Visualising Human Migrations in Cape Town
The story of three ships through ‘time’, ‘space’ and ‘memory’

Meghna Singh

February 2019

Visualising Human Migrations in Cape Town
The story of three ships through ‘time’, ‘space’ and ‘memory’

by
Meghna Singh

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of Cape Town, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Drama department

Supervisor: Associate Professor Jay Pather
Associate Professor Nick Shepherd
February 2019

Declaration

I, Meghna Singh, declare that Visualising human migrations in Cape Town, the story of three ships through ‘time’, ‘space’ and ‘memory’, is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Meghna Singh
9 February 2019

Acknowledgements

This thesis and the accompanying creative works have been made possible due to the support and advice of a number of people.

My special appreciation and thanks go out to Associate Professors Nick Shepherd and Jay Pather for mentoring me during this PhD research process. Their generous guidance has helped make this thesis project a rich and exciting journey. The creativity and clarity of their thinking helped me through the entire process. Besides my supervisors, I would like to thank my colleagues who assisted in the creation of the artworks, Simon Wood, Sara de Gouveia, James Webb and Khalid Shamis, for working with me.

I am grateful to the Transnet National Ports Authority for allowing me access to the port for my research and filming, and to Hanis Kotze for being my safety net inside the port. I would like to thank the men on the ship who were trusting of me and let me into their lives. It was a privilege interacting with them over the course of the research. Jaco Boshoff must be thanked for his insight into the discovery of the *São José*, as well as the Hangar team in Lisbon who helped me with my research and filming in Portugal. Yolanda and Ricardo Duarte and Yara Costa Pereira were the most generous hosts in Ilha de Mozambique, thank you.

Regarding funding, I appreciate the support of the Drama Department at the University of Cape Town, the Wellcome Trust U.K. and Associate Professor Jo Veary at the African Centre for Migration & Society, Wits University, for funding my project, The Rusting Diamond. I am thankful to Katherine Farrell for helping with the copy-editing of this thesis.

I would not have been able to finish this project without the support and understanding of my parents, who agreed to let me follow the path of being an artist, despite never quite understanding why. Finally, I would like to dedicate the work to one of the most creatively inspiring people I know, my husband and soulmate, Simon Wood, and the most precious addition to my life, my daughter, Tashi Amita Wood.

Abstract

Visualising Human Migrations in Cape Town
The story of three ships through 'time', 'space' and 'memory'

Meghna Singh

This practice-led PhD contributes to an understanding of contemporary art practice as a tool to render visible and unravel capitalist imaginaries within the field of migration studies. Focusing on the theme of contemporary and historical migrations at Cape Town through research conducted on three ships between 2013 and 2017, it uses the themes of 'time', 'space' and 'memory' to visualise migrations. The PhD interrogates the hidden process of globalisation; the invisibility of the workings of the port; the invisibility of the workers; their stories and their connection to the movement of capital, and renders them visible through the research. The study is situated at the intersection of migration studies, visual art practices and artistic research methods. Using the methodology of observational filmmaking and the creation of immersive multimedia installations incorporating virtual reality, it borrows from the work of anthropologists like David MacDougall (1998); Michael Taussig (1993); James Clifford (1988); Alyssa Grossman (2013); and Anna Grimshaw and Amanda Ravetz (2005) who make a case for the technique of 'visualising anthropology' in the field of ethnographic enquiry. Furthering the case of observational filming as a sensory form of investigation, I draw on the work of film scholar Laura Marks who advocates the phenomenon of "tactile epistemologies" (2000) and Doug Aitkens whose creations of split narrative videos illustrate the immersive experience I seek to achieve in my creative outputs. The central argument of this study is that an experience of research, conducted through the medium of observational filmmaking and presented via immersive video installations, creates visibility, empathy and an understanding of situations through corporeal embodiment, adding to the field of visual art and migration research.

Table of contents

List of Figures

Figure 21.1.1 - 21.1.4: Photo still, Remains (pulley block) of San Jose Paquette de Africa under treatment at the underwater archaeology lab, Iziko National museum, Cape Town, 2016.
Photo credit: Meghna Singh
Figure 22.1.1 - 22.1.2: Photo still, Arrested Motion exhibition, Remaking Place, Cape Town, 2015.
Photo credit: Meghna Singh
Figure 23.1.1 - 23.1.4: Photo still, Arrested Motion exhibition, Remaking Place, Cape Town, 2015.
Photo credit: Meghna Singh
Figure 24.1.1 - 24.1.4: Photo still, Arrested Motion exhibition, Speilart Festival, Munich, 2017.
Photo credit: Meghna Singh
Figure 25.1.1 - 25.1.3: Photo still, Arrested Motion exhibition, Kerkennah, Tunisia, 2018.
Photo credit: Meghna Singh
Figure 26: Arrested Motion exhibition poster, Remaking Place, Cape Town, 2015.
Figure 27: Photo collage, Arrested Motion: Names of seafarers WBI Trinity (Meghna Singh, 2015).
Figure 28: Photo collage, Arrested Motion: Men watching Bollywood film (Meghna Singh, 2015).
Figure 29: Photo collage, Arrested Motion: Men in dining room (Meghna Singh, 2015).
Figure 30: Photo collage, Arrested Motion: Abi pacing up and down on the deck (Meghna Singh, 2015).
Figure 31: Photo collage, Arrested Motion: Captain pacing up and down (Meghna Singh, 2015).
Figure 32: Video still, Arrested Motion: Chef in the kitchen, WBI Trinity (Meghna Singh, 2015).
Figure 33.1.1 - 33.1.2: Video still, Arrested Motion: Interior details of Sanjiv's cabin (Meghna Singh, 2015).
Figure 34.1.1 - 34.1.2: Video still, Arrested Motion: Men drinking inside the cabin, WBI Trinity (Meghna Singh, 2015).
Figure 35: Photo collage, Arrested Motion: Exterior textures, Port of Cape Town (Meghna Singh, 2015).
Figure 36: Photo collage, Arrested Motion: Container ships coming into the port, Port of Cape Town (Meghna Singh, 2015).
Figure 37: Photo collage, Arrested Motion: Workings of the container terminal, Port of Cape Town (Meghna Singh, 2015).
Figure 38: Photo collage, Arrested Motion: Barbed wire, Exterior WBI Trinity (Meghna Singh, 2015).
Figure 39.1.1. - 39.1.2.: The Rusting Diamond: Live Art Festival, Cape Town (Meghna Singh, 2018)
Figure 40: The Rusting Diamond: Live Art Festival poster, Cape Town (Meghna Singh, 2017)

Introduction: Visualising human migrations through time, space and memory

> When entering the harbour, the voyager leaves the exceptional condition of the boundless sea – this traversable space of maritime immensity – to come ashore in an offshore place, in a container world that only tolerates the trans local state of not being of this place – or of any other really – but of existing in a condition of permanent not belonging, a juridical nonexistence (Biemann, 2008:56).

On the 11th of March 2015, 50 people wandered around in the outdoor courtyard space of the Hiddingh Campus, University of Cape Town, after sunset. The luminous glow from the video projections, large and small, created a magical surreal scene. Varying footage of the Cape Town harbour was projected onto three large screens, while six smaller screens sculpted into portholes helped conjure a feeling of the ship itself. Blocks of ice lodged into the suspended portholes added to the luminosity of the smaller projections, and as they melted away, the constant dripping added to the immersive liquidity of the installation. It provided a keyhole glimpse into the lives of a group of Indian seafarers on a ship docked in Cape Town harbour and stuck there indefinitely due to some unspoken administrative technicality. The inventively constructed, meditative installation aimed to undo any stock perceptions of the ruggedness and tough masculinity of the men bound up in contemporary maritime life. Scaffolding and ropes successfully added to a sense of the industrial materiality of the harbour, while a semi-abstract surround sound audioscape added to the immersive environment at the aural level. We witness the men going about their daily chores, whiling away time and busying themselves with mundane everyday activities, like watching television and preparing meals. Unassuming individual gestures and prosaic everyday moments are captured in long, lingering takes, which externalise the mens' internal sense of time suspended or protracted. Confined to the ship, the spatial reality of their stuckness in this anchored no-man's-land is offset by the liquidity and flow of the water, hinting at the vastness of the open sea beyond. The true-to-life documentary aspects of the installation are successfully offset by its sensual, existential poetics, established most affectingly by the lyrical tenor of the projections. One is struck by the contract of trust between the artist/filmmaker and these men and the amount of time invested for the men to be so at ease and off-guard in this observational presence. The artwork transmits a tangible existential sense of what it must have been like for these men to be stuck on that cargo ship in Cape Town harbour for all that time – the waiting, the biding of time, the shifting textures of their circumstances. What emerges is a sense of their vulnerability as units of labour in a centuries-old transnational system of maritime commerce.

Conceptual points of departure

> The potential of the visual narrative is then in its power to convey what words cannot express – the 'immense remainder' (Certeau, 1988:61).

This practice-led PhD is situated at the intersection of migration studies, visual art practices and artistic research methods. It contributes to an understanding of contemporary art practice as a tool to render visible and unravel capitalist imaginaries within the field of migration studies. It argues for art as knowledge production and the methodology of 'thinking through the visual' as advocated by theorists like Sarat Maharaj in (2009), James O Young (2001) and Graeme Sullivan (2005). Maharaj states that there is a distinction in research when we work with the idea of "visual art as knowledge production" and this research "involves sundry epistemic engines and contraptions that we might broadly refer to as thinking through the visual" (Maharaj, 2009:2).

Using the methodology of observational filmmaking and the creation of immersive installations, multimedia and virtual reality, I borrow from anthropologists like David MacDougall (1998); Taussig (1993); James Clifford (1988); Alyssa Grossman (2013); and Grimshaw and Ravetz (2005) who make a case for the technique of 'visualising anthropology' in the field of ethnographic enquiry. According to Taussig, "there are new ways of embodied knowledge that are located in the body and in the senses that make observational cinema an embodied form of conducting research" (1993:26). Furthering the case of observational filming as a sensory form of investigation, I draw on the work of film scholar Laura Marks who writes about the phenomenon of "tactile epistemologies" in her book *The Skin of the Film* (2000:1). By combining different research methodologies such as empirical, historical and archival research with participant observation and observational filmmaking, I have created multimedia installations that have been exhibited in public art festivals or spaces. These multimedia public art displays form the final outcome of the research work and are a way to immerse the spectators in the world of the research, to allow them to experience years of research rather than just read the work. I also draw on the work and writings of the Los Angeles-based video artist Doug Aitkens (2000) and his creations of split narrative videos in illustrating the immersive experience that multiple screen set-ups create for the audience. He calls it the "broken screen effect" or "broken continuity. Writing about the phenomenon of corporealisation in experiencing Aitkens' work, Electric Earth, feminist Elizabeth Grosz describes it as one in which "the subject's ego is no longer centered in its own body, and the body feels as if it has been taken over or controlled by outside forces" (1994:43).

The central argument of this study is that an experience of research, conducted through the medium of observational filmmaking and presented via immersive video installations, creates visibility, empathy and an understanding of situations through corporeal embodiment, adding to the field of visual art and migration research. Writing about the invisibility of the working conditions of

labour, Allen Sekula questions "the contemporary (im)possibility of an iconography of labour in a self declared post-industrial and post working class society, where large segments of labour and production are concealed from common view since they are exported to the geo-political margins" (Sekula, 1995:191). I throw light on this proletarian migrant invisibility by presenting three case studies based on three ships discovered within the first year of my PhD research in Cape Town. The story of migration starts at sea and Cape Town as a city is characterised by its relationship with the sea, both historic and contemporary (Worden; van Heijningen & Bickford-Smith, 1998; Worden, 2012; Hofmeyr, 2007). The three case studies were chosen due to their locational proximity to the sea, the first two geographically located inside the harbour (WBI *Trinity* and *Lady San Lorenzo*) and the third (*São José Paquette de Africa*) against the backdrop of the harbour. They connect in that all three deal with invisibility within the city and tell the story of migrants within the city. My interest lies in interrogating the hidden process of globalisation, the invisibility of the workings of the port, the invisibility of the workers, their stories and their connection to the movement of capital, and rendering these visible through this research. The content of the works engages with these complexities and renders visible things that pass beneath us unnoticed: men hidden away inside ships, ships hidden away inside the harbour or buried deep down in the sea, bodies buried under the sand.

The first case study, 'A Notice to Motion: Exploring states of stillness while waiting on the arrested vessel WBI *Trinity* at the Port of CapeTown', dissects the period of waiting within maritime arrest and the effect this has on the lives of the men who are caught up in it. The research presents the case of the WBI *Trinity*, a supply vessel arrested to foreclose a mortgage at the Port of Cape Town during its voyage from Nigeria to Dubai. For the research, I spent six months observing nine Indian seafarers stuck in an arrested vessel at the Port of Cape Town. Furthermore, the research included an analysis of observational footage, interviews with the seafarers, field notes and legal facts provided by a shipping law expert, Graham Bradfield, head of the Shipping Law Unit, University of Cape Town. The work tries to address two main themes. First, it shows how neo-liberal policies relating to the shipping industry immobilise people, as proposed by theorists such as Sampson (2003); Borovnik (2004); DeSombre (2006); Lindquist (2000); and Neilson and Rossiter (2010) and how this immobility is linked to a broader subaltern experience (Jeffrey, 2010; Martin, 2011). Secondly, it unpacks the period of waiting and how the 'men-in-waiting' inhabit forms of stillness. Reflecting on Jean Francois Bayart's (2007) argument that waiting has become central to the subaltern experience, I borrow from the writings of Craig Jeffrey (2010) on the idea of 'unstructured time' and the notion of 'timepass' amongst unemployed youth in North India. Craig Jeffrey writes about the effects of waiting on the numerous excluded individuals and groups who are forced to reside in a state of indetermination. In his book, *The Politics of Waiting*, he examines "situations in which people have been compelled to wait for years, generations or whole lifetimes, not as a result of their voluntary movement through modern spaces but because they are durably unable to realize their goals" (Jeffrey, 2010:3). Furthermore,

I frame the experience of the Indian seafarers in waiting by using David Bissell's phenomenon of the "variegated affective complex" where he suggests that the period of 'waiting' entails a "mix of activity and inactivity" and describes waiting as a "corporeal experience" (Bissell, 2007:277). I conclude by showing how 'waiting' allows us to expand on the critique of neo-liberal policies within the maritime world and how it links to the concept of the 'posthuman condition/space' proposed by Biemann (2008).

The second case study, 'The Rusting Diamond: A case of precarious lives and liminal spaces in Cape Town', presents the interrelated complexities of capitalism, oceanic flows of trade and labour and migration through the metaphor of a rusting deep-sea diamond-mining vessel that operated in Namibia and is now waiting to be cut up. In its state of decay, it provides shelter to a few illegal Ghanaian immigrants who inhabit the ship. The half submerged ship focuses our attention on the creation of abandoned spaces and lives in Africa. Drawing on Zygmunt Bauman's work *Wasted Lives: Modernity and its outcasts* (2004), this case study raises the idea of 'human waste' and 'wasted humans' described by him as the by-products of a contemporary globalised world. Expanding on the theme of precarious lives, I build on the concept of 'hyper-precarity' and 'continuum of unfreedom' as proposed by Lewis, Dwyer, Hodkinson and Waite in their article 'Hyper-precarious lives: Migrants, work and forced labour in the Global North' (2015). I also borrow from Bridget Anderson's (2010) concept of 'unfree labour' and the concept of the 'wasted precariat' proposed by Mojca Pajnik (2016:162). Focusing on the theme of abandonment and its relationship with global capitalism, I reference the work of geographist Mike Crang who shows us the "counter images of globalizations", "the hidden underside of capitalism" by focusing on the breaking down of "mighty ships and their ruinous carcasses in South Asia" in *The Death of Great Ships: Photography, politics and waste in the global imaginary* (2010). DeSilvey and Edensor's writings on how "ruins may be used to critically examine capitalist and state manifestations of power" are important to frame the ship within a global context (2012:465). Introducing the idea of liminality to spaces that exist between "place and mobility", I draw from the writings of Cresswell (2012). Lastly, framing the experience of the Ghanaian immigrants hiding inside the ship within the theme of migrancy and xenophobia in South Africa, I draw from relevant literature, especially that written since the 2008 and 2015 xenophobic violence. This includes Jonathan Crush and Bruce Frayne's edited book *Surviving on the Move: Migration, poverty and development in southern Africa* (2010), writings of Crush and McDonald (2002) and Belinda Dodson's writings on the xenophobic attacks in South Africa (2010). The more recent writings of James Williams (2017), Sabine Marschall (2017) and Camalita Naicker (2016) contribute to understanding men's experience of living as foreigners in Cape Town.

Thirdly, using the remains of the *São José Paquette de Africa*, a working Portuguese slave ship that sank with 212 slaves on board in 1794, their hands and legs shackled as they drowned (Boshoff et al., 2016), I reflect on the theme of memory and slavery in Cape Town in the chapter 'Meeting of

the dead and living: The memory of the slave ship *São José* in Cape Town'. Starting with the story of the *São José Paquette de Africa*, its journey from Lisbon to Mozambique Island to Cape Town and its destined route to Brazil, I present the historic background of the journey through fieldwork and archival research at Ilha de Mozambique, Lisbon (Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino) and Cape Town (The Western Cape Archive & Record Service). I discuss the story of the search for the remains of the ship and its discovery through an interview with the lead underwater archaeologist working for Iziko Museums South Africa, Jaco Boshoff, and by referencing the book *From No Return: The 221-year Journey of the Slave Ship São José,* published by the Smithsonian museum (Boshoff et al., 2016). I also borrow from the work of historians like Da Silva (2008); Alpers (1975); Machado (2003) and Harries (2016) to expand on the role of the Portuguese in the slave trade from Mozambique to Brazil. Considering the possible discovery of a mass grave of the enslaved at Clifton beach, I question the fate of the dead if human remains were to be discovered at the site. In attempting to answer this question, I reflect on the case of Prestwich Street in 2003 where a colonial burial ground was discovered with remains of the underclass of Cape Town (Shepherd, 2012, 2013, 2015; Murray, 2007). Historians Martin Legassick and Ciraj Rassool ask questions about the ethics of exhumation and the nature of scientific research conducted on the indigenous body under colonial conditions. According to them, the failure to tackle these sensitive questions "derives from a perpetuation of the idea that the bones and skulls of Khoisan people in the twentieth century are natural history fossils, referred to as relics" (Legassick & Rassool, 2000:2). I borrow from Anthony Bogues' idea of 'historical catastrophe', which suggests that an atrocious set of events set in the past are reproduced and recapitulated in new forms and contemporary disguises (Bogues, 2010). The chapter presents a new way of looking at the theme of the memory of slavery in Cape Town. I refer to the work of Avery Gordon on hauntings and ghosts (1997) and haunting and futurity (2011) in proposing haunting as a phenomenon to understand historical repression in society. Reflecting on transatlantic slavery in her book, *Ghostly Matters* (1997), she suggests that engaging with a ghost "is about putting life back in where only a vague memory or a bare trace was visible to those who bothered to look" (Gordon, 1997:22). In her writings on haunting and futurity (2011), she suggests working with the idea of 'hauntings' and a meeting of the dead and living as a way to move on.

Research questions

> Things must become visible to the mind and body before we can conceive them. Notably, seeing a phenomenon is epistemologically different from 'saying' this phenomenon; seeing entails distinctive ways of perceiving the phenomenon and making it accessible and as such is constitutive for the becoming of the phenomenon (Jensen, 2011:255).

Focusing on the contemporary site of the Port of Cape Town and the invisibility that accompanied the containerisation of the port, this practice-led research looks at observational filmmaking and

immersive installation as a creative tool to throw light on emergent global processes and forms that are characteristic of the contemporary nature of this city. By approaching and presenting the theme of migration and mobilities in Cape Town through the lens of "the visual", the research adds new critical vocabularies to the existing literature and debates around migration in Cape Town. The research tests whether the conceptual apparatus of "thinking through the visual" (Maharaj, 2000) is successful in interrogating and visualising these themes of migration. In correspondence with the central argument of this thesis, I pose a set of questions regarding the discourses associated with the proposed methodology and the themes (time, space and memory) brought up through the research work.

Firstly, I ask: How does visual art practice add to knowledge production within the field of migration studies and how does it throw light on migrant stories in Cape Town? As a stepping stone here, I borrow from the work of Roland Bleiker who argues for a turn towards an aesthetic approach to "broaden our knowledge" of societal encounters rather than "simply adding a few additional layers of interpretation" (2001:519). Other theorists like Maharaj (2009); Graeme Sullivan (2005) and James O. Young (2001) make a case for visual art as academic research too. In addition to this, I borrow from a seminal work, 'New Mobilities Regimes in Art and Social Sciences' (Witzgall, Vogl & Kesselring, 2013) which contributes to a dialogue between mobility researchers, sociologists, anthropologists, art theorists and international artists. In discussing the relationship between mobility and visual research, Witzgall lays out how artistic works can be viewed as an independent form of gaining insight. She states, "they often explore that which lies beyond the reach of scientific issues and problems, or what is overlooked and excluded by conventional scientific approaches" (2013:7).

Secondly, I ask the question: How does the medium of observational filmmaking and immersive video installations help the audience to empathise and connect with the life of migrants, adding to knowledge production within the field of migrancy in Africa? How does the artist use filmmaking as a form of critical intervention and employ visual art to provide ways of comprehending contemporary culture? Discussing the benefits of 'image-based enquiry' within theoretical ethnographic practice, Grimshaw and Ravetz suggest, "Using a camera positions one differently in the world. It serves to radically realign the body such that a different range of questions about experience and knowledge come into view" (2005:6). Furthermore, through the work of filmmakers and theorists like Jean Rouch (2003; Grossman (2013); Grimshaw and Ravetz (2005); MacDougall (1998); Clifford (1998); Taussig (1993); Young (1975); Tabachnick (2011); and Barabantseva and Lawrence (2015), I elucidate how my chosen style of observational filmmaking allowed for the development of an "intimate, sensitive and sympathetic relationship" with my subjects while "watching as much as possible from the inside rather than operating in an aloof and detached manner" (Young, 1975:76). Through the work of film theorist Laura Marks (2000) and Doug Aitkens (2000), I show how the creation of the multimedia works allowed the

audience to engage with the research in a way that is defined by Marks as 'haptic visuality', "evoking of sensory emotions while allowing the eyes themselves to function like organs of touch" (2000:162-163). I expand on her notion of the "intelligence of the perceiving body" or the concept of "tactile epistemology" which she defines as "thinking with your skin, or giving as much significance to the physical presence of an other as to the mental operations of symbolization" (Marks, 2000:190). Expanding the scope within the field of immersive environments, the research also reflects on virtual reality and the benefits of this medium in creating empathy.

The third question I focus on is: How does the technique of embodiment and viscerality create empathy towards the research subjects? How does this allow for an engagement with the idea of the 'human humanism and the human condition' making a case for an 'ethics of humanism' as proposed by Ari Sitas (2012)? Historically, the image of the sailor is one of a primitive, not having been granted equal rights. Paul S. Taylor writes how "sailors were thought to be physiognomically distinct from citizens in their primitive, rootless, naïve, profligate, and pugnacious ways" and "mutiny was an intrusion into the public sphere by those unqualified to speak" (1923:44-45). When things, more specifically ships and discreet spaces in the city, start becoming visible to us, we start questioning the role of power within the creation of these spaces. As indicated by Mimi Sheller and John Urry (2006), power is at the core of the emerging field of mobility studies. Drawing on Zygmunt Bauman's work *Wasted Lives: Modernity and its Outcasts* (2004), the case study of The Rusting Diamond raises the idea of 'human waste' and 'wasted humans' described by him as the by-products of a contemporary globalised world. By showcasing the liminal world of the rusted sinking vessel and the illegal immigrants taking shelter inside the ship, I showcase how the 'human waste' (the abandoned ship) and the 'wasted humans' (illegal immigrants) are intrinsically linked to each other. Through creating an immersive world for the audience to tell the story of the men hiding in the ship, I try to visualise the concept of "the hidden underside of capitalism" and the "counter images of globalizations" as proposed by Mike Crang (2010). Furthermore, questions around the precarity of life and work are raised by linking the lives of the men living in the ship to the very precariousness of the site they inhabit. This builds on the concept of 'hyper-precarity' and 'continuum of unfreedom' as proposed by Lewis, Dwyer, Hodkinson and Waite (2015). These recreated worlds and images link the work to the concept of the "post humanist condition" as proposed by Ursula Bienmann (2008:57); "bare life" proposed by Giorgio Agamben (2005); "turbulent stillness" used by Martin (2011) and "slow violence" as proposed by Rob Nixon (2011).

The fourth question asks: How does the theme of waiting and liminal spaces as seen in the case study Arrested Motion, The Rusting Diamond highlight the experience of migrants and migrant states in Cape Town? How does it expand the writings within the migration studies in South Africa? In Arrested Motion, the period of waiting is represented as a "corporeal experience", as suggested by Bissell (2007:277). Craig Jeffrey (2010) states that while everyday practices of

waiting in Third World countries are accepted as a part of the everyday, how does one highlight a slow passive violence inflicted on the subaltern body beneath the mask of a progressive global mobility? By viewing the crew's activities under the theme of both 'corporeal engagement' and 'withdrawal', I traced a path of the various activities and inactivities to portray the experience of 'being-in-waiting'. Furthermore, the work shows the phenomenon of asociality amongst the men through the period of waiting. Harrison (2008:433) writes about how the 'asocial' or a "tendency towards withdrawal, disengagement, and acquiescence" can exist within the sphere of the social. In The Rusting Diamond, we are introduced to the theme of urban ruins and capitalism where "ruins may be used to critically examine capitalist and state manifestations of power" as proposed by DeSilvey and Edensor (2012:465). The space of the decaying ship is used to highlight the story of the immigrants and how they came to Cape Town. This further elicits the idea that precarious work is linked to a worker's socio-legal status and that 'border regimes' contribute to the precarity of illegal immigrants. Lewis, Dwyer, Hodkinson and Waite state that the "viscerally lived unfreedoms within some migrants' working lives are brought about by a layering of insecurities produced by labour and immigration regimes and are better conceptualized as hyper-precarious rather than 'merely' precarious" (2015:593). Framing the experience of the Ghanaian immigrants hiding inside the ship within the theme of migrancy and xenophobia in South Africa (Williams, 2017; Marschall 2017; Naicker, 2016; Crush & McDonald, 2002), we understand why the men live the life of 'wasted precariat' (Pajnik, 2016), hiding inside the ship inside the Port of Cape Town.

Fifthly, I ask: How does a focus on oceanic Cape Town, historic and contemporary, allow us to reimagine Cape Town as a global city through it networks and exchanges? In addition, how does this research make us view questions of historical injustice and the memory of slavery? Cape Town is an emerging global city. Yet the Cape, with its strategic location on a peninsula between the Atlantic and Indian oceans, has deep roots in the transnational history of people, culture and business, dating back to the early days of colonialism (Hofmeyr, 2007; Worden, 2012). In her essay, Hofmeyr asks what we "can derive from thinking about three intersecting frameworks: the black Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and Africa itself" (2007:4). She writes about the need to engage with the Indian Ocean perspective rather than the lopsided attention that has been focused on the black Atlantic. My research seeks to move beyond just the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean studies, beyond the north-south nodes of transnationalism and to focus on Cape Town, lying between the contemporary transoceanic worlds, powered by global multi-nationals working within the international shipping networks. I draw on Fernando Ribeiro's work and his attempt to move beyond romanticising oceanic worlds as spaces beyond borders (Viljoen & Samuelson, 2007:2). The late 1960s saw the advent of globalisation and the containerisation of cargo at the Port of Cape Town. Peter Newall in *Cape Town Harbour: 1652 to the Present* describes the plans for the new Ben Schoeman Dock in what he calls the 'age of the container' (1993:31). The port was mechanised and people replaced by mammoth cranes unloading cargo with tremendous speed

and efficiency, enabling a faster turnaround of container ships and seafarers. The 1990s saw the completion of this transformation as developers turned the old harbour into bourgeois recreation areas: the V&A Waterfront development (Trotter, 2008). The advent of containerisation not only changed the relationship between the ports and cities but also the relationship between the centre and the peripheries. Industries rooted to the centre could now transfer work to the peripheries with cheaper labour. Sekula states, "factories become mobile, ship-like, as ships become increasingly indistinguishable from trucks and trains, and seaways lose their difference with highways". This changed the classical relationship between "the fixity of land and the fluidity the of sea" (1995:49).

In seeking to answer questions around historical injustice and the memory of slavery, it's important to reflect on the history of the city. Cape Town's geographical location and history forms an important part of the research in framing the chapter on the memory of *São José*. Historians Nigel Worden, Elizabeth van Heijningen and Vivian Bickford-Smith's book, *Cape Town: The Making of a City: An Illustrated Social History* (1998); *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century* (2000); Worden's book, *Cape Town between the East and West: Social Identities in a Dutch Colonial Town* (2012) and Robert Shell's *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838* (1994) provide an important historical understanding of Cape Town's history and society. "The importance of Cape Town as a refreshment station became even more pronounced due to the trading in slaves and the assistance provided to slave merchants at the Cape," states Harries (2016:425). "There were strong ties between the slave traders in Mozambique Island and agents in Cape Town and more than 20,000 slaves passed through Table Bay during the years 1797-1808" (2016:425). The work of historians like Da Silva (2008); Alpers (1975); Machado (2003) and Harries (2016) is very important in understanding the history of slavery in Cape Town. Drawing on the case of the slave ship *São José* and the possibility of the discovery of a mass grave of drowned slave ancestors at Clifton beach who were a part of the Middle Passage on their way to Brazil from Mozambique, I show how Cape Town remains a divided city living in the shadow of its past. The work of Nick Shepherd (2007) and Mbembe (2004) provides an important insight into the workings of the racialised city. Mbembe (2001) describes it as a postcolony, the multiple, contradictory moments of everyday life in Africa read against the persistent accretions of slavery, colonialism, apartheid and neo liberal forms of democracy.

Research themes: Flows of globalisation, immobility, borders, liminality and precarious migrant states

> Fluids travel easily. They 'flow', 'spill', 'run out', 'splash', 'pour over', 'leak', 'flood', 'spray', 'drip', 'seep', 'ooze'; unlike solids, they are not easily stopped – they pass around some obstacles, dissolve some others and bore or soak their way through others still. From the meeting with solids they emerge unscathed, while the solids they have met, if they stay solid, are changed – get moist or drenched (Bauman, 2000:2).

Writing about the hidden process of globalisation, I borrow from the writings of Zygmunt Bauman (2000) who uses 'fluidity' as the leading metaphor for the present stage of the modern era and discusses what the advent of 'fluid modernity' has brought to the world. He refers to the wasted lives of humans that are constantly on the move as an effect of the parasitic and predatory nature of the present form of globalisation. He goes on to discuss how 'disembodiment' of human labour serves as the principal source of nourishment, or the grazing ground, of contemporary capital (2000:21). Andrew Barry critiques the creation of these "zones in which the speed of circulation is maximized". He states that while there are "measures to ensure that physical entities located in different places and/or times fit together almost magically", they create "new zones of control and regulation, the new sites, objects and forms of political conflict" which restrict mobility (Barry, 2001:84). My research seeks to throw light on these zones of suspension or immobility that exist within the world of mobilities. It focuses on the lives of people stuck in these 'zones of immobility'. The understanding of immobility and border regimes forms an important base for the creative research project. 'Borders' as zones of control are a key consideration for research into mobilities and migration. As the world gets more fluid in its movements, new forms of borders have been created and dispersed in a mobile and globalised world. According to Van Houtum et al. we need to revisit the "static notion of the container-border". What exists now is instead a network of "complex and varied patterns of both implicit and explicit bordering and ordering practices" (2005:78). Expanding on the forms of 'bordering practices' they list other existing forms of border controls as "modes of location, tracking and surveillance, textual locatability in the form of ID cards, or more archaic devices such as the passport" (Van Houtum et al., 2005:79). Writing about control and borders, I cite the work of Neilson and Rossiter (2010) who examine the role of logistics as an important factor in the "stasis" or "slowing" of maritime transport. They state, "we are not the first to observe that while money and goods are increasingly mobile, human bodies are subject to forms of border control that restrict, filter and stratify their mobility often by means of detention and delay" (2010:11). Further to this, Martin (2011) and Van Houtum et al. (2005) discuss the complex debates on migratory practices and refugee mobilities. Writing about the emotional state of the "encapsulated undocumented migrant", Martin uses the term "turbulent stillness" to describe this state of stasis. I also make use of Giorgio Agamben's writings on the space of the camp (2005), which he describes as a "space of exception". He argues "the state of exception, which was essentially a temporary suspension of the rule of law on the basis of a factual state of danger, is now given a permanent spatial arrangement, which as such nevertheless remains outside the normal order" (Agamben, 1995:169).

Expanding the writings within the 'new mobilities regime', I focus on the subject of power relations and how a 'notion of power' and social inequality must be linked to 'network capital' within mobility studies, as advocated by Jonas Larsen, Kay Axhausen and John Urry in *Mobilities, Networks, Geographies* (2007). Introducing the idea of liminality to spaces that exist between "place and mobility", Cresswell suggests, "there are kinds of spaces and places inhabited by

people between states, undergoing rites of passage" (2012:71). Furthermore, Mike Crang shows us that liminal spaces are what he calls the "counter images of globalizations", "the hidden underside of capitalism" (2010). Throwing light on the case of the *Lady San Lorenzo*, the deep-sea rusting diamond-mining vessel, I borrow from DeSilvey and Edensor who elaborate how a "focus on ruins may be used to critically examine capitalist and state manifestations of power" (2012:465). Bridget Anderson (2010) highlights the concept of 'unfree labour' that describes migrant workers who are not free to circulate in the labour markets of the host countries in which they are working. Here, the "socio legal status" and "border regimes" contribute to the precarity of illegal immigrants. Describing precarity, Waite states, "In its literal sense, precarity refers to those who experience precariousness, and thus conjure life worlds that are inflected with uncertainty and instability" (Waite, 2009:581).

Art as knowledge production, observational filmmaking and a case for immersion to present research

In doing a practice-led PhD that uses observational filming as a form of critical intervention and encompasses multimedia installations to provide ways of comprehending contemporary culture, I am working within the new emerging field of research that gives equal weight to scientific and artistic depictions of the real. There are thinkers who support the production of artworks as contributing to academic research. James O. Young claims that "every item properly classified as a work of art can contribute to human knowledge" (2001:1). Furthermore, Sullivan makes a compelling argument to show how artistic enquiry employs the imaginative intellect in the construction of new forms of knowledge in society and highlights its capacity to have a wider outreach and transform human understanding (2005). Making a case for the aesthetic turn to the study of politics, Roland Bleiker states, "Some of the most significant theoretical and practical insight into world politics emerges not from endeavours that ignore representation, but from those that explore how representative practices themselves have come to constitute and shape political practices" (2001:510). He further adds, "By legitimising images, narratives and sounds as important sources for insight into world politics, aesthetic approaches have moved scholarship away from an exclusive and often very narrow reliance on diplomatic documents, statistical data, political speeches, academic treatises and other traditional sources of knowledge about the international" (2001:526).

The main methodological tool for the project was observational filmmaking. David MacDougall describes this medium as a form of 'genuine anthropology'. He states that it is "a process of inquiry in which knowledge is not prior but emerges and takes distinctive shape through the very grain of the filmmaking" (MacDougall, 1998:76). As one of the leading proponents of this type of filmmaking, he states, "observational film-making was founded on the assumption that things happen in the world which are worth watching, and that their own distinctive spatial and temporal

configurations are part of what is worth watching about them" (1994:27-36). Barabantseva and Lawrence (2015) discuss the ethical benefits of observational filmmaking with regard to British Chinese immigrants in Manchester. They state, "mundane observations of daily life stem from the belief that expressions and manifestations of everyday life present us with a more ethical potential to depart from the structures of representation and epistemic violence associated with them and help to evoke multiple interpretations and alternative solidarities" (2015: 912-913). Describing the benefits of the classic techniques of observational cinema, Clifford (1988) states that it helps disrupt familiar or established habits of engagement (especially through talk), fostering a new awareness of the non-verbal, of movement, gesture, posture, action and refocusing attention around the details, textures, and materiality of the social world. Finally, making a case for the use of observational filmmaking for the purpose of research, I borrow from Grimshaw and Ravetz who argue for a more "experimental and self-conscious visual anthropology, proposing greater movement between art and anthropology as the starting point for a project" (2009:10). They describe visual anthropology as "a radical form of ethnographic enquiry" (2009:15).

In the thesis, I refer to the work of Laura Marks and her views on the tactility of the medium of film to argue that immersive video installations act to create empathy in the audience. She describes it as a 'tactile epistemology' and writes about the influence the perceiving body has when watching film. She suggests that film and video can represent non-audiovisual sense experiences, making an appeal for "nonvisual knowledge, embodied knowledge, and experiences of the senses, such as touch, smell, and taste" in academia (Marks, 2000:2). Reviewing the work of Doug Aitkens who creates multiscreen video projections of great scale and elegance and split narrative videos, Elizabeth Grosz describes the experience as a phenomenon of corporealisation (1994:43). Further, in using immersive environments to display works to an audience, Ahn, Minh Tran Le and Bailenson (2013) discuss how "immersive virtual environment technology (IVET) provides users with vivid sensory information that allows them to embody another person's perceptual experiences" (2013:10). They expand on how the unique immersive characteristics of VR help in informing and engaging audiences on important social issues and describe how the medium, via its ability to replicate a degree of realism, allows the audience to vicariously share experiences (2013:10).

Research process and methods

> We do not posit that the film camera and the microphones present us with an entirely new or better way of doing fieldwork. The camera and microphone are tools, but in the hands of a researcher they become a method. The equipment, with the consent of research participants, legitimizes the researcher's intimate involvement in actual experience and it also allows us to record complex moments of multivocal fieldwork that can be used in the final edit of the film to evoke a sense of participation for the audience (Geertz, 1986:380).

I came to Cape Town in early 2013 as a practicing visual artist and filmmaker, to engage with the contemporary site of the port, and to understand and frame the complex dynamics of containerised oceanic trade mobilities. The contemporary Port of Cape Town, positioned in the middle of the city, is a spectacularly beautiful and intriguing site. Every day I watched the movement of container ships, like bullets, loaded, piercing through the sea, moving in the direction of their target or their space of engagement, the port. It is the site of a contact zone, of endless security checks, fencing and multiple blockage zones. The very visuality, materiality and physicality of the port, with giant cranes towering over the evening horizon, the constant entry and exit of the ships, the sound of fog horns, the massive gated communities hoarding colourful aluminum container boxes, coded and numbered, coupled with the inaccessibility to the site of the port, made me focus on working with ways to visualise the hidden complexities of these trade mobilities. I sought to engage with the lives and stories of port workers, seafarers and migrants caught up in this flux, their political and social realities and their possible futures. In doing a practice-led PhD, I unfold how art practice beyond the parameters of the gallery or museum displays, meets the complexities of representing these migrant mobilities within public spaces, allowing for a different set of publics and a different nature of public engagement with the works. I aim to create a shared sense of precarity for the audience in order to generate a connection and empathy with the characters in the works. The methodology for the research was multifold. I rely heavily on filmmaking as a form of sociological research. As Ewald and Lightfoot (2001) put it, the same principles teachers use to judge writing can be used to judge filmmaking. They state, "framing, point of view, timing, and the use of symbols and details – all … have parallels in writing" (2001:29-30). The filmmaking as a research method was aimed at the careful gathering of material with its relationality intact, combined with the imaginative use of narrative technique in the edit suite.

The PhD process started first with background research, a literature review and constructing a theoretical framework. I conducted archival research and worked with various archives relating to the history of the port, like the Western Cape Archives and Records Service, The Maritime Museum Archives at the Waterfront, the library collection of the Shipping Society at the Waterfront, The Social History Centre, Iziko Museum, the Cape Argus archive and the Special Collection Library at the University of Cape Town. The second stage involved getting permission from the Transnet port authorities to access and film inside the harbour of Cape Town. This took one year of meetings with the directors of various departments and submitting proposals to support my research work. Being a high security zone with limited access to the public, especially after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, it took a long time for the port security manager to approve my request. Writing about this phenomenon of securitisation, Levinson states, "Antiterrorism experts hit upon the possibility that terrorists might cripple world trade by exploding radioactive weapons secreted in containers. Suddenly containers came into public consciousness as an urgent threat, one that no government anywhere was equipped to confront. A large scale spending program inevitably followed, with radiation detectors appearing at port gates and port workers mandated to wear

supposedly tamper proof identity cards" (Levinson, 2006: XIII). The third stage of the research process included fieldwork inside the port. It is through this fieldwork that I discovered the site of the two ships, WBI *Trinity* and *Lady San Lorenzo*, which form the site for my PhD research.

The fourth and longest stage of the research spanning over two years involved participant observation through observational ethnographic filmmaking. One of the leading proponents of this type of filmmaking, David MacDougall, summarises it as, "observational film-making was founded on the assumption that things happen in the world which are worth watching, and that their own distinctive spatial and temporal configurations are part of what is worth watching about them". Describing the benefits of this approach for research, he states, "This approach holds that care should be taken not to overtly direct action nor to use any technique that may obscure activities as experienced by the research participants" (2006:60). A part of this process included audio recordings of qualitative in-depth interviews, as well as non-formal conversations with subjects that were later used as sound bytes in the audio tracks for the creation of the video works and the multimedia installations. Observational filmmakers generally do not write a script telling actors what to say and do but they do develop guides in the form of research agendas consisting of a series of questions that provide topics for filming (Suchar, 1997). Elaborating on the filmmaking techniques, such as observational, participatory and self-reflexive cinematic techniques, used for their research purposes, Barabantseva and Lawrence describe them as "filmmaking for fieldwork which presents them with an opportunity to record complex real-life moments before these experiences have been further narrativised through the process of reflection". These recordings are then available throughout the editing process for further exploration and can be included in the final narrative as a means by which to involve the audience in a sense of the original 'experience' (2015:917). Discussing the benefits of filming over writing as a research methodology and a more serious form of accountability towards the work created, Geertz states:

> Writing field notes requires a reformulation of experience as it is happening to become the conceptual narrative of a field diary, and for this reason it happens slowly, often on the margins of the activity and is dependent on the researcher's ability to conceptualise what is happening around them. A camera and microphone, on the other hand, work at the speed of light and sound, not only representing what is happening around them but preserving the embodied (re)actions of the filmmaker. The ability to move closely and intersubjectively in the field of action at the moment of recording, encourages a form of accountability not only in the moment of filming, but also in the audience who experience the film through the very images and sounds created in that moment (Geertz, 1986:380).

For the fifth stage of research, working on the case study of the *São José Paquette de Africa*, I participated in an art residency at the Hangar Institute in Lisbon, Portugal, from the 15th of September to the 5th of October 2015, funded by the Oriental Foundation in Portugal. This

allowed me to conduct archival research work at the Overseas Ultramarine Archive which houses the documents relating to the voyage of the *São José* from Lisbon to Ilha de Mozambique to Brazil. The residency facilitated access to and filming permission at different historical public museums and sites that translated into a video installation exhibited at the Hangar Institute. A second residency at Ilha de Mozambique in March 2016 allowed me to conduct interviews with maritime archaeologists and team members of the Slaves Wrecks Project, Yolanda and Ricardo Duarte. The visual and archival research conducted on the island of Mozambique helped me frame my writings for the chapter on the wreck of the *São José* and the memory of slavery in Cape Town.

The sixth step in the research process involved the editing of the video footage and collaborating with sound artists and video editors. This process formed the primary part of reviewing and reflecting on the video material, and drawing conclusions about the research process. Writing about the editing process of documentary filmmaking as research, Tabachnick states, "Armed with a research agenda, the filmmaker captures life as it happens, but who really knows what will happen? It is in the editing of the data collected that the researcher brings the film to life and fully organizes sociological meaning into events observed" (2011:134). Collaboration formed an important part of the research. The seventh and next stage in the research process involved conceiving and creating the immersive multimedia installations, which again worked on a system of collaboration with other artists. Arguing for aesthetics and art as knowledge production, Bleiker states, "By legitimising images, narratives and sounds as important sources for insight into world politics, aesthetic approaches have moved scholarship away from an exclusive and often very narrow reliance on diplomatic documents, statistical data, political speeches, academic treatises and other traditional sources of knowledge about the international" (2001:526). This stage also involved applying to showcase work at public art festivals and working on publicity material. The works have been exhibited nationally and internationally and with every new installation came an adaptation of the original set-up. The eighth stage of the work was to write down the thesis, drawing from all the above-discussed stages of the research process, and to assess the success or failure of the work. Ethnographer and filmmaker Richard Werbner suggests, "when filmmaking is undertaken before the writing then the continuous re-engagement with sensorous moments of fieldwork helps to develop a more evocative and situated written analysis" (2011:212). Following Werbner's suggestion I found that the written work became more genuine in its ability to evoke a feeling of related understanding or empathy, by constantly referring back to recorded field notes that preserved the original elements of the complex sensory environment in which they were created.

Finally, I would like to note that during the course of writing this thesis, I have publicly presented papers at, among other venues, Workers Museum, a conference hosted by the African Centre for Migration and Society at the university of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg and at a conference

titled, ‘Circulations: the unmaking of southern Africa beyond and across borders’ at the French Institute of South Africa, Johannesburg. I delivered a public talk presenting the three works at the Hangar Institute, Lisbon. Container was selected as one of fifteen international projects to be pitched at the 75th Venice Film Festival, august 2018 and the central forum of IDFA (International Documentary Film Festival) Amsterdam, November 2017. The chapter on arrested motion has been published in an e-book titled ‘Fluid networks and hegemonic powers in the western Indian ocean’ edited by Iain Walker, Manuel Ramos & Preben Kaarsholm. Parts of the writing on arrested motion and the rusting diamond have been published in catalogues for the exhibition, Puncture Points, Cape Town and the Speilart festival, Munich.

Summary of chapters

In addition to this introduction, my thesis is made up of four chapters and a conclusion. Along with the written thesis, I am submitting a portfolio of practical work, which includes the three video works: Arrested Motion (20 minutes), The Rusting Diamond (13 minutes), Our Story in this Ocean (7 minutes), as well as the promo video filmed in 360° video for the virtual reality project Container and the documentation for the installations of the exhibits.

Chapter one focuses on the theme of waiting during maritime arrest and the effect this has on the lives of the men caught up in it. Here I present the case of WBI *Trinity*, a supply ship arrested to foreclose a mortgage at the Port of Cape Town during its voyage from Nigeria to Dubai. Focusing on a “dialectic of stasis and movement” (Bissell & Fuller, 2007) and using moments of bodily stillness and movement as a trope, this research highlights a policy of waiting and shows how the sailors inhabit forms of stillness. By proposing an alternative way of engaging with the metabolic flows of energy and the moments of interaction, where the global and local meet in myriad messy and magical ways, the chapter focuses on the notion of suspended mobility and the effect this had on the lives of the men caught up within this space.

Chapter two presents the interrelated complexities of capitalism, abandonment, the creation of liminal spaces and the precarious life of illegal immigrants through the metaphor of a slowly sinking diamond-mining vessel inside the Port of Cape Town. Having operated in Namibia, the *Lady S* was in the process of being cut up and scrapped. My first visit to the ship was in June 2014 and in October 2017 I stood at the quayside filming the scrapping of the ship. Caught up within the global politics of diamond cartels making money in Africa, the ship had been left to decay at the port for nine years. In its state of decay, it provided shelter to a few illegal Ghanaian immigrants who inhabited the ship. The half-submerged ship draws our attention to the desperate state of illegal immigrants in South Africa as they inhabit spaces in makeshift ways, trying to lead a secret existence in a country tainted with xenophobia.

Chapter three explores the theme of memory and slavery in Cape Town by unpacking the case of the discovery of the remains of the Portuguese slave ship, *São José Paquette de Africa*, that sank with 212 slaves on board in 1794, their hands and legs shackled as they drowned. The remains were discovered in 2015 and are part of an ongoing archaeological expedition. One of the principal archaeological investigators for the excavation of the *São José* shipwreck, Jaco Boshoff, states that there might be the possibility of a mass grave of the drowned slaves at Clifton beach and they intend to conduct ground-penetrating radar to explore that possibility. Engaging with the given situation, I ask the question: What if there is a discovery of a mass grave of drowned slave ancestors who were a part of the Middle Passage on their way to Brazil from Mozambique? What does that mean for the memory of slavery in the city that has a relationship of denial with its historic past? What if the dead come to demand justice in a space occupied by privileged white people sunbathing and relaxing on the beach? What does it do to the social fabric of contemporary Cape Town? How does one move forward in this situation? Cape Town remains a racially divided city, a city of contrasts with extreme wealth and poverty co-existing. What happens to the artificial veneer of the city when the dead resurface and present the past to the people?

Chapter four is an account of the exhibitions, Arrested Motion, The Rusting Diamond and Container (a work currently in production), which constitute the practical component of this creative research project. A reciprocity exists between the two components – the written thesis and the artworks: it is the findings from the practical work that lead to the themes used in the thesis. The chapter describes the bodies of work. It builds on the earlier writing on methodology as being integral to the creation of the works. It discusses the themes raised in the making of the works in relation to the previous chapters and also introduces ancillary layers. As an extension of the preceding chapters, it proposes a weaving together of some of the issues raised around the themes of time, space and memory.

Lastly, in the ‘Conclusion’, I show how a shift in methodology of research in academia allows for a different, more compassionate understanding of the migrant subjects and their lives in Cape Town. I also think through the meaning of this work for current debates around status and the position of migrants in Cape Town, as well as the history of forced migrations from Africa. Finally, I discuss the relevance of this body of work for other fields of study.

A Notice to Motion: Exploring states of stillness while waiting on the arrested vessel WBI Trinity at the port of CapeTown

This chapter focuses on the theme of waiting during maritime arrest and the effect this has on the lives of men who are caught up in it. It illustrates the overlapping complexities of maritime law and movement of international labour. Here I present the case of WBI Trinity, a supply ship arrested to foreclose a mortgage at the port of Cape Town during its voyage from Nigeria to Dubai. Focusing on a "dialectic of stasis and movement" (Bissell, 2007; Fuller, 2007) and using moments of bodily stillness and movement as a trope, this research highlights a policy of waiting and shows how the sailors inhabit forms of stillness.

> We are not the first to observe that while money and goods are increasingly mobile, human bodies are subject to forms of border control that restrict, filter and stratify their mobility often by means of detention and delay. While the passage of wealthy travellers with the right passports is streamlined by biometric technologies and other forms of databasing, efforts to control the mobility of labour are redoubled by these same means
>
> (Neilson & Rossiter, 2010:11).

Waiting is something Castandes Lourdino, the boson on the ship, is used to. "In India", he says, "if you go to a government office they make you wait for hours. Even at the train stations, you will see people waiting endlessly on the platforms…" Then as an afterthought, "I am very comfortable sitting on my chair and keeping watch for hours" (Lourdino, personal communication 2014).

It was September 2014 and we were sitting on the deck of the WBI Trinity, a supply vessel that docked at the port of Cape Town one cold morning in June and had been stationary ever since. Or rather, had been in limbo as the ship and its all-Indian crew were enmeshed in a complex web of transnational economic shipping structures they had no control over. It had been four months and the men still had no idea when they would set sail again. From when I first encountered some of the crew members speaking in Hindi at the port, I became enmeshed in their story, their waiting. Having gained permission to access the port of Cape Town for my PhD research, I had spent a few months understanding the functioning of the port. I made journeys on tugboats and filmed the towing in of container ships, the workings of the container terminal, the constant flux of things arriving and leaving. Once I stumbled upon the case of the arrested vessel with the Indian seafarers, I decided to portray the gaps in the smooth flow of traffic at the port. While thinkers like Bauman (2000) have used "fluidity" and "fluid modernity" as the leading metaphor for the present stage of the modern era, we must be aware that flows are not smooth in society. The idea that everything is connected and sails smoothly through these conduit points needed to be disrupted.

By proposing an alternative way of engaging with the metabolic flows of energy and the moments of interaction, where the global and local meet in myriad messy and magical ways, this chapter focuses on the notion of suspended mobility and the effect this had on the lives of men caught up within this space. Being from India myself and based in Cape Town, I identified with the crew on board and it also allowed easy access, which becomes visible through my filming and the writing. The men on board trusted me and over a period of time they looked forward to me visiting them on board, almost like a family member visiting inmates in prison. As time passed, the visits became more than research; they became about anchoring each other in a city away from home. Not only did we share a common spoken language and culture but a nostalgia about everything Indian.

In this chapter, I try to expand the writings within the 'new mobilities regime' that look at "how the global mobility of people and things change the world today" and "how these movements are designed, formed and controlled" (Witzgall, 2013:xxv). I do this by linking the complexities surrounding contemporary oceanic mobilities to the concept of a "post humanist condition" (Biemann, 2008:57). My research presents the case of the WBI Trinity, a supply vessel sailing from Nigeria to its homeport Dubai, which was arrested at the port of Cape Town for a period of six months from 9 June to 6 December 2014. This is done through my engagement with the crew on board: eight Indians and one Indonesian man. The research focuses on problems of social isolation, uncertainty of movement and the erosion of temporal and spatial boundaries. This is presented in an analysis of observational footage, interviews with the seafarers, field notes, photo collages and legal facts provided by a shipping law expert, Graham Bradfield, head of the Shipping Law Unit, University of Cape Town.

The argument in the chapter addresses two main themes. First, it shows how neo-liberal policies relating to the shipping industry immobilise people and how this immobility is linked to a broader subaltern experience. The shipping industry "needs workers from developing countries to compromise their employment conditions to remain competitive" (Borovnik, 2011:59). Secondly, it unpacks the period of waiting and how the 'men-in-waiting' inhabit forms of stillness. Reflecting on Jean Francois Bayart's (2007) argument that waiting has become central to the subaltern experience, I borrow from the writings of Craig Jeffrey (2010) on the idea of 'unstructured time' and the notion of 'timepass' amongst unemployed youth in North India. Following this, I frame the experience of the Indian seafarers in waiting by using David Bissell's phenomena of the "variegated affective complex" where he suggests that the period of 'waiting' entails a "mix of activity and inactivity" and describes waiting as a "corporeal experience" (Bissell, 2007:277).

By deconstructing the observational footage of the bodily movements of the arrested seafarers, I show how rhythms of physical activity are linked to human interaction with their environment and

how activity and inactivity is linked to an emotional switching on and off to the world: emotions of numbness and despair combined with a forced injection of hope for movement. I conclude by showing how 'waiting' allows us to expand on the critique of neo-liberal policies within the maritime world and how it links to the concept of the 'posthuman condition/space' that reflects on the paradoxical inhuman conditions offered under the name of globalisation: "confinement within a world of systematized mobility" (Biemann, 2008).

Locating WBI Trinity and its seafarers within transnational mobility

> Modern ships and the contemporary shipping industry can be seen as one of the most dramatic and extended examples of the potential developments of the processes of globalization. Today's ships are built in one country, owned in another, managed from another, staffed with multinational crews, and operated in 'international' waters, could perhaps be described as archetypal 'hyperspaces' (Sampson, 2003:259).

These 'hyperspaces' are defined by Michael Kearney (1999) as spaces that are "deterritorialised" and characterised by "monotonous and universal features", such as "airports, the offices of multinational corporations or franchise enterprises" (Kearney, as quoted in Sampson, 2013:18). According to Borovnik, the movement of these so-called "spaces on the edge" forms a 'niche' area of study within theories of international labour migration (2004:36). Expanding on the nature of this movement, she states that seafarers "traverse across the world in non linear ways, making for what has been described as a particular type of circulatory or transversal labour migration" (Borovnik, 2004:36-37). This echoes Gilroy's (1993) idea of "crisscrossing", Vertovec's description of "traversal migration" (1999:458) and Duany's paradoxical term "circular migration" (2002:359) that is different from "permanent migration" (2002:357). The complex physical nature of seafarers' movements and the creation of these transnational "mobile livelihoods" (Borovnik, 2004:37) is linked to the rise of international circulating contract work and the restructuring process of contemporary globalisation. Expanding on the globalisation of the seafarers' market in the 1970s and the "pursuit of competitive advantage, Elizabeth DeSombre states that "increased competitive pressures led ship owners to register their vessels in jurisdictions with lower taxes and fewer regulations pertaining to environment, safety and labor practice" (2006:81). The shipping industry has been termed as indicative of "real globalization" (Thompson, 1999:67) and this is due to two main factors. Firstly, it's "the relationship between the locations of vessel ownership and the places of ship registration", and secondly "the extent to which the companies scour the world in search of cheap but efficient production locations" (Sampson, 2013:29). The right of open registers to determine their own terms and conditions for registration was enshrined in the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea in Article 91 (UNCLOS 1982). It states, "Every state shall fix the conditions for the grant of its nationality to ships, for the registration of ships in its territory, and for the right to fly its flag (UNCLOS 1982).

Another important development within this context has been the rise of the third-party crewing agencies dominating the recruitment processes. "Third party crew agents, generally located in non-OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries, commonly enter into agreement to supply locally sourced labour to globally located ship managers and ship owners" (Sampson, 2013:43). Commenting on the change in the labour market for seafarers as the shipping industry has gone global in search of cheaper labour, Goss and Lindquist state:

> Contemporary contract labour migration is remarkably similar to historical forms of indenture, and patterns of movement can only be explained as the effect of political economic relationships and cultural compatibility, themselves often a legacy of migrations in the past (Lindquist, 2000:386).

Having given a brief background to the globalisation of the shipping industry, I will introduce the subject of my case study, WBI Trinity, and show how it is enmeshed within the world of transnational economic shipping structures. Further, citing clauses from court affidavits and interview statements from the seafarers, I will show the ways in which the seafarers are torn between accessing their legal rights to demand for their salaries and repatriation home and a sense of loyalty towards the company.

The arrest of WBI Trinity

My research began in June 2014 when I encountered a few crew members of the ship speaking in Hindi as I made my way through the 'Landing Wharf' section of the port of Cape Town. For the crew on board, the trouble began the day they sailed into Cape Town and the vessel was served a 'notice to motion' – a court order barring it from continuing its voyage to Dubai. The legal notice stated:

> Please take notice that the applicant intends applying as a matter of urgency to the above Honorable Court on the 09th day of June 2014 at 16h00 or as soon thereafter as counsel for the applicant may be heard for an order in terms of the draft delivered evenly herewith

"A notice to motion is a request to the court to grant an order to authorise the arrest. When the court orders the arrest, that order is taken by the sheriff and served on the vessel followed by the vessel coming under the sheriff's control", stated Bradfield, the Maritime Law expert. He further informed me, "The port authorities are notified so they don't let the vessel leave unless there is a court order permitting that. The affidavit provides the legal requirements that have to be met in order to arrest a vessel" (Bradfield, personal communication 2014). The company that owned the WBI Trinity, Workboat International, owed another maritime entity, SIMGOOD, a Malaysian company, more than US$4 million. And according to the law, maritime creditors can

pursue claims anywhere the ship is located. Case No: AC 14/ 2014, the affidavit was addressed as a matter between: SIMGOOD 1 PTE Limited and MV "WBI Trinity", Workboat International DMCCO, Master Of The MV "WBI Trinity" in the 'High Court of South Africa', in the Western Cape Division. The captain of the ship, Maria John, told me:

> Our company name is Workboat International. The company is based in Dubai. The owner is Indian but he is settled in Canada. This vessel is a supply vessel and operated in Nigeria. There is another party SIMGOOD, a Malaysian company, who has to be paid $4.8 million with interest. They have some pending business and that's why they have to pay. SIMGOOD filed a case in the court and until the money is paid we cannot sail. That's why they arrested us. We don't know all the details (John, personal communication 2014, July).

In the following six months, I spent time with the crew and discovered more about their situation and the background to their journey. Citing clauses from court affidavits and interview statements from the seafarers, I will show the ways in which the seafarers are torn between accessing their legal rights to demand their salaries and repatriation home and a sense of loyalty towards the company. There is increasing research in the area of seafarer abandonment (Couper et al., 1998; Alderton et al., 2004). Describing the experience of stranded, unpaid, Turkish seafarers aboard the arrested vessel Obo Basak in a French port in 1997, Erol Kahveci in Neither at sea nor ashore: the abandoned crew of the Obo Basak (2005) throws light on the treatment of modern-day seafarers who are frequently left unpaid and abandoned when a ship operator gets into financial trouble or is arrested pending legal proceedings. Citing his paper, Sampson states, "while the account demonstrates some loyalty from seafarers towards the company involved, it is devoid of any sense of loyalty on part of the company towards its workers" (2013:43).

Another legal notice the captain showed me further clarified the background of the arrest. It stated that the applicant had chartered the MV 'SIMGOOD 1' to Workboat International DMCCO, the Second Respondent in these proceedings. The payment of the charter hire was to be made within 30 days of presentation of the invoice (Affidavit, clause 13.6) but was not paid. Interest on all outstanding amounts was to be paid at the rate of 12% per annum (Affidavit, clause 13.7). Further it stated, "It will be noted from what is set out in the previous paragraphs and from annexure "TR3" that the outstanding hire totals USD 4,854,508.61 (Affidavit, clause 20). Emphasising the debt, it stated, "The applicant claims interest on the capital amount in the sum of USD 2,390,642.03 up to 31 May 2014 and interest will continue to run at USD 1,568.15 per day until date of payment (Affidavit, clause 28, 2014). Furthermore, I noted that the two companies were officially registered and based in Malaysia and Dubai. The affidavit stated: "The applicant is SIMGOOD 1 PTE Limited, a company duly incorporated and registered in accordance with the company laws of Malaysia and carries on business, inter alia, as an owner of vessels at Level 15B, Main Office Tower, Financial Park, Labuan, Jalan Merdeka, 8700 Labuan

F.T., Malaysia" (Affidavit, clause 2, 2014). The second respondent is "Workboat International DMCCO, a company duly incorporated and registered in accordance with the company laws of the United Arab Emirates and carries on business, inter alia as a shipowner at Suite 116, AL Arti Piaza, United Arab Emirates" (Affidavit, clause 2, 2014).

The clauses explain how the case was anchored in various international locations with a mix of international partners, creating a web of legal tentacles for the seafarers to unravel. The applicant was a company registered in Labuan, an island in East Malaysia, an offshore financial centre and a tax-free haven. The applicant's legal representatives were based in Singapore as stated in clause 3.1: "Mr Raymond Ong, the principal of CTLC Law Corporation of Singapore, is the legal representative of the applicant in dealing with enforcement of the claims to which this application relates". While the applicant's legal representatives were based in Singapore, the "dispute resolution between the parties was to take place in Mumbai, India and subject to the law applicable there (which is to say Indian law) (Affidavit, clause 13.8). WBI Trinity was based in Dubai while the port of its registry was Panama. Its details on official papers stated: "WBI Trinity, Reg. Owner: Workboat International DMCCO Dubai U.A.E, Vessel Type: Tug/ Supply Vessel, Gross Tonnage: 1159, Date of Build: 26 Feb 2009, Port of Registry: Panama." "Panama is notorious for registering ships for cheap. Ship registers are supposed to have a genuine link between the ship and the country of registry but there are many registers that don't require that link or require it in very tenuous forms and these are the open registers" (Bradfield, personal communication 2014). Tony Lobo, the managing director of Workboat International told me that most of their business was in the Middle East and this was the first time that they had sent their vessel to Nigeria and "got into trouble". "Our company is based in Dubai because Dubai is a global financial centre, centrally located between the East and the West, providing tempting business incentives in terms of a no-tax policy" (Lobo, personal communication 2014, December). Lobo further stated: "Nigeria has a quota for Nigerian workers on board and we didn't get any work for two years and hence the vessel was on its way back to Dubai". Sanjiv Kumar, the oiler on board, was of the opinion that the company should have never let the vessel go beyond the Middle East. He stated, "It's best if the vessel is close to home" (Kumar, personal communication 2014, August). The Indian seafarers also agreed that they liked Dubai and that it "felt almost like home".

In an attempt to unravel this specific case, we need to understand the conditions or prerequisites for the arrest of vessels. Global shipping movements are easily tracked so once there is a legal maritime claim against a vessel there is "no real running away". Neilson and Rossiter write that according to the Port State Control and International Maritime Organization, the convention on port state control allows the inspection of foreign ships in national ports to "verify that the condition of the ship and its equipment comply with the requirements of international regulations and that the ship is manned and operated in compliance with these rules". They further

expand on this by stating, "Under the various regional memorandums of understanding (MOUs) applying to port state control, states have the right to detain substandard ships" and are expected to "publish lists of detained vessels on the relevant MOU websites" (Neilson & Rossiter, 2010:15). Bradfield informed me that maritime creditors or the company that is owed money can pursue those claims anywhere the ship is located. He said that from a legal perspective there might be slight differences in the circumstance in which you can arrest from country to country and in that sense South Africa is what is termed an "arrest-friendly jurisdiction". "It is easier to get arrested here than many other jurisdictions but in this specific case of WBI Trinity it would have been arrested in any port" (Bradfield, personal communication 2014). Writing about the different kinds of "diversions, stopovers and waiting" within "progressive linear forms of mobility" such as trade ship voyages, Gillian Fuller states:

> Port state control becomes mixed with border control. Both employ detention or delay as the primary means of checking mobility and producing governable mobile bodies from seemingly ungovernable flows. Combined with logistical methods of operation that can slow as well as speed voyage times, the net effect is to create hierarchized zones of mobility (Fuller, 2007).

In analysing the case further, Bradfield informed me that there are very few instances when ships are arrested and are not released immediately on provision of security. "Normally the owners put up a guarantee by a bank or a protection indemnity club undertakes to pay, if their clients are found liable. There is no real need to detain the ship under arrest since a substitute form of security is offered" (Bradfield, personal communication 2014). He further speculated that Workboat International must be in "financial difficulty" or "heading to insolvency" or "their security must have lapsed due to non-payment of the premium" (Bradfield, personal communication 2014). I was told that smaller vessels, mostly fishing trawlers, that do not have insurance or access to bank guarantees would normally be arrested. 'The landing wharf', a site of arrested vessels at the port of Cape Town, where WBI Trinity stands, is one of the main sections of the harbour. Rusting fishing trawlers that have been arrested surround WBI Trinity. One can extend the concept of Foucault's 'Heterotopia' (1986) beyond the ship and the prison to the site of the entire 'landing wharf'. During one of my visits to the ship, Sanjiv pointed out of his cabin window and said:

> Do you see all the ships on this jetty? They are all arrested vessels. They are all stuck like us. The Cape Town port authorities have delegated this berth for arrested vessels. There are a few times when vessels arrive and leave but mostly all the vessels are arrested vessels. We cannot really communicate with the other seafarers. I went to ask them about the shore power and they said, "No English! No English"! We are prisoners who cannot even talk to each other (Kumar, personal communication 2014, August).

While Marx described the category of labour as 'energy', 'unrest', 'motion' and 'movement' (Nicholas De Genova, 2010), Neilson and Rossiter (2010) examine the role of logistics as an important factor in the "stasis" or "slowing" of maritime transport. The last century has seen ships become automated and crews on board diminish. The life of a seafarer at sea means extended periods of stasis but this is intensified by the "growing practice of slow steaming" (Neilson & Rossiter, 2010:5). They write that "as a way of meeting the rising cost of fuel" the ships are made to take long-haul "loops" or "delays" in their journeys and this creates the "presence of phantom ships parked in the world's most affordable waters" (Neilson & Rossiter, 2010:5).

During my first few encounters with the seafarers on board I learnt that two of the team members had paid for their own tickets and flown back to India. The crew was upset with them for not showing camaraderie in a tough situation. The captain had signed a three-month contract but could not leave since he was party to the lawsuit against the company.

Writing about the forms of control and conditions of labour at sea, Neilson and Rossiter state that "a seafarer who begins work for a voyage 'signs articles' that oblige him to complete a journey from and to certain ports and to accept penalties if he willingly fails to do so. The terms of these 'articles' also place limitations on the seafarer's right to strike and freedom of movement" (Neilson & Rossiter, 2010:13). In the affidavit facilitating the arrest of WBI Trinity, the ship was cited as "the first respondent", the company the "second respondent" and the "master of the vessel" as the "third respondent" in the case. The affidavit stated: "The third respondent is the Master of the MV "WBI Trinity" currently on board and in command of the vessel. The master's name and particulars are not known to me or to the applicant" (Affidavit, 2014, page 1). The captain was the oldest member of the crew and the most stressed. He explained his situation to me: "The company office in Dubai only communicates with me and I am responsible for passing on the information to everyone else. However, the company doesn't send us messages through the Internet since they don't want these people to know our messages. They only call us to tell us things. I attend to their phone calls and pass on the messages to the entire crew" (John, personal communication 2014, August). The ship and the captain being indicted in the dispute between the shipping corporations is a distinctive feature of admiralty jurisdiction. Bradfield explained to me why the ship is cited as a respondent in the case:

> Outside admiralty you always cite parties who are natural persons or corporate entities in lawsuits. That idea of proceeding against a piece of property is that you pursue your claim against the property and that's your best chance to be paid under these circumstances. This arises because the ship incurs debts all along its trade routes by not paying suppliers and these organisations don't have the resources to pursue their claims, but by going to the country of origin of the owners of the ship, it gives them an opportunity the next time the ship comes past to arrest it and have their claim settled (Bradfield, personal communication 2014).

The main underlying problem for the seafarers who found themselves trapped in this fight for money between the shipping corporations was that their salaries had not been paid and they could not fly back home due to the lack of money. Also, they had left India with the plan of earning a monthly salary for the period of their agreed contract, which was between six and nine months, varying from person to person. Their company had informed them that the sheriff who had arrested them was responsible for the payment of their salaries. The sheriff played an important role as the 'on-the-ground' person the crew interacted with. He was responsible for supplying the crew with provisions. Speaking of the sheriff's responsibilities, Bradfield informed me that, "The sheriff is looking after the seafarers but he will recover his money. He works for a private company that runs this work as a business" (Bradfield, personal communication 2014). If the ship were to be auctioned and sold, the sale price would form a fund and any claimant against that ship could claim money. Furthermore, I was informed that if the money was insufficient to pay everyone in full, the claims would be ranked and certain claims would be preferred over others. Bradfield stated, "At the top of the ranking would be the sheriff's costs followed by the seafarers' claims to their salary" (Bradfield, personal communication 2014). Even though the seafarers' salary ranked relatively high in the payment list, it was the private company and their employee, the sheriff, who would get paid first. If the seafarers were to even think of returning home, it would terminate their contract and they would return home without any money. Hence they waited endlessly in the vessel, not knowing when this indefinite period would end.

Post containerisation, the maritime world has created passive environments in which collective voices of seafarers are muted, and acceptance and waiting become the norm. In questioning the "automated, accelerated, computer-driven, and monolithic maritime world", Allen Sekula asks, "Are there, even today, forms of human agency in maritime environments that seek to build a logical sequence of details, synoptic interpretation of observed events? Is it possible to construct such knowledge from below, or is this only the purview of elites?" (Sekula, 1995:133). All the seafarers on WBI Trinity came from working-class families and bore the responsibility of sending remittances home. Sanjiv Kumar told me, "You see we are middle-class people. We belong to a kind of family where even before the money arrives, the money has been allocated for things. And if the money gets stuck in the middle then the entire system gets blocked" (Kumar, personal communication 2014, September).

The cook, Lopes Jeroni Socio, had a similar story to share. He told me he had worked for the company since 2005 when he met the owner in Qatar on a vessel and was asked to join Workboat International. Besides the captain, he was another person who had been instructed not to leave the vessel and sail to Dubai. He expressed his stress about not having received his salary for three months:

> Back home in Goa, I have a wife, an 11-year-old daughter and a five-year-old son. My wife calls me from home. We don't even have money to call on the phone. We have

> asked the company for money many times or even an advance from our salary but they haven't given us any money. Our company tells us that SIMGOOD, the company that got us arrested, has to pay our salary but we haven't received any news from the sheriff who arrested the vessel (Socio, personal communication 2014, September).

The crew could have pressurised the owner to fly them back home but they stayed due to a sense of loyalty towards the Indian owner and the company. Most of them had a long relationship with the company and had worked with the same one for several years. There is a sense of Indian brotherhood and camaraderie amongst the men and trust in their Indian employers. Gurjeet Singh, the electrician, told me that it helped to have all Indians on board. "We can laugh and joke with each other in our own language in this difficult situation. It provides some relief since we all understand each other" (Singh, personal communication 2014, October). The only person who complained about the company was Vikramjeet Singh, the boatswain. During a morning drinking session with three other men, he argued, "The company washed their hands of us when we got caught here. Have they checked on us? Have they bothered to make sure that we receive our salaries or to even check whether we have any cash to spend here?" Sanjiv Kumar, an employee of the company since January 2010, responded, "There is a delay but I hope the company will come up with a solution. Our salary isn't worth the amount of the boat. If we are stressed about our salary then imagine the stress of the person who owns this expensive boat". The men slowly got more and more drunk on cheap Indian whisky and the discussions continued (Field note 2, 11/2014). Even their stock of Indian whisky was depleting. This was something the men had brought along with them when they left India. Sanjiv wanted to maintain a good relationship with the company and not upset the owners. In a later private interview he told me, "If we go back to an agent in Mumbai we are required to pay the first one month salary to the agent. Now we have a relationship with this company. It's best we keep this relationship so we don't have to pay commission to an agent" (Kumar, personal communication 2014, November).

It was a clear situation to analyse. The crew was not in the best position because they did not want to lose out on a relationship with their company. They believed there wasn't a guarantee that another company would employ them. Their concern was that the ship owner would label them as 'troublemakers' and tell other ship owners not to employ them. Also they were far from home with no financial resources. Their plight was desperate even though their conditions were relatively comfortable compared to their conditions elsewhere. Most of them had families to support back home. They were also aware of the many cases of seafarers being abandoned at foreign ports, having to make their way back home. Given the circumstances, they chose to wait.

Mobility/ Immobility

During one of my visits before dinner, Abhi, the electrician on board, told us that this

was not the first time he had been in a situation like this, on board an arrested vessel. "It happened to me once before," he said, "in Iraq. It was 2006, 2007, I had joined as a fresher and the owner of the ship was Iraqi. There was a problem with an agreement and they kept us there for six months. They didn't know English and we didn't know any Arabic. It was a huge problem. They used to serve us some bread and black tea. That was like a real prison. There was no one to help us. The crew consisted of 12 Indians and the captain was from Iran." Everyone nodded, listening to the story. "When they took us for the court hearing, they put handcuffs on us and they had more security for us than a prime minister. Six cars in front and six cars behind us and we were in the middle. They didn't even stop at the red light while driving. For the final hearing they arranged for an Arabic-to-Hindi interpreter. Our passports and seaman books were returned to us after two months. Then we came to Dubai and then I went home. After six months our ship was released. That time I spent a total of 13 to 14 months on a ship" (Abhi, personal communication 2014, September).

'Borders' as zones of control are a key consideration for research into mobilities. As the world gets more fluid in its movements, new forms of borders have been created and dispersed in a mobile and globalised world. According to Van Houtum et al., we need to revisit the "static notion of the container-border". What exists now is instead a network of "complex and varied patterns of both implicit and explicit bordering and ordering practices" (Van Houtum et al., 2005:78). Expanding on the forms of 'bordering practices' they list other existing forms of border controls. They state these as "modes of location, tracking and surveillance, textual locatability in the form of ID cards, or more archaic devices such as the passport" (Van Houtum et al., 2005:79). Other historical and contemporary ways to filter movement can be seen through the various "toll systems", "stopover" and "brakes" (Virilio, 2006). These methods of controlling movement are increasingly seen in urban spaces but "extend beyond urban space into the larger-scale spaces of global migration through organisational techniques able to control fairly vast spaces"(Virilio, 2006:28-32). Adding to the set of contemporary bordering practices, other conduit points on the global map are used to check the speed of movement, be it acceleration or deceleration. Graham and Marvin state that this control of speed is produced via "tunnel effects" (Graham & Marvin, 2001). They describe these as "transit conduits connected at a variety of hubs (major seaports, teleports, railway stations, e-commerce hubs etc.) where adjustment occurs" (Graham & Marvin, 2001:27). While capitalism allows for the selective fluidity of borders, 'power' lies at the core of the emerging field of mobility studies as indicated by Urry (2006). Urry further advocates that a "notion of power" and "social inequality" must be linked to "network capital" within mobility studies (Larsen, 2007). There is literature to show that the people most affected by these disparities within the era of accelerated mobility are those vulnerable people who form a part of "the complex debates on migratory practices and refugee mobilities" (Martin, 2011:194). This state of waiting in undocumented migrants exists in many different contexts. In his editorial

Waiting, Craig Jeffrey (2008) writes about Finn Stepputat's study of Guatemalan refugees and shows them trapped in a state of "infinite waiting". Stepputat quotes C.S. Lewis's description of grief to describe what he calls a period of unending, unstructured time: "Like waiting: just hanging about waiting for something to happen. It gives life a permanently provisional feeling… almost pure time, empty successiveness" (Jeffery, 2008:956).

Other parallel descriptions of waiting within this context include Greta Uehling's (2004) research among Crimean Tatars living in Uzbekistan to uncover a somewhat similar culture of suspense-filled waiting. She uses the term "suitcase moods" to describe the condition of women who sat on their suitcases the whole day, waiting, unsure of the possibility of returning home. Giorgio Agamben (2005) uses the term "space of exception" to describe the space of the "camp", which for him represents "a space of suspension where stillness is produced through the construction of permanent mechanisms to lock out" (Martin, 2011:195). Writing about the emotional state of the "encapsulated undocumented migrant", Martin uses the term "turbulent stillness" to describe this state of stasis. He states:

> Stillness in these situations is divested of its cosmopolitan connotations of respite and calm: for these people are locked into a violent trajectory where the apparently stilled space of the lorry or container is a form of capsularization, but one in which the protective functioning of the capsule is manifestly absent. Perhaps more readily this is stillness as incarceration. The body remains still to circumvent detection. These travel conditions inflict a form of violence on the stilled body of the migrant in movement – what might be termed turbulent stillness (Martin, 2011:199).

Adding to these debates on refugee 'lock-outs', is the invisible world of labour mobilities, in which workers endure the period of "chronic waiting", a term used by Craig Jeffrey (2008:71) to describe how people have little control over their movement.

Trapped in a period of waiting

> "The very familiarity of waiting has obscured it" (Schweizer, 2005:778).

While everyday practices of waiting in Third World countries are accepted as a part of the everyday 'corporeal experience', one must highlight a slow passive violence inflicted on the subaltern body beneath the mask of a progressive global mobility. In the case of the WBI Trinity, most of the crew on board stated that they joined the shipping industry because it would give them a chance to travel and see the world, to be free… The hidden side of the dream to move freely around the world forms an antithesis of the stasis in which the crew members of WBI Trinity found themselves. In a country like India, large populations are used to the phenomenon of 'waiting'. It

forms an unquestionable part of the everyday lives of people especially in smaller cities, towns and rural India. Bissell states: "Waiting is a specific kind of relation to the world" (2007:284). Most of the seafarers accept the period of endless waiting as a familiar experience. To frame 'waiting' as a subaltern experience is to question and understand the inherent acceptance of waiting. Writing about the "dilemma of chronic waiting" as a dominant experience in the global south, Martin (2011) quotes Bayart (2007) and Appadurai (2002) in stating the reason behind such an experience:

> The liberalization of national economies in the global south, often in the context of donor-led structural adjustment programs often leaves people in a situation of limbo. Neoliberal economic reforms have also triggered disinvestment in the social welfare state, and, in turn, vast "floating populations" are forced to wait for food, shelter, education or health care (Martin, 2011:195).

Craig Jeffrey writes about the effects of waiting on the numerous excluded individuals and groups who are forced to reside in a state of indetermination. In his book, Timepass: Youth, Class and The politics of waiting in India, he examines "situations in which people have been compelled to wait for years, generations or whole lifetimes, not as a result of their voluntary movement through modern spaces but because they are durably unable to realize their goals" (Jeffrey, 2010:3). Examining the problem of "unstructured time" he analyses the behaviour of unemployed young men aimlessly hanging around waiting in Uttar Pradesh, North India. He writes, "Trapped in an endless present" enduring "feelings of heightened suspense", the young men spoke of their activities as "timepass". Some even labelled them as "timepass men" (Jeffrey, 2008). Within this context of waiting as a subaltern experience, he writes:

> Waiting must be understood not as the capacity to ride out of the passage of time or as the absence of action, but rather an active, conscious, materialized practice in which people forge new political strategies, in which time and space often become the objects of reflection, and in which historical inequalities manifest themselves in new ways (Jeffrey, 2008:957).

The waiting process for the crew of WBI Trinity

> Waiting as an event should be conceptualised not solely as an active achievement or passive acquiescence but as a variegated affective complex where experience folds through and emerges from a multitude of different planes (Bissell, 2007:277).

Borrowing from Bissell's conceptualisation of the waiting period as a time period of activity and inactivity and not a dead period of stasis or stillness (Bissell, 2007), I analyse the experience of the WBI Trinity crew through the lens of the 'variegated affective complex'. Expanding on the

VAC, Dastur states, "The enacting of a variegated affective complex is a mixture of activity and agitation to the world, and conversely a deadness-to-the-world" (Dastur, 2000). There exists the possibility of rupture that "intimately threatens the synchrony of transcendental life or existence" (Dastur, 2000:182). Given the nature of the combination of stillness and agitation, the period of waiting can be viewed as an "embodied corporeal experience" allowing for a "renewed focus on the body" (Bissell, 2007:279). By viewing the crew's activities under the theme of both 'corporeal engagement' and 'withdrawal', I traced a path of the various activities and inactivities to portray the experience of 'being-in-waiting'. Drawing from my field notes and observational camera footage, the recurring activity that stood out during the research period was that of the men pacing up and down, in small groups or alone, during the day and at night. My notes stated:

> Hanis Kotze, the port security in charge, dropped me at the ship. I walked up the small bridge connecting the quayside to the ship and stepped onto the deck. Abhi, Vikramjeet and Sanjiv were pacing up and down the deck. I saw them pointing towards a ship coming in and discussing whether it was a tanker. "A routine evening activity for most of the crewmembers", I was told by the cook on the first day. "We don't go out much but like to walk on the deck every evening" (Field note 3, 11/10/2014).

Writing about "transformations in bodily activity" such as "walking–sitting–walking, sleep–slumber–wake, stasis–activity", Bissell states that these "thresholds that frame the experience of waiting" are determined by "the degree of certainty or uncertainty about the length of the wait" (2007:290). The motion of pacing up and down enhances the mood of anxiety on the ship. The relentless motion of moving up and down within the limited space of the deck of the ship forms the symbolic action of what it means to wait indefinitely. My notes further read:

> I climb up to the topmost section of the ship, the bridge area. I find the captain sitting alone in the dark. The sharp light of the computer screen lights up his face as he stares at it. The screen saver has the WBI Trinity as its background image. He looks stressed and anxious. He gets up and goes outside to smoke a cigarette. He goes down one level and stands outside staring at the container terminal lights. The wind is strong and the smoke and sparks fly back towards his face (Figure 1&2). He then paces up and down the length of the balcony. I have watched the captain pace up and down several times now. Inside the bridge area, outside the bridge, staring at the oil rig, staring at the mountain, staring at the rest of the arrested vessels. He shakes his arms as he walks at times. Perhaps that is his idea of getting some exercise to stay fit (Field note 3, 11/10/2014).

Figure 1 & 2: Video still, Arrested Motion: Captain of WBI Trinity (Meghna Singh, 2014).

Figure 3: Photo collage, Arrested Motion: Captain of WBI Trinity (Meghna Singh, 2014).

Writing about the slow passage of time and an intrinsic "corporeal awareness of duration", Buetow states, "Perceived duration is postulated to be highest through time passing slowly, when individuals are highly conscious of themselves and their situation" (2004:22). The captain's actions of switching between sitting still and walking up and down exhibit this intrinsic awareness of the slow passage of time while enacting a variegated affective complex that we are discussing here (Figure3). These acts being active or acquiescent to the world also point towards Levinas's notion of patience as a "combination of urgency and delay". Writing about Levinas's notion of patience within these situations, Fullagar suggests that his concept of patience describes "patience as a mode of being detached from the self, but at the same time it involves a particular temporal quality of being with self" (2004:16). The last paragraph in my notes from that evening further reiterates the activity of constant pacing up and down. It states:

> Another person enters the bridge area. It's Lobo, the boatswain. His job is to keep watch. He sits on the chair and stares out of the window. The captain joins him, they exchange a few words and both of them stare out of the window. I walk towards them to see what they are staring at. Closer from the window, I look down at the deck of the ship and see Abhi pacing up and down, talking on his cellphone (Figure 4), going in and out of my sight
>
> (Field note 3, 11/10/2014).

The other activity that allows for social interaction takes place every night in the recreation or television room. My notes describe the first time I observed the men watching a film (Figure 6.11-6.1.4):

Figure 4: Video still, Arrested Motion: Abhi pacing up and down on the deck of WBI Trinity (Meghna Singh, 2014).

Figure 5.1.1-5.1.6: Video still, Arrested Motion: Indian seafarers on the deck of WBI Trinity (Meghna Singh, 2014).

> Jeroni, Sanjiv and Vikramjeet are sitting on the L-shape green leather couch and watching a Bollywood film. Abhi joins them on the couch and Sanjiv moves to sit on a white plastic chair next to the couch. The four of them greet me and go on to watch the film. They tell me that they can't remember how many times they have watched the same film. It's a comedy and it makes them laugh (Field note, 15/11/2014).

Writing about activities people undertake to kill time while they wait, Jain (2006) is of the opinion that the myriad forms of mundane activity that people may enact while waiting, vary from drinking and eating to reading, talking and listening to music. Furthermore, technology plays an important role in providing some relief from the bodily engagement of the wait. Various mobile technologies are also frequently enlisted during the period of waiting perhaps through the action of texting or WAPing, or even gaming through mobile phones for example (Jain, 2006). Along with staying in touch with family via WhatsApp and Skype, the crew downloads films through their phone connection to entertain themselves. My notes from that evening

further state:

> Abhi tells me that they were bored of standing on the deck every evening and watching the same scenery. Instead he tries to "download pirated films from the Internet and watch those in the TV room." He says, "From 11pm-7am you get 1 GB for R10 so I download films at night. I have created a WiFi hotspot. Every night I download about five or six films. We connect the laptop to the TV through a HDMI cable and so sit and watch till midnight every night" (Field note, 15/11/2014).

Later that evening, I witnessed a surge in aggression and a bout of anger from Sanjiv, one of the crewmembers, while they were watching the film. Highlighted as one of the moments of outburst,

Figure 6.1.1-6.1.4: Photo collage, Arrested Motion: seafarers of WBI Trinity watching a Bollywood film (Meghna Singh, 2014).

my notes stated, "Sanjiv looks at me and says that there are a lot of Hindi movies being filmed in Cape Town. 'We have recently watched four or five Hindi films that were filmed in Cape Town! We have developed an allergy towards the name Cape Town! The next time I watch Cape Town on the TV screen, I will break the screen!' He expressed his anger about the fact that they had been in Cape Town for four months and could not really enjoy all that Cape Town has to offer" (Field note, 15/11/2014).

Writing about the event of waiting as "not the immobile being-in-the-world that it first appeared", Bissell writes about the various emotions that resonate during the period of waiting, making it a corporeal engagement. He states that the event of waiting is both "active and intentional" and emotions such as "impatience, anger, aggression, and cessation, such as tiredness, fatigue and hunger" make it a state of engagement and withdrawal at the same time (Bissell, 2007:294). Further, Bissell states that these "heighten feelings of aggression and anger displaying affective

intensity" and demonstrate well how "waiting could be considered in a more transhuman form" (2007:291). The 'inactivity' or withdrawal for the crew involved staring blankly out of the window, long periods of sitting motionless and doing nothing, sitting in the dining room alone, playing with their phones and even walking on the deck alone. This disengagement from activity involves the body not being involved in any ongoing performance. Diski (2006) recognises this particular disengagement with the world, of the body held in suspense while waiting, comparing it to a form of desirable acquiescence, while Harrison views these "moments of suspension" as corporeal phenomena "which trace a passage of withdrawal from engagement" (Harrison, 2007:5). My notes under the heading 'lingering gazes' read:

> It's Diwali and I visit the crew with a box of Indian sweets. Not seeing anyone on the deck or below, I go upstairs to the bridge of the ship. I see three men staring out of the main window. Muhammed Rizvan is sitting on a chair in front of the computer screen with his back turned to the screen. Sanjiv and Vikramjeet are standing against the window and looking out at the port. Muhammed turns back to look straight at the computer screen and looks down at his mobile phone. He starts playing with his mobile phone. He switches between playing with his phone and gazing at the screen. Sanjiv turns away from the window and starts playing with his phone and Vikramjeet sits on the main chair looking out at the port and starts texting on his mobile phone too. Their movements seem to be orchestrated – first they all looked out of the window in the same direction and then all three fiddle with their mobile phones (Field note, 23/10/2014).

Writing about "corporeal attentiveness" and "how bodies are perhaps more highly attuned through stillness", Bissell suggests how "the act of bodily stillness through waiting is instrumental in heightening an auto-reflexive self-awareness: of attention to the physicality of perception of the body itself" (Bissell, 2007:286). Besides the physical stillness of doing nothing and staring out at sea for long durations, the stillness took another form and that was seen in the behaviour of the men towards each other. In different spaces of the ship but especially the dining room, I witnessed that the men avoided each other's gaze so as not to engage with each other. Bissell writes, "Through this stillness, the strategies involved in averting the gaze so as not to engage in interaction effectively intensifies corporeal relations, producing a wholly active and co-managed interaction, an act that has become almost cliché when thinking through collective waiting situations" (Bissell, 2007:285). My notes on the interaction between the men in the dining room state (Figure 7.1.1-7.1.4):

> Down the long corridor, we see a figure coming towards us. The time is 12:30 on the dining room clock and the captain is the first person to come down for lunch. The captain serves himself a plate of food and sits down at one of the two tables in the room. The tables seat four. The plastic covers on the chairs are peeling off. I see another man walk in and serve

himself food through the camera screen. The second person to walk in is Vikramjeet Singh. He sits next to the captain at the same table and they both face the wall. They sit next to each other but don't ever look at each other. They sit and eat. As they eat, a third crew member, Lobo, walks in. Untroubled by the camera or me, he picks up a steel plate and serves himself some lunch. He proceeds to sit on the second table, facing the opposite wall to the other two men and eats. The camera records three men sitting in silence eating. Not once within the duration of the 20-25 minutes do they make eye contact with each other or the camera. Lobo, the first to finish, gets up, washes his plate, stacks it back on the pile of plates and leaves. He gives me a knowing nod as he exits the room (Field note, 12/07/2014).

This asociality of waiting through acquiescence is described by Bissell as "a particular relationship without context that eludes the traditional definition of the social" (Bissell, 2007:289).

Figure 7.1.1-7.1.4: Photo collage, Arrested Motion: seafarers of WBI Trinity eating in the dining (Meghna Singh, 2014).

This behaviour of the crew in the dining room also relates to what Harrison writes about in the context of the conduct of people in the most public, 'traditionally social' spaces from "the waiting room to the platform, to the train itself" (Harrison, 2008). He states "the 'asocial' implications or a tendency towards withdrawal, disengagement, and acquiescence" exist in the sphere of the social (Harrison, 2008:433).

Reflections and conclusions

In this chapter, I have drawn attention to the theme of waiting as a space occupied not only by migrants and refugees within the mobility paradigm, but suggested how waiting can be considered

a specific subaltern experience. While we are aware of the temporal and spatial ruptures that maritime labour at sea endures due to processes of neo-liberal economic policies, the chapter points to the politics of waiting. Adding to Ursula Biemann's notion of the 'post human space' that constitutes in-between spaces at the border where people are stilled, I would like to introduce Rob Nixon's notion of 'slow violence' to this period of endless waiting. He describes it as:

> By slow violence I mean a violence that occurs gradually and out of sight, a violence of delayed destruction that is dispersed across time and space, an attritional violence that is typically not viewed as violence at all. Violence is customarily conceived as an event or action that is immediate in time, explosive and spectacular in space, and as erupting into instant sensational visibility but we urgently need to re-think politically, imaginatively, and theoretically what I call "slow violence" (Nixon, 2011:2).

The term has been used to highlight "pervasive but elusive violence of delayed effects" on the environment and eco-systems but extends to passive forms of invisible violence such as posttraumatic stress and domestic abuse. I propose to extend the use of the condition and apply it to the period of indefinite delays and hidden threats that were faced by the crew of WBI *Trinity*. The slow emotional breaking down of a man takes time and in this I have shown what it does to the body and human relations in terms of a physical and social acquiesce. By rethinking our accepted assumptions of violence created by waiting we need to search in spaces that are invisible to society. To borrow from Kevin Bales, I would conclude by stating that "turbo-capitalism" exacerbates the vulnerability of so-called "disposable people" and we need to understand the politics within the period of forced waiting (Bales, 1999).

The Rusting Diamond: A case of precarious lives and liminal spaces in Cape Town

Introduction

> There is an in-between world: a world where mobility meets place, where abstraction meets life as it is lived. Borders, points between states, unnoticed remnant spaces of cities, the ocean; these are spaces of liminality, momentarily outside of the norms of place and community and are places in between; places where normal rules are suspended. They are often places associated with travel and transit. To some people, refugees and global business people, these are spaces they become stuck in-limbo and are a good model for a liminal place. They are sites where we are not encouraged to linger (Cresswell, 2012:71).

Walking through the narrow alleyway, I noticed that the upper deck had many cracks and holes. The afternoon light flooded in making beautiful shafts of textured light on the surface of the crumbling walls. The peeling white paint was mixed with rust from the decaying metal. It reminded me of a beautiful batik print. Through the holes in the deck I looked up at the sky and saw the super deck of the ship (Figure 9&10). As I walked into the next section to see the rest of the cabins, I felt myself stepping into ankle-deep water. Morgan was used to it. He was wearing gumboots. He looked at me and said, "We are used to the water filling up in this section of the ship, so we have a pair of old gumboots. Now your nice shoes are spoilt. Next time you should get gumboots too because sometimes the water fills up higher than this" (Morgan, personal communication 2014, July). This was my second visit inside *Lady San Lorenzo* (referred to as *Lady S* from now on), a rusting deep-sea diamond-mining ship lying at the very edge of the port of Cape Town. Morgan, the caretaker of the ship, was introduced to me by one of the port security guards and decided to help me with my research. "I work for the agent and I am crew here", said Morgan, introducing himself. "I look after the ship and make sure it doesn't sink. My job is to pump out water because it's an old ship" (Morgan, personal communication 2014, July). We had to wait for low tide to step onto the deck of the ship since there wasn't a bridge connecting it to the quayside. The rotten floor of the deck was covered in plywood boards to cover the big holes(Figure 8). Morgan led the way by showing me which board to step on, so I wouldn't fall through the cracks into the sea. Residing in the "marginal geography of the exterior, beyond the limit of the thinkable", *Lady S* stood at the urban margins of the city and as Cohen states, "ghosts lurk and threaten to come out from these secluded places to haunt the whole city, making partly visible that which has been confined. Yet these spaces are strangely attractive as well as fearful, for people need to be haunted" (Cohen, 1996:20). Intrigued and curious to return, on my next visit I did not find anyone on the deck, so I made my way down to the cabins. Morgan and another man called Isa were using a kettle and a small kitchen pan to throw out water that had filled up the alleyway (Figure 11). Normally they would have used the pump but that day the water filled up quickly and they "needed to act fast".

It took them about two hours to clear the water out of the alleyway. Morgan then moved further down into the engine room to make sure there was no water there.

Figure 8: Video still, The Rusting Diamond: Morgan on the deck of Lady S (Meghna Singh, 2015).

Figure 9: Video still, The Rusting Diamond: Interior detail of Lady S (Meghna Singh, 2015).

Figure 10: Video still, The Rusting Diamond: Interior detail of Lady S (Meghna Singh, 2015).

Figure 11: Video still, The Rusting Diamond: Man throwing out water (Meghna Singh, 2015).

This chapter presents the interrelated complexities of capitalism, abandonment, the creation of liminal spaces and the precarious life of illegal migrants through the metaphor of a slowly sinking diamond-mining vessel inside the port of Cape Town. Having operated in Namibia, the *Lady S* was in the process of being cut up and scrapped. My first visit to the ship was in June 2014 and in October 2017 I stood at the quayside filming the scrapping of the ship. Caught up within the global politics of diamond cartels making money in Africa, the ship had been left to decay at the port for nine years. In its state of decay, it provided shelter to a few illegal Ghanaian immigrants who inhabited the ship. The half-submerged ship draws our attention to the desperate state of illegal immigrants in South Africa as they inhabit spaces in makeshift ways, trying to lead a secret existence in a country tainted with xenophobia.

Drawing on Zygmunt Bauman's work *Wasted Lives: Modernity and its outcasts* (2004), this case study raises the idea of 'human waste' and 'wasted humans' described by him as the by-products of a contemporary globalised world. Borrowing from his work, I show how the 'human waste' (the abandoned ship) and the 'wasted humans' (illegal immigrants) are intrinsically linked to each other as we unfold the journey of the men and the ship to the port of Cape Town. Describing the concept, Bauman states:

> The production of 'human waste' or more correctly wasted humans ('the excessive' and 'redundant', that is the population of those who either could not or were not wished to be recognized or allowed to stay) is an inevitable outcome of modernization, and an inseparable accompaniment of modernity. It is an inescapable side effect of order building (each order casts some parts of the extant population as 'out of place', 'unfit' or 'undesirable') and of economic progress that cannot proceed without degrading and

> devaluing the previously effective modes of 'making a living' and therefore cannot but deprive their practitioners of their livelihood (Bauman, 2004:4).

Focusing on the theme of abandonment and its relationship with global capitalism, I reference the work of geographist Mike Crang who shows us the "counter images of globalizations", "the hidden underside of capitalism" by focusing on the breaking down of "mighty ships and their ruinous carcasses in South Asia" in *The Death of Great Ships: Photography, politics and waste in the global imaginary* (2010). By presenting the working of De Beers as a cartel, its monopoly over the diamond market in Namibia and the losses made by Gemfarm (the company that owned *Lady S*), I will show how 'abandonment' is central to the creation of the site of *Lady S*.

Bringing up the theme of urban ruins and the memory of an industrial site, I am inspired by DeSilvey and Edensor's writings on how "ruins may be used to critically examine capitalist and state manifestations of power" (2012:465). Wandering through the old decaying spaces inside the ship, I borrow from their writings on the materiality of decay and ruins to reflect on the life of workers on a working *Lady S*. They describe how "decay strips away layers of time and exposes others, revealing hidden strata and obscured material memories" (DeSilvey & Edensor, 2012:471). Furthermore, I draw on Edensor's (2005) writings on the ghosts of industrial ruins to reflect on the spectral presence of workers and memory of life on board the *Lady S* when it sailed the seas off Namibia.

Expanding on the theme of precarious lives, I build on the concept of 'hyper-precarity' and 'continuum of unfreedom' as proposed by Lewis, Dwyer, Hodkinson & Waite in their article *Hyper-precarious lives: Migrants, work and forced labour in the Global North* (2015). By applying these ideas to the life of the Ghanaian immigrants living inside *Lady S*, I show how physical space contributes to the notion of 'hyper-precarity' and how the concept of 'unfreedom' extends to their work which can be characterised as "harsh, degrading and dangerous" (Lewis, Dwyer, Hodkinson & Waite, 2015:586). Drawing on the life of these men, I further the idea that precarious work is linked to a worker's socio-legal status and that 'border regimes' contribute to the precarity of illegal migrants. In defining the term 'hyper-precarious', Lewis, Dwyer, Hodkinson & Waite state that the "viscerally lived unfreedoms within some migrants' working lives are brought about by a layering of insecurities produced by labour and immigration regimes and are better conceptualized as hyper-precarious rather than 'merely' precarious" (2015:593). I will be drawing on the work of migration expert Bridget Anderson (2010) and how she links precarious lives with uncertain futures. Furthermore, focusing on the special issue *Understanding the globalizing precariat: From informal sector to precarious work* (2016) edited by Siegmann & Schiphorst, I expand on the notion of the 'wasted precariat' proposed by Mojca Pajnik, in line with Bauman's (2004) notion of 'wasted humans' or 'bare life' to use Agamben's phrase

(1998). Her work unpacks how specific migration policies, labour processes and their regulation construct migrants as the 'wasted precariat' (Pajnik, 2016:160).

Lastly, framing the experience of the Ghanaian immigrants hiding inside the ship within the theme of migrancy and xenophobia in South Africa, I will draw from relevant literature, especially that written since the 2008 and 2015 xenophobic violence. I will refer to Jonathan Crush and Bruce Frayne's edited book *Surviving on the move: Migration, poverty and development in southern Africa* (2010). Furthermore, I will draw on Crush and McDonald's *Transnationalism and new African immigration to South Africa* in which they propose that "rather than speaking of 'migrant communities', we should focus on new and old 'migrant spaces', and the demographic, social and cultural contents of those spaces" (Crush & McDonald, 2002:16). Belinda Dodson's writings on the xenophobic attacks in South Africa conclude that "the attacks of May 2008 were indeed xenophobic" and that their causes lie in a complex interplay of economic, political, social, and cultural factors, both contemporary and historical; and that less violent, "ordinary" experiences of xenophobia are part of the everyday lives of African immigrants in South Africa (Dodson, 2010:4). In addition, the more recent writings of James Williams (2017), Sabine Marschall (2017) and Camalita Naicker (2016) contribute to understanding men's experience of living as foreigners in Cape Town.

Capitalism and Abandonment: The story of the ship and the men

> The power of the market system to forsake and displace is enormous. Under commodity capitalism, abandonment has become institutionalized; it is represented not only by the culture of perpetual consumerism, but also by those billion-dollar industries that now warehouse the homeless, the prisoner, the mentally ill, and the disenfranchised elderly (Salerno, 2003:7).

I met the agent of the ship, Edmond, in October 2014 soon after I discovered the ship at the port. I wanted to verify the information Morgan had given me. During my first visit to the bridge of the ship, I discovered diamond-mining logbooks and files. Morgan informed me that the ship was a diamond-mining vessel that had operated in Namibia. He further stated: "A Nigerian company bought it from the owners to re-fit it. They bought it almost seven years ago and I am looking after it because they might be waiting for money to fix it. The ship was scrap when it came and has never worked" (Morgan, personal communication 2014, October). According to the Marine traffic records updated on 15 February 2017, the 'name' of the ship was "*Lady S*", she was built in 1971, the 'vessel type': "anchor handling vessel/tug supply ship" and the 'status' stated: "laid up" (Marine Traffic, n.d.). Further information about her background was provided in the Baltic Shipping Services records. The name of the ship builder was recorded as "Hitzler Werft-Lauenburg, Germany". She had changed a few owners and flags over the years (Baltic Shipping,

n.d.). According to the VesselFinder data, the different owners were listed as follows: In 1971, the vessel name was "*Wassertor*" registered under the "German flag", in 1982 her flag of registry changed to the "flag of Panama", in 1986 her owners changed to " VTG Supply boat Liberia Inc." and she was registered under the "American flag". In 1988 her name changed to "*Sea Mirage*" and the registered owners changed to "Equinox Nav Ltd". In 1992 her name changed to "*Tremont*" and the registered owners were "Atlantis Nav Ltd", and lastly in 1995 her name changed to "*Lady S*", her registered owners were "Caraway Ltd" and her flag of registry changed to the "flag of Honduras" (VesselFinder, n.d.).

Edmond and I met at the Panama Jack restaurant located inside the port. His information about the history of the ship matched the available shipping records:

> She was built in Germany in 1971 and operated as a supply vessel in the North Sea most of her life. After that she went to America and in about 1987 or 1988 she worked as a supply vessel in the Gulf. In 1993 she came to Cape Town and got converted into a diamond-mining vessel by De Beers and operated 50 miles south of Lüderitz in Namibia. She did that till 1998 and then a company called Gemfarm bought it and they carried on with the same concession, which meant that they worked on the De Beers concessions in the same area. Gemfarm did that till 2006. In August 2006, a Nigerian company called Adamac bought it to change it into a maintenance vessel. They took off all the diamond mining stuff and sold it to another company who was doing diamond mining somewhere else. Since then the ship has been stuck to the quayside. She has nearly sunk many times: taking water, taking water. I have put a crew on the vessel. They paid me for the first four years, but they haven't paid me for the last four years, but I have still employed the crew. I don't think the company has money, so she is stuck here and effectively become a big problem for the port. If she sinks, they can't do anything there for the next ten years until they salvage it, which is a very costly and lengthy process. They are going to force the owners to scrap the vessel, so we are probably going to start cutting it up in the next few weeks. She is definitely going to be taken down (Edmond, personal communication 2014, October).

Researching the company Gemfarm Investments, I found mining and business news articles which reported that "Canada's gem miner Diamond Fields International (DFI) had engaged Gemfarm Investments to carry out contract mining on Diamond Fields' ML111 deposits near Lüderitz, Namibia in 2002". In their public announcement, they described Gemfarm as a company that had for "more than a decade, enjoyed a reputation for being an efficient, low-cost mining contractor for marine diamond deposits in southern Africa and had a client base which includes some of the leading diamond mining companies in the world" ("Mining to resume …", 2002). According to the engineering news website, "Diamond Fields International mined with a Gemfarm contract

vessel, MV *Lady S,* in the Lüderitz Blue Bay Project to increase diamond production". It also stated, "The mining vessel MV *Lady S* was to have completed its routine maintenance work and return to mine DFI's marine diamond concession late in April 2003" (Stanford, 2003). However, when I asked Edmond more about the company Gemfarm, how it went out of business and the reason for selling the ship to the Nigerian company, he informed me:

> Gemfarm is a South African company owned by Gershon Ben Tovim, an Israeli guy. He is very notorious, infamous for lots of things that are not desirable. Gemfarm was a badly run company and diamond mining took a bit of a dip about six years ago. The ships were all over the place and a few were parked here too. The ships are going back again now because there is business. If they had held on to the ship for longer they could have probably gone back into business (Edmond, personal communication 2014, October).

Further research pointed me to the fact that one of the diamond trawlers operated by Gemfarm had sunk off the coast of Namibia. The news on 12 April 2002 reported: "a diamond mining ship which operates from Cape Town has sunk off the Namibian coast, the SABC reported on Friday. The *Shelf Explorer* is owned by Gem Farm Investments. It flooded when a pipe burst and sank in 50m of water near Lüderitz, reported the captain. Two ships, *Spirit of Namibia* and *Lady S* were in the vicinity and sped to the rescue" ("Diamond trawler sinks …", 2002). This was earlier in the same year when Diamond Fields International, the Toronto-listed marine diamond mining company, hired them but continued to hire the company to mine on their concessions in Namibia.

In January 2004, two years after hiring Gemfarm, there was news that Diamond Fields International had suspended its mining operation off the coast of Namibia because the strength of the rand had "temporarily impaired profitability". Further it stated, "The decision to suspend the operations from its Lüderitz sea diamond concession was taken in conjunction with Lazig and Gemfarm, the owner and operator of the marine mining vessel, *Anya*". In the same article it stated, "Namdeb, De Beers' marine diamond mining operation in Namibia, would be reducing the number of people it employed as costs ate into profitability" ("Diamond Fields suspends …", 2014).

Explaining how De Beers "heads the world's most successful cartel, the CSO" (Central Selling Organisation), Kempton & Du Preez elaborate on how this CSO, "wholly owned and operated by De Beers", holds a monopoly in the selling of diamonds in the world. Further they discuss how De Beers controls the prices of uncut diamonds by controlling the supply chain and hence controlling the demand. They state:

> Since 1931 De Beers has maintained marketing agreements with all major diamond producing states to sell all or most of their production of uncut gem diamonds. Today the CSO sells between 75 and 85 percent of the world's annual production of uncut gem

> diamonds. The major producing states annually receive billions of dollars from the CSO. They in turn pledge to sell all, or the vast majority of, their gem diamonds through the CSO. The CSO then sets international prices for diamonds, with little fear of its prices being undercut by the producers themselves. With the possible exception of Russia, the diamond producing states are so dependent on De Beers for their diamond sales and the diamond prices that the dangers of conflict with De Beers are typically too great to seriously contemplate. Thus, the CSO can simultaneously be viewed as a successful producers' cartel and a powerful privately owned monopoly (Kempton & Du Preez, 1997:588).

Using a microeconomics theory to explain the artificial high price of diamonds, Kempton & Du Preez explain:

> Basic economy theory poses that in an ideal market there is a direct relationship between supply and demand. If supply decreases relative to demand, prices rise: if supply increases relative to demand, prices fall. Successful cartels however can prevent price fluctuations by adjusting the supply to meet, but not exceed, demand. Artificially high prices can be maintained by preventing the existing goods from reaching the market. Cartels can even force price increases by maintaining production at levels lower than existing demand, thereby artificially creating the perception of scarcity. De Beers maintains diamond sales at a level less than the demand, for the consumer the scarcity is real and price increases are possible. To maintain the myth of scarcity, De Beers buys many of the diamonds sold outside the cartel, sometimes at a loss. Some of these diamonds originate from smaller producers outside the cartel. Others are illicit sales, diamonds illegally sold outside the cartel (Kempton & Du Preez, 1997:589-590).

This explained how the Gemfarm Company went out of business and had to sell the ship. De Beers created an artificial scarcity by stalling the selling of diamonds to raise the price in the market. Writing about De Beers' philosophy of maintaining an artificial scarcity in the diamond market, Borovoi reminds us that it was a policy formulated by the De Beers founder, Cecil John Rhodes, where he said: "if there were just four people in the world, we would only produce enough diamonds for two of them" (Borovoi, 1995:48-51).

The ex-captain of the ship, Andre Goncharko, from Ukraine, who worked on the ship from 1994 to 1998, further explained to me the system of diamond mining in Namibia:

> To mine diamonds in Namibian and South African waters you need to have a permit from the state and it's called a concession. The areas where *Lady S* and other vessels of this company were mining were actually given to De Beers by the South African and

> the Namibian government. We did a subcontracting job for them. Our company was not allowed to sell the diamonds so everything that we mined was given back to De Beers. They then processed it and sold it. We were given a certain amount of money per carat mined and my guess is that it was not enough profit to continue. Maintaining the vessels is an expensive exercise and that's why the company went out of business (Goncharko, personal communication 2015, January).

Writing about the history of diamond mining in Namibia and its relationship with De Beers, Kempton & Du Preez state:

> Commercial mining of Namibia's diamonds began in 1908 under the German colonial authority, which proclaimed a 100 Kilometre Sperrgebiet (forbidden area) along Namibia's southern coast. After the First World War, Ernest Oppenheimer, with support from the South African government, persuaded the German mining firms to sell him their concessions. Once he had consolidated his new holdings with the formation of CDM, Oppenheimer used them to gain control of De Beers and the global diamond rule (Kempton & Du Preez, 1997:592).

Edmond's reason for looking after the ship did not sound convincing but I was scared to push him any further to get more information. He stated:

> I am looking after the ship because I care for ships. I have looked after *Lady S* for the last four years and haven't got paid a penny. The owners are bad owners, but I don't want to see that ship sink. It's as simple as that. Eventually I'll get a little bit of money back, but I can't let the ship die. It would have sunk years ago but we keep it pumping and plugged in so we are keeping this old hawk afloat (Edmond, personal communication 2014, October).

On the following visit to *Lady S*, Morgan and I went up to the bridge of the ship. The bridge area was where the captain of the ship would have navigated the seas. The registration placard stated: "Republic of Honduras, Safe Manning Certificate". The ship's particulars read "Name: *Lady S*, Place of registry: San Lorenzo". The steering wheel, the video monitors, the telephone were all intact except nothing was connected or functioning. The equipment looked like perfect prop pieces. "None of the machinery or the equipment works anymore", said Morgan, picking up the phone and pretending to speak with someone. I also noticed an old suitcase, some dirty bed sheets, three pillows, blankets and a mattress as though someone had been sleeping there. The room was bright and received plenty of light from the glass windows (Figure 13.1.1-13.1.4). The shelves were filled with diamond-mining logbooks (Figure 12.1.1-12.1.4). Morgan started going through the mining books as though he understood what was written. I looked carefully at the names of the files. They stated: "Diamond Sorted Manual M/V Lady S, Diamond Machine: Sorter

Unit, Miscellaneous M/V Lady S, Correspondence CDM/Office, Daily reports, Seal Replacement Log Sheet M/V Lady S". He explained the process of diamond mining. In an animated manner, he showed me how the long pipes drilled into the seabed and sucked up all the sand bringing along

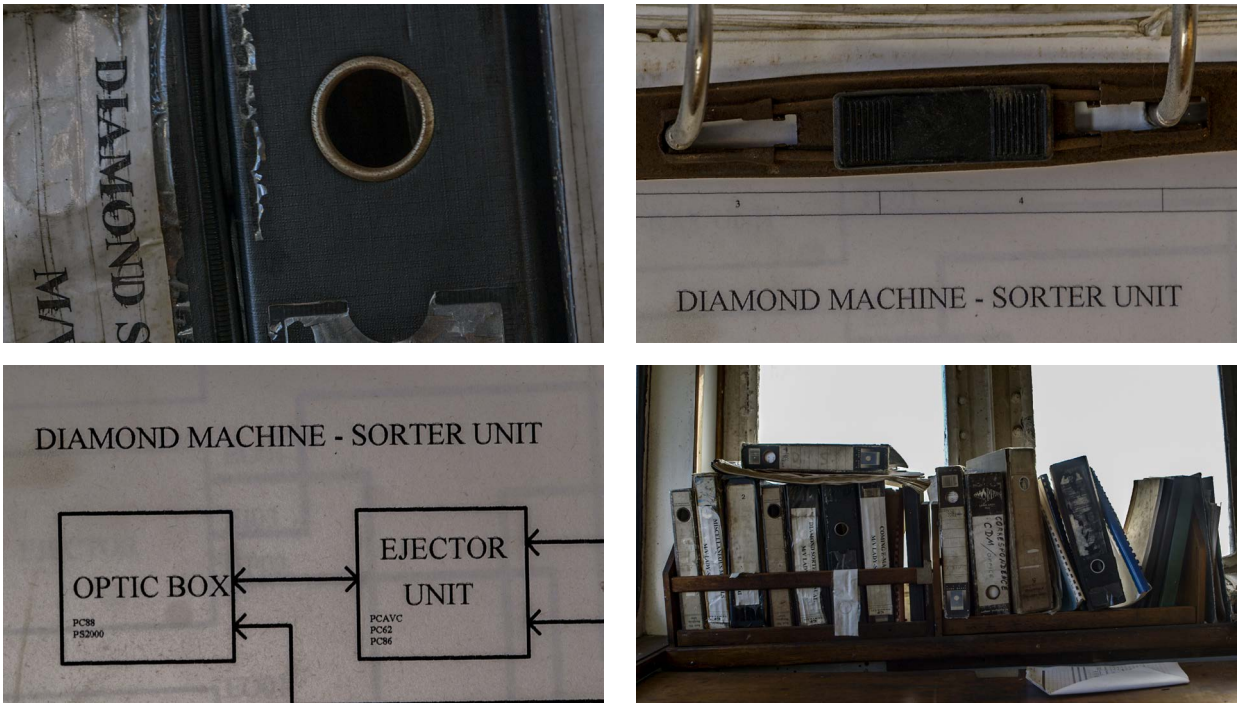


Figure 12.1.1-12.1.4: Video still, The Rusting Diamond: Diamond mining log books (Meghna Singh, 2015).

Figure 13.1.1-13.1.4: Video still, The Rusting Diamond: Bridge area of Lady S (Meghna Singh, 2015).

with it the diamonds that went directly into the diamond-processing room inside the ship. His knowledge of the entire process made him seem like someone who had worked on a diamond-mining ship before. He said, "I've heard enough about diamond mining to imagine it and imagine what the diamonds look like. However, in real life I've only seen them on the television" (Morgan, personal communication 2015, March).

Morgan's story about the ship was different to what Edmond told me. Morgan said that the Ukrainian ex-captain Andre Goncharko owned a part of the ship and worked for the Nigerian company. Morgan was of the understanding that Andre made the Nigerian company buy the ship to refurbish it but the ship was in a bad state and should have never been bought by the company. "They made a great loss by buying the ship" (Morgan, personal communication 2015, March). I enquired how Andre would benefit from making the company buy a ship in a bad state. He stated: "They will make money by selling it or cutting it up and that's why I think Andre made the company buy it and also he made the company buy it for a much higher price than the ship is worth, so he kept the extra money". He continued, "I don't think the company came to see the state of the ship themselves. They hired Andre to evaluate it and he made them buy it and finally when they came to see it, they realised that they shouldn't spend money refurbishing it" (Morgan, personal communication 2015, March). It made sense to trust Morgan's side of the story. The ex-captain hired by the company in Cape Town made them buy the ship at a higher price, so they would refurbish it and in return would make money when the ship was scrapped. In the meantime, they let the ship die a slow death. Writing about "regimes of disposal" which he connects with the so-called "accelerated capitalism", Gross states:

> This speeded up capitalism produces an endless search for newly marketable products, as well as a quest to discover new places where production might be cheaper and more 'efficient', and new technologies of production where people and older machines are replaced by newer machines. Rendering places, labour, technological processes, products and machines instantaneously outdated, such a system produces vast quantities of new 'premature waste' (Gross, 2002).

Taking this further, Tim Edensor is of the opinion that this kind of "industrial production does not symbolize linear progress but can represent a circular process through which things become obsolete, are thrown away, later recycled or replaced in pursuit of the always new." He further sums up by stating: "regimes of disposal have developed systematic modes of expelling unwanted matter so that it may no longer be confronted. Rubbish is piled into containers, conveyed to increasingly guarded reprocessing sites, cremated, used as landfill and apparently thereby erased" (Edensor, 2005a:315).

Writing about the hidden global flows of waste, the breaking down of ships producing toxic

waste in the third world, Crang elaborates on this antipode of globalisation which is perfectly represented by *Lady S* here:

> We all know how ships are born, how majestic vessels are nudged into the ocean with a bottle of champagne. But few of us know how they die. And hundreds of ships meet their death every year. From five-star ocean liners, to grubby freighters, literally dumped with all their steel, their asbestos, their toxins on the beaches of some of the poorest countries in the world, countries like Bangladesh (Crang, 2010:2).

Morgan's Journey to Cape Town

On my sixth visit to the ship, Morgan invited me inside his room. He was listening to the radio. "I have to guard the ship the whole day, so I decided to make this my room" (Morgan, personal communication 2015). I looked around the cabin. It was a small messy room with a single berth. The ceiling was falling apart and a long strip of sticky tape trailed down with dead flies stuck to it. He sat on the unmade bed with a few pillows thrown around. He listened to the radio most of the time since "it was the best way to stay connected to the outside world especially during the xenophobic attacks". I enquired about his background and how he ended up in Cape Town.

> I am from Tema in Ghana. It's an industrial area, the economic capital of the country. It's where the port is. I left Ghana in 1997 and worked on a ship in Togo for two years. I was 39 years old then. After that I went to Gabon and was sailing back and forth from Cameroon to Gabon for three years. The owners were from Greece but were based in Gabon. They bought a big ship and put me on that ship. I came to Cape Town in 1999 on that ship with loaded timber logs (Morgan, personal communication 2015, April).

In the 'age of migration' as Castles and Miller (2003) describe it, 'south-south migration' has increased significantly in recent decades and in Africa, major receiving countries include South Africa, Nigeria and Côte d'Ivoire. Furthermore, Skeldon notes: "migration is not a simple move from an origin to a destination… but is far more likely to consist of a complex sequence of moves that may involve several destinations and regular contact with the origin, which may eventually involve return migration" (Skeldon, 1997:9). According to the most recent calculations (Stupart, 2016), over one million people applied for asylum in South Africa between 2006 and 2014, mostly from the African continent, of which just under 400,000 cases are still pending. Writing about African migrants in South Africa, Marschall states: "many of these asylum seekers are essentially economic migrants; less than 10% are officially recognized as refugees (UNHCR South Africa, 2015). Due to South Africa's liberal legislation, asylum seekers and refugees enjoy freedom of movement and access to work opportunities, education and other services" (Marschall, 2017:141). Writing about African immigration to South Africa, Crush and McDonald

state that "South Africa's (re)insertion into the global economy has brought new streams of legal and unauthorized entry to South Africa and has made the country a new destination for African asylum seekers" (Crush & McDonald, 2002:2). They further write: "the informal economy has gone from a largely domestic affair in the 1980s to a truly transnational enterprise in the 1990s" (2002:6).

Morgan continued with his story: "I used to drive a crane inside the harbour and that's how I earned my living. That's when I met Edmond in 2005. He was a broker and when he sold a ship he would take me to work on the ship as a caretaker" (Morgan, personal communication 2015, April). He then moved on to tell me about his family:

> I am married to a South African woman and have a seven-year-old son, William. I haven't gone back home since I came here. Back at home I have a daughter, but I haven't seen her for many years. I last saw her when she was six years old. I phone her, communicate with her, encourage her, and advise her. She's not upset with me but worried about me. Last we spoke was during the xenophobia: she called me to check whether I was alright. She is coping because my brothers and sister are there to look after her. I have five brothers and one sister (Morgan, personal communication 2015, April).

Looking pensively out of the porthole window at the sea, Morgan continued to speak:

> We people from Ghana and these African countries come from a poor background. There was no job when I completed my school. I worked in the bush, in the farm and sold dry wood to make a living. I decided to travel outside Ghana to look for a better job. My father was lucky and could leave Ghana too. He worked for Ghana National shipping line and got an opportunity to do a chief engineer course in London. My mother was allowed to accompany him. He should have taken me but instead he took my uncle along. My uncle caused trouble in London, so they deported him and my father too. My mother managed to stay back and lived illegally in London for eight years. She worked as a cleaner at the store Sainsbury. In the end the police caught her and they deported her back to Ghana too (Morgan, personal communication 2015, April).

Introducing the concept of the 'wasted precariat' in line with Bauman's notion of 'wasted humans', Mojca Pajnik states that this condition is constructed due to "specific migration policies as well as labour processes and their regulations" (Pajnik, 2016:159). She further states that "adopting such an approach helps coin migrant precariousness as 'wasted precariousness'". She states that largely, "the concept describes processes of marketization of migrants where they are reduced to disposable agents for the (global) market" (Pajnik, 2016:162). Further framing Morgan and his parents' experience as economic migrants, I would like to borrow from Bauman's idea that "modernity

produces 'human waste' or 'wasted humans' as an unavoidable effect of economic progress and the inclination of modernity to control and order life" (Bauman, 2004:57-60). For Bauman, "categories of economic migrants are best viewed as 'traditional industrial waste' performing all kinds of dirty and 'no-fun' jobs in consumerist societies." Morgan continued to speak about his parents. He said: "My father passed away six years ago and my mother four years ago. I couldn't go for their funeral. I don't have money and proper paperwork to go but I sent money to my brothers to assist with the funeral" (Morgan, personal communication 2015, April). Drawing a parallel between mobility and containment and the construction of detention centres, I would like to emphasise that Morgan's inability to leave the country was like being in a state of detention. Detention centres have been defined as "a powerful, physical manifestation of exclusionary state practices, which work not only to contain mobility, but also to reconfigure and relocate national borders" (Mountz et al., 2012:530). Conceptualising detention, Mountz, Coddington, Catania and Loyd state: "Detention produces paradoxical processes of deterritorialization, externalization, and internalization of borders through the deliberate bordering and marking of migrant bodies. Detention practices intimately connect sovereignty to the body" (2012:534). They further state: "Detention, thus, becomes a space where citizenship is constructed through its denial", a process akin to Giorgio Agamben's (1998) idea that 'homo sacer' is included in the juridical order through exclusion (Mountz et al., 2012:533). Writing about the 'idea of the asylum', Bauman states, "Once a matter of 'civil pride' the asylum has been reclassified to produce categories of 'human waste' and to maintain distinctions between those who belong to the inside and those who belong to the outside of societies (Bauman, 2004:57-58). At the end of our conversation, Morgan broke down crying, stating: "I miss home. I miss my brothers and my families, I miss the way we used to live together in groups, but what can I do? I just have to forget about them – that's life. One day if God bless I will go home" (Morgan, personal communication 2015, April).

Helping brothers from Ghana

> What is place in this new 'in-between-world'? The short answer is compromised: permanently in a state of enunciation, between addresses, always deferred. Places are 'stages of intensity', traces of movement, speed and circulation (Thrift, 1996:289).

Part of Morgan's daily routine was to go down to the engine room to turn on the submersible pump. "We steal shore power and that's how we get electricity to make the pump work" (Morgan, personal communication 2015, July). During one of the visits, I followed him downstairs into the engine room that felt like being in the dark belly of the ship. He informed me: "I have to turn on the pump twice a day and sometimes even three times. The pump cannot be working continuously, it will burn out. If it stopped working, we would be in serious trouble." He explained that underneath the ship there were small holes and that water came in slowly and continuously. "I have to make sure we keep the pump dry. The ship gets flooded all the time but if the engine

room got flooded then the ship would definitely sink" (Morgan, personal communication 2015, July).

We entered a dark room with absolutely no light except the light from the mobile strip light that Morgan picked up before entering the engine room((Figure 14.1.1-14.1.2). We walked through the entire space to reach the submersible pump. The room was a maze of old machinery painted green and a neon orange. The paint looked relatively new. It might have had to do with the fact that it was a cocooned underground space with no windows and was protected from direct contact with seawater or salty air. The roof had metal pipes and cables running along it. Morgan alternated between pointing the light straight ahead and down at the floor. It was dark, cold and eerie with no sound except a strange hiss. When the hiss disappeared, we could hear the waves crashing against the ship. As Morgan walked he touched some of the old equipment. "It's a gauge for temperature", he said, touching a round dial with numbers. Filming Morgan in this dark room, his body silhouetted against the giant machinery, made him look like an image from the past – a spectre of the workers who once inhabited the space of the engine room. Emphasising the 'spectral aspects of space' and referring to Derrida's 'spectro-politics', Maddern and Adey state:

Figure 14.1.1 & 14.1.2: Video still, The Rusting Diamond: Morgan in engine room (Meghna Singh, 2015).

Figure 15.1.1 - 15.1.4: Video still, The Rusting Diamond: Morgan in engine room amd George carrying water (Meghna Singh, 2015)

"If spectrality has a temporal politics, then it also has a spatial politics, which is complex, uneven and multifaceted and can open our eyes to the persistence of presences that somehow remain" (Maddern & Adey, 2008:291-293). They further state: "Using the lens of 'spectro-geographies' the hidden politics that haunts spaces in intimate and complex ways, can continue to animate silenced agencies and forgotten voices and histories, while also attending to the political aspects of those voices and histories" (Maddern & Adey, 2008:293).

As we walked out, I noticed another man going inside a large hole with a plastic bucket. Morgan said, "This is where we store fresh water. There is no running water in the ship at all. We steal water from the shore pipe and store it here. This is George. He is staying upstairs and he is taking this water to cook his meal" (Morgan, personal communication 2015, July). This was when I learnt about the men from Ghana who lived inside the ship. Morgan informed me that there were four men living inside the ship and a few had moved out. He explained:

> They are like my 'Ghana friends'. They don't have a job and can't afford to pay rent so they prefer to manage here. They go out during the day to look for work and return at night. In South Africa, it's better to live a hidden life. They keep a watch for me at night like guards since I go back home at night. If the ship starts sinking at night, they must call me. I help them and they help me with my work (Morgan, personal communication 2015, July).

Writing about undocumented African migrants living discreetly in Cape Town, Williams describes this process as "a mode of dwelling marked by strategies of concealment and separateness and deliberately staying unsettled" (2017:420). Giving some background to the housing landscape in

Cape Town post apartheid, he states:

> Safe and affordable housing is a pressing and vociferous source of struggle among the urban poor. While the apartheid state's demarcation of the city into residential areas based on racial categories has been formally dismantled, segregation by race and wealth continues; indeed, it has newly intensified. Cape Town has become renowned more recently for its inhospitableness toward African foreigners. The growth of xenophobia in South Africa since the 1990s, and its spectacular expression as urban violence in May 2008 feeds into this trajectory significantly (Williams, 2017:420).

In his ethnographic study of young male African migrants over five years from 2005 to 2010, Williams concludes that "dwelling discreetly was extremely important to them as stories of migrants being "hunted" in their homes were taken seriously". The youths decided that " their households must stay 'cloaked in the city' to ensure their safety and stability" (Williams, 2017:423). Another important reason for the discreet existence of the migrants was the growing charged discussions and allegations that "African migrants were depriving black South Africans of their homes; the loudest concerned the illegal subleasing to migrants of subsidized houses intended for poor South Africans that were constructed through a development program launched in 1994 as cornerstone African National Congress legislation" (Williams, 2017:425). The above reasons explain why the Ghanaian immigrants decided to take shelter inside *Lady S* and not find housing outside in the city. Morgan narrated how he met the men from Ghana and how they came to live inside the ship:

> The very first person to sleep in *Lady S* was George Sego. He was from Cape Coast in Ghana. I met him in town at a hairdresser where the Ghanaians cut hair. He heard that I was working on a ship and approached me asking for work. That time I was working on another ship called the *Highlander* which belonged to Australians. That was a long time ago. It was before I started working on *Lady S*. I have worked on a lot of boats before I came to *Lady S*. After the Australian ship was auctioned, Sego went to the township and started a business there, but the business collapsed, and he returned to ask me for help and I invited him to *Lady S*. He slept in this ship for three years. I recently heard that he took a boat and returned to Ghana because he was having trouble with the immigration police (Morgan, personal communication 2015, July).

Morgan went on to tell me about all the different men who had lived inside *Lady S* during his time as the caretaker of the ship:

> Along with Sego, there was another man living on the ship. His name was David Fiagbo and he was from Tema, Ghana. He came here to look for a better life. He was a chef

in Ghana.When he first came to Cape Town he worked as a helper in the kitchen at a restaurant in Sea Point but he lost that job. I met David through Edmond, the agent of *Lady S*. David knew another shipping agent in Ghana since he wanted to work as a cook in a ship. When he arrived in Cape Town, he came searching for Edmond. After four years of living inside *Lady S* David decided to move out and rent a place since he married a South African woman. I heard he has two children with her. It's been three years since he

Figure 16: Video still, The Rusting Diamond: George cooking in his cabin (Meghna Singh, 2015)

left the ship. There was another man Jeff from Accra who lived in the ship. He worked as a firefighter in the dry docks inside the harbour. Jeff brought another man called David to stay on the ship. He also worked in the dry docks as a firefighter with him. The second David was from Accra Nungua. The second David introduced me to George, the man you saw collecting water. He said that he's also from Ghana, so I should help him (Morgan, personal communication 2015, July).

I followed George upstairs to his cabin where he took the water to cook his food (Figure 16). George stayed in one of the cabins on the top floor near the entrance of the ship. The porthole window in the cabin was covered with a white blind, a strategy he adopted to avoid people looking inside his cabin. There were two sets of wooden shelves filled up with some of his personal belongings. There was an L-shaped table in the centre of the cabin where George had placed all his cooking materials which comprised of an electric stove, two metal pots, two plastic bottles of salt and pepper and an old plastic bottle of cooking oil. I noticed that he had strung a line across the room on which a few clothes were drying: two towels and a pair of socks. There was a washbasin in the corner of the cabin with a mirror on top. George used that washbasin for washing utensils. I also noticed soap, toothpaste, a comb and shaving crème in the corner of the

basin. There were a few dirty rags on the floor and a few more pots stacked under the L-shaped table. He said that he was cooking a Ghanaian dish called '*upru*'. "I have been in South Africa for three years. I spent the first year in Johannesburg but there was too much xenophobia and I was scared for my life. I prefer Cape Town." The wall clock was stuck at 7:45. The steam from the cooking filled up the closed room.

Introducing the idea of liminality to spaces that exist between "place and mobility", Cresswell suggests "there are kinds of spaces and places inhabited by people between states, undergoing rites of passage" (2012:71). Analysing the work of the artist Ergin Cavusoglu, he writes: "Airspaces, sea space, border space, as well as the nondescript spaces of the city are his settings and in doing so he allows us to consider the intersection of place and journey" (Cresswell, 2012:72). In the same edited book *Spatialities: The Geographies of Art and Architecture* (2012), Crang analyses the work of artist and scholar Anne Tallentire who continuously engages with the practices of the displaced (Crang, 2012:28). Analysing her Dimora series (2006), he writes: "These images seem to be presenting moments where globalization has been: they are the traces and containers that result from, enable and frame the translocated lives of migrants. They speak to the intrusion of the global into small spaces, yet also refuse to represent it" (Crang, 2012:33). Similar to Tallentire and Cavusoglu's work, the *Lady S* gives us a glimpse into a space discreetly inhabited by migrants. It reflects on how unnoticed invisible spaces in Cape Town, spaces outside of the norms of place and community, places where normal rules are suspended, are sites that can help us visualise migration in new ways.

Mobility, Migration and the creation of Liminal Spaces: Locating *Lady S* within the world of 'in-between ruin' spaces

> Industrial ruins are an intersection of the visible and the invisible, for the people who managed them, worked in them, and inhabited them are not there. And yet their absence manifests itself as a presence through the shreds and silent things that remain, in the objects we half recognize or surround with imaginings. In ruins we can identify "that which appeared to be not there", a host of signs and traces which let us know that "a haunting is taking place". The ghosts of ruins do not creep out of shady places unannounced, as they do in highly regulated urban spaces, but are abundant in the signs, which haunt the present in such a way as to suddenly animate the past (Edensor, 2005b:842).

On my next visit I followed Morgan down a narrow staircase to the workers' cabins and recreational area of the ship. As we climbed down the narrow steps, I felt anxious about entering the dark space. A strange damp smell along with the sound of slow gushing water became prominent. The first room we entered was one of the worker's cabins, a dark room with a bunk berth and a small table lit by a beam of light coming through a partially darkened porthole window. I noticed a

sticker with the figure of Jesus protecting the seafarers stuck on the wooden façade of the bunk bed (Figure 17.1.1-17.1.4). A similar sticker was stuck on the walls of one of the top deck cabins and I had seen it at the seafarer's mission inside the port too. A copy of an old bible, a comb and an old helmet lay on the berth. A small dirty mirror was stuck on the wall next to the table. A brown carton of Kikkoman soy sauce was thrown in the corner of the room. The cabin made me think of the men who once worked in the ship, sailing for months at a time. Describing the operation of the vessel, the ex-captain of the ship, Andre Goncharko from Ukraine, had informed me:

Figure 17.1.1 - 17.1.4: Video still, The Rusting Diamond: Interior of Lady S (Meghna Singh, 2015)

> There were about 30 people on board. The crew included diamond-mining supervisors, engineers were from South Africa and ordinary crew was from Namibia. They had 12-hour shifts. I don't know about the lower ranking personnel as I never went down to their cabins. There wasn't much of a social life since work was very intense. There was nothing to do besides read books or watch videos on the TV. There was no satellite TV at that time. From time to time we had supply vessels come to supply us with food and spare parts for the ship. We would take enough water and we had water makers that filtered sea water and desalinated it into fresh water (Goncharko, personal communication 2015, January).

Proposing to focus on "migrant spaces" rather than speak of "migrant communities" to imagine the life of workers, Crush and McDonald state, "The quintessential migrant space in South Africa is the migrant compound or hostel. Historically, these were highly 'gendered spaces' and their purpose was to insulate migrants from their surrounds, in the commitment to keeping migrants impermanent" (Crush & McDonald, 2002:16). I asked Morgan if any of the men slept there. He stated:

> We don't like to sleep here. The cabin fills up with water. It's too rusted. In case someone was to cut themselves they could easily get tetanus due to the rust and stale water. The upstairs deck is better. We have cleaned it up and we can sleep and cook our food there. The best area is at the very top, the bridge of the ship. When Dicksen, Evance and the other George were here, we would all sleep there. That room has a very nice view of the entire port. It is too much for a man to sleep here but some of the guys have slept downstairs too (Morgan, personal communication 2015, September).

From this room, we could look into the kitchen. There was a large pot of water on the gas stove and the wall behind it was covered in soot. A few utensils hung from the nails hammered into the wall. As we walked in, I noticed Morgan's reflection in the pot of boiling water. The kitchen had a large porthole window looking straight out at the container terminal and we could see a giant container ship. Since we were below the ground level, it felt like we were submerged under water. The notice on the wall of the adjoining cabin stated: "Officer's Mess: You are requested not to wear working gear or dirty clothes and boots in the officer's mess, during the meals: Captain M/V LADY S". I had seen a sign for a 'Namibian mess', at the entrance of the ship and remembered what the ex-captain of the ship had told me during our interview. "The Namibian mess was for the ordinary crew. The officers are supposed to have a separate mess room because sometimes they discuss things that the ordinary people are not supposed to know. And the ordinary crew was normally from Namibia" (Goncharko, personal communication 2015, January). Next we entered the recreational cabin. A television set, an old DVD player and a printer were still kept on the TV console. The old blue plastic clock was stuck at six. The leather couches had tears and the sponge popped out from beneath the leather surface. Multiple plugs and cables were strewn around the room, causing me to nearly trip on one of them. A large painted picture of the *Lady S* in Namibia occupied the centre position on the wall. The painting showed *Lady S* in all its glory: set against white and brown mountains in 'Baker Bay', adorning a large crest with a lion, protea flower, an anchor, chains and the text "Gem Farm Investment Pty_Ltds 2002", there stood a red ship with two cranes and a helicopter on the helipad on the upper deck of the ship. The diamond-processing unit was clearly marked and it was signed by the artist 'Shanny' on the bottom-right side of the painting. On the extreme right-hand corner of the painting, in very minute letters, were the names of workers, barely legible. Edensor uses Stallabrass's (1996:176) term "accelerated archaeology" for objects in ruins that were once used by managers and workers to render industrial space more homely. He states:

> Schemes of decoration which use seemingly tasteless wallpaper, furniture and curtains, posters of yesterday's footballers and pop stars, and toys and mascots from popular culture used as kitsch props by workers testify to a vernacular creativity, but they can also shock because they have been completely forgotten in the pursuit of the fashionable (Edensor, 2005a:328)

The last room in this section was the toilets and showers for the workers. There were two broken wooden doors, which would have been the shower rooms and next to them two cubicles with broken commodes. The wall was completely rusted, brown and orange with little bits of white paint peeling off. There was a sense of the familiar in this space. I could picture the men coming to sleep at the end of the day, using the showers, watching television in the recreational area and sleeping on the bunk berths (Figure 19.1.1-19.1.4). Further down the alleyway was the area with the machinery: the diamond-processing room and the room with the 'emergency fire' sign. A board on the wall stated: "Danger: You are entering a processing area. Exercise caution when on deck. No crew permitted in this area without hard hats, safety boots and protective equipment". The diamond-processing room was the biggest room in the entire ship. A large empty room with a few vertical pipes and a metal grid along the periphery of the room, one could imagine the

Figure 18.1.1 - 18.1.6: Video still, The Rusting Diamond: Interior of flooded cabins on Lady S (Meghna Singh, 2015)

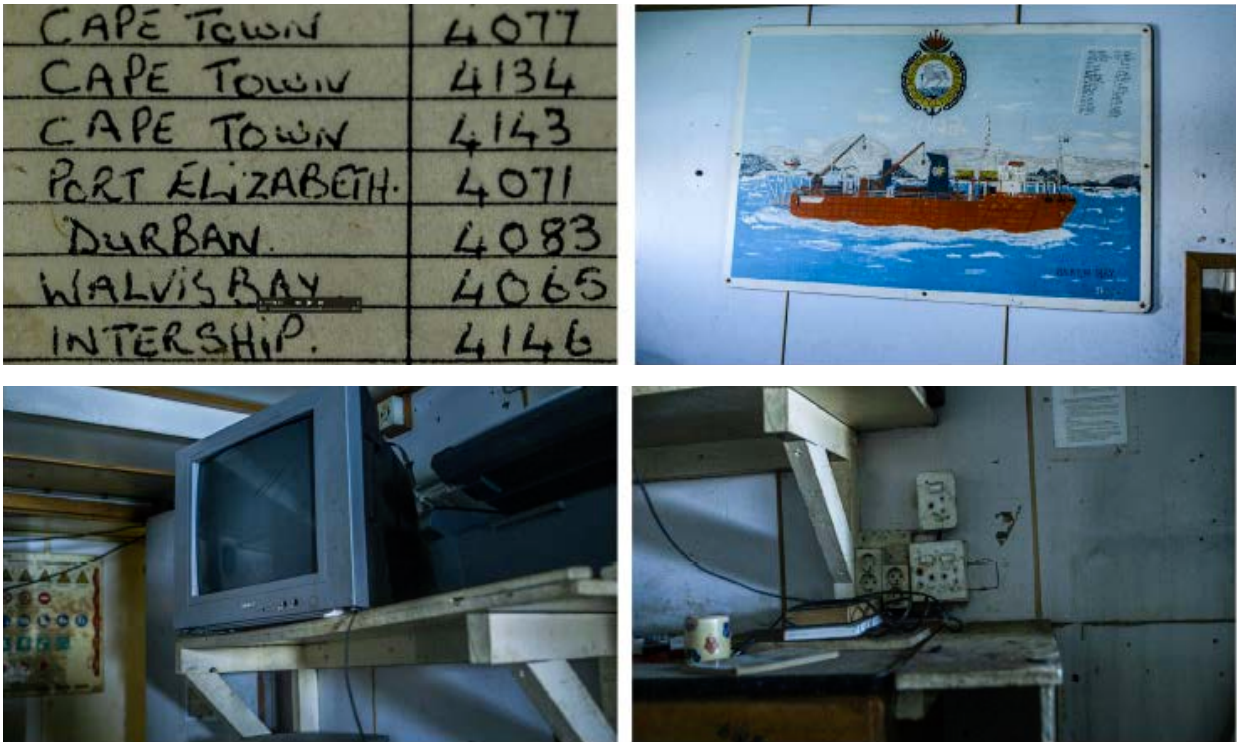


Figure 19.1.1 - 19.1.4: Video still, The Rusting Diamond: Interior of recreational room, Lady S (Meghna Singh, 2015)

machinery that would have been there filling up what was now the empty space (Figure 18.1.1-18.1.6). The ceiling had big holes with shafts of daylight coming through and lighting up the dark room. This room was often flooded and on most of my visits had ankle-deep water. Discussing the secrecy and security around diamond mining on board, Goncharko had informed me that there wasn't much secrecy on board. "The process of extracting diamonds was organised in such a way that there was very little chance for someone to steal any diamonds". He further stated: "There was a helipad on the upper deck of the ship. The company would send a helicopter out to the ship at sea to collect the diamonds so there would be no threat to the security of the diamonds" (Goncharko, personal communication 2015, January).

An orange nylon string stretched across the room with an old shirt and a thick grey jacket hanging on it. The clothes looked old and on closer scrutiny I noticed that they had gone stiff like a cardboard sculpture suspended from the line. They were a strange orange colour. Morgan reported that everything in this area had slowly turned orange due to the rust. "They are old miners' clothes I think, of the crew who worked on the ship", said Morgan. "We just let them hang there. We don't like to move things around, you see. It is none of our business and especially in this section of the ship" (Morgan, personal communication 2015, September). I had seen the clothes on my first visit to the room and on my very last visit before the ship was cut up, the clothes were still there. Writing about the memory of workers in industrial ruins, Edensor states:

> Close relationships between bodies, workspaces, and apparatus are further conjured by the traces of clothing that often litter ruins: the overalls, boilersuits,

> hobnail boots, gloves, and hard hats which adorned working bodies. An empathetic recouping of the sensory experience of the clothed industrial body and its exertions is stimulated by the tears in the fabric of jackets, the patches of grease on the knees of overalls, and the scuffed exteriors of boots (Edensor, 2005b:841).

Last we entered the Emergency Room. The signage in bold red letters read 'emergency fire pump'. The room was a jungle of cables and pipes suspended from every possible angle, horizontal, vertical, crisscrossing their way around the room. They ranged from thick and thin rubber cables to metal cables and cables submerged in orange-coloured water on the floor. Shafts of light flooded from the holes in the ceiling making the water shine a bright orange. The room reflected onto the water on the floor creating a mirage of double images. Morgan's splashed as he walked around, explaining to me the function of the old equipment in the room.

The precariousness of life

> Through the creation of categories of entrant, the imposition of employment relations and the construction of institutionalized uncertainty, immigration controls work to form types of labor with particular relations to employers and to labor markets. They combine with less formalized migratory processes to help produce "precarious workers" that cluster in particular jobs and segments of the labor market (Anderson, 2010:301).

Bridget Anderson (2010) highlights the concept of 'unfree labour' that describes "migrant workers who are not free to circulate in the labor markets of the host countries in which they are working". Fudget elaborates on this idea by stating, "The state, through immigration law, creates a variety of different migration statuses, some of which are highly precarious, that in turn generate a differentiated supply of labor that produces precarious workers and precarious employment norms" (Fudget, 2012:95). Taking this further, according to Nadita Sharma, this 'unfree labour' forms the "exemplary post-Fordist workforce" (Sharma, 2006). In this section I will showcase the reasons why the life of the Ghanaian men was precarious and further suggest that the idea of 'hyper-precarity' is more appropriate to frame their condition.

The life of the men taking shelter inside the ship was precarious and entrenched in uncertainty. The underlying reason for their nervousness was that they were hiding from the police who had previously come to check on them and asked for their valid migration or asylum papers. However, *Lady S* lay at the very edge of the port next to old trawlers and its location made it easier for the men to live inside the ship discreetly. On enquiring how the men accessed the port, Morgan stated: "I listed all their names with the security guard. I said they were temporary crew, so they were allowed to enter the port. The security wasn't that strict in that part of the port" (Morgan,

personal communication 2015, November). However, it wasn't the security guard at the gate that they were nervous about. He said they were scared of the immigration police catching them hiding inside the ship. He reported, "the immigration people came three months ago at night. David and George were sleeping, and they only met the second David. Luckily, he had asylum papers while the other two didn't." Looking nervous, he went on to say:

> Frankly, I was tired of helping. The ship wasn't fit to accommodate people either. The immigration police used to come there and enquire 'who are you, where is your papers, where is your documents, what are you doing here?' You know the immigration police were doing an operation; they were going everywhere searching for illegal immigrants. They used to come to the docks too. It was very risky (Morgan, personal communication 2015, November).

The concept of citizenship is frequently used in discussing the disadvantaged position of migrant workers. This feeds into what is proposed by Lewis, Dwyer, Hodkinson and Waite (2015) around the idea of 'continuum of unfreedom'. The "socio legal status" and "border regimes" contribute to the precarity of illegal immigrants. Fear of the immigration police deporting them was one of the reasons that the men chose to live inside *Lady S*. Writing about the 'languages of xenophobia in post-apartheid South Africa', Naicker suggests "that use of xenophobic discourse and language; the precarious nature of living conditions; labor conditions and restricted access to citizenship rights from the State, are experienced by all people who are categorized as 'migrants' internally, and those described as 'foreigners' or 'refugees' by government officials" (Naicker, 2016:48). Morgan told me that he wasn't illegal. He had applied for asylum when he arrived in 2001. "I applied by the old customs house for asylum. I got asylum easily and later when I got married I changed my status and got a temporary residence." I was unsure about his status to stay in South Africa because previously he had stated two things that suggested otherwise. Firstly, he informed me that he could not leave the country when his parents died. Secondly, Edmond paid him in cash for his work since he was unable to open a bank account in South Africa.

South Africa is a country tainted with attacks on foreign nationals and xenophobia. The men felt safer inside the port especially during the xenophobic attacks in early 2008 and in 2015. "In 2015 South Africa (SA) experienced a fresh round of xenophobic attacks in many of its nine provinces, with the largest number of attacks occurring in Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal in April and quickly spreading to Cape Town. The attacks spread back to Gauteng, when the army was called after hundreds were involved in attacks in Alexandra. Soon after that, people designated as 'foreigners' by the State were placed in camps for their own safety" (Naicker, 2016:46). Recalling this incident, Morgan said: "We felt safe inside the port because the criminals couldn't come inside and all this xenophobia because of the criminals" (Morgan, personal communication 2015, November). Morgan stated further that no one had ever threatened them inside the port. He

himself lived in Brooklyn, a neighbourhood with mostly foreign residents, and there had been a few attacks. “There are people from outside, from Congo, DRC, Malawi, people from different Africa countries. I didn’t see it myself but I heard that they shot one Congolese guy by a shop during the last xenophobic attacks.” He further stated: “Sometimes I felt scared at home and safer inside the port since people were often friendly and I gave them water to drink” (Morgan, personal communication 2015, November). Morgan cycled every day to the port. He felt safe since he cycled on the busy highway and tried not to pass any corners, so no one could catch him. The foundation for xenophobia dates back to the fall of apartheid in the early 1990s, and the rush for more secure livelihoods and resources. “An ‘insider/outsider’ tension emerged, with South African identity becoming the key criteria for access to these livelihoods and resources” (Crush & McDonald, 2002:18). In a paper titled ‘African Migrants’ Experiences of Xenophobic Violence in South Africa’, Chigeza, De Wet, Roos and Vorster drew the conclusion that “migrants were perceived as threats to the resources of South African citizens. Migrants became the ‘enemy’, which increased the cohesive forces in a group, promoting an escalating circle of inhumane behavior, such as xenophobia” (Chigeza et al., 2013:501-505). In *Africa Today’s*, special issue titled Africa’s Spaces of Exclusion, Crush and Steinberg describe the xenophobic attacks of 2008 in South Africa:

> In May 2008, graphic images of violent attacks on foreign Africans living in South Africa, scenes of knife and stick-wielding aggressors, wounded victims, burning houses, and even, in the most horrific photographs, a burning man – were seen around the world. These were soon replaced by images of people who had fled in fear of their lives to seek refuge in churches and police stations, eventually to be rehoused in tent settlements like those housing famine or war refugees. The attacks left more than sixty people dead and more than one hundred thousand homeless (Steinberg, 2008).

Living inside the ship, not only did the men have to be careful not to cut themselves due to the rust and stale water but they had to remember to pump out water every day and keep the ship from sinking. The irony of the entire situation was that the men were more scared of the water filling up inside the ship at night than of the police. Morgan had an arrangement with the men that they would take care of the ship at night and would inform him if water started coming in. He stated: “There is nothing to steal but there can be a problem if the water starts coming in. The guys know that they must phone me so I can inform the agent and we can rescue the situation immediately. Last month, they informed me, and I informed Edmond who had to call divers to go down and patch the holes and stop the water coming in. That is the main objective of their help.” During my research period, the ship nearly sank twice, and the divers were called to patch the holes. The precariousness of the situation was epitomised in the image of the men throwing out water with a kettle, trying desperately to keep the ship afloat. Contextualising their desperateness to survive and working for the agent, Edmond, in return for getting free accommodation inside the ship,

can be summed up as a situation of 'hyper-precarity' and as Lewis, Dwyer, Hodkinson and Waite state:

> Migrants journeying through and around various immigration and socio-legal statuses whilst under serious livelihood pressures are at risk of entering the labour market at the lowest possible point in their effort to secure work. These constraints on migrants can combine with unfreedoms in labour market processes to create situations of what we are calling 'hyperprecarity' (Lewis et al., 2015:592).

As a female researcher spending time on the ship with men unknown to me, my own position was as precarious as theirs. Filming alone on the ship didn't come without challenges. One late evening, I went to visit George on the ship to observe the evening routine of the men living on the ship. I was dropped off by the security guard who asked me to give him 30-minutes prior notice before being collected from there. I found myself trapped in a dangerous situation as I was alone on the ship with George who acted in a very strange manner. He suggested that I have sexual intercourse with him in exchange for knowing about his life. I managed to secretly send a text message to the security guard who came in the nick of time to save me from the situation. On narrating the incident to Morgan I learnt that George had been injecting drugs and Morgan had found needles in his room. "You must be careful. Don't come here alone at night", said Morgan. "I don't trust the men alone with you. They are on drugs". He went on to say: "Jeff came back one night and fought with me and boxed me in my eye. He had been smoking hemp. You see, he was goofed because he was drunk and stoned. You can't think straight in that state". He told me that George was sleeping on another boat half the time and had not been looking after *Lady S*, which was his job at nighttime. "I don't want to help any brothers from Ghana anymore" (Morgan, personal communication 2016, February).

Morgan said he was tired of looking after the ship. Edmond was not paying him anymore. "He's supposed to give me R1 200 a week but he doesn't give that money anymore. This week he only gave me R700 and Isa R600. We are waiting for our balance. He says it's very hard for him as he doesn't have a contract and the owners of *Lady S* don't pay anymore. He told us that he's been paying us from his own pocket and now he can't afford it anymore" (Morgan, personal communication 2016, February). Everyone was waiting for the ship to be scrapped. In line with the uncertainty around this period of waiting, Waite writes: "In its literal sense, precarity refers to those who experience precariousness, and thus conjure life worlds that are inflected with uncertainty and instability (Waite, 2009:581). The Transnet Authorities had given the owners an ultimatum to move the ship because it could easily sink in the docks. The plan was for Edmond to go to court, own the ship, sell it and get money to pay the port and pay other pending expenses. Once the ship was gone the men would have to find another place to live and Morgan another job to survive. Till then they wait in a state of suspension. Linking precarious work to an uncertainty about the future, Anderson states: "Precarious work results in précarité, a more

general concern with precariousness of life which prevents people from anticipating the future" (2010:304). Borrowing from Ahmad (2008:309), she states that the 'illegal' migrant 'living off borrowed time' has become emblematic of the 'precarious worker' (2010:304). Their state of being reminds one of Agamben's work on the concepts of 'bare life', the 'state of exception' and 'the materialization of the camp' which is also called the space of exception. Agamben uses these to consider the contemporary political milieu, most significantly on the so-called war on terror. He argues "the state of exception, which was essentially a temporary suspension of the rule of law on the basis of a factual state of danger, is now given a permanent spatial arrangement, which as such nevertheless remains outside the normal order" (Agamben, 1995:169). However, Craig Martin suggests "these can be used to consider the space of suspension as an attempt to produce a permanent means to hold undocumented migration in place" (2011:203).

Conclusion: Capitalism and abandonment

> Globalisation is intimately connected to neo-liberalization as a complex process of capitalist and market trans-nationalization in which capital has developed an unprecedented and decisive level of mobility principally through the organizational strategies of transnational corporations (TNCs) and the constitutive power of states. The result is that workers everywhere no longer have a quasi-monopoly of jobs but must now compete with an apparently 'inexhaustible pool of potential labour' in the global economy, creating for capital a supply of labour of comparable efficiency but at different prices (Lewis et al., 2015:581).

The last three years have seen the rise of media around the oceanic movement of migrants making their way across the Mediterranean. These life-threatening journeys remind us of not only the images shown to us but of the countless invisible journeys made by people crossing borders across the world. These people are mostly paperless, they cross borders, they have to survive the modern world of grids and frontiers and then they enter a world of shadow spaces. These shadow spaces are hubs where migrants find themselves beyond the lines of crossings, beyond boats, dead babies, life jackets and beyond the grid of the modern world. These so-called shadow zones are spaces where life becomes precarious and invisible. The case study of *Lady San Lorenzo* helps us to get a glimpse inside the so-called shadow zones and makes the invisible visible by showcasing the precariousness of the life of a few illegal immigrants and how intrinsically the capitalist system is linked with abandoned lives. In *Reckoning with Ruins,* DeSilvey and Edensor "focus on how ruins may be used to critically examine capitalist and state manifestations of power" (DeSilvey & Edensor, 2012:465). Furthermore, taking inspiration from Walter Benjamin's ideas on the pervasive dereliction generated by mobile capital in 'Angel of History', Harvey writes: "Cycles of ruination, demolition and reclamation have spatially uneven effects: certain buildings are left to decay whereas others are rapidly demolished and replaced; others are left as 'devalued

capital', presently disused but ripe for future accumulation" (Harvey, 1985). I would like to add to the literature on the precariousness of migrants' lives and can conclude by describing the condition of the migrants as 'hyper-precarious' and "characterized by a notion of hyper-precarity that emerges from the on-going interplay of neoliberal labour markets and highly restrictive immigration regimes", as summed up by Lewis, Dwyer, Hodkinson and Waite (2015:581). "Migrants journeying through and around various immigration and socio-legal statuses whilst under serious livelihood pressures are at risk of entering the labour market at the lowest possible point in their effort to secure work. These constraints on migrants can combine with un-freedoms in labour market processes to create situations of what we are calling 'hyperprecarity'" (Lewis et al., 2015:592). In the end we are left with an uncertain future for Morgan and the men since they don't know when the ship will be scrapped and when they will need to move out and find another place to live. To conclude, I would like to borrow from Mah's study of the neighbourhoods around the former shipyards in Walker, Newcastle. She writes, "Ruination may be a lived process in which memory is rooted in the complex, ongoing experience of industrial decline, where the present has not moved far from the past and the future is at best uncertain" (Mah, 2010:399).

Meeting of the dead and living: The memory of the slave ship *São José* in Cape Town

Introduction

> The trauma of the origin of Slavery is linked with a capital S to the origin of modern American freedom, to the paradigmatic and value laden operations of the capitalist market. This is a market whose exchange relations continue to transform the living into the dead, a system of social relations that fundamentally objectifies and dominates in a putatively free society. The Middle Passage is the decisive episode that establishes the amnesiac conditions of American freedom: emancipation as enslavement (Gordon, 1997:169).

During the busy holiday season over Christmas and New Year's in Cape Town, Clifton beach made headlines nationally and internationally. However, this time, not for being a top beach destination for the holiday makers but rather as a public site to be reclaimed by the local black population. The hash tag #Reclaim Clifton swept the news headlines as the organisers responded to private security guards asking people to vacate the beach at 8pm from 16 December onwards. The news stated, "Professional Protection Alternatives (PPA), a private security company hired by some residents at Clifton 4th beach, was accused of ordering people off the beach after 8pm last Sunday. Protestors slaughtered a sheep to exorcise the "demon of racism" after days of rising tension and claims about apartheid-style beach bans" (Mjo, 2018). The slaughtering sparked tensions at the beach, with animal rights activists opposing the act and the city's mayoral committee member for safety and security, JP Smith, stating that it was illegal to slaughter an animal in a public space without consent. Activists said that they were reminded of laws under apartheid where beaches were reserved for the exclusive use of whites. Their slogans stated, "Never again will our beaches be segregated. We call on all our people to exercise their freedom of movement and access to our beaches" ("ANC slams private security …", 2018).

Clifton beach hasn't always been a space occupied by rich white folk. It was in the news only a few years ago with the reporting of the discovery of the remains of a Portuguese slave ship that sank with 212 slaves on board. There are many demons that still haunt us in Cape Town and the act of the slaughtering of the sheep to reclaim a public space is a good starting point to discuss the history and pain of this country.

This chapter presents the theme of memory and slavery in Cape Town by unpacking the case of the discovery of the remains of the Portuguese slave ship, *São José Paquette de Africa*, that sank with 212 slaves on board in 1794, their hands and legs shackled as they drowned. The remains were discovered in 2015 and are part of an ongoing archaeological expedition (Boshoff et al., 2016).

A public announcement of the discovery was made at an event in the Slave Lodge, part of Iziko National Museums South Africa on 2 June 2015 and some of the slave wreck artifacts were on display for a limited period at the museum from June 2015. The partners working on the project include: The Slave Wrecks Project, the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, Iziko Museums of South Africa, the George Washington University, the U.S. National Park Service, Diving with a Purpose and the African Centre for Heritage Activities (Iziko Museums of South Africa, 2015a). As a part of the ongoing expedition, one of the principal archaeological investigators for the excavation of the *São José* shipwreck, Jaco Boshoff, states that there might be a possibility of a mass grave of the drowned slaves at Clifton beach and they intend to conduct ground-penetrating radar to explore that possibility (Boshoff, personal communication 2018, June). Engaging with the given situation I ask the question: what if there is a discovery of a mass grave of drowned enslaved ancestors who were a part of the Middle Passage on their way to Brazil from Mozambique? What does that mean for the memory of slavery in the city that has a relationship of denial with its historic past? What if the dead come to demand justice in a space occupied by privileged white people sunbathing and relaxing on the beach? What does it do to the social fabric of the contemporary Cape Town? How does one move forward in this situation? Cape Town remains a racially divided city, a city of contrasts with extreme wealth and poverty co-existing. What happens to the artificial veneer of the city when the dead resurface and present the past to the people?

Starting with the story of the *São José Paquette de Africa*, its journey from Lisbon to Mozambique Island to Cape Town and its destined route to Brazil, I present the historic background of the journey and its fate through a personal research field trip to Ilha de Mozambique and archival research at Lisbon (Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino) and Cape Town (The Western Cape Archive & Record Service). Along with that I present the story of the search for the remains of the ship, its unfortunate identity, the global project partners and its final discovery via an interview with the lead underwater archaeologist working for Iziko Museums South Africa, Jaco Boshoff, and the book published by the Smithsonian on the discovery of the *São José* (Boshoff et al., 2016). Furthermore, I explore the role of the Portuguese in the slave trade from Mozambique to Brazil to better understand the story of *São José.* Using the work of historians like Da Silva (2008), Alpers (1975), Machado (2003) and Harries (2016), I outline how and why the Portuguese slave trade shifted from West to East Africa and the rise of Maranhão as a port to receive slaves from East Africa. We understand the importance of Ilha de Mozambique, where *São José* departed from, as a major outpost for the slave trade to Brazil and the role of Cape Town as a transit point for ships en route across the Atlantic. The chapter ends with a look at the theme of memory and forgetting in Cape Town by reflecting on the case of Prestwich Street in 2003 where a colonial burial ground was discovered with remains of the underclass of Cape Town (Shepherd, 2012, 2015). After much contestation between opposing groups for exhumation and non-exhumation, the remains were transferred to an ossuary in Green Point. If there was a discovery of another mass grave of

slave ancestors, what would the city do this time? Would the dead be allowed to have a piece of the prime real estate of Clifton beach? Would the city follow precedent and exhume the remains? Inspired by Avery Gordon's writings on hauntings and ghosts (1997) and haunting and futurity (2011), I propose a meeting of the dead and living as a way to move on in the city. Gordon asks for a 'new sociology' and 'new forms of subjectivity' to bring about 'radical political change'. She proposes that we need to think beyond the limits of 'what is comprehensible'. I add to her writings by suggesting that Cape Town needs a strategy of imaging beyond the comprehensible to initiate healing and respect our ancestors. In her more recent writings, Gordon draws a parallel between racial slavery and modern capitalism in America. The same can be extended to South African society: the poorest are the people who suffered under colonialism and apartheid and form the underclass of society. She asks us to be hopeful and borrows Kodwo Eshun's word 'inaugurating' ones to describe the present generation as not merely reactive subjects, and to carry on emancipation work (Gordon, 2011:8). I borrow the idea of hopefulness and suggest that the born-frees in South Africa or the present generation will be the 'inaugurating' ones to march forward into the future while remembering and respecting the ancestors and providing justice in society.

Figure 20: Photo still, Remains of San Jose Paquette de Africa under treatment at the underwater archaeology lab, Iziko National museum, Cape Town, 2016.
Photo credit: Meghna Singh

Figure 21.1.1 - 21.1.4: Photo still, Remains (pulley block) of San Jose Paquette de Africa under treatment at the underwater archaeology lab, Iziko National museum, Cape Town, 2016.
Photo credit: Meghna Singh

Background

Within spitting distance of Clifton beach in Cape Town, a playground to privileged white South Africans, lie the remains of *São José Paquette de Africa*, a Portuguese slave ship that sank with 212 slaves on board in 1794. "Carrying 512 captive Mozambicans from their home and bound for Maranhão, Brazil, the ship was caught in storms and swells off the coast of Cape Town in South Africa near the Cape of Good Hope, where it foundered and wrecked" (Boshoff et al, 2016:1).

The Slave Wrecks Project along with the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, Iziko Museums of South Africa, the George Washington University, the U.S. National Park Service, Diving with a Purpose and The African Centre for Heritage Activities "worked together in cooperation in archives, within museums, on coastlines, and in the water" (Boshoff et al., 2016:8) to recover the remains of *São José*. Paul Gardullo, curator of the Smithsonian National Museum, states, "This site of one of the most successful efforts worldwide to document the archaeological vestiges of the Middle Passage, as this single ship has come to symbolize the many thousands of vessels that trafficked in human lives in the transatlantic and African slave trades" (Boshoff et al., 2016:2). The uniqueness of *São José* is that it is the only slaving ship on a journey to be archaeologically documented. The founding director of the museum, Lonnie Bunch, had been looking for a slave shipwreck that was connected to the United States when he took the job in 2005. In an interview with *The National Post*, Bunch states, "I heard of a ship that had left Bristol, Rhode Island, in the late 1790s, sailed to Ghana to pick up

144 Africans, then sailed across the Atlantic and sank off the coast of Cuba. However, trying to find and excavate that ship proved too complicated." ("Wreckage of a slaving ship …", 2015). Around 2010, Gardullo met Stephen C. Lubkemann, a George Washington University anthropologist and maritime archaeologist, who had heard from Jaco Boshoff that a shipwreck off the coast thought to be a Dutch merchant ship might be something else. In a private interview, Jaco Boshoff, one of the principal archaeological investigators for the excavation of the *São José* shipwreck, informed me about the beginnings of the project:

> I started working on this as a part of the Slave Wrecks Project. Founded in 2008, the Slave Wrecks Project (SWP) brings together partners who have been investigating the impact of the slave trade on world history. We got a database of shipwrecks along the coastline and from the database extracted the names of the slave ships. The *São José* had been named *Schuylenburg*, a Dutch shipwreck, by treasure hunters. In the 1980s there was a lot of treasure hunting in South Africa. An amateur treasure hunter by the name of Francois Hugo had been seeking a name that would allow him to meet permitting requirements, which required that a site be given the designation of a known maritime loss. He selected *Schuylenburg* primarily because it fitted the bill being both a wreck that had never been found elsewhere, and that had disappeared while undertaking a voyage. For over two years, from 2009 to 2011, we searched Camps Bay for the submerged site of the *São José* in vain. Frustrated, in 2011, I began to look into the Western Cape Archives Repository, particularly those relating to the Dutch East India Company from 1652 to 1795 and Steve Lubkemann searched for leads in the Mozambican holdings of the Arquivo Historico Ultrarmarino in Lisbon. This is when I found a critical document from Manuel Joao, the captain of the ship *São José*. It was a deposition he gave to a local Dutch lawyer about the shipwrecking of his vessel at the request of the insurers of the ship and cargo of slaves, that he was not responsible for the accident, neither were his crew (Boshoff, personal communication 2018, July).

The following is Manuel Joao's account to the lawyer from the Western Cape archival documents. It has been translated into English from Portuguese:

> On 29 December 1794 there appeared before Johannes Daniel Karnspek, Notary Public, Joseph Robero Pisson first helmsman, Jose Maria Vieira second helmsman, Manuel Jose de Olivera third helmsman, Ignacio Garcia de Souza e Castro boatswain, Joze Gereira and Joao Gereira sailors, at the request of Manuel Joao, Captain, and related how they had left Lisbon on 27 April 1794, destined for Mozambique to fetch a cargo of slaves and then set sail for Maranhão in Brazil, calling at the Cape to take on board food and water for the slaves. Arriving in Table Bay they had anchored in 18 fathoms of water in very unstable water (Archival group Notarial Prorocols, Cape District, 29th dec, 1794).

Furthermore, according to the deposition, "At two o'clock in the morning, as they sought to re-secure anchors belatedly noticed as having been dragging throughout the night, the ship struck a rock and started taking water while, according to the captain, under a well-known landmark: the Lion's Head." The deposition continues to describe the events of the night:

> The captain ordered the crew to cast out an anchor, but the cable snapped. They dropped a second anchor and then realized that the stern of the vessel was stuck on rock. The strong wind and surge broke this anchor as well and the ship now became wedged between two reefs. The crew then tried to use the ship's windlass and a third anchor to get the ship off the rocks, but this rope broke as well. The captain and crew now realized that they were close to the shore and sent a boat with a line ashore. In the rough seas this small boat was broken up in the process of coming ashore. Next, a raft of sailors and slaves aboard was sent ashore, along with another small boat. In the meanwhile, a Dutch East India Company official from Cape Town arrived and rigged a basket on a rope, which they were able to attach to the ship, and began to bring the people and some of the slaves to safety (Archival group Notarial Prorocols, Cape District, 29th dec, 1794)

The reference to the landmark Lion's Head made the team move their search to Clifton. "Its landscape clearly dominated by this looming and iconic promontory still known today as the Lion's Head", states Boshoff et al. (2016:39). Further, in his interview, Boshoff stated, "Diving in the wreck we found copper fastenings and copper sheathing, which were not in common use on ships until later in the 18th century, well after the *Schuylenburg* had disappeared. The *São José* wreck took place in 1794 and it was more likely that the artifacts discovered were from this shipwreck" (Boshoff, personal communication 2018, June 6).

The captain's testimony led researchers Lubkemann and his archival research collaborator Yolanda Teixeira Duarte to go through Portugal's overseas shipping archives (Arquivo Historico Ultrarmarino) for more information about the *São José*. By 2012, they had found the *São José's* cargo manifest, which detailed the *São José's* departure from Lisbon in April 1794, bound for Mozambique Island, in East Africa. "Clearly noted in the very first line of the ledger of the *São José's* cargo manifest when it had left Lisbon at the outset of its voyage was the entry: 1130 iron bars", states Boshoff et al. (2016:46).

Working with his team in the field in 2012, Boshoff had uncovered another important artifact on the site: "solid iron blocks with holes in them, each about two feet in length, which were easily recognizable as a kind of iron ballast that had been used to stabilize sailing ships" (Boshoff et al., 2016:45). "I'm a scientist; I'm not one for massive amounts of emotion," Boshoff stated in his interview, "but I knew immediately. These new archaeological findings on the site in South Africa and new documentary evidence in Portugal proved that this was the wreck of *São José*"

(Boshoff, personal communication 2018, June). In the chapter titled 'Journey', Lubkemann and Boshoff state:

> Starting in the 18th century, iron ballast is known to have been used by slave ship captains who were concerned that human bodies did not weigh enough, no they were packed as compactly as other types of cargo (despite being shackled back to back and crammed in rows on decks so low it was not possible to stand to ensure a center of gravity low enough to safeguard their vessels stability). Iron ballast could compensate for human bodies in other, more literal ways as well, at times serving as a good traded for enslaved people – one commodity traded for another" (Boshoff et al., 2016:45).

The site of the shipwreck, between two reefs, was a very difficult site to work in. Boshoff and the team of divers found it very difficult to do the dives. Boshoff states: "Even in moderate weather, skilled divers find themselves swimming back and forth in a sweeping and erratic pendulum motion. The effort and focus required to combat the surge in order to excavate or document can easily distract even the most experienced diver. We have all bled on this site" (Boshoff et al., 2016:53).

The further emergence of other evidence established beyond any reasonable doubt that we were working on the remains of the slaver, *São José Paquette de Africa*, states Boshoff. In 2013 researcher Yolanda Duarte discovered a document dated 22 December 1794, about 20 days after the ship left Mozambique Island. The document confirmed the sale of a man to the captain of the *Saõ José*, by a local sheik, prior to its departure. He had been taken from the mainland to Mozambique Island and was aboard the *São José*. "At least one document tells us in detail of the wranglings involved in the sale of an enslaved African to the captain of the *São José* just before the vessel's departure", states Lubkemann (Boshoff et al., 2016:54). The letter dated 27 January 1795, written in Portuguese, documenting and contesting the sale of a captive African aboard the *São José* found at the Arquivo Historico Ultramarino Lisbon states:

> Having been informed that Joaquim de Aranha e Oliveira indented to sell the negro he had stationed on the Sheikh of Mongincual's galleys in order to repay his debt, and believing he would not fail to fulfill his promise, I refrained from pressing his summons… until it came to my attention that he had sold that slave to the ship of captain Manuel Joao, departed from this port on the third day of this month, and having since requested repayment of the debt owed, continued to be mislead by him without receiving any satisfaction… the issuing of an embargo upon his goods is now requested of the Judge of the Royal Treasury in the amount required to repay this unpaid debt…
> (Conselho Ultramarino, January 27, 1795).

Another important piece of evidence that pointed to the ship being *São José* was the timber blocks that were found at the site by Jonathan Sharfman, one of the divers on the research team. The samples were sent to Dr Marion Bamford, a world-renowned timber specialist at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. Her laboratory analysis identified the timbers as "Dalbergia melanoxylon, an extremely rare hardwood still to be found on the mainland about sixty kilometers from the island of Mozambique where the enslaved from the *São José* embarked" (Boshoff et al., 2016:48).

The drowned and the fate of the survivors

Recounting and imaging the ultimate fate of the vessel and the slaves and gathering from the information in the archives, Boshoff and Lubkemann state:

> The captain and other officers with a financial interest in the venture would have ordered the crew to bring the weakened and terrified captives on deck perhaps in small groups, to better control them. The officers would have done so in order to salvage as much of their investment as possible. As the night progressed, only a rump crew would have been left behind to ferry the enslaved across on the lifeline and basket that had eventually been rigged to the disintegrating ship, and through which most of the crew had already reached safety. At some point, however, those of the crew left behind must have read some sign of the vessel's imminent demise – perhaps an ominous shuddering of the deck or structural timbers finally shattering under the weight of the hammering waves. Whatever it was, at some point all the crew abandoned the ship altogether, leaving perhaps as many as half of the enslaved still onboard – something we know because the record tells us all the crew survived, whereas more than a hundred of the enslaved did not (Boshoff et al., 2016:58).

According to the Dutch East India Company archival records, we are informed that out of the slaves who survived the wreck, 11 died and the rest were sold again at an auction, as well as the monetary value of the slaves. An archival record dated 20 February 1795 states:

> The Captain of the stranded St. Joseph, having sent a memorial to the Council announcing that of the slaves saved during the shipwreck, eleven had died before they could be sold at auction, and that the usual duty had been charged, as well as on the sale of the wrecked ship and its equipment and requested that such duties be waived. After considering the reasonableness of this request the Council concurred and would therefore instruct the Fiscal Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld, who was responsible for collecting the duties for the Company, not to levy any further duties, except on those slaves rescued by him and subsequently sold (Archival Group Council of Policy, 20th February, 1795).

Further from the archives dated 23 January 1795, a case against the defendant, the captain of the ship, states the monetary value of the slaves:

> Attorney Alders acting for Joao maintained that according to tradition all the seafarers must be paid from the sale of the wreck if the shipwreck takes place during a voyage. The captain had already paid them more than Rds 800 from the sale of the wreck, which is more than the owners and insurers in Europe can account for. The most important question, however, is whether the slaves who were saved after the wreck must be regarded as cargo or not and whether the value of the 341 on board, calculated at 30 Spanish Matts each, should be 10230 Spanish Matts, so that the owners had derived considerable profit from this. He requests a postponement
>
> (Archival Group Council of Policy, 20th February, 1795).

The archives show us how human beings were treated like commodities, which makes us consider what the traders thought of the humanity of the enslaved. We know that during the long voyages of the Middle Passage the slaves, viewed as human cargo, were kept in appalling conditions. "Some packed enslaved people together as tightly as possible, counting on the larger number to make up for the loss of life, and profit, on the voyage. Others compressed their human cargo less, hoping that more people would survive and yield more profit at the journey's end" (Boshoff et al., 2016:6). The "enslaved were carefully tallied with other commodities and trade goods neatly listing them in tidy columns alongside goats, barrels of pitch, dry fish, bolts of cloth the crass calculus through which Africans were shorn of their humanity and reduced to monetary value", state Boshoff and Lubkemann (2016:61).

The important question on everyone's mind has been where the dead might be buried. Even though the archives point us in the direction of where the wreck can be discovered, there isn't anything that points to where the bodies of the enslaved that died are buried. Writing about the *São José* wreck in their book, *Tales of Shipwrecks at the Cape of Storms*, Gribble and Athiro state, "The captain and crew all survived and archival documents from February 1795 show that Captain Joao had been granted permission by Governor Sluijsken to sell the surviving slaves at the Cape. How the dead were dealt with is not recorded" (Gribble & Athiro, 2008:57). Another author, Michael Walker, speculates, "The dead were buried in a mass grave on the beach near Camps Bay" (2007:67). The team working on the project is of the opinion that the washed-away bodies would have been buried in a mass grave on the beach itself. Boshoff states, "We suspect that the final resting place of those who perished would have been selected for its immediate convenience, and thus that the dead today lie under one or more of the luxury residences that crowd every valuable inch of real estate right up to the beach in this privileged community" (Boshoff et al., 2016:65).

The involvement of the Smithsonian Museum with the project

The Smithsonian team including the director Lonnie Bunch visited Mozambique Island to commemorate the ancestors who were forcefully taken away from their land. Amongst many other reasons, their intention was to take soil from the country and scatter it on the site of the wreck at Clifton beach. As Bunch writes about his experience of the ceremony at Mozambique Island, he states, "The chief had specific instructions for me. He told me, once the ancestors direct you to spill the soil over the wreck it will be the first time our people will have slept in their homeland. We want you to deliver a message to our loved ones: that we have never forgotten" (Boshoff et al., 2016:80). The soil from Mozambique was scattered in the sea close to the site of the wreck on 2 June 2015 in a small ceremony to respect the dead. The plan was that three people would go inside the ocean at the site of the wreck to scatter the soil. However, the weather was harsh, the sea rolled as the rain poured. Instead, the three selected people carried the soil in the cowrie vessel given by the chief in Mozambique to Bunch. The three were: Kaman Sadiki, an African American searching for a connection to his ancestors; Tara van Niekerk, a marine archaeologist from South Africa; and Yara de Larice, a college student from Mozambique. Their selection was based on the fact that each of their countries represented a part of the journey.

Objects retrieved from the ship till now include fragile remnants of shackles, iron ballast to weigh down the ship and its human cargo, copper fastenings, Mozambican hardwood and a wooden pulley block. There has been no trace of human remains. The Iziko Museums website states: "Since 2015 archaeological documentation and retrieval of select items to help to tell of the *São José* wrecking site continues. Also continued search for descendant communities of Mozambicans from wreck" (Iziko Museums of South Africa, 2015b).

Slave wreck artifacts from the shipwreck of *São José* were unveiled in a historic ceremony and were on public display for a limited period from 2 June to 14 June 2015 at the Iziko Slave Lodge in Cape Town.

The Smithsonian Museum in Washington got involved in the project in 2011 and started funding it. "We really started excavating when they started funding us in 2011 and there was an understanding that we will share the remains with them and loan them artifacts for their African American museum opening exhibition in 2016", states Boshoff in the interview (Boshoff, personal communication 2018, June). There are artifacts from the wreck in Cape Town that were being treated in the Social History Centre Underwater Archaeology department. "We have similar things to what they have like a ballast block, copper nails etc. We are planning to put up an exhibit in December 2018 at the Slave Lodge and we might find more things in the meantime" (Boshoff, personal communication 2018, June).

Artifacts from the wreck of the *São José* were sent to the Smithsonian on a long-term loan to the National Museum of African American History and Culture (NMAAHC) for 10 years and were on display when the museum opened on 24 September 2016. The *São José* artifacts that featured in NMAAHC's inaugural exhibition entitled 'Slavery and Freedom' included the iron ballast, remnants of shackles and a wooden pulley block. "The arrival of the artifacts in the U.S. marks a milestone in the effort to advance understanding of the slave trade and showcases the results of the Slave Wrecks Project, a unique global partnership among museums and research institutions", states the museum website (National Museum of African American History & Culture, 2016).

There has been criticism in Cape Town regarding the loaning of the remains of the slave shipwreck and some people are not happy about the artifacts being sent to the U.S.A. "This is because they think we have sold the artifacts to them. However, that's not the case at all. It is with them on a loan for 10 years, which is regular practice within museums. As a part of the loaning they have to send us regular reports on the conditions etc.", stated Boshoff in his interview (Boshoff, personal communication 2018, June).

In October 2016, the Iziko Museum was awarded a R7 million grant for the maritime history project of the wreck of *São José*. "This funding is the largest amount granted in South Africa from the US Ambassador's Fund for Cultural Preservation", states the Iziko website (Harrison, 2016). In terms of ongoing work at the site, Boshoff informed me: "Shipwrecks are complicated and especially this one since it is spread over quite a large area. We know there is more stuff there. We have seen more. At the moment we are focused on looking at the environment of the site. We are putting instruments down to measure and then we will start digging again. It's a long process, and we will keep working on it" (Boshoff, personal communication 2018, June).

The role of the Portuguese in the slave trade from Mozambique to Brazil

To understand the journey of the *São José* and its designated route from Mozambique to Brazil, it's important to understand the involvement of the Portuguese in the Atlantic slave trade, a global enterprise beginning in the 15th century that resulted in the violent displacement of at least 12 million Africans from their homelands across the Atlantic world. Writing about the economic drain of wealth and forced trafficking of humans from Africa, Paul Gardullo states:

> Profits from the sale of enslaved humans and their labor laid the economic foundation for Western Europe, the Caribbean, and the Americas, helping to create the nation-states of Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, France, Great Britain, and the United States, as well as others in Europe, the Caribbean, and South America. The Church, along with merchants,

> families, and individuals, benefited from these profits, which also helped build the assets of banks, insurance companies, amid other institutions, some of which are still with us today (Boshoff et al., 2016:3).

Two main factors diverted the slave trade from West Africa to East Africa and Mozambique. In 1793, a year before the sinking of the *São José*, the Portuguese crown revoked the longstanding prohibition to send slaves from Mozambique to Brazil. Following the increase in demand for slaves in Brazil, the monarchy decided to reverse its policy and maintain its profits by keeping it an exchange between its own colonies. Prior to this the slave trade from East Africa was primarily targeted in the opposite direction, towards the rim of the Indian Ocean.

In 1807, the British engaged in a campaign to suppress the entire Atlantic slave trade after abolishing their own trading activities. "The Portuguese colonies in the New World felt the impact of this policy, as the British interpreted a treaty signed in 1810 as allowing them to interfere with Portuguese slave ships" (Da Silva, 2008:482). By 1836 the British government passed laws to make human trade illegal. "Once the trade became illegal everywhere, slavers found that they could continue to perpetrate the trade with greater impunity along the remote Indian Ocean coast of the continent, where the British anti slavery squadrons were deployed in far fewer numbers than found along the more accessible west African coast", states Gardullo (Boshoff et al., 2016:32). Most of the demand for slaves at Mozambique came from Brazil. Writing about the slave trade in the post-abolition era, Patrick Harries states, "In 1811, the Portuguese royal family, exiled in Rio de Janeiro, opened the ports of Mozambique to Brazilian traders. While the treaty signed in 1810 between Britain and Portugal outlawed the Portuguese slave trade in most areas north of the equator, it secured the development of Brazil by protecting the slave trade, south of the line, from Angola and Mozambique" (Harries, 2016:423). Further writing about the slave trade from Mozambique to Brazil and especially to Maranhão, Alpers in his book *Ivory and Slaves* (1975) states, "Although slaves from Mozambique were less in demand than those coming from the Congo region and Angola, in Maranhão they simply did not flourish – this trans-Atlantic slave trade south of the equator was pursued vigorously" (Alpers, 1975:211).

From the documentation at the Ultramarine Overseas archive in Lisbon, we know that the *São José* was sailing to Maranhão, a region especially interesting as it lies at the intersection of the North and South Atlantic. Writing about the slave trade to Maranhão, Da Silva informs us, "In 1755, the Marquis of Pombal, transformed Maranhão from a forest-based to a cash-crop economy and rice and cotton became the main exports in the mid-eighteenth century. They both required more manpower to cultivate and this led to a rise in the demand for slaves (Da Silva, 2008:481). Through the archival records, Da Silva makes us aware of another important fact: Lisbon was the major port of departure for ships sailing to the port of Maranhão (2008:448). This is important, as we know that the *São José* started its journey in Lisbon and was heading for

Maranhão. Most other Brazilian ports started their voyages in the New World, embarked slaves in Africa and returned to the same port. Further Da Silva states, "Never less than 65 per cent of the slaves disembarked in the captaincy sailed in vessels beginning their slaving venture in Lisbon. Such a percentage shows that the slave trade to Maranhão worked on a triangular basis, with voyages leaving Europe, embarking slaves in Africa, sailing across the ocean, disembarking them at Maranhão and finally returning to Europe" (Da Silva, 2008:488).

While a journey on the Middle Passage from West Africa took just over a month across the Atlantic, it now took much longer as the journey was being made from the other side of the continent. "The very first vessel to successfully complete this route is documented to have arrived in Rio de Janeiro in 1795", states Gardullo (Boshoff et al., 2016:30). However, we now know that the *São José* had attempted to sail on this route a year earlier in 1794. This could have been the first effort by a ship to cross the Atlantic from Mozambique or it could have been the very first ship to attempt this route.

The importance of Ilha de Mozambique as a major outpost for slave trade to Brazil

We have already stated how international treaties aimed at suppressing the slave trade in 1818 turned Mozambique into a major supplier of slaves. Edward Alpers' book gives an in-depth account of slavery at the island of Mozambique where the slaves on board the *São José* came from. He quotes a British officer anchored at Mozambique in 1826: "Between eight and ten thousand slaves are entered at the custom house annually as being exported from the Port of Mozambique to the Brazils – however I consider that about a quarter or more may be added to that number as being shipped off to the Brazils in these vessels. This additional fourth is smuggled on board to cheat the Custom house" (Alpers, 1975:212). Further giving an estimate of the number of slaves bought by Brazilian slavers and their mortality rate in surviving the voyage across the Atlantic, he writes:

> Generally some 15-18 Brazilian vessels arrived in Mozambique between July and October to trade for slaves in return for money. Fr. Bartolomeu recorded that Brazilians bought 9,242 slaves, 1,804 of whom died at Mozambique; and of the 7,920 who were embarked, 2,196 died on the voyage to Brazil, so that only 5,234 were landed there, at Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, and Pernambuco, a mortality rate of 27.7 per cent on the sea passage alone. Furthermore, some 1,200 slaves who were awaiting sale at Mozambique died before they could be purchased. In 1819, then, at least 10,442 slaves were known to be carried to Mozambique for sale to Brazilian slavers only. Of these, only half ever reached their intended destinations (Alpers, 1975:211).

Furthermore, Machado states, "From 1800 to 1810 an estimated 20,800 slaves were shipped from

Quelimane, mostly to Mozambique Island which over the same period exported 50,000 slaves" (Machado, 2003:23). Writing about the extent of the slave trade in Mozambique Island, Harries states:

> Most of the Portuguese on the island threw themselves into the slave trade, whether as agents who supplied slave ships with their human cargo, or as those who bought slaves, outfitted ships, purchased vessels or paid for their construction. Residents clubbed together to finance costly slave voyages and spread the risk of their investments. They provided traders with the credit needed to procure slaves in the interior and brought these human commodities on board their vessels alongside stocks of water and food. The families intermarried in a way that bolstered the trust required of a commerce based on credit, and they counted well-placed officers of the administration among their kinsmen. Leading members of the community sent their sons to study in Port Louis, Goa, Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon. They also invested in the plantations at Grand Cabeceira, on the mainland opposite Mozambique Island, and in the prazos lining the Zambezi River. These estates served as Mozambique's hinterland and produced food for the long coffles of slaves arriving at the island from the interior and the human cargoes disembarked from dhows working the coast (Harries, 2016:411).

Writing about the increased demand for slaves and the profits generated by the Portuguese, Alpers further states: "At Mozambique Island slaves were already established as the most important item of commerce. In 1809 ivory exports had declined to about 7,300 arrobas; in 1817 they had sunk to less than 4,000 arrobas. By the following year revenue collected on the exportation of slaves (52:815$600 reis) was more than five times that accruing from exportations of ivory and other goods, alone accounting for 32.26 per cent of the total revenue of the custom house" (Alpers, 1975:209-210).

The slaves on board the *São José* would have been brought from the interiors of Mozambique to the slaving outpost of Mozambique Island before they embarked on the fatal voyage. Writing about the journey of the slaves, Gardullo states, "Some of the enslaved would have endured the long trek by foot, taking weeks to traverse the distances between Nampula in the interior of Mozambique. They would have taken their final steps on African soil staggering along the same paths still used today across the marsh flats of Mossuril or of Quintagona". Writing further about their departure in the ship from the island, he states, "It's likely that they would have been kept for days or even weeks in the slave pens of the slave traders' compounds, whose ruins are still evident across this landscape. They would have eventually been herded into small dhows and shuttled under careful guard to the slave ships awaiting in the anchorage on the north side of the island" (Boshoff et al., 2016:54).

Cape Town, a place to stop en route its journey across the Atlantic

The growth of the slave trade between East Africa and the Americas turned the Cape into a refreshment station where ships stopped to restock their vessels with food, water, repair the ships as well as gather information about the market for slaves. It provided a break to slavers sailing across the Middle Passage that took up to 130 days to cross. Harries describes the activities at the Cape during those years:

> Slave ship captains often docked in Table Bay so as to bring their human cargoes ashore for exercise, food and fresh air. Although encouraged by local entrepreneurs, the authorities frowned on this practice, as it provided touts with an opportunity to buy slaves illegally, and confronted townspeople with the epidemics, nakedness and filth of the slave trade. Captains also resorted to selling part of their human cargo at the Cape, as this both ridded them of those slaves least likely to survive the Atlantic crossing and made space for fresh supplies of food and water (Harries, 2016:410).

The importance of Cape Town as a refreshment station became even more pronounced due to the trading in slaves and the assistance provided to slave merchants at the Cape. There were strong ties between the slave traders in Mozambique Island and agents in Cape Town. Their network of exchange "extended as far north as south Asia and as far west as the Americas". Harries states that this enterprise "caused more than 20,000 slaves to pass through Table Bay during the years 1797-1808. During this time, ships brought more than 7,000 slaves to the Cape from East Africa while, no doubt, many others were smuggled into the colony" (Harries, 2016:425).

Most Portuguese slavers on their way to ports of Brazil stopped at Table Bay for water and provisions. Machado states that a lot of the slavers sold the slaves to their partners at the Cape before returning to Mozambique. He states, "The three-week Mozambique-Cape voyage involved much lower risks and slave mortality and thus higher profits than the 90-day Mozambique-Brazil voyage. In addition, the Cape market was attractive for Mozambique-based merchants, who suffered from a perennial shortage of currency, because payment there for slaves was in Spanish piasters" (Machado, 2003:24).

What if?

It is difficult to determine the exact site of the *São José* shipwreck as it is scattered around the area of the wreck, 100 metres from the 2nd Clifton beach. The archaeologists had identified it to be about 30 metres in circumference, spread across the ocean bed. "The underwater excavations are still going on", Boshoff, the principal underwater archaeologist, stated. "An underwater excavation is different to a land excavation so I can't say that we have reached the end. There

is a lot of sand to move and we can't predict what we are going to find" (Boshoff, personal communication 2018, June). The most interesting part of the interview was when Boshoff stated that there could be human remains buried on Clifton beach in a mass grave:

> There isn't any archival record that states this but information about slaves wasn't recorded in the archives. It depends on what happened at the site of the wreck. It's probable that some of the people who drowned were unchained and their bodies could have washed up on shore. If the bodies of the drowned washed up, then the Dutch would have just dug a hole and buried the bodies on the beach (Boshoff, personal communication 2018, June 6).

Further, he said that they had plans to do ground-penetrating radar on the entire beach, it was a non-disturbing device used to indicate where they should excavate. "The process tells us what's underneath the sand. It's a tricky process but human remains have got a very particular kind of signature so we should be able to locate them" (Boshoff, personal communication 2018, June 6).

There were a lot of questions around what would happen if remains were found on the beach. Boshoff himself could not answer these questions, as "this would depend on the policies of the museum and the government". He stated that if they excavated and found human remains then the question would be "do you exhume or do you leave?" Furthermore, he said, "That's when us archaeologists hand this over to the public. It's then the decision of the public, heritage decision makers and the government" (Boshoff, personal communication 2018, June 6).

What if there were human remains of enslave ancestors buried at Clifton beach? The area houses some of the wealthiest property in South Africa overlooking the Atlantic. The beaches are popular with privileged white South Africans who use it as their playground for sunbathing and relaxation. Doing a search for Clifton beach on the Internet I got the following description: "Clifton beaches are Cape Town's most famous beaches, located in the swanky suburb of Clifton. The beaches used to be a bit of a Capetonian secret but now you will find that in the summer months there is little sand left between the tanned bodies boasting Billabong and Quiksilver trunks and Armani bikinis" ("Clifton beaches", n.d.). Given the set-up, what would be the destiny of these remains? Would they be exhumed and put in some ossuary as seen in the previous incident of the Prestwich case in 2003 or was there a possibility that the dead would be allowed to rest and have their piece of land? This leads us to examine contemporary Cape Town: a city of extremes, a city of contrasts where extreme wealth collides with extreme poverty, where the vistas of turquoise blue beaches contrast with the rickety shacks made from scraps of tin sheets, lacking in basic sanitation.

Cape Town: A city of contrasts

Cape Town remains one of the most racially divided cities in South Africa. The apartheid city planning continues to divide people along racialised identities. "'White spaces' and 'black spaces' remain separate through devices such as empty tracts of land – 'buffer zones' between areas declared for different racial groups" (Murray, Shepherd & Hall, 2007:6). The contemporary face of the city for the European and American holiday goers is one of luxury amidst the unmatched beauty of the mountains and the ocean. It's a global cosmopolitan city, unique to the continent, dotted with world-class shopping malls, restaurants and shopping. It's a city that denies its past like no other. Here I would like to quote archaeologist Nick Shepherd who states, "In the contested public sphere of the postcolony there is a certain kind of pleasure that is premised on institutionalized forgetting. Or we might put this differently, by saying that for those who can afford it the ultimate holiday lies in taking a holiday from history" (Shepherd, 2015a:104). The history of slavery and apartheid is disavowed in the city and life carries on without social and economic restitution for the people who have suffered for decades.

Furthermore, South Africa, as the space of a postcolony is described by Achille Mbembe as "the multiple, contradictory moments of everyday life in Africa read against the persistent accretions of slavery, colonialism, apartheid and neo liberal forms of democracy" (Mbembe, 2001). He further states, "In this palimpsestuous time space, diverse urban worlds exist in the same territory filled with discontinuous fixtures and flows and odd juxtapositions and the past has an uncanny habit of inserting itself into the present in surprising and unexpected ways" (Mbembe, 2004).

In the preface to his seminal text *Children of Bondage*, the historian Robert Shell explains the "compelling" similarities between slavery and apartheid in terms of legality, demographics, civil rights, and voiceless victims" (Shell, 1994:xix–xx). Nigel Worden similarly writes of how slavery in rural and urban areas at the Cape encouraged racially based injustices, which were institutionalised by later policies across all areas of the country (Worden, 1985:4). Discussing the present-day inequalities and their relation to the history of the country, I would like to borrow Anthony Bogues' idea of 'historical catastrophe', which suggests that an atrocious set of events set in the past are reproduced and recapitulated in new forms and contemporary disguises (Bogues, 2010). Bogues suggests that it's not one historical event but a series of catastrophic events that condition our present. These traumatic events are recapitulated through time and their effects are borne on the bodies of their subjects. For Cape Town's victims of slavery and apartheid, this experience is recapitulated through their movement in the divided city where they continue to experience the segregation between the rich whites and the poor blacks.

The recent student-led protest for decolonisation of universities in 2015 and 2016 demonstrate that discontent amongst the 'born-free' generation is crystallising and that South Africans

are demanding redress for historical injustices. The 'Rhodes Must Fall' and 'Fees Must Fall' movements demand for free higher education, and the call for decolonisation of the university curriculum showcases societal ruptures that have potential to tear the contemporary fabric of South African society. My question is what happens when the dead from the past resurface in such an environment? How do we discuss the past and memory of slavery in a city that chooses amnesia about its shameful past? The public museums did not showcase any information or displays until the recent installation of the exhibition at the Slave Lodge. The South African school curriculum chose not to teach the history of slavery to the younger generation and the public doesn't openly acknowledge it. This leads us to discuss the idea of 'memory and forgetting' in the city through the case of the Prestwich Street dead in 2003, where bones were exhumed from an early colonial burial ground.

Memory and forgetting in the city

> The city can be viewed as a palimpsest; that is, as a layering of memory, experience and materiality. Often this exists as a literal layering of remains in the ground. Dig in any part of the historical city and you are likely to encounter the remains of other times, other versions of the city (Shepherd, 2015a:96).

In May 2003, an early colonial burial site in Prestwich Street, Green Point, Cape Town, was discovered in the course of construction activities for the Rockwell Hotel and Apartments. The remains of the dead were exhumed and transferred to a purpose-built 'ossuary' on the edge of Green Point, named the New Prestwich Memorial Building, part of the Truth Café. This incident saw the city divided between those who were pro exhumations, the heritage managers, archaeologists and property developers, and those who wanted the remains to stay where they were found. This included a group of community activists, spiritual leaders and First Nations representatives. "Those buried outside the official burial grounds would have made up a cross-section of the underclasses of colonial Cape Town: slaves, free-blacks, artisans, fishermen, sailors, maids, washer-women and their children, as well as executed criminals, suicide deaths, paupers, and unidentified victims of shipwrecks" (Hart, 2003). The case of Prestwich Street brought into light the buried legacy of slavery and colonialism in the city and what the different sections of society wanted for the dead. Those arguing for exhumation didn't want to lose the history of the people based on scientific knowledge and wanted to test the bones of the dead to provide information about their background. The others wanted their ancestors to finally rest in peace and be given a piece of land in the city. Shepherd quotes the Anglican minister, Michael Wheeder, who played a central role in the organised opposition to the exhumations. Wheeder states, "Many of us of slave descent cannot say "here's my birth certificate". We are part of the great unwashed of Cape Town…" (Shepherd, 2015b:97). Further, Bonita Bennett, one of the campaigners and Wheeder's wife, wrote in a letter to the press, "If more information is lost … this would be a great pity; but

if it has as an outcome the recognition of the city's marginalized – both living and dead – then it is a small price to pay" (2015b:67). The case of Prestwich Street shows a point of fracture in the South African society around the question of its past and the resurfacing of the dead. It also sets a precedent in what could be the possible discovery of another mass grave of slaves from the *São José* ship who drowned in December 1794. How does one learn from the experience of the Prestwich Street case? What are the primary interests of the public in post-apartheid South Africa when it comes to the memory of slavery? The case also reflects the limitations of participatory politics in the public sphere. Writing about Prestwich Street, Shepherd states, "The eruption of the Prestwich Street dead into the fabric of post-apartheid society set off a chain of events that confront us with the unfinished business of the past, and are as revealing as they are discomforting" (Shepherd, 2015b:100). What it reminds us is that the dead demand justice and that the past is not so easily forgotten.

Earlier attempts at writing about memory of slavery in Cape Town have drawn attention to the post-apartheid landscape, existing injustices in society and the cases of the burial sites and exhumation of the remains by Nick Shepherd (2007, 2012, 2015) and Murray et al., 2007. When the underlying strata erupts into the space above, I would like to suggest a meeting of the dead and living in the city to engage with the memory of the dead of the *São José*. The artifacts from the shipwreck have been recovered and preserved in archives or put on museum display, which is required, but continues the historical memory narrative of slavery. In this chapter, I am interested in coming to a different understanding of how we view our violent past and deal with dead ancestors in the city. Shepherd proposes the potentiality of a new methodology, where he suggests "an engagement with the 'underneath' world of hidden histories". He suggests "the layered strata, the remains of the dead themselves, add a further dimension to our understanding of the city as an accumulation of surface features, to include notions of succession and decay" (Shepherd, 2007:13). For this purpose, I would like to borrow and expand the work of Avery Gordon (1997, 2011) who writes about haunting as a phenomenon to understand historical repression in society. She suggests that radical political change can be brought about if we develop a new sociology and new forms of subjectivity "by thinking beyond the limits of what is already comprehensible". She suggests that that will be possible "only when a sense of what has been lost or of what we never had can be brought back from exile and articulated fully as a form of longing in this world" (Gordon, 1997:P XII).

A meeting of the dead and living as a way to move on

Avery Gordon describes haunting as "a way in which abusive systems of power make themselves known and their impacts felt in everyday life, especially when they are supposedly over and done with (such as with transatlantic slavery, for instance) or when their oppressive nature is continuously denied (such as with free labor or national security)" (Gordon, 2011:2). The

possibility that there might be a mass grave of the drowned slaves from *São José* or even the possibility of dead humans tied to shackles resting on the ocean bed just 100 metres from the beach makes their presence very much alive amongst us. Bringing Gordon's idea of 'haunting' into the space of Clifton beach, I would like to reiterate her point that "haunting is not about invisibility or unknowability per se, it refers us to what's living and breathing in the place hidden from view: people, places, histories, knowledge, memories, ways of life, ideas" (Gordon, 2011:3). Gordon would describe the presence of the dead of the *São José* as a "seething presence" of that which is not there, that which is past or lost or missing or simply not clearly visible (Gordon, 1997:22). Within this landscape and in order to feel and respect the presence of dead ancestors requires an "experimental and embodied engagement" and I would like to suggest that this different engagement is what she describes as "sensuous knowledge":

> Sensuous knowledge is receptive, close, perceptual, embodied incarnate… it tells and it transports at the same time. Sensuous knowledge always involves knowing and doing. Everything is in the experience with sensuous knowledge. Everything rests on not being afraid of what is happening to you (Gordon, 1997:205).

Adopting the notion of a 'sensuous knowledge' as proposed by Gordon will allow us to interact with the dead in a way that treats the dead with the respect they deserve. It allows us not to view them as objects for scientific exploitation but rather as the embodiment of humans who finally deserve justice for the past. Looking at transatlantic slavery in her book *Ghostly Matters* (1997), she suggests that engaging with a ghost "is about putting life back in where only a vague memory or a bare trace was visible to those who bothered to look" (Gordon, 1997:22).

Writing about the significance of the ghost, she states that the ghost is important as it offers us future possibilities and a sense of hope, an opportunity to "repair representational mistakes" and to create a "counter memory for the future" (Gordon, 1997:64). This is because a ghost is "pregnant with unfulfilled possibility, with the something to be done that the wavering present is demanding" and "{t} his something to be done is not a return to the past but a reckoning with its repression in the present, a reckoning with that which we have lost, but never had" (Gordon, 1997:183). To engage with the idea that the ghost presents possibilities gives us a chance to respect the dead of *São José*, not to disavow the dead and the past but to see it as an opportunity to create a space for healing. This would mean respecting the dead, allowing the 2nd Clifton beach not just to be a place where a placard marks the site but a space of contemplation and remembering. Perhaps a site that is not reserved for hedonistic pleasures and the rich showing off their wealth, but a site where people come to make peace with the ghosts, to engage with them, to speak with them. Gordon suggests that "we must reckon with the ghost graciously, attempting to offer it a hospitable memory out of a concern for justice" (1997:64).

In her more recent writing on 'haunting and futurity' (2011), she draws a parallel between the legacy of slavery and American capitalism. One can extend this parallel to South African society as we have discussed, the disparities between the rich whites and poor blacks in the racially divided city. Writing about the inheritance of racial slavery, she states, "Slavery has ended, but something of it continues to live on, in the social geography of where peoples reside, in the authority of collective wisdom and shared benightedness, in the veins of the contradictory formation we call New World modernity, propelling, as it always has, a something to be done. Such endings that are not over is what haunting is about" (Gordon, 1997:139). Borrowing from her suggestion, I would like to propose that the approach to end suffering and not just to witness it is "to use haunting as the meeting of the dead and the living". Gordon explains this methodology as:

> With this particular conception of haunting, I was trying to develop a working vocabulary that registered and evoked the lived and living meeting, in their historical time, of the organized forces of order and the aggrieved person when consciousness of that meeting was arising, haunting, forcing a confrontation, forking the past and the future. I thought at that meeting point – in the gracious but careful reckoning with the ghost – we could locate some elements of a practice for moving towards eliminating the conditions that produce the haunting in the first place (Gordon, 2011:4-5).

How does the meeting of the dead and living work in the context of Cape Town? I would suggest in the post-colonial city, this meeting means paying attention to what the ghosts need to rest in peace. It is not only about going back in historical time and trying to undo the past or apologising for it but this methodology entails a promise to the dead about how we, as a people, shape the future. Gordon borrows Kodwo Eshun's term 'inaugurating' ones to describe the present generation as not merely reactive subjects (Gordon, 2011:8). I propose that the present generation of South Africa, the 'inaugurating' ones, will bring about the transformation, do the emancipation work, the work that was promised but not followed through. Working with "acute timeliness and patience", they must work with the same belief "which has guided the worldwide movements to abolish slavery and captivity, colonialism, imprisonment, militarism, foreign debt bondage, and to abolish the capitalist world order known today as globalization or neo-liberalism" (Gordon, 2011:8).

Conclusion

This chapter presents a new way in which we should view the question of the memory of slavery in Cape Town. The potential possibility of discovering a mass grave of slave ancestors at Clifton beach not only makes us question how the remains of the dead have been dealt with in the past, but also asks us to think of future ways to treat the dead. Reflecting on the unfortunate forceful historical migrations of Africans to the New World, we have to imagine the journey of the Middle

Passage, the torture and pain and the specific misfortune of the passengers on the *São José* before we propose how to treat the remains of the slave ship. Taking the dead and the remains of *São José* into account, how do we propose to move forward in the city? I conclude the chapter with the proposition that change will come and it will be brought about by the younger generation demanding to redress the past, demanding justice for their dead ancestors.

The artist's vision: A description of the artworks, the use of methodology and a case for immersion as research

Introduction

> Something in the world forces us to think. This something is an object not of recognition but of a fundamental encounter (Deleuze, 1994:139)

The focus of this chapter is an account of the exhibitions, Arrested Motion, The Rusting Diamond and Container (a work currently in production), which constitute the practical component of this creative research project. A reciprocity exists between the two components – the written thesis and the artworks: it is the findings from the practical work that lead to the themes used in the thesis. The chapter describes the bodies of work. It builds on the earlier writing on methodology as being integral to the making of the works. However, the chapter is more than just a description and an explanation of the methodology in creating the works. It discusses the themes raised by the creation of the works in relation to the previous chapters and also through introducing ancillary layers. As an extension of the preceding chapters, it proposes a weaving together of some of the issues raised around the themes of time, space and memory. The works are actively engaged in constituting meaning, which I write about, but I would like to hope that they continue to constitute meaning and will further encourage the audience to make their own demands and come up with their interpretations.

I would like to state that the chapter is not an analysis or interpretation of the works created but rather attempts to present a sense of the "creative decision making process(es) within the context of the research practice", as suggested by Goddard in his essay (Barrett & Bolt, 2007:119). He suggests that the "role of an exegesis is not to attempt an analysis or critical interpretation of the work" and this chapter does exactly that – it uses exegesis as an explanation of the works, furthering Elkins' statement that words often limit that which the work is (Elkins, 1998). Borrowing from South African-born art theorist and scholar, Sarat Maharaj, I would like to suggest that the methodology adopted in the research project is one of 'thinking through the visual', which is distinctly different to 'visual thinking' (Maharaj, 2009:4). He states that there is a distinction in research when we work with the idea of "visual art as knowledge production" and this research "involves sundry epistemic engines and contraptions that we might broadly refer to as 'thinking through the visual'". Writing about the adoption of varied methodologies by artists, he states:

> Method is perhaps less about given, handed-down procedures than about approaches that have to be thrashed out, forged again and again on the spot, impromptu in the course of the art practice research. I am left pondering the idea that method is not so much readymade and received as "knocked together for the nonce" – something that has to be invented each time with each research endeavor (Maharaj, 2009:2).

My primary art methodology to conduct research is the practice of observational filmmaking. Situating the practice of documentary filmmaking in the larger world of qualitative research, filmmaker Jean Rouch makes a case for observational documentary filmmaking as an academic research practice. He states:

> When the filmmaker records on film the actions or deeds that surround him, he behaves just like an ethnologist who records his observations in a notebook; when the filmmaker then edits the film, he is like an ethnologist editing his report; when the filmmaker distributes his film, he does the same as the ethnologist who gives his book to be published and distributed (2003:270).

Arguing for an aesthetic approach, Roland Bleiker, states that "Aesthetic approaches embark on a direct political encounter, for they engage the gap that inevitably opens up between a form of representation and the object it seeks to represent" (2001:512). Writing about the 'Aesthetic Turn in International Political Theory' (2001) he states, "To broaden our knowledge of the international does require more than simply adding a few additional layers of interpretation. What is needed is a more fundamental reorientation of thought and action: a shift away from harmonious common sense imposed by a few dominant faculties towards a model of thought that enables productive flows across a variety of discordant faculties" (2001:519). Working with human subjects within the theme of migration, an underlying concern throughout the project was to use a creative methodology that focuses on the idea of 'humanness'. It was important for the project to provide agency to the migrants who form its subjects and challenge representational conditions of clandestine migration. I describe the process, content and the creation of immersive environments along with the experience of the audience to highlight the success in achieving the above. Unknotting the subject of 'human' in the academic world, scholars like Achille Mbembe comment on the 'structural myopia' within universities and institutions of higher education, which have attached value primarily to 'instrumental reason' and 'social empiricism' (2012:8). Mbembe states, "What could have been an epoch of unparalleled creativity and intellectual ferment in the realm of the art, culture and humanities in South Africa" has lead to "too narrow a definition of what the "human" stands for" (Mbembe, 2012:8). With this project I hope to inject some creativity within the field of migration and visual art studies.

The creative research continues to address the following related questions, similar to those listed in Chapter One. Firstly, it asks, how does the artist use filmmaking as a form of critical intervention and encompass visual art to provide ways of comprehending contemporary culture? The second question it tackles is how does immersion via the creation of multimedia works allow for an emotional engagement with the subjects? Thirdly, how do emotions and viscerality feed into the depiction of humanness within migration and mobility? The final question is how does the artist's methodology help to visualise the life of migrants and expand knowledge production within the field of migrancy in Africa?

The works

Existing alongside and in conjunction with this thesis are the video works and the documentation (video and stills) of the exhibits of the video installations titled 'Arrested Motion' (2015), 'The Rusting Diamond' (2017), 'Our Story in this Ocean' (2015) and 'A working visual document for a virtual reality piece titled Container' (2018-2019).

Arrested Motion, an immersive multimedia installation (20-minute video triptych on a loop, six 20-minute films on a loop, HD video, three 16:9 screens, six porthole windows, metal stands, ice), was first exhibited at the Remaking Place public art symposium hosted by the Gordon Institute of Performing and Creative Arts at the University of Cape Town's Hiddingh Campus from the 8th to the 12th of March 2015 (Figure 23.1.1-23.1.4). It then appeared at the Puncture Points exhibition inside the Cape Town harbour from the 12th to the 15th of March 2017. Later that year, it featured at the Spielart Festival in Munich between the 27th of October and the 11th of November (Figure 24.1.1-24.1.4). Most recently, it exhibited at Kerkennah#1 in Tunisia from the 21st to the 27th of June 2018 (Figure 25.1.1-25.1.3). The second body of work, The Rusting Diamond, an immersive multimedia video installation (three 13-minute videos on a loop, HD video), was exhibited as part of the ICA Live Art Festival at the Castle of Good Hope, Cape Town, on the 19th of February 2017. Later that year, it featured at the Spielart Festival in Munich from the 27th of October to the 11th of November. Lastly, it was exhibited on the 2nd of September 2018 at the Live Art Festival hosted by the Institute of Creative Arts at the University of Cape Town's Hiddingh Campus. Our Story in this Ocean, a three-screen video triptych installation, is a body of work created during a residency at the Hangar Institute, Lisbon, Portugal, funded by the Oriental Foundation and presented to the public during the Hangar open day in October 2015. Lastly, the installation art virtual reality project, Container, is a work in production. The project was selected for Electric South's "New Dimensions" Lab in South Africa in July 2017, funded by the Ford Foundation. During the workshop, advisors Jessica Brillhart (Vrai Pictures), Darren Emerson (VR City) and Aisley Sutherland (MIT) advised on the creative development. In November 2017, Container was selected for IDFA Forum's Central pitch in Amsterdam. In September 2018, Container was presented at the Venice Gap-Financing Market as one of 15 Virtual Reality Immersive Story projects. The project received a production grant from the National Geographic Society and is going into production in April 2019.

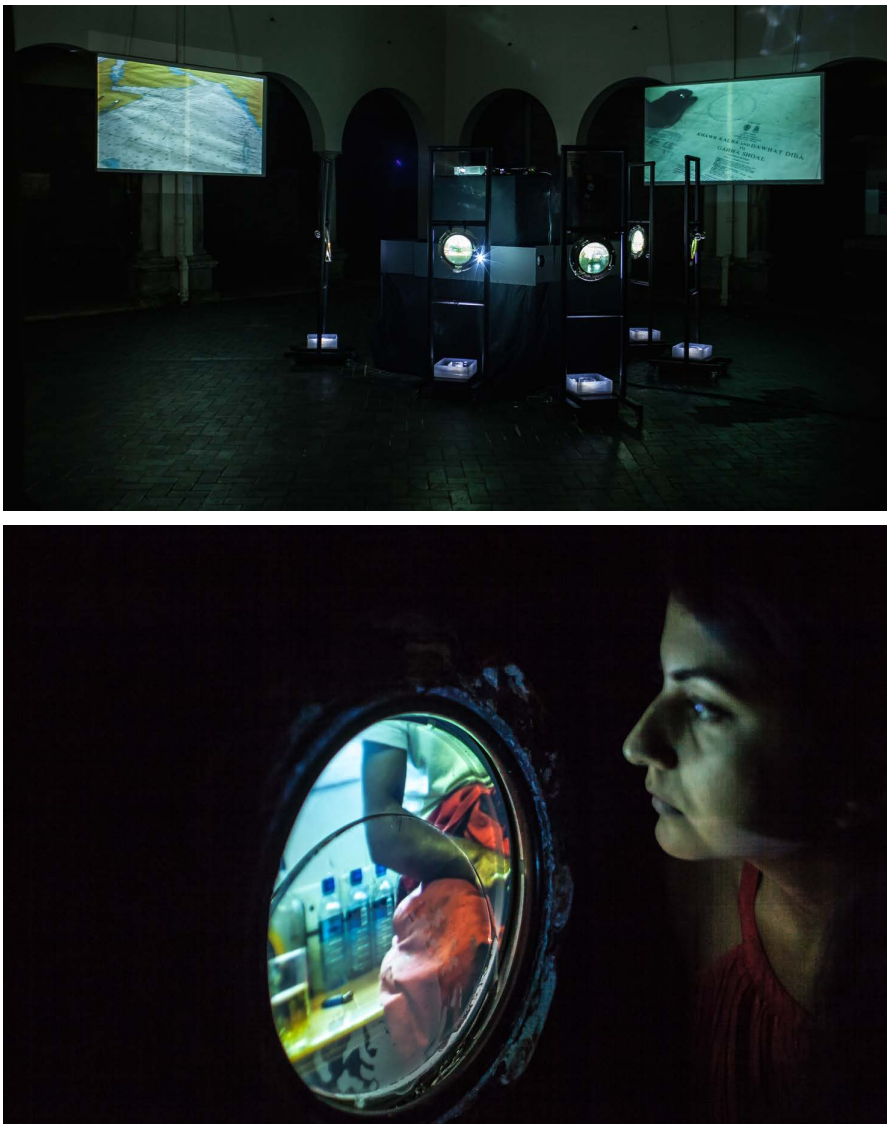


Figure 22.1.1 - 22.1.2: Photo still, Arrested Motion exhibition, Remaking Place, Cape Town, 2015.
Photo credit: Meghna Singh

Arrested Motion

Arrested Motion, a multimedia installation, was first exhibited as part of the Remaking Place public art symposium, Cape Town, at the Quad, Michaelis Art School from the 8th to the 12th of March 2015(Figure 22.1.1-22.1.2). Following that it has been exhibited as part of several group exhibitions nationally and internationally. Each time the installation was adapted to its exhibition environment, with a slight shift in the installation elements, but the content has not been altered. Walking into the outdoor space of the Hiddingh Campus quad courtyard after sunset, the spectator encounters multiple luminous porthole screens as a central arrangement, surrounded by three large outer screens suspended from the building pillars. The central sculptural arrangement consists of

Figure 23.1.1 - 23.1.4: Photo still, Arrested Motion exhibition, Remaking Place, Cape Town, 2015. Photo credit: Meghna Singh

six suspended porthole windows from self-standing metal frames onto which six different videos are projected. These include different scenes from the interior of a ship: scenes from the dining room, the TV room, the bridge area, men drinking inside the cabin etc. The videos are projected onto clear ice blocks, lodged inside the porthole window, that slowly melt and drip with time. The slow melting of the ice causes interesting distortions in the images. The three large outer film screens, in the ratio of 16:9, are positioned to the right, left and centre of the porthole installation. The screens allow for the creation of a moving video triptych as the images move across from one screen to the next and to the next. The video triptych showcases the outside world of the harbour in contrast to the contained interior of the ship projected on the porthole windows. The video starts with the beautiful calm atmosphere of the port at nighttime and slowly builds to a chaos of ships coming in and out of the port. Crashing waves, containers, cranes, loud seagulls, arrested vessels at the landing wharf and barbed wire appear on the screens. The surround sound system helps conjure the sense of being immersed in the world of the harbour. The audience alternate between standing back and watching the content on the three large screens and walking around the circular installation of the suspended portholes, pressing their faces close to watch the videos at face height. Only once they get close to the screens do they realise that the screens are made of ice: the slow constant dripping of water and the coolness from the ice on their faces reveals the materiality of the video screens, adding to the immersive liquidity of the installation. In this way, the true-to-life documentary aspects of the installation are successfully offset by the sensual, existential poetics established most affectingly by the lyrical tenor of the projections (Figure 23.1.1-23.1.4).

Figure 24.1.1 - 24.1.4: Photo still, Arrested Motion exhibition, Speilart Festival, Munich, 2017.
Photo credit: Meghna Singh

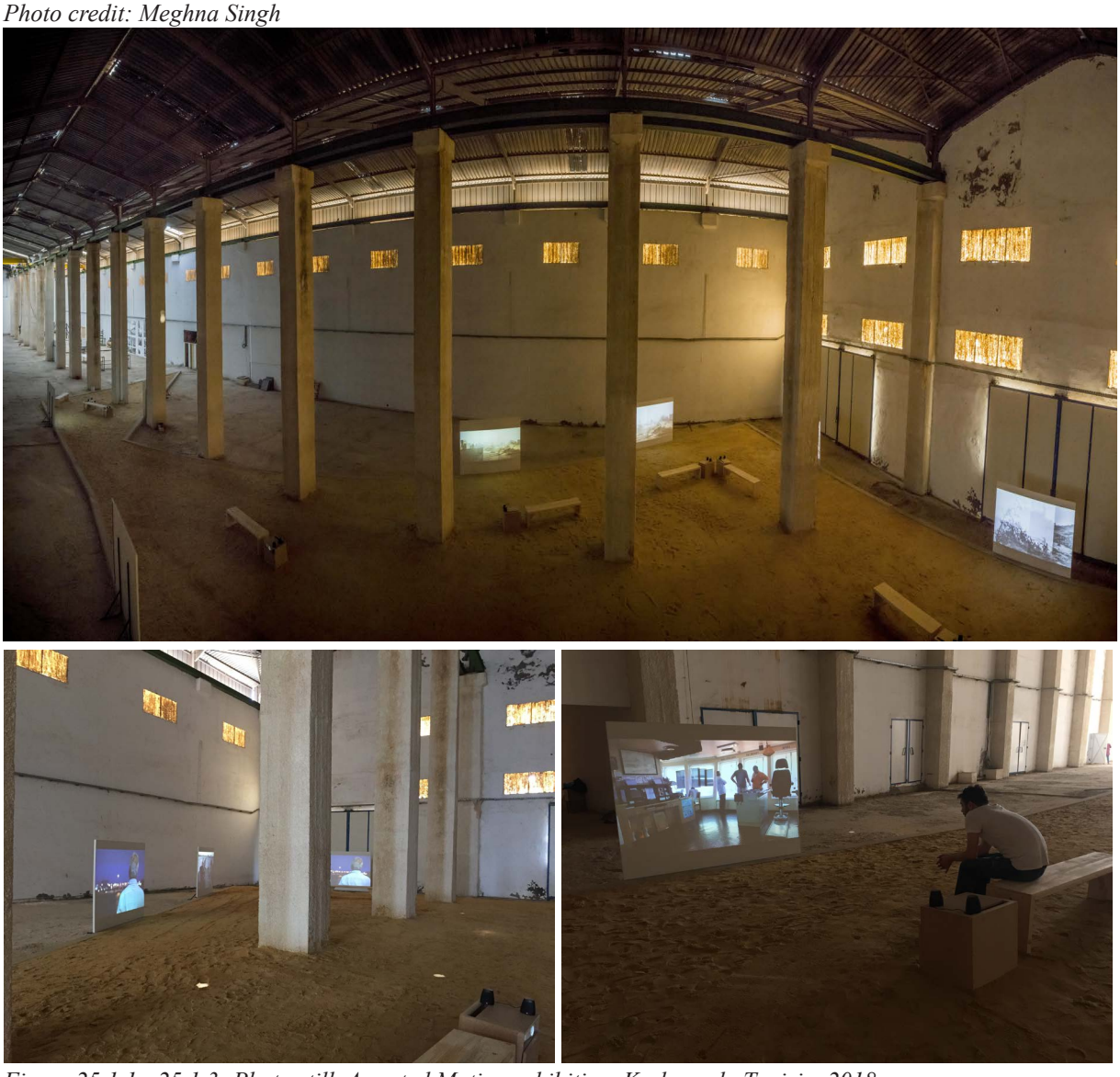


Figure 25.1.1 - 25.1.3: Photo still, Arrested Motion exhibition, Kerkennah, Tunisia, 2018.
Photo credit: Meghna Singh

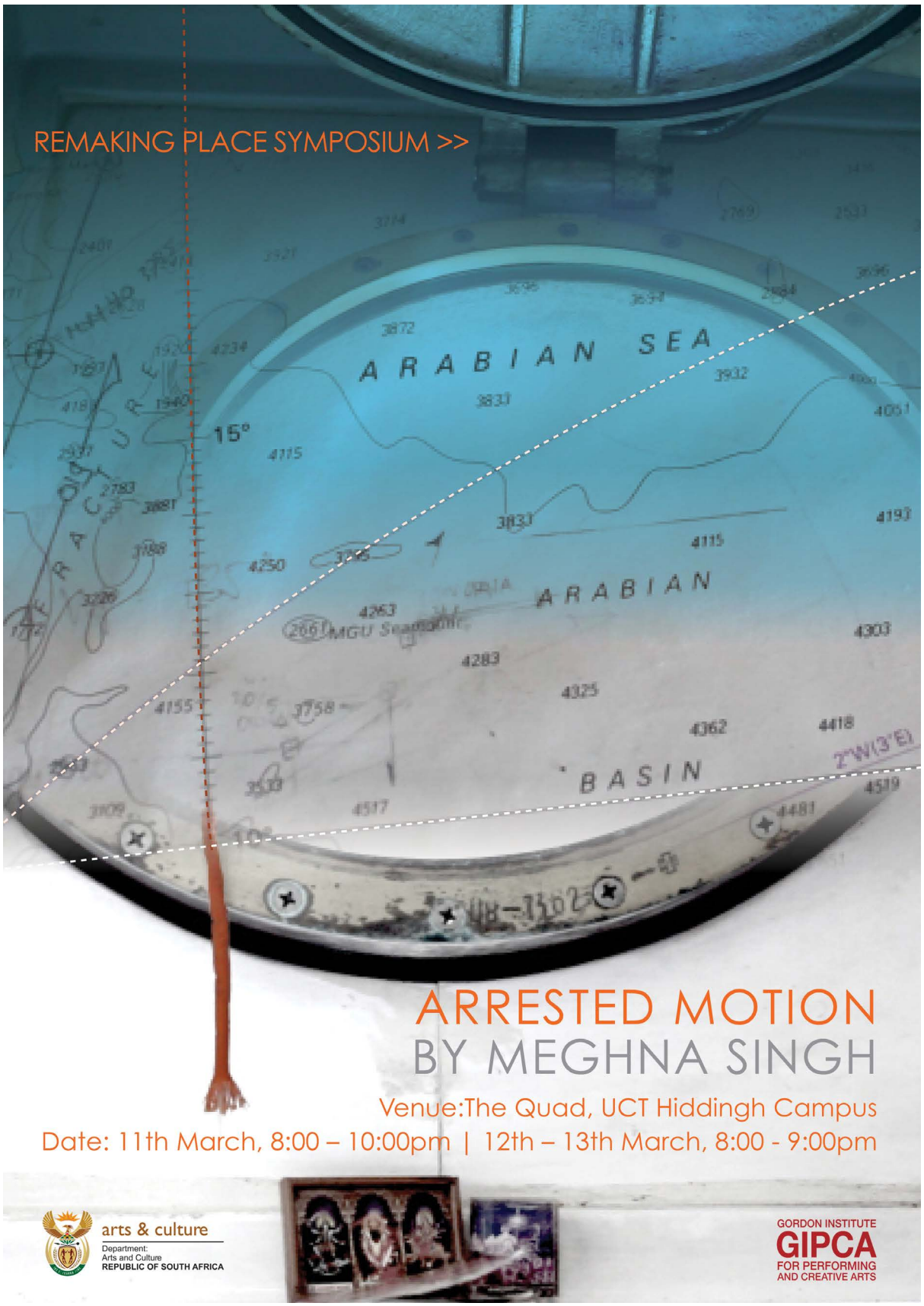


Figure 26: Arrested Motion exhibition poster, Remaking Place, Cape Town, 2015.

The narrative of the film starts at nighttime setting up the atmosphere of the port: on a windy threatening night we watch seagulls flying across the dark sky, rotating fog lights and a ship approaching the harbour. Next we see the view of the port from the ship and we are introduced to the interior of the ship. The use of text on the images establishes the context of the story. We read "A notice to motion: case between SIMGOD & MV WBI Trinity"; it locates the story in Cape Town, South Africa. We read the names of the seafarers, their place and date of birth. We are informed about the details of the ship, the port of registration and its number (Figure 27)

Figure 27: Photo collage, Arrested Motion: Names of seafarers WBI Trinity (Meghna Singh, 2015).

The first image that introduces the men to us is one of two of them staring out of the window into the darkness from the bridge area of the ship. Slowly, we are introduced to other men in different spaces of the ship. We watch four men watching a Bollywood film on a television (Figure 28).

Figure 28: Photo collage, Arrested Motion: Men watching Bollywood film (Meghna Singh, 2015).

One of them is playing with his phone while another looks bored as though he has watched the film many times. We watch three different men across three different screens serve themselves dinner from the same kitchen counter. They sit separately, alone and eat their food (Figure 29) . The film takes us inside and outside the ship where it establishes the landscape of the port from the point of view of WBI Trinity and beyond the view of the ship. We are transported to different sections of the ship, up and down, through the dining area to the kitchen, to the TV room, interior of the bridge and the exterior where we witness the old captain pace up and down (Figure 31). We also watch two young men on the lower deck of the ship, set against the background of the beautiful port lights and glistening lights from an oil rig. We watch them pacing up and down, one with a phone in his hand and the other staring out at the port.

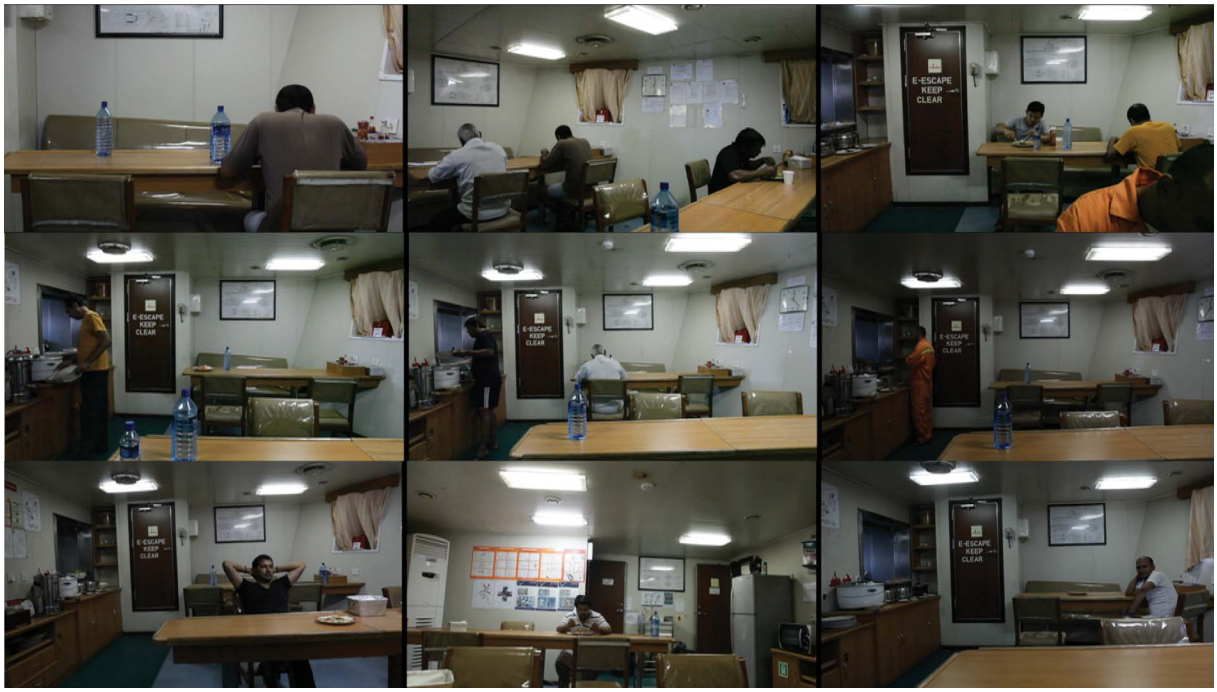


Figure 29: Photo collage, Arrested Motion: Men in dining room (Meghna Singh, 2015).

Figure 30: Photo collage, Arrested Motion: Abi pacing up and down on the deck (Meghna Singh, 2015).

The sound design is an intrinsic part of the narrative and helps to create the right atmosphere. We hear the sound of night birds in the sky, the atmospheric sound of the wind, sea, sirens and silence along with the industrial sound of a working harbour. The most significant part of the sound design is the voiceover of a man counting numbers in Hindi. We hear the counting of numbers from four different occasions. It starts with a liner counting and as the film progresses, the numbers get all meshed up, going backwards and forwards. We also hear the same voice speaking out the names of the ports that they would have crossed and that would have been on their route from Nigeria to Dubai.

Figure 31: Photo collage, Arrested Motion: Captain pacing up and down (Meghna Singh, 2015).

As dawn breaks we see a man cooking in the kitchen (Figure32) . We see the men in the dining room once again, distant from each other, sitting separately and eating their breakfast. We are introduced to a man's private space when we are taken inside a cabin. We notice close-up details of personal belongings like the statue of an Indian god, a poster of a Bollywood star on the wall, (Figure 33.11-33.12) a photo of a young child as a screensaver on the computer screen. Looking out of the porthole window of the cabin, we see Table Mountain.

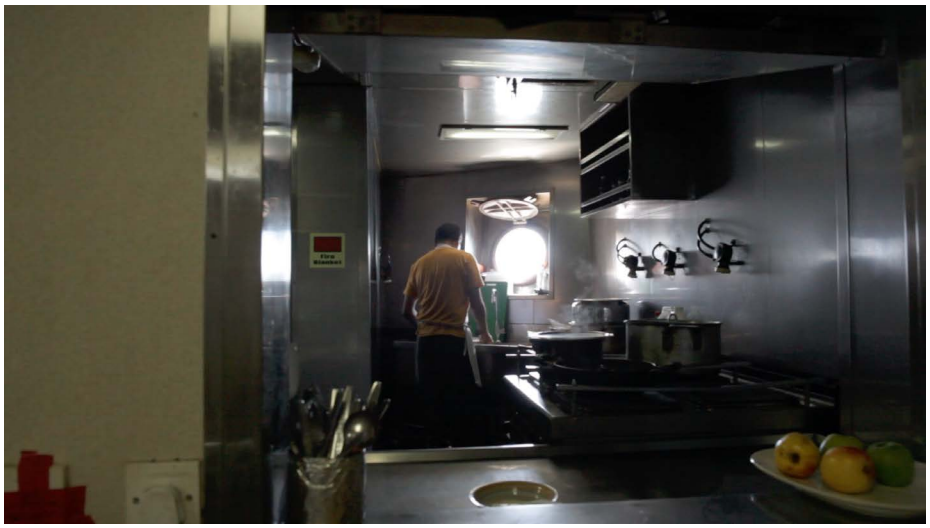


Figure 32: Video still, Arrested Motion: Chef in the kitchen, WBI Trinity (Meghna Singh, 2015).

Figure 33.1.1 - 33.1.2: Video still, Arrested Motion: Interior details of Sanjiv's cabin (Meghna Singh, 2015).

As the day progresses, we are introduced to more private intimate masculine spaces inside the ship. We find ourselves in a tight claustrophobic cabin space where three of the men are drinking cheap Indian whiskey during the day. A fourth man sits on the desk in front of the porthole window and smokes a cigarette (Figure 34.11-34.12). This shot exhibits the intimacy of the trust that the men shared with the filmmaker. We watch close-ups of hands and feet as the men talk and drink.

Figure 34.1.1 - 34.1.2: Video still, Arrested Motion: Men drinking inside the cabin, WBI Trinity (Meghna Singh, 2015).

The inside world is constantly juxtaposed with the textures and movements of the port area outside of the ship (Figure 35). As the day progresses, we watch the men doing different activities on the bridge area. We see a young Indonesian man working on the computer; the old captain continues to pace up and down on the balcony of the bridge. We see him shift between walking as though he is worried or fast paced as though it is some sort of exercise. The other men stare out of the window or play with their phones. Juxtaposed with this non-activity we are introduced to the incomings and outgoings of the busy port. We see gigantic container ships being pulled in, oil rigs being pulled in by tug boats ((Figure 36) cranes moving containers, bar codes being printed, things being packed inside containers, massive numbered rocks being packed inside a container by a crane (Figure 37). All this flux and movement highlights the slowness of time for the men inside the ship, indefinitely arrested. The film ends with us looking at barbed wire around the ship and going back into the night as the film initially started (Figure 38). We hear the man's voice still counting numbers as we end the film.

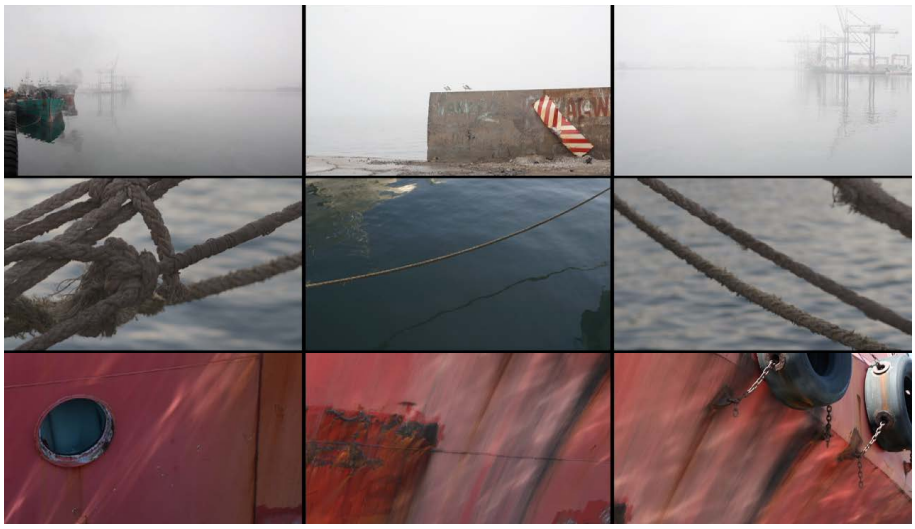


Figure 35: Photo collage, Arrested Motion: Exterior textures, Port of Cape Town (Meghna Singh, 2015).

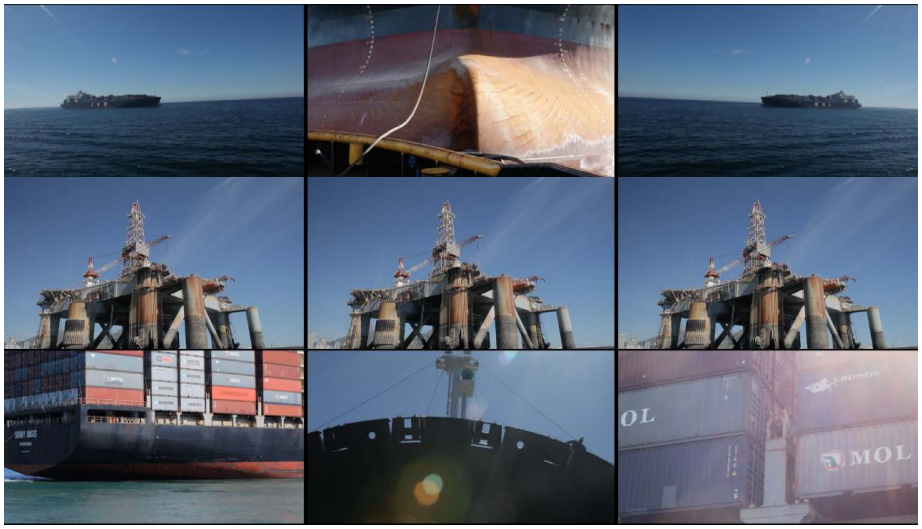


Figure 36: Photo collage, Arrested Motion: Container ships coming into the port, Port of Cape Town (Meghna Singh, 2015).

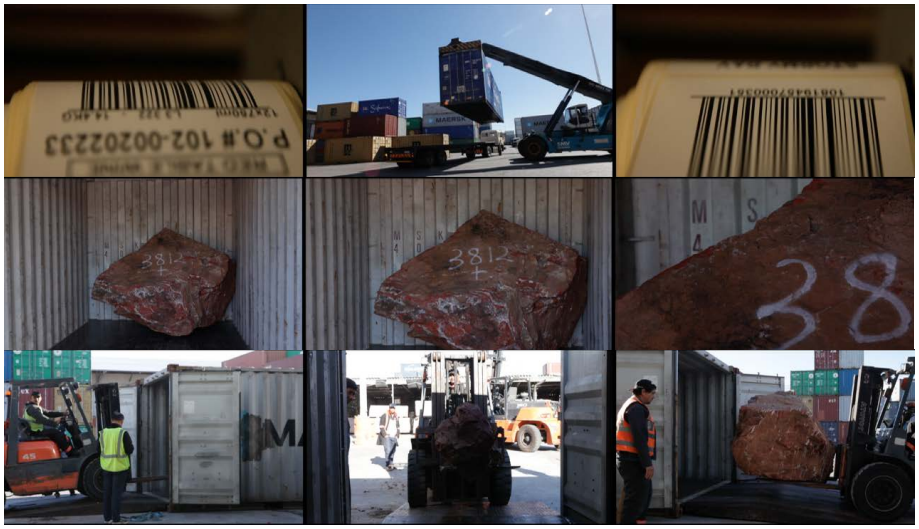


Figure 37: Photo collage, Arrested Motion: Workings of the container terminal, Port of Cape Town (Meghna Singh, 2015).

Figure 38: Photo collage, Arrested Motion: Barbed wire, Exterior WBI Trinity (Meghna Singh, 2015).

The methodology

> "The camera used as a transformative and critical investigative tool, rather than an illustrative aid or afterthought to theorization" (Grossman, 2013:209).

I used a mixture of methodological tools for the creation of this multimedia installation. The work is quasi-ethnographic video-based practice, drawing on extensive fieldwork, investigative research and informal interviews. While the background research, filming and part of the editing was done by myself, the project was a collaboration with sound artist James Webb and editor Khalid Shamis, who composed the soundtrack and edited the videos. I also used the studios of ICE ART in Maitland, Cape Town, leading ice sculpture specialists, for experimenting and creating the moulded ice screens for the installation, and the University of Cape Town Drama Department workshops for the construction of the installation. The creation of the project involved the three-fold process of pre-production, production and post-production. The pre-production process involved spending a year holding meetings in the offices of the Transnet Port Authorities to get permission to access the Port of Cape Town. Once I was granted the permission, it took me a few months before I discovered WBI Trinity and was welcomed on board by the seafarers. The most important element in the production of this work was the building of interpersonal human relationships with the men and the captain on board. A lot of time was spent visiting them, having conversations, and sharing meals without my tripod and camera. Only two months after discovering the ship did I start using my camera. The production and post-production forms the main body of the discussion around the use of methodological tools, while publicity for the exhibitions held nationally and internationally, documentation and feedback form a part of an ongoing process for the project. The main methodological tool for the project was observational filmmaking. There are different approaches to observational filmmaking. Tabachnick writing in 'welding the camera pen: teaching sociology through filmmaking (2011) describes them as the "purely observational, fly on the wall approaches that emulate standard fiction film techniques, or the more interventionist, less passively observational approaches that violate the invisible proscenium (or film set) wall and show filmmakers provoking those filmed to get at underlying insight" (2011:133). My technique followed the former approach of least intervention and never putting myself in the filming.

Writing about the benefits of the medium in an expanded field of anthropology, Grimshaw states:

> Observational cinema assumes the possibility that filmmaker and subject exist in a shared physical and imaginative space, one that encompasses but is not necessarily synonymous with the events that are filmed. In such a context the withholding and giving of permission is an ongoing two-way process. The telling of a coherent story depends on filming significant moments at the point of their emergence from the 'intersubjective' space between filmmaker and subject (2005:7).

The research work was done through my engagement with the crew on board, eight Indian men and one Indonesian man, while filming them for nine months. These scenes conform to an observational style, and are particularly attentive to body language and creating an intimate experience. They avoid relying on didactic verbal explanation and allow events to take their own shape rather than adhering to predetermined structures or storylines. The project unpacks the period of waiting and how the 'men-in-waiting' inhabit forms of stillness. While observing the characters, I mostly stayed at a distance filming. I focused on zooming into the more intimate corporeal experience of subjects as they waited, trapped within the world of contained mobility. I framed the experience of waiting by focusing on movements that entailed a mix of activity and inactivity, like the constant pacing up and down of the men juxtaposed with the stillness of staring out of the window or eating alone and not talking. The contract of trust between the men and myself was extremely important and it required a lot of investment in order for the men to be so at ease and off-guard in my observational presence. Similar to my choice of observational filmmaking at WBI Trinity, Barabantseva & Lawrence discuss their choice in the mundane observation of everyday activities of their subjects. They state "Our ethical stance in pursuing a filmmaking project concerned with mundane observations of daily life has stemmed from the belief that expressions and manifestations of everyday life present us with a more ethical potential to depart from the structures of representation and epistemic violence associated with them and help to evoke multiple interpretations and alternative solidarities (2015: 912-913).

An important element of the methodology was having informal conversations rather than formal interviews. During the entire filming process, I never conducted any formal interviews with the men. A lot of the time I would leave the camera running in the background while I had conversations with them and use the sound bytes. At other times, I used a sound recorder but the manner of asking the questions was never a formal one. This allowed for the men to feel less inhibited in sharing information with me. The most important task was to try and succeed in transmitting a tangible sense of what it must have been like for these men to be stuck on that cargo ship in Cape Town harbour for all that time: the waiting, the biding of time, the shifting textures of their circumstances. I wanted to express their vulnerability not only as units of labour but also as men stuck in a foreign land, away from home. The filming process was an immersive experience for me: this formed the first level of immersion in the project.

The soundscape forms a very important element of the film and the installation. Arrested Motion contains multiple audio tracks, with extra-diegetic narratives layered over the diegetic sounds of the harbour. These narratives are highly edited excerpts of stories by the seafarers I had interviewed. Some of them are nostalgic, revealing a longing for home, the others tinged with anger and dismay. Some convey shared sentiments, others overtly contradict one another. The informal conversational interviews with the seafarers form a part of the soundtrack. The voiceover is mixed with sounds from the harbour: fog horns, sirens, seagulls and the sound of the industrial materiality of the port. The fictionalised counting of numbers by a man in Hindi tries to focus on the slow painful passing of time as the men wait on the ship. Another important element for the production of the work was the editing style. While editing these sequences, I applied standard methods of cutting and rearranging images and sounds to condense "real time" while preserving the integrity of my footage. The focus was on the juxtaposition of visuals of men sitting still, pacing up and down, with the audio of their voices expressing their anxieties and hopes. This helped me express the idea that activity and inactivity are linked to an emotional switching on and off to the world: emotions of numbness and despair combined with a forced injection of hope for movement. The three-screen video triptych showcases a mixture of styles. It is a mix of different scenes on each screen; the same scene filmed from three different angles; and the panning movement across the screens. To emphasise the effect of the multiple screens, I borrowed from the work of the video artist, Doug Aitkens, who writes about the "broken screen effect" or "broken continuity" and what effect it creates for the audience. He calls it the "broken screen networks". He states, "Non-linear structures allow me to explore time, opening it up, pulling it back and revealing the inner workings of a single moment" (Green, 2007:1).

The Rusting Diamond

The Rusting Diamond, an immersive installation, was first exhibited as part of the ICA Live Art Festival at the Castle of Good Hope in Cape Town in February 2017. Following this, it was exhibited at the Spielart Festival, Munich, from the 27th of October to the 11th of November 2017 and the Live Art Festival, Cape Town 2018. The first presentation of the work was shown in its entirety as an immersive experience. At the Spielart Festival in Munich, Germany it was screened as a single film projection due to the health and safety restrictions of the venue where flooding of the floors with water wasn't possible. At the Live Art Festival in 2018, it was adapted into a more performative piece of work but not shown as a sculptural piece of work, allowing me to experiment with yet another effect of immersion and precarity. It was screened on the big screen of the little theatre auditorium. The black stage curtains were drawn, closing off the stage area and forming a tight constrained space. The audience, a group of 15 people at a time, was led into the stage space from a dark side entrance. The only source of light was a hanging naked bulb. The metal shutter was opened by a volunteer and shut behind them (Figure 39.11-39.12).

Figure 39.1.1. - 39.1.2.: The Rusting Diamond: Live Art Festival, Cape Town (Meghna Singh, 2018)

The audience found themselves on the stage in front of the projection screen where they watched the film. Once the film ended, the metal shutter reopened and they were allowed to go down the steps. Being led through a shutter door and walking into a dark space was decided as a strategy to create a similar sense of suspense as walking into the dark flooded room of the castle. The experience was created to make the audience share in the migrants' sense of uncertainty and precarity as a trope to relate to their everyday physical experience.

The installation was set up across three rooms in the old recruit building inside the Castle of Good Hope, Cape Town on Sunday, 19th February 2017 as part of the ICA Live Art Festival. The audience was invited to enter the work and informed at the door that it was a dark, precarious setting and that "they must watch their step". Entering the small dark room they found themselves stepping onto a narrow wooden ramp/walkway. The room was flooded with water, a video was projected on the frontal wall of the room: textures and details of an old rusted ship covered the entire wall surface. Due to the black water that surrounded the audience, a clear inverted image of the video projection on the ground was further accompanied by multiple reflections of the projection in the water. This created a similar atmosphere to the flooded floors of Lady San Lorenzo where I filmed multiple reflections of various parts of the ship (Figure 41.11-41.12)

Figure 40: The Rusting Diamond: Live Art Festival poster, Cape Town (Meghna Singh, 2017)

The audience walked in single file and stopped to watch the video. The walkway was broad enough for just one person to walk on it. It continued and led the audience to the next room to the right-hand side of the projection wall.

Figure 41.1.1 - 41.1.2: The Rusting Diamond: Live Art Festival, Cape Town (Meghna Singh, 2017)

The second room was a slightly bigger room and the walkway ran across it connecting it to the third and last room. The room was lit with a candle, the only source of light, casting dramatic shadows. The audience witnessed a partially flooded room with objects that looked like they belonged to someone living there: an old plastic sack, a pair of overalls and a few toiletry items like shaving cream, toothbrush and a razor blade lay on the floor. On an old piece of plywood placed against the wall they watched a projection of a man sitting and looking out of the porthole window. The projection on the wooden surface was rather small, making the audience crouch to be able to watch the film (Figure 42.11-42.12).

Figure 42.1.1 - 42.1.2: The Rusting Diamond: Live Art Festival, Cape Town (Meghna Singh, 2017)

The next room was the largest out of the three rooms. Across the room, on the opposite corner to the entrance, the audience could see an entrance door that was blocked off with masking tape. A naked flickering bulb hung above, lighting the large room. Next to that, a large projection filled up the entire space of the textured stone wall. They saw the same man, who they had seen in the video in the second room, standing on the deck of an old ship, looking out at the harbour, staring at the enormous container ships. They heard a voiceover of a man speaking about diamond mining in Namibia. The aim of creating the installation was to immerse the audience

in the world of precarity: to enter a world, even for a few minutes, where they need to be careful of their movement within the constructed environment. The three rooms, from the smallest and darkest to the largest, were designed to try and create a sense of the levels of the ship: from the lowest flooded level to the upper bridge area. The flooding of the first room and the walkaway was created so the audience would need to watch their step all the time, failing which they would step into the water (due to its darkness, one couldn't tell how deep it was). The second room was set up in such a way that they got a glimpse into the living conditions of some of the men on board who had minimal belongings. The third room was to try to simulate the experience of being on the top deck of the ship (Figure 43). Each room had a video projection, corresponding to the narrative of that room: the first room established the space, the second introduced Morgan and the other characters, and the third showed Morgan on the bridge of the ship, looking out at the port.

Figure 43: The Rusting Diamond: Live Art Festival, Cape Town (Meghna Singh, 2017)

The narrative of the film has a three-fold structure. The first section introduces the dark liminal space of the bottom of a sinking vessel. In the second, we are introduced to the different spaces inside the ship and the characters. The third and final section introduces us to the bridge area of the ship as the protagonist looks out at the harbour of Cape Town and the city beyond. The film opens with the text: "The debris of globalization is exhibited through hidden lives and spaces left to decay within zones of abandonment". In a dark space, some sort of an engine room,

we see a man approaching with a strip light in his hands (Figure 44). He walks around slowly examining the old machinery as though he is trying to fix something. We see close-up details of the machinery and the name of the ship on a black notice board. It states "MV LADY S, Date: July 31st 07". We hear the sound of water splashing as he walks around.

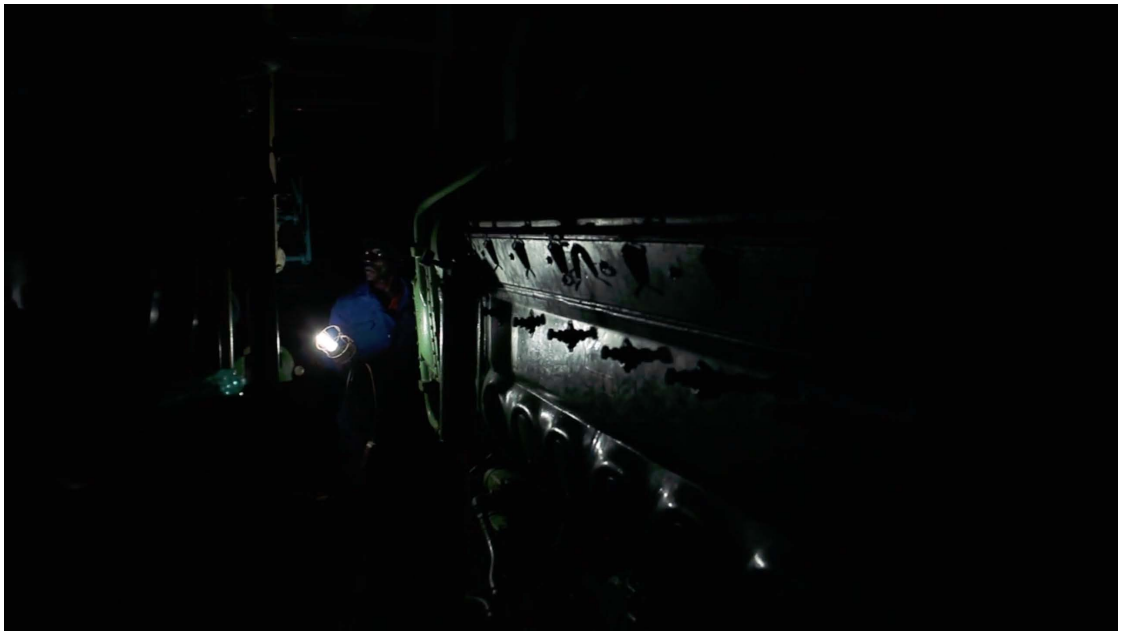


Figure 44: Video still, The Rusting Diamond: Morgan in engine room (Meghna Singh, 2015).

Figure 45: Video still, The Rusting Diamond: Morgan in engine room (Meghna Singh, 2015).

Juxtaposed with this scene of the engine room, we are introduced to a man throwing out water with an old kettle. His face is not revealed; we aren't sure whether it's another man or the same person doing the job. It seems like the ship is filling up with water and he is clearing the water but only has a kettle to use (Figure 46.11-46.14). It is only about two minutes into the film that we hear the man's voice saying, "Sometimes there is water coming out from under the ship because it's an old ship. I am there to pump the water out so that the ship doesn't sink".

Figure 46.1.1 - 46.1.4: Video still, The Rusting Diamond: Man throwing out water (Meghna Singh, 2015).

Next we are provided with the background to the situation in the ship: text written over the footage of water states that it is an "old rusting deep-sea diamond-mining vessel, positioned at the edge of the Port of Cape Town, inhabited by a few illegal migrants from Ghana". The floor of the ship is covered with water, swishing and moving, making its own ocean-like sound. The camera glides through the different spaces of the ship from the top to the bottom level. As it explores the different rooms and spaces, we experience the 'absence-presence' of people and things that once inhabited the place. We see close-ups of objects, details of the different textures and the spatiality of an abandoned space (Figure 47.11-47.12). The shots turn into point-of-view shots. We begin to see through the eyes of the invisible inhabitants.

Figure 47.1.1 - 47.1.2: Video still, The Rusting Diamond: Interior, Lady S (Meghna Singh, 2015).

Figure 48.1.1 - 48.1.4: Video still, The Rusting Diamond: Interior details, Lady S (Meghna Singh, 2015).

Figure 49: Video still, The Rusting Diamond:Painting of a working Lady S in Namibia (Meghna Singh, 2015).

As we journey through the dark alleyway leading to various flooded rooms and workers' cabins, we get a sense that this place is not an abandoned space (Figure 48.1.1-48.1.4). We are slowly introduced to life on the ship. We watch the protagonist inside his cabin. Slowly we start to realise the presence of other people in the space: we watch and hear smoke rising from a pot. Someone is cooking food (Figure 50); there are cooking ingredients in the cabin. Finally, we hear the protagonist tell us about a man named David who lived inside the ship, "because he can't afford to pay rent". We are introduced to a second man, cooking in his cabin.

Figure 50: Video still, The Rusting Diamond:George cooking in his cabin (Meghna Singh, 2015).

We witness the protagonist sitting in the recreational room as we hear a voiceover telling us about the immigration police coming to ask them for their papers. Set against the haunting image of abandoned old clothes hanging on a clothesline across a flooded room, we hear him talk about "the xenophobia", how "he's scared because they killed a Congolese man" (Figure 51). As we watch the close-up of a man's face watching a ship sail past through the porthole window (Figure 52), we hear the radio news report the xenophobic attacks in Johannesburg. Set amidst a decaying world of reflections and the sound of the threatening sea, we witness the invisible people lead a secret precarious existence.

Figure 51: Video still, The Rusting Diamond:Old miner's clothes haning inside Lady S (Meghna Singh, 2015).

Figure 52: Video still, The Rusting Diamond: George looking out of a porthole window, Lady S (Meghna Singh, 2015).

The recurring motif of the water being thrown out of the ship and the porthole window looking onto a concrete wall reflects on the desperation of the men (Figure 56). Towards the end of the film, we are taken to the upper section of the ship, with beautiful views of the port and Cape Town, and introduced to details of diamond-mining logbooks (Figure 53.1.1-53.1.4). The film ends with the protagonist on the upper deck of the ship looking out at the beautiful port, yet within the confined space of the ship. We wonder what he is thinking (Figure 55).

Figure 53.1.1 - 53.1.4: Video still, The Rusting Diamond: Diamond mining log books, Lady S (Meghna Singh, 2015).


Figure 54.1.1 - 54.1.2: Video still, The Rusting Diamond: Morgan looking out at the harbour, Lady S (Meghna Singh, 2015).

Figure 55: Video still, The Rusting Diamond: Morgan looking out at the harbour, Lady S (Meghna Singh, 2015).

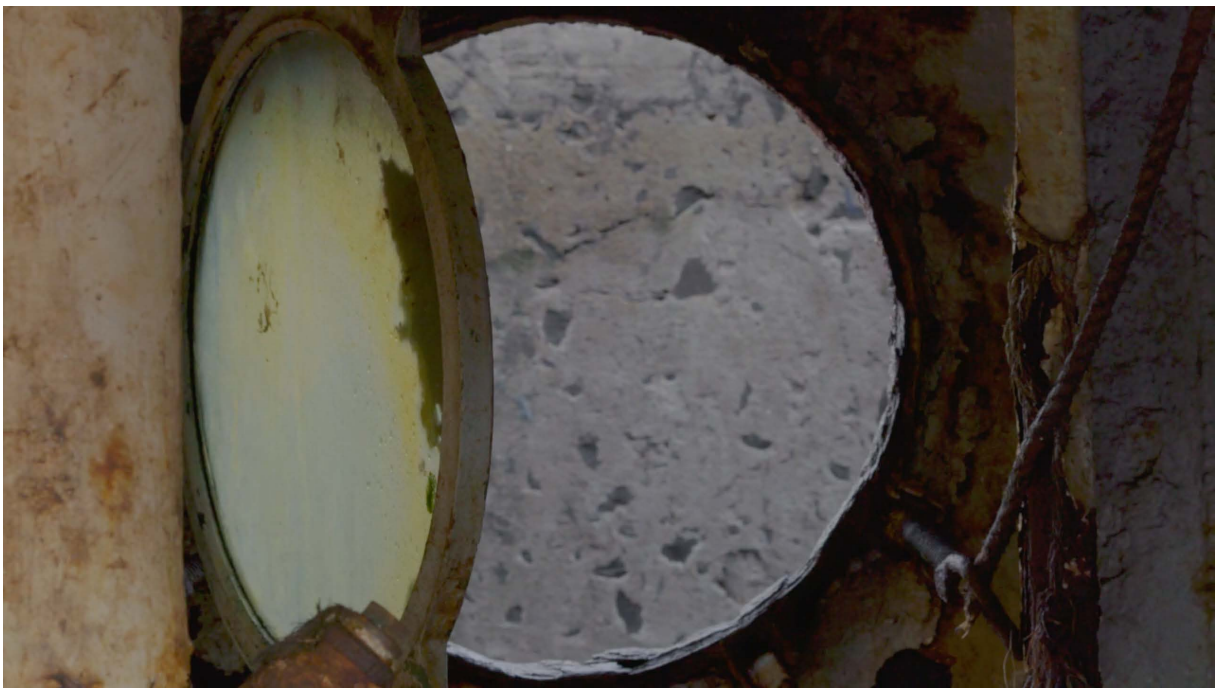


Figure 56: Video still, The Rusting Diamond: Porthole window looking out at wall, Lady S (Meghna Singh, 2015).

The methodology

The methodology for the creation of this work was very similar to the one used for the creation of Arrested Motion. It included the same steps of pre-production, production and post-production. I collaborated with Kyle Wallace to edit the film and visual artist and set designer Conor Ralphs to create the installation of the work inside the Castle of Good Hope for the Live Art Festival 2017. However, the research period and gaining access to filming inside the ship took much longer than filming inside the WBI Trinity. I spent four or five months slowly getting to know the protagonist, Morgan, before I could access the ship and meet some of the other inhabitants. Due to their illegal immigration status and also the precarious status of the ship, everyone was nervous and wary of letting an outsider in. It was only Morgan, the caretaker of the ship, I had to get permission from, but the agent of the ship had to allow me to film inside the ship. The port authority security guard who was overseeing my research was initially not very comfortable letting me film inside the "rotting ship", "health and safety regulations" being the biggest concern for everyone. The main methodological tool was observational and stylised filmmaking. Making a case for aesthetics adding to the field of academic knowledge, Roland Bleiker states that since the International Relations (IR) aesthetic turn of the early 2000s, scholars have not only considered the role and power of aesthetics as a source of academic knowledge of the international, but also contributed to the production of new forms of knowledge about it (2001).

The 'observation' of the characters mixed with 'stylised filming' of the empty spaces creating an aesthetically haunting piece of work was the underlying strategy for this work. In this film there is no voiceover to tell the audience what to think: the film does not so much communicate information as evoke the experiences that the men are going through. Without a voiceover to impose a particular interpretation, there remains an ambiguity and complexity to the events taking place that invites the viewer to imagine how he/she might feel and react if placed in such situations. Unlike the previous work, I only had conversations with Morgan and did not ask the other men I met on the ship any questions. The characters never speak to camera. My focus was on letting the invisible stay invisible. We see and sense traces of human lives without seeing the men in the film. The only character who is fully revealed is the protagonist, Morgan, but information about his identity or name is never revealed. The other two men in the film are filmed in such a way that we can never properly identify them. The footage suggests inhabitation while being sensitive not to reveal the identity of the men taking shelter. During the filming of the work, I was looking to bring out the intimate moments, which Nigel Thrift states are concerned with the 'manifestations of everyday life' (1997:142). For this purpose, I made use of the gimbal, which helps create point-of-view shots in the film. The camera is attached to the gimbal, which keeps the camera steady, as one moves around the space and allows the camera to turn left and right, up and down, giving the perception that it is someone's point of view in exploring the space. I focused on a detailed description of the space and what it allows us to imagine. Through

the stylised filming of the space, textures, and macro details, the aim was to reveal the imprint of life: a play between concealment and hints of occupation. The film plays into the metaphysics of presence. Shadows and reflections are important in the visual presentation.

The strategy for creating the soundtrack was similar to the one adopted in Arrested Motion. I used multiple audio tracks, layering the sound of the sea and wind with silence, creating an eerie haunting soundscape. I made use of radio news announcing details of xenophobic attacks in Johannesburg and sound bytes from my conversations with Morgan. The soundtrack's function was to add to the precariousness and create a feeling of suspense. The edit, again an important element of telling the story, was executed in such a way as to try and create a seamless movement throughout the ship, revealing the different spaces. In juxtaposing the close-up shots of water, textures of the decay and rust set against the wide shots of the protagonist, I try to tell the story of the silent struggles of people without hearing their story. The text is used to give the audience a basic background to the story of the ship and the men; the rest of the film tries to create as visceral a piece as possible to make the audience feel that they have been inside the ship themselves.

Container: 'Witness the Invisibilised' as a response to the São José shipwreck

This project Container is a collaboration between myself and documentary filmmaker Simon Wood. We are directing and co-producing the project together. It is also being co-produced by the non-profit organisation Electric South, based in Cape Town. Electric South collaborates with artists across Africa in emerging storytelling by providing mentorship, production services and funding to explore their worlds through immersive, interactive stories, including virtual and augmented reality and other digital media. Container will be presented as an installation experience at festivals, in museums, art galleries and site-specific public art projects around the world. However, to increase access without compromising the experience, it will also be distributed both as an interactive application and a 360° video without the entire installation set-up.

The background to the project is as follows. Within spitting distance of Clifton beach, a playground of privileged white South Africans, lies the remains of the São José Paquette de Africa, a working Portuguese slave ship that sank with 212 slaves on board in 1794, their hands and legs shackled as they drowned (Figure 57.1.1-57.1.2). A few kilometres from where the wreck lies, cargo ships enter and leave Cape Town's busy port laden with thousands of shipping containers, their contents invisible, rarely discussed. Playing on the theme of the 'invisible', the project uses the hidden world of goods crisscrossing the globe in anonymous shipping containers to highlight the lives of the invisible millions that continue to be enslaved in new forms of modern-day slavery. The story of São José could have been told by creating a piece of work that commented on historical slavery but the creative strategy was to comment on contemporary slavery by including the São José shipwreck at Clifton beach as a starting point to tell the story. The shipwreck, the invisible

Figure 57.1.1 -57.1.2:Clifton 2nd beach, arrow marking the site of the sinking of San jose Paquette de Africa, (Google Map image, 2017)

containers and contemporary economic servitude are the inspiration to craft this story.

Positioned at the intersection of virtual reality and installation art, the project invites people into a surreal maze-like world of containers, where they witness the truth behind the 'invisibilised'. The journey begins at Clifton beach, which hides the secret of the drowned slaves. The experience is about unravelling this secret. The viewer is taken on a cyclic journey that ends where it started. A mix of documentary and constructed reality, we witness black bodies trapped in an endless historical cycle of servitude. As part of the cyclic process, people emerge from water, take us on an unknown journey into the world of products and eventually sink into the ocean again. The underlying creative idea for the script is: the ocean cannot speak but has ways in which it reminds us of those who were chained, those who drowned, those immersed in new forms of economic servitude and those made invisible. It is not only the outsourcing of the production of commodities to the developing world that seeks cheap labour, major world cities like Cape Town are filled with invisible people forced into economic and domestic servitude. People have become commodities, which is the very definition of slavery: people as products.

The set-up of the project includes a container as an installation experience; a container as a tactile virtual walkthrough experience built using photogrammetry and Unity using a Vive VR headset; and a container as a 360° video experience. The first container you will enter is an installation. It looks pretty much like any other container, the walls are damp and there is a strong smell of the sea. There is a bench in the room (Figure 59). Eventually someone will ask you to wear a Vive VR headset, where you enter our second container, a virtual container. Strangely, it looks almost identical to the first container with one key difference: as you explore the space you can no longer see your body, you can touch the walls without seeing your hands, you have become invisible. (Figure 58.1.1-58.1.4) To access our next container, the third one, you must sit down on the bench where you will trigger a 360° video. This is a mixture of documented realities filmed inside the Port of Cape Town and constructed realities based on testimonies from men and women we have met through our research of the past three years.

Figure 58.1.1 -58.1.4: Virtual container, accessed through VR headset, created in Unity, its dimensions identical to Container 1 (Meghna Singh, 2017)

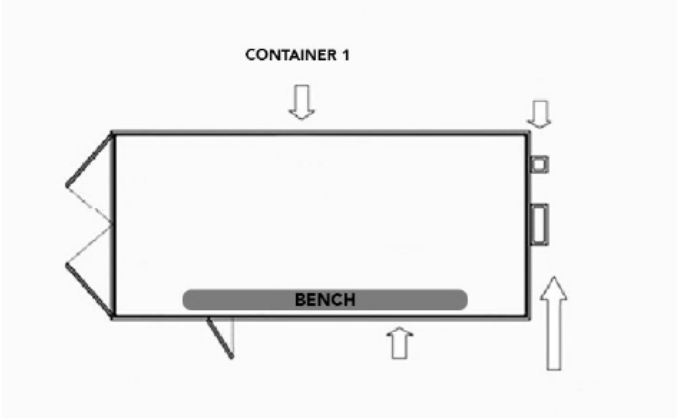


Figure 59: Diagram of the container with a bench positioned against the wall

The film component of the project is divided into six scenes. Scene I depicts Clifton beach, with slaves emerging out of the sea. The third container's floor is covered in thick sand. Oblivious to the container's surroundings, a white family laughs and jokes as if they are relaxing on a beautiful African beach. A large man sips Coca-Cola while his wife browses through a fashion magazine. Their children play in the sand. The boy builds sandcastles all around himself while the little girl meticulously digs herself into a hole. A large wave crashes, forcing the family and the viewer to look up. A two-dimensional image of Clifton beach appears on the container wall as if a film is being projected in the cinema. In the distance we see two black men emerging from the sea. They strain as they pull heavy chains from the ocean. Focused on the task at hand, they move up the beach pulling the chains and leaving the two-dimensional world behind as they enter the three-

dimensional world of the container. They now stand next to the white children. Following them, we see four more black people emerging from the sea. The family looks on in shock as the men continue to pull the heavy chains. Attached to the chains, a container slowly rises from the depths. Suddenly, the container door violently opens, the two black men drop the chains on the floor and then, with the white family, exit into the darkness (Figure 60). A dock worker shouts directions as a Land Rover reverses into the container (Figure 61.1.1-61.1.4).

Figure 60: Storyboard opening scene: Clifton beach, a white family, slaves emerging out of the sea pulling a container (Meghna Singh, 2017)

Figure 61.1.1 - 61.1.4: Video still. Documented reality inside the port: A landrover coming out of a container and good arriving (Meghna Singh, 2017)

Scene II of the film focuses on documented realities at the container terminal. Moving in and out of the container as the doors open and close, we witness an array of products. Large numbered rocks, boxes of wine, sacks of clothes, cans of Coca-Cola, frozen meat and brand-new cars circulate the globe invisible to society. As the last product is packed inside the container, the door closes, leaving us in darkness (Figure 62).

Figure 62: Storyboard. Documented reality inside the port: Container filled with coca cola bottles for export (Meghna Singh, 2017)

Scene III explores constructed realities, the theme of the first being 'agriculture'. The light flickers off and on. We are not alone in the container. It is suddenly filled with soil. The tall lean man who dragged the container from the seabed is now carefully planting sugarcane in the soil (Figure 63). Next to be represented is the 'domestic' reality. Sweating profusely, the man collapses into a hole. A woman approaches and gently covers his body in soil. She then meticulously unrolls a beautiful red carpet, perfectly fitting the dimensions of the container. Scrutinising the carpet for traces of dirt, she sweeps vigorously (Figure 64). Dust begins to rise, filling the container, and blinking neon red lights slowly appear, introducing the reality of 'sex'. The lights take shape into a garish red sign 'Full Body Massage'. Beneath the sign, bathed in red light, an obese white man lies on a table. A slight young girl rubs his chest, working her way slowly towards his groin. The lights get brighter and brighter, engulfing the container in infinite blood red (Figure 65). Finally, the focus moves to 'children'. Four children sit on the container floor stitching logos onto Nike apparel (Figure 66). The light flickers off and on. We find ourselves in a rock quarry; a black teenage girl is breaking rocks with a hammer. We hear a loud thud and water starts gushing in from the roof of the container.

Figure 63: Storyboard. Constructed reality I: Man ploughs the field and sows plants (Meghna Singh, 2017)

Figure 64: Storyboard. Constructed reality II: Domestic workers sweeps the beautiful carpet (Meghna Singh, 2017)

Figure 65: Storyboard. Constructed reality III: Young girl gives man a massage (Meghna Singh, 2017)

Figure 66: Storyboard. Constructed reality IV: Children inside a sweatshop stiching clothes and shoes (Meghna Singh, 2017)

Scene IV portrays the drowning of the girl, which takes place in four stages. The container's hanging light bulb swings as the water starts gushing through the ceiling, flickering off. Each time the bulb switches back on, the water has risen further until the girl is completely submerged under water (Figure 67).

Figure 67: Storyboard. Constructed reality: The drowning sequence (Meghna Singh, 2017)

Figure 68: Video still. Container promo. The drowning sequence (Meghna Singh, 2017)

This is followed by Scene V, a magical realist underwater sequence. Once the container is completely submerged, we start to see floating products creating a surreal beautiful underwater scene. Colourful condoms, meat, fish, bottles, sports apparel and shoes. A diver swims towards us shining a light on our faces (Figure 69).

Figure 69: Storyboard. Constructed reality: Underwater sequence (Meghna Singh, 2017)

Figure 70: Photo still. Iziko underwater archaeology team member searching for remains of Sao Jose (Courtesy of Jaco Boschoff)

Scene VI, the final sequence, depicts being trapped in an endless cycle. The water gushes out and we are left inside the container. The teenage girl who drowned is now standing in front of us. There are chains on the floor. She pulls the chains and walks out of the container. We look out of the door to our right and see the black man and the teenage boy standing outside holding chains as though they have just pulled the container out of the sea. We see the white family sitting on the beach and staring at the container, staring at us (Figure 71).

Figure 71: Storyboard. Constructed reality: The final sequence (Meghna Singh, 2017)

The methodology

> The concept of putting oneself in another's shoes to vicariously share experiences using media is not new. Even a print medium that presents no simulated sensory information can feel relatively realistic when an individual becomes deeply engaged. However, no other medium to date has been able to replicate the degree of realism that the Immersive Virtual Environment Technology offers (Ahn, Minh Tran Le & Bailenson, 2013:10).

The unique immersive characteristics of VR are an important part of understanding how this new technology compares to linear media in informing and engaging audiences on important social issues. The underlying artistic approach to the narrative is to create an experience that is surreal and seamless. The viewer is taken on a cyclic journey that ends where it started. Characters emerge from water, take us on an unknown journey into the world of products and people, and eventually sink into the ocean again. We have focused on a seamless edit between scenes where one scene morphs into another, making it feel like a theatrical real-time experience. A great deal of attention has been paid to the art direction of the constructed realities to make them as real as possible. The six different scenes of modern-day slavery have been thought through very

carefully. We are working with method actors and rehearsing inside the confined dark space of the container to be able to demonstrate the emotions and stories of the people being represented. The idea of bringing the actors to the confined space of the container to represent real-life characters is a very different approach to filming characters at locations, which has been done previously in documentary filmmaking. The actors will be workshopped in those tight confines to allow for as genuine a response to the contained space as possible. There is no dialogue in the scenes that builds the tension within the characters.

We are aware of the growing skepticism towards VR's claims to offer a "technologically-enabled empathy" to become "better, kinder, more understanding people"(Ramirez, 2018). Distinguishing between 'sympathy' and 'empathy' Ramiez further states "the best we can do with VR is to see what it might be like for us to experience some forms of temporary racial discrimination or of becoming homeless; and even in these cases, we should be careful to distinguish between realistic and gamified experiences of homelessness and racism" Ramirez, 2018). Keeping these debates in mind we aim to create an experience that is multi-layered as it is an installation art VR experience. The audience experience this by walking into the first physical container, followed by the virtual container where they are made invisible and it's only in the third container experience they encounter the virtual reality 3D film world. The notion of embodiment works differently for different members of the audience: while some would be aware of the fact that they are wearing a headset and viewing a film, others would be transported to a different space, a space where they find themselves in close proximity with 3D people confined in spaces of servitude. Once the project is complete we will be able to gauge the success of this immersive experience.

Some of the key techniques used within the virtual reality project will now be discussed. The definitions of these terms have been borrowed from The Virtual Reality Journalism Guide created by Nonny de la Peña during the Sundance Film Festival in 2012. The first important element used in the work is that of 'Presence'. It's "the single defining characteristic of virtual reality; the way in which, thanks to a certain combination of sensory input, your mind can trick your body into feeling as though it is somewhere else". In our project, the element of 'presence' is very important, as the audience experiences different characters in changing environments within the constructed reality sequences and also experiences the water rising inside the container as the young girl drowns. The second tool is that of '360° Video (or Cinematic VR)'. It has been described as "the video that captures a spherical field of vision, allowing the viewer to look in any direction as if they were at the centre of a globe". Furthermore, "In its simplest form, it is viewable using only a mobile phone: by either swiping on the image to change orientation or waving the phone around in the air ("magic window"), the viewer can take in the entire field of view". We will be filming the entire project inside a container in 8K 360° and using a 360° camera for the filming. Thirdly, we will be making use of the Photogrammetry technique. We will use the process of Photogrammetry to create the virtual container in which the viewer can walk around

and sit on the bench inside the container. The technique has been described as follows:

> Photogrammetry is a means of capturing 3D spaces in high-resolution photographic detail. The photographer takes multiple images from multiple points within the environment and a post-production process triangulates each of these images relative to each other, creating a geometrically precise 'mesh' onto which the images are mapped. The result is a virtual environment in which the viewer can walk around, captured at a level of detail that rivals still photography (De la Peña, 2012).

The fourth tool being used in the creation of the project is Volumetric VR (aka room-scale or walk-around VR). Any experience in which the viewer can move freely inside the environment, examining the scene from different viewpoints and observing characters from different angles, can fall under this label. "It requires a defined physical space in which the viewer can roam (hence "room scale") as well as external sensors that track the position of the headset, allowing it to adjust what the viewer sees in real time based on their position". The second container experience is one in which the viewer can walk around the container and feel and touch the walls. This is a virtual container that has tracking sensors. These allow for the viewer to touch walls that match the walls of the first container and sit down on the bench that we saw in the first installation container. The fifth and final tool used in the project is that of 'Animated elements'. Recreating environments using CGI allows elements (if any) to be layered into these spaces without misleading the audience. We will be using visual effects and special effects to create the scene of the water filling up the container and the girl drowning, and the opening sequence with the container being pulled out of the ocean. We will be using CGI in creating the last scene where we see the white family sitting on the beach and the people pulling the chain from the container.

The case for immersive video installations as knowledge production

> The contemporary (im)possibility of an iconography of labour in a self-declared post-industrial and post-working class society, where large segments of labour and production are in fact concealed from common view as they are exported to the geo-political "margins". Accordingly, the experience of production and the conditions of industrial labour have been banned by a massive representational prohibition from modernist visual culture (Sekula, 1995:191).

In his essay, 'Photography between Discourse and Discontent', the late Allan Sekula brings to our attention the invisibility of people on the margins of society within the modern capitalist system. One of the primary tasks of this thesis has been to throw light on the invisibilised lives of migrants, seafarers and dead ancestors caught up in historical slavery in Cape Town through the creation of visual artworks. Now I attempt to write about the (im)possible volatility of this task. How

does the artist provide empirical evidence for the sensibility that Grant Kester warns against "pinning down" (2004:45)? There are no doubt different ways of doing this and in this section I raise a few non-limiting provocations to explain the benefits of this visual methodology. The first provocation is to discuss the benefits of the medium of film, especially the genre of 'observational filmmaking', which I have used as a methodology for visualising the lives of the people discussed in the thesis. This also aims to answer the question about the use of filmmaking as a form of critical intervention. According to Walter Benjamin, film's technological properties allow it to dig beneath the fragmented surfaces of reality to reach the "optical unconscious", making film one of the best instruments for capturing the emotional dimensions of modern life (Chapman, 1997:11; Clarke, 1997:3). Discussing the benefits of 'image-based enquiry' within theoretical ethnographic practice, Grimshaw and Ravetz suggest, "Using a camera positions one differently in the world. It serves to radically realign the body such that a different range of questions about experience and knowledge come into view". They further urge on the "forging of new kinds of collaborations with those working in related fields of fine art, photography, ceramics, video installation etc." and "recognise the renewed engagement with anthropology by contemporary artists and other kinds of visual practitioners" (Grimshaw & Ravetz, 2005:3). The methodology of observational filmmaking used in the creation of the video works Arrested Motion and The Rusting Diamond was not one that "merely reported on existing knowledge" but rather one that sought to "cover new ground through an integral exploration of the data" (Grimshaw & Ravetz, 2005:3). This methodology was one that falls in line with what David MacDougall argues for when he writes about a 'genuine anthropology'. He describes it as "a process of inquiry in which knowledge is not prior but emerges and takes distinctive shape", as he puts it, "through the very grain of the filmmaking" (MacDougall, 1998:76). The theme of 'time' and 'space' emerged from months of observation on site: the review of hours of footage led me to frame the case studies within these two themes. The techniques used by me in the course of filming such as "close proximity to subjects, embodied technology, long, unbroken shots, no interviews" are some of observational cinema's classic techniques and, according to James Clifford (1988), help "disrupt familiar or established habits of engagement (especially through talk), fostering a new awareness of the non-verbal, of movement, gesture, posture, action and refocusing attention around the details, textures, and materiality of the social world". Grimshaw, in her essay on visualising anthropology, borrows from Clifford in stating, "Observational cinema profoundly subverts traditional models of academic learning based upon discursive knowledge. Specifically, it works to defamiliarise, to render the familiar strange; and, as such, it mirrors the "surrealist" experience enshrined at the heart of ethnographic fieldwork" (Grimshaw, 2005:23). One of the primary reasons for being successful in accessing the research sites and winning the trust of the men on board was following the fundamental premise of observational filmmaking: "the filmmaker's intimate, sensitive and sympathetic relationship with his/her subjects – with the filmmaker watching as much as possible from the inside rather than operating in an aloof and detached manner" (Young, 1975:76). During the course of the filming, I never imposed direction and let the men shape the events that unfolded

in the videos, allowing for what hopefully can be viewed as genuine research rather than imposed preconceived notions that I may have had. Here I would like to quote from Taussig who states, "the concept of knowing something becomes displaced by a relating to" (1993:26) and there are new forms of embodied knowledge that are located in the body and in the senses that make observational cinema an embodied form of conducting research. He states that the process involves "active yielding", the embodied camera pressing up close, seeking to be moulded and to take the form of its object as a means of thereby coming to know it (Taussig, 1993:45-46).

The second point of discussion in this section is how the creation of the multimedia installations, Arrested Motion and The Rusting Diamond, allows the audience to have an emotional engagement with the subjects beyond the audiovisual component in the video works. Further, it aims to discuss how viscerality and tactility of the constructed environments represent the theme of 'humanness' within migration and mobility. I would like to borrow from the work of Laura Marks who suggests that film and video, an audiovisual media, can represent non-audiovisual sense experiences while making an appeal for "nonvisual knowledge, embodied knowledge, and experiences of the senses, such as touch, smell, and taste" in academia (Marks, 2000:2). Writing about the hierarchies of knowledge set within academia, Stafford states, "The task is to transcend the limitations of logocentrism, with its hierarchies of reading and seeing, text and image, mind and body. It requires an acknowledgment of the distinctiveness – indeed the intelligence of sight, and other sense-based ways of knowing" (Stafford, 1997:4-6). In the case of the two immersive installations, the work moves beyond just the screening of videos: in Arrested Motion it creates sculptural forms like melting ice screens that the audience touch, smell and feel as they walk around immersed in the multi-screen world, and in The Rusting Diamond it takes the audience on a journey inside the dark underbelly of a flooded ship, where again they smell, touch and feel their environment. Here I would like to borrow from Marks' proposition where she calls for "an epistemology that uses touch, rather than vision, as its model for knowledge, namely, mimesis". She argues that "memory functions multisensorially and that a work of cinema though it only directly engages two senses, activates a memory that necessarily involves all the senses". She calls this a theory of haptic visuality, or a visuality that functions like the sense of touch (Marks, 2000:22). In the case of these works, it is not only the medium of video functioning as a sense of touch (haptic visuality) and evoking sensory emotions but the ability to be able to touch and feel the video screens themselves. One of the strongest memories for the audience who visited the installation, Arrested Motion, was their experience of feeling the cold ice next to their faces as they watched the videos of the men inside the ship. Further, touching droplets of ice water dripping from the screens evoked a sensory experience that triggered various different emotions in the body. Explaining 'haptic visuality', Marks suggests, "In haptic visuality, the eyes themselves function like organs of touch". She states, "Thinking of cinema as haptic is only a step toward considering the ways cinema appeals to the body as a whole. The difference between haptic and optical visuality is a matter of degree" (Marks, 2000:162-163).

This case for 'sensuous knowledge' applies to all the works created for the purpose of the research project. The Rusting Diamond experience led many of the audience members to exit the experience as though they had been on a visceral journey and could feel what the men on Lady San Lorenzo would have felt living there. A few of the audience members entered the first room and desperately wanted to revert and exit through the first door because they felt it was too threatening an environment for their comfort. Even though the installation experience did not allow for the audience to turn back, some of them desperately wanted to exit. The experience of these immersive environments, I propose, fits into what Marks proposes as "tactile epistemologies" that "conceive of knowledge, as something gained not on the model of vision but through physical contact. Tactile epistemology involves a relationship to the world of mimesis, as compared to symbolic representation. Mimesis requires a lively and responsive relationship between listener/reader and story/text, such that each time a story is retold it is sensuously remade in the body of the listener" (Marks, 2000:138). Furthermore, she states: "Tactile epistemology involves thinking with your skin, or giving as much significance to the physical presence of an other as to the mental operations of symbolization. This is not a call to willful regression but to recognizing the intelligence of the perceiving body" (Marks, 2000:190). This call for the use of 'embodied intelligence' is what this research project calls for within the academy. This is an extension of Marx's argument for the modern individual's alienation from his or her body and the senses (1978:87-89) and makes a case for the use of 'sensuous knowledge' in research.

The third and last point of discussion in making a case for immersive installations as an embodied experience is the creation of the multiple screens or 'split screen' in Arrested Motion and The Rusting Diamond. Borrowing from the work and writings of Los Angeles-based video installation artist Doug Aitkens, I would like to make a case for the immersive experience that the multiple screen set-up creates.

> "I wanted to see if I could create an organic structure – like a strand of DNA, where every bit of information, every chromosome, is critical – through accumulations of small events and actions" (Aitkens, 2000:161).

Referring to his work Electric Earth as an "expansive narrative", Aitkens discusses his use of the multi tableaux, which can be "encountered at whatever narrative point – middle, end, beginning". Furthermore, "the installation space contains three apparently linked episodes that unfold across three shimmering screens in a curtained, constructed space in relation to which viewers choreograph themselves during continuous, looped screenings" (Green, 2007:7). The multiscreen work of Doug Aitkens and his theorisation of his work was a great inspiration for creating the multiscreen installation. Writing about Aitkens' work, Charles Green states, "Aitken makes environmental, multiscreen video projections of great scale and elegance, split narrative videos in

which his young characters' perambulations blur in portrayals of shifting time related to previous mainstream cinema" (Green, 2007:2). The splitting of screens is a trope used to extend time, to stretch the image and to create a sense of immersion in the world of the harbour for the audience. The use of ice within portholes is done to emphasise the slow dripping of water – yet another strategy to present time in a new way. The sound and the visual of the slow dripping create an effect to slow time, bringing about a sort of meditative state. It also lends to the emotional and physical state the seafarers find themselves in. I tried to express the motif of liquidity/ "liquid times and living in an age of uncertainty" (Bauman, 2000) through the use of the metaphor of the melting ice and how it plays into themes of capitalism, globality and its relation to an emotional state. In an attempt to create a corporeal experience for the audience to tell the story of the men in Arrested Motion, I decided to create a panoramic multimedia installation using the documentary film genre. Writing about the phenomenon of corporealisation in experiencing the work Electric Earth, feminist Elizabeth Grosz describes the experience as one in which "the subject's ego is no longer centered in its own body, and the body feels as if it has been taken over or controlled by outside forces" (1994:43). Another important strategy along with an embodied experience was to allow multiple people to view the piece at the same time. A member of the audience could enter and leave and yet no person would have the identical experience. The underlying idea was that no person has the same point of view or understanding of the situation. The experience was created to echo Aitkens' use of editing, sound and multiple screens, where the audience has a varied experience. Aitkens' talk about Electric Earth where he states:

> In some respects, it's a kind of exploration of chaos theory, where you have these people moving through situations that are very random, where they're bombarded by different things from their environment, and then the piece reaches a point where, suddenly, all the stories link up very tightly and very quickly and create this unified composition. And the piece becomes denser and tighter and accelerates more and more until a point where it just snaps (Aitkens, 2000:161).

Virtual reality, immersion and the creation of empathy

Taking the case of immersive environments further with the installation art virtual reality (VR) project Container, I will now discuss how the medium of the project proposes to push boundaries within academic research to sensitise the audience towards historical and contemporary slavery. Modern-day slavery is widespread across the globe and we need a collective effort from diverse sources to create something impactful to make people realise their own participation in the system. We need to work across different sections of society from policy makers and politicians to the educators and the local public to take a step against this form of servitude.

Interpreting historical slavery in Cape Town and presenting it in its contemporary avatar, modern slavery, I researched and thought of a lot of effective immersive tools to create empathy in the audience, which in turn would lead to conscious action-taking. There has been a case made for virtual reality to create an awareness and empathy in people to take action. Empathy is a well-documented phenomenon. Feeling present in an experience generates empathy on the part of the viewer towards the characters depicted. A number of clinical studies, as well as a large body of anecdotal evidence, show that viewers have a stronger emotional response to a scene witnessed in VR than they do to one watched on a 2D screen. Research has been conducted on the effect of embodied experience on people's attitudes. In the paper, 'The Effect of Embodied Experiences on Self-Other Merging, Attitude, and Helping Behavior' (Ahn; Minh Tran Le & Bailenson, 2013), the authors propose that "immersive virtual environment technology (IVET) provides users with vivid sensory information that allows them to embody another person's perceptual experiences". From the conclusion of three experiments they conducted, they state:

> Immersive virtual environment technology (IVET) can be used to enable individuals to easily and effectively experience the world from another person's point of view. With novel affordances such as multisensory inputs and naturalistic control of point of view, IVET allows for a literal demonstration of climbing into another person's skin to embody his or her experiences first hand. Vivid, multilayer perceptual information simulated by digital devices enable individuals to see, hear, and feel as if they were undergoing the sensory experiences in the physical world – what we call "embodied experiences". Using IVET, embodied experiences allow the user to experience the closest realization of the portal to enter another person's mind and body (Ahn; Minh Tran Le & Bailenson, 2013:8).

Further borrowing from De Waal, they explain that humans are hard-wired to help others in need, as are a few other large-brained species such as orangutans and dolphins (De Waal, 2008). It has been demonstrated that sharing the same basis of feelings and thoughts of another person through perspective-taking can even lead to costly self-sacrifice during helping (Batson, 1991; De Waal, 2008). Writing about embodied experiences through immersive virtual environment technology, they state that IVET is a mediated environment simulated by digital computer technologies that blurs the distinction between reality and its virtual representations (Ahn; Minh Tran Le & Bailenson, 2013:9). Furthermore, borrowing from Yee, Bailenson and Ducheneaut (2009), they describe the "Proteus Effect", where "results demonstrated that spending several minutes in a virtual world embodying a tall virtual self-representation (i.e. an avatar) led participants to choose more aggressive strategies in a negotiation task compared to participants who were given short avatars. Similarly, participants given attractive avatars were more confident in interacting with a stranger compared to those given unattractive avatars" (Ahn; Minh Tran Le & Bailenson, 2013:11). An example of a creative virtual reality project that had an emotional impact on the audience is called '6x9', created by the Guardian newspaper about solitary confinement. It was the

Guardian's first virtual reality piece, which takes you inside a U.S. solitary confinement cell and allows the audience to feel what psychological damage this experience can create. Responding to this work in an article, Cathy Hackl, part of CNN video production's team, states that the experience calls for compassionate empathy, which moves a person to respond to another's emotional state (Ugolik, 2017). Furthermore, in 2016 the General Assembly of the United Nations hired their first senior advisor and filmmaker who created the UN's first-ever virtual reality film series, Gabi Arora. He has been introducing the UN delegates to the new technology and, by showing VR films, has had an impact on the decision-making process. This is a new artistic way to influence how the 73-year-old institution makes decisions.

In conclusion, in discussing how an artist's methodology helps to expand the field of knowledge production within migration studies, I would like to borrow from the art historian Barbara Maria Stafford. Writing about her work, Grimshaw and Ravetz state, "She argues for a conceptual realignment, one that dislodges the disembodied linearity of linguistically based models of interpretation in favour of approaches that encompass the embodied, the sensory and materially grounded dimensions of the visual" (2005:5). The three projects discussed above all present evidence that art practice focusing on the creation of immersive video installations is a useful tool for research work within the field. Not only has this way of working produced audiovisual work that has travelled nationally and internationally, but a text-based thesis that goes hand in hand with the visual work.

Conclusion

> Through my experience of using and teaching visual sociology, I have found that the need to create photographs in research settings can provide a corrective to academic distancing by demanding that researchers get involved with the people and settings that are their objects of study to a degree that exceeds what is generally applied in other methods (Gold, 2007:145).

In presenting the conclusion to this research project, I want to remind the reader of the underlying question posed by the PhD: How does research conducted through the medium of observational filmmaking and presented via immersive video installations create visibility, empathy and an understanding of situations through corporeal embodiment, adding to the field of visual art and migration research? In discussing the success or failure of the project, I shall briefly revisit the key moments of each of the preceding chapters, what they set out to achieve and how the conclusion relates to what they set out to achieve.

In Chapter One I presented the questions guiding this project, its scope, its conceptual points of departure, and some thoughts on methodology. The key question in this chapter that guides the thesis is one that attempts to provoke a consideration of the potential of a relationship between visual art practice and knowledge production in the field of migration studies. I made a case for the methodology of 'thinking through the visual' as advocated by Sarat Maharaj (2009). I suggested the benefits of observational filmmaking and the creation of immersive multimedia installations as a methodology in the field of ethnographic enquiry, arguing for the technique of 'visualising anthropology' (MacDougall, 1998; Taussig, 1993; Clifford, 1988; Grossman, 2013; Grimshaw & Ravetz, 2005). The significance of this project is then based on the success of the three case studies that I conducted using the advocated methodology and in showcasing how they add to the field of visual and migration studies. The following three chapters related to the three case studies and discussed the work through the lens of 'time', 'space' and 'memory', visualising human migrations in Cape Town.

Chapter Two introduced the first case study located on the arrested vessel WBI *Trinity* at the Port of Cape Town. The work dissected the period of waiting within maritime arrest and the effect this had on the lives of the nine men who were living inside the vessel. There were two underlying questions raised in this case study. The first: How do neo-liberal policies relating to the shipping industry immobilise people as proposed by theorists such as Sampson (2003); Borovnik (2004); DeSombre (2006); Lindquist (2000); and Neilson and Rossiter (2010) and furthermore how is this immobility linked to a broader subaltern experience (Jeffrey, 2010; Martin, 2011)? The second question asks: How does one unpack this period of waiting and show how these 'men-in-waiting' inhabit forms of stillness?

For the research, I spent six months observing and filming the nine Indian seafarers. The combination of the analysis of the initial video footage, informal conversations, field notes, and legal facts provided by a shipping law expert, Graham Bradfield, head of the Shipping Law Unit at the University of Cape Town, allowed me to successfully arrive at the theme of 'waiting' to frame their experience. Once I had decided to focus on the theme of waiting, I borrowed from the work of Bissell who uses the phenomenon of the "variegated affective complex" to suggest that the period of 'waiting' entails a "mix of activity and inactivity" and that waiting is a "corporeal experience" (Bissell, 2007:277). In the chapter, I used quotations from personal communications, descriptions of the observation of their activities and photo stills from the video footage to support my conclusion. Through many hours of observation, I filmed the process of waiting and showed how activity and inactivity amongst the men are linked to an emotional switching on and off to the world: emotions of numbness and despair combined with a forced injection of hope for movement. By observing the men engage in activities like staring out at the harbour, drinking during the day, pacing up and down on the deck, sitting still, watching the same film endlessly and eating alone in the dining room, I showed how their activities were linked to the experience of 'turbulent stillness' (Martin, 2011:199). The recorded footage showcased disengagement with the world, the body held in suspense while waiting, as proposed by Diski (2006). Expanding the writings within the 'new mobilities regime' (Witzgall, 2013) and using the work of various theorists around the theme of borders (Van Houtum et al., 2005; Martin, 2011), 'stasis' (Neilson & Rossiter, 2010) and states of exception (Agamben, 2005) in framing the experience of the men, I concluded that waiting amongst the men is linked to the concept of the 'posthuman condition/ space' as proposed by Biemann (2008). Along with that I drew on the notion of 'slow violence' as proposed by Rob Nixon (2012:2).

The third chapter presented the interrelated complexities of capitalism, oceanic flows of trade, labour and migration through the metaphor of a rusting deep-sea diamond-mining vessel that once operated in Namibia. In its state of decay, it provides shelter to a few illegal Ghanaian immigrants who inhabit the ship. Through observation and stylised filming, I highlighted the precarious nature of the space and the lives of the men taking shelter inside the sinking vessel, scared of the xenophobia towards other Africans in South Africa. Observing their activities, I framed the experience of the men inside the ship within the writings of Bauman (2004) who proposes the idea of 'human waste' and 'wasted humans' as by-products of a contemporary globalised world. Furthermore, I built on the concepts of 'hyper-precarity' and 'continuum of unfreedom' as proposed by Lewis, Dwyer, Hodkinson and Waite (2015). The site of the ship fell into the framework of the "counter images of globalization" as proposed by Mike Crang (2010). I illustrated this by presenting the space of the ship: the water-clogged cabins in a state of decay, the men throwing out water every day to keep the ship afloat, the reminiscence of the life of miners in the form of their leftover belongings and the light spilling in from the cracked ceiling.

These images and information were set against the background of the world of deep-sea diamond mining: De Beers as a cartel, its monopoly over the diamond market in Namibia and the losses made by Gemfarm (the company that owned *Lady S*). We witnessed images of different diamond-mining logbooks on the bridge of the ship as Morgan, the protagonist, looked out at the harbour. These images highlighted the theme of abandonment and its relationship with global capital that I wrote about in the chapter. The conversations with the men also helped showcase how their socio-legal status as illegal immigrants in the country contributed to their precarity. Through personal communication, I wrote about the background of the men and their journey to Cape Town from Ghana. Their stories helped highlight the plight of many other African immigrants from Ghana and other African countries. By using sound bytes from the conversation where Morgan stated that sometimes he is scared because he knows a Congolese man who got murdered near his house, I highlighted the notion of xenophobia against foreign African immigrants in South Africa. Using the writings of Belinda Dodson (2010); James Williams (2017); Sabine Marschall (2017) and Camalita Naicker (2016) about the xenophobic attacks in South Africa, I further highlighted the experience of these men living as foreigners in Cape Town. Lastly, the daily experience of the Ghanaian immigrants hiding inside the ship highlighted Agamben's phrase 'bare life' (1998), in line with the notion of the 'wasted precariat' proposed by Mojca Pajnik (2016) and Bauman's (2004) notion of 'wasted humans'.

In Chapter Four, I used the remains of the *São José Paquette de Africa*, a working Portuguese slave ship that sank with 212 slaves on board in 1794, their hands and legs shackled as they drowned (Boshoff et al., 2016), to reflect on the theme of memory and slavery in Cape Town. I presented the historical background to the story of the ship through the writings of historians like Da Silva (2008); Alpers (1975); Machado (2003) and Harries (2016) and the archival research conducted in Lisbon at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino and Cape Town at the Western Cape Archive & Record Service. The chapter ended with a look at the theme of memory and forgetting in Cape Town by reflecting on the case of Prestwich Street in 2003 where a colonial burial ground was discovered with remains of the underclass of Cape Town. I discussed this by presenting the work of Shepherd (2012; 2015); Murray, Shepherd and Hall (2007) and Mbembe (2001) who highlight the continuing divide in the apartheid city of people along racialised lines. In trying to answer the question about the fate of the dead if there was to be a discovery of another mass grave of slave ancestors at Clifton beach, I borrowed from the work of Avery Gordon (1997; 2011) and proposed a meeting of the dead and living as a way to move forward in the city. I discussed the significance of the ghost, as proposed by Gordon, and her suggestion that a ghost is "pregnant with unfulfilled possibility and with the something to be done that the wavering present is demanding" (1997:183).

In trying to reflect on the theme of historical slavery and its memory in Cape Town, and the idea of the ghosts of enslaved ancestors, I conceived and wrote about the work Container that reflects

on modern-day slavery as a way to move forward and promote a change in society. At the end of the chapter I proposed that this change would be brought about by a more conscious younger generation who will demand societal justice in the future. Building on the idea of the invisible enslaved ancestors at Clifton beach, the immersive virtual reality project, Container, seeks to make us "witness the invisibilised". The journey of the installation art virtual reality experience begins at Clifton beach, which hides the secret of the drowned slaves. The experience is about unravelling this secret. The viewer is taken on a cyclic journey that ends where it started. A mix of documentary and constructed reality, we witness enslaved bodies trapped in an endless historical cycle of servitude. As part of the cyclic process, people emerge from water, take us on an unknown journey into the world of products and eventually sink into the ocean again. The underlying creative idea for the script is: the ocean cannot speak but has ways in which it reminds us of those who were chained, those who drowned, those immersed in new forms of economic servitude and those made invisible.

Chapter Five allowed for an insight into some of the key underpinnings of the creative works that accompany the written thesis. The three projects, Arrested motion, The Rusting Diamond and Container were the focus of this chapter. I discussed the work, the methodology, and the themes raised in the making of the works in relation to the previous chapters. As an extension of the preceding chapters, it proposed a weaving together of some of the issues raised around the themes of time, space and memory. The chapter laid out the benefits of observational filmmaking and the creation of immersive environments and set out to test whether these were successful tools in conducting and presenting research.

Horizon of expectations

> The potential of filmmaking to undo structural representations and identity-driven research is in its ability to powerfully connect an audience to the contexts in which the work was made and to carry the ambiguity of fieldwork through to the final presentation of the film (Danchev, 2014).

I began this section by asking: Does a shifting methodology of research allow for a different, more compassionate understanding of the migrant subjects and their lives in Cape Town? Key to answering this question was outlining the potential of the chosen approach, normally associated with ethnographic filmmaking, for research amongst migrant identities and a larger pool of migrant subjects in everyday encounters. My key argument was to showcase, through the different case studies, that audiovisual methods of observing, informal techniques of listening, documenting and participating in people's lives with sensitivity allow the researcher to achieve moments on the camera that are difficult to achieve with other research methodologies. Another benefit of the form of observational documentary is its ability to present a new kind of understanding of

the contextualised experience of others, as seen in the case studies of Arrested Motion and The Rusting Diamond. Looking through the camera, we can observe "the inconsistencies, ambiguities and uncertainties hidden within structural representations", state Barabantseva and Lawrence (2015:929). Furthermore, borrowing from their conclusion I would like to state, "The potential of a filmmaking approach to represent and explore IR lies in its possibility to connect subjects, filmmaker and audience through a shared understanding of the emotion, frustrations, confusion, and struggles of everyday life" (Barabantseva & Lawrence, 2015:929). Tabachnick elaborates on working with students in the field of sociological filmmaking. He states, "One of my goals, when teaching students about social problems, is to help students develop an empathetic understanding of the perspectives of other, often stigmatized, people. Filmmaking offers a path to empathy, especially if conducted according to qualitative research principles guiding participant observation" (Tabachnick, 2011:143). I would agree with him and say that the process of filmmaking during my research over a period of three years created empathy in my filming which is expressed through the work on the screen.

Another question I focused on during my research was: How does the technique of embodiment and viscerality create empathy towards the research subjects? How does this allow for an engagement with the idea of the 'human humanism and the human condition', making a case for an 'ethics of humanism' as proposed by Ari Sitas (2012)? To answer this question I would like to go back to Rancière who challenges us to consider how politics and aesthetics are both of the "seeable and sayable" (2004). He cites 'play' as a key tactic by which extended participation in the order of the sensible is possible, to the extent that participants are able to alter this order. I referred to the work of Laura Marks and her views on the tactility of the medium of film, tactile epistemology, to argue that immersive video installations act to create empathy in the audience. During several personal communications with members of the audience who attended the exhibits, Arrested Motion and The Rusting Diamond, I was informed that they were moved by the tactility of the experience. A few of the audience members who experienced the Arrested Motion installation were surprised by the projections on the ice blocks. I was informed that "touching and feeling the cold dripping water created a sensation that added to the experience of watching the story of the trapped men" (audience member, personal communication 2015, April). Another attendee stated, "I felt like I was inside the harbour myself. The experience created by the images moving across multiple screens allowed me to escape from being in the Hiddingh Campus location" (audience member, personal communication 2015, April). Listening to the feedback on the experience, I was successful in recreating some of the themes Marks (2000:2) proposes in her writing, making an appeal of "experiences of the senses, such as touch, smell, and taste".

Audience feedback from The Rusting Diamond exhibit was different both times the work was installed/performed as part of the Live Art Festivals in 2017 and 2018. During the first experience at the Castle of Good Hope in February 2017, a few members of the audience entered the room

and wanted to step out instead of continuing to experience the entire installation. They reported that they felt threatened and unsure entering the dark flooded space with the projection of different spaces from the old ship. In receiving that feedback, I knew I had been successful in recreating a certain precarity that I wanted the audience to share when they witnessed the story of the men. Some others, who experienced the entire work, were extremely moved by the story and a lot of them watched the work several times. "I want to go back again and again. I can't believe that this world actually exists" (audience member, personal communication 2017, February).
Another member of the audience waited to speak with me after the experience. She reported, "I was so moved by the installation. It was so visceral; I felt I was inside the ship myself watching the men throw out the water. So much lies beyond the world that we are unaware of. Thank you for taking us on this journey. I feel I know so much more about the lives of men inside the port" (audience member, personal communication 2017, February). A third attendee said, "It was such an immersive experience. I enjoyed the recreation of the atmosphere of the port and the ship with the use of the sound, the projected images and the sculptural objects, all allowing us to be a part of a world we would never know" (audience member, personal communication 2017, February).

Analysing the Dimora series (2006), the work of artist and scholar Anne Tallentire, who continuously engages with the practices of the displaced, Crang (2012) states, "These images seem to be presenting moments where globalization has been: they are the traces and containers that result from, enable and frame the translocated lives of migrants. They speak to the intrusion of the global into small spaces, yet also refuse to represent it" (Crang, 2012:33). Similar to her work, the installation at the castle gave people a glimpse into the world of the *Lady San Lorenzo*. The second time the work was installed, the video was projected as a single video in my room but the entrance to the work created a suspense and precarity that many of the spectators remember and spoke about. The audience, a group of only 12 people at a time, was led into a dark space and asked to wait till a metal shutter was lifted, allowing them to enter. Once they were inside the dark space, the shutter went down and they found themselves watching the video. Unlike in a cinema or gallery experience, here there was no way to escape but to wait for the film to finish and someone to lift the shutter to let them out. A few spectators reported that they related to the feeling of being trapped in a precarious space similar to the men inside the ship.

Relevance for other fields of study

What I have developed through this writing and the accompanying exhibition is an argument for an altogether different understanding of how we might operate in the arts. This methodology of research is being used more and more across different disciplines in the humanities. In the preceding sections I have demonstrated how theorists have made a case for practice-led research. I would like to point towards the significance of this project for the broader education of researchers conducting fieldwork with human subjects in the field of migration. The African

Centre for Migration & Society, Wits University, one of Africa's leading institutes for research and teaching on human mobility, already uses art methodologies to conduct research. I was awarded a grant through the department as part of their effort to produce more research using visual methodologies. The methodology of observational filmmaking is already being used in the field of ethnography and anthropology. Scholars like Grimshaw working at the Granada Centre at the University of Manchester already advocate the use of visual anthropology for research. Grimshaw offers a critical appraisal of observational cinema, arguing for its unique capacity to reorient perspective and to render a distinctive texture to ethnographic experience (2005:7). What would be progress in this direction would be to add the field of immersive environments to the field of visual anthropology to experience research within the academic discipline.

References

Africa Today. 2010. Special Issue: Africa's Spaces of Exclusion. 56(3):2-22.

Agamben, G. 1995. Homo Sacer: sovereign power and bare life. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Agamben, G. 2005. State of exception. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ahmad, A. 2008. Dead men working: Time and space in London's (illegal) migrant economy. Work, Employment and Society. 22(2):301-18.

Ahn, S.J-G. Minh Tran Le, A. & Bailenson, J. 2013. The Effect of Embodied Experiences on Self-Other Merging, Attitude, and Helping Behavior. Media Psychology. 16:7-38.

Aitken, D. 2000. In Doug Aitken talks about Electric Earth. S. Anton. Artforum. 38(9):161.

Alderton, T.; Bloor, M.; Kahveci, E.; Lane, T.; Sampson, H.; Thomas, M.; Winchester, N.; Wu, B. & Zhao, M. 2004. The global seafarers: living and working conditions in a globalized industry. Geneva: International Labour Office.

Alpers. A.E. 1975. Ivory and slaves: changing pattern of international trade in East Central Africa to the later nineteenth century. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press.

ANC slams private security company for ordering citizens off Clifton beach. 2018. IOL, 26 December. Available: https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/western-cape/anc-slams-private-security-company-for-ordering-citizens-off-clifton-beach-18617023 [2019, January 31].

Anderson, B. 2010. Migration, immigration controls and the fashioning of precarious workers. Work, Employment and Society. 24:300-17.

Appadurai, A. 2002. Deep democracy: Urban governmentality and the horizon of politics. Public Culture. 14:21-47.

Archival group Notarial Protocols, Cape Districts (Source NCD): NCD 2/18: reference 299 ¼, dated 29 December 1794. Western Cape Archive & Records.

Archival Group Council of Policy (Source C): C 231, Series Resolutions: Resolutions of the Council, dated 20 February 1795, pp. 39-40. NCD 2/18: reference 299 ½, Western Cape Archive & Records.

Archival Group Council of Policy (Source C): C 231, Series Resolutions: Resolutions of the Council, dated 20 February 1795, pp. 39-40. NCD 2/18: reference 299 ¾, Western Cape Archive & Records.

Bales, K. 1999. Disposable people: new slavery in the global economy. California: University of California Press.

Baltic Shipping. n.d. Available: https://www.balticshipping.com/vessel/imo/7119707 [2019, January 31].

Barabantseva, E. & Lawrence, A. 2015. Encountering Vulnerabilities through 'Filmmaking for Fieldwork'. Millennium: Journal of International Studies. 43(3):911-930.

Barrett, E. & Bolt, B. Eds. 2007. Practice as research. London: I.B. Taurus.

Batson, C.D. 1991. The altruism question: toward a social-psychological answer. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Bauman, Z. 2000. Liquid Modernity. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bauman, Z. 2004. Wasted lives: modernity and its outcasts. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bayart, J.F. 2007. Global subjects: a political critique of globalization. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Biemann, U. & Lundstorm, J.E. 2008. Mission reports: artistic practice in the field – Ursula Biemann Video Works 1998-2008. Bristol: Bildmuseet Umea/Arnolfini.

Bissell, D. 2007. Animated Suspension: Waiting for Mobilities. Mobilities. 2(2):277-298.

Bleiker, R. 2001. The Aesthetic Turn in International Political Theory. Millennium: Journal of International Studies. (30)3:509-533.

Bogues, A. 2010. Empire of liberty: power, desire and freedom. Dartmouth: Dartmouth College Press.

Borovnik, M. 2004. Are seafarers migrants? Situating seafarers in the framework of mobility and transnationalism. Geographer. 60(1):36-42.

Borovnik, M. 2011. Occupational health and safety of merchant seafarers from Kiribati and Tuvalu. Asia Pacific Viewpoint. 52:333-46.

Borovoi, Y. 1995. De Beers: Vacuuming up the diamonds in Russia. New Times. August. 48-51.

Boshoff, J.; Bunch, L.; Gardullo, P. & Lubkemann, S. 2016. From no return: the 221-year journey of the slave ship São José. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books.

Buetow, S. 2004. Patient experience of time duration: strategies for 'slowing time' and 'accelerating time' in general practices. Journal of Evaluation in Clinical Practice. 10(1):21-25.

Castles, S. & Miller, M. 2003. The age of migration. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Certeau, M. de. 1988. The practice of everyday life. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Chapman, H.C. 1997. Memory in perspective: women photographers' encounters with history. London: Scarlet Press.

Chigeza, S.; De Wet, A.; Roos, V. & Vorster, C. 2013. African Migrants' Experiences of Xenophobic Violence in South Africa. Journal of Psychology in Africa. 23(3):501-505.

Clarke, D.B. Ed. 1997. The cinematic city. London: Routledge.

Clifford, J. 1998. The predicament of culture. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Clifton beaches, n.d. Available: https://showme.co.za/cape-town/tourism/tourist-attractions/clifton-beaches/ [2019, January 31].

Cohen, J. 1996. Monster Theory. Minneapolis, MN: Minnesota University Press.

Cohen, R. 1999. Migration, diasporas, and transnationalism. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd.

Conselho Ultramarino, AHU_CU 64 (MZ) CX 70 Doc, dated 19 January 27, 1795. Arquivo Historico Ultramarino Lisbon.

Couper, A.D.; Walsh, C.; Stanberry, B. & Boerne, G.L. 1998. Voyages of abuse: seafarers, human rights and international shipping. London: Pluto Press.

Crang, M. 2010. The death of great ships: photography, politics, and waste in the global imaginary. Environment and Planning A. 42(5):1084-1102.

Crang, M. 2012. Timespaces in the Debris of Globalisation. In Spatialities: the geographies of art and architecture. J. Rugg & C. Martin. Bristol: Intellect. 25-34.

Cresswell, T. 2004. Place: a short introduction. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Cresswell, T. 2012. Ergin Çavuşoğlu and the art of betweenness. In Spatialities: the geographies of art and architecture. J. Rugg & C. Martin. Bristol: Intellect.

Crush, J. & Frayne, B. 2010. Surviving on the move: migration, poverty and development in Southern Africa. Oxford: African Books Collective.

Crush, J. & McDonald, D. 2002. Transnationalism and new African immigration to South Africa. Southern African project (SAMP) and the Canadian association of African studies (CAAS).

Danchev, A. 2014. Art and International Relations. E-International Relations, 20 May. Available: http://www.e-ir.info/2014/05/20/art-and-international-relations)/ [2019, January 31].

Da Silva, D.D. 2008. The Atlantic slave trade to Maranhão, 1680-1846: Volume, routes and organization. Slavery and Abolition. 29(4):477-501.

Dastur, F. 2000. Phenomenology of the event: waiting and surprise. Hypatia. 15(4):178-189.

De la Peña, N. n.d. The Virtual Reality Journalism Guide. Available: http://apps.frontline.org/vr-report/ [2019, January 31].

Deleuze, G. 1994. Difference and repetition. Translated by P. Patton. New York: Columbia University Press.

Derrida, J. 1994. Spectres of Marx: the state of the debt, the work of mourning and the new international. London: Routledge.

DeSilvey, C. & Edensor, T. 2012. Reckoning with ruins. Progress in Human Geography. 37(4):465-485.

DeSombre, E. 2006. Flagging standards: globalization and environmental, safety and labor regulations at sea. Cambridge: MIT Press.

De Waal, F.B.M. 2008. Putting the altruism back into altruism: The evolution of empathy. Annual

Review of Psychology. 59:279-300.

Diamond Fields suspends mining off Namibia. 2004. Independent Online, 27 January. Available: https://www.iol.co.za/business-report/companies/diamond-fields-suspends-mining-off-namibia-763419 [2019, January 31].

Diamond trawler sinks off Namibia. 2002. Independent Online, 12 April. Available: https://www.iol.co.za/news/africa/diamond-trawler-sinks-off-namibia-84841
[2019, January 31].

Diski, J. 2006. On trying to keep still. London: Little Brown.

Dodson, D. 2010. Locating Xenophobia: debate, discourse, and everyday experience in Cape Town, South Africa. Africa Today. 56(3). Special Issue: Africa's Spaces of Exclusion. 2-22.

Duany, J. 2002. Mobile Livelihoods: the socio cultural practices of circular migrants between Puerto Rico and the United States. International Migration Review. 36(2):355-388.

Edensor, T. 2005a. Waste Matter – The debris of industrial ruins and the disordering of the material world. Journal of Material Culture. 10(3):311-332.

Edensor, T. 2005b. The Ghosts of Industrial Ruins: Ordering and Disordering Memory in Excessive Space. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space. 23:829-849.

Elkins, J. 1998. On pictures and the words that fail them. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ewald, W. & Lightfoot, A. 2001. I wanna take me a picture: teaching photography and writing to children. Boston: Center for Documentary Studies in association with Beacon Press.

Foucault, M. 1986. Of Other Spaces. Diacritics. 16(1):24.

Fudget, J. 2012. Precarious Migrant Status and Precarious Employment: The Paradox of International Rights for Migrant Workers. Comparative Labour Law & Policy Journal. 34:95.

Fullagar, S. 2004. On Restlessness and Patience: Reading desire in Bruce Chatwin's narratives of travel. Tourist Studies. 4(1):5-20.

Fuller, G. 2007. The Queue Project: Informationalising Bodies and Bits. Semiotic Review of

Books. 16(3).

Geertz, C. 1986. Making Experience, Authoring Selves. In The anthropology of experience. V.W. Turner & E.M. Bruner. Eds. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Genova. D. N. 2010. The Deportation Regime: Sovereignty, Space, and the Freedom of Movement. Theoretical Overview. In The deportation regime: sovereignty, space and the freedom of movement. N. De Genova & N. Peutz. Eds. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Gilroy, P. 1993. The black Atlantic: modernity and double consciousness. London & New York: Verso.

Gold, S.J. 2007. Using Photography in Studies of Immigrant Communities. In Visual Research Methods. G.C. Stanczak. Ed. Los Angeles: Sage Publications. 141-165.

Gordon, F.A. 1997. Ghostly matters: haunting and the sociological imagination. London: University of Minnesota Press.

Gordon, F.A. 2011. Some Thoughts on Haunting and Futurity. Borderlands. 10:2.

Graham, S. & Marvin, S. 2001. Splintering Urbanism. London: Routledge.

Green, C. 2007. Broken Screen. Broadsheet (Adelaide). 36(1):52-55.

Gribble, J. & Athiro, G. 2008. Tales of shipwrecks at the Cape of Storms. Tokai: Historical Media.

Grimshaw, A. 2005. Eyeing the Field: New horizons for visual anthropology. In Visualizing anthropology. A. Grimshaw & A. Ravetz. Eds. Bristol, UK: Intellect Books.

Grimshaw, A. & Ravetz, A. Eds. 2005. Visualizing anthropology. Bristol, UK: Intellect Books.

Grimshaw, A. & Ravetz, A. 2005. Introduction: Visualizing Anthropology. In Visualizing anthropology. A. Grimshaw & A. Ravetz. Eds. Bristol, UK: Intellect Books. 1-16.

Gross, D. 2002. Objects from the past. In Waste-site stories: the recycling of memory. B. Neville & J. Villeneuve. Eds. Albany: State University of New York Press. 29-37.

Grossman, A. 2013. Filming in the light of memory. In Transcultural montage. C. Suhr & R. Willerslev. Eds. New York: Berghahn Books. 198-213.

Grosz, E. 1994. Volatile bodies: towards a corporeal feminism. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

Harries, P. 2014. Slavery, Indenture and Migrant Labour: Maritime Immigration from Mozambique to the Cape, c.1780-1880. African Studies. 73(3):323-340.

Harries, P. 2016. Mozambique Island, Cape Town and the Organization of the Slave Trade in the South-West Indian Ocean, c.1797–1807. Journal of Southern African Studies. 42(3):409-427.

Harrison, A. 2016. The secrets of South African Museums. EWN, 5 September. Available: http://ewn.co.za/Media/2016/09/05/The-secrets-of-South-Africa-museums [2019, January 31].

Harrison, P. 2008. Corporeal Remains: Vulnerability, proximity, and living on after the end of the world. Environment and Planning A. 40:423-445.

Hart, T. 2003. Email from Tim Hart to Andre van der Merwe on 3 June 2003. In: Merwe Avd Ed.

Harvey, D. 1985. The urbanization of capital. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hofmeyr, I. 2007. The Black Atlantic Meets the Indian Ocean: Forging New Paradigms of Transnationalism for the Global South – Literary and Cultural Perspectives. Social Dynamics: A Journal of African Studies. 33(2).

It's dangerous to think virtual reality is an empathy machine. 2018. Aeon, 26th October. Available: https://aeon.co/ideas/its-dangerous-to-think-virtual-reality-is-an-empathy-machine (2019, October 15)

Iziko Museums of South Africa. 2015a. Shipwreck discovery provides insight on transatlantic slave trade, 1 June. Available: http://www.iziko.org.za/news/entry/shipwreck-discovery-provides-insight-on-transatlantic-slave-trade [2019, January 31].

Iziko Museums of South Africa. 2015b. Slave wreck artefacts on display, 5 June. Available: http://iziko.org.za/news/entry/slave-wreck-artefacts-on-display [2019, January 31].

Jain, J. 2006. Bypassing and WAPing: Refiguring timetables for real time mobility. In Mobile technologies of the city. M. Sheller & J. Urry. London: Routledge.

Jeffrey, C. 2008. Guest Editorial: Waiting. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space. 26:954-958.

Jeffrey, C. 2010. Timepass: youth, class, and the politics of waiting in India. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Jensen, A. 2011. Mobility, Space and Power: On the Multiplicities of Seeing Mobility. Mobilities. 6(2):255-272.

Kahveci, E. 2005. Neither at sea nor ashore: the abandoned crew of the Obo Basak. Senior research at the Seafarers' International Research Centre (SIRC).

Kempton, R.D. & Du Preez, L.R. 1997. Namibian De Beers State Firm Relations: Cooperation and Conflict. Journal of Southern African Studies. 23(4):585-613.

Kester, G.H. 2004. Conversation pieces: community + communication in modern art. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lalu, P. 2012. Still searching for the human. Social Dynamics: A Journal of African Studies. 38(1):3-7.

Larsen, A.U. Ed. 2007. Mobilities, networks, geographies. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Legassick, M. & Rassool, C. 2000. Skeletons in the cupboard: South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917. Kimberley: McGregor Museum.

Levinson, M. 2006. The box: how the shipping container made the world smaller and the world economy bigger. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Lewis, H.; Dwyer, P.; Hodkinson, S. & Waite, L. 2015. Hyper-precarious lives: migrants, work and forced labour in the Global North. Progress in Human Geography. 39(5):580-600.

Lindquist, G.A. 2000. Placing Movers: An Overview of the Asian Pacific Migration System. The Contemporary Pacific. 12(2):385-414.

MacDougall, D. 1994. Whose story is it? In Visualizing theory: selected essays from visual anthropology review 1990–1994. L Taylor. Ed. London & New York: Routledge. 27–36.

MacDougall, D. 1998. Transcultural cinema. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

MacDougall, D. 2006. The corporeal image: film, ethnography, and the senses. Princeton:

Princeton University Press.

Machado, P. 2003. A Forgotten Corner of the Indian Ocean: Gujarati Merchants, Portuguese India and the Mozambique Slave-Trade, c.1730-1830. Slavery and Abolition. 24(2):17-32.

Maddern, J.F. & Adey, P. 2008. Editorial: Spectro-Geographies. Cultural Geographies. 15(3):291-295.

Mah, A. 2010. Memory, Uncertainty and Industrial Ruination: Walker Riverside, Newcastle upon Tyne. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research. 34(2):398-413.

Maharaj, S. 2009. Know-how and No-How: Stopgap Notes on "Method" in Visual Art as Knowledge Production. Art&Research: A Journal of Ideas, Contexts and Methods. 2(2):1-11.

Marine Traffic. n.d. Available: https://www.marinetraffic.com/en/ais/details/ships/shipid: 937173/mmsi:-7119707/imo:7119707/vessel: LADY_S [2019, January 31].
Marks, L. 2000. The skin of the film: intercultural cinema, embodiment, and the senses. Durham: Duke University Press.

Marschall, S. 2017. Transnational migrant home visits as identity practice: the case of African migrants in South Africa. Annals of Tourism Research. Elsevier. 63:140-150.

Martin, C. 2011. Turbulent stillness: the politics of uncertainty and the undocumented migrant. In Stillness in a mobile world. D. Bissell & G. Fuller. Eds. London: Routledge. 192-208.

Marx, Karl. [1844] 1978. Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844. Translated by Martin Millisan. In The Marx-Engels Reader. 2nd edition. R.C. Tucker. Ed. New York: Norton. 66-125.

Mbembe, A. 2001. On the postcolony. California: University of California Press.

Mbembe, A. 2004. Aesthetics of Superfluity. Public Culture. 16(3): 373-405.

Mbembe, A. 2012. At the centre of the knot. Social Dynamics: A Journal of African Studies. 38(1):8-14.

Mining to resume at Luderitz Concessions. 2002. Available: http://www.miningweekly.com/article/mining-to-resume-at-luderitz-concessions-2002-11-12 [2019, January 31].

Mjo, O. 2018. Timeline: rites, racism and rights clash on Clifton's pristine sands. TimesLIVE, 31

December. Available: https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-12-31-timeline-rites-racism-and-rights-clash-on-cliftons-pristine-sands/ [2019, January 31].

Mountz, A.; Coddington, R.K; Catania, T. & Loyd, M.J. 2012. Conceptualizing detention: mobility, containment, bordering, and exclusion. Progress in Human Geography. 37(4):522–541.

Murray, N.; Shepherd, N. & Hall, M. Eds. 2017. Desire lines: space, memory and identity in the post-apartheid city. London: Routledge. 299-308.

Naicker, C. 2016. The Languages of Xenophobia in Post-apartheid South Africa: Reviewing Migrancy, Foreignness, and Solidarity. Agenda. 30(2):46-60.

National Museum of African American History & Culture. 2016. Artifacts from slave shipwreck arrive at the National Museum of African American History and Culture, 13 July. Available: https://nmaahc.si.edu/about/news/artifacts-slave-shipwreck-arrive-national-museum%C2%A0-african-american-history-and-culture [2019, January 31].
Neilson, B. & Rossiter, N. 2010. Still waiting, still moving: on labor, logistics and maritime industries. In Stillness in a mobile world. D. Bissell & G. Fuller. Eds. London: Routledge.

Newall, P. 1993. Cape Town Harbour: 1652 to the present. Cape Town, South Africa: Portnet.

Nixon, R. 2011. Slow violence and the environmentalism of the poor. Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press.

Pajnik, M. 2016. 'Wasted precariat': Migrant work in European societies. Progress in Development Studies. 16(2):159-172.

Roland, B. 2001. The Aesthetic Turn in International Political Theory. Millennium: Journal of International Studies. 30(3):509–533.

Rouch, J. 2003. The Cinema of the Future? In Ciné-Ethnography. Edited and translated by S. Feld. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Rugg, J. & Martin, C. Eds. 2012. Spatialities: the geographies of art and architecture. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Salerno, A.R. 2003. Landscape of abandonment: capitalism, modernity, and estrangement. New York: State University of New York Press.

Sampson, H., 2013. International seafarers and transnationalism in the twenty first century. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Sampson, H. & Thomas, M. 2003. The Social Isolation of Seafarers: Causes, Effects, and
Rancier, J. 2004. The Politics of Aesthetics: The distribution of the sensible. New York:Continuum

Remedies. International Maritime Health. 54:58-67.

Schweizer, H. 2005. On Waiting. University of Toronto Quarterly. 74(3):777-792.

Sekula, A. 1995. Fish story. Rotterdam: Düsseldorf; Rotterdam: Witte de With; Center for Contemporary Art; Düsseldorf: Richter Verlag.

Sharma, N.R. 2006. Home cconomics: nationalism and the making of 'migrant workers' in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Shell, R.C.H. 1994. Children of bondage: a social history of the slave society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Shepherd, N. 2008. Heritage. In New South African keywords. N. Shepherd & S. Robins. Eds. Athens: Ohio University Press. 116-128.

Shepherd, N. 2013. Ruin Memory: A Hauntology of Cape Town. In Reclaiming archaeology: beyond the tropes of modernity. A.G. Ruibal. Ed. New York: Routledge. 233-243.

Shepherd, N. 2015a. Digging Deep: A Hauntology of Cape Town. In Archaeology for the people: Joukowsky Institute Perspectives. J. Cherry & F. Rojas. Eds. Oxford: Oxbow Books. 96-107.

Shepherd, N. 2015b. Archaeology Dreaming: Post-apartheid Urban Imaginaries and the Remains of the Prestwich Street Dead. In New Perspectives in Global Public Archaeology. K. Okamura & A. Matsuda. Eds. New York: Springer. 155-66.

Shepherd, N. & Murray, N. 2007. Introduction: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-apartheid City. In Desire lines: space, memory and identity in the post-apartheid city. N. Murray; N. Shepherd & M. Hall. Eds. New York: Routledge. 1-18.

Siegmann, K. & Schiphorst, F. 2016. Understanding the globalizing precariat: from informal sector to precarious work. Progress in Development Studies. 16(2):111-123.

Sitas, A. 2012. The human, humanism and the human condition. Social Dynamics. 38(1):40-47.

Skeldon, R. 1997. Migration and development: a global perspective. Essex: Longman.

Stafford, B. 1997. Good looking: essays on the virtue of images. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Stanford, J. 2003. Marine miner extends vessel agreement. Available: http://www.engineeringnews.co.za/print-version/marine-miner-extends-vessel-agreement-2003-05-06 [2019, January 31].

Steinberg, J. 2008. End of the rainbow. Guardian Weekly, 24 October. 25-27.

Stupart, R. 2016. Is South Africa home to more than a million asylum-seekers? The numbers don't add up. Mail & Guardian Online, 15 August. Available: http://mg.co.za/article/2016-08-15-is-south-africa-home-to-more-than-a-million-asylum-seekers-the-numbers-dont-add-up. [2019, January 31].

Suchar, C.S. 1997. Grounding Visual Sociology Research in Shooting Scripts. Qualitative Sociology. 20(1):33-55.

Sullivan, G. 2005. Art practice as research: inquiry in the visual arts. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Tabachnick, D. 2011. Wielding the camera pen: teaching sociology through filmmaking. Humanities and Society. 35:128-128.

Taussig, M. 1993. Mimesis and alterity: a particular history of the senses. New York: Routledge.

Taylor, S.P. 1923. The sailor's Union of the Pacific. New York: Ronald Press.

Thompson, H. 1999. Globalization in question. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Thrift, N. 1996. Spatial formations. London: Sage.

Thrift, N. 1997. The Still Moment: Resistance, Expressive Embodiment and Dance. In Geographies and Resistance. M. Keith & S. Pile. Eds. London: Routledge. 142.

Trotter, H. 2008. Sugar girls & seamen: a journey into the world of dockside prostitution in South Africa. Johannesburg: Jacana Press.

Uehling, G.L. 2004. Beyond memory: the Crimean Tatars' deportation and return. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ugolik, K. 2017. Can virtual reality change minds on social issues? Available: https://narratively.com/can-virtual-reality-change-minds-social-issues [2019, January 31].

United Nation Convention on the Law of the Sea. n.d. Available: http://www.un.org/Depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/unclos_e.pdf [2019, January 31].

Urry, S. 2006. The new mobilities paradign. Environment and Planning A. 38: 207-266.

Van Houtum, H.; Kramsch, O. & Zierhofer, W. Eds. 2005. B/ordering space. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Vertovec, S. 1999. Conceiving and researching transnationalism. Ethnic and Racial Studies. 22(2):447-462.

VesselFinder. n.d. Available: https://www.vesselfinder.com/vessels/LADY-S-IMO-7119707-MMSI-0 [2019, January 31].

Viljoen, S. & Samuelson, M. 2007. Oceanic Worlds/Bordered Worlds. Social Dynamics. 33:1-2.

Virilio, P. 2006. Speed and politics. New York: Semiotext(e).

Waite, L. 2009. A Place and Space for Critical Geography of Precarity? Geography Compass. 3(1):412-433.

Walker, M. 2007. Forgotten shipwrecks of the Western Cape. Cape Town: Self-published.

Werbner, R. 2011. Holy hustlers, schism, and prophecy: apostolic reformation in Botswana. London: University of California Press.

Williams, J. 2017. Dwelling Discreetly: Undocumented Migrants in Cape Town. Available: https://read.dukeupress.edu/cssaame/article-pdf/37/3/420/519705/0370420.pdf [2019, January 31].

Witzgall, S. 2013. Mobility and the Image-based Research of Art. In New mobilities regimes in art and social sciences. G.V.S. Witzgall; G. Vogl & S. Kesselring. Surrey: Ashgate.

Worden, N. 1985. Slavery in Dutch South Africa. London: Cambridge University Press.

Worden, N. 2009. The changing politics of slave heritage in the Western Cape, South Africa. Journal of African History. 50:23-40.

Worden N. 2012. Cape Town between East and West: social identities in a Dutch colonial town. Auckland Park: Jacana Media; Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren.

Worden, N.; Van Heyningen, E. & Bickford-Smith, V. 1998. Cape Town: the making of a city: an illustrated social history. Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren.

Wreckage of a slaving ship that went down in 1794 with 212 slaves aboard has been recovered. 2015. National Post. Available: https://nationalpost.com/news/world/wreckage-of-a-slaving-ship-that-went-down-in-1794-with-212-slaves-aboard-has-been-recovered [2019, January 31].

Yee, N.; Bailenson, J. N. & Duchenaut, N. 2009. The Proteus effect: Implications of transformed digital self-representation on online and offline behavior. Communication Research. 36:285-312.

Young, C. 1975. Observational Cinema. In Principles of visual anthropology. P. Hockings. Ed. The Hague: Mouton de Gruyter. 69-79.

Young, J. 2001. Art and Knowledge. London: Routledge.

Appendix

Our story in this ocean

Video still, video installation, Hangar, Lisbon 2015.
Photocredit: Meghna Singh

Lisbon formed a very important location for the PhD. I spent time there conducting archival research, completing a video project, which was displayed at a public exhibit at the Hangar institute. I was fortunate to be selected for a residency at the Hangar art institute. I spent two weeks as a part of the international Triangle Trust residency in October 2015 at the Hangar art residency and returned for another month in September 2016 on an Oriental foundation grant for further filming and archival research in relevant locations. Some of the important sites for the film project included: the Jardim Botanico Tropical, The Military Museum, Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, the Jeronimos Monastry, celebrated monuments like the Padrao dos Descobrimentos commemorating Portugal's maritime voyages and discoveries, the port of Lisbon and many more sites of historical importance of Portuguese maritime trade. The project is a video triptych, which reflects on the Portuguese nostalgia for its maritime excellence and pioneering. The film is journey through some of the important haunting landmarks in the city of Lisbon that tell the story of the Portuguese involvement in slavery. The work was a starting point to reflect on the journey of the Sao Jose that departed Lisbon for Brazil via Mozambique.

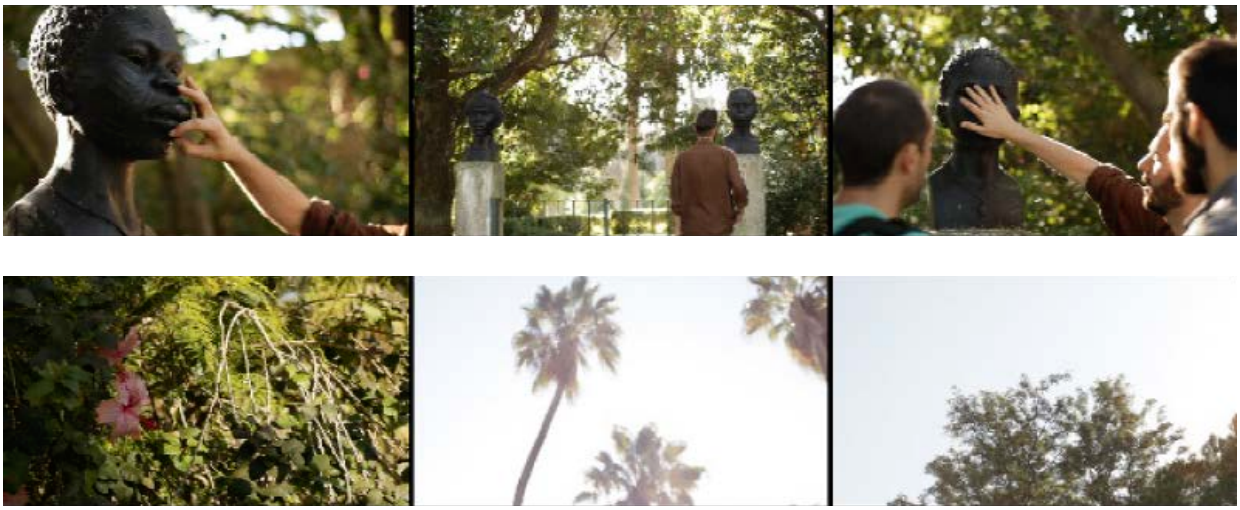


Photo stills, Video installation, Jardim Botanico tropical, Lisbon 2015.
Photocredit: Meghna Singh

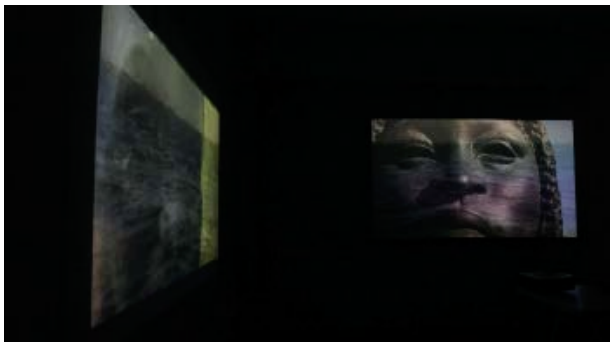



Photo stills, Video installation, Lisbon 2015.
Photocredit: Meghna Singh

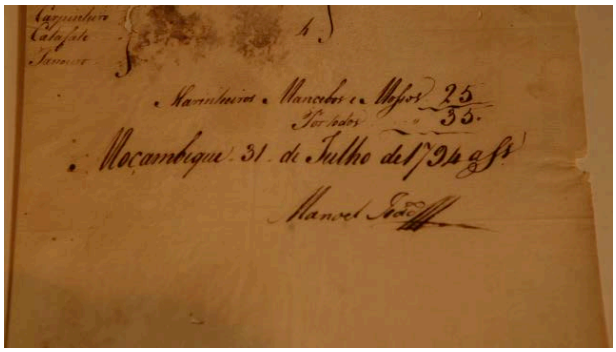
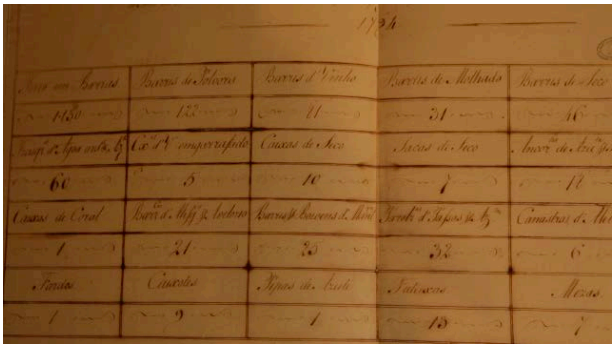





Photo still, Archival records of San Jose Paquette de Africa, Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon 2015.
Photocredit: Meghna Singh

Photo still, old Portuguese maritime maps, Video installation, Lisbon2015.
Photocredit: Meghna Singh

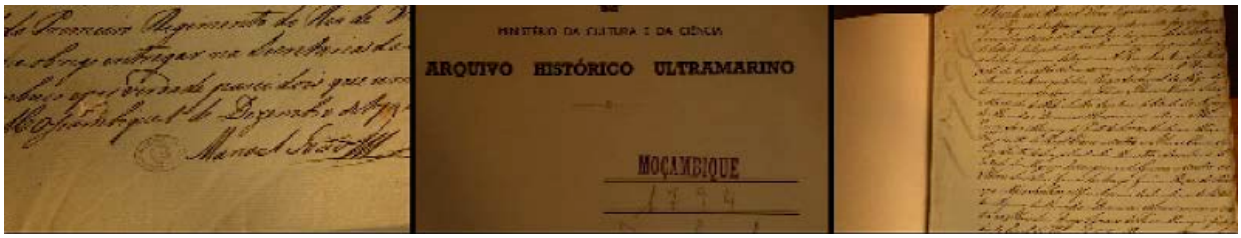


Photo still, Archival records of San Jose Paquette de Africa, Arquivo Historico Ultramarino Lisbon 2015.Photocredit: Meghna Singh

Photo still, Statue of Adamastor, representating the forces of nature the Portuguese navigators had to overcome at the Cape, Lisbon, 2015.Photocredit: Meghna Singh

Photo still, Painting detail, old passenger arrival terminal, Port of Lisbon, 2015.
Photo credit: Meghna Singh

Photo still, contemporary port of Lisbon and the view over the city, Lisbon, 2015.
Photocredit: Meghna Singh

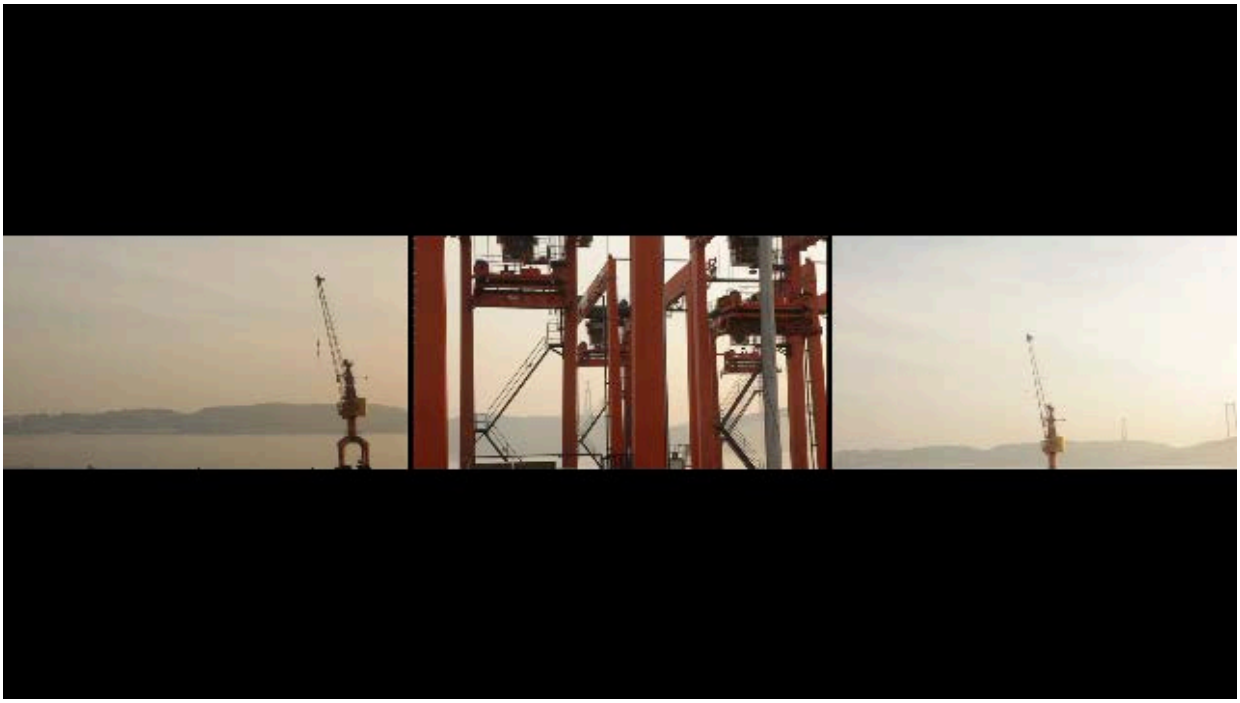


Photo still, contemporary port of Lisbon 2015.
Photocredit: Meghna Singh

Ilha de Mozambique, Mozambique

My field trip to Ilha de Mozambique forms tan important part of my research on understanding the journey of the Sao Jose that picked up the enslaved people from the island. The site of the departure of the ship, the island, is entrenched in a physical and visceral memory of slavery and migration. During my two-week field trip, I worked closely with scholars and experts on slavery and migration at the island. Some of the experts include Luis Filipe Pereira, Yolanda Pinto and Dr Ricardo Teixeira Duarte from Eduardo Mondlane University Maputo and also a part of the Slaves Wreck Project. Working with these experts, I identified the different sites where slaves where kept before being shipped off across the Atlantic. Many of these places known as factories are located next to the sea and still bear the traces of slavery. Along with spaces in the main island, I also located spaces in mainland Mussoril and made a trip six hours away from Ilha to an island called Sommna. According to Ricardo Duarte, this would have been one of the first few places linked to migration across the Indian Ocean. An island that can be visited only during low tide, the structure bears traces of Swahili architecture and a central space used by the locals to conduct ceremonies. Sommna, I was told means 'built by the spirits'. I plan to return to make a film at the island. These are images from the field trip in March 2016.

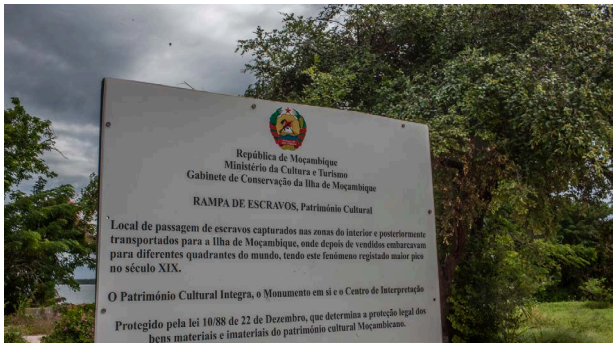
Camarao facturia, warehouse by the seaside and possible place where slaves were kept before shipment
Ilha de Mozambique 2016.
Photocredit: Meghna Singh




Camarao facturia, warehouse by the seaside and possible place where slaves were kept before shipment Ilha de Mozambique 2016.
Photocredit: Meghna Singh




Church Nossa Senhora dos Remedios: church where slaves were baptised before being set free village of Cabaceria 2016.
Photo credit: Meghna Singh


"Ramps de Escravos" Ramp used to ship slaves and the place where they were sold before walking the ramp Mossuril 2016.
Photocredit: Meghna Singh



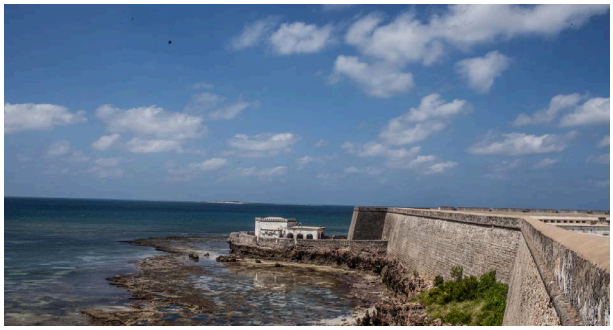

Facturia: the place where slaves were kept before being sold, close to the ramp site Mossuril 2016.
Photocredit: Meghna Singh




Fort San Sebastiao, exterior view with doors leading out to sea
Ilha de Mozambique 2016.
Photocredit: Meghna Singh




Fort San Sebastiao, interior view with doors leading out to sea
Ilha de Mozambique 2016.
Photocredit: Meghna Singh

Fort San Sebastiao, interior view with doors leading out to sea
Ilha de Mozambique 2016.
Photocredit: Meghna Singh



Fort San Sebastiao, interior view with doors leading out to sea
Ilha de Mozambique 2016.
Photocredit: Meghna Singh

Old Mosque with internal tunnels by the sea to transport slaves to the ships
Ilha de Mozambique, 2016.
Photocredit: Meghna Singh

Room with very low ceilings where slaves were kept, Old Mosque
Ilha de Mozambique 2016.
Photocredit: Meghna Singh

Submitted Works

The works submitted for accessment along with the written thesis are as follows:

1. Arrested Motion, a 20-minute video triptych

2. Documentation of the Arrested Motion installation in three different exhibits.First, at The ReMaking Place Symposium, Hidding Campus, University of Cape Town, 8th to the 12th of March 2015, Second at the Speilart festival Munich, 27 October-11th November 2017 and third at the Kerkennah#1 in Tunisia, 21st-27th June 2018.

3. The Rusting Diamond, a 20-minute video

4. Documentation of the Rusting Diamond installation at the Live Art Festival hosted by the Institute of Creative Arts at the University of Cape Town's Hiddingh Campus on the 2nd september 2018.

5. A short promotional video for the virtual reality project, Container, filmed with a 360 camera.

6. Our Story in this Ocean, a video triptych, created during a residency at the Hangar Institute, Lisbon, Portugal and exhibited on the 3rd october 2016.