was lovely
ons het melk gekry in die skool 36b we got milk at school
butter 36c butter
en kaas 36d and cheese
winter tyd is dit soep 32e winter time there was soup
winter tyd is warme melk 32f winter time there was milk
brood en kaas en alles 32g bread and cheese and everything
ten toe moes ons nou hier 37a and then we had to come here
swaar kom kry het 37b to struggle
in Guguletu 37c in Guguletu
in Mau-Mau 37d in Mau-Mau
daar in Mau-Mau 37e there in Mau-Mau
wat ons daar gekom het 38a when we got there
toe bly ons lekker 38b we lived very nicely
die verskillende daar weer 38c the difference there again
dis twee vertrekke 38d it was two rooms
dining room en 'n bedroom 38e a dining room and a bedroom
een slaapkamer 38f one bedroom
ons was nou 39a we were now
klomp mense 39b lots of people
daai mense 39c those people
wat onder my ma gehuur het 39d who rented from my mother
moes ons ook saam getrek het 39e also had to move with us
toe moes ons nou op die grand slaap 39f now we had to sleep on the floor
en anders onder die tafel 39g and others under the table
en anders onder die bed 39h others under the bed
want ons is klomp 39i because we were many
ons was klomp 39j we were many
vyftien 39k fifteen
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>toe as ons daar kom then when we came there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dan moet hulle weer onder my ma se naam wees then they had to stay under my mother's name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dan kan hulle kry die shacks 40a then they could get the shacks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ons noem dit 'matshoshomba' 41a we called that 'matshoshomba'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>BB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>wat beteken dit 'matshoshomba'? 42 what does that mean 'matshoshomba'?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>GT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>'matshoshomba' beteken 'shacks' 43a 'matshoshomba' means 'shacks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ja die shacks ja 43b yes the shacks yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>ja 43c yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>dan kry hulle nou plekke daar 44a then they got places there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>hulle eie plekke 44b their own places</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>daarvandaan af is dit net ek en my ma 45a then that was just me and my mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>toe het my ma nou gesterf en toe sukkel ek nou alleenig 45b then my mother died and I struggled alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>toe sukkel ek 45c then I struggled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>toe sukkel ek 45d then I struggled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>tot laat ek nu ander mense gekry het 45e until I found some people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>wat saam met ons in Bellville gewoon het 45f who had lived with us in Bellville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>toe help hulle vir my 45g then they helped me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>toe kom kry my eie plek 45h then I got my own place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>1965 46i 1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>van 46a from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Mau-Mau af 46b Mau-Mau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>na Guguletu 46c to Guguletu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>en na Guguletu 46d and in Guguletu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>toe wat my ma nou sterf 46e when my mother dies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>toe is dit 'n hietjie swaarder vir my 46f then it was a bit harder for me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>die lewe 46g life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>want 46h because</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>ou tyd 46i in the old days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>jou ouers 46j when your parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>oorlede 46k died</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>dan het jy nie plek dan vat die council daal huis 46l then you have no place because the council takes the house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>BB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>oh 47 oh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>GT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>ja 48 yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>soos hier naaier door 49a like here next door</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>nou wat ons hier in Guguletu woon 49b now that we live here in Guguletu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>die mammie was 'n kleurling 49c the mother was coloured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>wat die ou sterf 49d when the father died</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>toe ja hulle hom uit 49e they chased her out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>die council 49f the council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>toe moes hy 49g the she had to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>BB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>was dit jankal? 50 was that long ago?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>GT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>ja dis jankal 51a yes it was</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>sy's in Bonteheuwel 51b she's in Bonteheuwel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>sy en haar kinders en haar kleinkinders 51c she and her children and grandchildren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>so ons sukkel hier in Guguletu 52 so we struggle here in Guguletu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
is meer nie soos tevore nie 53a it's not like before
want daar in Bellville het ons lekker gewoon 53b because in Bellville we lived very nicely
nee ons het lekker gewoon dan 53c no we lived very nicely there
want my ma het haar eie plekke 53d because my mother had her own little place
even dourietyd 53e even that time
voordat sy haar eie plek gekry het 53f before she had her own place
ons het nie baie gesukkel nie 53g we did not struggle much
die difference was net die van 53h the difference was just about the surname
want ons moet nou 53i because now we had to be
ekleurlinge gewees het 53j coloured
BB
so Gladys verkies daai tyd? 54 so you prefer that time, Gladys?
GT
ek verkies daai tyd 55
BB
bon hoe dink Gladys hoe sal die lewe gewees het as Gladys hulle daar gebleb het? 56 now what do you think that life would have been like if you had to stay there?
GT
lekker 57a lovely
lekker want ons het nog mense 57b because we still have people
my family is nog in elsiess 57c my family is till in Elsies
hulle woon lekker daar 57d they live there very nicely
BB
is dit? 58 is that so?
GT
ja 59a yes
ok het family 59b I have family
in elsiess 59c in Elsies
ons het saam uitgetrek! i9d we moved out together
toe trek hulle weer soonto in elsiess 59e then they moved back to Elsies
BB
waarvandaan? 60 from where?
GT
van Mau-Mau af toe gaan hulle Elsiess 61a from Mau-Mau they went to Elsies
Ja 61b yes
BB
onhou gladys nog die tyd van die trek? do you still remember the time of the move, Gladys?
GT
hulle het nie eers vir ons gewaarsku nie 62a they did not even warn us
hulle se net 62b the just told
one moet by 'n plek gaan 62c we had to go to a place
daar waar ons net swart mense is 62d where there were just black people
toe ons 62e then we
BB
het hulle dieselde dag gese? hoe 't hulle gemaak? 63 did they do this on the same day? how did they do this?
GT
ja 64 yes
sleg 65 bad
ons het gehuil 66 we cried
ons het 67 we
dit was baie sleg gewees 68a it was very bad
dit was baie, baie etger 68b it was very very bad
want die lorries staan klaar al hier 68c because the lorries were standing there
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Original Text</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>en</td>
<td>die mans met die byle</td>
<td>and the people with the axes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en wat is die</td>
<td>crowbar?</td>
<td>what's that thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toe ons moes so getrek het</td>
<td>they were there already</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toe gee hulle ons daai</td>
<td>then we had to move like that</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ons was by Q3A in Mau-Mau</td>
<td>we were at Q3A in Mau-Mau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die Q3A is die huis nommer</td>
<td>Q3A is the house number</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hulle was al klaar hier</td>
<td>they were there already</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toe gee hulle ons daai</td>
<td>then they gave us that</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>het die mense nie geweet voor die tyd dat hulle moet trek nie?</td>
<td>did people not know before the time that they would have to move?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ons het nie</td>
<td>we did not</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ons het nie</td>
<td>we did not</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hulle het nie</td>
<td>they did not</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>celselde dag gekom en gese gaan?</td>
<td>they came and told on the same day?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ons het nie onse eie plekke</td>
<td>we did not have our own places</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nie</td>
<td>not</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hier</td>
<td>here</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hier wat ons nou woon</td>
<td>here where we are now staying</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dit was bosse</td>
<td>there were bushes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daar bo daar ly</td>
<td>at the top at the top</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daar waar die shacks nou is</td>
<td>there where the shacks now are</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daai was 'n dam daai</td>
<td>that was a dam that</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daai was 'n dam</td>
<td>that was a dam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dan kom ons van die skool af</td>
<td>then we came from school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ek het mos</td>
<td>I could not</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ons kon nie</td>
<td>we could not</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa gepraat het nie</td>
<td>speak Xhosa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>want ons was onder 'n bruin skool</td>
<td>because we were at a coloured school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en dan toe</td>
<td>and then</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toe gaan ek mos</td>
<td>I went to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na Roomse skool toe</td>
<td>a Roman school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ons het van Mau-Mau af ne</td>
<td>we came from Mau-Mau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Nyanga East</td>
<td>in Nyanga East</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toe kom ons swem hjersa</td>
<td>to come swim here</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaal kaal kaal</td>
<td>bare bare bare</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dit was lekker tevore</td>
<td>it was so lovely then</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ons het nie geweet van</td>
<td>we did not know about</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die is 'n meisie die is 'n jong nie</td>
<td>this is a boy this is a girl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ons trek sommer vir ons kaal kaal</td>
<td>we stripped ourselves bare bare</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dan swem ons dan swem ons</td>
<td>then we swam and swim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dan gaan ons weer huistoe</td>
<td>then we went home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wie het die mense?</td>
<td>who were the people?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ek dink is council</td>
<td>I think it was the council</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>want hulle het mos syeralle gehad</td>
<td>because they had overalls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en ja</td>
<td>and yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so Gladys onthou nog?</td>
<td>so you still remember Gladys?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ek onthou daai tyd
I remember that time
was sleg man
it was bad man
was sleg
was bad
ons het eers nie
we did not even
by die skole eers gewaarsku nie
get a warning at the schools
ever die mense het nie eers by die werk
gewaarsku nie
and people did not get warnings at work
dit was nie lekker nie
it was not nice
wat ons getrek het
when we moved
dit was nie lekker nie
it was not nice
daarom
that is why
het die ander sommer
others just came
weer uitgekom uit Guguletu
out of Guguletu
Nyanga East
Nyanga East
toe gaan hulle weer Elsies toe
then they went to Elsies
BB
BB
toe het hulle plek daar gekry?
did they find place to live there?
ja
yes
ek dink het seker shacks gekry
I think they first lived in the shacks
dan kry hulle hulle eie plekke
then they got their own places
maar nou
but now
hulle' eie plekke
they have their own places
in Elsies
in Elsies
BB
BB
dit was nie lekker nie
it was not nice
daarom
that is why
het die ander sommer
others just came
weer uitgekom uit Guguletu
out of Guguletu
Nyanga East
Nyanga East
toe gaan hulle weer Elsies toe
then they went to Elsies
BB
BB
ja
yes
nou
now
nou's die lewe
now life is
baie verskillend
very different
ek kan nie deur oopmaak as 'n mens klop
een die seker shacks gekry
I can't open the door when someone knocks
ek kan nie vra nie
I can't ask
wie's jy nie
who is it
dan se hulle hulle's politie
then they say they are the police
en as jy oopmaak
and when you open
dan maak hulle nou vir jou dood
then they kill you
ons is nie safe hier nie
we are not safe here
en ander ding
and another thing
jie loop sommer nie
if you walk
jie kan enige tyd
you can anytime
is nie groot manne nie
it's not the grown men
is klein kinders
it's the small children
hulle stuur die klein kinders
they send the small children
hulle stuur die klein kinders
they send the small children
soor die man wat laas
like the man who last time
twé manne hier hier in die gang
two men here in the lane
hier in die gang
here in the gang

(INTERrupted BY CUSTOMER)

GT
 hier in die gang
here in the lane
ek gaan
I went
Rylands toe
to Rylands
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Line</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wat ek van Rylands af kom</td>
<td>94c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klim uit die bus uit</td>
<td>94d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die jonge daar in</td>
<td>94e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>94f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sê hulle</td>
<td>94g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jule wat hier van die busse af kom</td>
<td>94h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daar's iemand wat doodgeskiet is</td>
<td>94i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vanneer was dit?</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twee maande</td>
<td>96a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>last twee maande tyd</td>
<td>96b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ons wat weer 'n ander draai    [?]</td>
<td>96c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na 150</td>
<td>96d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huioste</td>
<td>96e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die man</td>
<td>96f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hy't met 'n kind</td>
<td>96g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is nie skool nie</td>
<td>96h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dis 'n créêche kind</td>
<td>96i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en hy</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hy het net vraag of vir die kind gekoop nie</td>
<td>97a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die jongens seker miskien</td>
<td>97b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die geld gesien van die man</td>
<td>97c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en 'n sel</td>
<td>97d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en ja die man</td>
<td>97e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hulle wat die sel</td>
<td>97f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en die man baklei sos die mense se</td>
<td>97g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by</td>
<td>97h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toe baklei by</td>
<td>97i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toe wê hy nie met die sel nie né</td>
<td>97j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toe skiet hulle vir hom dood</td>
<td>97k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en die kind</td>
<td>97l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hame</td>
<td>97m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'pappa pappa pappa</td>
<td>97n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pappa staan op pappa</td>
<td>97o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pappa staan op pappa</td>
<td>97p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dis 'n klein kind</td>
<td>97q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en</td>
<td>97r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>een dag weer</td>
<td>97s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iemand klop by ander huis</td>
<td>97t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en</td>
<td>97u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en hy wêr nie</td>
<td>97v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hy maak ope</td>
<td>97w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dan skiet hulle bom dood</td>
<td>97x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daar by my kind            [?]</td>
<td>97y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daai mense was uit vir 'n naweek</td>
<td>97z</td>
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<tr>
<td>toe los hulle hulle kinders</td>
<td>98a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hulle huis is mooi gebou</td>
<td>98b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en hulle's 'n bel van die huis af</td>
<td>98c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en toe press hulle die bel</td>
<td>98d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na die huis toe</td>
<td>98e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hier in Guguletu?</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die kinders vra tog</td>
<td>102a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the children still asked</td>
<td>102b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
wie is dit 102c 'who is it'
'maak oop 103a 'open up'
dis polise' 103b 'it's the police'
en die kind maak oop 104a and the child opened
'en die kinders maak oop 104b and the children opened
wat die kinders ope maak 104c when the children opened
vat al die geldjies wat in die huis is 105a they took all the money from the house
'en die kloorsies en earings en alles en alles 105b and the watches and the earrings and everyhting
'en alles 105c and everything
al die gouve goeters 105d all the gold things
is nie lekker hier nie 106a it's not very nice here
is nie 106b it's not
is nie lekker nie 106c it's not nice
BB
BB
as Gladys nou 'n keuse gehad het, waar wil 107 if you had a choice noe, Gladys, where would you
Gladys bly? choose to live?
Gt
Gt
ek 108 me
ek wil 109a I want to
as dit nie Elsies is nie 109b if it's not Elsies
of Bellville 109c or Bellville
tussen bruin mense 109d with coloured people
ek kies 109e I choose
tussen bruin mense 109f with coloured people
seker is om ek grootgeword het met hulle 109g maybe it's because I grew up with them
BB
BB
maar partykeer gaan dit net so woes daar. 110 but sometimes the crime is as bad there
GT
GT
maar ek is bang hier 111 but I'm scared here
you know 112a you know
my klein kinders gaan hier in willows skool 112b my grandchildren go to the Willow school
daar oorkant 112c there on the other side
Heieveld se kant 112d near Heideveld
oor kant die stasie 112e opposite the station
ja 113a yes
daar's twee dae last maand 113b there were two days last month
wat hulle gese het 113c that they said
die kinders moet nie skool toe kom nie 113d the children must not come to school
ek 113e me
my kinders 114a my children
my klein kinders 114b my grandchildren
is ook in bruin skole 114c they are also in coloured schools
toe waarsku hulle vir ons 115a they warned us
'ts moet nie kinders skool toe stuur nie 115b we must not send our children to school
ons 115c we
want dit is nou gevaarlik vir hulle 115d because it was too dangerous for them
want die gangs 115e because the gangs
soos 115f like
soos 115g like
ek weet nou nie 115h I don't know
was dit vroeg die jaer 115i was it earlier this year
[?] 115j [?]
maar stil 117a but still
ek kies tussen bruin mense 117b I prefer with the coloured people
nie hier nie 118a not here
nee 118b no
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>is waar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120a</td>
<td>ek is nie tevrede nie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120b</td>
<td>ek is eieig nie tevrede nie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120c</td>
<td>ek het nie lewe nie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120d</td>
<td>nie lekke lewe nie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120e</td>
<td>want die kinders het nie respek nie man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>maar 'n mens moet maar aangaan se?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>die swaar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123a</td>
<td>kinders het nie skande nie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123b</td>
<td>skande en respek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124a</td>
<td>ander vrou sy's nier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124b</td>
<td>net hier oorkent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124c</td>
<td>is a ouma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124d</td>
<td>sy bly met haar kinders en kleinkinders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124e</td>
<td>maar die kleinkinders is omskof met die ouma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>maar die kleinkinders is omskof met die ouma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125a</td>
<td>is swaar hier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125b</td>
<td>kinders wil nie werk nie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125c</td>
<td>maar 'n mens moet maar aangaan se?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>maar miskien sukkel hulle daars nie werk nie?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128a</td>
<td>ek weet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128b</td>
<td>want my</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128c</td>
<td>met die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128d</td>
<td>kleinkinders van my</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128e</td>
<td>die ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128f</td>
<td>sy'vôr jaar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128g</td>
<td>sy kan nie werk nie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128h</td>
<td>werk is skaars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>dis hoekom ek hierso kom wyn verkoop het</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129a</td>
<td>dis skaars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129b</td>
<td>daar's nie geld nie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129c</td>
<td>werk is skaars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129d</td>
<td>daar's nie werk nie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129e</td>
<td>met die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>se dokter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>se dokter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132a</td>
<td>hij al nou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132b</td>
<td>to help Jeanette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132c</td>
<td>vir Jeannette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132d</td>
<td>kere kere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132e</td>
<td>many times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>dankie Gladys enigiets anders?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135a</td>
<td>wat maak laat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135b</td>
<td>wat has dit maar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136a</td>
<td>ek hou nie wanta drank nie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136b</td>
<td>want ek gebruik nie drank nie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137a</td>
<td>maar die om ek sukkel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Translation:**

1. It’s true
2. I am not satisfied
3. I am really not satisfied
4. I don’t have a life
5. not a good life
6. because the children do not have respect
7. but I suppose a person just has to go on, hey?
8. it’s hard
9. children have no shame
10. shame or respect
11. another woman over there
12. just on the other side
13. she’s a grandmother
14. but the grandchildren are rude to their grandmother
15. It’s hard here
16. children do not want to work
17. maybe they are struggling to find work?
18. yes
19. I know
20. because my
21. with the
22. my grandchildren
23. the mother
24. she’s got four years
25. she can’t find work
26. work is scarce
27. that’s why I have to come here to sell wine
28. it’s scarce
29. there’s no money
30. there’s no work
31. her doctor
32. at Red Cross
33. he has already
34. he ‘phoned all the places that he knows
35. restaurants
36. could find no work
37. thank you Gladys anything else
38. yes
39. that’s the reason why
40. what does it matter
41. I don’t like wine
42. because I don’t drink wine
43. but because I’m struggling
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>137b</td>
<td>I thought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137c</td>
<td>this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137d</td>
<td>I must</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138a</td>
<td>the little money that she gets for the small baby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138b</td>
<td>the hundred and thirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>the grant?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140a</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140b</td>
<td>she must give me hundred rand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141b</td>
<td>then she can use the thirty rand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141c</td>
<td>then I said</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141d</td>
<td>so that I can buy wine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141e</td>
<td>and sell it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141f</td>
<td>then I can get</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141g</td>
<td>because the hospital bill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141h</td>
<td>I can’t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142a</td>
<td>because the hospital bill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142b</td>
<td>is three thousand rand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142c</td>
<td>I can’t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>what is that for?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144a</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144b</td>
<td>she’s half blind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>the one who’s eyes were so red?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147a</td>
<td>I think there were</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147b</td>
<td>I think that they had visitors from overseas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147c</td>
<td>I think there were</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147d</td>
<td>I think that they had visitors from overseas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147e</td>
<td>she had to write down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147f</td>
<td>how her life is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147g</td>
<td>and then she said</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147h</td>
<td>they live with their grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147i</td>
<td>because their mother is not working</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147j</td>
<td>their grandmother helps them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147k</td>
<td>with everything and everything</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>how old is she?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>she’s eleven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>so at least you are able to earn something, Gladys?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>thank you very much Gladys</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 3A

RELEASE FORM FOR FIELD RECORDINGS AND INTERVIEWS

Thank you for sharing this interview or recording. Please read this form, and sign it if you agree to the conditions. By signing this form, you give your permission for this recording (and any photographs taken during the recording) to be used for research purposes.

RECORDING DETAILS
Date of recording or interview: 30/09/2002
Location or address of recording or interview: No. II, NY, 97, Guguletu
No. of Tapes recorded: 1

AGREEMENT DETAILS between Mr Selbourne Nq6ano and Bonita Bennett

Date (of agreement): 17/07/2003
Place: Guguletu
Name of interviewee or informant (printed): Mr Selbourne Nq6ano
Address: No II, NY, 97, Guguletu

I would like to remain anonymous when quoted in any research papers.

I would like the identities of any people mentioned by me in the interview to remain anonymous.

I have no objection to my interview being used for publication if this becomes possible at a later stage. I would like to be informed if this takes place.

I hereby give permission for my recorded interview to be placed in an archive of the researcher’s choice, so that it can be used by other researchers. I do, however, wish to be informed of which archive this will be placed in.

Informant’s Signature: [Signature]
Co-signed by interviewer: [Signature] Bennett
Date: 17/07/2003
APPENDIX 3B
RELEASE FORM FOR FIELD RECORDINGS AND INTERVIEWS

Thank you for sharing this interview or recording. Please read this form, and sign it if you agree to the conditions. By signing this form, you give your permission for this recording (and any photographs taken during the recording) to be used for research purposes.

RECORDING DETAILS
Date of recording or interview: 17/07/2003
Location or address of recording or interview: NY 97, No 11, Guguletu
No. of Tapes recorded: 1

AGREEMENT DETAILS between Mrs. Margaret Nonkelela and Bonita Bennett

Date (of agreement): 17/07/2003
Place: NY 97, No 11
Name of interviewee or informant (printed): Mrs. M. Nonkelela
Address: NY 97, No 8, Guguletu

I would like to remain anonymous when quoted in any research papers. [ ]
I would like the identities of any people mentioned by me in the interview, to remain anonymous. [ ]
I have no objection to my interview being used for publication if this becomes possible at a later stage. [ ]
I hereby give permission for my recorded interview to be placed in an archive of the researcher’s choice, so that it can be used by other researchers. I do, however, wish to be informed of which archive this will be placed in. [ ]

Informant’s Signature: Nompumulo Margaret Nonkelela
Co-signed by interviewer: Bonita Bennett
Date: 17/07/2003
Thank you for sharing this interview or recording. Please read this form, and sign it if you agree to the conditions. By signing this form, you give your permission for this recording (and any photographs taken during the recording) to be used for research purposes.

**RECORDING DETAILS**

Date of recording or interview: 14-10-2003
Location or address of recording or interview: Ny 46, No. 23, Guguletu
No. of Tapes recorded: 1

**AGREEMENT DETAILS between Mrs. Gladys Thandeka and Bonita Bennett**

Date (of agreement): 14-10-2003
Place: Guguletu
Name of interviewee or informant (printed): Mrs. Gladys Thandeka
Address: Ny 46, No. 23, Guguletu

I would like to remain anonymous when quoted in any research papers.
I would like the identities of any people mentioned by me in the interview, to remain anonymous.
I have no objection to my interview being used for publication if this becomes possible at a later stage. I would like to be informed if this takes place.
I hereby give permission for my recorded interview to be placed in an archive of the researcher's choice, so that it can be used by other researchers. I do, however, wish to be informed of which archive this will be placed in.

Informant's Signature: [Signature]
Co-signed by interviewer: [Signature]
Date: 14-10-2003