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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 :

Signed by candidate

Date : 18.02.05

University of Cape

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CD of the three recorded interviews

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

- 1945 Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act
- 1950 Group Areas Act
- 1951 The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, No. 52
- 1952 Native Laws Amendment Act
- 1979 Slums Clearance Act, No. 76
- 1977 Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Act
- 1986 Urbanisation 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 researcher¹. 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

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-period² 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 recounts³, 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 truth⁴ 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.

³ 'Recount': a category of personal narrative used by Martin and Plum (1997: 301) to refer to a '...sequence of events that are presented by their teller as unfolding unproblematically...'

⁴ The TRC made allowance for various notions of truth. *Factual or forensic truth* which corresponds with the familiar legal or scientific notion of bringing to light factual, corroborated evidence; *personal or narrative truth* which affirmed the value of telling stories to give meaning to the multi-layered experiences of the South African story; *social truth* which refers to the truth derived through dialogue; *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’¹ 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: 328, 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, an 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: 15)

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 pretextual 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 ***Interviewing applicants for refugee status (1995:59-58)***, sub-section *Relevant factors for assessing credibility*, indicates that:

...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, *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 *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 '... 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 '... a back-and-forth movement between the past and the present that furthermore relates to the future' (Brockmeier 2000: 54). Furthermore, '(B)ecause 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.

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: 85). 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

subconscious. 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*.² 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 '(W)hile 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 temporality³ 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 recount⁴ 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.

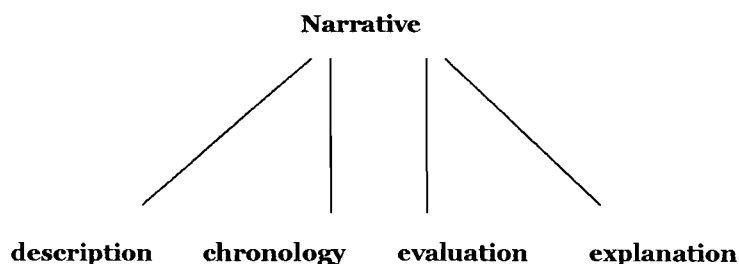


Fig. 2. 1: Discourse components of narrative (Ochs and Capps 2001: 19)

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 storying 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”.⁵

“Now, where will I find my beginning?”⁶

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)

⁵ Aristotle *Poetics* (50b26)

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 Trastulli⁷ 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 lines, 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 imprints 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 Terni, 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 factual 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 '(T)heir 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 brutally 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 *cotemporality* 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: 6) 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 over-generalised 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: 185). 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)⁸. Heidegger (1962, referred to by Ricouer 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.

⁸ *Memoria, contuitus* 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 *cotemporality* 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*)⁹ 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

⁹*das Vorhandene* is a term used by Heidegger to describe the 'things' in life which are focal to our lives, and which draws 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 on 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 succession of events in any story’ (1980: 170-172).

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:

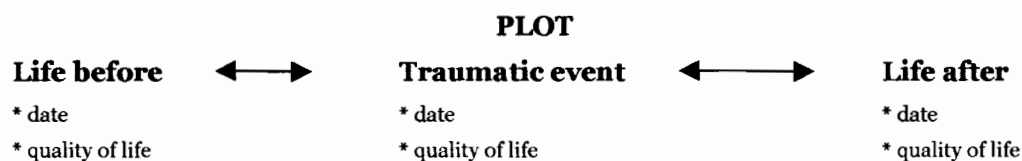


Figure 2.2: Characteristic configuration of plot

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.

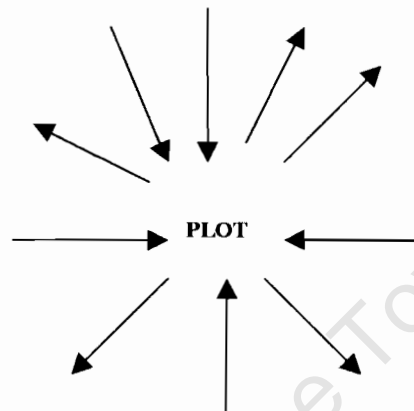


Figure 2.3: The centrality of plot to narrative

→ 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 Ricouer’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 precede 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'¹ (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-creation². 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 Caruth, 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 levelled 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 concur: '... 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: 205), 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, tonal 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

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 historicity 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-entextualisation

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.

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 limitation, as the formations which I have discerned correspond more to cyclical representation than tabulation.

Table 4.1 : Parts of the story

PART OF THE STORY	LOCATION / DESCRIPTION OF JOURNEY	INTERRUPTION	LINES
Part 1 starts	Start of journey from King Williamstown		1-18f
		Interruption 1: driver conceals passengers in forest along the way	19a-50
Part 1 resumes	Leaving forest, coming to Cape Town		51-57
		Interruption 2: truck has breakdown in Paarl, just outside Cape Town; journey ends unexpectedly	58-64
Part 1 ends abruptly	Paarl, outside of Cape Town		64
Part 2 starts	Arrive in Jakkalsvlei; moves to Langa		65-80
		Interruption 3: can't stay because they don't have passes	76a-82
Part 2 ends	Manage to get passes		131b
Part 3 starts	Moves to Athlone		132a-154
		Reminiscence 1: refers back to life in Athlone	191-199
		Reminiscence 2: talks about youth	200a-214b
			215a-257c
		Reminiscence 3: refers to life in Athlone / Rylands	258a-268
		Reminiscence 4: compares different phases of life	270-281c
Part 4 ends. End of narrative			282

4.1.3 Plotting a beginning

<i>Alright</i>	2a
<i>from 1948</i>	2b
<i>we were aiming</i>	2c
<i>to come to Cape Town</i>	2d
...	
<i>From King Williamstown</i>	7

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; 200a-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

so 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

and we went there to the forest we sit there	27
12 o' clock we feel hungry	28
and er, three of us went to look for a shop	29
we couldn't get a shop	30
and er 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 one pound ten shillings	37b
and we pay him	38
we carry the sheep	39
and went to go to the forest	40

Moving from Athlone to Nyanga West/ Kraaifontein

that time when we were moved there	209b
and the coloured people they laughed at us they say ja	210a
they are going to throw you near the sea	210b
alright, we say it's alright	211
they didn't know thy were going to be behind us	212
so when the Group Areas comes	213a
and then comes Mitchell's Plain also as well	213b
so they tried to demolish this Nyanga West and Kraaifontein	214a
and they built new the buildings	214b

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

others say no man let's take the	54	
alright we eat the dry bread	55	Transitional action from deciding to eat the bread to actually eating it
he load us again	56	
sssshhh...	57	
'til we come to Paarl	58	
and then we have a puncture	59	Movement of travelling to Paarl, followed by a puncture
alright he say we must get off	60	Transitional action, from occurrence of puncture to instruction to get off vehicle
he's going to take us to the station	61	
alright	62	Transitional action from arriving at station and buying
he buy us some tickets for the train	63	
and then he say we must get off to Elsie's River	64	After the puncture, tickets are bought at the station and they prepare to travel to Elsie's River

Table 4.3: Arrival in Cape Town

kaffir beer here umqombothi	72b	
alright we drink	73	Transition from decision to action of drinking beer
what were we to do	74	
somebody say 'no	75a	
let's go to Langa	75b	
we went there by foot to Langa'	76a	
to main barracks	76b	
where we know people	76c	
alright we come there	77a	Transition from decision to go and actually going
everyone where this single man	77b	
alright we went there	78a	Repeats the above transitional movement
we sit there	78b	
they shout	79a	
'where you going to?'	79b	
'why you come here?'	79c	
'you are going to be caught'	80	
alright	81a	Transition from one person talking to another
somebody say 'hey	81b	
we must go to [?] or a dompas'	81c	
alright, we went to	81d	Transition from decision to go for a dompas and actually going

Table 4.4: In Cape Town

Dom and Longo	88a	
steel	88b	
from PE	88c	
alright I asked them where is Dom and Longo	89	Transition from talking about Dom and Longo to asking about it
they say it's in Elsie's River	90	
I went there	91	
there was a forest	92	
alright don't say I'm rude	93	Transition in speech from telling about where he was travelling to telling about an incident unrelated to the 'point' of the telling
I tell the whole speech	94	

Table 4.5: Story about his wife leaving

who was staying together at Rylands	184b	
alright	185	Transition from background information to telling about an action
he marry her	186	

Table 4.6: In Nyanga West

the Group Area	Line 201	
alright when we came here it was very difficult	Line 202	Transition from background information to mentioning place of present residence

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 Ricouer 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	15
following day	18b
12 o'clock (implication that it is the same day)	28
we sit there the whole day	50
in the evening (implication that it is the evening of the above-mentioned day)	51

Despite its apparently short duration in linear time, this part of the story assumes great prominence in the text time² 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 duration³ of the different parts with the text time, relative to each other.

Table 4.2: Comparison of real time and text time

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

Table 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 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 Elsie's River Station, Mr NQ continues:

(A) alright we get off	66
we are frightened for the police	67
there's a place they call Jakkalsvlei	68
ehhh ... others they got an address there	72a
(B) kaffir beer here umqombothi	72b
alright we drink	73
what were we to do	74
somebody say no	75a
let's go to Langa	75b
(C) we went there by foot to Langa	76a
to main barracks	76b
where we know people	76c
alright we come there	77a
everyone where this single man stays	77b
alright we went there	78a
we sit there	78b
they shout	79a
where you going to?	79b
why you come here?	79c
you are going to be caught.	80
alright	81
somebody say, hey	81a
we must go to [?] for a dompas	81b
(D) alright, we went to	82
we come there, we want a job [?] alright [?]	83
that day I say no	84a
my hands	84b
I swear	84c
I say no I'm going back again	84c
(E) and then I went back to Langa	85
I had a reference for Dom & Longo	86
....	
Dom & Longo	88a
steel	88b
from PE	88c
alright I asked them where is Dom & Longo	89
(F) they say it's in Elsie's River	90
I went there	91
there was a forest	92
alright don't say I'm rude	93
I tell the whole speech	94
that time there was ladies	95a
who selling their body	95b
Ohhhh... what we going to do here	96
[?]	
(G) they call us 'come here come here come here'	97a
let's go	97b
the other one came take my hands	98
'come here'	99
we don't understand Afrikaans	100
'jy verstaan nie wat ek se nie, kom hiersa'	101
alright [?]	102
this place is got such a thing like that	103
such nice ladies	104
(H) alright I went to Elsie's River	105
I got there	106

they say 'no the reference is alright'	107
'have you got a dompas'	108
I say 'no I have a reference'	109
he say 'no you must go to native affairs'	110
that time native affairs was in Observatory	111
go see Mr [?]	112
(I) then I go there	113
Mr [?]he say 'no	114a
you must be classified as a coloured'	114b
I say 'alright	115a
make it'	115b
(J) and then he make it	116
I'm in there	117
he took me there as a coloured	118
but mind you I'm staying at Langa	119
where the Bantu people stay	120
(K) and then come Monday	121
this man	122
'hey dompas dompas'	123
I show them this	124
he say 'no man, you can't stay here when	
you got this go to administrative Langa'	125
that time it was still Rogers [?]	126a
at Observatory [?]	126b
(L) I say alright I'm going to make a dompas	127
and then I make a dompas	128a
then he made me a dompas	128b
alright	129
(M) I took it to the office	130
and	131a
(N) to my work and then I work I work I work	131b

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

Lexical indicators of stability	Part in narrative	Line
to my work then I work I work I work	Part 2	Line 131b
we stay there we stay we stay we stay	Part 3	Line 147
and then I stay I stay I stay	Part 4	Line 169b
alright we stay we stay we stay	Part 4	Line 177

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	146a
we stayed there so many years	146b
we stay there we stay we stay we stay	147

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	168
I stayed there	169a
and then I stay I stay I stay	169b
and then come now to Guguletu now	170
we moved to Guguletu	171

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 :

there's a big church there	145b
yes behind we stayed there	146a
we stayed there for many years	146b

Line 177 too, is preceded and followed by other indicators of stability. Mr NQ prefaces 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 ...	176a	
when I came to Kraaifontein	176b	
I met somebody	176c	
we married	176d	
alright we stay we stay we stay	177	
we got married	178a	{lines 176a-183c = stability}
we stay as a wife and a husband	178b	
alright	179	
now	180a	
on the other way	180b	
I had a little trouble on my body	180c	
you see	181	
she couldn't stand for it	182	
weak	183a	
I was too for her	183b	
so (s)he got somebody	183c	
		{lines 188a, 188b = rupture}
and then I stay alone	188a	
until I get my wife	188b	
we meet together with my wife	189a	
1973	189b	{lines 189a, 189 = stability}
and err... 'til now	190	

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	2b
we were aiming	2c
to come to Cape Town	2d

It ends in 2003:

but now we're still very nice	282
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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

Part of story	Main idea unit	Lines	Feature in narrative signalling transition
1	Arrival in Cape Town	10a-c	Date Pause
2	Establishment of a home	11a-c	Complication (fire) Pause
3	Move to different house	12a-e	Pause
4	Evaluating comment on stable state	13a-16c	Pause
5	The introduction of the pass laws	17a-f	Date Complication (pass laws) Pause
6	Forced removal Evaluating comment on happy life before removal	18a-37	Date Complication (removal) Pause
7	Destruction of happy life	38-46	Pause 'you see'
8	Life in Kensington	47-52b	Pause
9	Husband's illness and return to Transkei	53a- 55g	Complication (husband's illness) Pause
10	Death of husband	56-60h	Complication (husband's death) Date Pause
11	Return to Cape Town Second forced removal	57a- 62b	Date Complication (move) Pause
12	Making a living	68-73	Pause
13	Current life	69a-72	Pause
14	Reminiscence about life in Kensington, compared to current life	78a-93	Pause
15	Current feelings about life	94-113	Differences between paradise and Guguletu

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:

part x / pause / date / part y

part x / date / pause / part y

part x / you see / pause / part y

part x / complicating action / pause / 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	11c
so with my husband	12a
we moved to 10 th avenue	12b
where we built a plot	12c

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	17a
there come	17b
came the pass laws	17c

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

but all the time	35a
we were so happy	35b
but once the pass laws came	36a
we were in a hell	36b

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 *fabula* 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	13a
for a long time	13b

(Implied comparison to a forthcoming time during which happiness was absent).

but all the time	35a
we were so happy	35b
but once the pass laws came	36a
we were in a hell	36b

(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	10b
in 1948	10c

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	70b
-------------------------------	-----

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	78a
as I told you	78b
we called Kensington the paradise city	78c
we were so happy there	79

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	18a
then come the removal	18b

since our home was removed in 1955 '56	55a
now	55b
with my husband I went to Transkei	55c

and in '56 we went to Transkei	60c
--------------------------------	-----

then in 1959 I came back	61a
to Cape Town	61b
now here in Guguletu	88a
there's no other place	88b
since 1963 July 23 rd I was given this house	89

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; and*
- (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	13a
for a long time	13b
<i>I was doing some business</i>	<i>14a</i>
<i>like vetkoeks</i>	<i>14b</i>
<i>and Sterilised Dairy were delivering there</i>	<i>15a</i>
<i>sour milk</i>	<i>15b</i>
<i>I was selling it</i>	<i>15c</i>
tried to help my husband because	16a
he was getting a small wage	16b
from united flock [?] in Voortrekker Road	16c

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
put a 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	61a
to Cape Town	61b
to work for my kids	61c
because I had five children at that time	61d

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	78a
as I told you	78b
we called Kensington the Paradise City	78c
we were so happy there	79
everybody was doing this and this and this	80a
so much by our small businesses	80b
we had some savings	81

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	98a
it was Paradise City for me	98b
my life changed when I came to Guguletu	98c
by that time I was still working	99
you see	100
working 'til I get the pension	101

(ii) *Agency*

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

Loss of agency		Control of agency	
we were given those passes	17d	I was doing some businesses	14a
my house was blown down	30a	at the time I was doing small chars	28
since our home was removed in 1955 '56	55a	I had a small garage for milk	33a
they moved us to these houses	67b	(I came back to Cape Town) to work for my kids	61c
		by that time I was still working	99

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 <i>vetkoeks</i>	14b
and Sterilised Dairy were delivering there	15a
sour milk	15b
I was selling it	15c
tried to help my husband because	16a
he was getting a small wage	16b
from united flock [?] in Voortrekker Road	16c
they come	39a
these police with long sticks	39b
neh	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

Part	Stratum	Topics in this stratum (Portelli 1991: 70)	Space referent in this strata (Portelli 1991: 70)
1	Personal	Private and family life	The home ¹
2	Personal / Collective ²	Private and family life/ Community	The home The neighbourhood ³
3	Personal	Private and family life	The home
4	Personal	Private and family life; jobs	The home
5	Collective ⁴	Community; collective involvement in 'institutional' episode	The neighbourhood
6	Personal /Collective	Private and family life; collective involvement in 'institutional' episode	The home The neighborhood
7	Collective	Private and family life; collective involvement in 'institutional' episode	The neighbourhood
8	Collective	The life of the community	The neighbourhood
9	Personal	Private and family life	The home
10	Personal	Private and family life; death	The home
11	Personal	Private and family life; work; children	The home
12	Personal	Private and family life; work; death; children	The home
13	Personal	Private and family life; children	The home

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 'neighbourhood' 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

		children	
14	Personal / Collective	Private and family life; the life of the community	The home; the neighbourhood
15	Personal	Private and family life	The home
16	Collective	The life of the community	The neighbourhood

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.

University of Cape Town

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 African¹ 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 Afrikaans² 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 *sjuzet*

Sequence of main events	Sequence of main idea units in <i>sjuzet</i>	Lines
1. Born in Bellville, 1940	1. Birth in Bellville, 1940 • includes reference to difficulties created by 'wrong' surname and related difficulties	1a-4c
2. Mother gets 'own plot' in Bellville	2. Move from Bellville to Mau-Mau	6a-11f
3. Moves to Mau-Mau (Nyanga East)	3. School life in Bellville before move • Includes reference to issue of disputed surname	12a-19d
4. Mother dies	4. Move to mother's 'own plot' in Bellville	21a-23
5. Moves to Guguletu (then) ³ , 1965	5. Comment on good life in Bellville: • mother's property • story of two shopkeepers • good life in Bellville • good memories of school	24a-36g
6. Guguletu (now)	6. Comment on life soon after move to Mau-Mau	37a-44a
7. Shebeen in Guguletu	7. Death of mother and resulting difficulties	45a-46l
	8. Story of neighbour losing her home	48-51c
	9. Comment on life in Bellville • includes reference to difficulties imposed by surname	52-53j
	10. Reference to family living in Elsies	57a-61b
	11. Description of the actual move from Bellville	62a-74
	12. Description of the early days in Mau-Mau • includes commentary on difficulties relating to coloured / African identity	75a-78j
	13. Commentary on move from Bellville	80a-87e
	14. Commentary on current life in Guguletu: • story of murdered man (1) • story of murdered man (2) • story of children robbed in house	89-106c
	15. Expression of desire to live in coloured community	108a-g
	16. Commentary on current life: • grandchildren at school • story of neighbour's rude grandchildren • unemployment of daughter • economic struggles of family and the need for her shebeen	111-152

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:

<i>ek moes nou Gladys van Wyk gewees het</i>	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:

<i>because hulle kon nie</i>	because they could not	6a
<i>daar waar ons gewoon het</i>	there where we were living	6b
<i>met kleurlinge en witmense</i>	with white and coloured people	6c
<i>vir ons gaan anvat nie</i>	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.

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.

<i>dourie tyd</i>	that time	3a
<i>ons het lekker dae gehad</i>	we had good days	3b
<i>en n bietjie sleg maar nie so baie nie</i>	and a little bad but not so much	3c
<i>want</i>	because	4a
<i>ons</i>	we	4b

<i>dou tyd was lekker tyd</i>	that time was lovely	17b
<i>maar net</i>	but just	18a
<i>die verskillende</i>	the difference	18b
<i>ons moet nou nie "Thandeki" gewees het nie</i>	we were not supposed to be 'Thandeki'	18c
<i>ons moet nou 'van Wyk'</i>	we should be 'van Wyk'	18d

<i>toe sê hulle ons moet Mau-Mau toe gaan</i>	they said we had to go to Mau-Mau	9b
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<i>toe's dit nou my ma se eie plot *</i>	then it was my mother's own plot *	21f
<i>en</i>	and	22a
<i>toe trek ons nou van daai klein plekketjie af</i>	then we moved from that little place	22b

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.

<i>en toe moes ons nou hier *</i>	and then we had to come here *	37a
<i>swaar kom kry het *</i>	to struggle *	37b
<i>in Guguletu *</i>	in Guguletu *	37c

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).

<i>toe het my ma nou gesterf en toe sukkel ek nou alleenig</i>	then my mother died and I struggled alone	45b
<i>toe sukkel ek</i>	then I struggled	45c
<i>toe sukkel ek</i>	then I struggled	45d
<i>toe het my ma nou gesterf en toe sukkel ek nou alleenig</i>	then my mother now died and I struggled alone	45e
<i>tot laat ek nou ander mense gekry het wat saam met ons in Bellville gewoon het</i>	until I found some people who had lived with us in Bellville	45f
<i>toe help hulle vir my</i>	then they helped me	45g
<i>my eie plek</i>	then I got my own place	45h

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.

<i>nou's die lewe baie verskillende</i>	now life is very different	90b
<i>baie verskillend</i>	very different	90c
<i>ek kan nie die deur oopmaak as 'n mens klop nie</i>	I can't open the door when someone knocks	91a
<i>ek kan nie vra nie</i>	I can't ask	91b
<i>wie's jy nie?</i>	who is it?	91c
<i>dan se hulle hulle's polisie</i>	then they say they are the police	91d
<i>en as jy oopmaak</i>	and when you open	91e
<i>dan maak hulle vir jou dood</i>	then they kill you	91f
<i>ons is nie safe hier nie</i>	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 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.

<i>en toe</i>	and then	11a
<i>trek ons nou daarna toe</i>	we moved there	11b
<i>die plek se naam is Mau-Mau</i>	the place's name is Mau-Mau	11c

The situation in Mau-Mau was very different:

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

She describes the move to Guguletu:

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

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

<i>in Mau-Mau</i>	in Mau-Mau	37d
<i>daar in Mau-Mau</i>	there in Mau-Mau	37e
<i>wat ons daar gekom het</i>	when we got there	38a
<i>toe bly ons lekker</i>	we lived very nicely	38b

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 2 extracts illustrate the contrastive narrative. I illustrate this contrastive narrative in the following table:

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

In contrast, Guguletu many years later:

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

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.

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

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:

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

Contrasted to lines 37a-c:

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

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

<i>so ons sukkel hier in Guguletu</i>	so we struggle here in Guguletu	52
<i>is nie meer soos tevore nie</i>	it's not like before	53a
<i>want daar in Bellville het ons lekker gewoon</i>	because in Bellville 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.

<i>in Bellville ja</i>	in Bellville yes	16a
<i>in Oakdale</i>	in Oakdale	16b
<i>en</i>	and	17a
<i>dou tyd was lekker</i>	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 30a. 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 GT'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 book¹ 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

¹ Simon, Roger I., Sharon Rosenberg and Claudia Eppert (2000) **Between Hope and Despair: Pedagogy and Remembrance of Historical Trauma**. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

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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REF :

APPENDIX 1

TENANT CLAIMANTS: AFFIDAVIT

DATE :

INTERVIEWED by :

I the undersigned,

Surname

First names

ID number

Sex(M/F)

hereby swear that my present address is:

TELE

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:

.....
.....
.....Erf No (if known).....

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?

Below R1000 a month	
R1000-R2000 a month	
R2000-R3000 a month	
R3000-R5000 a month	
Above R5000 a month	

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 of200† in my presence at
....., the claimant signed this affidavit and declared the
s/he:

- 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 residenceYes/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 1

NQ

alright 2a
from 1948 2b
we were aiming 2c
to come to Cape Town 2d

BB

from where was that? 3

NQ

from King Williamstown 4

BB

okay 5

NQ

so 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 13a
the provision 13b
[?] 14
tomorrow morning we will be in Cape Town 15
alright 16
we go 17
and 18a
following day 18b
in the morning 18c
before it get clear 18d
it was dark 18e
they stopped it 18f
they drop us 19a
in George 19b
in that mountains 19c

BB

Yes? 20

NQ

they say we must go into the forest 21
they will come late because they were frightened to be caught. 22

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
ssshhhh. ...	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	65
alright we get off	66
we are frightened for the police	67
[?]there's a place they call it Jakkalsvlei	68
we went there [?]	69
BB	
did you know any people there in Jakkalsvlei?	70
NQ	
no we don't know	71
ehhh ... others they got an address there	72a
kaffir beer here umqombothi	72b
alright we drink	73
what were we to do?	74
somebody say no	75a
let's go to Langa	75b
we went there by foot to Langa	76a
to main barracks	76b
where we know people	76c
alright we come there	77a
everyone where this single man stays	77b
alright we went there	78a
we sit there	78b
they shout	79a
where you going to	79b
why you come here	79c
you are going to be caught.	80
alright	81
somebody say, hey	81a
we must go to [?] for a dompas	81b
alright, we went to	82
we come there we want a job [?] alright [?]	83
that day I say 'no'	84a
my hands	84b
I swear	84c
I say 'no I'm going back again'	84c
and then I went back to Langa	85
I had a reference for Dom & Longo	86
BB	
Who?	87
NQ	
Dom & Longo	88a
steel	88b
from PE	88c
alright I asked them where is Dom & Longo	89
they say it's in Elsie's River	90
I went there	91
there was a forest	92
alright don't say I'm rude	93
I tell the whole speech	94
that time there was ladies	95a
who selling their body	95b
Ohhhh... what we going to do here?	96
[?]	

they call us 'come here come here come here'		97a
let's go		97b
the other one came take my hands		98
'come here'		99
we don't understand Afrikaans		100
'jy verstaan nie wat ie se nie, kom hiersa'		101
alright [?]		102
this place is got such a thing like that		103
such nice ladies		104
alright I went to Elsie's River		105
I got there		106
they say 'no the reference is alright		107
have you got a dompas'		108
I say 'no, I have a reference'		109
he say, 'no, you must go to native affairs'		110
that time native affairs was in Observatory		111
go see Mr [?]		112
then I go there		113
Mr [?] he say 'no		114a
you must be classified as a coloured'		114b
I say 'alright		115a
make it'		115b
and then he make it		116
I'm in there		117
he took me there as a coloured		118
but mind you I'm staying at Langa		119
where the Bantu people stay		120
and then come Monday		121
this man		122
'hey, dompas, dompas'		123
I show them this		124
he say 'no man, you can't stay here when		
you got this Go to administrative Langa'	125	
that time it was still Rogers [?]		126a
at Observatory [?]		126b
I say alright I'm going to make a dompas		127
and then I make a dompas		128a
then he made me a dompas		128b
alright		129
I took it to the office		130
and		131a
to my work and then I work I work I work		131b
I left		132a
to Athlone		132b
sorry		133
(interruption at door)		
we went to Athlone		134
I go for a priest there		135
that was 1952		
	136	
BB		
Were you married already?		137

NQ	
no not yet	138
I'm still a bachelor.	139
I was still young that time and	140a
I was very nice-looking young man you see (both laugh)	140b
and alright	141a
I paid for the house	141b
[?]	
BB	
Where was this?	142
NQ	
near the doctor [?] what you call it?	143
BB	
Habibia? The college?	144
NQ	
in Johnson Road	145a
there's a big church there	145b
yes behind we stayed there	146a
we stayed there so many years	146b
we stay there we stay we stay we stay	147
and err	148
I tried to get somebody	149a
somebody who could fit together	149b
alright	150
I like too much church	151a
for my lifestyle	151b
I accept Jesus when I was 15 years	152a
'til now	152b
I say God is still wonderful	153
now they're moving us there	154
[?]	
everything must go away	155
that time it was Nyanga West	156
'til I move here	157
and then I went to stay in Kraaifontein	158
BB	
oh not in Nyanga West?	159
NQ	
it was together	160
BB	
oh	161
NQ	
Nyanga West was this side	162
and and I had somebody there I know	163a
to Kraaifontein	164b
not Kraaifontein the one that is there	165
here here here it's near Section 4	166
it was Kraaifontein	167
we stayed there we built a church there	168

I stayed there	169a
and then I stay I stay I stay	169b
and then come now to Guguletu now	170
we moved to Guguletu	171
and err ...em ...	172
we stay and we stay in Guguletu	173
'til now	174
BB	
So when did you get married?	175
NQ	
err I married when err	176a
when I came to Kraaifontein	176b
I met somebody	176c
we married	176d
alright we stay we stay we stay we stay	177
we got married	178a
we stay as a wife and a husband	178b
alright	179
now	180a
on the other way	180b
I had a little trouble on my body	180c
you see	181
she couldn't stand for it	182
weak	183a
I was too weak for her	183b
so he got somebody	184a
who was staying together at Rylands	184b
alright	185
he marry her	186
alright	187
and then I stay alone	188a
until I get my wife	188b
we meet together with my wife	189a
1973	189b
and err... 'til now	190
it was very nice there, because	191a
we stayed very nice.	191b
BB	
In Rylands?	192
NQ	
In Rylands	193
and money	194a
we had all the money because we didn't have any expenses	194b
and just to buy food and pay rent	195a
not the rent actually it's ...	195b
BB	
For the plot?	196
NQ	
for the plot	197

BB		
	but the building was your own?	198
NQ		
	yes it was mine yes	199
	we were very sorry because err...	200a
	we were forced	200b
	to come out	200c
	all the Bantus	200d
	the Group Area	201
	alright when we came here it was very difficult	202
	but in the long run	203a
	we get used to it	203b
	and that time it was still rough	204
	persons kill another and so on	205
BB		
	where's this?	206
NQ		
	in this Nyanga West and so on	207
BB		
	okay oh when it was new?	208
NQ		
	it was new yes	209a
	that time when we were moved there	209b
	and the coloured people they laughed at us they say 'ja'	210a
	they are going to throw you near the sea	210b
	alright we say it's alright	211
	they didn't know they were going to be behind us	212
	so when the Group Area comes	213a
	and then now comes Mitchells Plain also as well	213b
	so they tried to demolish this Nyanga West and Kraaifontein	214a
	and they built now the buildings	214b
	mind you	215a
	as I was growing up	215b
	I didn't get, err...	215c
	my father and mother	216a
	they passed away about '48 and '43	216b
	I went to stay to somebody	217
	another place there	218
	and I was clever to the school	219
	but I couldn't have somebody to take me forward	220
	and I went, my first work	221a
	I went to Natal	221b
	in the mines to try to pick me up	221c
BB		
	before you came to Cape Town	222

NQ	
before I came to Cape Town	223
and from there, then I come back	224
I want to go forward for the school	225a
but I didn't have somebody to send me to school	225b
when I came here to Cape Town and then I start now to take night school and so on [?]	226
and I couldn't go any further	227a
because I was	227b
loving the church	227c
and the old people liked me	227d
and	227e
they took me to the church and	227f
from there on [?]	228
when I was young	229
I always go with the old people	230
and they liked me because I was a singer	231
BB	
oh I see are you still singing?	232
NQ	
I'm still singing	233
and errr...	234a
it's very hard	234b
to grow up	234c
on your own	234d
but I thank God because	235a
the lady which growed me up	235b
she was a strict woman	236c
I couldn't even go play on the street	237
no	238
I must work in the house	239
and it was not my own mother	240
when I'm becoming when I grew up and then I say	241a
why this mama treat me like that	241b
just because I'm not her child	241c
but now	242a
I thank her	242b
because she teach me everything	242c
as people they used to say I am a jack-of-all-trades	243
BB	
OK	244
NQ	
now em...	245a
inside outside	245b
here	245c
so she gave me	246a
what can I say ...	246b
BB	
A good background?	247

NQ	
Err...	248
and I live well now	249
everywhere in the house	250
I cook	251a
I cooked myself I baked	251b
BB	
Really	252
NQ	
ummm ...	253
I baked	254
and now I'm an old-age man	255
BB	
not so old	256
NQ	
I'm not so old but	257a
my legs	257b
I can't do nothing	257c
that time in Rylands	258a
it was very nice because	258b
we could do anything we like ...	258c
BB	
Like what?	259
NQ	
we do parties we do jiving and so on	260
you see	261
and that time we were staying there like we stayed [?]	262
when the boy comes out of the bushes	263a
we used to make	263b
(gestures with hands and vocally to indicate party / celebration)	
every day coloured people they like that you see	264
we stay very nice and there was no such	265a
things to say that somebody steal somebody	265b
and killing somebody	265c
very nice there	266
you can go 12 o' clock 2 o'clock on the streets	267
you're not afraid of anything	268
BB	
so why do you think why did it change when you came to Kraaifontein, Nyanga West?	269
NQ	
well, it's what-you-call-it	270a
group area	270b
because at that time	270c
[?]was standing there	270d
trying to take all the black people away	270e
as they were saying	271a
that's why they make the group area	271b

BB

So why do you think the people's behaviour
changed when they came to a new place? 272

NQ

but now 273a
because they put us together 273b
one there one there one there 274
now we know one another 275
you see 276
that time you couldn't go anybody or go to somebody 277
[?] 278
but the group area put people together 279
that's why now 280a
everybody now 280b
just comes like that 280c
and we did not know about those politics 281a
those [?] 281b
and so on 281c
but now we're still very nice 282

University of Cape Town

APPENDIX 2B

Interview with Mrs MN Interviewer: Bonita Bennett (BB)

BB

I just to say your name 1
and say that I am interviewing Mrs Nonkelela 2
at NY 97 3

MN

number 8 4

BB

and she lives at number 8 5

MN

Guguletu 6

BB

Guguletu 7
you can start now 8
don't worry about the tape 9

MN

alright 10a
I came here in cape town 10b
in 1948 10c
I stayed in 8th avenue 11a
in the shacks 11b
but those shacks were burnt down 11c
so with my husband 12a
we moved to 10th avenue 12b
where we got a plot 12c
and we built there 12d
four rooms 12e
we were happy there 13a
for a long time 13b
I was doing some business 14a
like vetkoeks 14b
and sterilised dairy were delivering there 15a
sour milk 15b
I was selling it 15c
tried to help my husband because 16a
he was getting a small wage 16b
from United Flock [?] in Voorterkker Road 16c
by 1952 17a
there come 17b
came the pass laws 17c
we were given those passes y'know 17d
papers 17e
like a receipt 17f
you see those passes

then about '53 to '54	18a
then come the removal	18b
first were bachelors	19
you see	20
then our houses	21
from the bachelors	22
the municipality	23a
just had a trekker	23b
what do you call it	23c
BB	
a tractor?	24
BB	
a tractor	25
put a 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
BB	
the furniture as well?	31
MN	
that's it	32
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
those who were doing the kaffir-beer business	38
they come	39a
these police with long sticks	39b
neh	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
you see	44
so our life was like hell	45a
not nice	45b
no more paradise	45c

you see	46
although we have that	47
the clinic	48
CAFDA	49
there was a bazaar too	50a
There	50b
BB	
and this was all in Kensington?	51
MN	
in Kensington	52a
yes	52b
and it was that time everything was so cheap	53a
you see	53b
then	54
since our home was removed in 1955 '56	55a
now	55b
with my husband I went to Transkei	55c
he was sick from the accident	55d
you see	55e
he had an accident by train	55f
you see	55g
I never got even a cent from the accident	56
so we went to Transkei in	57a
'56	57b
then on 1 January he died	58a
you see	58b
BB	
that same year	59a
the next year?	59b
MN	
he had the accident in 1954	60a
april	60b
and in '56 we went to Transkei	60c
then on 1 January	60d
the new year	60e
he died	60f
you see	60g
'57	60h
then in 1959 I came back	61a
to Cape Town	61b
to work for my kids	61c
because I had five children at that time	61d
I stayed in	62a
Koeberg	62b
Burton street	62c
for such a short time	62d
and in Nyanga East	63a
by my sister	63b
for such a short time	63c
then I stayed for five years now	64a
in Primrose Street number 16	64b
but as for the land claim they say	65a
you must claim where you stayed for a long time	65b
so I didn't manage it with Primrose Street	66a
you see	66b
where I stayed	66c
then until	67a

from Primrose Street they moved us to these houses	67b
you see	68
so since my husband was dead	69a
I was the breadwinner for my children	69b
I tried to make businesses	70a
always businesses as I am doing even now	70b

BB

are you still busy with that?	71
-------------------------------	----

MN

selling	72a
yes I'm still busy	72b
with cigarettes	72c
chips and those powder chips	72d
and sweets	72e
such things	72f
to assist this pension	72g
so I'm happy with my life like that because I can't do otherwise	73
but my children are big now	74a
two are married	74b
and my sons have got also their houses with their wives	74c
I'm staying with the oldest daughter	75a
here	75b
although she came	75c
she came	75d
with that particular time such as holidays	75e
she's staying by her daughter-in-law in green	75f
Summer Greens	75g
in Summer Greens	75h
you see	76
what else do you want to know	77
I'd rather stay in Kensington	78a
as I told you	78b
we called Kensington the paradise city	78c
we were so happy there	79
everybody was doing this and this and this	80a
so much by our small businesses	80b
we had some savings	81
you see	82
we always	83a
I always met other women by [?] post office	83b
there's where we put our money in the post office	83c
there	83d
you see	84
Kensington was the best	85a
by that time	85b
but now it's occupied by the coloureds	86a
it's a coloured location	86b
so we can't go back there	86c
you see	87
now here in Guguletu	88a
there's no other place	88b
since 1963 July 23 rd I was given this house	89
I don't want to move nowhere	90
it's been a long time too I've been here	91
so I want my body	92a
to lie on that number 8 house	92b
when I'm going to the graveyard	92c
you see	93

BB	
so you're here to stay?	94
MN	
like to stay here	95
I think you are the second person who asked if I like to stay in this house	96a
so I say	96b
yes	96c
I like it	96d
I will never move again	97
since I left Kensington	98a
it was paradise city for me	98b
my life changed when I came to Guguletu	98c
by that time I was still working	99
you see	100
working 'til I get the pension	101
sit down	102a
do the small business here	102b
in the house	102c
that's all	103
BB	
and was it very different	104a
coming to stay in Guguletu?	104b
MN	
yes	105
because we were	106a
we didn't know each other	106b
others came from town	107a
others came from what y'call?	107b
from Plumstead	107c
those places	107d
here we are from all the places	108
so we don't know each other	109
but by staying we combine	110
no we know each other	111
you see	112
we are staying nicely	113
Visitor (arrivng)	
hello, let us pray ...	114

APPENDIX 2C

Interview with Gladys Thandeki (Mrs GT)

GT		GT
I was born in Bellville	1a	
1940	1b	
15 Oakhurst	1c	
my mother was Emma Thandeki	2a	
and her surname was Emma Thandeki	2b	
dourie tyd	3a	that time
ons het lekker dae gehad	3b	we had good days
en 'n bietjie sleg maar nie so baie nie	3c	and a little bad but not so much
want	4a	because
ons	4b	we
ek moes nou Gladys van Wyk gewees het	4c	I had to be Gladys van Wyk now
BB	5	BB
hoe dan so?		how come?
GT		GT
because hulle kon nie	6a	because they could not
daar waar ons gewoon het	6b	there where we were
met kleurlinge en witmense	6c	with white people and coloured people
vir ons gaan anvat nie	6d	they could not accept us
ek dink later in die jare	7a	I think after many years
so na vyftien jaar	7b	after fifteen years or so
toe laat hulle ons uittrek	7c	then they let us move out
ons moet Guguletu toe gaan	8a	we had to go to Guguletu
toe kon ons mos nie daai tyd Guguletu nie	8b	then we couldn't go to Guguletu at the time
en toe vat hulle ons	9a	and then they took us
toe se hulle ons gaan Mau-Mau toe	9b	they said we had to go to Mau-Mau
die Mau-Mau	9c	this Mau-Mau
is Nyanga East	9d	is Nyanga East
OK	10	OK
en toe	11a	and then
trek ons nou daarna toe	11b	we moved there
na die Mau Mau	11c	to Mau-Mau
die plek se naam is Mau Mau	11d	the place's name is Mau-Mau
maar is Nyanga East	11e	but is Nyanga East
toe woon ons nou daar	11f	then we live there
maar	12a	but
voor	12b	before
ek het in	12c	I was at
RC onder	12d	RC
RC Skool	12e	RC school
BB		BB
OK. In Bellville	13	OK. In Bellville
GT		GT
Mnr Hartle	14a	Mr Hartle
onse meneer was Mnr Hartle	14b	our teacher was Mr Hartle
BB		BB
in Bellville?	15	in Bellville?
GT		GT
in Bellville ja	16a	in Bellville yes
in Oakdale	16b	in Oakdale
en	17a	and
dou tyd was lekker tyd	17b	that time was lovely

maar net	18a	but just
die verskillende	18b	the difference
ons moet nou nie 'Thandeki' gewees het nie	18c	we were not supposed to be 'Thandeki'
ons moet nou 'van Wyk'	18d	we had to be 'van Wyk'
BB		BB
nou waarvandaan kom daai van 'van wyk')?	19	now where does the surname 'van Wyk' come from?
GT		GT
ek dink	20a	I think
my ma se broer	20b	my mother's brother
het seker gedink 'van Wyk'	20c	must have thought 'van Wyk'
toe draai tot 'Thandeki'	20d	then changed to 'Thandeki'
BB		BB
OK		OK
GT		GT
moes ons nou	21a	we had to now
nou ons eie plot	21b	our own plot
my ma – eie plot gekry het	21c	my mother
eie plot gekry	21d	had her own plot
en toe later aan	21e	and later
toe's dit nou my ma se eie plot	21f	it was now my mother's own plot
en	22a	and
toe trek ons nou van daai klein plekketjie af	22b	then we moved from that little place
toe gaan ons na my ma se plek toe	22c	then we went to my mother's place
my ma se eie plot	22d	my mother's own plot
en toe woon ons lekker daar	23	and then we lived there so well
en	24a	and
die verskillende dou tyd en die tyd	24b	the difference between that time and this time
is die geld besigheid nou	24c	it's the money business
ons moes water ge-betaal het	24d	we had to pay for water
BB		BB
daai tyd?	25	that time?
dit was pennie	26	it was a penny
ons het nie die sent nie	27a	we did not use cents
pennie	27b	pennies
en iemand wat water kom vra	28a	and if someone came to ask for water
is 2 pennie	28b	it was two pennies
en	29a	and
vleis was baie goedkoop	29b	meat was very cheap
as my ma slaghuis toe gaan	29c	when my mother went to the butcher
dan weet sy	29d	then she knows
as sy	29e	when she
daai was nou nie	29f	that was not
tien rand nie	29g	ten rand
is was vyf pond	29h	it was five pounds
vyf pond is die vleis	29i	the meat was five pounds
dan verkoop sy ook daarvan want sy	29j	then she sold some of it
het mos agt vertrekke geahd	30a	because she had eight rooms
en die mense wat daar woon	30b	and the people who lived there
koop hiersa by ons	30c	bought here from us
en brood e vetkoek en alles	30d	and bread and <i>vetkoek</i> and everything
het sy verkoop	30e	she sold
soos ek nou besigheid hier by my maak	30f	just like I have a business here now
en	31a	and
ons het	31b	we also had
'n winkel waar't ons altyd koop	31c	a shop where we always bought things
is Chinese winkel	31d	a Chinese shop

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 hy 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
hy staan daar buitekant	32j	he stands there outside
dan roep hy	32k	then he shouts
'hey hey hey	32l	'hey hey hey
is goedkoop hiersa	32m	it's cheap here
kom kom kom kom	32n	come come come come
yiazani	32o	<i>yizani</i>
yizani'	32p	<i>yizani</i>
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
'n sent brood	32w	a cent's bread
daai 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
botter	36c	butter
en kaas	36d	and cheese
wintertyd is dit soup	32e	winter time there was soup
wintertyd is warme melk	32f	winter time there was milk
brood en kaas en alles	32g	bread and cheese and everything
en 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

toe as ons daar kom	40a	then when we came there
dan moet hulle weer onder my ma se naam wees	40b	then they had to stay under my mother's name
dan kan hulle kry die shacks	41a	then they could get the shacks
ons noem dit 'matshoshomba'	41b	we called that 'matshoshomba'
BB		BB
wat beteken dit 'matshoshomba?'	42	what does that mean 'matshoshomba?'
GT	GT	
'matshoshomba' beteken 'shacks'	43a	'matshoshomba' means 'shacks'
ja die shacks ja	43b	yes the shacks yes
ja	43c	yes
dan kry hulle nou plekke daar	44a	then they got places there
hulle eie plekke	44b	their own places
daarvandaan af is dit net ek en my ma	45a	after that it was just me and my mother
toe het my ma nou gesterf en toe sukkel ek nou alleenig	45b	then my mother died and I struggled alone
toe sukkel ek	45c	then I struggled
toe sukkel ek	45d	then I struggled
tot laat ek nou ander mense gekry het	45e	until I found some people
wat saam met ons in Bellville gewoon het	45f	who had lived with us in Bellville
toe help hulle vir my	45g	then they helped me
toe kom kry ek my eie plek	45h	then I got my own place
1965	45I	1965
van	46a	from
Mau-Mau af	46b	Mau-Mau
na Guguletu	46c	to Guguletu
en na Guguletu	46d	and in Guguletu
toe wat my ma nou sterf	46e	when my mother dies
toe is dit 'n bietjie swaarder vir my	46f	then it was a bit harder for me
die lewe	46g	life
want	46h	because
ou tyd	46I	in the old days
jou ouers	46j	when your parents
oorlede	46k	died
dan het jy nie plek dan vat die council daai huis	46l	then you have no place because the council takes the house
BB		BB
oh	47	oh
GT		GT
ja	48	yes
soos hier next door	49a	like here next door
nou wat ons hier in Guguletu woon	49b	now that we live here in Guguletu
die mammi was 'n kleurling	49c	the mother was coloured
wat die ou sterf	49d	when the father died
toe ja hulle hom uit	49e	they chased her out
die council	49f	the council
toe moes hy	49g	the she had to
BB		BB
was dit lankal?	50	was that long ago?
GT		GT
ja dis lankal	51a	yes it was
sy's in Bonteheuwel	51b	she's in Bonteheuwel
sy en haar kinders en haar kleinkinders	51c	she and her children and grandchildren
so ons sukkel hier in Guguletu	52	so we struggle here in Guguletu

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	5c	no we lived very nicely there
want my ma het haar eie plekkie	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
kleurlinge gewees het	53j	coloureds
BB		BB
so Gladys verkies daai tyd?	54	so you prefer that time, Gladys?
GT		GT
ek verkies daai tyd	55	
BB		BB
nou hoe dink Gladys hoe sal die lewe gewees het as Gladys hulle daar gebly het?	56	now what do you think that life would have been like if you had to stay there?
GT		GT
lekker	57a	lovely
lekker want ons het nog mense	57b	because we still have people
my family is nog in elsies	57c	my family is still in Elsies
hulle woon lekker daar	57d	they live there very nicely
BB		BB
is dit?	58	is that so?
GT		GT
ja	59a	yes
ek het family	59b	I have family
in elsies	59c	in Elsies
ons het saam uitgetrek	59d	we moved out together
toe trek hulle weer soontoe in elsies	59e	then they moved back to Elsies
BB		BB
waarvandaan?	60	from where?
GT		GT
van Mau-Mau af toe gaan hulle Elsies	61a	from Mau-Mau they went to Elsies
Ja	61b	yes
BB		BB
onthou gladys nog die tyd van die trek?		do you still remember the time of the move, Gladys?
GT		GT
hulle het nie eers vir ons gewaarsku nie	62a	they did not even warn us
hulle se net	62b	the just said
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		BB
het hulle dieselfde dag gese? hoe't hulle gemaak?	63	did they do this on the same day? how did they do this?
GT		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 erger	68b	it was very very bad
want die lorries staan klaar al hier	68c	because the lorries were standing there

en die mans met die byle	68d	and the people with the axes
en	68e	and
en wat is die	68f	what's that thing
crowbar?	68g	crowbar
hulle was al klaar hier?	68h	they were there already
toe ons moes so getrek het	69	then we had to move like that
toe gee hulle ons daai	70a	then they gave us that
Q3A	70b	Q3A
ons was by Q3A in Mau-Mau	70c	we were at QsA in Mau-Mau
die Q3A is die huis nommer	70d	Q3A is the house number
BB		BB
het die mense nie geweet voor die tyd dat hulle moet trek nie?	71	did people not know before the time that they would have to move?
GT		GT
ons het nie	72a	we did not
ons het nie	72b	we did not
hulle het nie	72c	they did not
BB		BB
dieselfde dag gekom en gese gaan?	73	they came and told on the same day?
GT		GT
net	74	just
ons het nie onse eie plekke	75a	we did not have our own places
nie	75b	not
hier	75c	here
hier wat ons nou woon	75d	here where we are now staying
dit was bosse	76a	there were bushes
daar bo daar bo	76b	at the top at the top
daar waar die shacks nou is	76c	there where the shacks now are
daai was 'n dam daai	76d	that was a dam that
daai was 'n dam	76e	that was a dam
dan kom ons van die skool af	76f	then we came from school
ek het mos	77a	I could not
ons kon nie	77b	we could not
Xhosa gepraat het nie	77c	speak Xhosa
want ons was onder 'n bruin skool	77d	because we were at a coloured school
en dan toe	77e	and then
toe gaan ek mos	77f	I went to
na Roomse skool toe	77g	a Roman school
ons het van Mau-Mau af ne	78a	we came from Mau-Mau
in Nyanga East	78b	in Nyanga East
toe kom ons swem hiersa	78c	to come swim here
kaal kaal kaal	78d	bare bare bare
dit was lekker tevore	78e	it was so lovely then
ons het nie geweet van	78f	we did not know about
die is 'n meisie die is 'n jong nie	78g	this is a boy this is a girl
ons trek sommer vir ons kaal kaal	78h	we stripped ourselves bare bare
dan swem ons dan swem ons	78i	then we swam and swam
dan gaan ons weer huistoe	78j	then we went home
BB		BB
wie het die mense?	79	who were the people?
GT		GT
ek dink is council	80a	I think it was the council
want hulle het mos overalle gehad	80b	because they had overalls
en ja	80c	and yes
BB		BB
so Gladys onthou nog?	81	so you still remember Gladys?

GT		GT
ek onthou daai tyd	81a	I remember that time
was sleg man	81b	it was bad man
was sleg	81c	was bad
ons het eers nie	82a	we did not even
by die skole eers gewaarsku nie	82b	get a warning at the schools
en die mense ht nie eers by die werk gewaarsku nie	83a	and people did not get warnings at work
dit was nie lekker nie	83b	it was not nice
wat ons getrek het	83c	when we moved
dit was nie lekker nie	83d	it was not nice
daarom	84a	that is why
het die ander sommer	84b	others just came
weer uitgekom uit Guguletu	84c	out of Guguletu
Nyanga East	84d	Nyanga East
toe gaan hulle weer Elsies toe	84e	then they went to Elsies
BB		BB
toe het hulle plek daar gekry?	85	did they find place to live there?
GT		GT
ja	86	yes
ek dink het seker shacks gekry	87a	I think they first lived in the shacks
dan kry hulle hulle eie plekke	87b	then they got their own places
maar nou	87c	but now
hulle' hulle eie plekke	87d	they have their own places
in Elsies	87e	in Elsies
BB		BB
is daar enigiets anders wat Gladys wil vertel?	88	Is there anything you would like to talk about, Gladys?
GT		GT
ja	89	yes
nou		now
nou's die lewe		now life is
baie verskillend		very different
ek kan nie deur oopmaak as 'n mens klop nie	91a	I can't open the door when someone knocks
ek kan nie vra nie	91b	I can't ask
wie's jy nie	91c	who is it
dan se hulle hulle's polisie	91d	then they say they are the police
en as jy oopmaak	91e	and when you open
dan maak hulle nou vir jou dood	91f	then they kill you
ons is nie safe hier nie	92	we are not safe here
en ander ding	93a	and another thing
jy loop sommer né	93b	if you walk
jy kan enige tyd	93c	you can anytime
is nie groot manne nie	93d	it's not the grown men
is klein kinders	93e	it's the small children
hulle stuur die klein kinders	93f	they send the small children
hulle stuur die klein kinders	93g	they send the small children
soos die man wat laas	93h	like the man who last time
twee manne hier hier in die gang	93i	two men here in the lane
hier in die gang	93j	here in the lane
<i>(INTERRUPTED BY CUSTOMER)</i>		
GT		GT
hier in die gang	93k	here in the lane
ek gaan	94a	I went
Rylands toe	94b	to Rylands

wat ek van Rylands af kom	94c	when I came from Rylands
klim uit die bus uit	94d	I got off the bus
die jonges daar in	94e	the guys there in
[?]	94f	[?]
sê hulle	94g	they said
julle wat hier van die busse af kom	94h	you must get off the bus
daar's iemand wat doodgeskiet is	94i	there' s someone who has been shot dead
BB		BB
wanneer was dit?	95	when was this?
GT		GT
twee maande	96a	two months
last twee maande tyd	96b	in the last two months
ons vat weer 'n ander draai	97a	now around the corner
na 150	97b	near to 150
huistoe	97c	coming home
die man	97d	this man
hy't met 'n kind	97e	he went with a child
'n crèche nog	97f	who is at crèche still
is nie skool nie	97g	not at school
dis 'n crèche kind	97h	it's a crèche child
en hy	97i	and he
hy het net vrugte vir die kind gekoop ne	97j	he just bought fruit for the child
die jongens seker miskien	97k	the guys maybe
die geld gesien van die man	97l	saw the man's money
en 'n sel	97m	and his cell
en ja die man	97n	and then yes the man
hulle vat die sel	97o	they took the cell
en die man baklei soos die mense se	97p	and the man fought as the people said
hy	97q	he
toe baklei hy	97r	he fought
toe wil hy nie met die sel nie né	97s	he did not want t give the cell
toe skiet hulle vir hom dood	97t	so they shot him dead
en die kind	98a	and the child
shame	98b	shame
'pappa pappa pappa	98c	'pappa pappa pappa
pappa staan op pappa	98d	pappa get up pappa
pappa staan op pappa'	98e	pappa get up pappa'
dis 'n klein kind	98f	it's a small child
en	98g	and
een dag weer	99a	one day again
iemand klop by ander huis	99b	someone knocks at another house
en	99c	and
en hy vra nie	99d	he does not ask
hy maak ope	99e	he just opens
dan skiet hulle hom dood	99f	then they shot him dead
daar by my kind ook	100a	there by my child too
daai mense was uit vir 'n naweek	100b	those people were out for the weekend
toe los hulle hulle kinders	100c	then they left their children
hulle huis is mooi gebou	100d	their house is nicely built
en hulle's 'n bel van die huis af	100e	and there's a bell in the house
en toe press hulle die bel	100f	and they pressed the bell
na die huis toe	100g	to the house
BB		BB
hier in Guguleu?	101	here in Guguletu?
GT		GT
ja	102a	yes
die kinders vra nog	102b	the children still asked

'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 de 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 horlosies en earrings en alles en alles en alles	105b	and the watches and the earrings and everything and everything
al die goue goeters	105c	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 Gladys bly?	107	if you had a choice noe, Gladys, where would you choose to live?
Gt		GT
ek	108	me
ek wil	109a	I want to
as dit nie Elsie is nie	109b	if it's not Elsie
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 saam	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 hiersa	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
oorkant 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 kleinkinders	114b	my grandchildren
is ook in bruin skole	114c	they are also in coloured schools
toe waarsku hulle vir ons	115a	they warned us
ons 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 jaar	115i	was it earlier this year
[?]	116	[?]
maar still	117a	but still
ek kies tussen bruin mense	117b	I prefer with the coloured people
nie hier nie	118a	not here
nee	118b	no

is waar	119	it's true
ek is nie tevrede nie	120a	I am not satisfied
ek is rerig nie tevrede nie	120b	I am really not satisfied
ek het nie lewe nie	120c	I don't have a life
nie lekker lewe nie	120d	not a good life
want die kinders het nie respek nie man	120e	because the children do not have respect
BB		BB
maar 'n mens moet maar aangaan né?	121	but I suppose a person just has to go on, hey?
GT		GT
dis swaar	122	it's hard
kinders het nie skande nie	123a	children have no shame
skande en respek	123b	shame or respect
ander vrou sy's hier	124a	another woman over there
net hier oorkant	124b	just on the other side
is a ouma	124c	she's a grandmother
sy bly met haar kinders en kleinkinders	124d	she lives with her children and grandchildren
maar die kleinkinders is ombeskof met die ouma	124e	but the grandchildren are rude to their grandmother
is swaar hier	125a	it's hard here
kinders wil nie werk nie	125b	children do not want to work
BB	BB	
maar miskien sukkel hulle daar's nie werk nie?	126	but maybe they are struggling to find work?
GT		GT
ja	127	yes
ek weet	128a	I know
want my	128b	because my
met die	128c	with the
kleinkinders van my	128d	my grandchildren
die ma	128e	the mother
sy't vier jaar	128f	she's got four years
sy kan nie werk nie	128g	she can't find work
werk is skaars	129a	work is scarce
dis hoekom ek hierso kom wyn verkoop het	129b	that's why I have to come here to sell wine
dis skaars	129c	it's scarce
daar's nie geld nie	130	there's no money
daar's nie werk nie	131	there's no work
even die klein dogter van my	132a	even my granddaughter
se dokter	132b	her doctor
in Rooi Kruis	132c	at Red Cross
hy't al nou	132d	he has already
kere kere	132e	many times
vir Jeannette	132f	tried
gehelp	132f	to help Jeanette
try om werk te kry	132g	try to get work
bel hy al die plekke wat hy ken ook	132h	he 'phoned all the places that he knows
restaurante	132i	restaurants
niks werk gekry nie	132j	could find no work
BB		BB
dankie Gladys enigiets anders?	133	thank you Gladys anything else
GT		GT
ja	134	yes
wat maak laat	135a	that's the reason why
wat baat dit maar	135b	what does it matter
ek hou nie want a drank nie	136a	I don't like wine
want ek gebruik nie drank nie	136b	because I don't drink wine
maar die om ek sukkel	137a	but because I'm struggling

toe dink ek maar	137b	I thought
die	137c	this
ek moet maar	137d	I must
die geldjies wat sy kry vir die klein baby	138a	the little money that she gets for the small baby
die honderd en dertig	138b	the hundred and thirty
BB		BB
die grant?	139	the grant?
GT		GT
ja	140a	yes
die grant	141b	the grant
toe sê ek	141a	then I said
sy moet vir my die honderd rand gee	141b	she must give me hundred rand
dan gebruik sy die dertig rand	141c	then she can use the thirty rand
laat ek wyn kan koop	141d	so that I can buy wine
dan verkoop ek	141e	and sell it
dan kry ek	141f	then I can get
want die hospitaal bill	142a	because the hospital bill
is drie duisend rand	142b	is three thousand rand
ek kan nie	142c	I can't
BB		BB
vir wat is die nou?	143	what is that for?
GT		GT
ja	144a	yes
sy's half blind	144b	she's half blind
BB		BB
die een wie se oe so rooi is?	145	the one who's eyes were so red?
GT		GT
ja	146a	yes
ja sy's half	146b	yes she's half
<i>(end of side A of tape)</i>		
Side B		
GT continues		
ja	147a	yes
in hospitaal waar sy gelê het	147b	in hospital where she was lying
ek dink daar was	147c	I think there were
ek dink hulle het visitors gekry van oor die see af	147d	I think that they had visitors from overseas
sy moet afskrywe	147e	she had to write down
hoe's haar lewe	147f	how her life is
en toe se sy	147g	and then she said
hulle lewe met die ouma	147h	they live with their grandmother
want die ma werk nie	147i	because their mother is not working
die ouma help haar	147j	their grandmother helps them
met alles en alles	147k	with everything and everything
BB		BB
hoe oud is sy?	148	how old is she?
GT		GT
sy's elf	149	she's eleven
BB		BB
so Gladys maak darem iets?	150	so at least you are able to earn something, Gladys?
GT		GT
ja	151	yes
BB		BB
baie dankie Gladys	152	thank you very much Gladys

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 11, NY 97 Guguletu
No. of Tapes recorded : 1

AGREEMENT DETAILS between Mr Selbourne Ngeno and Bonita Bennett

Date (of agreement) : 17/07/2003
Place : Guguletu
Name of interviewee or informant (printed) : Mr Selbourne Ngeno
Address: No 11, NY 97
Guguletu

- I would like to remain anonymous when quoted in any research papers. No
- I would like the identities of any people mentioned by me in the interview, to remain anonymous. No
- 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 :
Co-signed by interviewer :
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. No
- I would like the identities of any people mentioned by me in the interview, to remain anonymous. No
- 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 :
Co-signed by interviewer :
Date : 17/07/2003

APPENDIX 3C

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 : 14-10-2003
Location or address of recording or interview : NY 140, No 23 Gugulethu
No. of Tapes recorded : 1

AGREEMENT DETAILS between Mrs Gladys Thandethi and Bonita Bennett

Date (of agreement) : 14-10-2003
Place : Gugulethu
Name of interviewee or informant (printed) : Mrs Gladys Thandethi
Address : NY 140, No 23
Gugulethu

- 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 :
Co-signed by interviewer :
Date : 14-10-2002