Bonded: Legacies of Captivity and Fugitivity from Enslavement to Incarceration in the Cape

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Plagiarism Declaration

I, Javier Ernesto Perez, declare that this thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Cape Town is my original work and that any other sources referenced have been cited and duly acknowledged. I further declare that this dissertation has not been submitted for a degree at any other university.

Signature: ________________________________

Abstract

The contemporary hyper-incarceration of ‘Coloured’ South Africans is re-situated within the broader historical dialectics of racialisation and creolisation, traversing from colonial slavery to the modern prison regime. This study uses theorisations of marronage, fugitivity, and hauntology to posit novel understandings of the links between runaway slaves (‘droster[1] gangs’) and the contemporary ‘Coloured’ criminal figure. This dissertation approaches the latter as engaged in traditions of opacity-making, initiated by the former as a production of complex structures of density and unknowability against the epistemic violence of the colonial gaze that seeks to ‘discover’, categorise and control. As such, this study proposes to understand collectives of fugitives beyond the lexicons of criminality, on the one extreme, and resistance, on the other. Applying emerging qualitative and arts-based methods, it further offers an innovative methodological framework to strategically listen for the poetics and sonicity of fugitive narratives, highlighting the incondensable movements therein of dense temporalities, opacities, and personal and collective narration. Specifically, through a poetry- and performance-based workshop series, this study collaborates with formerly-incarcerated men to engage with the Cape’s history of slavery and marronage, exploring the meanings and relevance of this history through creative writings, group discussions, and performance.

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[1] An 18th century term referring to runaway slaves and escapee Khoe (indigenous) enserfed servants.

Dedication

To Jan-Louise Lewin-Perez, I have been privileged to witness your talented and thoughtful approach to scholarship. You honour your work with care, strength and courage. It is with deep humility that I dedicate this thesis to you.

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| Chapter I |

bonded: an introduction

"We inherit not "what really happened" to the dead but what lives on from that happening, what is configured from it, how past generations and events occupy the force fields of the present, how they claim us, and how they haunt, plague, and inspirit our imaginations and visions for the future."[2]

This thesis builds upon a research project that revolved around a poetry and performance workshops series at the Iziko Slave Lodge Museum with a group of previously-incarcerated men. Through the project, the group engaged with the legacy of slavery at the Cape, including key sites of enslavement, the experiences of the enslaved, and narratives of runaway slaves known as maroons or, specifically in this context, *drosters*. As such, this dissertation explores the afterlife of slavery through the perspectives, lived experiences and poetic engagements offered by the group through their discussions and the creative writings produced during the workshop series. More broadly, this project attempts to re-situate contemporary trends in the racially-disproportionate incarceration rates of 'Coloured' South Africans within a historical context that critically unpacks the peculiar role of Cape slavery. It begins by asking what are the social and systemic continuities between both institutions of bondage? Does the legacy of slavery have an enduring hold on the lives of contemporary carceral figures? If so, how do the (previously-)incarcerated experience, navigate and process the hold's endurance?

Saidiya Hartman has theorised this notion of contemporary life as overdetermined by the "racial calculus" set forth by slavery through her terming of the "afterlife of slavery."[3] She identifies, specifically, "premature death, incarceration, and impoverishment" as some of the perilous effects of this afterlife.[4] This study examines this within the context of the afterlife of Cape slavery. Furthermore, building on Hartman, Christina Sharpe offers a critical observation of Black being as living ‘in the hold’ (of enslavement, of incarceration, of police, etc.) and ‘in the wake’ (of slavery, of racism’s production “of group-differentiated vulnerability to premature death,” etc.).[5] For Sharpe, she postulates “to be in the wake is to occupy and be occupied by the continuous and changing present of slavery’s as yet unresolved unfolding.”[6] Building off these two pioneering thinkers, this thesis examines the notion of an afterlife of slavery in Cape Town by working with those who are, in both Hartman’s and Sharpe’s thinking, profoundly in the contemporary *hold* of incarceration. And yet, to be in the wake does not mean simply inhabiting slavery’s afterlife passively, but rather it leads to the practice of what she calls wake work, as “a mode of inhabiting and rupturing th[e predominating] episteme” that fails to characterise current life as slavery’s afterlife.[7] In other words, this project attempts to move beyond being a study of the exclusionary mechanisms slavery and its afterlife have produced and reproduced over time, toward grappling with the endurance of resistance.

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[2] Brown, *Politics Out of History*, 150.
[3] Hartman, *Lose Your Mother: A Journey Along the Atlantic Slave Route*, 6.
[4] Hartman, 6.

While the ‘Coloured’ population makes up only 9% of the total national population, they represent 18% of the total prison population.[8] ‘Coloured’ men, moreover, are currently imprisoned at twelve times the rate of white men and double the rate of Black (i.e. non-‘Coloured’) men.[9] The areas of Cape Town collectively known as the Cape Flats[10] experience high rates of incarceration, crime and gangsterism. In terms of incarceration, Jensen notes that in one of the Courts in Heideveld, five households out of forty-eight had at least one person incarcerated.[11] In terms of gangsterism, the South African Police Services (SAPS) has estimated gang membership in the Western Cape ranging from 80,000 to 100,000.[12] The latter reality, in particular, is rarely informed by historical contextualization beyond the twentieth century. Many cite Pinnock's seminal work tracing the proliferation of urban gangs to the pre-Apartheid District Six community and the subsequent role of the Group Areas Act forced removals but do not delve deeper to unearth continuities rooted in the colonial era.[13] A notable exception is Baderoon's recent examination of the invisible 'processes of disposability' that rendered enslaved and indigenous populations naturally disposable through the colony's discursive use of 'dirt' and expendability; she underscores the continued legacy of these processes by arguing that contemporary disproportionate incarceration rates are similarly rendered natural and necessary insofar as criminal bodies are emptied of meaning and marked as 'waste.'[14]

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[5] Sharpe, *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being*; Gilmore, *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California*, 247.

[6] Sharpe, *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being*, 13–14.

[7] Sharpe, 18.

[8] Jules-Macquet, “The State of South African Prisons.”

[9] Leggett, “Still Marginal: Crime in the Coloured Community.”

[10] Technically, the Cape Flats encompasses both ‘Coloured’ and Black Apartheid-designated areas, but for the purpose of this paper, popular nomenclatures are used, whereby the Cape Flats refers to specifically ‘Coloured’ working-class areas and the townships refer to specifically Black working-class areas. For the purpose of this study, furthermore, the Cape Flats connotes those particular areas that can be defined as Wacquantian ‘ghettos’, which move beyond perceived geographic ethnic/racial clusterings toward a functional and historically-contingent production by the state to spatially confine dispossessed groups. In this sense, the ghetto is an extension of the prison, and vice-versa. Wacquant, *Punishing the Poor: The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity*; Wacquant, “The New `Peculiar Institution’: The Prison as Surrogate Ghetto.”

Before going any further, it is important to clarify and unpack the usage of the term 'Coloured.' Generally framed as referring to South Africans of 'mixed race' descent, this research elects a view that neither reduces 'Coloured' identity to the narratives of miscegenation (i.e. the result of Black and White procreation) or to those of White-imposed conditions (i.e. simply a construction of Apartheid).[15] Instead, the research forefronts the ways in which 'Coloured' South Africans have over time defined their own meanings for such racial identities and continue to do so beyond the racial taxonomy at play. Defining 'Coloured' identities as mere by-products of slavery, colonialism and/or Apartheid alone is to "be complicit in the denial of Black will" and to perpetuate the shaming of slave roots and the internalisation of inferiority in the form of African ancestry.[16] Nevertheless, it follows Lewin by retaining the use of apostrophes throughout in order to sustain a contextualisation and problematisation that recognises the term as "bound in sociohistorical, political and defamatory practice."[17] Specifically, this research invokes Erasmus' theoretical formulation of 'Coloured' identity through processes of creolisation (or through creolisation *as* process, to be precise).[18]

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[11] Jensen, *Gangs, Politics and Dignity in Cape Town*, 82.

[12] Kinnes, "From Urban Street Gangs to Criminal Empires: The Changing Face of Gangs in the Western Cape."

[13] Pinnock, *The Brotherhoods: Streets Gangs and State Control in Cape Town*.

[14] Baderoon, "Surplus, Excess, Dirt: Slavery and the Production of Disposability in South Africa."

[15] Adhikari, "From Narratives of Miscegenation to Post-Modernist Re-Imagining: Toward a Historiography of Coloured Identity in South Africa"; Adhikari, "The Sons of Ham: Slavery and the Making of Coloured Identity."

For Erasmus, race is an offering of "the fiction of wholeness-of-being:" invoking Seshadri-Crooks, she highlights its sensory functioning through 'the look' "as measure of the order of racial difference which adjudicates claims to *being human* [and] supports and defends the fantasy of a whole, self-contained subject."[19] Race, today, remains rooted in a particular secularised Darwinian (re)conception of 'the human', wherein the racial constructs of non-Europeans served "as the inversion of the [feudal] divinely instituted realm of the supernatural" that had previously separated humans from other species by divine creation.[20] As precursor to the racial order, a feudal-Christian order conceptualised Otherness as Adamic enslavement to Original Sin, embodied by the prebaptismal layman, in binary opposition to (the fully-realised) Man as redeemed Christian, embodied by the celibate clergy. This clergy/laity binary importantly foreshadows the meanings which 'race' would come to hold. The feudal-Christian order was followed by a scientised concept of 'the human' as evolutionary 'fact' predicated on the non-European colonial subject as the antithetical mode of ontological lack, the primitive evolutionary pre-human.[21] The racially constructed binary between the European as human and the non-European as non-human was built upon this feudal-Christian binary between clergy as optimised human and laity as not yet fully human; Blackness, then, replaced the Original Sin, taking its functional place as genetically inheritable determiner of 'human-ness' within a new model of being.

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[16] It is important to recognise that, while this research does not aim to reinforce or rely on paradigms of shame and blame, shame has been and continues to be an important part of the process of identity formation; see: Gqola, *What Is Slavery to Me? Postcolonial/Slave Memory in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, 36.

[17] Lewin and Perez, "Pilgrims of Belonging: Family, Gang, and Religious Script(Ure)s to Live By," 98.

[18] Erasmus, *Race Otherwise: Forging a New Humanism for South Africa*; Erasmus, "Re-Imagining Coloured Identities in Post-Apartheid South Africa."

[19] Erasmus, *Race Otherwise: Forging a New Humanism for South Africa*, 58.

[20] Wynter, "Beyond the Word of Man: Glissant and the New Discourse of the Antilles," 642.

[21] Wynter, 640.

Whereas racialisation obsesses over reproducing racial categories and their meanings, creolisation highlights the ways in which racialised subjects oppose such racial finitudes and taxonomies.[22] Creolisation focuses on resistance to the "politics of cultivating purity" by recuperating pluralisms and negotiating ambiguities.[23] This study highlights how 'Colouredness'[24] reinvents ambiguities at particular encounters of rupture. These moments or traces of rupture are key given that race alienated the colonised subject to "ha[ve] to split itself so as not to coincide with itself" and, as such, alternative modes of authentication are required by re-siting these ruptures.[25] Rather than demarcating this creolisation in relation to loss (e.g. loss of identity for slave descendants), Erasmus defines creolisation in terms of "*productive* resistance": a non-finite and non-linear "process" in continued unresolved conversation between colonial and African elements.[26] I interpret Erasmus' thinking on creolisation as a departure from the Afro-pessimist tradition that sees Blackness as relational devaluation against Whiteness, focusing rather on what Moten would frame as the ongoing legacies of fugitivity, which is to say the excesses of this devaluation through constant refusal.[27] Moten invokes fugitivity as a phenomenal mobility and psychological escape that ontologizes Blackness.[28] Marronage, as flight and bodily resistance through total refusal, was regarded by

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[22] It is important to distinguish creolisation as method and the category 'creole', so as to not conflate the distinct concepts. Creole as an ethnic category, and its correlate 'creoleness' (the *essence* of the former), are embedded in racialised taxonomies that oversimply creolisation as a ('finite') means to an end: 'creole ethnicity' as creolisation's teleological goal. In other words, 'Coloured' is treated here not as synonymous with 'creole' (i.e. a product of "ideological deployments of creolisation" through "ethnic lens"). Instead, we divert from such ethno-technologies that imply alleged *essences*. See Erasmus' comments in: Knorr, "Contemporary Creoleness; or, the World in Pidginization?"

[23] Murdoch, ""(Dis)Placing Marginality: Cultural Identity and Creole Resistance in Glissant and Maximin," 86.

[24] A brief summary of the use of this term is provided in the Chapter I, including an elaboration of how it relates to the theorisations of Blackness that are especially prevalent in this chapter.

[25] Wynter, "Beyond the Word of Man: Glissant and the New Discourse of the Antilles," 643.

[26] Erasmus, "Creolization, Colonial Citizenship(s) and Degeneracy: A Critique of Selected Histories of Sierra Leone and South Africa."

[27] Moten, *In the Break: The Aesthetics of the Black Radical Tradition*.

[28] Moten, "The Case of Blackness."

Glissant to be the only "indisputable example of systematic opposition."[29] Whereas political violence (e.g. systemic criminalisation) inscribe racialised assemblages onto the flesh, it simultaneously "produce[s] a surplus, a line of flight…that evades capture."[30] From this surplus and through processes of creolisation, maroons emerge in exploration of alternative modalities of being, as "restless pursuit of personal space within the broader confines of slave society," and in rejection of the Eurocentric human-nonhuman episteme.[31]

Moreover, this study places Erasmus' formulation of 'Coloured' identity as ever-evolving process of creolisation in conversation with particular theorisations of Blackness. Far from conflating 'Coloured' identity with other Black identities while nevertheless acknowledging that 'Coloured' identity is also a Black identity, I am specifically placing 'Colouredness' in engagement with conceptualisations of Blackness offered by the likes of Moten, Hartman, Wynter, Sharpe and others.[32] Moten's is a key example as he moves beyond Afro-pessimist frameworks that approach Blackness as relationally Other to non-blackness, proposing rather Blackness as *blurring* Western binary thinking itself.[33] It is in this regard that this dissertation engages with these theorists without conflating 'Coloured' identity with other Black (American, South African, etc.) identities. Erasmus' framing of race as process (via creolisation) further resonates with Moten when he writes: "blackness is understood as an irreducible mestizaje (the mix as its condition, not its negation) whose inhabitation is a nomadic bridge; and as the internal differentiation and external transversality of what Robinson calls 'the ontological totality.'"[34]

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[29] Glissant, *Caribbean Discourse: Selected Essays*, 104.

[30] Weheliye, *Habeas Viscus: Racializing Assemblages, Biopolitics, and Black Feminist Theories of the Human*, 51.

[31] Barker, *Slavery and Antislavery in Mauritius, 1810-33: The Conflict between Economic Expansion and Humanitarian Reform under British Rule*, 125.

[32] Moten, *Black and Blur*; Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*; Wynter, "Beyond the Word of Man: Glissant and the New Discourse of the Antilles"; Sharpe, *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being*.

[33] Moten, *Black and Blur*.

[34] Moten, 110.

Moten writes that Blackness is "the extended movement of a specific upheaval, an ongoing irruption that anarranges every line – is a strain that pressures the assumption of the equivalence of personhood and subjectivity."[35] Building on this particular quote, Sharpe elaborates that Blackness is "anagrammatical," in that it places pressure on meaning and is that "against which meaning is made."[36] Indeed, as will be elaborated in Chapter II, 'Colouredness' has, both, historically been rearranged to reformulate meanings (of, say, criminality, respectability, race itself, etc.) and rearranges itself in the ever-going production of identity and meaning in excess of racial taxonomy. Here, Erasmus, Moten and Sharpe together offer an approach to Blackness that help us to situate 'Colouredness' as both the historical racialisation and oppression of a people within rigid hierarchies as well as the fluid refusal of these very same processes of finite categorisation. We might also understand the relevance and resonances between 'Colouredness' and Blackness as theorised by American and Caribbean scholars when we consider common historical and contemporary experiences of captivity, enslavement, hyper-incarceration, and racialised enclosure, i.e. the very subject matter of this thesis.

Indeed, the disproportionality of their rates of incarceration renders 'Coloured' South Africans a hyper-incarcerated race group within a modern prison regime. Two terms used here merit further clarification. 'Hyper-incarceration' differs from 'mass incarceration,' the former distinguished by an emphasis not on penal confinement's relation to 'the masses', but rather on its "triple selectivity" that finely targets, "first by class, second by…race, and third by place."[37] 'Mass incarceration' has gained widespread attention in the social sciences based on critical discussions of the disproportionate rates of imprisonment experienced by African-Americans in particular, but also by other racialised groups world-over.[38] The preference for

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[35] Moten, *In the Break: The Aesthetics of the Black Radical Tradition*, 1.
[36] Sharpe, *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being*, 76.
[37] Wacquant, "Class, Race & Hyperincarceration in Revanchist America."
[38] Clarke, "It's Time to Talk Prison Abolition in South Africa"; Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*; Simon, "Fear and Loathing in Late Modernity: Reflections on the Cultural Sources of Mass Imprisonment in the United States."

‘hyper-incarceration’ stems from an understanding that class, race and location are central to the broader carceral system that extends beyond the prison or ‘correctional institution’ itself but includes all institutions that, as Simon puts it, govern through crime.[39] Here, it further important to term this carceral system a ‘prison regime.’[40] Following Rodriguez, the concept of the ‘prison regime’ differs from correctional system in that it privileges a historically anti-Black state violence whereby usage of state-ordained human captivity is resituated beyond the physical site of imprisonment and within broader sociohistoric contexts. These distinctions are informed by the broad philosophical project of decolonisation that seeks to highlight the problematic role of prisons in the anti-Black oppressions of people of colour.

This thesis further argues that, in attempting to unpack the complexities of slavery’s relation to the modern prison regime, is important to use arts-based methods that centre the body. This approach is precisely appropriate given Diana Taylor’s formulation of memory as the body’s repertoire, in which the body transmits embodied knowledge through “choreographies of meaning” and performative actions that animate historical influences in light of social scenarios that “conjure up past situations.”[41] This process necessitates acts of counter-memory, which Lipsitz describes as encompassing both myth and history yet simultaneously retaining a sustained suspicion of both.[42] This suspicion is necessary because the archives from which we attempt to uncover colonial histories are steeped in the language, itineraries, power structures, and functional narratives of colonialism. We must work with “the scraps of the archive.”[43] This is especially true in the Cape where, unlike in the U.S., there is a lack of archives that capture slave narratives in their own account (e.g. diaries, interview, biographies, etc.). And yet, unlike the U.S. again, there does exist a Slave Museum dedicated to this chapter of history in a building that had actually previously held the enslaved and, therefore, with/through which we can do site-specific wake-work. (It is worth further pointing out the irony of the current site of the Western Cape Archives within the former Roeland Street Gaol, the limited records of the enslaved are literally housed within a former carceral building.)

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[39] Simon, *Governing Through Crime: How the War on Crime Transformed American Democracy and Created a Culture of Fear*.
[40] Rodriguez, “The Disorientation of the Teaching Act: Abolition as Pedagogical Position”; Davis, *Are Prisons Obsolete?*
[41] Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoir: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*, 20–32.
[42] Lipsitz, *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture*.
[43] Hartman, “Venus in Two Acts,” 4.

The emphasis, thus, lies in new meanings embodied repertoires might behold through historically-situated and site-specific reimaginings and counter-memories. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, this this centres a poetry- and performance-based workshop series with a group of formerly incarcerated 'Coloured' men in engagement with the Cape's histories of slavery to produce nuanced narratives that explore the meanings and relevance of said histories vis-à-vis current lived realities. Through the workshop series, the group generated a range of data that is then analysed through a methodological framework that builds upon emerging methodologies, at times propelling these methods in new directions. Specifically, it follows models of narrative structural analysis, grounded theory, and poetic inquiry, while reformulating them to better adhere to the ethical requirements of working with this particular research topic. This reformulating is also a rejection of formulation, an ode to infinite rupture, and the de-privileging of the violent demand "to produce legible work in the academy" to instead "become undisciplined."[44]

This dissertation is structured as follows. Chapter I revisits the Cape's history, examining three broad historical epochs: the colonial era of slavery (1653-1834); the era of industrialisation that includes post-slavery industrialisation and Apartheid (1835-1993); and, finally, the modern prison regime that spans from 1994 until the present. Here, I engage critically with a vast array of historians and scholars to begin tracing the historical continuities that have continuously placed 'Colouredness' in intimate proximity to the violence of confinement, captivity and enclosure. Chapter II delves into the methodology of this study, by first providing a theoretically-informed framework and, second, outlining the workshop series through which data was generated. It further discusses the ethics of doing arts-based research with carceral communities and offers a reflexivity section. Then, I outline the ways in which narrative structural analysis, poetic inquiry and grounded theory are both applied and reformulated to meet the needs of the research topic, ethics and questions. Chapter III provides an analysis of the data generated. Without going into too much detail now, the data analysed includes: transcripts from workshop recordings that rendered through researcher-led poems; participant-generated poems that were produced through and during the workshops series; and found poems based on other writing exercises done during the workshop series. Chapter IV offers a discussion of the findings presented in Chapter III, drawing specific findings and placing further theorists in conversation with the study's participants. Chapter V presents concluding remarks, discussing implications, and offering specific recommendations for future research.

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[44] Sharpe, *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being*, 13.

| Chapter II |

echoes of (new) chains, (new) mountains: a history of racialised bondage

This chapter approaches history through an epochal framework outlined below based on Sitas et al.'s concept of anomalic phases.[45] Referring to points in history when public perceptions of increased deviance coincide with two other cyclical processes: Wallerstein's economic B-phase – which alludes to the cycle of contractions of the capitalist world economic system, concurrently exhaling "its poisons" (i.e. elimination of inefficient producers and lines of production) – and a cycle of increasing subaltern resistance.[46] Historical moments of dissonance give rise to alterity – a group consciousness from below that there is an "us" and a "them" – followed by institutional transformation from the world political economy due to economic crises and subaltern resistance. Anomalic phases are instances where, on the one hand, economic and power structures reorganise and reconfigure themselves and, on the other hand, resistance takes peculiar and pronounced forms.

This study pinpoints three anomalic phases in the Cape's history and forms of banditry that correspond to them. Thus, the first is *slavery* (1653-1834), its incipient matrix of racialised violence and discourses, and the advent of the archetypal *droster*. While it important to recognise that the Cape's rich and foundational social history predates 1652 – e.g. established trading between the Khoe[47] and European seafarers, the 1510 defeat of famed Portuguese viceroy Almeida by the Goringhaiqua that "sent shockwaves across the European nations,"[48] etc. – this dissertation focuses on the legacies that followed Cape colonial settlement and its institutionalisation of slavery. The second anomalic phase is *proletarianisation* (1835-1994), its crystallisation of racial categories within overlapping processes of urbanisation, migration and industrialisation, and the progressive rise of the *skollie*, the prototypical urban street gang and, ultimately, the birth of contemporary gang culture on the Cape Flats. Finally, the third is the *modern prison regime* (1994-current), its insistence on rendering 'Coloured' synonymous with gangsterism, and the contemporary trends in and trajectories of gang involvement.

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[45] Sitas et al., *Gauging and Engaging Deviance: 1600-2000*.

[46] Sitas et al., 15.

[47] A term used to describe a large and complex group of indigenous communities who lived across the Cape peninsula. A common term of convenience that is used is Khoisan which groups together the Khoe and the equally complex group of San communities. The term, Khoisan, has since been rejected to highlight the linguistic, social and political trajectories Khoe and San groups followed prior to and during the colonial period. For a more sustained discussion of these complexities and why it is important to reject the term Khoisan, see: Mellet, *The Lie of 1652: A Decolonised History of Land*.

[48] Mellet, 102.

Slavery and the Advent of the Archetypical *Droster*

~1652 – 1834 ~

> *"We were not born; we were deported from East to West. A sailor's knife cut the umbilical cord. Slave fetters staunched the blood. There is no essence here, but only perdition."*[49]

Slavery in the Cape begins within a global context of a bourgeoning era marked by proto-capitalist mercantilism, which witnessed the creation of innovative state apparatuses, including the police, institutions of confinement, and fiscal administration across Europe in response to the moral panics raised by the peasant rebellions and slave resistances of the Americas, Asia and Europe.[50] Within this wider dynamic of control and resistance, the figure of the deviant Black/slave was already emerging, carrying connotations of animal sensuality, destructive irrationality, and a murderous nature. Thus, from the onset of the Cape Colony's slavery in the 17th century, White fears helped shape the social construct of the slave, leading to early taxonomies separating *heelslag* and *halfslag* people (pure Africans/Asians and mixed-race, respectively).[51] Colonial settlers' two-tiered system of slavery and serfdom was implemented increasingly in capricious ways that blurred the ethnically-demarcated line separating the two tiers, coalescing them over time.[52]

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[49] Glissant, *Poetic Intention*, 191.
[50] Sitas et al., *Gauging and Engaging Deviance: 1600-2000*, 24.
[51] Sitas et al., 27.
[52] Shell, *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838*.

In the first six years of Dutch settlement, eleven enslaved – mostly from India and Bengal, with three from Madagascar and Abyssinia – were brought to the Cape. In 1658, the VOC[53] captured a Portuguese slave ship and took 500 enslaved, soon followed by two VOC slave ships transporting 400 slaves, approximately half of whom would be sold at the Cape with the rest sent to Batavia.[54] From 1652 until 1808, about 63,000 slaves were shipped into the Cape from ports in four main areas: Eastern Africa (26.4%), India (25.9%), Madagascar (25.1%) and Indonesia (22.7%).[55] By 1731, most Cape slaves descended from the Dutch East India Company's Eastern colonies, which served as a stable slaving source until 1780. Following, over the next twenty-eight years, most imported slaves were brought primarily from African and Madagascan sources. It was also then, by the 1760s, that Cape-born slaves equalled in population size to foreign-born fellow slaves, but it was the shared ordeal of physical torment experienced during capture and shipment that was to be slaves' first instance of a common collective memory.

The slave body was highly regulated and policed through a range of institutional, discursive, and disciplinary practices and technologies. The body became a sight of control, through which the enslaved lived a precarious existence highly vulnerable to acts of violence and sometimes death. The VOC extended its rights to slaves' bodies post-mortem by exercising its authority through judicial and public defilement and display of rotting corpses of those convicted of crimes.[56] For privately-owned slaves, masters equally performed control over slaves even after their death by determining slave burials, often executing them "surreptitiously" in a "very slovenly manner."[57] As exemplified in the case of slave suicide, a not uncommon form of resistance, the VOC "relied on the horrific spectacle of defiling dead bodies as being an obvious warning" to deter other slaves from committing this perceived "crime against property."[58] It should be noted that masters were not legally – based on Roman law – permitted to kill their slaves, but as it did commonly occur, slaveowners were usually imposed a mere fine for "accidental death" rather than murder.[59] Prior to the 1820s, the Cape did not consist of a professional police force; thus, policing the slave and serf body took on a more complex set of discursive and violent tactics.[60]

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[53] The Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*), a Dutch commercial company that colonized the Cape.

[54] Schoeman, *Early Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1717*.

[55] Shell, *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838*.

[56] Ward, "Knocking on Death's Door: Mapping Spectrums of Bondage and Status through Marking the Dead at the Cape."

[57] Ward, 399–410.

With a diversity of slave origins, local stereotypes at the Cape colony were initially attached to perceived ethnic belongings, with such language born out of the dynamics within the household. Malagasy and African slaves were perceived as 'naturally' built for field work, while Indonesian slaves were stereotyped as naturally skilled artisans, and Indian slaves as service workers.[61] As late arrivals, furthermore, African slaves were regarded as less skilled than the Malay or locally-born, often resulting in their designation on farms doing the heavier field labour. These prejudices reflected in slave trading prices, with Malay or Asian craftsmen having the highest premiums and Malagasy slaves at the bottom of price differentiations. Maria Olaussen also highlights a gendered dimension to slaves' destinies: unlike slavery in the Americas where most were intended as chattel for plantation work, slave labour in the Indian Ocean World (IOW) varied beyond the agricultural plantation economies to relegate women to concubinage, sex work, domestic servitude, and textile production and men to craftwork, fishing, stewardship, soldiering, woodcutting, commerce and diplomacy.[62] As Vaziri informs us, one should not interpret this to mischaracterise IOW slavery as benign or mild as that would rely on gendered iterations that imagine the domestic interior as “the protected, invisible feminine body” as opposed to New World plantation-based slavery as the “spectacular male muscular body in chains.”[63]

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[58] Ward, "Defining and Defiling the Criminal Body at the Cape of Good Hope: Punishing the Crime of Suicide under Dutch East India Company Rule, circa 1625-1795," 37–57.

[59] Ward, "Defining and Defiling the Criminal Body at the Cape of Good Hope: Punishing the Crime of Suicide under Dutch East India Company Rule, circa 1625-1795."

[60] Loos, *Echoes of Slavery - Voices from South Africa's Past*.

[61] Shell, *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838*.

[62] Olaussen, "Approaching Asia through the Figure of the Slave in Rayda Jacob's The Slave Book."

As exemplified by slave naming practices, stereotypes by origins were not merely labour-related, but also encompassed moral connotations: Malagasy slaves were toponymically tagged to remind householders of their descent from an ‘industrious people.’[64] At the same time, Malagasy slaves were seen as most likely to run away, at least until the influx of East Africans when Mozambican slaves became known as the most prone to flight.[65] The elaborate slave naming system was “deeply imbedded” and “meticulously recorded,” reflecting how this hegemonic apparatus was meant to be comprehensive.[66] Foreshadowing the ways in which ‘Coloured’ masculinities and femininities today are stereotyped, colonial authorities, slaveholders, and even antislavery activists effectually solidified specific gendered and racialised mythologies: the slave man was a childlike “man-in-waiting” through his deprivation from becoming a head of a family as well as a “sexually licentious” figure deeply in need of European intervention to help tame his “unruly masculinity”; and the slave woman was overly masculine and ‘immoral.’[67] In her study of the physical depictions of the Khoe woman, Sara Baartman, Abrahams details how Black women came to epitomize the embodiment of sexualised bestial being within the European imaginary.[68] Scientific racism was obsessively preoccupied with turning the body into “a discursive weapon” to reiterate colonial imaginings of savagery.[69] Legal regulation, scrutiny and fictions of slaves’ and serfs’ sexualities facilitated the inscription of notions of unrespectability, instability, and immorality onto the Black body, in direct contrast to their allegedly civilized European counterparts.

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[63] Vaziri, “On ‘Saidiya:’ Indian Ocean World Slavery and Blackness beyond Horizon,” 245.

[64] Shell, *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838,* 234–45.

[65] Alpers, “Flight to Freedom: Escape from Slavery among Bonded Africans in the Indian Ocean World, c.1750–1962,” 54.

[66] Shell, *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838,* 246.

[67] Scully, *Liberating the Family? Gender and British Slave Emancipation in the Rural Western Cape, South Africa, 1823-1853*, 45–46.

[68] Abrahams, “Images of Sara Bartman: Sexuality, Race, and Gender in Early-Nineteenth-Century Britain.”

[69] Gqola, “‘Slaves Don’t Have Opinions’: Inscriptions of Slave Bodies and the Denial of Agency in Rayda Jacob’s ‘The Slave Book,’” 58.

Colonial discourse, moreover, represented the Khoe as “noble savages prone to fighting, Southeast Asian slaves as aspiring to whiteness and adept to witchcraft, and West African slaves” as epitomizing promiscuity and violence.[70] Such hierarchical and moralistic thinking was predicated on the underlying configuring of slaves as “wanting in culture and therefore in humanity,” inscribing the malleable slave bodies with varying ideas, based upon their perceived proximity to either end -of the fully-human and non-human scale.[71] The fragility and ambiguity of this hierarchal racialisation was constantly challenged by slaves, forming their own bonds on their own terms as exemplified by communication networks formed to diffuse useful information and create an autonomous sense of family “beyond the institution of slavery.”[72] Such alternative social and familial networks and solidarities allowed for the fruition and frequency of gangs of runaway slaves and serfs who formed fugitive and autonomous, often mobile, communities on the colonial borderlands.[73] Through this, we witness cases like that of Januarij van Boegies and seven fellow runaway slaves who conjured a plot to escape to a life in the Eastern Cape, a plan that was ultimately unsuccessful when the boat they robbed kept leaking.[74]

Going against popular historiography which frames resistance in the Cape colony as individualistic or primarily defensive, Ulrich argues that “the popular classes developed a rich, varied tradition of “direct action” that included desertion and the creation of maroon communities … [through which, they] express[ed] alternative conceptions of morality and justice."[75] Following a 1751 case of six armed runaway slaves who faced off a commando, another group of twelve slaves were reportedly 'impressed … that there had recently been a group of slaves who also taken flight and who had already arrived safely at a free village of blacks or even on Madagascar', demonstrating the symbolic influence *drosters* embodied.[76] Earlier in the century, 23 slaves and political exiles led by a Company-owned slave named Lampi deserted and gathered at a Constantia wine farm previously owned by the then deceased Simon van der Stel.[77] Having spoken to runaways who were recaptured, Lampi recruited fellow slaves with confidence and convened the group at one of the recruits' home at Constantia. Reported by another slave on the farm, who not only had been granted freedom in van der Stel's will but in all likelihood reported the group to avoid severe punishment for not doing so, the majority of the group would be captured by the farm's main authority and his group of enslaved men. Of note, the group had in common a religious background in Islam and, during the trial of one perceived leader, the prosecutor pushed for a torture and sentencing that should be understood as having as much to do with the prisoner's faith as his role in the escape.[78]

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[70] Gqola, 49.
[71] Gqola, 46.
[72] Vernal, “Discourse Networks and Moral Transcripts in the Cape Colony, 1750-1850.”
[73] Ulrich, “Cape of Storms: Surveying and Rethinking Popular Resistance in the Eighteenth-Century Cape Colony.”
[74] “WCPA, CJ 354, 1746, Ff. 484–87.”

The unfree formed kin networks across regional farm boundaries, ethnicities, and legal statuses, challenging slaveholders' tight grip on what and who counted as family.[79] Before the 19th century, a slave lingua franca had emerged and even caught on among the Khoe, serving as a "cultural mask" incomprehensible to Europeans until the 1770s.[80] Therefore, slave resistance at the Cape was not one based upon a class consciousness united under a revolutionary vision of abolition. Worden assesses that "regions of high incidence of revolt tended to be ones where there was a degree of ethnic or cultural unity among the slave rebels."[81]

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[75] Ulrich, "Cape of Storms: Surveying and Rethinking Popular Resistance in the Eighteenth-Century Cape Colony," 17–18.
[76] "WCPA, CJ 788, 1750–55, Ff. 58–67," 788; "WCPA, CJ 2485, 1729–59, Ff. 130–33."
[77] Paulse, "'We Are Free, You Are Slaves: Come on Let's Run Away': Escape from Constantia, 1712."
[78] Paulse.
[79] Scully, *Liberating the Family? Gender and British Slave Emancipation in the Rural Western Cape, South Africa, 1823-1853*.
[80] Shell, *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838*.
[81] Worden, "Revolt in Cape Colony Slave Society."

According to Shell, Cape slaveowners saw a diversity in slaves as an important condition to circumvent the risks of large-scale rebellion and escape.[82] Rather, given the heterogeneity of ethnicities, labouring groups, and geographic atomisation, resistance and survival came in the form of a complex and constantly shifting interplay between negotiations, assimilations, complicities, “small resistances,” polyvalent and fluid belongings, opacities, and extended networks.[83] This, along with what Samuelson identifies as processes of making home, form the foundation of an oppositional tradition of creolisation that undermined and complicated the Cape’s racialised assemblages, one exemplified by *marronage*.[84]

Initially, the term *droster* first arose to signify runaways of all sorts and races: slaves, sailors, company soldiers, servants. By the 1750s, however, the connotation more exclusively signified runaway slaves and escapee Khoe servants, reflecting a growing group consciousness of common identity between the slave and the Khoe, who would join these mobile armed bandits living on the outskirts of the colony within striking distance of isolated farms to feed off stolen livestock.[85] Indeed, by the 1720s, these fugitive gangs had grown considerably in size, frequency and audacity across the Groenekloof, Saldanha Bay, Stellenbosch and Piketberg areas, repeatedly pillaging the fringes and surrounding posts of Cape Town.[86] Following this peripheral existence and reliance on the colony, King and Challis conceptualise the mountains as “a challenging social and intellectual space.”[87] The mountainous landscapes provided natural hiding conditions for *drosters*:

> *“In areas such as Franschhoek, Land van Waveren or Hottentots-Holland, the close proximity of mountainous country provided ideal hiding places. Table Mountain and the rocky promontory of Hangklip jutting into False Bay were regular shelters of droster communities. Inland, remoter regions such as the Roggeveld and Bokkeveld*

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[82] Shell, *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838*.

[83] Baderoon, “The African Oceans–Tracing the Sea as Memory of Slavery in South African Literature and Culture”; Ribeiro, “Destined to Disappear Without a Trace: Gender and the Languages of Creolisation in the Indian Ocean, Africa, Brazil and the Caribbean.”

[84] Samuelson, “Making Home on the Indian Ocean Rim: Relocations in South African Literatures.”

[85] Penn, *Rogues, Rebels and Runaways - Eighteenth-Century Cape Characters*.

[86] Penn.

[87] King and Challis, “The ‘Interior World’ of the Nineteenth-Century Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains,” 216.

> *provided opportunities for slaves to escape to the interior, often with the help of the Khoisan."*[88]

Many of the documented cases of *drosters* also included foreign-born slaves who had recently lived a previous life of freedom and occurred most frequently during the summers when harvesting labour was most strenuous and conditions for life in the mountains relatively easier.[89] The *drosters* lived precarious lives, living outside the colony but always dependent on it and the surrounding farms. One *droster* group on Table Mountain in the 1770s maintained relations with urban slaves with whom they exchanged firewood for food.[90] In 1760, an enslaved man named Cupido van Bougis, escaped from the slaveowner Michael Smuts in Oranjezicht to join the *drosters* living in Table Mountain.[91] Cupido convinced the leader, Fortuijn van Bougis, to murder Smuts and take food and firearms. After having done so, Cupido, Fortuijn and 11 slaves escaped into the Blouberg dunes, where they received food and tobacco from Plattekloof farm slaves. One of the farm's slaves, Boone van Bougis, informed authorities in exchange for his freedom of the group's whereabouts and a group of soldiers and armed farmers went after them. Two *drosters* were shot dead with their bodies later displayed publicly as a warning to the enslaved community. Others escaped and one, shot in the hand, sought out healing from an enslaved mystic named September van Bougis who practiced *mujarrabat* (spiritual remedies). January would be taken in for trial along with other captured *drosters* and, after searching his room and discovering a letter written in Buginese, September was taken to the Castle of Good Hope to be interrogated mercilessly under the suspicion that he was organising a rebellion. He was sentenced to death.

The *drosters* forged themselves as figures within the imaginary of both colonizers and colonized, as exemplified by the largest and longest-surviving group at Hangklip. This group became revered and somewhat glorified among slaves for their notorious banditry,[92] yet their relation with other slaves was even more intimate than reputation alone as several of them shared kinships and meaningful acquaintances with slaves in Town (including the underworld).[93] This group, furthermore, comprised of a diversity of ethnicities – including first-generation South Africans and slaves from Bengal, Malabar, Sri Lanka, Bali, Sumbawa, Sulawesi and Madagascar – typifying the broader creolisation within which this marooning was profoundly embedded. The White ruling oligarchy, of course, feared the threat the *drosters* posed to the colonial order, increasingly turning from private punishment of captured runaways toward public chastisement and heightened nightly patrol. In 1696, upon discovering numerous slave deserters living with the Griqua, the VOC feared slaves and Khoe could conspire together to incite a large uprising.[94]

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[88] Worden, "Violence, Crime and Slavery on Cape Farmsteads in the Eighteenth Century," 51.
[89] Worden, "Revolt in Cape Colony Slave Society."
[90] Alpers, "Flight to Freedom: Escape from Slavery among Bonded Africans in the Indian Ocean World, c.1750–1962," 55.
[91] Loos, "A Centuries Old Crime by Slaves of the Settlers"; Loos, "Slaves on the Run in the Blouberg Dunes."

Based on records for a three-and-a-half year period between January 1806 and June 1809, Nigel Worden estimates that at least eight percent (8%) of the total slave population had gone missing, of which only twenty-one percent (21%) either returned or were recaptured.[95] Throughout the colonial period, *drosting* was common, and masters used extreme physical violence as both punishment and, more instrumentally, as public spectacle to warn other slaves against further attempts "*tot afschrik van andere*."[96] When *drosters* were caught attempting escape, the other slaves were often called upon to witness, or even assist, as the *knecht* (Company employees – often sailors or soldiers – hired as overseers) inflicted violence with free rein.[97] *Drosting* and *aufugie* figure as the largest counts of offenses by slaves; the latter of these two crimes, 'aufugie' is difficult to translate, and was almost exclusively a crime by slaves, tied with runaways and escapees and concerned those incidents where the accused were drosting with weapons.[98] In 'aufugie,' we see the evolving reformulation of legal apparatuses to contain and criminalise marronage in complicated ways. Slaves and Khoe were sentenced disproportionally (nearly eight times more than convicted Europeans) to be punished by means of *ledebraken*.[99] According to Bergemann, punishments were based less on the crime itself and more on the status of the offender as well as the victim, and a slave convicted of assault received the most brutal punishment in contrast to a European convicted of the same: "Even murder was recategorised as assault when it came to burghers who murdered their slaves – as if the life of a slave was too inconsequential to usher the crime of murder or manslaughter and therefore the offenders were exposed to wholly different punishments more fitting of assault."[100]

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[92] The leader, Leander Bugis, was particularly reputable and had earned a general fear among the slaves for his well-known violent character, having killed fellow maroons on occasion.

[93] Ross, *Cape of Torments: Slavery and Resistance in South Africa*.

[94] Worden, "Revolt in Cape Colony Slave Society."

[95] Worden.

[96] Translated as "with the intent of scaring the others", from the Council of Justice fiscal, Adriaan van Kervel, in his recommendations for punishment of the slave, Schipio, who transgressed restrictions on where to collect firewood; see: Bergemann, "Council of (in)Justice: Crime, Status, Punishment and the Decision-Makers in the 1730s Cape Justice System," 55.

[97] Worden, "Violence, Crime and Slavery on Cape Farmsteads in the Eighteenth Century."

Slave and Khoe offenders were often tortured sadistically and rigorously, with bodily punishments ranging from "being burnt alive, having body parts chopped off, one's flesh torn with hot iron tongs or most often a combination of these."[101] The body was clearly a modality of brandishing: by 1686, recaptured *drosters* had their ears amputated, and by 1711, an additional branding on the cheek was included. Beyond corporal punishment, slaves and Khoe experienced the highest (and harshest) instances of capital sentencing. Even prior to punishment, slaves regularly suffered torturous interrogation techniques as courts forced confessions, which not uncommonly resulted in death from unattended wounds. By the 1780s, we witness a Thai slave named Spadilje who, recaptured after running away to the infamous Hangklip maroon community and committing a robbery in Simon's Town, was sentenced 'to be exposed with a rope around his neck under the gallows' while being scourged, branded, and then sent to work on Robben Island in public works projects.[102] As Alpers demonstrates: "flight and the threat of escape had a significant impact on the ability of slave societies to operate at maximum efficiency, and where we possess records, as for the Mascarenes, the Cape, and eastern Africa, it is equally clear that *marronage* created an atmosphere of serious apprehension among slave owners."[103]

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[98] Bergemann, "Council of (in)Justice: Crime, Status, Punishment and the Decision-Makers in the 1730s Cape Justice System," 13–14.

[99] Ledebraken refers to the breaking of limbs by blunt force trauma with the wheel.

[100] Bergemann, "Council of (in)Justice: Crime, Status, Punishment and the Decision-Makers in the 1730s Cape Justice System," 69.

[101] Bergemann, 89.

One peculiar system of policing, criminalizing and controlling maroon activities was that of the commando system, which relied on civilian militias with both conscripted and volunteer men to conduct retaliative and defensive operations in lieu of no formal army. Farmers and burghers formed commandos "for self-defense" against banditry of *droster* groups, but they also notably employed the commandos in pre-emptive strikes against perceived "centres of sedition," notably inflicting massive violence upon San communities.[104] Commandos, which also comprised of significant numbers of pacified and labouring Khoe, were constantly sent out to search for *drosters* along the rural areas, targeting especially the notorious maroon communities who symbolically threatened colonial authority, as with the community at Hangklip who eluded the constant commando raids for over a hundred years and learned to navigate the region clandestinely. The commandos further reflected a characteristically wide level of discretionary powers given to policing forces against racialized groups. Thus was the case when Gerrit Marrits, a colonial authority who would become pivotal in the commando raids against the Khoesan of the Roggeveld, quickly shot and killed a runaway slave named Fortuijn after finding him in the Roggeveld mountains with a group of goats.[105]

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[102] "WCPA, CJ 795, 1782–89, Ff. 239–249."

[103] Alpers, "Flight to Freedom: Escape from Slavery among Bonded Africans in the Indian Ocean World, c.1750–1962," 64.

[104] Worden, "Revolt in Cape Colony Slave Society," 18–19.

[105] "WCPA, 1/STB 3/11, 1759–82."

Slaves and serfs who ran away were perceived as threatening the very stability and sustainability of the Colony. In 1717, Captain de Chavonnes recommended that the Colony transition to greater use of European labourers because slaves were costing the Company too much, naming the incidence of runaway slaves as among several high incurred expenses, even suggesting that 250 European workers would be more profitable than 5,600 slaves.[106] In the same letter, de Chavonnes argues that European labourers would, in contrast to the slave labouring force, 'bring security' and 'would not have to be divided in order to keep a watchful eye on the slaves.'[107] Similarly, in a memorandum about the general state of the colony, it was remarked that farmers apparently made enough income to barely subsist, except that 'Natives who pour in flocks upon their plantations and forcibly take their cattle from them' makes their financial prosperity impossible.[108]

The Cape was, of course, also embedded within a larger network of convict transportation that saw political prisoners from the East transported into or via the Colony, rendering the Cape's penal ideologies influenced by wider global practices and discourses of carcerality. Clare Anderson argues that carcerality at the Cape was deeply embedded in the broader prerogative of containing the indigenous and managing unfree labour, with the Robben Island prison serving as a central site of confinement throughout the 19th century.[109] Robben Island was often used to pacify the Cape through its imprisonment of Black leaders, chiefs, slave rebels and prisoners of the frontier wars (1799-1803 and 1818-1819). Like slavery, convicts on Robben Island were forced to participate in a range of labour, including public works, polishing stone, building, quarrying and more. Anderson, interestingly, positions Robben Island in a triad of "civilizing institutions" that also includes mission stations and schools that “were set up for incarcerated rebel leaders’ children.”[110] The implicit relationship between the slave trade (and labour expropriation, generally) and carceral regimes was best articulated by the convict labour of Robben Island inmates, labour which, as Nigel Penn has detailed, contributed immensely to the Colony’s subsequent urbanized infrastructure.[111] With the emancipation of slaves, a significant shift in penal practice occurred: the probation system was introduced for convicts to “progress” and work their way up from chain gangs to promised freedom.[112] Indeed, emancipation saw a rise in fear over property crime and, without legalized enslavement, new approaches of continued control had to be introduced within the more liberal discourses of “reforming” so-called criminals.

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[106] de Chavonnes, "Rapport van De Chavonnes En Raad (Report of De Chavonnes), 1717."
[107] de Chavonnes, 105.
[108] Theal, *Records of the Cape Colony from February 1793 to December 1796*, 169.
[109] Anderson, "Convicts, Carcerality and Cape Colony Connections in the 19th Century."

Proletarianization and the Rise of *Die Skollie*

~1835 – 1994 ~

“Compensated emancipation at the Cape was a major social rupture…But, at the same time, in terms of labour relations in the Colony…it was something of a non-event.”[113]

Emancipation used previous Khoe and San labour control methods to pass new ordinances that sustained dynamics, criminalizing workers’ ‘misconduct’ and ‘disobedience’, broadly defined and interpreted to favour employers.[114] Indeed, many of the ex-bonded remained labourers on farms, cemented into a continued “cycle of bondage, debt peonage and alcohol addiction.”[115] Rayner details how master and servant legislation introduced in in the 1840s and 1850s allowed farm owners to regain control of labourers.[116] Perceptions of racial superiorities and inferiorities were spatially reinforced by the landscape of the farms: the manor house “was usually visible from the labourers' quarters, so that the person of the farmer never retreated completely from the workers' consciousness.”[117] The master-slave dynamics were re-invoked constantly by daily routines, employer abuses, and criminal prosecutions and fines. As Ekama and Ross explain, emancipation brought with it a considerable amount of compensation for slave owners from the British parliament, which “quintupled the sum of money in circulation” at the Cape.[118] Graham further tells us that compensation payments led to establishment of banks that offered “a wave of cheap credit” to employers to, in turn, maintain dominance over former slaves.[119] Interestingly, as Dooling shows us through an analysis of bankruptcy records, capital was continuously invested into bankrupt farms as a way to reinforce race and class solidarities.[120]

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[110] Anderson, 434.

[111] Penn, “‘Close and Merciful Watchfulness’: John Montagu’s Convict System in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century Cape Colony.”

[112] Anderson, “Convicts, Carcerality and Cape Colony Connections in the 19th Century,” 440.

[113] Ekama and Ross, “The Emancipation of the Enslaved at the Cape Colony: Historiography and Introduction,” 413.

[114] Worden, “Revolt in Cape Colony Slave Society,” 18.

[115] Ross, “‘Rather Mental than Physical’: Emancipations and the Cape Economy,” 167.

[116] Rayner, “Wine and Slaves: The Failure of an Export Economy and the Ending of Slavery in the Cape Colony, South Africa, 1806-1834.”

Scully evokes the ways in which sexual violence, in particular, was central to ex-masters’ attempts to redefine the new context along the same lines of the previous slavocracy. Courts routinely interpreted the laws to frame ‘Coloured’ male sexuality as one of “uncontrollable passions” and ‘Coloured’ female sexuality as one of “enticement” and degeneracy.[121] Incidences of White men raping Black women were common, yet seldom appear in the archives; additional cases appear post-emancipation of White men petitioning on behalf of Black men accused of rape, reflecting a particular racialised interpretation of Black women in terms of respectability, ultimately with the goal of constructing their own “respectability.”[122] Gqola notes how inscriptions of hypersexuality meant to establish “a controllable, malleable body which is [simultaneously] a constantly violated body.”[123]

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[117] Scully, “Criminality and Conflict in Rural Stellenbosch, South Africa, 1870-1900,” 292.

[118] Ekama and Ross, “The Emancipation of the Enslaved at the Cape Colony: Historiography and Introduction,” 406.

[119] Graham, “Slavery, Banks and the Ambivalent Legacies of Compensation in South Africa, Mauritius and the Caribbean,” 485.

[120] Dooling, *Slavery, Emancipation and Colonial Rule in South Africa*.

[121] Scully, “Rape, Race, and Colonial Culture: The Sexual Politics of Identity in the Nineteenth-Century Cape Colony,” 345–52.

[122] Scully, 355–57.

[123] Gqola, “‘Slaves Don’t Have Opinions’: Inscriptions of Slave Bodies and the Denial of Agency in Rayda Jacob’s ‘The Slave Book,’” 52.

Furthermore, the well-documented myths of black men as prone to violate white women arose whenever there were crises surrounding colonial rule's efficacy as a discursive tool to help stabilize and frame colonizer-colonized relations.[124]

After the abolition of slavery and Khoe forced labour, the two groups shared a labour pool and single socioeconomic status. The immediate years after abolition introduced a transitional period of apprenticeship, designed to keep meeting the agricultural demands of the Cape economy. With the wool boom of the 1840s, followed by diamond and gold rushes, urban migration further reduced group distinctions amongst the heterogenous groups – former slaves and Khoe descendants – that would form a new proletariat class.[125] The elimination of clear slave-master distinctions saw the legal system reorganised to reproduce the previous racial hierarchy based on "a framework of a paternalism which relegated the '[C]oloured' workers to the status of minors."[126] The new class of free labourers became in effect criminalised. Worker's behaviour, such as 'careless work', or 'absence', were defined as misdemeanours under intentionally vague legal codes that allowed magistrates to punish "behaviour on the part of the 'servant' that threatened an employer's authority."[127] Two Amendments to the Masters and Servants Act (1873/1875), triggered new trends of incarceration. They added clauses allowing the arrest of deserting labourers, annulling the need for warrants when dealing with rural workers.[128] The new de jure criminalisation of the 'Coloured' labouring class was reinforced on the flesh threefold: direct imprisonment of labourers engaged in an act too reminiscent to that of the *drosters* half a century prior; indirect sanctioning of more intimate violence of bodies by the court's overlooking of farmers' disciplinary measures (e.g. beatings, dop system[129], rape); and discipline through docility-making when wealthier farmers elicited gratitude from workers by intervening ‘benevolently’ on their behalves in court.

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[124] Scully, "Rape, Race, and Colonial Culture: The Sexual Politics of Identity in the Nineteenth-Century Cape Colony," 338.

[125] Adhikari, "The Sons of Ham: Slavery and the Making of Coloured Identity," 108.

[126] Scully, "Criminality and Conflict in Rural Stellenbosch, South Africa, 1870-1900," 292.

[127] Bickford-Smith, "Meanings of Freedom: Social Position and Identity Among Ex-Slaves and Their Descendants in Cape Town, 1875-1910," 294.

[128] Scully, "Criminality and Conflict in Rural Stellenbosch, South Africa, 1870-1900."

Another result of the Cape’s post-emancipation was the consolidation of one part of the rural working class within mission stations, where some level of social mobility and education was possible and whose descendants would form a portion among an emerging Cape ‘Coloured’ elite.[130] These missionaries had already been established to minister to the Khoe and San, but after emancipation, many newly freedmen took to the mission stations, where they were given small plots of land if they met the high standards of Christian living. Erasmus also notes that these mission stations played a central role in divide-and-conquer ruling, as in the case of the Bethelsdorp station in 1829, which recruited Khoe converts to undermine the united Xhosa-Khoe allyship resisting the Dutch in the Graaf Reinet district.[131] In her study of the Kat River Settlement, Scully reveals an underlying function of the mission was the facilitation of a new discourse of masculinity among the ex-bonded: the mission “conceptualized being a fully free person as opposed to a slave in the language of selfhood and citizenship…[here, the freedmen] resorted to a Christian discourse of ‘manhood’ in order to insert themselves into British political discourses that emphasized a kind of active masculine citizenship [as fathers and husbands].”[132] Christianity imbued ‘Colouredness’ with rigidly defined lines of respectability, which the ‘Coloured’ elite increasingly adopted to distinguish themselves from working class ‘Coloureds’; the distinction took fleshy shape through a set of bodily disciplines learnt at the stations, including sobriety, hairstyles, dress codes, and mannerisms. Respectability, as something that can be attained through immersion in White institutions and under White rule, discursively became the "lack" that inscribed the 'Coloured' body with labels of inferiority, notably the then-common referent of 'Cape Boys' and 'Cape Girls.'[133]

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[129] A notorious system used in South African wine farms to pay farm workers in part with daily measures of cheap wine

[130] Ross, “‘Rather Mental than Physical’: Emancipations and the Cape Economy.”

[131] Erasmus, “Rearranging the Furniture of History: Non-Racialism as Anticolonial Praxis.”

[132] Scully, “Masculinity, Citizenship, and the Production of Knowledge in the Postemancipation Cape Colony, 1834–1844,” 38–39.

The criminalisation of the newly-forged proletariat was not unique to the Cape, as new institutions – such as the prison, workhouse and asylum – formed in the West during its transition from feudalism to capitalism.[134] However, as was the case with the Cape Colony's de jure slavery, industrialisation in the Cape took a different shape than its Western counterparts. Ross and Martin argue that, as emancipation led to large migration into the city, some of the compensation for former slaveowners was used to buy and construct housing to rent out to the ex-bonded and, partly in this way, maintain exploitative relation between the classes.[135] Chisholm notes that, unlike the United Kingdom's industrialisation that was based on textile industries with a largely-female and juvenile labour force, South African industrialisation focused on extractive industries with an exclusively adult male labour force.[136]

The concurrent mineral revolution taking place dispossessed and proletarianized the majority of the Black population in the Witwatersrand. Within this context, the Numbers was birthed as a large set of prison gangs – the 26s, 27s, and 28s.[137] Central to their prison gang structures, ideologies and mythical narratives is the tale of Nongoloza, who became a bandit during the colonial era because Blacks were forced off their land and into slavery in the mines.[138] As Charles van Onselen details, the Numbers originated from a bandit group, the Ninevites, which emerged in the late 19th century among Black mineworkers under the leadership of Nongoloza.[139] These mineworkers were put through excruciating conditions, many as convict labourers and others as heavily policed 'free labourers'. Violence was integral to the mines' production system as White supervisors relied on assault in lieu of financial incentives to motivate workers to meet quotas.

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[133] Bickford-Smith, "Black Ethnicities, Communities and Political Expression in Late Victorian Cape Town."

[134] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*.

[135] Ross and Martin, "Accommodation and Resistance: The Housing of Cape Town's Enslaved and Freed Population Before and After Emancipation."

[136] Chisholm, "The Pedagogy of Porter: The Origins of the Reformatory in the Cape Colony, 1882-1910."

[137] Steinberg, *The Number: One Man's Search for Identity in the Cape Underworld and Prison Gangs*.

[138] Steinberg.

[139] van Onselen, *New Babylon, New Nineveh: Everyday Life on the Witwatersrand, 1886-1914*.

From its onset, the Numbers were always a unique gang model, taking direct inspiration from the colonial military and administrative structures and practices of the time.[140] Under Nongoloza's leadership, the gang was not only highly well-structured – with ranks ranging from generals to colonels, captains, sergeants, soldiers, and several other governing positions – but also invoked a considerable level of "ideological cohesion and social purpose" in its political mission to "divert Nguni-speaking peasants from wage labour in the compounds to a freer existence," initially directing its campaigns of robbery against the powerful.[141] By the 1930s, the Numbers had migrated from the mining camps into South Africa's vast prison system, relying on both its militaristic structure and a highly ritualistic culture that deployed its own language ('sabela'), mythologies (variant tales of its founders, Nongoloza, Kilikijan and the Ninevites), rituals, and laws. In the contemporary period, many 'coloured' men in the Cape are members, know members, or have family that are part of the Numbers gangs.

Witwatersrand and Kimberly were the burgeoning industrial centres, while the Cape Colony kept commercial agriculture as its main, though struggling, enterprise.[142] It is within this economic context of farmers struggling to retain their labour force and the already generations-deep processes of colonial dispossession and proletarianisation, that South Africa's first juvenile reformatory, the Porter Reformatory, emerged in the Cape Colony and not its industrial regions. Thus, unlike the mining compounds and prisons of the latter, the Cape's Porter Reformatory was peculiarly shaped under the rise of merchant capital and commercial agriculture, incorporating modified models of forced apprenticeship to train juvenile offenders into wage-earners.[143]

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[140] van Onselen.

[141] van Onselen, "Crime and Total Institutions in the Making of Modern South Africa: The Life of 'Nongoloza' Mathebula, 1867-1948," 66–75.

[142] van Onselen, *New Babylon, New Nineveh: Everyday Life on the Witwatersrand, 1886-1914*.

In the frequent cases where boys' parents could not be easily accessed or were deemed 'degenerate' (synonymous for the labouring 'Coloured' poor), the state would then easily indenture juveniles into forced apprenticeship.[144] Juvenile convict labour was established as a stable and important source of workers for local dignitaries and farmers. Militaristic in its daily routine and rigid structures, the reformatory aimed to drill inmate bodily habits into docility, discipline, obedience and cleanliness. The practices within Porter also captures the particular racialized and classed discourses developed over the 19th century Cape Colony. Youths convicted of crimes of violence went to gaols and were seen as innately criminal, while boys with crimes against property were seen as 'reformable' and sent to Porter, reflecting a discourse of duality between respectable/'reformable'/'disciplinable' and the 'innately criminal'. Inmates at Porter "included 'Coloured Afrikanders' and 'Hottentots', who constituted the majority, as well as Africans from the Eastern Cape Transkeian regions, 'Mozambiques' generally employed on the docks in Cape Town, Malays and Europeans, who together comprised the remaining quarter of the reformatory population."[145] Simultaneously, during the last quarter of the 19th century, many farm workers were migrating to the urbanised towns to join the public works schemes.[146] By 1910, the larger portion of Porter Reformatory inmates had come from District Six.

By the 1920s, Cape Town's transition into an industrial economy solidified and, following fifty years of large-scale migration, resulted in overcrowded impoverished urban communities. Subsequently, between 1928 to 1935, 2,600 'Coloured' youths were imprisoned annually in South Africa (mostly in Cape Town).[147] Just as the term *droster* had done two centuries before, a new term arises here to denote a form of criminality perceived to threaten moral order. *Skollie* is an Afrikaans term best translated directly as scoundrel, denoting a violent or thieving criminal.[148] Arising first in the context of District Six where young men engaged in petty crime, the underlying connotation of the skollie is that he is poor, 'Coloured' and male. A pejorative label with essential racial undertones, the skollie represents an existential perception that equated 'Colouredness' with criminality and an untrustworthy nature. In District Six, police pursued these young men labelled skollies, but soon began treating anyone from the community as such, reflecting a larger criminalization of 'Colouredness' that accompanied the skollie notion.[149] By 1946, a Special Squad was even established to deal with skollies using "wide powers of arrest,"[150] a privilege parallel to the commandos and subsequent police under the Masters and Servants Act Amendments.

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[143] Chisholm, "The Pedagogy of Porter: The Origins of the Reformatory in the Cape Colony, 1882-1910."
[144] Chisholm.
[145] Chisholm, 487.
[146] Scully, "Criminality and Conflict in Rural Stellenbosch, South Africa, 1870-1900."

The police force did not seem to address the issue of rising petty theft. Instead, the Globe Gang (and other street gangs) emerged, with members as sons of shopkeepers and businessmen.[151] These first urban gangsters were often regarded (and today are often remembered and romanticized) as respectable men: they provided protection and order in an otherwise disorderly and overlooked community, policing from within. These gangs also reflected and embodied the basis of the family unit prevalent amongst this community: the extended family. Pinnock details how the District Six community developed an important informal economy, to which the first street gangs (e.g. Globe) served as vigilante organisations. The Globe, however, soon turned to criminal activity (e.g. extortion, shebeens, gambling rackets), while other gangs such as the Mongrels arose with greater members of youth who had experienced the State's only response to youth delinquency: the reformatory.[152] At the same time police continued treating 'Coloureds' with indiscriminate harshness, 'manhandling' innocent and guilty residents alike. Young men were rapidly turning to these prototypical urban gangs, which offered money, protection and a sense of community, in what preceded Apartheid as a "spatial reaction to the economic global rise of monopoly capital."[153] Simultaneously in Cape Town, worker resistance was rising and deindustrialization was commencing, and the legitimacy of the ruling racial hierarchy had to be reproduced through a production of spaces and discourses that dually served power and capital: the Group Areas Act of 1950. The National Party during Apartheid, of course, was notorious for its use of police in extra-judicial state-sanctioned killings and arrests (without warrants in many cases).

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[147] Pinnock, *Gang Town*.
[148] Jensen, *Gangs, Politics and Dignity in Cape Town*.
[149] Pinnock, *The Brotherhoods: Streets Gangs and State Control in Cape Town*.
[150] Pinnock, *Gang Town*, 19–20.
[151] Pinnock, *The Brotherhoods: Streets Gangs and State Control in Cape Town*.

Added to this was the migration of 'Coloureds' – known as "plaas-jappies" – and poor whites as a result of the rural crises of the 1930s and 1940s.[154] By producing the Cape Flats, a particular construction of 'Coloured' identity was imposed that aimed to rearrange 'right' and 'wrong', delegitimizing the workers' struggles and shifting the discourse towards a modified perception of 'Coloured' cultural and moral shortcomings.[155] Elaine Salo details how the racial category under Apartheid was uniquely gendered through welfare projects, housing policies and the Coloured Labour Preference policy that positioned 'Coloured' women in unique relation to government bureaucracies in three ways: child welfare grants were made "only payable to women as mothers;" public housing was available only "to families with wives and children;" and 'Coloured' women as preferential workers, especially within the feminized textile industry, were granted relative economic power.[156] As a result, they embodied simultaneously ‘Coloured’ inferiority and “the positive identity” relayed through their economic statuses.[157] As such, women were tasked with “the intense, lifelong social and psychological work” of controlling the perceived inherent wildness to perform a racialized politics of purity that took the shape of a politics of respectability.[158] This is reminiscent of norms among slaves in the Cape Colony, over a century prior. Matrifocal families headed by women were standard given the colony’s emphasis on matrilineal inheritance of status: “blood ties to children and to mothers…[were] a central part of slave women’s consciousness of family.”[159]

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[152] Pinnock.
[153] Pinnock, 37–43.
[154] Rodgers and Jensen, "Revolutionaries, Barbarians or War Machines? Gangs in Nicaragua and South Africa," 229.
[155] Jensen, *Gangs, Politics and Dignity in Cape Town*.
[156] Salo, "Negotiating Gender and Personhood in the New South Africa: Adolescent Women and Gangsters in Manenberg Township on the Cape Flats," 349.

The construction of the Cape Flats under apartheid bears considerable similarities to the hyper-ghettoization of African-Americans in the U.S., a spatial and economic process that Wacquant reveals to be central to the larger reorganizing of socioeconomic order under neoliberal governing: the ghetto is resituated as surrogate prison, functioning to contain the surplus labour no longer needed in a more globalized economic system.[160] By 1980, there were 2500 ‘Coloured’ youths incarcerated on any given day.[161] With the aforementioned rise of the Numbers gangs into the prison system nationally, many of these ‘Coloured’ prisoners either joined or were touched by the Numbers.

The modern prison regime and the anamnestic bond between fugitive slaves and modern fugitive ‘Coloured’ men

~1994 – present ~

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[157] Salo, 350.

[158] Salo, “Respectable Mothers, Tough Men and Good Daughters: Producing Persons in Manenberg Township, South Africa,” 172.

[159] Scully, *Liberating the Family? Gender and British Slave Emancipation in the Rural Western Cape, South Africa, 1823-1853*, 31.

[160] Wacquant, *Punishing the Poor: The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity*.

[161] Standing, Andre. 2006. *Organised Crime: A Study From the Cape Flats.* Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies. p. 9.

To give more context to the contemporary era, with the introduction of the new democratic order after 1994, a huge growth in the tourism industry produced vast investments in private and public security, especially in wealthier areas around Cape Town.[162] The mid-1990s witnessed worsening conditions within correctional centres, with unprecedented levels of overcrowding: at Pollsmoor Correctional Centre, "there were twice as many prisoners as the physical structures allowed for."[163] Crime steadily intensified post-1994 and imprisonment solidified as the central plank in neoliberal South Africa's crime policies.[164] Privatization of security is exemplified by 2010 statistics that reveal "an estimated four security guards for every regular police officer in the country."[165] Interestingly enough, American police chief, William Bratton was brought in to consult on Cape Town CBD's urban revitalization projects, importing with him Mayor Rudy Giuliani's 'broken windows' ideology and rhetoric.[166] Consequently, Cape Town underwent several hyper-policing initiatives – including 1998's Operation Clean and Safe, 1999's Operation Reclaim, and 2000's Operation Crackdown – which employed hundreds of police to clear the CBD of perceived criminals. Hyper-incarceration settled as the status quo, with a 2,197% increase in life-sentences between 1995 to 2014.[167]

In 1998, the *Prevention of Organised Crime Act* (POCA) specifically laid out sentencing for gang-related offences. Under POCA, if someone is convicted of any offence (e.g. drug trafficking, theft, etc.) and also is a member of a gang, that gang membership may be considered an aggravating factor.[168] Specific penalties for gang-related offices under POCA include abetting a criminal gang, threatening retaliation, and "bringing about a pattern of criminal gang activity" (e.g. ordering subordinate gang members to commit crimes) and are punishable by up to six years imprisonment.[169] As van der Linde as argued in his analysis of court applications of POCA, however, the statutory definitions of 'criminal gang' and 'pattern of criminal gang activity' both remain vague and courts have the power to apply interpretations that do not necessarily prove beyond reasonable doubt their applicability.[170] Judiciary officials are, in turn, "generally afforded wide and discretionary sentencing powers," as long as its exercised reasonably.[171] Retribution – punishment inflicted as vengeance for a criminal offence – falls within the reasonable rationale and has, indeed, become increasingly used as a "legitimate function of criminal sanction."[172]

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[162] Standing, *Organised Crime: A Study From the Cape Flats*.
[163] Centre for Conflict Resolution, "Prison Transformation in South Africa," 161.
[164] Super, *Governing through Crime in South Africa: The Politics of Race and Class in Neoliberalizing Regimes*.
[165] Pinnock, *Gang Town*, 56.
[166] Pinnock, 48.
[167] Pinnock, 254.
[168] van der Linde, "An Overview of the Sentencing Regime for Gang Members Under the Prevention of Organised Crime Act 121/1998 and the Potential for Restorative Justice."

Capturing one of the highest police homicide rates, Pinnock underscores that between 2009-2010, "2,569 civilians were killed as a result of police action or while in police custody."[173] It should come to no surprise then that some residents of the Cape Flats view the police as the epitome of corruption and state violence.[174] While no official recidivism rates are available, research "indicates re-offending rates [are] between 55% and 95%."[175] The prison now serves productively in preserving and reinscribing notions of criminality onto whole communities in the Cape Flats, criminalizing 'Coloured' areas by reproducing violent subjects through the reliance on prisons that are saturated with criminal networks.[176] If the logic the racialised slavery continues to shape contemporary Cape Town through discourses that frame a hyper-incarcerated 'Coloured' population as inherently or naturally criminal, what about the primary form of resistance and defiance to enslavement that, as we have seen, was marronage?

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[169] van der Linde, 65.

[170] van der Linde, "Defining the Contours of a 'Criminal Gang' and a 'Pattern of Criminal Gang Activity' under the Prevention of Organised Crime Act."

[171] van der Linde, "An Overview of the Sentencing Regime for Gang Members Under the Prevention of Organised Crime Act 121/1998 and the Potential for Restorative Justice," 61.

[172] van der Linde, 62.

[173] Pinnock, *Gang Town*, 62.

[174] Jensen, *Gangs, Politics and Dignity in Cape Town*.

[175] Sutherland, "Disturbing Masculinity: Gender, Performance and 'violent' Men," 60.

[176] Gillespie, "Bloodied Inscriptions: The Productivity of South African Penal Institutions."

Here, we incorporate the conceptualisation of 'fugitivity' as developed by scholars such as Moten, Nathaniel Mackey and Daphne Brooks, who expand this notion beyond the literal flight from slavery to describe "a capacious category of the irregular in which freedom and unfreedom perpetually coexist in persons who refuse to be objectified or reduced."[177]

Gangs have fostered important economic interdependence networks with local residents, providing income and occasionally paying off bills for families,[178] echoing the networks formed by *drosters* along Table Mountain who traded firewood for food with town slaves. Indeed, as Jensen and Rodgers argue, it is important to look at drug dealing through the conceptual lens of intimacy, underscoring the particular kin and communal relations that are deeply embedded in drug trafficking.[179] Of course, gang violence is often turned towards the local inhabitants of the townships, just as *drosters* were also known to direct their violence at Khoe, slaves and free blacks. Jensen and Rodgers attempt to resolve this contradiction by reconceptualising the gang through Deleuze and Guattari's notion of the 'war machine,' defined as "social phenomena that direct their actions against domination, but without necessarily having well-defined battle lines or standard forms confrontation."[180] A war machine destabilizes authority, without seeking to establish itself as the governing force or form; its anti-authoritative politics is found simply it its occupation of space in a radically-different manner, refusing to settle in the universalised ways of being of the dominant discourses, opting instead for an ever-moving, unstable line of flight. Jensen and Rodger's vision is useful in allowing us to circumvent the binaries of power and resistance with a nuanced focus on "the potential that [gangs'] existence represents."[181] Yet, the notion still does not sufficiently encapsulate the force or potency of historical processes of racialisation and creolisation. It does not seize the exceptional role and context of slavery and colonialism, their discursive and racialised continuities. Here, the oppositional ‘line of flight’ of gangs is given more direction (though still not ideologically-based) than Jensen and Rodgers’ conception grants.

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[177] Feldman, "Fugitive Voice," 10.

[178] Francke, "Alleged Gang Kingpin Dishes out Money to Community."

[179] Jensen and Rodgers, "The Intimacies of Drug Dealing: Narcotics, Kinship and Embeddedness in Nicaragua and South Africa."

[180] Rodgers and Jensen, "Revolutionaries, Barbarians or War Machines? Gangs in Nicaragua and South Africa," 231–32.

[181] Rodgers and Jensen, 233.

Glissant invokes the image of “the forest into which the slaves escaped and where the maroon communities lived” as one of the first forms of resistance to the “transparency of the planter.”[182] Here, *opacity* represents a certain density, mysteriousness, concealment and irreducibility created by the colonized as a liberating experience: a veil from the coloniser. By creating obscurity in one’s self, the maroon undermines the colonial dichotomy of ‘discoverer’ and ‘discovered’ and resists the colonizers’ insistence on a transparent self. Just as Glissant conceptualised the forest as the embodiment of the maroon communities’ pursuit of *opacity,* the Cape *drosters* utilized the mountains to create their opacity. As shown by Steinberg, the Numbers gangs lore, language, grand historical narratives and rituals have entered the imaginary of young ‘coloured’ men from the Cape Flats in such a way that “Prison Generals walked out of jail demigods.”[183] Within the prison, a dense and complex world was created; just as the mountains was a space of impenetrability and opacity for the *droster* gangs, for many ‘Coloured’ youth, the prison now serves as a space of alternate existence and opacity, impermeable to the current governing forces.

Meg Samuelson has argued that slavery remains an ever-present phantom in present-day Cape Town.[184] This connection between slavery and the contemporary is exemplified by the term ‘gham’ – a contemporary pejorative label used to describe the ‘Coloured’ working poor, with connotations of lacking respectability – as alluding to the curse of Ham, a popular biblical justification for African slavery.[185] Fiona Ross further traces the history of the term *ordentlikheid* as the shifting yet stable structuring principle used to demarcate social identities since colonialism until today: "[d]rawing on models that have their historic roots in slavery and exploitation, *ordentlikheid* is shot through with traces of violence and injustice."[186] She underscores two other terms contemporarily used as signifiers within 'Coloured' communities that are emblematic of historical continuities: *weggooimense*, used to describe abandoned people and triggering of "deep social fears shaped by…historical experiences of the nearness of exposed living;"[187] and *bergies*, used to describe the homeless and etymologically alluding to the mountain dwelling of the Khoe as criminalised by the 1809 Caledon Code that subjugated slaves and Khoe to permanent and surveilled service.[188]

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[182] Britton, *Edouard Glissant and Postcolonial Theory: Strategies of Language and Resistance*, 21.
[183] Steinberg, *The Number: One Man’s Search for Identity in the Cape Underworld and Prison Gangs*, 283.
[184] Samuelson, “Sea-Changes, Dark Tides and Littoral States: Oceans and Coastlines in Post-Apartheid South African Narratives.”

As historical allusions, these terms point to the stubborn remnants of a colonial discourse of freedom as embodiment of propertied or restrained self-possession. The inconsistencies that *ordenleikheid* contingently works against, the unknowns from which *weggooimense* symbolically arise, and the unbounded outdoors *bergies* inhabit all contradict an understanding of freedom embodied by the slave-owning master who, as we have seen earlier in this chapter, violently catapults the rules of order, defines notions of origins (e.g. via naming practices) and family belonging, and possesses harvested land and the legitimised home. The modern gangster furthers this destabilisation as he symbolically performs mythologies of strength, heroism, brotherhood, order and discipline in counter to "the negative stereotypes of weak, parasitical and disorganized 'Coloured' men."[189] As "men of the

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[185] Adhikari, "The Sons of Ham: Slavery and the Making of Coloured Identity."

[186] Afrikaans for 'respectable,' connoting a "gentility and restraint" that is juxtaposed against "the stuttering rhythms and everyday inconsistencies" characteristic of impoverished communities; see: Ross, "Raw Life and Respectability Poverty and Everyday Life in a Postapartheid Community," 99.

[187] A *weggooi-ooi* translates as "an ewe that refuses to suckle her lamb;" see: Ross, 103.

[188] in her study, she finds that *bergie* status is the "ultimate degradation," with street life as the "negative pole on decency's scale." Ross, "Raw Life and Respectability Poverty and Everyday Life in a Postapartheid Community."

[189] Jensen, *Gangs, Politics and Dignity in Cape Town*, 71–94.

agterbuurte,"[190] they symbolically repossess territory and control an outdoors spatiality that is, by definition of outdoorsness itself, the quintessential juxtaposition with the colonial project of enclosure, unsettling the latter precisely by engaging with the "unclaimability of atmosphere itself."[191] Following Hartman, Cervenak and Carter call this the "black outdoors," that which "discloses freedom's inherent impropriety" through a profound wandering that eludes constraint through the unboundedness or openness of the outdoors.[192] Indeed, the likes of the gangster, the *bergie*, and so on are continuously framed as embodiment of precisely the same stubborn discourses we find in an early reference to 'gangs' circa 1666:

> "The Goringhaiconas subsist in a great measure by begging and stealing. – Among this ugly Hottentoo race, there is yet another sort called Goringhaicona, whose chief or captain, named Herry, has been dead for the last three years; these we have daily in our sight and about our ears, within and without the fort, as they possess no cattle whatever, but are strandloopers, living by fishing from the rocks. They were at first, on my arrival [1662], not more than 30 in number, but they have since procured some additions to their numbers from similar rabble out of the interior, and *they now constitute a gang*, including women and children, of 70, 80, or more. They make shift for themselves by night close by, in little hovels in the sand hills; in the day time, however, you may see some of the sluggard (luyaerts) helping to scour, wash, chop wood, fetch water, or herd sheep for our burgers, or boiling a pot of rice for some of the soldiers; but they will never set hand to any work, or put one foot before the other, until you have promised to give them a good quantity of tobacco or food, or drink. Others of the lazy crew, (who are much worse still, and are not to be induced to perform any work whatever,) live by begging, or seek a subsistence by stealing and robbing on the common highways, particularly when they see these frequented by any novices of ships from Europe."[193]

Another way to frame the issue is the consider how the forces of absence mark the discourse around 'Colouredness' across the centuries. The quote above is imbued with reference to what the Goringhaiconas did not 'possess' (within a context of extreme dispossession) to preface a narrative of criminality and banditry. This chapter has laboured to demonstrate how the discursive construction of slaves endeavoured to inscribe, often violently so, notions of lack and absence upon the bodies of the bonded so as to justify the project of captivity. During slavery, slave and indigenous bodies were objectified as property and as carnal signifiers of antithesis to the citizen-human embodied in the European imago; during the contemporary neoliberal order, the former's direct descendants figure as antithesis to the 'respectable' citizenry. The slaves' bondage was justified by the perceived lack they embodied, while the hyperincarceration of 'Coloured' men is likewise condoned until their communities 'reform' themselves. Enslaved bodies were inscribed with the lack of value, thus the droster regained ownership of their bodies and took to the mountains in constructing an alternate sense of value, or futurities; inhabitants of the Cape Flats are imbued with racist notions of 'Colouredness', thus the gangs' rituals and symbolism emanate from the reapproriating of the body with tattoos, movements and rhythms.[194] Through the latter, marooning continues as a generations-old practice echoed (in part) through the varying types of gangs created under each successive racialized structure of domination; processes of racialisation and creolisation conflate and diverge in the arena of the flesh, producing a surplus, articulated through escape, movement away, evasion of the oppressors' gaze.

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[190] Jensen, 92. *Agterbuurte* translates to the "back streets", important sites for gangs' constructions of selves in the townships

[191] *Fred Moten & Saidiya Hartman at Duke University*.

[192] Cervenak and Carter, "Untitled and Outdoors: Thinking with Saidiya Hartman," 46.

[193] Zacharias Wagenaer, *Memorandum* to Cornelis van Quaelbergen 24 September 1666. [Donald Moodie, *The Record*, 291]. Cited in: Upham, Mansell G. 2013. "In Memoriam: Florida: Mythologizing the 'Hottentot' practice of infanticide – Dutch colonial intervention & the *rooting out* of Cape aboriginal custom." In *Uprooting Lives: Biographical Excursions into the lives of the Cape of Good Hope's Earliest Colonial Inhabitants*, No. 7. Available online at: http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/remarkablewriting/UL07Florida.pdf. (Emphasis added)

'Colouredness' remains ontologically positioned as the incarnation of absence, lack-ness, and void. Indeed, certain contemporary writers continue to frame the problem of 'Coloured' gangsterism and crime as an inherited and, therefore, pseudo-biological fact that, in novel ways, positions 'Coloured' community as needing salvation. Specifically, Pinnock's latest book makes a suspect argument that "high levels of food insecurity among the poorest women in [the Cape Flats]" means that "becoming pregnant runs the risk of negative prenatal and neonatal outcomes from insufficient intake of iron, calcium, folate and vitamin A as well as from anaemia and depression."[195] He goes on to explain that "young people with prefrontal disorder may display poorer emotional control and be less able to judge the impact of their behaviour."[196] Finally, "the child/parent relationship depends entirely on the quality of parental care: good parenting completely cancels out the effects of poverty."[197]

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[194] It may be important to note that in both cases, resistance took/takes other forms in a myriad of social, cultural and political practices. It is not to suggest that gangsterism is either the main nor essential form of the communities' traditions of opacity-making, subversion and, moreover, creolisation.

[195] Pinnock, *Gang Town*, 164.

Without explicitly doing so, Pinnock reifies centuries-old narratives that frame the 'Coloured' child as inheritor of the uncontrollable and destructive qualities of his parents. The reliance on science and biology is not new, even as the particular argument has since evolved. While I do not argue that foetal alcohol syndrome and prenatal care are not serious realities, it important to critically read Pinnock's argument here as it reduces hyper-incarceration to the personal habits of individual mothers and fathers. It reinforces colonial constructions of the 'Coloured' child as the manifestation of a lack-ness: "If prisons were to be truly corrective they would assist young people to gain insight into th[e] relationship failure [of their fathers, mothers, siblings, etc…and]…would provide opportunities for them to restore self-respect, reliance on their own integrity and to change."[198] To bring this point home, I refer back to Christina Sharpe's unparalleled analysis:

> "reading together the Middle Passage, the coffle, and, I add to the argument, the birth canal, we can each has functioned separately and collectively over time to dis/figure Black maternity, to turn the womb into a factory producing blackness as abjection much like the slave ship's hold and the prison, and turning the birth canal into another domestic Middle Passage with Black mothers, after the end of legal hypodescent, still ushering their children into their condition; their non/status, their non-being-ness."[199]

Cohen has detailed how criminology from mid-1960s – influenced by interactionist sociology of deviance, labelling theory and leftist criminologies – attempts to reverse positivist criminology (separation of crime from the state, viewing criminals as 'determined, pathological beings') to emphasize criminality in relation to resistance, rebellion or protest.[200] Stigmatic labels, the political economy of law and punishment (Engels' theft as 'the most primitive form of protest'), and discourse of crime within power relations (i.e. Foucaultion approaches) became foci. Beyond the problem definition (i.e. criminalisation), furthermore, others questioned the political meanings of criminal behaviour, concluding, at one extreme, with the criminal as crypto-political actor and crime as an ‘embryonic form of social protest.’[201] Notably relevant concepts emerged: Cohen’s (1973) *convergence* (i.e. social labeling and behaviour converge); Hobsbawn’s *equivalence* (i.e. crime under certain conditions is functionally equivalent to protest/resistance); and *progression* (i.e. crime as primitive precursor for sophisticated political forms). This study does not, however, fall into a Western model of heroic criminality in Africa articulated through the syllogism: “If 'crime is inherently a form of protest' and banditry is 'simply a form of criminality common to agrarian societies', then banditry is a form of protest.”[202]

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[196] Pinnock, 172.
[197] Pinnock, 173.
[198] Pinnock, 254.
[199] Sharpe, *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being,* 74.
[200] Cohen, "Bandits, Rebels or Criminals: African History and Western Criminology."

Avoiding romanticisation, this research seeks not to imply blindly that the gang is an inherently political form nor gangsterism equivalent functionally to political behaviour. This would simply further categorize the bandit/gangster within typologies of who/what constitutes politically self-conscious criminals.[203] My inquiry, on the other hand, focuses on the gangster’s relation to two other forces – racialisation and creolisation. Creolisation, here, is not reducible to a protest politics – though, surely, many radical traditions and resistance strategies are richly weaved with(in) creolisation processes and, as argued by feminism, the personal is always political; rather, it is more complex as a creative praxis that simultaneously fills lacunae and continuously reenvisions ever-unstable epistemological totalities. This project thus deviates from Jensen’s gang as war machine figures as oppositional to political structures, Pinnock’s gangs as sites of ‘journeys’ where young men pursue brotherhoods and rituals that (re)present desired rites of passage,[204] and Philippe Bourgois’ urban drug dealer as locked into street economies due to a determined search for cultural respect structured symptomatically by institutional racism and life in the depressed 'ghetcolony'.[205]

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[201] Cohen, 469–70.

[202] Cohen, 474.

[203] Cohen, 476. Cohen offers four categories of deviants: (i) the 'pure-political' whose afforded legitimacy as a rebel; (ii) the 'pure-ordinary' who has no political motive; (iii) the 'unknowing-deviant’ who does not express political consciousness, yet is awarded this by others; and (iv) the 'contested-political' whose political account is not legitimised by others

[204] Pinnock, *Gangs, Rituals, and Rites of Passage*.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the ways in which 'Coloured' bodies have been systematically placed in intimate proximity to various iterations of confinement, captivity and enclosure since the institutionalisation of slavery in the Cape Colony. Throughout these various iterations, we further witness the continuity of particular racialising experiences that frame 'Coloured' identity within a discourse of 'not-fully-human' that, in turn, substantiated a sustained logic of captivity. Under slavery, various narratives dehumanised the enslaved and the indigenous enserfed, providing a discursive basis to justify not only enslavement but also the extreme disciplinary tactics and methods of punishment inflicted by slavers, VOC officials and commandos. During this period, we also witness the creation of spaces and forms of opacity, best exemplified by the widespread act of marronage as the primary form of radical resistance. Under the period of proletarianization, the systematically criminalised of the ex-bonded coincided with the development of a discourse of respectability that framed 'Coloureds' between a duality of the disciplinable and the innately criminal. During this period, we witness not only the development of the notion of *die skollie* but also the birth of urban gangs and the growing membership in prison gangs. Finally, the post-1994 period is marked by the solidification of hyper-incarceration and gangsterism.

It is important to recognise that the history – let alone legacy – of slavery as detailed above is a deeply silenced one. As Baderoon put its, "despite decades of historical scholarship, South African relations to slavery are marked by 'amnesia.'"[206] To explain this silencing,

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[205] Bourgois, *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio*.

[206] Baderoon, "The African Oceans–Tracing the Sea as Memory of Slavery in South African Literature and Culture," 94.

Wicomb foregrounds the politics of “shame” that has been attached to both enslavement and the widespread sexual trauma endemic to that period.[207] According to Maylam, another reason the colonial legacy remains entrenched in silence is that, unlike Apartheid, its statues and visible remnants do not trigger as much of an emotional reaction as those with more memorable lived traumas.[208] Yet, the salience of slavery’s silence can readily be felt to a much greater degree relative to other nations where slavery took place and is, at least, gaining greater recognition in public discourse, media, and educational spaces. North provides a sustained discussion of contested efforts to confront slavery’s silenced past in the contemporary context, highlighting how community historians and activists often provide highly personalised identifications with slave pasts to evoke an intergenerational narrative of exclusionary experiences under slavery, apartheid and post-apartheid orders.[209] State institutions, on the other hand, abstractly reframe slavery in relation to universal themes of human rights and reconciliation. In the following chapter, I turn to the research project conducted at the Slave Lodge Museum, in which I work with a group of formerly-incarcerated ‘Coloured’ men to engage in remembering slavery.

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[207] Wicomb, “Shame and Identity: The Case of the Coloured in South Africa.”
[208] Maylam, *The Cult of Rhodes: Remembering an Imperialist in Africa*.
[209] North, “Remembering Slavery in Urban Cape Town: Emancipation or Continuity?”

| Chapter III |

toward a poetic listening to silenced echoes: a methodology

This study seeks to investigate whether the afterlife of Cape slavery, as detailed in Chapter II, bears influence on the lives of the descendants of the enslaved, specifically those held by and within the carceral system. This research further explores strategies to navigate the continuities of racialised captivity, specifically in relation to opacity-making given the legacy of marronage. Recognising that this history is profoundly silenced, it simultaneously recognises what pioneering narrative methodologist, Catherine Riesmann, has suggested as the past's enduring presence in the current: "what happened in the past is deeply etched in the present."[210] To investigate these inquiries, I conduct a workshop series with a group of formerly-incarcerated men at the Slave Lodge Museum. The workshops revolved around poetry, creative writing, performance, and the history of Cape slavery. In this chapter, I outline the methodological framework and research design employed to conduct said workshop series and the subsequent analysis of writings and recordings from the workshops.

I begin with ethical and reflexive considerations as they relate to both my researcher positionality and the readers' engagement with the data and findings. Next, I discuss my arrival at this project through an approach to grounded theory that I term (under)grounded theory (UGT), narrating a pilot study at Pollsmoor Correctional Centre that preceded and profoundly informed both the Slave Lodge Museum workshop series and my analytic approach in general. Then, I describe the Slave Lodge Museum workshop series and the data generated from the workshops. Finally, I detail my approach to analysis, applying yet pushing the boundaries of existing methodologies. More precisely, this research asks of narrative structural analysis to account for the unaccountable, the silences and gaps concealed within spoken language. It applies poetic inquiry (PI), yet takes it along errant movements within the spatial confines of the page through unstable typographies. Table III-1 below presents the research questions (RQs) and sub-research questions (SRQs) that guide the remainder of this thesis:

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[210] Riessman, "Ruptures and Sutures: Time, Audience and Identity in an Illness Narrative," 1067.

Table III-1: Research Questions (RQs) and Sub-Research Questions (SRQs)

RQ/SRQ	Description
RQ 1	Does the silenced history of Cape slavery continue to shape the lives of contemporary carceral figures?
SRQ 1.1	What are the meanings of silence?
SRQ 1.2	What meanings do the formerly incarcerated derive from the silenced history of slavery?
RQ 2	Do the formerly incarcerated have strategies to navigate this silenced continuities?
SRQ 2.1	How do the criminalised engage in processes of opacity-making?
SRQ 2.2	What meanings do the formerly incarcerated derive from the history of marronage?

Ethics and Reflexivity

This research project explores the narratives and storytelling of the formerly incarcerated in Cape Town. As Avery Gordon forcefully conveys, captives of the prison regime – including the formerly-confined – are continuously rendered delegitimised and dispossessed state property, incapable of communicating for themselves through a structure that punishes the outspoken and, therefore, they produce “subjugated knowledge”[211] through highly inventive means using the available residues of prison, “including the remaking of themselves.”[212] Gordon therefore calls us to give careful consideration to this subjugated knowledge through a “methodology of imprisonment” that requires us to *listen* attentively to that which is already there.[213] Such listening strategies, in turn, require that stop short of demanding coherence or transparency from the bonded.

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[211] Gordon relies on Foucault’s conceptualization in which he is not necessarily making an epistemological distinction between the subjugated and the non-subjugated, but rather a political one through which the former’s truth claims carry particular political effect: Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*; for further discussion on this distinction, see: Bacchi and Goodwin, *Poststructural Policy Analysis: A Guide to Practice*. I thus wish to extend Gordon’s reliance on Foucault’s political/ontological formulation to further encompass an epistemic angle, as it has and will be argued throughout this study that careful attention to the carceral subject’s fugitive epistemology (or epistemological fugitivity) wields critical insight and insightful critique of a history of racialized captivity.

[212] Gordon, “Methodologies of Imprisonment.”

This further demands an unsettling of the unquestioned position of researcher-as-observer, particularly as this study examines a history of racialised captivity that is deeply entrenched in modalities of witnessing (almost all slave narratives in the Cape are told through court records, privileging the notion of witnesses while erasing and silencing all other modes of self-documentation), of visualising (racialisation as an optical realm of signification), and of scientific evidence (suffice it to mention an abundantly long and ongoing history of scientific racism used to pathologise racialised groups). Instead of demanding coherence and transparency, that is, this research is divested from “turning life [and narratives] into capacities for use, the logic of slave-making.”[214] Instead, it embraces what Ettinger calls wit(h)nessing, as a method of being present with the other in mutual encounter, bearing witness to the trauma of the other in ways that does not engulf them.[215]

Here, I wish to provoke another challenge upon the reader: to unsettle the fundamental role of *form*. More precisely, this research challenges our use as researchers of *form* in our methodologies (e.g. to in*form* readers, to *form*ulate theory, to trans*form* social realities, and so on). Earlier in this dissertation, I noted the central role of reformatories in the first half of the twentieth century to discipline and punish young men from racialised and working-class backgrounds in ways that shaped our ongoing reliance on the ever-growing carceral state to handle crime without addressing underlying structural issues. Furthermore, this research deals with prisons, whose role in society is, at best, to re*form* its confined inhabitants. Indeed, a tension arises in considering an appropriate methodological *form*at to deal with the narratives of participants whose very worth have been fundamentally redefined based on their successful trajectories along the re*form*ed path post-release. The history of racialised captivity in the Cape is one in which moral, racialised and gendered identities have been consistently disciplined into form, only to undergo cruel punishments when refusing such formulated taxonomies and discourses. How do we produce informative analyses that do not fundamentally rely on an understanding of information tied to colonial demands for transparency and coherence?

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[213] Gordon, 654.
[214] Hayward and Gosset, “IMPOSSIBILITY OF *THAT*,” 17.
[215] Ettinger, *The Matrixial Borderspace*.

Put succinctly, this thesis asks the reader to first reflect critically on their expectations for the data and analysis that follows this chapter. Without arbitrarily doing away with form and coherence all together, it is both the researcher and reader's responsibility to question the role of form, coherence and transparency in shaping the expectations we ultimately impose on the narratives participants share. Put differently, if runaway slaves sought opacity, how do we continue to respect opaque structures while still producing scholarship that equips us into better-informed researchers and citizens? The answer partly lies in allowing for a methodological approach and analysis that ruminates with unanswerability as an answer itself, disrupting the need for linearity in stories, coherent subjectivities in findings. To this end and as an ethical and political consideration, this project fundamentally argues that it is sufficient for participants to remain ineffable and for that ineffability to be precisely that which guides analytic listening strategies toward complex truths.

It is also important, here, to situate my own positionality as principal facilitator and project co-ordinator for the workshop series. I am a Salvadoran-American man who, at the start of workshops, had lived in Cape Town for five years. In the U.S., my racial identity has alternated between brown/latino/mestizo, but these racial identities and related experiences are clouded in the Cape Town context where I am perceptibly foreign-born – White-passing in many spaces – and English-speaking (with highly limited understanding of Afrikaans, a mother-tongue for most of the participants). Having grown up in a neighbourhood in the U.S.

where gangs were present and several childhood friends revolved in and out of the carceral system, my connection to the Cape was nevertheless deeply personal. My interest in the history of the Cape and with working with the incarcerated here stems from a deeper resonance I feel connects the lived experiences, historical trajectories and ongoing issues of hyper-incarceration and gang violence of the Cape with other communities worldwide. Throughout this project, I sustained numerous conversations about my research interests and work. Asked directly by the participants about my research and identity, I strove to be transparent and express these complexities as an ongoing conversation throughout the workshop process, sharing my own poetry and research questions, for example. Through this dialogue, I would forefront concepts such as the embodiment of memory and marronage, underlining my inquiries into these by way of the project. Nevertheless, I recognise that these discussions do not derail from the impact of my positionality within this space. To invoke Palestinian-American poet here: "I know I'm American because when I walk into a room something dies."[216]

While my ambiguous placement in the field and my research interests unavoidably influenced the workshop space, a further intentional decision was made to invite guest facilitators who could further hold space and who identify as 'Coloured', are fluent in Afrikaans and are from the Cape. Thirteen out of the 23 two-hour workshops were solely facilitated by myself. Guest facilitation covered eight out of these 23 total workshops, with an additional two sessions that were co-facilitated between one of the guest facilitators and myself. Guest facilitators included Najumoeniesa 'Nadjwa' Damon (history expert at Iziko Museums), Jan-Louise Lewin-Perez (gender scholar), Toni Stuart (poet and performer) and Jason Jacobs (theatre-maker and director). Two guided history tours involved walks through the Slave Lodge and to key sites around the central business district of Cape Town, critically engaging with not just the history but how it has been re-told and re-packaged over time. Specifically, Nadjwa takes a decolonial approach that radically critiques how the history and ongoing legacies of slavery are seldom told or properly framed. Between these tours, a range of poetry and body-centred creative writing workshops alternated between personal and historic narratives.

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[216] Hindi, "Fuck Your Lecture on Craft, My People Are Dying."

Following the 23 workshops, two of the guest facilitators, Jacobs and Lewin-Perez, conducted a further intensive four weeks of, respectively, workshopped rehearsals and exhibition preparation. Together, these sessions totalled over 20 days of sessions that were notably at least twice as long as the initial two-hour workshops. Jacobs then directed the stage production and Lewin-Perez curated its coinciding visual arts exhibition, together comprising an event called Maroon. Maroon was staged for one day on November 30, 2019, at the Slave Lodge Museum to coincide with Emancipation Day. Before the rehearsal period officially began, participants read and engaged with a select range of archival stories of *drosters* and slaves. They were asked to rewrite versions of the stories in their own words and imaginings, forging personal connections to the stories by identifying resonances. The *droster* narratives, the participants' responses to these accounts which were both written and improvised, and personal poems written prior to the introduction of droster stories all formed content for the stage production. The stage performance took place in one half of the space. The other half was where the visual arts exhibition was set up. In the exhibition, poems not being used in the performance were printed in a variety of mediums and visual displays. Both the stage performance and the exhibition fall outside the scope of this thesis.

Through my workshops, I attempted to circumvent imposing a predetermined or finite definition of a 'good poem' by encouraging participants to explore meaning on their own terms and give language to lived experiences that feel meaningful to them, to craft their poems until it 'feels right' in their bodies and to interrogate their writing by listening to their 'instinct.' The workshop process encouraged reflexive processes whereby each participant questioned whether he feels that he has dug deep enough into a story to address whatever burning questions and desires that sit deeply in his body. By underlining such notions as ‘only you know when the poem is done,’ ‘as long as it feels right in your gut,’ ‘there is no wrong answer’ and ‘keep asking yourself, why does this line matter to you until, through the poem, you’ve exhausted the answer,’ I attempted to position the poets as the authoritative voices who can re-author their own narratives. While the workshops provided prompts, covered specific themes and incorporated practices of critical feedback from facilitators and fellow participants alike, they simultaneously invited the poets to find their own voices and tell the stories in whichever way they deemed best. I would consistently reiterate that there is already always an abundance of poetry in and around their lived experiences, that I cannot teach them how to tell their stories but, rather, my role is only to facilitate a process of listening to their own memories and bodies in search of the poems that already exist therein.

This study, furthermore, has received approval from the Department of Sociology’s ethics committee and the University of Cape Town’s Humanities faculty. Participants were presented with a letter of informed consent outlining the purposes, risks, benefits and options as participants in this study (see Appendix III). In addition to signed letters of consent, verbal consent was obtained from each participant by way of detailed explanation of the consent forms before commencing the first set of interviews, where participants were able to ask questions or seek clarification. A written outline of the study along with the study’s objectives was also presented to each participant. Participation in this study was voluntary. Participants’ confidentiality and anonymity remains prioritized to ensure their safety. As such, all names are changed and replaced with pseudonyms. Interviews are accessible only to the researcher, supervisor and translators. Interview transcripts are attached in the appendices of the final dissertation. Hardcopies of the data collected, including transcripts and written poems, will be stored in a filing storage unit for a maximum period of five years, accessible only to the researcher, supervisor and external examiners for the purpose of grading the final dissertation.

From Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT) to (under)grounded Theory (UGT)

"How does one listen for the groans and cries, the undecipherable songs, the crackle of fire in the cane fields, the laments for the dead, and the shouts of victory, and then assign words to all of it? Is it possible to construct a story from 'the locus of impossible speech' or resurrect lives from the ruins? Can beauty provide an antidote to dishonor, and love a way to 'exhume buried cries' and reanimate the dead?"[217]

Grounded theory (GT) is a methodological approach that involves a simultaneous collection and analysis of data so that a researcher's analytic interpretations of data inform further data collection and vice versa, so that theory and data are constantly refining each other throughout the research process.[218] It's founders, Glaser and Strauss, sought to create a methodology that 'grounded' developing theory within empirical data.[219] As further developed by Strauss and Corbin, GT consists of systematic procedures designed to derive concepts inductively from an initial set of data, which then leads to and guides further data collection.[220] The foundational approach to GT has since been scrutinised as imbuing the method with a positivist epistemology, despite its post-positivist ambitions, and with a realist ontology that, together, allege a neutral researcher who can verifiably access some singular objective external reality by methodically minimising the researcher's subjectivity.

Against these objectivist assumptions, Charmaz proposes a constructivist approach that acknowledges the impossibility of 'value-free' or unbiased research and the multiplicity of social realities.[221] Based on particular strategies such as coding, memo-writing, and theoretical sampling, Charmaz frames data as a narration of reconstructed experience; as such, she argues that GT should not attempt to approach the original experience itself by privileging the researcher as an expert authority who is capable of 'giving voice' to research participants. Rather, the researcher is framed as active co-author who participates in a mutual creation of meaning. Unsettling the logic of the objective observer, the researcher is here repositioned within a relation of mutuality with participants. Mills et al. summarise constructivist grounded theory's (CGT) requirements through three points: developing reciprocity between participants and researcher toward grounding the research in the experiences of both; establishing processes to address power imbalances; and reflexive transparency around the researcher's biography and how exactly they gaze the data in order to "render participants' stories into theory through writing."[222]

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[217] Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," 3.

[218] Charmaz, "Grounded Theory: Objectivist and Constructivist Methods."

[219] Glaser and Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*.

[220] Strauss and Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*.

[221] Charmaz, "Grounded Theory: Objectivist and Constructivist Methods."

Data generation (as opposed to data collection) places the emphasis on a circular process of meaning-making that seeks to yield the researcher's control, so that participants may equally guide the research process in a way that leads to their own insights and findings, particularly for their own benefit.[223] The method is not without its limitations, however. Based on interviews with grounded theorists from around the world, Charmaz notes the tensions that arise when grounded theory is applied in post-colonial contexts.[224] Not only is it important to recognise how Western researchers are inevitably limited to "only glimpse but not grasp" how history shapes localised meanings, but interview itself can fundamentally be at odds with local cultural forms of relationships and communication.[225]

That is, while CGT does well to decentre the authoritative researcher figure and promote a mutual meaning-making process that prioritises interpretive rather than objectivist understandings of data, it remains ontologically dedicated to the very notion of being *grounded*. The guiding principle of developing theory from the ground up presupposes a stable "ground" from which stable or coherent theory would vertically emerge. CGT centres generative processes of mutuality and reflexivity to "unearth" theory, yet the idealisation of 'being grounded' implicitly invokes a static epistemology, presuming a localisable something or somewhere to be grounded in, a place within which theorisation takes root.[226] But if we follow Glissant in rejecting the totalitarian root, how might we reconceptualise GT around the movements of rhizomes that grow from wounded roots.[227] Of course, CGT does privilege relation, encounter and entanglement (between research and participant), so it is arguably rhizomatic in, at least, its intentions, but what remains is the question of how this theorisation engages with those rhizomes that emanate from irretrievability itself? Instead of a vertical movement of theory up from the ground, how can theory dwell in the underground, refrain from demanding transparency from its opacity, and still emerge illuminated by its "auto-illuminative shade/s."[228] Put differently, how can we imbue GT with an investment in dislocation and refusal through what Harney and Moten call a political strategy of unfindability?[229]

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[222] Mills, Bonner, and Francis, "Adopting a Constructivist Approach to Grounded Theory: Implications for Research Design," 9.
[223] Mills, Bonner, and Francis, "Adopting a Constructivist Approach to Grounded Theory: Implications for Research Design."
[224] Charmaz, "Grounded Theory in Global Perspective: Reviews from International Researchers."
[225] Charmaz, 1077.

Far from a critique of the semantics of GT's name, I am specifically pointing to GT's privileging of the delimited space between researcher and participant. How might GT account for that which exceeds such spaces, the in-between silences, the echoing voices of the past, and the always-in-excess-of-legibility opacity of Black noise?[230] Groundedness seems conceptually limited to attend to the mobile ontology of fugitivity central to this research. Theorising from beyond the boundaries of discourse, into the rhetorical modalities that breach such boundaries, may appear as an invitation to the unstable and undecipherable, which begs the question of whether it is worth investigation at all. On the contrary, this is simply an ethical framework that reminds us not to ask for full transparency in lieu of a history of colonial and postcolonial gazing, to respect opacity and Black noise and, in doing so, develop strategies that employ what Moten theorises as a ‘bone-deep listening.’[231] For Cook and Pettengill, this ‘bone-deep listening’ resists the question ‘what to hear’ to rather inquire ‘how to hear’, developing strategies to “listening so far into history that not only might the middle passage come (in)to mind, but the listener may also activate an ‘ensemble of senses.’”[232] The task requires of us that we descend into the depths of narrative’s musicality, its wanderings within yet eluding conditions of enclosure, the ‘invisible performance’ of history that can be sensed if we can just achieve a bone-deep listening to sound as always unfinished. Brooks conceptualises this as ‘fugitive listening’, which tasks us to “listen to the fugitive impulse that cannot be contained,” the collectively produced refusal of the grammars of racialisation to imagine worlds outside its paradigm.[233]

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[226] Rodner, "My Love Affair with Grounded Theory: Making the Passion Work in the 'Real' World."
[227] Glissant, *Poetics of Relation*; Allar, "Rhizomatic Influence: The Antigenealogy of Glissant and Deleuze."
[228] Moten, "The Case of Blackness," 212.
[229] Harney and Moten, *The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning and Black Study*.
[230] Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts."

I wish to propose a conceptual companion to CGT that will move beyond groundedness, to that which exceeds grounding, the narrative strategies of flight that are as traceable as they imbued with unknowability and ephemerality. Such framework is key to this study’s focus on epistemologies of flight that were spurred by slave-era maroons and crystallized as fugitive ontologies of ‘Colouredness.’ This moves from *grounded* theory to a theory of the *under*ground(ed). The very notion of the underground is first inspired by the following poem written within Pollsmoor Prison. With the exception of one line that is redacted to omit the participant’s name and maintain anonymity, I leave everything else as written, including spelling, enjambments and punctuation.

Blind from a mole by Samantha[234]

1. Their it gose…
2. No under that side…
3. This way
4. No!

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[231] Moten, *In the Break: The Aesthetics of the Black Radical Tradition*.
[232] Cook and Pettengill, *Taking It to the Bridge: Music as Performance*, 138.
[233] Brooks, 2020, p. 11.
[234] Names have been changed and given pseudonyms to conceal anonymity.

5. It’s gonna come up
6. this side now…
7. It’s blind
8. It’s a mole
9. And it’s gonna give
10. birth to another…
11. I don’t understand?
12. It’s a animal that
13. have no eye’s?
14. How do they do it
15. co’z they blind…
16. Mom met him while
17. she was blind
18. I guess she had
19. to love him much
20. even though she
21. couldn’t see!
22. So now i can say it is another
23. part of my part life categorie
24. yet I still ask myself
25. how?
26. How did she realy meet
27. him?
28. a part that was all closed up with grey painted blue floor only wanted me to adore to exsplore
29. Who am i?
30. Where do i come from?
31. Eastern Cape?
32. Cape Town?
33. No that is one hell
34. of a break down if you
35. think about it…
36. protecting me 4m all
37. negative energy.
38. Only, to stay bright even though
39. it was night.
40. I don’t know him
41. But i do know that he
42. made me in a process
43. of ‘intercourse’ and that
44. brought me in this
45. world… All part of the colored ansisters wanting me to survive
46. Black/White
47. maybe i might
48. but no i'm write the
49. way i am
50. speaking another language
51. me myself still can’t
52. stand it…
53. Yet it will stay apart

54. of me and where i
55. still wanna be…
56. Dad is one
57. So i should also speak
58. as the other one
59. for it will be apart
60. of me, being a littel girl scared
61. of many things
62. No matter i don’t wanna
63. be but we will see…
64. [line redacted to conceal identity]
65. love
66. could be something
67. sweeter then a dove…
68. I geuss mom knew
69. that i would give
70. and be loved
71. knoing that it come’z
72. from above…
73. also ready 2 see the world…
74. I believe she knew
75. i would give love
76. everywhere i go as a dove…Life hasn’t been easy…
77. that was a wrong turn
78. yet i still feel very breezy
79. co’z now i lay behind barz
80. inside…i see many scarz
81. cold like i've been bold
82. for a long time
83. maybe I was that main scar
84. But somewhere inside is a
85. part that is gonna shine
86. like my ansisters
87. desire’s me to be free
88. all back then…
89. thier it gose! All back so far.
90. under that rose! I know i will show
91. No it’s gonna come this way up again
92. i'll make that scar turn & b-come
93. the beutyfull star
94. How? behind barz
95. I’ll stand tall and rise…
96. It’s blind but it’s still
97. gonna give birth to
98. another soul
99. even though it’s in a hole for
100. a blind mole
101. i am
102. the soul from the
103. blind mole

Following a series of poetry workshops that explored the use of metaphor and that questioned incarcerated participants to think about their ancestry and lineages (see Appendix V for full workshop schedule), Samantha wrote this rather remarkable poem, presumably in her cell as she brought it in to share with me unexpectedly at the beginning of one session. This poem can be analysed a myriad of ways, as poetry invites us into the multiplicity of meanings, a point that will be further discussed in the following section. For the sake of time, two notable elements in this poem are particularly striking and will be briefly discuss: movement and temporality. Let's start with the multidirectional movement that abounds throughout the poem. Lines 1-6 set the tone and introduce the reader not only to an unpredictability in "its'" movements, but one that can be characterised by escape from a gaze. With each line, 'its' location is almost placed, only to escape us again and again ("No", "No!", "now"). The directions oppose each other ("under" vs. "come up") and force us to quickly adjust our orientation, yet we never actually catch a glimpse of 'it', but rather are simply told that 'it' is a blind mole, inviting yet another powerful contrast between 'its' blindness and our attempts to catch it in our gaze. We are furthermore given insight into the metaphorical meaning of the mole as connoting her mom.

Line 28 is somewhat ambiguous but provides another interesting juxtaposition of enclosure with free movement: we are seemingly given a childhood memory of Samantha "all closed up" in a space that has a "grey painted blue floor" where, despite the enclosure, she is taught (or expected) to "adore to exsplore" (Line 28). Another stark shift in the reader's movement occurs halfway through the poem: whereas the mole in the first part of the poem points the reader downwards to and below the ground, there is a sudden change at Lines 67 and 76, where a dove is introduced to describe herself, pointing us in quite the opposite direction toward the sky. At this new orientation "from above" (Line 72), she speaks of being "ready 2 see the world" (Line 73), which draws a further contrast with the mole's blindness. She speaks of giving love “everywhere i go as a dove” (Line 76), which again suddenly takes “a wrong turn” (Line 77) into the cold atmosphere of prison, as captured by yet another orientation: “behind barz” (Line 79). Lines 86-87 then introduce the desire “to be free” (Line 87) as both emanating from the “ansisters” (Line 86) and as a source of her continued ability to “shine” (Line 85) despite the circumstances of prison. Most interestingly, this brief rumination on freedom and the ancestors then leads to a reintroduction of the mobile mole in Lines 89 (“thier it gose!”), 90 (“under that rose!”) and 91 (“No it’s gonna come this way up again”). The poem concludes by placing the blind mole “in a hole” (Line 99), which continues the enclosed and cold atmosphere of the prison, particularly as it is framed as a sort of limitation or circumstance to overcome in Line 99 (“even though it’s in a hole”).

It is important to not only note the abundance of shifts in directional orientation, but to consider the broader cyclical movement of both starting and ending the poem with the mole in the hole. This is especially important as they bookend the brief flight of the dove that would only too quickly ‘turn’ to a life ‘behind bars’. The mole, or more precisely its rapid and unpredictable movements, are both a source (“it’s gonna give/birth to another” in Lines 9-10, and “i am/the soul from/the blind mole” in Lines 101-103) and a survival strategy, the latter evidenced by the mole’s immediate reintroduction following the carceral ‘turn’ and the ancestors’ desire for her freedom. Between two lines referencing the mole’s movement and orientation, Line 91 (“No it’s gonna come this way up again”) and Line 99 (“it’s in a hole”), Samantha comments on her own agency to *give* orientation when she writes “i’ll make that scar *turn* and b-come/the beutyfull star” (Lines 92-93) and “*behind* barz/I’ll stand tall and *rise*…” (Lines 94-95). Indeed, Samantha takes back power here within the narrative hold of the mole. The ellipses in Line 95 is important and should be interpreted as a distinct and intentional ambiguity, where her overcoming of the enclosure symbolised by the ‘barz’ can only be metaphorically explained by the inexplicability of the mole’s blind and erratic mobility.

Like the movement of orientation, the temporal sequences in the poem are similarly fugitive and multidirectional. Lines 1-10 are present tense and enact an ongoing scene of the mole moving around and then “gonna give/birth to another…” (Lines 9-10; note the ellipses again). Line 16 takes a dramatic turn to her mom’s past when she ‘blindly’ fell in love with her father. Lines 22-27 bring us back to the current (“now” and “still”) as she presently grapples with the meaning of her mom’s love. Line 26-27 (“How did she realy meet/him?) reorients us to the past, while subtly alluding to the movements of the mole in Lines 1-6, as she cannot seem to pinpoint or explain either the mole or her mom’s movements. Line 28 transposes us so briefly to what seems to be a childhood memory of Samantha in a closed environment gaining a love for exploring. Whereas Lines 29-45 see Samantha questioning her origins (“Eastern Cape?/Cape Town?”, Lines 31-32) and takes us to the time of her father bringer her “in this/world” (Lines 44-45), Line 45 brings a drastic leap as we are taken ambiguously into history with Line 45 (“All part of the colored ansisters wanting me to survive”) to contextualise her birth within a broader tradition of survival.

Lines 68-76 ruminate about what her mom “knew” (Lines 68 and 74) in the past tense about Samantha’s life of ‘giving love’ wherever she would go, applying rhyme and repetition to almost momentarily suspend the reader within that moment. We are immediately brought to the harsh reality of the present with her ongoing incarceration (“inside…i see many scarz”, Line 79). Temporality in the prison is given an elongated texture when she writes “cold like i’ve been bold/for a long time” (Lines 81-82), suggesting that the experience changed her in ways that only long periods of time normally could. Again, allusion to the ancestors is made in Line 86 to contextualise a hope for freedom within their broader history, which in turn marks her transition into the future tense. In Lines 92 and 95, she relays her plans to ‘rise’ and overcome the odds. This hopeful moment is then supported by another trip to the past with the metaphorical reference to her mom’s (the mole) seemingly miraculous ability to give birth, before ending on the present proclamation of “i am” (Line 101). In short, we see a fluid temporal sequencing, particularly in the latter part of the poem where she moves from the present (incarceration) to the past (ancestors) to the future (rising) to the past (mole/mom giving birth) and finally to the present (I am).

As mentioned above, this poem can be analysed in a myriad of more sustained ways. It is rich in imagery and poetry above and beyond the brief remarks I make here about its temporal sequences and dis/orientations. For the purposes of this chapter, I introduce this poem to state a case for extended CGT to what I call, in the spirit of Samantha’s insightful poem, (under)grounded theory (UGT). As I show above, one can decipher the poem’s structural elements and narrative strategies to interpretively deduce a range of meanings. However, my point is rather to show that the poem and its narrator demand of us attention to their performative fugitive acts. The poem’s multi-directionality, plethora of ambiguities (e.g. 18 instances of ellipses), multi-temporalities, layered textures and so on are not simply markers of its complexity, but elements of its opacity.

UGT is not suggested as an alternative to CGT, but rather a complementary approach that allows the researcher to take note of fugitive speech acts, opaque structures, and Black noise without demanding of it complete transparency or re-presentability. Indeed, this research project remains directed by CGT but hopes to propose means of circumventing its limitations when it comes to dealing with fugitive narratives and epistemologies. To bring this point home, I present two additional poems written by two other incarcerated participants, Brian and Karim:

My Eyes by Brian

1. The windows of my soul the eye never lie they blood shot red im tripping over you and i
2. just dont know why i never meant to start this war i just want you to let me in there’s
3. nothing in this world i want more

4. The windows of my soul the eye never lie they blood shot red im tripping over my ancestors
5. and i just dont know why

Here, I do a brief reading that furthers this notion of practicing ‘bone-deep’ and ‘fugitive’ listening strategies along the lines of the proposed mole theory method. Riddled with ambiguities, *My Eyes* is nevertheless contained within a tight structure through the rhyme schemes of, first and lastly, “eye”, “lie”, and “why” (Lines 1-2 and 4-5) and, secondly, “war” and “more” (Lines 2-3). Within this rhythmic structure, we are taken through the flux that is his plead to the ancestors to finally let him in. Between the first two lines, we are simultaneously told of the ‘eye’ that does not lie and carries a truthful window to his soul as well as its blood-shot hues that marks the uncertainty around why he’s “tripping” over the ancestors. In other words, there is an almost jazz-like dissonance between the opacity and truthfulness of the eye that beholds as much as it withholds answers to the ‘why’ in Line 2. The following line, “i never meant to start this war” (Line 2), is highly ambiguous as there is no context for what war he refers to or why he is framed (pun intended, perhaps) as starting it. What we are able to interpret, at least, is the tension he holds between the volatility and violence of an ongoing ‘war’ and the sense of a peaceful or resolute destination within the “in” (Line 2) that the ancestors are apparently keepers thereof.

As in Samantha’s poem, we witness the poem’s coda returning cyclically to a repetition of the poem’s first part, allowing the ambiguity characterised by contrast to both beginning and end to the story. Listening to the poem’s dissonances and interpretive ambiguities along the rhythmic contours of the rhyme scheme invites us into the emotional landscape of the narrative, where the colour of blood gives ‘war’ a violent sonicity that is then placed adjacent to an ancestral realm of ‘in’ to give it a contrasting feel that renders is a sort of answer to the chaos. Through this reading, new meaning then arises as we re-listen to the phrase “in this world” (Line 3): within this soundscape, the seemingly innocent adverb, ‘this’, presents a rather implicit invitation to imagine a world outside of ‘this’ one. Instead of saying, “nothing in *the* world”, Brian writes ‘this’ within a context that is imbued with war, confusion, and a descent that is simultaneously a collapsing *into* with the double-entendre of the proverbial “tripping” (Line 1). Listening to the poem, in short, directs us to a world beyond the explicit contents of the poem, as its musicality and imagery demands that we understand that “this world” (Line 3) is the realm of opacity and ambiguity, and his desires for “more” (Line 3) exist beyond grammars and accessibility of our current imaginary.

The Hour Glass by Karim

1. Like the sands through the hour
2. glass/ Im putting my troubles in the past
3. Ive been running and running
4. Without purpose and direction
5. Been doing it for so long
6. Now Im doing it with perfection
7. Drugs and crime was my only solitation
8. And a pile of broken hearts
9. Was my only investment.
10. Ive been lost and alone
11. I prefered to be on my own.
12. I never wanted friends
13. So I could use my drugs alone.
14. But in the back of my mind
15. Like traveling threw space and time
16. I thought I had the answers
17. with still so many questions.
18. So can someone please tell me
19. What do I need to feed this greed
20. To be freed from the guilt and
21. The pain cause Im going insane.

Like Brian, Karim structures his poem with rhyme schemes that guide the listener. This rhyme scheme is sporadic and fluid, including end rhymes as in Lines 4 and 6 (“direction” and “perfection”), internal rhymes as in Lines 19 and 21 (“feed” and “greed”; “pain” and “insane”), and slant rhymes as in Lines 14 and 15 (“mind” and “time”), supporting the shifting movements of the narrative itself which includes “running and running” (Line 3), being “lost” (Line 10), “traveling threw space and time” (Line 15), and “*going* insane” (Line 21, emphasis added). As with Samantha’s poem, *The Hour Glass* these constant movements provide a fugitive texture to the narrative that takes the reader in unpredictable and unknown directions, inviting us to *feel* the experience of being “lost and alone” (Line 10) how the movements are an example of the poet’s agency in light of the rigid structures of life. Take, for example, Lines 3-6. The first two lines provide a directionless movement that is characterised by an idleness through repetition in Lines 3 and 5 (“running and running”; “doing it for so long”) and privation in Line 4 (“*without* purpose”, emphasis added). The particular rhyme of ‘perfection’ with ‘direction’ and the sonically rigid quality of -ection then gives this Sisyphus-like sense of directionless idle movement, a sudden sense of a controlled break (feel the ‘-ec’ in your mouth) followed by a hushing yielding (feel the ‘-tion’). This quality of narrativity is akin to jazz, as unpredictable or improvisational movement abounds within the rigidity of a song’s tempo and structure.

The ‘hour glass’ metaphor is also important, as the poem ruminates on temporality itself, comparing the past to the sand that escapes him or, more accurately, that he attempts to ever-escape. The desire to run from the troubles of the past prove futile within the spatial containment of an hour glass, as the “pile of broken hearts” (Line 8) and the persistence of “so many questions” (Line 17) have nowhere to leave the physical structure of the hour glass and thus remain in the poem’s purview (e.g. consider how the pile of broken hearts compares to the pile of sand implicit in the hour glass’ imagery). The previous desire for drug-filled solitude while “traveling threw space and time” alone, which Karim describes between Lines 10-15, is then disrupted by the desire for outside help in Line 18 (“So can someone please tell me”). The poem ends with ‘insanity’ as the only apparent destination of all this lonely movement, as Karim asks of us that we provide answers to free him *from* guilt and pain. In sum, a ‘bone-deep listening’ to this poem provides us insight into the very epistemology of fugitivity where ‘running’ at the absence of sociality and community leads to psychic desperation and instability, particularly as it is the ‘past’ and the lack of answers that chase Karim into an endless mode of “traveling threw space and time” (Line 15).

How CGT and UGT theory come together in this research design is outlined in Table III-3 below, but first I wish to provide an overview of the pilot research project in which the three poems were generated. While this pilot study was initially supposed to be part of the broader analysis to cross-examine how conducting this research inside the total institution of the carceral setting compares to doing it outside (i.e. at the Slave Lodge Museum) with the same participants, it proved impossible to reconnect with the incarcerated participants, despite efforts from the partner organisations. It also became apparent that I must distinguish the prison project as a pilot study for two additional important reasons. Firstly, the data was better collected in the second phase where audio recording took place. With the Pollsmoor project, I relied purely on handwritten interview data and fieldnotes upon facing restrictions on bringing a recording device. Secondly, the pilot study allowed me to strongly refine both my interviewing and workshop schedules. The following provides a brief overview of the pilot phase and how I built upon it through CGT to conduct the current research analysis.

This pilot study took place at Pollsmoor Prison in collaboration with partner Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), Help! I am Free (HIAF)[235] and the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO). Pollsmoor was selected as the site for this study because of its well-documented prison gangs, its location within Cape Town, and the access provided by existing programming. It took place in Medium C which houses soon-to-be-released offenders, given HIAF and NICRO’s shared vision of using theatre to provide life-skills to offenders to ease the re-entry process. As part of our agreement, HIAF was solely responsible for conducting the recruitment, which relied on their own discretion and criteria and involved a mass presentation to the inmates at Medium C, an interviewing process for interested sign-ups, and a final selection of 15 participants. HIAF's eight-month programme, set between March-September at Pollsmoor, formed part of a broader annual collaboration between NICRO and the Artscape Theatre Centre, with HIAF's project culminating in a stage production debuted in the 'See Me: I am Human' Indaba[236] hosted at Artscape.

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[235] Operating in South Africa since 2012, HIAF is an international collaboration between Vardeteateret in Norway and NICRO, with the support of FK Norway, a Norwegian governmental body that finances cross-cultural collaborative projects. HIAF’s stated mission is to use theatre as a method for rehabilitation and reintegration of (ex-)offenders.

The overall programme comprised of three three-hour workshops each week (Tuesday-Thursday, 9am-12pm).[237] It was primarily set within an educational classroom at Medium C but occasionally moved to the cafeteria when the classroom was double-booked for a conflicting program. As part of the agreement with HIAF, I was permitted to run my workshops during the Wednesday meetings each week, with Tuesdays and Thursdays dedicated to dance, acting, and other theatre-based workshops facilitated by HIAF staff. Our workshops did not complement or reference each other in terms of content, objectives, or pedagogical methods. Instead, my sessions were framed as supplementary, loosely tied to HIAF's broader aims. The collaboration was executed with boundaries, given our mutually distinct approaches and objectives: we did not, for example share workshop lesson plans. HIAF staff, all of whom were Norwegians, were present throughout my workshops, but relegated themselves to observers during these sessions (albeit highly-visible observers, to be sure, given the classroom spatial limitations and underlying racial dynamics inevitably at play). I conducted a 12-week workshop series with a co-ed group of 15 participants. While this group did not fully meet my target population (i.e. three participants were non-'Coloured' Black South Africans and one was White), the majority met the study's criteria. As detailed above through the three examples, participants' poems themselves prompted me to move beyond established modes of narrative analyses to delve into the 'bone-deep' and 'fugitive' listening strategies previously discussed.

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[236] This performance is used as a central incentive for participants to sign-up and commit to the project.

[237] On several occasions it started anywhere between 15 minutes to an hour late due to prison bureaucratic processes (e.g. the guard designated to release and escort the men may have been unaware of this programme; the women were escorted slower or with delays on some days; the classroom was double-booked). On one occasion, my workshop was cancelled altogether: upon arrival, we were told that the warder on site that day was not informed of our session and could not approve of our using the classroom.

Table III-2: Applying Grounded Theory Principles

Method	Principles	Corresponding Research Design Practices
Constructivist Grounded Theory	Developing participant-researcher reciprocity	Sharing my own poetry, work, and research interests in a sustained manner.
	Establishing processes to address power imbalances	Check-ins: before and after each workshop; throughout the workshop series to ask how participants want to guide the general trajectory of the sessions; on a one-on-one basis outside of the session. Group Contract: Inviting participants to come up with agreed-upon rules and vote on matters related to breaches of the contract. Guest Facilitators: to mitigate cultural bias, guest facilitators with a criteria of sharing participants' cultural or racial backgrounds.
	Theoretical Sampling	Refined the theoretical framework, introducing completely new concepts based on the themes from pilot study
	Reflexive transparency around the researcher's gaze into the data	Researcher-authored poems that reflexively scrutinise my role as facilitator and researcher
	Relation of mutuality	Flexible Workshop Schedule: Allow the workshops to be fluid and flexible enough to attend to participants' needs and preferences. Co-authoring: Continuously remind participants that the project is theirs and the story and content of the public performance, in particular, is up to them.
(Under) Grounded Theory	Respecting opacity	Fugitive listening strategies that recognises (without 'capturing') the impulse of narratives to avoid containment or representation.

Method	Principles	Corresponding Research Design Practices
	Respecting Black noise	Bone-deep listening strategies that considers the musicality and layered depths of a narrative.
	Respecting fugitivity	Allowing for analysis to include interpretation that is simultaneously insightful as it remain attendant to modes of flight, ambiguity (opacity) and unknowability

To summarise, I present UGT as a companion to CGT to further help researchers become attentive to data that may be imbued with elements of opacity, Black noise, and fugitivity. More specifically, I suggest the following steps to conduct UGT:

1. Define the research question(s);
2. Recruit and generate data;
3. Identify instances of ambiguities, rhythms, nonlinear temporalities, and multidirectional movements;
4. Compare and identify patterns of these instances to avoid demanding clear meanings;
5. Write the various possible meanings from these instances and their patterns and acknowledge the limits of the data's transparency.

Data Generation

For the Slave Lodge Museum workshop series, the participant sample was drawn from a range of connections and networks, following a snowball sampling technique.[238] For example, three participants were recruited through the support of the Gangstar Café, a social enterprise of the Message Trust which works with ex-offenders and youth through jobs and life skills training. They then brought along a friend who is not part of the Message Trust programme. Similar snowball invitations were extended through other networks that included Help Me, I'm Free (HIAF) and individuals met through a Sex Workers Education and Advocacy Taskforce (SWEAT) event. Invitations were extended on a case by case basis to individuals who strictly met all of the following criteria:[239]

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[238] Thompson, *Sampling*.

- Have been formerly incarcerated at some point in their lives;
- Self-identify as 'Coloured';
- Be South African citizens;
- Reside in the Western Cape;
- Have basic reading and writing skills;
- Present an interest in poetry and/or performing arts.

All the participants are 'Coloured' men, with ages ranging from 25 to 46 (see Appendix IV for the Personal Information form I asked recruits to complete upon signing up). From an initial recruitment of ten participants – an exciting group who brought a diversity of critical insight, lived experiences, and creative capacities, evidenced in the first three weeks of fruitful and invigorating workshop discussions and exercises –half dropped by the fifth week.[240] I consider the remaining five participants who remained throughout the 12 weeks of workshops as the 'core group.' After becoming a core group member and investing much creativity and energies into the work, a final participant dropped out in the final four weeks following a heavy drug relapse; however, because his departure took place after all of the workshops were completed, I still consider him part of the core group. The following incentives to participate in the workshop series were provided:

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[239] While there were a few interested individuals who expressed interest in joining at a later stage in the project, for both analytical and programming purposes, I strictly kept recruitment to those who joined from the beginning. From an analytical perspective, missing the initial critical weeks would dramatically impact my ability to compare the data. From a programming perspective, it is my experience as a practitioner that allowing new intake sporadically and late often creates greater issues: it can unsettle group dynamics just as they are fostering trust and unity with each other; it can undermine participants' confidence that the program is serious; it causes difficulty for the facilitator to manage and get to know participants' personalities, learning styles, learning needs, and more.

[240] Two promising participants, unfortunately, fell back into drug habits, while another one observably had never stopped and, perhaps because of this, was both inconsistent and disinterested during sessions. A fourth participant, who was very active and interested in the project left on the fifth week after finding a job, which understandably superseded involvement in the project due to more urgent financial needs.

- Daily travel stipends during workshop days;
- Lunch provided during workshop days;
- Inclusion in a public showcase/stage production;
- Optional inclusion in a potential published poetry collection.

Throughout the workshops, I reiterate the research questions and historical interests of my dissertation project, to reinforce a destigmatisation of any gang affiliations within the workshop environment and to remain transparent around the research orientation of the project. With the final core group, two participants reported to have been previously gang members, two reported being currently gang members, and one was never in a gang. I do not inquire into the offenses for which participants were previously incarcerated, as that can overinfluence researcher bias and researcher-participant dynamics in counter-productive ways. The location of the project, the Slave Lodge Museum, also presents a site-specific offering of historical and cultural significance as a site of memory and of forgetting. As the second oldest building in the nation, it contains memory and aims to spatially preserve the history of slavery at the Cape. As such, the Slave Lodge Museum was chosen as a site-specific space to conduct the writing and performance workshops. The aim was not to redeem lost histories, but to understand the structure of memory by embodying the very voids and non-linear temporalities constituted by space and body alike.

Data generation in this project relies on an arts-based collaborative approach with a group of formerly incarcerated men who produced written and performative works through a series of workshops. Appendix I provides a detailed account of the workshop series, including day-to-day exercises and plans created by the facilitators involved. With regards to the data generated therein and subsequently analysed, recordings and copies were collected voluntarily but exceed the spatial limitations of this dissertation. For this reason, I am only able to analyse and discuss portions of the data collection, following a selection process that identifies recorded workshops and participant-produced poems that are most relevant to the research questions presented in Table III-1. The selected workshops for this dissertation include at least one from each facilitator and guest facilitator. Specifically, data is generated from the select workshops outlined chronologically in Table III-3.

Table III-3: Summary of Select Workshops

No.[241]	Workshop Name	Facilitator	Category of Data Generated[242]	Title of Data[243]	Research Question addressed[244]
4.1	Through the Water	Jan-Louise Lewin	Participant-produced poems	Hand Poems	SRQ 1.1 & SRQ 1.2
7.1	Listening to the Silences of the Mountain (Part I)	Toni Stuart	Participant-produced poems	Silence Poems	SRQ 1.1
7.2	Listening to the Silences of the Mountain (Part II)	Toni Stuart	Poetic Transcription	It's a dream choice	SRQ 1.2
8.2	Haikus	Javier Perez	Poetic Transcription	Haikona	SRQ 2.1
9.1	Slave History and Heritage Tour	Nadjwa Damon	Poetic Transcription	No Comparison / Just So Small	SRQ 1.2
10.1	Intro to Performance	Jason Jacobs	Poetic Transcription	DNA	SRQ 1.2
12.2	Die Drosters (Part III)	Javier Perez	Poetic Transcription	"drosting"	SRQ 2.2
Post-Workshops Focus Group Interview	N/A	Javier Perez	Poetic Transcription	"Die grot"	SRQ 2.1

Taking place at the Iziko Slave Lodge Museum, the research project employs creative practices such as performance, repetition and visual engagement as proposed through Finley's concept of mnemonic aesthetics as a sustained form of ritualised remembering that seeks to preserve memory of that which would otherwise succumb to collective amnesia, especially through practices that make lucid ties between past and present.[245] It further follows Fleishman's framework for a performance-based process that places the body in engagement with material objects and historical sites to situate the past and present in mutual conversation. In Fleishman's theatre-making model, actors pursue a physical exploration of the objects first with a silent listening to the latter, slowly allowing sound to emerge until, if possible, music becomes composed.[246] The embodied response to the objects synthesises the past as present, situating the body as a site of engaging in 'counter-temporality' whereby fragments might not result in coherence but rather "tend towards disruption and discontinuity and ultimately dissolve back into fragments" that, in turn, ought to be celebrated, nonetheless.[247] Instead of totalising the fragments, this approach offers "mnemonic provocations so that the audience might creatively remember, might bring fragments or remains of the past together in the present into a narrative of restitution."[248] Working with a group of formerly-incarcerated men through poetry, arts and performance workshops, the research seeks to explore resonances and links made by participants between their personal narratives and the Cape's slave past. Participants engage with, for example, curated narratives of *die drosters*, images related to slavery (e.g. the iconic slave ship image) and interactive tours of key historic sites, while learning writing, visual arts and performance-based strategies to recount their own lived experiences and narratives.

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[241] Workshops are numbered according to week and day. For example, the second session on week 2 is numbered 2.2.
[242] Table III-4 below and the text that precedes it provides more detail on these data categories.
[243] These are the titles that will header analysis of each one in Chapters IV.
[244] See Table III-1.

From these sessions, journals containing written exercises and edited poems as well as audio recordings of workshops were collected. Following the workshops, an audio recording of a final focus group interview was collected as well. Finally, video recordings of workshop 12.2 was also collected. From these written, audio recorded, and video recorded data sources, two primary categories of data were generated: participant-produced poems and researcher-produced poetic transcripts. Participant-produced poems encompasses primarily those poems written in their journals that participants generated throughout the workshop series in response to facilitators' prompts and writing exercises.[249] Participant-produced poems also include found poems, those that were also generated through writing exercises the workshops but emanate from writings that were not intended for or framed in terms of writing a poem, necessarily. These writings did not undergo editing or group feedback processes, for example. This study pays further attention to those participant-produced poems that they chose and decided to prepare for the final stage production. These poems are hereby referred to as Maroon poems. The workshops from which these latter poems were initiated vary widely, including but not exclusive to, those listed in Table III-3. Researcher-produced poetic transcripts relate to poems crafted based on transcriptions of audio-recordings. The section on 'poetic inquiry' further down in this chapter expounds both poetic transcription and found poetry and their analytic purposes. Table III-4 below summarises the categories and sizes of data generated.

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[245] Finley, *The Art of the Slave Ship Icon*.
[246] Fleishman, "Cargo: Staging Slavery at the Cape."
[247] Fleishman, 18–19.
[248] Fleishman, 19.

Table III-4: Summary of Data Generation

Category of Data Generated	Source	Authoring process	Form of Data	Total size of data selected for analysis
Participant-Produced Poems	Journals	Participants wrote and edited these poems	Scanned copies of hand-written originals	13 (two-three per participant)
Researcher-Produced Poetic Transcripts	Audio recordings or workshops and post-workshops focus group interview	Researcher composed these poems based on recorded discussions and activities from the workshops and focus group interview	Audio recordings	7

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[249] A distinction can be made between those 'participant-produced' poems written in response to and engagement with the questions, exercises and discussions posed by the researcher and research project, on the one hand, and those written outside this context, unprompted by the delineated research objectives and questions. While one might go so far as to argue that the former should also be considered researcher-produced – to the extent that the researcher determines the prompts and workshop contexts wherein the poems are made – it is important to remember that writers and poets everywhere often attend workshops, produce prompted work, and still retain authorship of those works. A plethora of work by emerging and established poets are constantly produced out of residencies, writing retreats, workshops and even the likes of online daily prompt sources. While it is important to note these contexts, it is equally important to acknowledge the writers' full authorship. On the other extreme, it could be argued that all poems are prompted insofar as some specific context posed the circumstances, questions or spaces that made their production possible.

Category of Data Generated	**Source**	**Authoring process**	**Form of Data**	**Total size of data selected for analysis**

Analytic Approach

Narrative Structural Analysis

Narrative analysis provide close readings and interpretive examinations of stories presented, eliciting participants' conscious and unconscious meanings.[250] This study is influenced by a particular type of narrative analysis on narrative structural analysis, where stories' thematic content remain relevant, but attention is equally given to the form of the storytelling and the narrative devices used to guide the narrative flow.[251] It acknowledges that the *way* in which participants narrate their stories is itself rich in meaningful complexities. One classic method of analysing structure is Labov's model in which narratives are examined for six main components: an abstract (a narrative's summary), orientation (person, time, place, etc.), sequence of events, evaluation of meaning, resolution, and coda (marked by a return to the present point-of-view).[252]

As Riessman tells us, however, it is important to go beyond this model and avoid assumptions around what constitutes linguistically as a well-structured narrative, including Western assumptions that privilege straightforward temporal sequences.[253] Livholts' suggestion of a 'nomadic methodology' is apt, as it resists Western notions of time as naturally linear in favour of narrative strategies anchored by cyclical histories of discursive ideas and power.[254] Narratives are examined for their structures as a way of mapping the rhythms, fragments and ambiguities that create patterns and contradictions along both hegemonic and subversive time structures. To move beyond the traditional Labovian framework, Riessman problematises the Aristotelian tripartite beginning-middle-end plot frame that predominates the field, recognising the form as a useful interpretive tool but "not natural phenomena," especially so in a narrative with a more "insidious onset" revolving around the sutures and ruptures of life.[255] Analysing her own illness narrative based on diaries she kept during a period of cancer treatment, Riesmann highlights that "the account is shaped by my (in)ability to tell it," invoking the importance of gaps and omissions in the very structuring of narratives knit together under post-traumatic conditions and capacities.[256] As further argued by Bold, structural analysis is particularly suitable for studies involving memory, because units of language can be used "to link the fragments of what was said" in an otherwise non-unidirectional narration of events.[257]

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[250] Riessman, *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences*.
[251] Riessman, "Narrative Analysis."
[252] Labov, *Sociolinguistic Patterns*.
[253] Riessman, "Ruptures and Sutures: Time, Audience and Identity in an Illness Narrative."
[254] Livholts, "Discourse as Embodied Genealogies."

Gee offers a compelling framework wherein stories are divided into their inherent poetic structures.[258] For Gee, the movements of speech (pitch, stress, pause, etc.) must be privileged as a way of parsing out the poetics of the narrative and as a way of recognising that different cultures, linguistic traditions, dialects and narrators themselves rely on varying and diverse narrative structures. If we listen to changes in the rhythmic, syntactic, phonological and semantic patterns of a narrative, we can map out its structure which, in turn, "tells us the terms on which it requests to be interpreted."[259] Gee's frames the general structure of narratives as divided into parts, strophes, stanzas, and lines. Stanzas form their basic building blocks, with related pairs of stanzas called strophes, which, in turn, fall within the larger units of 'parts.' The parts and strophes constitute the story's macrostructure and the stanzas and lines its microstructure. Whereas lines group into stanzas, which have "a particular 'take' on a character, action, even, claim, or piece of information," stanzas cluster into related groupings called strophes, which group into related pairs called parts.[260] The microstructure exclusively plays the interpretive roles, whereas the macrostructure helps to organise and discuss analysis thereof.

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[255] Riessman, "Ruptures and Sutures: Time, Audience and Identity in an Illness Narrative," 1057–58.
[256] Riessman, 1068.
[257] Bold, *Using Narrative in Research*, 128–29.
[258] Gee, "A Linguistic Approach to Narrative"; Gee, *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*.
[259] Gee, "A Linguistic Approach to Narrative," 32.

Gee describes stanzas as ‘vignettes’ each showing a different scene, a different claim of, perspective on, or framing of something or someone.[261] Stanzas, in turn, reflect a sort of discourse planning, or patterns of disfluencies and discursive changes. Moving on to structures within stanzas are line structures, each about a different central idea the line is syntactically organised around. Stanzas are, in Gee’s framework, the first level of analysis. He then offers five following levels of structure that exist at the line level and each points to different interpretive structural meanings: syntax and cohesion; the plot’s main and off lines; psychological subjects; and the focusing system, as based on pitch, stress of spoken words and pitch glides that signal the focus of a given sentence (e.g. in the phrase, “dogs love raw meat”, a pitch glide on “dogs” implies a prior conversation of raw meat and dogs as a new focus, but a pitch glide on “meat” places the focus on the latter). Syntax and cohesion within lines is interpreted as the second level of structure that reveals a logical sequencing that spells out how lines and stanzas are interrelated. For the purposes of this study, I reframe Gee’s syntactic devices as poetic devices and add to it a range of poetry devices that are prevalent in poetic works. Table III-5 below outlines some of the devices that are focused on in this study:

Table III-5: Poetic and Syntactic Devices

Name	Type	Function or role
Conjunction	Syntactic or cohesive[262]	Makes certain logical connections (“so”)
Demonstrative pronoun		Proximates the level of connection betweentwo lines (e.g. “this” or “that”)
Dislocation		Contrast when switching to new topics

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[260] Gee, 23.
[261] Gee, “A Linguistic Approach to Narrative.”
[262] Gee, *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*.

Name	Type	Function or role
Ellipses		Serves as linking devices by omitting information in transparently predictable ways that invite the listener to reconstruct the blank
Quantifiers		Measures one line’s relevance to another (“most” or “some”)
Temporal adverbs		Provides particular temporal scopes relative to the narrative as a whole (“always” or “then”)
Allusions	Poetic[263]	Introduces historical or other intertextual referents
Ambiguity / Opacity		Words or phrases that are open to interpretation, are opaque or varied in meaning(s), and nuanced
Double-entendre		Having double meaning
Imagery		Produces a visual or sensuous experience in the reader’s mental capacity
Juxtaposition		Two things placed adjacent but having contrasting meanings or effects
Metaphors		Describes one idea in terms of, for example, an image
Metonyms		Substitute the name (or nameless) of one thing with something associated with it
Parallelism		Correspondence between two phrases, lines or stanzas through repetition of syntactic or rhythmic structure
Rhyme schemes		Patterns rhymes

This study initially sought to strictly apply Gee’s structural analysis across the different forms data generated. However, several practical limitations made that goal unachievable. Thus, while Gee’s framework informs this study, it also deviates from following it strictly to incorporate parts of Gee’s model where appropriate and useful. For example, in analysing the participant-produced poems, it remains important to look at Gee’s psychological subjects and focusing system. The former looks at the grammatical subject of clauses that present the point of view of what’s being said. The patterning of psychological subject structures produce an interpretive demand that questions why points of view shift in the ways they do in a narrative, which can only be answered at the focusing system level. This latter focusing level points to different ‘idea units’, which are used to map out the key images or thematic motifs across an individual's spoken narrative.[264] Here, interpretation involves questioning why the narrator focused on certain images and structured them in certain sequences. To these, I add the structural level of temporality, including the important nonlinearity of time. Table III-6 outlines how these would be analysed in a participant-produced poem:

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[263] Hirsch, *A Poet’s Glossary*.

Table III-6: Narrative Structural Analysis of Participant-Produced Poems

Lines	Temporal Structure	Psychological Subject	Theme
[extract of lines from the poem]	[Past/Present/Future]	[e.g. I/they/us]	[Based on focusing system]

Turning over to the limitations of Gee's framework for analysing the workshop transcriptions, firstly, the first half of the workshop series' recordings are largely inaudible due to a recording device that was not suitable for group settings, particularly those involving interactive activities and overlapping voices. To analyse the second half of the series in a systematic structural analysis without closely examining the first half would be inappropriate as the first workshops establish the rules of engagement, including the negotiation of social interactions, dynamics, and power structures that are then sustained and renegotiated throughout the remainder of the workshops. The second limitation is the highly interactive and conversational nature of the workshops. While we might not be able to find a coherent structure of stanzas and focusing systems that Gee finds in the oral speech of a single person telling a story, attention to syntactic devices still reveals a cohesion of collective logical sequencing or, in some cases, the disruption of such sequencing. In short, Gee's model allows one to see the inherent poetic structures that make up oral narratives through specific discursive devices. In the workshop setting, particularly as facilitators structure the workshop with specific activities and discussions in mind, we continue to pay attention to these discursive devices and structures, but recognise that the 'stanzas' will take on a different nature. For this study, it is important to further add to disruptive devices to include, for example, broken syntax, semantic ambiguities, linguistic gaps, discontinuities and silences.[265]

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[264] Gee, "A Linguistic Approach to Narrative."

Moreover, in their discourse analysis within a classroom setting, Bloome et al. explore how people create meaning through interaction and reaction with each other.[266] From their study, we take two further sociolinguistic devices, particularly as they relate to the dynamics between workshop facilitators and participants. Firstly, contextualisation cues allow one person to signal to others a level of understanding or demand for understanding. For example, overlapping utterances can signal shared understanding or arrogance (depending on the context and overall trends in the group's engagement). Intonation and patterned stresses can likewise signal mutual understanding or having a common goal. Secondly, boundary-making are socially-constructed, ratified and contestable, practices that demarcate the what the focus of conversation is demanded to be. For example, starting a phrase with "so" or "anyway" can demarcate either a new topic, continuation of a preexisting topic, or rejection of a previous topic. Boundary-making is important because the workshop dynamics are imbued with power dynamics and it is critical to see how boundaries are formed and evaded throughout the discussions.

Finally, as has been discussed in the UGT section, we must go beyond focusing systems and consider what Saidiya Hartman calls 'Black noise', or that which is in excess of legibility and responds to the silence, erasure and gaps of the archive.[267] As such, it directs us to what I hereby refer to as a poetics of fugitivity, or narrative strategies employed collectively to critically dis/engage with the traces of racialised captivity, the collective narratives strategies that resist or refuse normative modes of narrativity such as temporal linearity, idealised cohesive selves or voice, respectable language, and so on. Brooks offers the useful categories of ‘fugitive speech acts’ that mark a refusal of “the given grounds of representation” and to resistance conforming to idealised structures of a self-possessed liberal subject’s voice, pointing us instead to “attend to the sonicity of those voices that refuse to individuate, possess, and accumulate.”[268] By way of Spillers and Moten, Brooks pushes against reducing the ‘noisiness of Blackness’ as confirming a ‘position of unthought’, to recontextualise its vibrational expressions as “noisy collective expressions and beliefs [that] travel[ed] in the hold of the ship, expressions that shape the flesh and resist its reduction to an abstracted commodity form.”[269]

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[265] Blackman, "Researching Affect and Embodied Hauntologies: Exploring an Analytics of Experimentation"; Jenzen, "Haunting Poetry: Trauma, Otherness and Textuality in Michael Cunningham's Speciman Days"; Schwab, *Haunting Legacies: Violent Histories and Transgenerational Trauma*.

[266] Bloome et al., *Discourse Analysis and the Study of Classroom Language and Literary Events: A Microethnographic Perspective*.

[267] Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts."

As proposed by Brooks, these include murmur, stutter (interruption of idealised voice), and gossip (networked speech in excess of official discourse).[270] Murmur is an interruption of the stable singular speaking subject through multiple voices that coalesce into an indistinct singular noise, producing a sense of collectivity. Stutter interrupts of the idealised voice through “involuntary repetition, distortion, prolongation or suspension of phonemes.”[271] This fragmented voice, intrinsically interrupted (or interruptive), “opens toward void-like space that exceeds representation and in which received histories and archives might be contested and rewritten.”[272] Gossip includes networked speech in excess of official discourse. To this definition of gossip, I add side-conversations that occur in the workshop space but which are unrelated to the workshop activities or discussions.

Poetic Inquiry and Performative Typography

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[268] Brooks, “Fugitive Listening: Sounds from the Undercommons,” 1.
[269] Brooks, 9–10.
[270] Brooks, “A Poetics of Interruption: Fugitive Speech Acts and the Politics of Noise.”
[271] Brooks, 70.
[272] Brooks, 69.

"Poetry is thus a practical and powerful means for reconstitution of worlds. It suggests a way out of the numbing and deadening, disaffective, disembodied, schizoid sensibilities characteristic of phallocentristic social science."[273]

As outlined above, Gee's approach to mapping the structural elements of a narrative analysis delves into an examination of its poetics. Indeed, for Gee, poetry presents a practical way of capturing the complex dynamics inherent to the stories people tell. Complementary also to CGT's aforementioned debunking of the myth of the objectivist researcher, poetic inquiry (PI) methods added a sustained element of reflexivity to the analytical method. As Prendergast aptly points out, poetry is an appropriate tool for research inquiry precisely because research is necessarily metaphorical and narrative in nature due to the reality that researchers' intuitive and affective responses always already inform processes of sifting through data.[274]

A pioneer of PI, sociologist Laura Richardson proposes poetry as a reconsideration of 'validity' that forefronts the inherent emotion-laden and self-reflexive dynamics between researcher-data and researcher-participant: "a poem as 'findings' resituates ideas of validity and reliability from 'knowing' to 'telling'."[275] In Richardson's foundational study, recrafting a life history narrative into a five-page poem is a method of "seeing through and beyond sociological naturalisms," challenging sociological truth-claims and visibilising "both [the] *context* and [emotional] *labour*" of the researcher.[276] Whereas conventional phallocentric sociological discourse silences and invalidates the emotion-driven elements of any method of approaching truths, PI "joins emotional and intellectual labo[u]rs."[277] PI is an increasingly accepted form of research method, yet it lacks a fixed definition or linear history and can only be described broadly as a method that "promotes criticality, can make explicit the position or reflexivity of the researcher, and allows for different perspectives to be considered through the artistic medium of poetry."[278] According to Prendergast's extensive review of peer-reviewed articles using PI, three general categories arise based on the concept of voice: vox autobiographia/autoethnographia (researcher-voiced poems – e.g. field notes); vox participare (participant-voiced poems – e.g. interview data); and vox theoria (literature-voiced poems).[279] This research project fits within the vox participare category, as poems are drawn from participant-voiced data.

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[273] Richardson, "Poetics, Dramatics, and Transgressive Validity: The Case of the Skipped Line."
[274] Prendergast, "Found Poetry as Literature Review: Research Poems on Audience and Performance."
[275] Richardson, "Poetics, Dramatics, and Transgressive Validity: The Case of the Skipped Line," 704.
[276] Richardson, 695–96.
[277] Richardson, 704.

One notable model for conducting PI is Glesne's 'poetic rendering', through which the researcher selects parts of participants' words to place into stanzas so participants' intent and voice remain while bringing out its more evocative content and turns.[280] As a method of transcription, Glesne's approach focuses on structuring interviewees' words into poem(-like) compositions or vignettes by, for example, "drawing from all portions of the interviews to juxtapose details into a somewhat abstract re-presentation," taking the liberty to eliminate some words, repeating others, and moving them around until "the essence [is] conveyed, the hues, the textures."[281] This poetic rendering of transcription data is akin to the 'found poetry' technique, whereby researchers 'find' already-existing poems within transcripts as a way to "evocatively explore and convey some of the essences, experiences, and emotions of the…storied lives."[282] Cahnmann adds to this process her attention to rhythms, advising researchers to include "end stops, punctuations, white space, and short lines" as well as enjambment and other visual layouts to respect and convey interviewees' tones, pauses, and turn takings.[283] Cahnmann's point resonates with Leavy's remark that "poetry is a form that itself brings attention to silence (or as a poet might say, to space)."[284] Together, these approaches provide a framework for applying poetic techniques to organise and present the findings and patterns uncovered through Gee's narrative structural analysis. For example, linguistic gaps and silences will be of particular interest at the narrative structural level of syntax and cohesion, thus Cahnmann's use of enjambment and white space can more effectively convey and accentuate these narrative patterns.

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[278] Vincent, "Is There A Definition? Ruminating on Poetic Inquiry, Strawberries, and the Continued Growth of the Field," 50.

[279] Prendergast, "" 'Poem Is What?' Poetic Inquiry in Qualitative Social Science Research."

[280] Glesne, "That Rare Feeling: Re-Presenting Research through Poetic Transcription."

[281] Glesne, 207.

[282] Wells, "Safe in My Heart: Found Poetry as Narrative Inquiry."

[283] Cahnmann, "The Craft, Practice, and Possibility of Poetry in Educational Research," 31.

[284] Leavy, *Method Meets Art: Arts-Based Research Practice*, 66.

For Leavy, PI broadly "relies on emotional evocation as part of meaning making while simultaneously exposing the fluidity and multiplicity of meaning," but she distinguishes between what she calls 'lyric poetry' (moments of emotion) and narrative poetry (transforming interview data into a poem to tell a story).[285] This distinction helps us understand the purpose of applying PI. Whereas lyric poetry is less about the story and more about capturing or relaying emotion-laden findings in condensed and evocative form, narrative poetry remains loyal to storytelling itself, attempting to retain a narrative form and re-tell a respondent's story.[286] Both prove important to this study. With attention to the insights of Gee's model of structural analysis, we recognise the importance within narratives of structural patterns that outline the currents of plot, perspectives, temporalities, and so forth. Similarly, narratives are rife with patterns of images, metaphors, themes and metonyms, marked by pitch and stress for Gee, which are pronounced moments of emotion and align with Leavy's lyric poetry.

Further down, I discuss the particular approach to form this project, an approach that I argue encompasses both narrative and lyric poetry, insofar as they narrate the very story of moments of emotion that overlap and diverge during group discussions. Guided by the emotional and sonic movements posed through these conversations, the poems do not aim to capture or condense moments but rather attempt to relay their incondensability and the underlying epistemologies that mobilise each such 'moment' into an expansive history. Here, an emotion-laden moment is meaningful precisely because it undermines its specificity as a ‘moment’ but rather invokes pasts and futures. As will be explained below, the poems are highly visual in their layouts, yet they are less vignettes (or stills) and more mobilised text that keeps the reader in constant movement, against the capture and against the linearity of time that posits a moment as reclusive of the simultaneous presence of pasts and futures.

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[285] Leavy, 66.
[286] Leavy, *Method Meets Art: Arts-Based Research Practice*.

Stapleton expands the terrain further by moving from PI on individual narratives and interview to a more collective approach with teachers in low-income, urban schools.[287] She first sorted and coded recorded group discussions and her field notes and grouped quotes and passages along common emerging themes and began constructed free-verse poetry for each cluster, “blend[ing] quotes and stories in the poetry so that nearly every poem represented an amalgamation of several teachers’ words and/or ideas.”[288] She argues that in this approach “the poetry weaves a tapestry of concerns rather than representing the singular struggle of any individual…creating a unified and cohesive message of marginalization of the participants rather than presenting individual perspectives discretely.”[289] Hasebe-Ludt et al. approach a similar tactic through literary metissage, through which a weaving of different various stories is grounded in indigenous ways of knowing as communal.[290] This approach of weaving will be of particular importance to the analysis of group data from the workshop recordings.

Beyond such data-driven intentions, poetry has also been a means to bridge academic research with social justice, activism and pedagogy in action. Carroll et. al use PI to relay ethnographic data from forty homeless participants in hopes that participant-voiced poems can be accessible to the public and policy makers in hopes of concretely affecting their circumstances.[291] Hartnett's work facilitating creative writing and college-level courses in prisons further frames poetry in prisons as an "artistry of agency" that fosters spaces "where prisoners can begin to envision different lives for themselves, literally new ways of being empowered agents."[292] Through the workshops, Hartnett notes from the feedback incarcerated students give him, poetry becomes a means for reclaiming beauty from otherwise shameful or shamed moments and stories, an act of "spy[ing the] divinity" of daily life.[293] He employs a mode of PI he terms 'investigative poetry', producing texts that both retell research in prisons and reflexively centre his personal experiences and relations as they, in turn, relate to the injustices of prisons.[294] Hartnett's poetic voice is guided by political impulse, a poetics of witness that document the experience of witnessing injustice while nuancing it with hope, and a strive for aesthetic beauty. As an ethnographic rendering, this investigative poetry is concerned with exploring prison life and its lived and observable consequences, encapsulating both his own poems as well as those of incarcerated writers Hartnett worked with. Hartnett's investigative poetry is a social justice-driven form of poetic writing inspired by the aims of investigative journalism.[295]

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[287] Stapleton, “Data Analysis in Participatory Action Research: Using Poetic Inquiry to Descibe Urban Teacher Marginalization.”
[288] Stapleton, 9.
[289] Stapleton, 19.
[290] Hasebe-Ludt, Chambers, and Leggo, *Life Writing and Literary Metissage as an Ethos for Our Times*.

In their analysis of in-depth narrative interviews with international doctoral students, Lahman et al. further use three poetry styles – free form, elegy, and haiku – to re-present the interview data, comparing the results with a traditional thematic qualitative analysis they had previously conducted using the same data.[296] They find that, overall, compressed form of poetry is effective in "whittling away of words to the heart of the matter," while finding free form poems adapted from transcriptions to be both didactic and with merit.[297] However, Lahman et al. make an interesting case here for research poetry to draw more on traditional formal poetic structures or, building on Furman, risk producing "*quasi*poetic forms."[298] While I concur with the importance of form in poetic writing, there may also be an implicit bias toward forms that are privileged as 'traditional' poetry, especially those of European or Japanese literary traditions. Indeed, the very need to impose any 'traditional' formal structures would too easily lead us to discipline the narratives offered in ways that are intimately tied to the very history of disciplining captive bodies that this research seeks to fundamentally unsettle. Again, then, we turn to Moten, whose refusal of the conventional form is exemplified in his favouring of an academic essay form that centres Black aesthetic modes of sound and colour.

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[291] Carroll, Dew, and Howden-Chapman, "The Heart of the Matter: Using Poetry as a Method of Ethnographic Inquiry to Represent and Present Experiences of the Informally Housed in Aotearoa/New Zealand."

[292] Hartnett, Wood, and McCann, "Turning Silence into Speech and Action: Prison Activism and the Pedagogy of Empowered Citizenship," 335.

[293] Hartnett, Wood, and McCann, 338.

[294] Hartnett, *Incarceration Nation: Investigative Prison Poems of Hope and Terror*.

[295] Hartnett, Stephen John. 2008. "Walking Amidst Heroes; or, Celebrating the Enlightenment and the Persistence of Democracy." *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies, Vol. 8, No. 2* 187-223.

[296] Lahman et al., "(Re)Forming Research Poetry."

In "Blackness and Nothingness (Mysticism in the Flesh)," Moten intricately weaves poetics with theorisation to foreground the fundamental polyrhythmic musicality of Black feminist intellectual thought: "Her name is Hortense. Her name is NourbeSe. Her name is B. The back chant she hears is old and new to her. She is unmoored. She is ungendered. Her mother is lost. Exhausted, exhaustive maternity is her pedagogical imperative."[299] In an interview with Moten, Elizabeth Willis remarks that when someone or something (as in our case, onto-epistemology itself) is fugitive, it is "in the wind" and so too is poetry "by virtue of its adaptive vocality, the thrift of its economic footprint."[300] This understanding of poetry is key: it is both akin and hospitable to the (re)telling of fugitive narratives and the practice of intellectual fugitivity itself. Here, poems can effectively be a site of "running *with* and running *from* and running *to*" along varying lines of narrative refusal and opacity.[301] Of note is Moten's experimental poetics in *The Little Edges*, where he plays with what he calls 'shaped prose,' the arrangement of prose into rhythmic blocks to produce an audio-visual patterning.[302] Brooks' analysis of Austalian poet Amanda Stewart's work provides another useful example of how textual poetry located between sound and noise provides new modalities of meaning-making:

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[297] Lahman et al., 894.
[298] Furman, "Poetic Forms and Structures in Qualitative Health Research," 560.
[299] Moten, "Blackness and Nothingness (Mysticism in the Flesh)," 745.
[300] Moten, Work This Thing.
[301] Moten.

to have and to hold
the bioeconomicchaoticnonlinearsociopsychogenomorphoparall
elanthrosystemicprotophonemilinguisticballisticGUTofa meta
matta
phor   of how
b
eing was.   O.K.?[303]

> *"The clarity of meaning is disrupted as words congeal into each other to form an agglutinated mess: 'economic' becomes 'chaotic'; 'socio' forms a compound with 'psycho'; 'morphology' is juxtaposed and implicated with 'parallelism'; the capitalising of 'GUT' ruptures the string of words that have bled into each other. The words in the mouth literally spew into the stomach, parasitically collapsing the functions of speaking and digesting. Stewart uproots varying elements of language and disrupts their boundedness to isolated components. Language moves in repetition and difference and toward its limits."*[304]

I wish to further incorporate poet Douglas Kearney's work and his poetic form that defies form as much as it explores and reforms itself. Kearney frames his approach as a "performative typography," influenced by graffiti's visual tactics as well as hip hop's sonic aesthetics and production techniques.[305] Performative typography encompasses a powerful interplay between movement and voice, defying what the literary canon has called 'form' and reimagining the possibilities of page presentation. One example of Kearney's work, 'Noah / Ham: Fathers of the Year'[306], follows:

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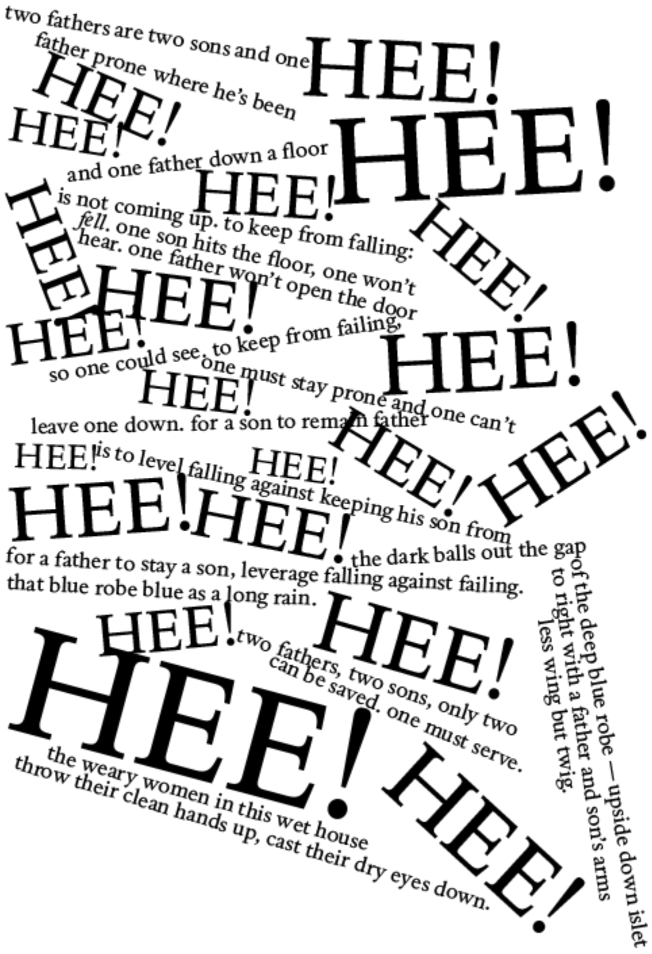
[302] Moten, *The Little Edges*.
[303] Excerpt from Stewart's 'absence', quoted in Brooks, 87.
[304] Brooks, "A Poetics of Interruption: Fugitive Speech Acts and the Politics of Noise," 87.
[305] Kearney, "Artist Statement." For examples of Kearney's performative typography, as well as other multi-dimensional poem-structures that reenvision how the page can be used, see the exemplary poems by Kearney, avery r. young, Safia Elhillo, and others published in this same anthology.
[306] Kearney, "Noah / Ham: Fathers of the Year."



two fathers are two sons and one HEE!
father prone where he's been
HEE!
HEE!
and one father down a floor HEE! HEE!
is not coming up. to keep from falling: HEE!
fell. one son hits the floor, one won't
hear. one father won't open the door
HEE! HEE!
HEE! to keep from failing,
so one could see, one must stay prone and one can't HEE!
HEE!
leave one down. for a son to remain father
HEE! is to level falling against keeping his son from HEE! HEE! HEE!
HEE! HEE! the dark balls out the gap
for a father to stay a son, leverage falling against failing.
that blue robe blue as a long rain.
HEE! two fathers, two sons, only two HEE!
can be saved. one must serve.
HEE!
the weary women in this wet house
throw their clean hands up, cast their dry eyes down. HEE!
of the deep blue robe — upside down islet
to right with a father and son's arms
less wing but twig.

In this poem, the written text invokes both the visual as well as the audio, while blurring spatial elements and overlaying text atop text. Alluding to the Biblical tale of Ham, the text literally reads in a manner that gives the reader a sense of falling, violently even, as was the actual case of Ham's lineage that was cursed by Noah into perpetual servitude. The repetitive yet visually altering display of "HEE!" is both a pun for 'he' and an onomatopoeia of drunken laughter, together forming a critique of the fragile relations among men, particularly between fathers and sons. The physicality and musicality of the poem create a disturbing yet provocative experience for the reader, who must figure their way through the mess that is the narrative itself. Indeed, by invoking Kearney's method, this research engages with mess in the very sense that Kearney suggests: “if my writing makes a mess of things, it's not to flee understanding, but to map (mis-)understanding as a verb.”[307]

In one recent articulation of his typographically-driven work, Kearney locates his writing style between a resistance to making his work performable, as resistance to Black aesthetic tradition’s conflation with spectacle, and a joy in finding out that people tend to make sense of his poem collectively.[308] Indeed, these motivations resonate with this research project, as the work of honouring *die drosters* necessitates an engagement with opacity, against the obsession with rendering the bonded body both transparent and spectacle. In other words, the typographical visuality of the poetic transcripts in this dissertation does not aim to (re)produce spectacle, but rather invites readers to read aloud and to read collectively, inviting readers to take on or embody the performative demands that would normally be placed solely on the narrator. Again, I wish to invoke Kearney’s own words here: “you can do so much of a better job at [reading this] in your head than I can do it live, because there are things that are happening simultaneously…or like, how you decide whether you’re going to read across like this [signals left to right horizontal motion] or [signals up and down vertical motion]; like all of those things happen for you because when you take the text, you’re like becoming an active participant, you’re intervening in the text.”[309]

Kearney goes on to note that, even in traditional writing formats, the reader performs as an active participant, albeit following conventional literary training that instructs us to read in particular directions. The point I wish to emphasise is that the methodology introduced here is one that underlines both the researcher’s and the reader’s unavoidable participation; however, conventional poetic and narrative forms can mute this point as we take for granted the unidirectional motion of our literary participation. As this project focuses on fugitivity, it is important to unmute this reality and task the reader to question their choices in how they wish to read (and reread) a transcript, where to begin, what motions to take, what pace to assume, and so on. This demand for your reflexivity is one that should inform a broader reflection on how we read or approach both historical narratives (e.g. of slavery pasts) and individual narratives (e.g. of carceral subjects) and the presumed linearity and neatness of such narratives.

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[307] Kearney, *Mess and Mess And*.
[308] Harris and Kearney, “Signal, Noise, and Presencing Blackness.”
[309] The Museum of Contemporary Art, *Douglass Kearney*.

The sort of visual typography that Kearney, NourbeSe, and many others are experimenting with may remind some of concrete poetry, surrealism and futurism, amongst other examples spanning history. Kearney offers another distinct term, performative typography, that is apt for this project. It emphasises the performative act of marking an active presence within a poem and creates a soundscape that invites a "simultaneity of sound" through layering and text clash.[310] As Willis acknowledges from her readings of Fred Moten's poetry, "poetic form – like the form of the body – is not immutable; it is in motion."[311] This study builds on these various works that experiment with spatial arrangement, anchoring the PI methodology specifically within 'performative typography,' reconstructing participant-voiced poems beyond the normative structures of 'traditional' poetic form toward a radical visual display in motion. To bookend this chapter, I leave the reader with another typographically-rich poem by Esther G. Belin:[312]

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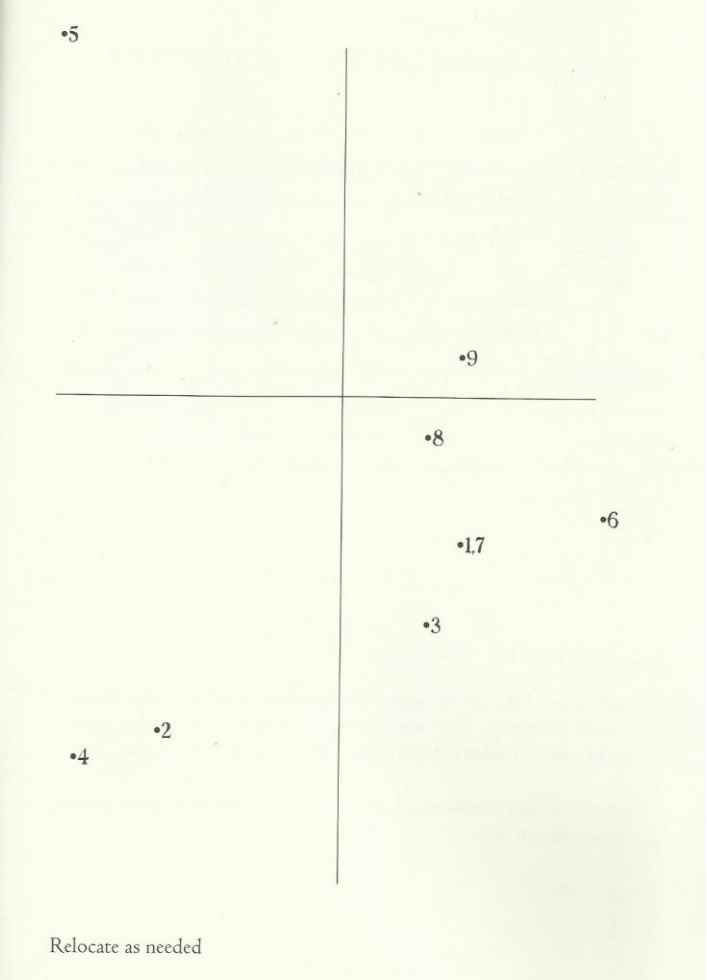
[310] Zaro, Douglas Kearney ~ PoetryLA Interview Series.
[311] Moten, Work This Thing.
[312] Belin, "Assignment 44."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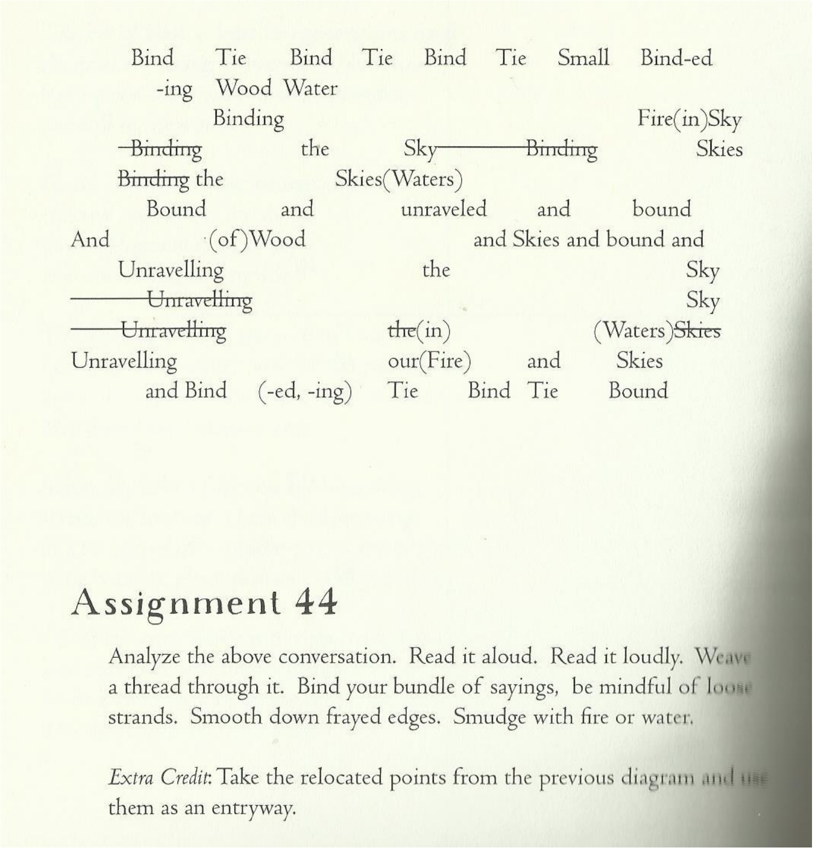


Bind   Tie   Bind   Tie   Bind   Tie   Small   Bind-ed
-ing   Wood   Water
Binding   Fire(in)Sky
~~Binding~~   the   Sky ~~Binding~~   Skies
~~Binding~~ the   Skies(Waters)
Bound   and   unraveled   and   bound
And   (of)Wood   and Skies and bound and
Unravelling   the   Sky
~~Unravelling~~   Sky
~~Unravelling~~   ~~the~~(in)   (Waters)~~Skies~~
Unravelling   our(Fire)   and   Skies
and Bind   (-ed, -ing)   Tie   Bind   Tie   Bound

Assignment 44

Analyze the above conversation. Read it aloud. Read it loudly. Weave a thread through it. Bind your bundle of sayings, be mindful of loose strands. Smooth down frayed edges. Smudge with fire or water.

Extra Credit: Take the relocated points from the previous diagram and use them as an entryway.

| Chapter IV |

the sounds of silenced echoes: results and findings

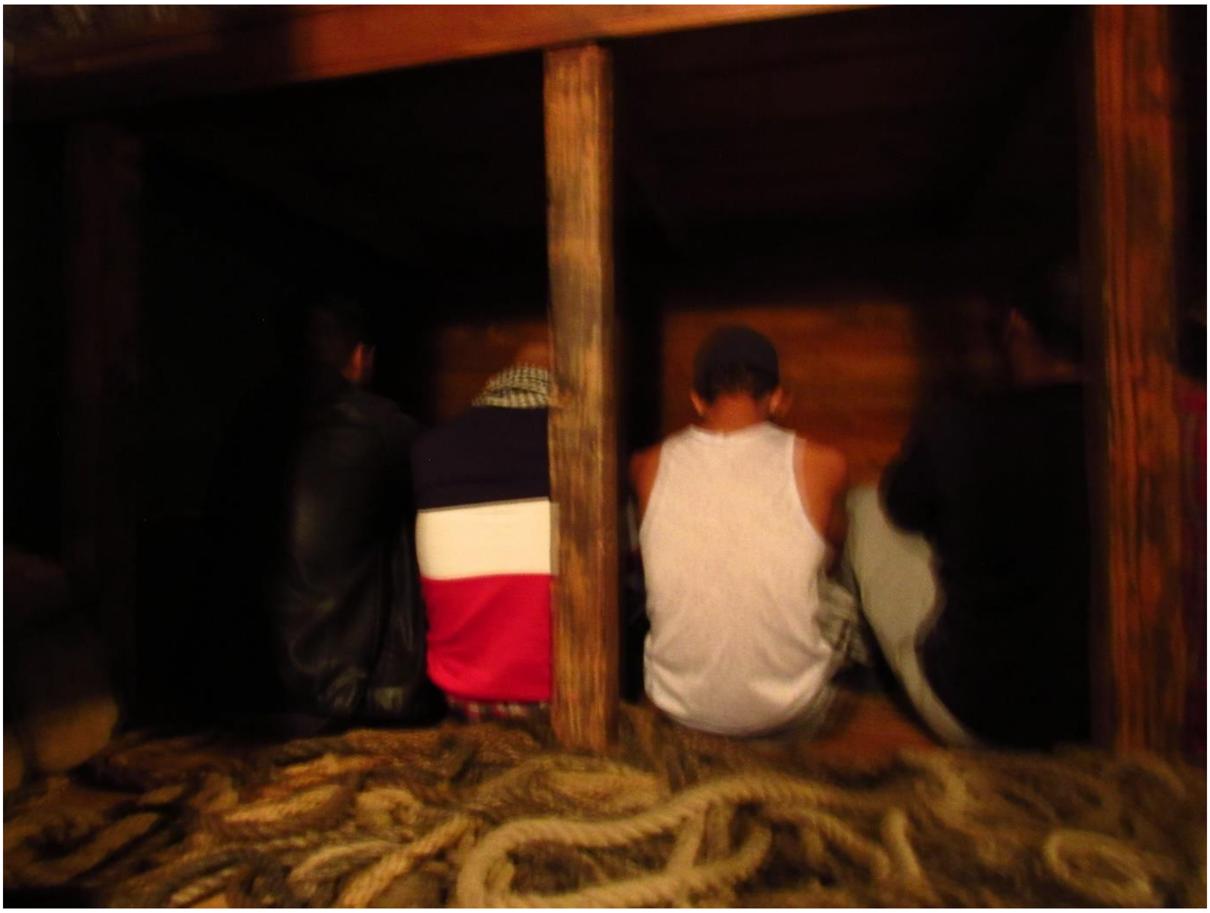
This study embarks on a journey along the traces of past embarkations (forced and fugitive), wary of demanding of the already-weary the further labour of answering this study's inquiries. We must not approach the narratives that this study's participants invite us into as mere spectators. Instead, we must dare to move with the narratives, according to the rhythmic demands they bestow upon us. The following chapter presents an analysis of the data generated through this research project, as outlined in Table III-3 of the preceding chapter. As discussed in Chapter III, the data falls within two categories: participant-produced poems and researcher-produced poetic transcripts (see Table III-4). Each poem and its analysis is preceded by a summary of the workshop from which it was generated (for more detailed outlines of these workshops, see Appendix I). All names below have been changed to preserve anonymity and confidentiality. Any writing in Afrikaans is also presented in English through italicized and bracketed translations. For participant-produced poems, I present their writings as they wrote them, without making any spelling 'corrections' or other grammatical changes. For researcher-produced poems, I use my own spelling. In Chapter V, I will present a more in-depth analysis and discussion based on the findings in this chapter.

Participant-Produced Poems

Hand Poems

The following poems were produced from workshop 4.1, "Through the Water." The writing exercise asked participants to trace both of their hands and do two separate freewriting exercises inside of each. For the first hand exercise, henceforth referred to as the enslaved hand-poem, the group participated in a guided meditation at the Slave Lodge Museum's exhibition of a recreated part of a slave ship (see Figure IV-1). During this meditation, participants were asked to imagine the journeys the enslaved took and listen to their bodies while doing so. The subsequent freewriting exercise asked participants to write from the perspective of a child who was abducted through the slave trade.

Figure IV-1: Slave Ship Exhibition Meditation Exercise



For the second hand exercise, henceforth referred to as the carceral hand-poem, the group went to the courtyard to write at the well and, again, participate in a guided meditation (see Figure IV-2). This time, participants were asked to recall their experiences of being transported on their way to prison for the first time. For each participant below, I present the original hand poems, followed by tables in which the poem is divided into stanzas to outline the temporal structure of each poem. Here, the stanza unit-level are purely for analytical purposes and are based primarily on the shift from one idea unit to another. They do not necessarily reflect a particular meter or other poetic structure that the participants produced as part of the poem.

Figure IV-2: Slave Lodge Courtyard Well Meditation Exercise

James

Figure IV-3: James' Handwritten Hand Poems

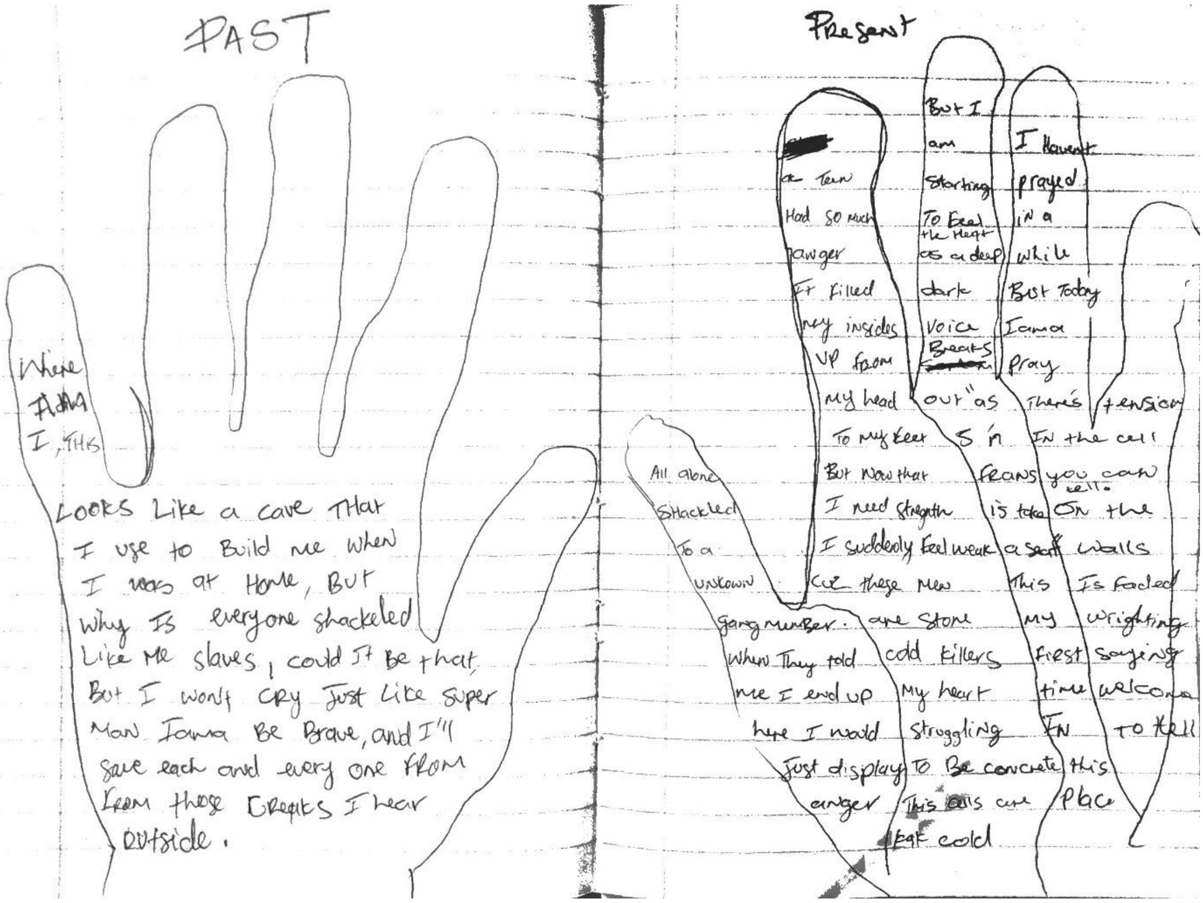

PAST
Where Am I, This
Looks Like a cave That I use to Build me when I was at Home, But why Is everyone shackeled Like Me slaves, could It Be that, But I won't cry Just Like Super Man Ima Be Brave, and I'll save each and every one From From those Greats I hear outside.
Present
All alone Shackled To a unkown gang member.
When They told me I end up here I would Just display anger
[redacted] a Teen Had so much anger It filled my insides up from my head To my feet
But Now that I need strength I suddenly Feel weak cuz these Men are Stone cold Killers My heart struggling To Be concrete This cells are kak cold
But I am starting To Feel the Heat as a deep dark voice ~~Breaks~~ Breaks out "as s 'n frans is take a seat"
I Haven't prayed in a while But Today I am a pray
There's tension In the cell you can tell. On the walls This Is Faded my wrighting saying welcome To Hell
This first time In this place

Table IV-1: Temporal Structure of James' Hand Poems

	Enslaved Hand-Poem		Carceral Hand-Poem	
Stanza	**Content**	**Temporal Setting**	**Content**	**Temporal Setting**
1	Where am I	Present	All alone shackled to a unknown gang member.	Present
2	This looks like a cave that I use to build me when I was at home,	Past	When they told me I end up here I would just display anger a teen had so much anger It filled my insides up from my head to my feet	Past
3	but why is everyone shackeled like me slaves, could it be that,	Present	but now that I need strength I suddenly feel weak cuz these men are stone cold killers my heart struggling to be concrete This cell's are kak cold but I am starting to feel the heat as a deep dark voice breaks out "as s 'n frans is take a seat"	Present

	Enslaved Hand-Poem		Carceral Hand-Poem	
Stanza	**Content**	**Temporal Setting**	**Content**	**Temporal Setting**
			This my first time in this place	
4	But I won't cry Just like super man Iama be brave, and I'll save each and every one from	Future	I haven't prayed in a while but today Iama pray	Future
5	from those creaks I hear outside.	Present	There's tension in the cell you can tell. On the walls is faded wrighting saying welcome to hell.	Present

For James, both the enslaved and carceral hand-poems follow a parallel present-past-present-future-present temporal structure. In both cases, the first stanza spatially situates him into the setting of the narrative. The parallel is marked by similar references to his physical proximity to the unknown ("Where am I" and "shackled to a unknown gang member"). A contrast, in turn, is drawn as the child identifies with the shackled within the first three stanzas, whereas the carceral hand-poem already starts with being "all alone shackled." The second stanzas are both marked by temporal shifts to the past as he invokes memories from his younger experiences, which can both be characterized similarly by enclosures, albeit two different types of them: the child-like "cave that I use to build me" presumably to play or feel safe in, and the anger that "filled my insides" as a teen. While the latter frames him as the recipient both of a message that he would eventually end up arrested and of an anger that filled his insides, the former centres his agency as he built this metaphoric cave by and for himself. The enslaved hand-poem offers an imaginative space where the enclosure of the slave ship can be juxtaposed to a form of enclosure that is both innocent and open-ended through the child-built cave. The carceral hand-poem, however, can only root the enclosure of the police van to the enclosure of feelings within the young man's body.

The third stanzas shift back to the narrative's present setting. Both cases can be read as an anxiety around his new and unsettling surroundings. In the enslaved hand-poem, he questions everyone's shackling and the very possibility of enslavement ("could it be that"). In the carceral hand-poem, he wades through constant dissonance between his feelings and the new environment, juxtaposing the need for strength (to survive) with feeling weak, the sensory experience of the prison cell as cold with the Numbers gang's heat, the stone-cold hearts of killers and his heart's struggles to be "concrete," and the depth of the voice that symbolises the Numbers' long-standing presence with the realisation that, by default, he is a *frans* and is therefore commanded to sit. In both hand-poems, he is positioned to take on a new role and identity almost instantaneously.

The fourth stanzas point to the future. In the "Past" freewriting, he speculates that he will overcome the circumstances and save the rest of the enslaved. In the "Present" freewriting, he makes plans to pray. Both address a way of coping by holding onto hope. Like stanza two, the former narrative is interestingly focused on the character's agency while the latter narrative looks to other forces beyond himself. It is worth noting here that, throughout the poems, the child in the first piece appears to have more power and agency than the man in the second poem. The fifth stanza reorients us from future speculation to the narrative's present setting. In the enslaved hand-poem, he ends with a line about the threatening sounds heard outside, surrounding the slaves' section of the ship. In the carceral hand-poem, he points us to the prison cell's walls and their "faded wrightings saying welcome to hell." This contrast brings home the overall sonicity of the poems. Throughout each, we listen to the echoes of creaks, shackles, and the concluding threatening sounds that fill the voice of silence.

To summarize, whereas the first stanzas situate both characters in close proximity to the disorienting unknown, the second stanzas revert to the familiarity of memories to process the new setting and impending journey. The third stanza, in turn, makes sense of the demands this new world is imposing. The fourth stanza aims to hold onto hope. Finally, the fifth stanza disrupts the future-oriented hopefulness with threats that welcome the characters to variations of ‘hell.’ It is worth further noting the aesthetics of James’ hand-poems. The enslaved hand-poem is smaller but that also gives more space to the narrative, much like the open cave. On the other hand, the carceral hand-poem has its writing in a more cramped and overcrowded style, including delineating lines that give an appearance of bars. It is unlikely that these stylistic choices were conscious ones, given that these were freewriting exercises with prompts presented at the final moment.

Marcus

Figure IV-4: Marcus’ Handwritten Hand Poems

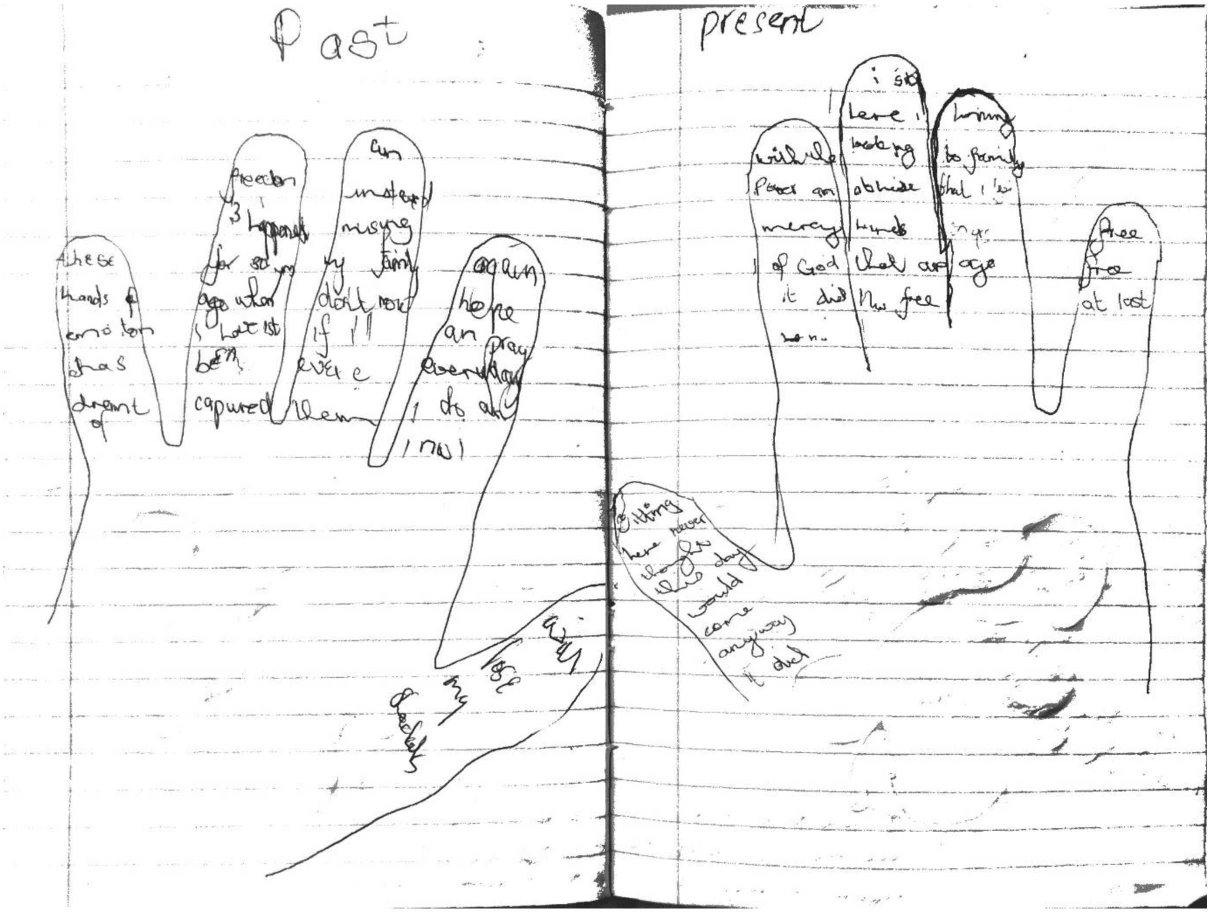

Past
these hands of emotion has dreamt of
freedom 3 happened for so long ago when i lost been captured
can understand missing my family don't know if i'll ever see them
again hope an pray everyday i do an i now
will lose my daddy
present
sitting here never thought this day would come anyway it did
with the peace an mercy of God it did soon..
i sit here looking at these hands that are now free
bring to family that i's ... age
free free at last

Table IV-2: Temporal Structure of Marcus’ Hand Poems

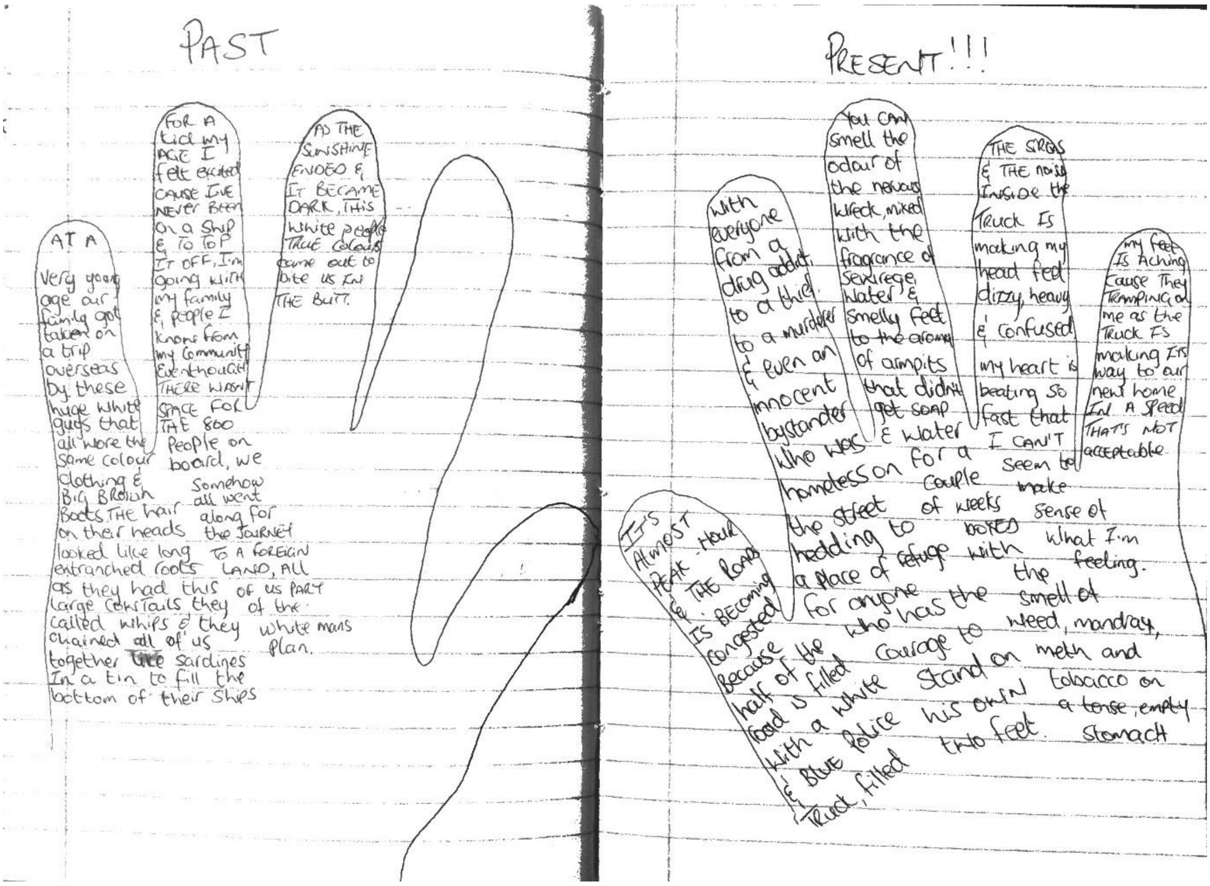
	Enslaved Hand-Poem		Carceral Hand-Poem	
Stanza	**Content**	**Temporal Setting**	**Content**	**Temporal Setting**
1	these hands of emotion has dremt of	Past	sitting here never thought this day would come anyway it did	Past
2	freedom and happened for 30 yrs ago when I have 1st been capured	Past	with the power an mercy of God it did	Present
3	an instead missing my family, don’t know now if I’ll even c them	Present	i sit here looking at these hands that are now free	Present
4	again hope an pray everyday I do an that	Future	hoping to family that I left 30 yrs ago	Past
5	will lose my shackels	Future	free free at last	Present

The two prompts focused on different (re)imagined and lived realities. The two poems above do not stay within the parameters of the prompts, opting rather for a singular and even ambiguous narrative that evades the demands of the prompts as much as it nevertheless responds compellingly to the very cross-temporal inquiry underlying the prompts. Whereas the first prompt requests a reimagining of a child’s experience boarding the slave ship as its captive, the poem above elects for an adult’s perspective remembering said childhood experience. It effectively takes the prompt’s two temporal parameters – childhood and history – and displaces them by, respectively, speaking from his actual bodily reality (i.e. as an over-30-year old speaker instead of a child) and rendering the context ambiguous (i.e. it can equally be read as referring to an experience of enslavement or that of imprisonment). The second prompt requests a remembering of the first time the writer was arrested. The poem instead continues the narrative of the first poem with a slight fast-forward to a time when the character has won his freedom. At a first read, however, it is easy to interpret it as his current experience post-incarceration, viscerally bringing us to his point-of-view on “this day…looking at these hands that are now free.” In both instances, he demonstrates a refusal to be held captive to the prompts themselves while still answering them on his own terms.

Whether he did not understand the prompt(s), was so enthralled in the first poem's narrative that he missed the second set of instructions, or consciously melded the prompts through the aforementioned ambiguity of context and reference, is beside the point. In either case, he achieves a collapsing of time by doing this memory-work through an embodied approach. The first decision to speak from an adulthood that reflects his current lived reality approximates the act of remembering (across history and across one's age) closer to his body's actual age. Moreover, the body is centred in the second poem as he begins and ends the short narrative with an image of him sitting, staring at the hands. Another decision is to forefront themes that are, again, indicative of his lived reality. Active prayer, in the first poem, and God's merciful response, in the second, reflect his religious practices. Furthermore, bookending the two poems through an emphasis on "freedom" timestamps the reality that he has, in fact, been recently released from carceral captivity.

Wes

Figure IV-5: Wes' Handwritten Hand Poem



PAST

AT A Very young age our family got taken on a trip overseas by these huge white guys that all wore the same colour clothing & BIG BROWN Boots THE hair on their heads looked like long entranched roots as they had this large cowTails they called whips & they chained all of us together ~~like~~ sardines In a tin to fill the bottom of their Ships

FOR A kid my AGE I felt excited cause I've NEVER BEEN on a Ship & TO TOP IT OFF, I'm going with my family & people I know from my Community Eventhough THERE WASN'T SPACE FOR THE 800 people on board, we somehow all went along for the JOURNEY TO A FOREIGN LAND, ALL OF US PART of the white mans plan.

AS THE SUNSHINE ENDED & IT BECAME DARK, THIS white people TRUE colours came out to bite us IN THE BUTT.

PRESENT!!!

IT'S Almost PEAK-HOUR & THE ROAD IS BECOMING congested Because half of the road is filled with a white & BLUE Police TRUCK, filled

with everyone from a drug addict, to a thief, to a murderer & even an innocent bystander who was homeless on the street hedding to a place of refuge for anyone who has the courage to stand on his own two feet.

You CAN smell the odour of the nervous wreck, mixed with the fragrance of sewirege water & smelly feet to the aroma of armpits that didn't get soap & water for a couple of weeks BORED with the smell of weed, mandray, meth and tobacco on a ~~tense~~, empty stomach

THE SIRENS & THE noise INSIDE the TRUCK IS making my head feel dizzy, heavy & confused my heart is beating so fast that I CAN'T seem to make sense of what I'm feeling.

my feet IS Aching cause They TRAMPING on me as the TRUCK IS making ITS way to our next home IN A Speed THAT'S NOT acceptable

Table IV-3: Temporal Structure of Wes' Hand Poems

	Enslaved Hand-Poem		Carceral Hand-Poem	
Stanza	**Content**	**Temporal Setting**	**Content**	**Temporal Setting**
1	At a very young age our family got taken on a trip overseas by these huge white guys that all wore the same colour clothing & big brown boots	Past	It's almost peak-hour & the road is becoming congested because half of road is filled with a white & blue police truck,	Present
2	The hair on their heads looked like long entranched roots as they had this large cowtails they called whips &	Past	Filled with everyone from a drug addict, to a thief, to a murderer & even an innocent bystander	Present
3	they chained all of us together like sardines In a tin to fill the bottom of their ships	Past	Who was homeless on the street hedding to a place of refuge for anyone who has the courage to stand on his own two feet	Past

	Enslaved Hand-Poem		Carceral Hand-Poem	
Stanza	**Content**	**Temporal Setting**	**Content**	**Temporal Setting**
4	For a kid my age I felt excited cause I've never been on a ship & to top it off, I'm going with my family & people I know from my community	Past	You can smell the odour of the nervous wreck, mixed with the fragrance of sewrege, water & smelly feet to the aroma of armpits that didn't get soap & water for a couple of weeks	Present
5	Even though there wasn't space for the 800 people on board, we somehow all went along for the journey to a foreign land	Past	boxed with the smell of weed, mandrax, meth and tobacco on a tense, empty stomach	Present
6	All of us part of the white mans plan	Past	The sirens & the noise inside the truck is making my head feel dizzy, heavy, & confused	Present
7	As the sunshine ended & it became dark, this white people true colours come out to bite us in the butt.	Past	My heart is beating so fast that I can't seem to make sense of what I'm feeling.	Present
8		Present	My feet is aching cause they tramping on me	Present
9			As the truck is making its way to our new home in a speed that's not acceptable	Present

The enslaved and carceral hand-poems differ in temporal structures. Both poems narrate memories, but the former is primarily past-oriented, while the latter is recounted in the present tense. The enslaved hand-poem, more precisely, relies on vivid imagery and visual symbolism to embark on its memory work, whereas the carceral hand-poem makes heavy use of smells and sounds. In the past poem, stanzas two-three vividly depicts the contrast between the slavers and the enslaved. The slavers are presented as unhuman, with "long entranched roots" for hair and large "cowtails" as whips. The enslaved are portrayed like packaged sardines. The latter image captures the sense of cramped bodies in an enclosed space that obviously differs from open waters they naturally reside in, commodified and destined for sale and consumption. The former image, in contrast, is firmly positioned in its natural land, destined for growth, and, through its rootedness, has even seized control of cattle to produce further means of control and punishment. In the carceral hand-poem, stanzas four-five potently engulf the reader in the scents of sewerage, bodily odours, and drugs, smells that carry through them the "odour of the nervous wreck" and "a tense, empty stomach." In other words, the excess of these scents is an understanding of the material and psychological conditions that undergird this particular mix of smells. Stanza six-seven then uses sounds ("sirens and the noise inside the truck") to explain the physiological and mental experience they induce: the head becomes "dizzy, heavy, & confused," while the heart begins to beat "so fast" that even feeling itself no longer makes sense.

Despite these sensorially contrasting narrative strategies, key parallels exist that frame the commonality of captivity across both poems. Stanzas 1 from both mirror each other in at least two narrative strategies. For example, they each emphasise the sizes of, firstly, the "huge" slavers and, secondly, the police truck that takes up half the road and causes road congestion. Furthermore, both stanzas 1 rely on colour to characterise, firstly, the slavers with their uniform clothing and "big brown boots" and, secondly, the "white and blue police truck." The poems, moreover, both depict crowdedness. Stanza 5 in the enslaved hand-poem emphasises that "there wasn't space for the 800 people on board," while stanza 2 in the carceral hand-poem depicts the police truck as "filled with everyone," listing the wide range of offenders as including people who have committed murder as well as the innocent. The former is literally overcrowded, while the latter is, if not literally overcrowded as well, at least figuratively overcrowded by the wide range and ambiguity of offenses that place them into a common journey. The former conveys an immediate familiarity with the fellow shipped ("family and people I know from my community") that contrasts with the lack of kinship in the police truck.

Of course, there is an intimate understanding of each other’s backgrounds, circumstances and lives in the police truck, but the intimacy is more isolated when compared to the sardines.

Lastly, the final stanzas in both poems present the denouements in parallel ways. Both begin with temporal adverbial phrases. “As” the sun sets and darkness arrives parallels the imminent arrival of the police truck to their “new home” that is the implicitly dark site of the prison or jail. Temporally situating us in proximity to the arrival at imminent darkness coincides with the truth of the captors’ lies. The white slavers “true colours come out” at their expense, while the police truck is revealed to be unlawfully speeding. The irony is poetic. Whereas the slavers were initially introduced as uniformly wearing “the same colour,” they did not unveil their true colours in the midst of darkness. And while the prisoners in the police truck importantly includes both an innocent homeless bystander and evidently impoverished people, the truck itself, as it takes those very people to their punishment, hypocritically evades acceptable/lawful speed limits.

Harold

Figure IV-6: Harold’s Handwritten Hand Poems

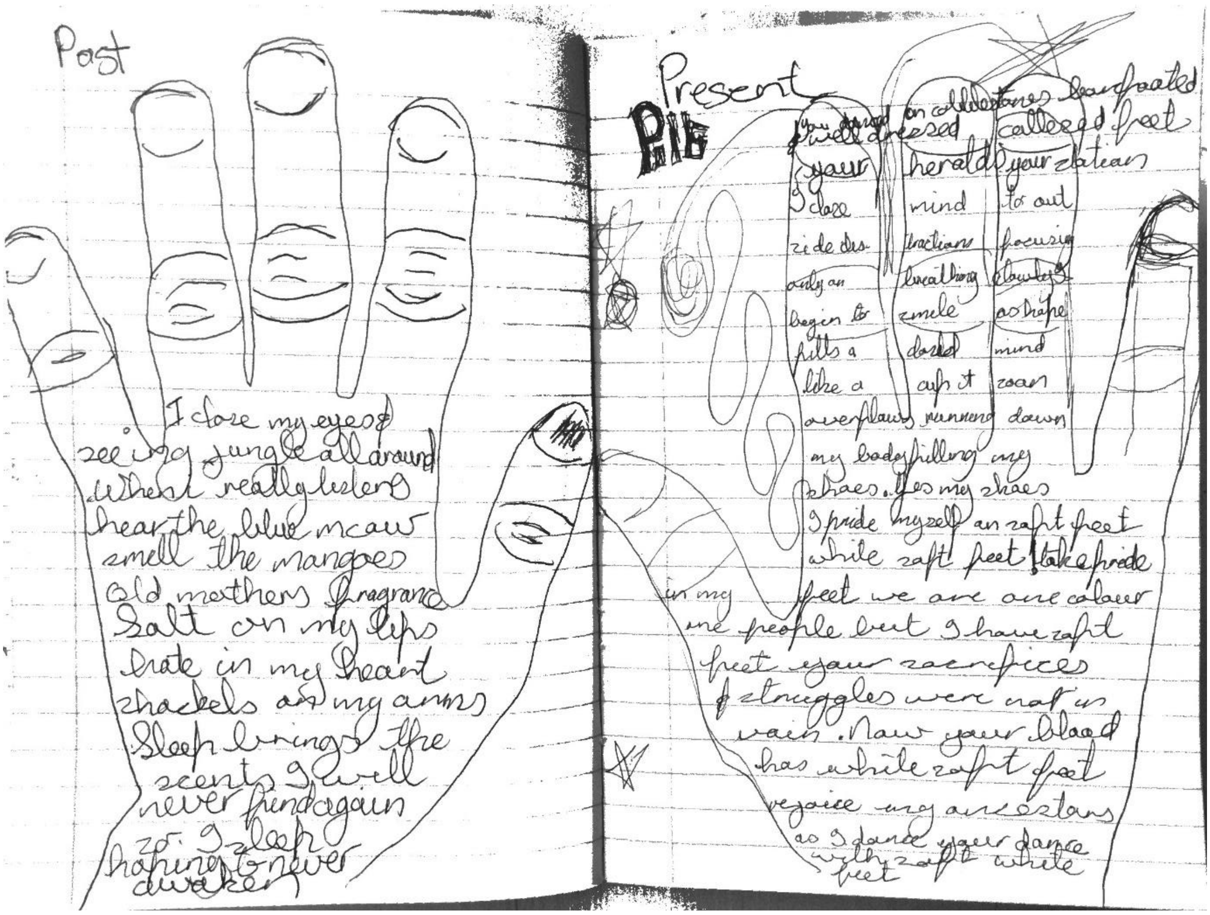

Past
I close my eyes &
seeing jungle all around
Where i really belong
hear the blue mcaw
smell the mangoes
Old mothers fragrance
Salt on my lips
hate in my heart
shackels on my arms
Sleep brings the
scents I will
never find again
so. I sleep
hoping to never
awaken
Present
You danced on cobblestones heavyfooted
well dressed callesed feet
your here at your station
I close mind to out
side distractions focusing
only on breathing slowly I
begin to smile as hope
fills a dark mind
like a cup it soon
overflows running down
my body filling my
shoes. Yes my shoes
I pride myself on soft feet
white soft feet take pride
in my feet we are one colour
one people but I have soft
feet your sacrifices
& struggles were not in
vain. Now your blood
has white soft feet
rejoice my ancestors
as I dance your dance
with soft white
feet

Table IV-4: Temporal Structure of Harold's Hand Poems

	Enslaved Hand-Poem		Carceral Hand-Poem	
Stanza	**Content**	**Temporal Setting**	**Content**	**Temporal Setting**
1	I close my eyes and seeing jungle all around Where i really belong	Present	You danced on cobblestones heavyfooted well dressed callesed feet	Past
2	hear the blue mcaw smell the mangoes old mothers fragrance	Present	you're here at your station close mind to outside distractions focusing only on breathing slowly	Present
3	Salt on my lips hate in my heart shackels on my arms	Present	begin to smile as hope fills a dark mind like a cup it soon overflows running down my body filling my shoes. Yes my shoes	Present
4	Sleep brings the scents I will never find again So I sleep hoping to never awaken	Present with reference to Future	I pride myself on soft feet white soft feet take pride in my feet we are one colour one people but I have soft feet	Present

5			your sacrifices and struggles were not in vain Now your blood has white soft feet rejoice my ancestors as I dance your dance with soft white feet	Present with reference to Past

Both poems rely heavily on a sustained present-tense point-of-view. The first one tells the story of an enslaved child reminiscing of a place that presumably was his home prior to being taken. The second poem reads as a message from a recently arrested man (as evidenced by the metonymic referencing to arriving at the police “station”) to the character in the first poem. The intertextuality of the second piece arguably adds complexity to what otherwise seems like a simple temporal sequence. Firstly, both stanza one from the enslaved hand-poem and stanza two from the carceral hand-poem are marked by the capacity to “close” one’s self toward self-preserving ends. The enslaved character closes his eyes as a way to focus on internal imaginings of his past home; the arrested man closes his mind off from outside influences to focus on internal processes of breathing.

Interestingly, the former closes off the immediate captive environment by invoking mnemonic devices that are multisensory and environment-centred: sight of “jungle”; sounds of the “blue mcaw”; and smells of “mangoes” and the character’s “mother’s fragrance.” These three senses, framed through active verbs, are juxtaposed against the different senses of the next stanza, which are contrastingly framed through passive imposition (“on” and “in”): the taste of “salt” and touch of “shackles.” Salt may be interpreted as prevention, as in salting the earth, and shackles is the epitome of constraint. The fourth stanza, then, accentuates the distinction drawn between stanzas 2 and 3 by introducing the notion of “sleep,” which is symbolic of a prolonged way of closing one’s eyes, as a means of inviting the “scents” that now belong to the past (“never…again”). While the last line (“hoping to never awaken again”) may be read as defeated, given the previous two stanzas, it is better understood as a reappropriation of joy via an internal nonphysical domain. Whereas the physical body is the site of oppression (salt on lips and shackles on arms), the character effectively identifies the dream world as that which cannot be contained or held captive. Through this reading, then, the "never" can further be interpreted as eternal, in the sense that the character desires no time constraints to this act of dreaming up the past.

This sets up the logical flow of the second poem, which begins with the character, once again, closing off the immediate external world. The movement is still inward but this time focus rests on the site and act of breathing (stanza two) which, in turn, produces an excess of hope. This hope overflows from the mind (stanza two) to reach the body (stanza 3) until it overtakes it and fills his shoes (stanza 3). Over the course of stanzas 4 and 5, the feet become the site of memory that reconnects him with the "ancestors" from the enslaved hand-poem through dance ("I dance your dance"). The sequence, in short, is as follows: the enslaved hand-poem identifies captivity and uprootedness through physical imposition, while locating the nonphysical inner domain as a potential site where the past may eternally be found; the carceral hand-poem, conversely, starts with the nonphysical inner site to, conversely, invite the past to reemerge and become embodied. Importantly, the past that the arrested man is able to unearth here does not mirror that of the enslaved child; i.e. it is not a memory based on sight ("jungle"), smell ("mangoes") or sound ("mcaws"). Rather, it is memory of movement, a ritual-like dance that is invoked and becomes part of the contemporary man's embodied repertoire, to invoke Taylor.[313] In fact, sight is effectively debunked from the privileged position it assumed in a racialised society as the character recognises the lightness of his feet's skin but reassures the ancestors that their "sacrifices and struggles were not in vain" and proceeds to follow in their dancesteps.

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[313] Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoir: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*.

Peter

Figure IV-7: Peter's Handwritten Hand Poems

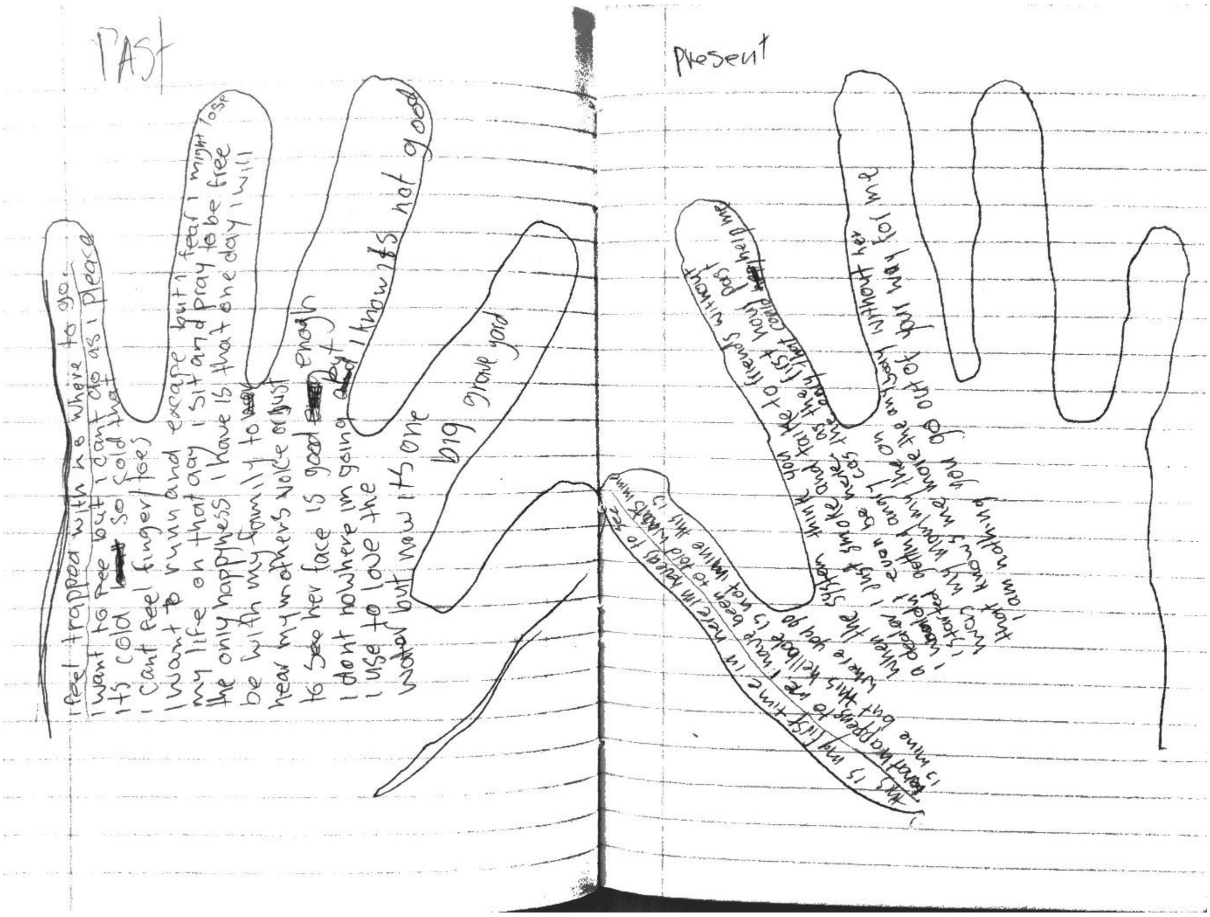

Table IV-5: Temporal Structure of Peter's Hand Poems

	Enslaved Hand-Poem		Carceral Hand-Poem	
Stanza	**Content**	**Temporal Setting**	**Content**	**Temporal Setting**
1	I feel trapped with no where to go.	Present	This is my first time in here	Present
2	I want to be free but I cant do as I please	Present	Im nervous to see what happens to me	Present
3	Its cold, so cold that I cant feel fingers, toes	Present	I have been to told whats mine is mine but this hellhole is not mine	Past
4	I want to runn and escape but I fear I might lose my life on that day	Future	this is where you go when the system think you a dealer	Present
5	I sit and pray to be free	Present	I just smoke and take to friends without I wouldn't even be here	Present

	Enslaved Hand-Poem		Carceral Hand-Poem	
Stanza	**Content**	**Temporal Setting**	**Content**	**Temporal Setting**
6	the only happyness I have is that one day I will be with my family to hear my mothers voice or just to see her face is good enough	Future	as the first hour past I started getting angry cos the only that could help me was my mommy	Past
7	I dont no where im going but I know its not good	Present	The one that knows me more than anybody, without her I am nothing	Present
8	I use to love the water but now its one big grave yard	Present	you go out of your way for me	Present

Both the enslaved and carceral hand-poems use language and imagery that emphasize a sense of anxiety around being trapped and contained, as well as a bewilderment for how he ended up in his respective contexts. While both poems are written from a present point-of-view, the enslaved hand-poem twice becomes future oriented and the carceral hand-poem twice becomes past-oriented. In the first instances of both – stanza four in the enslaved hand-poem and stanza three in the carceral hand-poem – we see an interesting parallel. Both stanzas reject alternative options as futile. The former considers marooning but decides against it due to a fear he "might lose [his] life on that day;" the latter rejects a message he has previously been told to stake his claim in prison ("whats mine is mine") by stating "*but* this hellhole is not mine" (emphasis added). The image of hell is an important distinction as the enslaved hand-poem would soon proceed to invoke prayer, marking a difference in both poems' overall tone.

Indeed, the enslaved hand-poem is distinguished by a constant desire – at times hopeful, at times hopeless – to become free and see a different future outcome, whereas the carceral hand-poem poem obsesses and laments over what has occurred and the frustration of finding himself incarcerated. More specifically, stanzas two, four and five in the enslaved hand-poem all grapple with a desire for freedom, progressively moving from an acknowledgement of constraint on desire to the fear of a life-threatening attempt at escaping to a resigning to prayer and hope, respectively. In the carceral hand narrative, stanzas three, four, five and six fixate on denial ("this hellhole is not mine"), regret ("I wouldn't even be here" and, finally, a powerlessness that seeks salvation in someone else. Similar to stanza five in the enslaved hand-poem in which the character resigns to prayer and, thus, the power of god, stanzas six to seven in the carceral hand-poem convey his "mommy" as a salvation figure whom he directly addresses by stanza eight in prayer-like fashion.

As mentioned above, both poems twice deviate from the present-temporality. Here, I wish to highlight the latter case (stanzas six for each) as they, not coincidentally, share in common the introduction of the mother figure. Following the decision to "sit and pray" instead of running away, the enslaved hand-poem then introduces the "mothers voice" or "just…her face" as the answer to his prayers and a source of happiness. Likewise, in the carceral hand-poem, the mother is introduced in contrast to an "anger" that grows within the first hour. In both instances, any hope in future happiness is dependent on the mother who represents a secure understanding relative to the respective forms of captivity. In the enslaved hand-poem, after introducing the mother figure as a source of hope and joy, stanza seven pronounces that "I dont no where im going." Likewise, stanza seven in the carceral hand-poem characterises the mother as the only "one that knows me," unlike the prison that appears to confuse him with the dealers who actually belong there (stanzas four and five).

Of course, as evidenced by stanza seven's pessimism, the enslaved hand-poem is not necessarily or exclusively hope-driven, but it does grapple with the possibility of freedom and future happiness even as its steeped in grief (stanza eight). The carceral hand-poem, on the other hand, confines the future to an anxiety-induced fear for what will happen to him (stanza two) and the nothingness that he is in the absence of his mother (stanza seven). The contrast is striking because, while it would appear obvious that the fate of the enslaved character is to remain in forced captivity, the lived experience of the formerly incarcerated character also knows that the imprisonment is temporary. The contrast, arguably, lies in a sense that the enslaved man might still be reunited with his family someday and, through prayer, regain his freedom. The carceral system, on the other hand, might be perceived as never letting go of its hold, because equivalent to the god-figure here is the mother-figure who, in stanza six, is unable to help and, as shown in stanzas four to five, the system might always group him with dealers and can pick him again at any point.

Finally, stanza eight concludes the enslaved hand-poem by powerfully conveying how the experience of being enslaved has altered a fundamental love for water ("but now its one big grave yard"). This ability to take one's pleasure and turn it into reason to mourn presents some similarity to the stanzas four to five in the carceral hand-poem's stanzas four and five where the recreational pleasure of smoking cannabis suddenly becomes the reason he is taken by "the system." It also parallels with stanza seven in the carceral hand-poem where the disconnection with his mother transforms him into "nothing," just as the slave system transformed the ocean into "one big grave yard." The parallels are insightful as they poetically convey the way in which either system fundamentally has a hold on/can drown the characters' sources of happiness and pleasure.

Silence Poems

The following found poems come from Workshop 7.1. Two meditating exercises. The first focused on identifying and locating a happy embodied silence. The second, on a difficult one. The following questions and answers relate to the latter. Specifically, the exercise prompt was as follows: "Okay so I'm going to ask you a question and you are going to finish that. I'm gonna give you the beginning of a sentence and you are going to finish writing it out. I'm going to give you two or three minutes and what I want you to do is to write as much detail as possible. And you can write in English or in Afrikaans, whatever is easier, whatever is comfortable." The exercise proceeded to ask the following questions, the answers to which form the found poems provided below:

1. If I could smell the silence, it would smell like…"
2. If I could taste the silence, it would taste like…"
3. If I could touch the silence, it would feel like…"
4. If I could hear the silence, it would sound like…"
5. The last time I felt this silence in my body was…"[314]

James

Table IV-6: James' Silence Poem

Stanza	Content
1	It would smell like the smoke of burning tyres Something that can be smelt from a distant and is easerly identified. The smoke when smelt will burn and irrate when you inhale it
2	It will taste like a sour lemon. As jy die byt moet jy, jou gevriet trek die smaak hardloop jou huille mond vol dit sit vas in jou keel en maak dit baie swaar of te sulk [*It will taste like a sour lemon. When you bite it, then you must pull your face, the taste runs through your whole mouth. It gets stuck in your throat and makes it very difficult to swallow*]
3	It would feel rough, like a round sticky ball that was thrown into the sand that is now covered in sand.
4	It would sound like a burning fire, you would hear the cracking of the would slowly burning down to ash but the flames will still burn higher like you can hear it's heat.

The answers provide a unique and poetic dissection of silence, the embodiment of its experience and its multifaceted meanings. The first stanza that deals with smell centres around the symbolism of "burning tyres," inviting us to consider smell as a profoundly temporal and memory-based experience. The experience of this sensation here invokes social and maybe even political context/unrest (e.g. protest, necklacing during Apartheid, etc.), whereby the burning tires may involve a particular soundscape, but its distant familiarity captures the relationality between silence and its source. The temporality of smoke forces us to move beyond a simple or quick experience of smelling something, as the inhalation of smoke from tires that have been lit implies a process whereby the smoke has developed its particular density over a burning period of time. This density is, in turn, implied by the invocation of distant proximity, a proximity that does not get in the way of identifying the odour. Put differently, the symbolism of this specific scent characterises silence as distantly-sourced, but inescapably reminiscent. The paradoxical simultaneity of its presence here and its presence elsewhere is reinforced when we consider that the fire itself is at a distance yet the narrator expresses the feeling of being burnt, which can only mean that silence carries an embodiment of pain whose source may be elsewhere, but that does not keep it from inflicting bodily discomfort.

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[314] Answers to the fifth prompt are omitted to preserve highly confidential stories.

The second stanza responds to the taste of silence. Through the metaphor of a sour lemon, he tells us that silence induces an immediate discomforting reaction, one that expands itself throughout the mouth and into the throat. This characterisation is uniquely concise as it captures its irresistible effect (you pull your face in resistance, but the sourness takes hold nevertheless) while retaining a sense of hope (it has made swallowing difficult, but not impossible). The imagery of running and getting stuck gives the silence's taste a particular movement that solidifies its presence within the symbolic realm of the throat, where sound would otherwise emit from. Yet, the stanza simultaneously focuses on the person biting the lemon, as much as it does the mobile taste that is entrapped by the throat. The former reacts and continues with his act of eating, albeit with more difficulty. In short, silence, here, hinders and obstructs to the point of becoming entrapped within the environment that should otherwise be the source of sound.

The third stanza continues to juxtapose paradoxical characteristics. Through the powerful imagery of a sticky ball thrown into (and therefore covered by) sand, we are made to become aware of the layers of silence. Whereas its exterior is roughened by an experience of being thrown into a particular environment, under the rough sand is something round and playful. Based on this playfulness, we might further consider the stickiness as symbolic of a young man’s absorption of anything that touches it. In other words, silence is here described as the environmentally-induced rough exteriority of an otherwise edgeless and playful interiority that happens to be sticky. Like the stuck-ness of the lemon taste in the throat, the stickiness here invokes a sense of inescapability from a particular environment. The fourth stanza, focused on sound, reverts to the symbolism of fire. Once again, we are invited to consider silence as centrally memory-based and temporal. Firstly, the cracking sonicity of burning wood is described with reference to its slow eventual transformation into ash. Akin to the smell of smoke that carried with it an embodiment of feeling burnt, the sound of flames burning allows the narrator to “hear its heat.” To hear heat can be interpreted as the body’s intimate familiarity with the flame’s sound, such that its heat can be determined and, perhaps, felt. Unlike the first stanza’s word choice of “burn”, “heat” here is not necessarily dangerous or implicitly painful. The latter is also a softer sound, like a whisper, closer to silence phonetically, reflecting a fire that is both audible and silent at the same time.

It is worth noting the overall structure of the four stanzas. The first situates silence at a distance from its source, while the person smelling is able to identify the odour’s source and even foreshadow the incoming burning as the smoke spreads toward inevitable inhalation. The second further mobilises silence but within the body, relying on the metaphor of a sour lemon’s taste to present it running through the mouth and settling within the throat. These first two stanzas position the narrator as a passive recipient of these incoming and debilitating sensations. The next stanza relies on the symbolism of a playful ball to cement silence as an inherently and ultimately exterior phenomenon that completely covers the former so that the ball now feel rough on the outside. The fourth stanza situates silence away from the body, as we picture the burning wood and imagine a warmth – or warning – carried by sound alone.

Marcus

Table IV-7: Marcus' Silence Poem

Stanza	Content
1	If i could smell this silence it would smell like a swrigh [read: sewer] were all dirt goes because there is now purpose for having[…]
2	if i would taste that silence it would tast like a egg that has gone off like a hole year and i definitely don't want to taste like that never ever in[…]
3	if i could touch the silence it would fell like fingers slipping threw your fingers
4	if i could hear the silence it would sound like a song that is just made up but there is more to that song than u will ever know???

The first stanza that deals with smells centres a destination for society's collective waste ("all dirt") as the metaphor for his silence. The critical point here is not the more obvious meaning that this silence is nauseatingly undesirable or messy, but rather it locates the source of the silence beyond an individual's waste. By expanding the source to "all" dirt producers, it signals that silence for Marcus is a deeply social phenomena. The sewer coalesces dirt from anyone and everyone, extending responsibility far and wide. Yet, the wording does not necessarily orient us toward this notion of a source (i.e. it does not mentioned "from"), but rather focuses on where dirt "goes." This implies an ever-flowing or ongoing movement of dirt that has a necessary destiny. In other words, silence may not inherently stink, but has been placed into a movement or process with other dirt. Importantly, this smell carries a distinct sonic element. Sewers are loud yet tucked away underground where such noisiness is muffled. Silence, then, may appear devoid of noise from the surface, but is a profound noise itself the closer we approach it and delve into the depths where it resides. Arguably, as its smeller, Marcus positions himself within close proximity to this metaphorical sewer.

The second stanza, which focuses on taste, invites an element of time as it relates to the process of an egg rotting and becoming distasteful. Specifically mentioning the length of time the egg has rotten suggests that the deterring characteristic of silence is caused by specific processes of time. Confronting silence, for example, becomes more daunting relative to the length of time through which it has “gone off.” Like the first stanza, this one also crosses multiple senses. While focused on taste, it is undeniable that rotten eggs possess a distinct stench, especially once opened. A popular euphemism in Cape Town, importantly, is notion of a naughty child being ‘a rotten egg’ in a basket of good ones that is the cause of any trouble. The third stanza interestingly maintains the theme of processes through the imagery of fingers slipping through one’s hands. The image suggests intertwined fingers that have begun a process of separating, a grasp of togetherness that is in the process of dissolving. The word choice, slipping, is key as it evokes a sense of regret and uncontrollability. Like the first stanza, it further implies an element of sociality undergirding silence, especially its disruption/rupture of social connections. Perhaps the most emotional of the various images introduced here, this stanza quite literally reaches out to the reader as it simultaneously slips away in its touch. The intangibility is as palpable as it is ambiguous: we are left wondering whether he is bearing witness to this silence slipping through “your” fingers or is the silence escaping him?

The fourth stanza focuses on musicality, improvisation, and the unknowability of silence’s full meaning(s). Silence as song goes beyond the obvious juxtaposition to suggest rhythm, orchestration, tempo, or any other characteristics we find in songs. Here, we are asked to consider silence as something composed, yet through an improvisational manner (“just made up”). As such, silence here is both carried by rhythm and tempo as much as it is ephemeral and creative. Perhaps due to its improvisational nature or perhaps because the song itself is complex and replete with meaning, this metaphor further suggests that one could never “know” it fully. Silence, which would appear to be nothing, is here interpreted as expansive and infinite, in its breadth, complexity, meaning, effect, or otherwise. It is important to note that all of these stanzas characterise silence as process. Silence is never still. It slips through our grip, results from the dissolution of one another's grasp, or is inherently ungraspable and, therefore, unstill. Its direction is unpredictable and incomprehensible, yet full of both noise/sound and music.

Wes

Table IV-8: Wes' Silence Poem

Stanza	**Content**
1	If I could smell this silence it would smell like a hot pistol that has just been fired sixteen or seventeen times non stop. The type of smell that you would smell as the smoke still comes out of the barrel of a semi-automatic pistol that has this chrome colour on the outside with the black rubber bud.
2	If I could taste that silence it would taste like one of that thin, bent ??? wrinkeled up red hot chilli peppers that only exists in the middle east or in India. One of that strong dry on the inside filled with these small pits & hairs inside that burns the inside of the mouth, the lips, the nose, tongue, cheecks, forehead all the way down to the chest & stomach till eventually it exists the butthole.
3	If I could feel the silence it would feel like this fragile rubbery outter with this soft, wrinkled up inside filled with alot of hair, pits, wetness, dryness on so 'n sticky, slippery inner.
4	If I could hear this silence it would sound like a lot of force or compression being pressed or forced into a tiny space just aching to come out & when it eventually does get released it gives off this massive, loud, ground shaking, earthquaking that vibrated through the streets, building, & every living and non-living object.

The first stanza approaches smell within a very particular temporal and visual space. Silence as the scent of smoke is, here, undetachable from the particular circumstances that birthed that smoke. Firstly, the pistol at hand has "just been fired sixteen or seventeen times non stop," reproducing the event with a precise abruptness that pinpoints silence within the immediate moment "as the smoke still comes out the barrel." The "non stop" and "still" alter the tempo at which we read each moment of this event. We are, thus, invited into the discord between the loud, sudden and fast firing semi-automatic gun and an engulfing silence that slowly follows. Silence, then, is characterised as a prolonged aftermath to a haste, and perhaps deadly, violence that is also prolonged (sixteen or seventeen) but distinctly fast and relentless (non-stop). The prolonged characteristic of the moment the smoke emerges is further accentuated by the time he takes here to describes the pistol visually, down to the colour (chrome and black) and type (semi-automatic). The level of detail suggests an intimate familiarity with this highly specific smell, yet it is unclear if this would be a result of multiple such experience or the lasting impact of a single incident.

The second stanza describes silence through the metaphor of a chilli. The chilli comes from overseas, is identifiably hot based on its inner pits and hairs, and upon ingestion causes a burning sensation across the face and down through the body. Through this description, we understand silence as having a distant source, as having travelled from a particular exceptional origin and containing within it a long journey that, while incondensable, is nevertheless condensed to a binary of origin and destination. In this sense, silence travels and involves a long, if not rich, story of movement, but the in-between of that journey remains opaque and, as such, silence can only be narrated in terms of an origin(al cause) and its eventual effects (the burning sensations). Furthermore, the immanent heat it will cause is predictable; if silence, like the chilli, can be opened to see its inners, the impact on the body becomes foreseeable. The body, in turn, is where the effects of this silence plays out. The secretion and excretion of the chilli, while crude, is indicative of how the body processes silence: the silence, unthreatening at first through its “thin, bent wrinkled up” appearance, is felt throughout the body, until it is expelled as mere waste. As waste, there is no looking back at it, no confronting its existence, only the embodied memory of its secretion. Through this visceral description, silence almost literally affects the viscera (the nervous system) as it leaves lasting after-effects on the body even after it has passed through the system.

In the third stanza, the feel of silence reinvokes a particular image that can arguably only be a reference to a chilli, again. The exterior of this silence is “rubbery,” yet the interior contains “hair, pits, wetness, dryness” and is both “sticky, [and] slippery.” That is, the external rubbery feel beguiles us to imagine an inanimate object, but the internal space is contrastingly alive with several feels that are practically opposite to the rubbery exteriority. We are presented with a narrative of silence as a complex experience that feels one-dimensionally simple on the surface, but is much more complex and even contradictory underneath that surface. Silence is neither this nor that, it both and more: fragile yet rubbery; soft yet wrinkled; wet and dry; sticky and slippery. He further uses "feel" instead of "touch," a word choice that positions him more passively, as feeling suggests an experience and touch is more of an act.

The sound of silence is multi-sensorial. It is first spatialised in a visual manner, as coercively contained within "a tiny space" and wanting to come out. Silence is the sound of this forced compression, but is only heard upon a release that is seismic and earth-shattering. Releasing this silence is disruptive, causing the physical sensation of vibration across "the streets, building, & every living and non-living object." Sound as felt further locates silence as an embodied and materialised matter. The vibrational effects are not just felt in a single body either, but across the entire materiality of a community, from its infrastructure to its inhabitants. In other words, silence is both embodied as much as its consequences are collective.

Peter

Table IV-9: Peter's Silence Poem

Stanza	**Content**
1	If I small this silence it would small like something that has been left outside for a couple of months. It smalls rotten like all the life has been sucked out of it like there is no use for it.
2	If I could taste it I would taste like something that you want to eat but cause of the small you know it's a bad idea but you do it anyway.
3	If could touch the silence it would feel like toilet paper that is wet but you leave it in the sun it become hard.
4	If I could hear the silence I would sound like dog making a noise on a still night.

In the first stanza, the smell of silence is portrayed as a consequence of a temporal prolonging, a process of rotting that has drained the "something" of "all the life" until it has become useless. Silence is regarded as life-draining, reducing the object of this silence into obsoletion. Specifically, the rotting is a consequence of some form of neglect or forgetting that "left [it] outside for a couple of months," almost to say that it lacked the appropriate environment or shelter and, as such, is fundamentally avoidable/negligible. In the second stanza, silence is presented as something both enticing and remorseful. For unexplained reasons, it is "something that you want to eat," though the smell is evidence that doing so will inevitably lead to regret. Yet the temptation is strong ("you do it anyway"), characterising silence with a sort of mysterious allure that, intertextually, makes reference to the smell sensation of stanza 1 to convey the obvious "bad idea" it would be to taste the silence.

The third stanza remarks a unique touch to silence, comparing it to "toilet paper that is wet but you leave it in the sun" until it hardens. Highly specific, silence here is conveyed as a rough brittle object that, like the object of stanza one, was left out for a period of time. In that period of time, it transformed. While the object of stanza one rotted, this metaphor for silence hardened only insofar as it was first wet prior to being placed outside. In other words, silence involves a process by which the initial action is transformative as it softens something (or someone) already absorbent, followed by a passive action in which someone leaves the wet paper in the sun to harden. The final stanza uses sound to render silence as a "dog making a noise on a still night." Silence is animated yet it remains ambiguous whether the dog's noises are welcomed or not. The contrast between the stillness of the night would seem to suggest that the dog's noises is likely to be considered a nuisance inasmuch as it is also likely to be misunderstood. Even if the response to the dog's noise is one of empathy, with someone trying to understand the cause, the choice of a dog means that the noise evades the capacity of language to understand. To allow silence to speak may, on the one hand, disrupt, invite the anger or annoyance of other people and, ultimately, be heard as unnecessary barking. At best, one will attempt to understand why the dog is barking under such still conditions and, to understand this particular noise, a great degree of understand is required, otherwise the dog will remain misunderstood. In short, the consequences of voicing silence is a great degree of ongoing misunderstanding, presumably due to the fact that silence either exceeds the limits of language or the person in question is not equipped with a language that translates this silence beyond the unintelligible sound of a dog.

Maroon Poems

The following poems were from a variety of workshops and were chosen by the participants as the piece they wished to perform in the culminating stage performance. The poems are first presented by numbering each line for easier reference. Secondly, I provide a table for each poem outlining different structural elements of the poem, beginning with the temporal structure for key lines, followed by the corresponding psychological character and theme.

James

“Boer en Boewe”

1. As ‘n laaitie [*As a child*]
2. het ons boer en boewe gespeel [*we had cops and robbers to play*]
3. cops & robbers they called it in the suburbs
4. ek was die boef [*I was the thief*]
5. ons was mos altyd boewe [*we were always thieves*]
6. ma die kap agter die byl se vir my ek [*but the truth of the matter tells me, I*]
7. was erste gerof [*was first robbed*]
8. Ja salute gerof [*Yeah, salute, robbed*]
9. gerof van my history, my identity [*robbed of my history, my identity*]
10. gerof van my land [*robbed of my land*]
11. gerof [*robbed*]
12. van wat rightfully belongs to me [*of what rightfully belongs to me*]
13. dais pangela in die game [*that’s the work of the game*]
14. Ek was die rowe [*I was the robber*]
15. Ja salute ‘n boef [*Yeah, salute, a thief*]
16. Nou die prize van die game [*Now, the prize of the game*]
17. was die gatties [*was the marbles*]
18. My oog val op die irony [*my eye falls on the ‘i’ney’*[315]]
19. solid, swaar unchangeable [*solid, heavy unchangeable*]
20. ne sons se history [*just like our history*]

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[315] Refers to a specific type of marble – the i’ney – and should not be confused with the word “irony.”

21. en die soda [*and the ‘soda’*]
22. mix colours
23. nes die taal wat ons praat [*just like the language we speak*]
24. gemengde klere [*mixed clothing*]
25. Blou geel en rooi [*blue yellow and red*]
26. Blou is vir almal die nasies wat [*Blue is for all the nations that*]
27. oor die sea gekomit op slave ships. [*came over the sea on slave ships.*]
28. Die geel is vir die Khoisan [*The yellow is for the Khoisan*]
29. wat erste hier getrapit. [*which first stepped here*]
30. Rooi is vir die Dutch en almal [*Red is for the Dutch and all*]
31. die gazi wat hulle agter gelosit [*the brothers that they left behind*]
32. Gemengde klere, soos hulle [*mixed clothing, like they*]
33. mos se ons is ‘n mix race. [*say, after all, we are a mix race.*]
34. Ma ek staan op die Noma ek [*But I stand on the Number I*]
35. Is ‘n nasie op my eie [*am a nation on my own*]
36. not black neither white a cape coloured – I can only be found in the cape
37. Indigenous vroumense was violently raped
38. that shame flows in my DNA
39. Die kakste van alles [*The shittiest thing of all*]
40. That shit still happens 2day
41. gister was dit die wit man [*yesterday, it was the white man*]
42. vandag is dit my eie broerse [*today it’s my own brothers*]
43. wat my sisters staan en rape [*that rape my sisters*]
44. violence in our DNA
45. Ek stiek weg agter die boom [*I hide behind the tree*]
46. met my oog op die prys [*with my eye on the prize*]
47. ek sit my brille op [*I put on my shades*]
48. I don’t want you to see my pain.
49. Die oe wat ek geerfit [*The eyes that I inherited*]
50. is getuies [*are witnesses*]
51. getuies van slavery [*witnesses of slavery*]
52. getuies van die dopline manne [*witnesses of the drunk men*]
53. wat nou hulle families verlaat [*who now abandon their families*]
54. vas gevang vas geburnt [*caught tight, caught burned*]
55. in gangsterism alcohol or drug abuse

57. Ja salute ek is a boef [*Yeah, salute, I am a thief*]
58. previously disadvantaged
59. I stare into my fathers eyes
60. the silence is a surprise
61. when doubt creeps in
62. like a serpent ready to strike
63. searching for the truth in the midst of all the lies
64. Ja salute ek is ‘n boef [*Yeah, salute, I am a thief*]
65. ma ek het slim geraak [*but I got smart*]
66. en die wat ek met vas [*and those that I’m tight with*]
67. staan kan niemand weg [*no one can*]
68. vati [*take away*]
69. met die gattiez in my [*with the marbles in my*]
70. sak I finally feel free [*pocket, I finally feel free*]

71. Jy gedink jy kan my rof van my identity [*You thought you could rob me of my identity*]
72. But I duck up my ancestors
73. their struggle still fuels my hustling 2day

75. Ja salute ek is ‘n boef [*Yeah, salute, I am a thief*]
76. en ek het gechiala [*and I made a move*]
77. gechila met knowledge [made a *move with knowledge*]
78. Acknowledge the pain of the past the pain that
79. still lingers in the eyes of my father

81. Ja salute ek is ‘n boef [*Yeah, salute I am a thief*]
82. Soos ek skarrel ini kaap [*As I hustle in the Cape*]
83. met die gattiez in my sak, [*with the marbles in my pocket*]
84. com ek teneer op [*I came upon*]
85. die kantoor van meneer Clarke [*the office of Mr. Clarke*]
86. ek hal my move uit en pis voor sy deur [*I take out my move (penis) and pee in front of his door*]
87. like hallo meener [*like hello mister*]

89. Ek staan op die punt van die berg [*I stand on the point of the mountain*]
90. Asem in lang ‘n sign [*Breathe in next a sign*]
91. wat lees “white men only” [*that reads…*]
92. op die bank da staan - “white men only” [*at the bank…*]
93. op die Bus da staan - “white men only” [*on the Bus…*]
94. op die Beach da staan - “white men only” [*On the beach…*]
95. op die bali da staan – “white men only” [*on the toilet…*]

97. Ek vat in almal die varse lig [*I take in all the fresh light*]
98. tot my longe [*until my lungs*]
99. leka rond is [*are lekker round*]
100. no longer keeping me flat
101. stuck in the flats
102. op ‘n pos by die phela pos [*you must be ready and come correct*]
103. filled with rodents and rats
104. where even hope is hopeless
105. the air is stained with the stench of rotten dreams
106. that leka kin Faith don’t come around here [*that nice girl, Faith, don’t come around here*]

108. Net donker wolke wat driza [*Just dark clouds drizzle*]
109. van die tyres wat brand [*of burning tyres*]
110. even when we win we lose
111. what you think
112. no such thing as a happy ending

114. Is 20 jaar later die gattiez [*It’s 20 years later the ‘gattiez’*]
115. het ek veloor [*I lost*]
116. Ek sien die laaitiez in die pad [*I see the children in the road*]
117. hulle speel die game [*they play the game*]
118. die selle way wat ek die gespeel it [*the same way that I played it*]

119. ek trek die boef en bou [*I pull the cops and robber*]
120. die boef dala, so nie so nie [*the thief doesn't do like that*]
121. as jy so dala gaan hulle jou vang [*if you do like that, they are going to catch you*]
122. en as hulle sou vang [*and if they catch you*]
123. sit hulle ketangs om jou har [*they put chains around your hair*]

125. ja salute, ek is 'n boef [*yeah, salute, I am a thief*]
126. no longer slave
127. still stuck in these chains
128. searching for change
129. heard if you change the way you look at things
130. the things you look at will change

Table IV-10: Structural Analysis of James' Maroon Poem

Strophe	**Lines**	**Temporal Structure**	**Psychological character**	**Theme**
1.	1-4.	Past	I	Childhood
	5.	Past	We	Continuity
	7-10.	Past	I	Dispossession
	12.	Present	I	Justice
2.	18.	Present	I	Childhood
	20.	Past	We	History
	21.	Present	We	Language
	27-31.	Past	They	History
	33.	Present	We	Identity
3.	36.	Present	I	Identity
	37.	Past	Indigenous women	Sexual violence
	38.	Present	Shame	My inheritance
	42.	Present	Kith	Violence
	44.	Present	Violence	Our inheritance
4.	45.	Present	I	Hiding as a child
	47.	Present	I	Hiding as an adult
	50-52.	Present	The eye	Witnessing history
	53-55.	Present	We	Alcoholism
5.	69.	Present	I	Identity
	72.	Present	I	Ancestors
	73.	Present	Ancestors	Hustle
	78.	Present	I	Memory of pain
	79.	Present	Father	Eyes
	83.	Present	I	Identity
	86.	Present	I	Parole
	89.	Present	I	Mountain
	91.	Past	They	Apartheid
6.	100.	Present	I	Empowerment
	101.	Present	I	Enclosure
	104.	Present	Hope	Hopelessness
	105.	Present	Air	Dreams
	106.	Future	A girl named Faith	Segregation
	108.	Present	Dark Clouds	Smoke

Strophe	Lines	Temporal Structure	Psychological character	Theme
	110.	Present	We	Loss
	112.	Future	Story	Happy ending
7.	114.	Present	I	Lost identity
	116.	Present	I	Children/future
	121.	Future	Children	Enclosure
	123.	Future	Children	Chains
8.	126.	Present	I	Freedom
	127.	Present	I	Chains
	130.	Future	Reader/listener	Eyes

It is arguably too obvious to analyse this poem using Hobsbawn's concept of the social bandit, as the take-away here is that the poet became a thief primarily because he and his class were first robbed, long before he was even born. He points to the theft of language, land, and identity through past generations' experiences of slavery, colonialism and Apartheid as an inherited legacy through which we might better understand his contemporary identification with the thief side of the cop-robber spectrum. Instead of dwelling on this relatively self-evident interpretation, I wish to delve into the poem's mechanics of movement and temporality that unveil complex insight into the rich and sometimes contradictory meanings behind history, memory and agency. In Table IV-10 above, I outline the temporal structure that emerges within the poem, the psychological characters and themes that accompany this temporal sequencing.

In strophe 1, the use of juxtaposition in lines 1-12 reveal a particular epistemological strategy to connect two different temporalities. Lines 1-4 engages with the past as it relates to the "I" character and the theme of childhood, presenting his childhood self as the playful thief in the popular game cops and robbers. Line 5 shifts from the individual self to a collective "we" while simultaneously condensing time into a seamless continuity ("always"). Line 7 travels along the bridge of this seamless continuity to position the "I" into the historic past to, in lines 9-10, personalise a legacy of colonial theft and dispossession. In sum, past lived experience and past collective experiences are juxtaposed to position the past (child) self in a temporal context that seamlessly reaches the broader historic past to, in turn, frame his current self in a language of ‘rights’ (line 12) and dispossession.

In strophe 2 from line 18, the childhood self is now narrated in the present tense, metaphorically speaking about both the solid black marble known as the ‘irony’ and the mixed colour marble known as the ‘soda’ to, once again, collapse time. First, the ‘irony’ alludes to history, characterising the latter as both dense (“solid”), heavy and inevitably something that cannot be altered (“unchangeable”). This solid unchangeability is then juxtaposed with colourful mixtures of another marble piece known as the ‘soda’ to allude to language production as evidence of mixture, thus characterising identity through a kind of process of creolisation. Lines 26-31 refers to journeys of several groups of people who form part of the ‘Coloured’ ancestral lineage to conclude that “we are a mix race.” While strophe 2 introduces a narrative of creolisation and lists different ancestral lineages, lines 37-44 examines the violence of these entanglements, while continuing the use of juxtaposition to understand the present within a broader historical context. Specifically, he alludes to colonial rape to explain an exceptionalism of Cape ‘Coloured’ existence, framing this historical experience as a shameful one that is deeply embedded in his physical being (“that shame flows in my DNA”).

Interestingly, the shame is individualised as it flows in his DNA, but he then depersonalises the inheritance as he converts the shame into collective (“our”) phenomenon of violence (“violence in our DNA”). This sheds new light into the first section. Both the first and third strophes present a particular logic to connect that past and present. First, the self is presented and localised (as a child distinctly not in the suburbs; as a person uniquely located in the Cape). Then, the past is invoked through a larger collectivity (we; indigenous women). Here, seamless continuity is constructed between the past and present (“always”; “that [historical] shame flows in my DNA”). This allows the self to be repositioned in the past where the self becomes a victim of historical wrongs by receiving or inheriting the initial injustice (“I was first robbed"; "that shame flows in my DNA"). We are then asked to sympathise with the character ("what rightfully belongs to me"; lines 42-44 where "my own brothers" sexual violence is to be understood through the context of that of "the white man").

Just as strophe 2 follows strophe 1 by reinstating the image of the innocent child playing the game with his eyes on certain marbles, strophe 4 follows strophe 3 by revisiting the childhood self hiding to win the prize. In both strophes 2 and 4, he alludes to the eyes. In the latter instance, the eyes first watch the game's prize, then fear being watched as the eye becomes a portal to his emotional vulnerability. Like the opaque heavy iron marble that condenses the past into an unchangeable solid entity, the eye here becomes something he wants to keep opaque (lines 47-48) as well as a metaphor for the unchanging legacies of slavery and the 'dop' man (lines 49-52). The latter of which alludes to the 'dop' system before it is given a contemporary meaning by relating to alcoholism, family abandonment, gangsterism and drug abuse (lines 53-55).

Strophe 5 narrates the success of finally possessing the prize of the game. He begins by reinstating the marble metaphor to symbolize his reclamation of identity through exhumation of his stolen ancestry (line 72). Through this repossession, he then frames his current hustle as 'fuelled' by their tribulations (line 73). Building on the connections made above between strophes 2 and 4, lines 78-79 seem to continue to suggest a parallelism between the marbles and the eyes. After emphasising he has repossessed the marbles along with memory of his ancestors, he then grounds "knowledge" in the 'acknowledgement' of remembering historic trauma (line 78), specifically its intergenerational inheritance through "the eyes of my father." Having solidified this metaphor, he suddenly places us into motion "with the marbles in [his] pockets." Continuing to move and hustle (line 82), he goes to the parole officer's office to, figuratively or not, take a piss. Then, he swiftly relocates us from the depths and boundedness of being on parole to the heights and open space of a mountain's edge (lines 89-90), before making allusions to the Apartheid-era Whites-only policies (lines 91-97). The juxtapositioning here is spatially stark, as the office and Whites-only spaces invoke closedness, compared to the ambiguous movements of hustling across the vastness "in the Cape" and the outdoors spatiality of the mountain itself.

In Strophe 6, he first continues this theme of empowerment by celebrating that he is no longer kept "flat" (line 100). However, he then juxtaposes his personal empowerment with the enclosure ("stuck") and pervasive hopelessness of the Cape Flats (line 101). The imagery of rodents presents this hopelessness as an infestation that hides and moves. The stench of rotten dreams permeating the air further presents the spatiality of this hopelessness as one that is gaseous – consider that even a limited pleasant scent cannot keep pleasant if the air around it is predominantly "stained" with a foul stench. He further alludes to Apartheid-like segregation again as he explains that a girl, aptly and perhaps even symbolically named Faith, would not visit this area (line 106). The visceral juxtaposition of smoke ("dark clouds") and protest ("burning tyres") is presented as a win-loss, where the political struggle continues but the ending remains the same.

In Strophe 7, he measures the time between the childhood experiences that opened this poem and his current self as taking 20 years to recuperate his identity. But now he looks upon the future ("children") and sees that they too will become captive to the enclosure of the carceral system ("chains") as they play the game just as he did (line 118). Strophe 8, in turn, proclaims that he is no longer enslaved, presumably due to his reclamation of ancestry and identity, but juxtaposes that with the continuation of being chained (lines 126-127). He reinstates the eye's symbolism as he addresses the reader/listener to alter the way they perceive things so that the material reality will, consequently, change too.

Marcus

“Untitled #1”

1. I remember. I remember when my sister an myself
2. o yes my sister was beuatiful
3. she always reminded me of how beuatiful our African Ancista Women look like
4. with her long two tone braided hair, brown eyes, beuatiful facial features nice slender body
5. o yes
6. on our way to the park
7. which sat on the corner of London Rd and Paris Str[316]
8. as we entered the park looking at all the different slides & rides that we could have fun on
9. there were si-saws, sliding boards, jungle-jim an so much more
10. but don’t forget the one I like most
11. the merry-go-round
12. as we boreded our ride
13. round, round, round we went in such a speed
14. afraid my sister might fall
15. so i held her so tight
16. like slaves chained on ships two by two
17.
18. I wonder why
19. I wonder how
20. I feel their sorrows
21. I hear their crys
22. all locked up in darkness
23. The darkness speaking out in silent voices waiting
24. to be felt an waiting to be heard
25.
26. Set us free{ Set them free{ from these shackels
27. Bound from their ankels upto their necks
28. calling it the weight of pain
29. bound to us for the rest of our lives
30.
31. Sitting here today on this merry-go-round
32. going round and round
33. looking at how strong this metal is holding up all of our weight
34. now, sitting here, watching this merry-go-round
35. that same metal keeps me walking today

Table IV-11: Structural Analysis of Marcus’ Maroon Poem

Strophe	Lines	Temporal Structure	Psychological character	Theme
1	1. 3-4.	Past Past	I Sister	Memory Ancestor’s beauty
2	8-10. 12-14.	Past Past	We We	Entering Boarding

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[316] The names of these roads have been changed to maintain anonymity

Strophe	**Lines**	**Temporal Structure**	**Psychological character**	**Theme**
3	15. 16.	Past Past	I Slaves	Tight hold Chained
4	18-19 20-21 22 23 24	Present Present Present Present Present	I I The enslaved Darkness The enslaved	Wonder Sorrows and cries Locked up Silent voices Waiting
5	26. 27. 29.	Present Present Present	Us and them The enslaved Us	Freedom Shackles Life-long boundedness
6	31. 33. 35.	Present Present Present	I Metal Metal	Sitting Holding up our weight Walking

In this poem, Marcus navigates the juxtaposition of past and present with an interesting focus on body-centred narration. In line 1, the word “remember” is emphasised through a pitch glide that we hear again in the word “always” in line 4. The narration, thus, is framed from the beginning as one that will engage with both memory and the notion of continuity. What is remembered, and what sustains this memory across time (“always”) are physical traits. Strophe 1 begins a theme seen across the poem whereby the body is the site where links to history are fashioned. Strophe 1, more precisely, presents a particular gendered approach to history, where a sexualised depiction of the sister (line 4) transforms women’s bodies into a means of romanticising history.

The actual physical traits listed are arguably common features, making the uses of rhyme and alliteration here especially noteworthy. “Sister” (line 2) and “Ancista” (line 3) create a parallel effect that substantiates the comparison of their physical features. Line 4, in turn, is rife with alliteration of consonants: two tone; braided, brown, beautiful, body; facial features. The first half of line 4 is also largely monosyllabic, followed by a predominantly disyllabic second half. Together, this syllabic count and the use of alliteration create a unique rhythm through which the woman’s body is presented, firstly, in a highly structured and controlled manner and, secondly, in a loosened and relatively fast-faced way. While the poem begins with a commanding (note the repetition) masculine tone, we now see it immediately introduce history through a woman’s body, discursively and linguistically shifting from a constraint to a looseness.

This shift can be seen in strophe 2 where he juxtaposes the notion of ‘entering’ the park (line 8) with that of ‘boarding’ the park ride (line 12). The former suggests a particular level of power or agency through which the different sights visually take turns. The latter, on the other hand, lacks control: the image of boarding brings to mind a mode transport steered by someone else and the subsequent circular motion induces a dizzying visual. Immediately, it is the sister that has, literally, been loosened as he states that he is “afraid my sister might fall.” Strophe 3 takes back control insofar as the “I” is able to hold the woman “so tight.” A stark allusion is made, then, to an image of slaves chained together, as a way of characterising the tight hold of line 15. Whereas strophe 1 introduced the enslaved ancestors through the feminine body, strophe 3 uses the tight masculine grip that prevents the fall of that woman/girl is used to introduce the actual chains of enslavement.

Importantly, strophes 1-3 were all in past temporalities, oscillating between the childhood past and the historic slave-era past. Following the previous strophe’s introduction of the masculine hold that is simultaneously saviour and enslavement, the rest of the poem is presented in a present temporality. Beginning strophe 4, lines 18-19 convey a lack of control (“I wonder”) to then proximate himself to the enslaved in lines 20-21 (“I feel their sorrows/I hear their crys”). Like lines 12-13 above that blurred visuality, line 22 creates the setting in which the enslaved (and himself, by the aforementioned proximity) as “darkness.” The darkness, in line 23, does the speaking, not the enslaved themselves. As the opacity of darkness further parallels the wonderment of lines 18-19, then the demand from the darkness to be felt and heard (line 24) would suggest that he knows this darkness as per his capacity to feel and hear in lines 20-21.

Importantly, the ability to feel and hear bring in his body to connect with the enslaved, but unlike strophe 1 and 2 where the sister's body was gazed upon, the lack of control sends him into a darkness. But the demand to speak remains silenced, insofar as it conflicts with the gendered masculinity we see in the first half of the poem. Strophe 5 alternates between an us and them that neither yet both the unification of the contemporary community and that of the past enslaved. In line 26, he demands freedom from "these shackels" first for "us" and then for "them." Lines 27-28 reinvokes the body as the site of boundedness, depicting shackles from ankles up to the neck but specifically saying "their." Line 28 metaphorises the chains as "the weight of pain," though it is vague who exactly is "calling" it as such. Then, line 29 redirects the boundedness back to "us." The strophe ends with a temporal reference, stating this boundedness will last "for the rest of our lives," ambiguously speaking about an us that is contemporary, specific to the enslaved with whom he has established affinity, or both.

In strophe 6, the imagery of the merry-go-round from strophes 2 and 3 makes a return, but seems to have stopped its fast turning. In line 31, the emphasis is placed on sitting on it "today," suggesting an older character that contrasts with the youth swinging at high speeds earlier. Line 33 introduces a collectivity ("our weight") that is held by the ride. The notion of holding has already been associated with both the masculine and enslavement. The imagery of holding onto the metallic merry-go-round and the metallic shackles further insinuate a cold masculine feel that contrasts with the soft bodily features of the feminine body in strophe 1. Like strophe 5 (lines 27 and 29, in particular), line 35 then suggests the continuity of captivity is situated via the body and, as it keeps him walking (as opposed to, say, falling), it serves the same role as the masculine grip in line 15.

Whereas strophes 1 and 2 frames the connection between the slave and the contemporary time periods through an implicit discourse of the uncontrolled feminine body, strophe 3 introduces the masculine hold as both likened to slave chains and the grip that suggestively saves the feminine body from imminent descent. The descent takes place, nevertheless, but not for the feminine body as for his own in strophe 4, where the lack of control and, thus, feeling of being demasculinised is associated with a shame and relegated to darkness. In strophe 5, we then witness the ambiguous overlapping of an “us” and “them” that blurs the distinction between the enslaved and himself, even as he specifically situates the shackles on “their” bodies and speaks of “our” boundedness only in terms of “the weight of pain.” In other words, the shackles remain shamed until finally, in strophe 6, the metal becomes literally embodied. He becomes one with the material of slavery – metal – suggesting no end and no beginning to the enslavement. The masculine/metallic hold continues the life-long boundedness, yet it ironically remains his salvation.

Harold

“Untitled #2”

1. My perfectly tailard shirt
2. covering my slender frame
3. my pants
4. the colour of the ocean on a cloudy day
5. I guess you never got to see the
6. sky on your ocean voyage
7.
8. I am the image of wealth and power
9. Oh my mirror tells me such
10. beughtifull lies
11. as a child
12. my mother would tell me
13. stories about the eilande
14. and of Lang Klass Eiland.
15.
16. He was a slave that dressed so well
17. that people would think him free.
18. Till one day
19. his proud steps were halted by a thorn
20. that pierced his bare foot

This poem was written during but outside of the physical workshop space, writing it at home while engaging directly with the content matter of the workshop series. Not following any particular prompt, the poem broadly considers the question of how one relates to history. It takes up an evidently resonant point that was raised during Nadjwa's first history tour (around part of the Slave Lodge Museum) in which the point was raised that clothing was used as a marker of status and freedom in the Cape Colony.

Table IV-12: Structural Analysis Harold's Maroon Poems (pt. 1)

Strophe	Lines	Temporality	Psychological Character	Theme
1	1-2. 3-4. 5-6.	Present Present Past	Shirt Pants Enslaved	Tailored covering Ocean colour Slave voyage
2	8. 9-10. 11-14.	Present Present Past	I Mirror Mother	Power Lies Storytelling
3	16-17. 18-20	Past Past	Enslaved man Thorn	Well-dressed Piercing

In strophe 1, lines 1-4 introduce a well-dressed character, focusing on the ideal shirt and pants that, respectively, cover his body and then engulfs him in "the ocean on a cloudy day." The focus on the clothing as the first two psychological characters elevates their status as empowered actors relative to the man who wears the clothing. The ocean-coloured pants, specifically, is used as an emotive image that bridges the individual's attire to the allusion to an enslaved person's oceanic voyage that we then see in lines 5-6. The pants imagery specifically suggests that what he is wearing is more than clothing itself, but something as expansive and symbolic as the sea. Juxtaposing the vivid visuality with the enslaved character's lack of ability to ever "see the sky," the first strophe effectively achieves two things: it problematises the privileging of the visual gaze upon the body against the dispossession of the enslaved person's own gaze; yet, it also reproduces the excesses of visual aesthetics by repossessing sight to feel and connect with the enslaved from centuries ago.

In strophe 2, line 8 begins returning our gaze from the expanse of skies and oceans back to his appearance and centring himself as a psychological character who is empowered and wealthy, only for that empowerment to be swiftly taken away as lines 9-10 as the mirror is revealed to have more power. The mirror, here, becomes the true narrator of the "beughtifull lies" behind the short-lived myth of empowerment and wealth. Next, the poem sharply shifts to his mother's tales of a slave, Lang Klass Eiland, who like him was well-dressed. His clothing afforded him the perception of being free (line 17), a reality that suddenly comes to an abrupt halt due to "a thorn that pierced his bare foot." Strophe 3 calls out "his proud steps" (Line 19), suggesting that the well-dressed enslaved man accepted the false perception of free status and stepped with such false identity. The lie, or "beughtifull lie" to reinvoke line 10, is thwarted by the land itself, piercing the true marker of his bondage: the lack of shoes (the lack of shoes as a sign of enslaved status was part of the discussion in Nadjwa's first workshop). In stanza 1, the main character gazes upon his tailored shirt and sky-blue pants, but there is no mention of shoes, suggesting that, like the enslaved man, he literally or, more likely, figuratively faces a gap in the protective armoury that would shield him from the truth of bondage.

Looking at their structures, we see the first half of each strophe, focused mainly on the present temporality, narrates a visual perception of perfection, wealth/power, and freedom, respectively. These are then contrasted with narratives of slavery that seem to consistently pierce through the visual perceptions. Because the third sttrophe most overtly pierces through the "proud steps" of an enslaved man who was "dressed so well/that people would think him free," this structure tells us that the piercing thorn in the first and second stanzas is memory itself. Stanza 2 carries the metaphor of intergenerational inheritance (the mother passing down the tale of a slave), and stanza 1 carries the metaphor of slave journeys being imbedded in the very fabric of one's attire. The poem as a whole ruptures a politics of respectability that would place great value in one's clothing by, firstly, reminding one that the history of slavery remains ingrained within the very textures and visually "beughtifull lies" of these visual politics and, secondly, alluding to colonial history as the start of these politics that create a false sense of superiority based on clothing.

“Untitled #3”

1. Rooi ek will dros [*Rooi, I want to desert*]
2. daar is net vedriet [*there is only grief*]
3. waar ons nou is [*where we are now*]
4. My installments are heavy
5. the bank will foreclose
6.
7. Rooi ek will dros [*Rooi, I want to desert*]
8. Die man van die hof [*the man from the court*]
9. het ons meubles kom of sterg [*came and took our furniture*]
10. wat gaan ons doen [*what will we do*]
11.
12. Rooi ons moet dros [*Rooi, we have to desert*]
13. While u were working
14. They took the car
15. Is duidelik ma bra [*it’s cool, my bro*]
16. I don’t work that far
17.
18. Rooi why u home
19. just leave me alone
20. The companys poes
21. we might loose our home
22.
23. Rooi het gedros [*Rooi has deserted*]
24. ek is aleen [*I am alone*]
25. What moet ek doen [*What must I do?*]
26. my kinders is klein [*my children are small*]
27.
28. Rooi waar is jy [*Rooi, where are you*]
29. My bene is koud [*my legs are cold*]
30. my money is te klein [*my money is too small*]
31. maar wat kan ek doen [*but what can I do*]
32.
33. Rooi ek is bang [*Rooi, I’m scared*]
34. She says its ok
35. It will be alright
36. 1 tablet a day
37.
38. Rooi ek het probeer [*Rooi, I tried*]
39. maar ek was alleen [*but I was alone*]
40. the meds stopped working
41. and the end came quick

This poem was specifically written in response to the *droster* narratives provided in weeks 11 and 12 of the workshops series. It was prepared for the stage performance and, as such, is prompted by the question of how the *droster* narratives relate to one's personal lived experiences. In this unique poetic work, one of the historic drosters, Rooi, is reimagined into a contemporary context in which the narrator is speaking to Rooi about conditions of debt and foreclosure. Each stanza begins by addressing Rooi directly, each time positioning him differently vis-à-vis the imperative to *dros* (escape/desert/runaway).

Table IV-13: Structural Analysis of Harold's Maroon Poems (pt. 2)

Strophe	**Lines**	**Temporality**	**Psychological Character**	**Theme**
1	1. 2-3. 4. 5.	Future Present Present Future	I State of things Instalments Bank	Run away Grief Size Foreclosure
2	7. 8-9. 10.	Future Past Future	I Court man We	Run away Repossession Decision
3	12. 13-14. 15-16.	Future Past Present	We They I	Run away Repossession Clarity
4	18. 19. 20. 21.	Present Present Present Future	Rooi I The company We	Still home Leave Character of company Repossession
5	23. 24-25. 26.	Past Present Present	Rooi I Children	Run away Solitude Vulnerable
6	28. 29. 30. 31.	Present Present Present Future	Rooi My legs My Money I	Run away Cold Insufficiency Decision
7	33. 34-35. 36.	Present Future Present	I She Tablet	Fear Consolation Medication
8	38. 39. 40. 41.	Present Past Past Past	I I Tablets The end	Try Solitude Efficacy Ending

In strophe one, we are introduced to Rooi but with a focus on the character's desire to run away (line one) from a state of pure grief (lines two-three) that engulfs them. These conditions carry a weight that, in turn, characterises the bank as they imminently face foreclosure and repossession. Strophe two, repeats the first line, but fast-forwards to a different present moment where the court-mandated repossession has already taken place (lines eight and nine) and the character asks Rooi what the plan of action should be (line ten). Strophe three continues the narrative of, firstly, a need to run away and, secondly, conditions of debt and repossession. The narrative of debt and repossession slowly escalates from the imminence of foreclosure (strophe one), to the repossession of furniture (strophe two), to that of the car (strophe three) and the reminder that the house could be lost (strophe four). In strophe five, the act of running away is no longer future-oriented but becomes a past action by Rooi. Lines 24-25, however, suggest the character has not yet done so and the children becomes a central reason (line 26). In strophe six, Rooi's whereabouts are unknown and the character continues to narrate the insufficiency of money and loans against the conditions of debt.

In strophe seven, the narrative shifts from running away to, firstly, narrating the character's fear (line 33) and, then, introducing a vague character who recommends taking medication to cope. Whereas strophes one through seven have all been predominantly present-centred where most have some future-orientation, strophe eight suddenly becomes mostly past tense as the character explains that she "was alone," the medications "stopped working," and the "end came quick." Strophes one through six centred the duality of needing to run away from the mountain of debt, strophes seven and eight introduce the image of medication and drugs that implicitly lull the thought of running away, while not stopping the debt or solitude that then brings about a quick end. This poem presents an interesting rumination on the meanings of *drosting* in the contemporary context. Focusing on the circumstances of financial debt and drugs, it also speaks to "Untitled #1" as it continues to critique the fragility of material possession. “Untitled #1” insinuates that, through clothing, a politics of respectability tells lies of wealth and power that are too easily pierced along one’s prideful journey. In “Untitled #2,” the piercing slowly and imminently takes place as all the material possessions are taken away as debt continues to take hold. The medication in “Untitled #2” offers a similar temporary relief that the enslaved man’s clothing presents at the end of “Untitled #1” as they both allow the characters to continue until an abrupt ending halts both narratives.

The futility of the meds and of the enslaved man’s clothing contrasts with, Rooi, the only character from both poems that appears to have escaped the conditions of bondedness. Rooi is an allusion to the *droster* historical figure by the same name and, as such, symbolizes the capacity and willingness to run away under conditions of enslavement. In “Untitled #3,” Rooi is the addressee of the main character’s laments, yet he also implicitly shares the character’s debts. By strophe 5, Rooi has deserted and becomes opaque, missing and free from the immanent sudden ending that comes 3 strophes later. Rooi is not venerated either, however, as his desertion runs in tandem with the main character’s downfall. As soon as he deserts, she feels alone, the financial resources shrink and become cold, and eventually the medications stop being effective. Yet, we are left to question why the main character did not choose to run away with Rooi as they stated they would over several strophes, succumbing instead to the narrative that the tablets would render the future “alright” (line 35).

Researcher-Produced Poems

Before proceeding, I provide a brief summary of the key guiding principles and strategies that inform the approach to poetic inquiry discussed in greater detail in Chapter III. As shown by Glesne, poetic transcripts strive to convey a narrative’s essences, hues, and textures.[317] It considers Cahnmann’s advice to apply rhythm to further convey tones, pauses, and turn takings.[318] It follows both approaches to research poems described by Leavy, including emotion-laden findings through lyric poetry and storytelling through narrative poetry.[319] It incorporates the sociolinguistic principles of Gee in his model of narrative structural analysis, specifically looking at the structure of plot, temporalities, imagery, themes, and pitch waves.[320] However, departing from other models of poetic inquiry, the following poems do not seek to condense transcribed discussions, as much as it attempts to relay their incondensability, including moments that invoke cross-temporalities, speech acts that maintain opacity and keep readers/listeners in constant movement, and the Black noise and fugitive speech undergirding the memory work involved in these workshops.[321] As such, it disrupts the demand for clarity and transparency in meaning to rupture the boundedness of language as isolated components.[322]

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[317] Glesne, “That Rare Feeling: Re-Presenting Research through Poetic Transcription.”

It builds on poetic experimental modes put forth by the likes of NourbeSe and Kearney, who apply disruptions, fragmentations, repetitions, multidirectional typographies and more to rupture the archive with noise.[323] With regards to the specific typographical decisions made in crafting these poetic transcripts, instead of detailing each of these choices, suffice it to say that typographies reflexively acknowledge the inevitable privileged position obtained by my researcher positionality (i.e. as researchers, we always curate and direct others' readings; here I pronounce my curatorship instead of taking it for granted). The typographies provide the reader with some interpretive directions, while encouraging the reader to move beyond these precisely by allowing themself to be moved by the fugitive mobility of the transcribed words themselves.

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[318] Cahnmann, "The Craft, Practice, and Possibility of Poetry in Educational Research."

[319] Leavy, "Performance-Based Emergent Methods."

[320] Gee, "A Linguistic Approach to Narrative."

[321] Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts"; Brooks, "A Poetics of Interruption: Fugitive Speech Acts and the Politics of Noise."

[322] Brooks, "Fugitive Listening: Sounds from the Undercommons."

[323] NourbeSe, *ZONG!*; Kearney, *Mess and Mess And*.

For each poetic transcript, I first describe the context (e.g. workshop, activity, etc.) from which they are derived. The poem is then presented. Each poem follows the rhythms and turn takings of the recorded discussions, while invoking the multiplicity of directions in which to read the poem so as to allow the reader the reflexive opportunity to consider how they choose to approach their listening in on the conversation. This is not to say that lines are randomly placed in different directions; rather, each typographical choice carefully considers the musicality of what is being conveyed, the politics of the bound spatiality represented by the page itself, the fugitivity of speech and right to opacity, and the inevitability of the author's interpretive role. The poems sometimes overlay texts so as to both forefront the literal overlaying of multiple voices spoken at once but also the discursive overlaying of ideas that pull one voice to another in an attempt to obtain or disrupt collectively cohesive understandings. Following the poem, I provide key insights in relation to relevant research questions.

It's a dream choice

During one of the guest workshops facilitated by Toni Stuart, the group was asked to read Audre Lorde's "A Litany for Survival," a poem about being silenced and overcoming the fear of speaking one's truth.[324] Participants were asked to respond to a set of questions prepared to help guide the interpretive process. The guiding questions broadly sought to direct participants to articulate the emotional experiences, induced thoughts, and 'gut-reactions' that the poem provoked. With this in mind, the following poem explores the facilitated discussion, honing in on the sonic textures of participants' multi-layered responses.

Figure IV-8: It's a dream choice

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[324] Lorde, *The Collected Poems of Audre Lorde*. It is advisable for a reader to read Lorde's poem before or alongside the following poetic transcript. It can be found online here: https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/147275/a-litany-for-survival.

how does the poem make you feel
just one at a time

everything you GOT will be taken
there's no hope
call to
REVOLUTION
hurtoverwhelminglittleempoweredalsonotalonebutalsoHELPlesstryingsearchingforsomethiempty

the hopeful comes
in the end

remember

we weren't
supposed to survive

but so that's why you should **speak**

what does the poem make you
think about

REVOLUTION

OUR FUTURES ARE
MAPPED
TO ENSURE OUR
COMMUNAL
SERVITUDE.

watte taal praat djy?

0000000000

I said

0000000000000
Jirrrrrre…
communal
abuse jou
en what's a -usaf
watte taal praat djy?

watte taal praat djy?

"when our
stomachs
are
full, we are
afraid"

death
mind

Our identities are being diluted *(ek wietie wat*
is dilute) "The passing **dreams** of choice"
So you don't actually have that choice.
It's a dream choice *(isn't it, uhh,*
"For those of us who **cannot** *we choose to let that dream pass?)*
INDULGE"

we are so
ENSLAVED
SLAVED
SLAVED
SLAVED

"when the
sun sets we are afraid/
it will not rise
in the morning"

C
H A
S
I N
G

SUBSERVENCE
SUBSERVIENCE

hulle word terug gehou,
om certain iets tedoen, om iets teberuik

UH
KWAAI JA

OK

COLONIALISED

what striking line did you choose?

"we were never meant to survive"

FIND YOUR VALUE YOU CAN STILL HAVE A LEGACY MY GREAT-GREAT-GRANDCHILDREN WILL KNOW ABOUT ME EVEN THOUGH THE THOUGHT OF ME WASN'T SUPPOSED TO SURVIVE

"learning to be afraid with our mother's milk / for by this weapon / this illusion of some safety to be found"

growing up in
certain

the mother's milk
the mother's tongue

parts of the, the
communities
where we grow up, you, you
somehow
get
'cause your mother's the one that raised you with fear

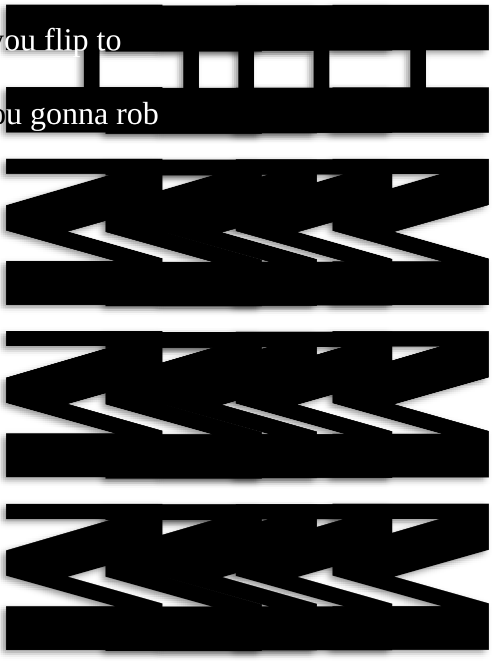
afraid of your mother

you HAVE to be

nourishing
makes
a baby stronger

by this
weapon
it will make
them
feel intimidated

when you flip to
Afrikaans
now you gonna rob
me



"So it is better to speak / remembering"

You don't FORGET, you see,
maybe you DON'T
forget, where you
coming
from

what you speaking is, you know, is FACT, is truth,
you see

The first question asks what feelings the poem invokes. The prompt specified to speak "one at a time," but the transcript bundles the individual responses to cut through the boundedness of isolated statements and, instead, highlight the ways in which they overlap and complement each other in meanings and discourses. Three of the response statements are future-oriented: a revolution to come; the imminent theft of all one's possession; and the general lack of hope. While these three vary in denotations, they comprise a particular kind of interpretation. The emotions circle around the theme of what the future holds given Lorde's articulation of silence and the demands of speaking against it. In a seamless array, I layout another response that further articulates how these emotional responses may contrast yet simultaneously compose a singularity that may defy clarity insofar as it manages to produce a layering of meaning. The "also" and "also" bridge completely different sentiments (e.g. "little empowered" but also "helpless") and cements how silence and its undoing is both an empowering 'search for something' as much as that search feels cut short by an overwhelming hurt and emptiness.

The second question asks what the poem makes everyone think about. A response is that "our futures are mapped to ensure our communal servitude." Here, my spacing out of the word "mapped" alludes to spatial engineering to emphasise mapping's particular denotation here as a disruption that interrupts the community's future freedom, just as the typography interrupts the reader's reading. Then, a chorus of perplexity ("watte taal praat djy?") and laughter erupts. I overlay text to convey not only the literal fact that there are multiple speakers at once, but also to render a collectivity of voice, unified not primarily by a shared confusion as by a politics of language (universal switch to Afrikaaps questioning the very *taal* being spoken) and joy (excluded linguistically by the particular verbosity, they reunite within the shared space of laughter). The group's response is carried over upon a similarly verbose follow-up that describes identity as "diluted." But he continues to expound the initial statement that caused the confusion by then referencing Lorde's line, "the passing dreams of choice," as meaning choice is illusive ("dream choice"). The resonance and understanding ("uh kwaai ja") finally sets as he explains that he is talking about the continued enslavement, subservience, and colonialisation of the community. In contrast to the exclusionary verbosity of the first two statements united the rest of the group within the linguistic and sonic enclave of laughter and Afrikaaps, the use of historical allusions (slavery and colonialism) is profoundly inclusive as it ruminates on collective trauma.

Nevertheless, there is a persistent tension between the discourses of personal agency and collective historical injustice as guiding principles to make sense of Lorde's poetics of fear and silence. Lorde's line about fearing the re-rising of a set sun is interpreted as an individual's act of chasing something; fearing "our stomachs" being full is individualised as the author having death on her mind; the aforementioned line about the "dream choice" is resisted through a questioning as to whether it is "we" who "choose[s] to let that dream pass;" and Lorde's line, "we were never meant to survive," is redirected from "we" to the individual's imperative to "find your value" in order to be remembered. In the group's further discussion interpreting Lorde's line "learning to be afraid with our mother's milk," a particular discourse around the natal roots of fear, strength and threatfulness coalesces various comments. Two lines so that they meet at the common term, "raised," to demonstrate how they metaphorise the mother's milk to mean an upbringing that instils fear. The milk is simultaneously that which forges a child's strength. The mother tongue, on the other hand, is invoked as a weaponised means to stereotype the participants as robbers. A resounding "hmm" renders this experience critical to the group as a whole. Taken together, the three parts analysed thus far provide the following insight. Firstly, a collective resonance and sense of empowerment (e.g. "kwaai ja;" "not alone;" "hmm") is expressed when referenced along historic, intergenerational or collective past experiences. But the implicitly individualised demand to speak (in the future) remains a "dream choice." A large reason may be explained through the narration of their Afrikaans being associated with criminality; this is ironic given their earlier joy through a chorus of Afrikaaps erected against the verbose English.

Haikona

In another workshop facilitated by myself, we read and analysed as a group another poem: Etheridge Knight's "Haiku."[325] In this poem, Knight uses a series of haiku to narrate his experience looking out a prison window, unrelentingly offering a range of imagery and diction that are decisively rhythmic, alliterative, and full of musicality. The workshop was crafted in response to participants' request for more on poetry structures and forms. After reading the full poem, we discuss each haiku. The following poetic transcript specifically focuses on the ways in which my facilitation reinforced and introduced boundaries and how the group diverge from my discursive emphases. The left-most column, portrayed as a bounded, static column, captures my language, whereas the rest of the poem represents the range of reactions and thoughts the group have for Knight's poem.

Figure IV-9: Haikona

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[325] Knight, *The Essential Etheridge Knight*. An online copy can be read here: https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/47593/haiku.

can anyone tell me what These mean? me me me me
just your own interpretation ?¿why¿ “like lizards ~~on~~ rocks” [redacted] ? 1 word brings in a whole image.

ISN’T THAT MAYBE ’CAUSE OF HOW
COMPRESSED THEY ARE INSIDE?

REST

immobile lizards are *mos* cold-blooded so they dangerous that’s not a calm resting, they have the potential to

EXPLODE!

UH
MMM
UH!

SO

why why why on Rocks (also) what does That meeeeeeeean?

~~hardness~~ sun ~~warmth~~

SUN-LIGHT what would That mean then in this context? All these are correct. or not. All of what you’re saying is Your interpretation. the Sun can symbolise many many Things, right? Simple image is saying All These Things. What else? why why why is he talking about the “guard tower / glints in sunset”. SO tell me, what does the sunset symbolise?

But that’s where the lizard LIKEs resting ON ROCKS, the sun Strikes down ON the rock, {it HEATS up} the whole rock, so when the liz-

he gets the heat from Top and from Below.

the rock, ON gets -ard

it glints in the sunset, because of
the reflection on the water, you see? it gives OFF that glint.

he can talk of the windows

DAAI IS WAARIE
GAAD SKAN GAKA

nightfall
what does It symbolise?

SO again, you’re seeing All These Other Things;

GREAT

In my facilitation of the conversation, “so” is used as a contextualisation cue to frame my expectations of engagement to respond to my questions or comments. I stress words like “mean” and “own,” implying bounded possessions of meaning: an image or stanza possesses some particular meaning; and the individual reader possesses his own interpretation. Thus, in deciphering Knight’s image of “lizards on rocks,” I implicitly place focus on the meaning each noun independently possesses. In response, the group ops to redirect the focus from bounded possessive meaning to active experience. The lizards, collectively and physically, are “*compressed*…inside” (emphasis by the participant), the latter word suggesting an metonymic reference to the spatiality of prison. Yet, I press on to suggest that “1 word brings in a whole image.”

Another participant evades the nouns altogether and focuses on the verb, “rest,” to argue that the act suggests an immobility that should be read as a dangerous stance, to which the group murmur approving responses (“uh,” “mmm,” “uh!”). Persistently, I further ask why Knight chooses the image of rocks in particular, attempting to ascertain some interpretations of what symbolism rocks might possess. Using the conjunction, “but,” a response signals the naivete of my insistence, redirecting focus onto the more obvious point: that lizards “like” rocks as a site for resting, suggesting that joy and pleasure are neither something to take for granted nor something to glance over. Instead, participants explore this direction by commenting on the rocks relationally and spatially, pointing out that they serve as a source of heat for the lizard as the rock holds a particular position in relation to the sun above.

Instead of engaging with these directions, I close the boundaries and comment that all the interpretations are correct insofar as they are self-possessive (“Your interpretation”). Condensing all comments into a vague generalised correctness while privileging my own seeking interpretation, the rest of the group effectively circumvent my boundaries by continuing to offer alternative interpretive models. Moving on to another haiku in the poem, I once again ask for the meaning possessed by another set of nouns (“guard tower,” “sunset”), to which the group opts to explore the meaning of the verb (“glints”) to understand more relationalities. Further imagery (“windows”) are introduced to avoid my abstraction as to what these metaphors symbolise in isolation, alluding to the guards gaze (“daai is waarie gaad skan gaka”) to centre the lived experience of being under surveillance.

To be sure, my framing of the interpretive process reflects a pedagogic strategy to emphasise how they can use imagery to convey a breadth of symbolic and metaphoric meanings, it also inadvertently reinforces a notion that meaning is possessed in singularity. Participants circumvent this boundedness by focusing interpretation on perceived and imagined relationalities and spatialities, Knight’s verb choices and their own lived experiences that correspond to the context of Knight’s poem. Put differently, my facilitation evidently carries colonial discourses of boundedness, possession and individuality and the group actively refused the demands of self-possession and definability. Instead, they directed attention toward the experiential, the relational, and the ambiguousness of possibility (e.g. “the potential to explode”).

No Comparison / Just so Small

For several weeks after an initial history tour guided by the Social History Educator at the Iziko Slave Lodge Museum, Nadjwa Damon, in which she took the group through part of the Slave Lodge, the group requested a follow-up tour. During this session, Nadjwa takes the group on a history tour of the Castle of Good Hope, beginning just outside the Slave Lodge at Church Square and making our way to the Castle. In the following poem, I first page presents discussions that take place between Church Square and the Castle. The second page, focuses on discussions that take place within the Castle itself. I outline the Slave Lodge and Castle buildings to further demonstrate how the discussions engaged with spatiality itself.

Figure IV-10: No Comparison/Just So Small (first half)

You Must ReMember

this space

the old yew tree

here the daily market

+/-65 thousand slaves

with a life,
you will ALWAYS
belong to the state

(WHY?)

4 YEARS ON

TRIAL

TRIED

TO HANG HIMSELF

HANG HIMSELF TWICE

TWO YEARS ON TRIAL

YOU WANNA KILL YOURSELF

WHO KNOWS THAT BUILDING?

me correctional service all expenses paid HOLIDAY LEKKER DJY that's nice but if you think about it, prison is WAY more easier than LIFE. what SUCKS, neh, if you in awaiting trial. A hundred, 98, 112 people in a room that was made for poor people

the people, neh, rather prefer to be SENTENCED

that's why they tell

We can't even Comprehend what it was like to be a slave

be beeeee be b

B
U
T

|I |
|N|
|S|
|I |
|D|
|E|

I
T'
S **JUST**
so
small

No but you can't comprehend what it was like to actually be owned as something

be be be

{I }
{N}
{S}
{I }
{D}
{E}
{also

that's why they say
prison can either make you

o
r
break

{**you**

you looking at 98 people in a room and

then

you look at the slave lodge that one space that was much smaller

that accommodated a hundred people

NO COMPARISON!

since 15, you've been in and out of prison

you must look at it from the point of how fucking DAMAGED they are

Nadjwa's contextualisation cue, "You must remember," signals a call to memory for the group that is at once necessary for understanding the following insights as it is politically charged with the urgency of undoing layers of forgetting this history. Walking through Church Square, she offers a number of mnemonic devices to remember this history, including spatialisation ("this space"), imagery ("the old yew tree"), event ("daily market"), and a quantitative measure ("plus minus 65,000 slaves"). This sets up the parameters of the tour: the particular political urgency of retrieving this memory and the range of mnemonic offerings for participants to engage with. Interestingly, immediately following this discussion of slavery, participants begin a discussion of imprisonment as they walk by a correctional services building. The irony is two-fold: spatially, as the literal site of slave-trading shares proximity to a contemporary site of incarceration; and narratively, as one discussion of racialised captivity folds into another. The latter discussion is insightful. Comparing the experience of being imprisoned as an "all expenses paid holiday" due to its free meals and stable accommodation, prison is placed into a comparison with "life," the former being proclaimed as "more easier."

Yet, despite this assessment, the group narrates the realities of being imprisoned while awaiting trial, first commenting on the overcrowded cells ("98, 112 people in a room that was made for poor people"), which then became a comparative analysis of bodies occupying crowded spaces across the Slave Lodge and prison. Nadjwa prompts the comparison: "you look at 98 people in a room and then you look at the slave lodge that…accommodated a hundred people." We then see a tension between two reactions. First, that there is "no comparison" that can allow one to "comprehend what it was like to be a slave." Second, that prison ("inside") is "just so small." The former makes an ontological comparison, focused on the state of 'being' enslaved ("to actually be owned as something") compared to imprisoned; the latter makes a spatial and phenomenal comparison, focusing on the state of the site itself and how that can "either make you or break you" as, presumably, enslavement did.

At a later stage, another comment is made that, following a life sentence, one does in fact become propertied, owned and belonging to the state "always." This latter temporal adverb is critical as it is precisely temporality that creates the conditions for comparability. Notice, for example, how the tension between the two arguments around whether or not the crowded slave lodge and prison rooms are comparable dissolves as both speakers comment on how a temporal element is what leads one to their own premature death in prison: "two years on trial, you wanna kill yourself." This is substantiated by telling us about a common friend (whose name is redacted for anonymity through black highlight) who twice attempted to hang himself while spending four years on trial. Indeed, it is through temporal aspects that we begin to understand the tensions between the "no comparison" and parallel ("just so small") perspectives. Another comment suggests that the formerly incarcerated, especially once they become homeless, should not be regarded as lazy but rather "from the point of how fucking damaged they are." Specifically, the damage is lifelong, referring to those who revolve in and out of prison "since 15," itself disturbingly reminiscent of how, as Nadjwa will soon recount to the group once we arrive at the Castle, the enslaved in the Cape were most often children.

Figure IV-11: No Comparison/Just So Small (second half)

The Castle

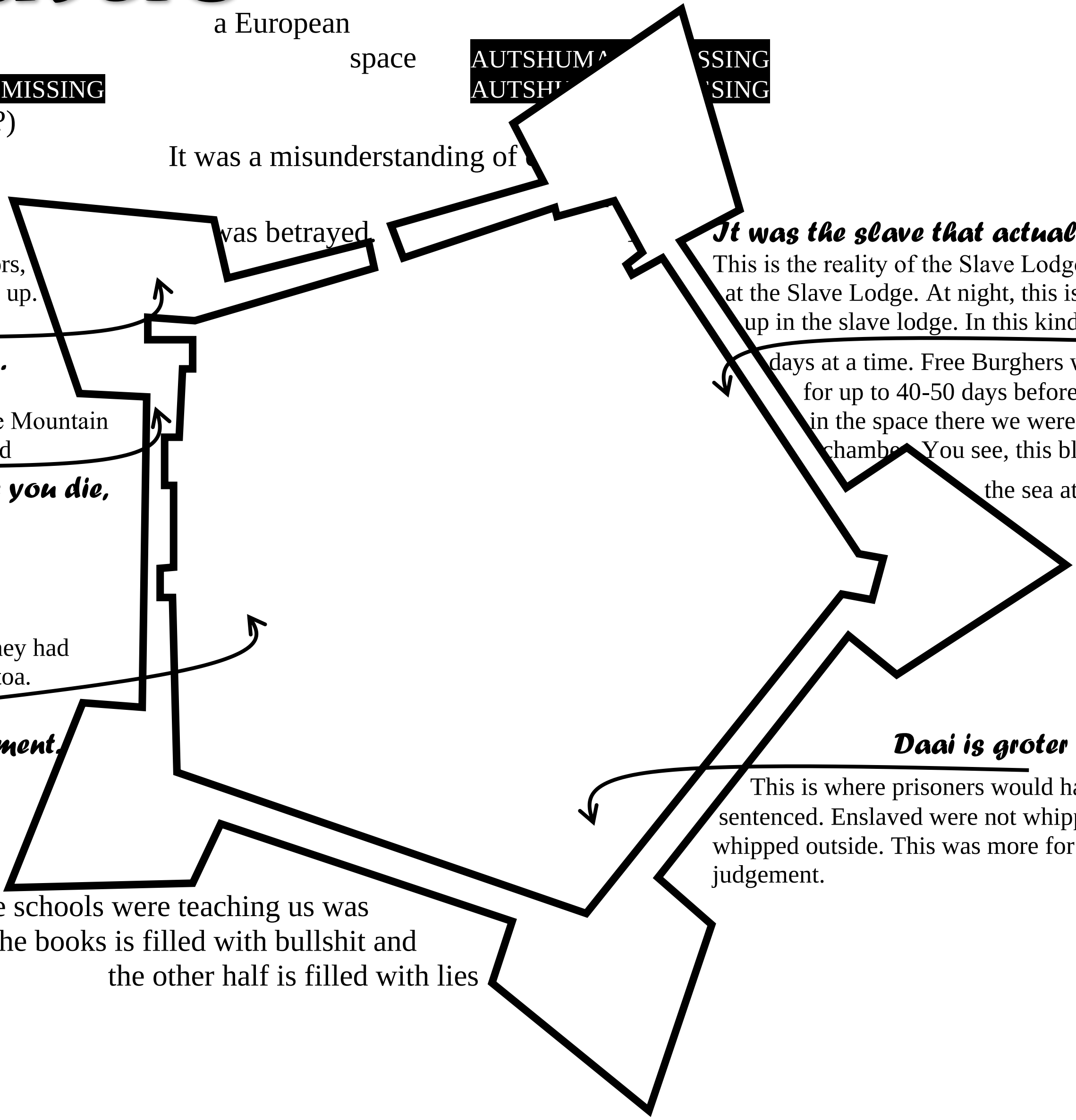
was a space that
~~belonged to the Khoe and San~~ ——— & was made
a European
space

AUTSHUMA SSING
AUTSH SING

AUTSHUMAO IS MISSING
(was he a sellout?)

It was a misunderstanding of

was betrayed.



This is the kitchen, but under the floors, the enslaved would have been locked up. The majority was about sixteen years

So this is a cell for? Children.

The stone you're standing on is Table Mountain rock that was quarried by the enslaved

This is dead work. work where you die, neh.

This is the bench they had designated for Krotoa.

This is a shit monument.

Shame. Yho. yho a bankie.

It was the slave that actually pushed the sea back.

This is the reality of the Slave Lodge, guys. That you couldn't see at the Slave Lodge. At night, this is how the slaved were locked up in the slave lodge. In this kind of darkness, for up to 40 days at a time. Free Burghers were locked up in this space for up to 40-50 days before they actually get sentenced in the space there we were at before this, in the torture chamber. You see, this black is from the damp – from the sea at that point in time.

Daai is groter as my sel

This is where prisoners would have been held until they were sentenced. Enslaved were not whipped in here. Enslaved were whipped outside. This was more for Europeans, in terms of judgement.

What the schools were teaching us was
Half of the books is filled with bullshit and
the other half is filled with lies

Upon beginning her tour of the Castle, Nadjwa curates the experience by first clarifying that the space itself has been "made" into a European space, given the land belonged to the Khoe and San. She uses Autshumao as an example because his presence is missing as you enter the Castle and are greeted by several statutes that do not include him. This sets the tone strongly because, as most had learned about Autshumao in school through the misnomer 'Harry the Strandloper,' it becomes instantly clear that the tour will seek to debunk dominant narratives and complicate the group's understandings of the history of this site. As we tour the Castle in a counter-clockwise direction, the reactions increasingly read as suspicion for how history has been dealt with in the education system.

First, there is surprise that the enslaved not only slept beneath the floorboards but were predominantly children. Next, the fact that the Castle itself was built with rock quarried by the enslaved (children) is framed as "dead work," an approximation of the Castle's legacy to the death-driven economy of enslavement. Going to a bench that was brought to 'commemorate' Krotoa, we discuss not only her story but the meaning of remembering her through such a lackluster memorial.[326] As we enter a space that was previously used to hold, sentence and torture European prisoners, a telling reaction is that "daai is groter as my sel" (this is bigger than my cell). Nadjwa detailed the kind of torture and brutality prisoners experienced here, but the comment is telling about how the participant nevertheless regarded a broader privileging that European prisoners experienced even the relative to the contemporary carceral figure.

Finally, as we approached the end, Nadjwa took us to a holding cell that was pitch black as a way to explain the reality of the enslaved back at the Slave Lodge. In other words, the experience of the enslaved cannot even be understood at the Slave Lodge itself but instead via the preserved space in which White suffering took place. The walls of this space remain damp from the fact that the sea used to reach the Castle. The response is perhaps the most poetic and profound reaction: “It was the slave that actually pushed the sea back.” Surely, this should be read as an observation that it was likely the enslaved that laboured on the infrastructural projects that built up the urban environment where the sea once reached. But it is also a summation of the group’s responses to the tour as a whole.

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[326] It may be interesting to note that Krotoa too was once a *droster*, having absconded from her service and forced to return following Van Riebeeck's pursuit. Mellet, *The Lie of 1652: A Decolonised History of Land*, 121.

Whereas the preserved site of White suffering remains intact in a way that their narratives can be viscerally observed, the sites and memory of slave suffering remain silenced: the site under the floorboards of the Castle’s kitchen are beyond reach; the Slave Lodge itself contains no similar dark room that has been preserved as such; Church Square has monuments but, as evidenced by Nadjwa’s skilled guiding strategies, do not suffice as mnemonic devices in the way that a preserved and recognisable yew tree, for example, would; Krotoa’s bench. In light of this sustained discussion, we can also understand the image of the slave pushing the sea back as the invisibilised labour that has and continues to allow Cape Town to remain picturesque and unspoiled by its traumatic past.

DNA

During this session, guest facilitator Jason Jacobs opens up the workshop by asking the group what their visions or desires were for the upcoming stage performance. The following poem relays responses.

Figure IV-11: DNA

DNA

to
tell the
stor y of our ance
stor s
to
let people know
what pain and suffering
people went through
to
see
if there’s a relation between the slavery
going
we come and the slavery we i n to
from
if I could compare the ~~two~~, two
maybe
find
a w
a
y to
get
out

the things that We f a c i n g to-
ɓ u ı ɔ ɐ ɟ
day
as a {‘}Coloured{’} community:
alco holism
*so **dinges** in our community*
the answer you will ~~find~~ in history
the |s|y|s|t|e|m| that was forced on the people is s
t
i
l
l
happening
in the past the people that were enslaved - our people –
paid with alcohol and tobacco
it’s in our
D

N

A
We get
b
o
u
n
d
by drugs
enslaved by it and We sell drugs
and there’s our financial debt

we never break out of that bondage
it's like way in our
D

N

A

all the violence, all the rape and all that
stuff is stuff
that was happening here, it's
stuff that's happening still to day,
except it's c h
a
n
g ing
whereas
we now raping our people, our own sisters
like the violence is in our D violence N A
The People
that need to
hear it
is not being
told to
them in a waywayway
that they will understand;
me, myself, I was shocked when I found out
it's in our DNA

Motivating their performance, according to participants, are their communities, the ancestors themselves and a desire to "get out" of the cycle of bondage that, they argue, forms a relation with the slavery of the past and the "slavery we going into." They make specific allusion to the history of paying the 1st and 2nd generation of slave descendants with alcohol as a way of making sense of high alcoholism rates in their communities. Then, the narrative proceeds to argue that this legacy is “in our DNA,” before listing further examples of forms of contemporary bondage to include debt and drugs. The reference to DNA, at first, may seem to touch on biological or essentialist understandings of identity. At the very least, it is a precise metaphor that conveys intergenerational inheritance of trauma and violence, a sort of inescapable fate that was predetermined by blood. Participants do not convey a desire to recuperate the history, but rather act as storytellers to shed light on a broader context relevant to current affairs, they: “the things that we facing today as a Coloured community: alcoholism, so dinges [*what do you call it*] in our community, the answer you will find in history.”

The reliance on ‘dinges’ signals the unnameability of current fundamental issues that is simultaneously localised “in history.” This unnamable connection is at the heart of the poem, attempting to identify resonances and specific examples, ultimately deciding on “DNA” as the metaphor for the continuities of history. Yet, the inescapability of inheritance that DNA implies is, at the same time moved beyond pessimism to a desire to act, a motivation to “let the people know” as a way of disrupting the cycle (“find a way to get out”). To forefront the experiencing of being “shocked” upon localising it “in our DNA” is to also argue that understanding this history gives new meaning to agency and the body itself. Legacies of addiction, sexual violence and so on have been inherited from a particular context of injustice that, if told in a more understandable manner, can recontextualized what is happening in the body and how it impacts one’s actions.

drosting

In workshops 11.2 and 12.1, I provided the group with narratives of *drosters* and enslaved peoples (see Appendix II for the stories selected), taking the liberty as facilitator to assign specific narratives to individual participants. As discussed in Chapter III, this particular part of the workshop series follows the work of the Medea Project in using myth to work through both personal and historic narratives. The decision to pair participants with narratives stemmed from the following rationale. Firstly, as Chapters I and II have discussed, one must remain suspicious of the archive, its colonial curation and the limitations on relying on any single narrative to get an accurate picture of slave history. Secondly, therefore, it was important to expose the group to a variety of archival narratives spanning different decades, geographic locations, and sequence of events.

Thirdly, it was further important to consider the lived experiences and backgrounds of participants in selecting from the vast amount of incidents involving *drosters*. For example, I include two stories centred around religious elements for the two participants who identified with their religious affiliation. Finally, given how the Number lore in prison spaces centre around a single mythical figure, I wanted to invite the group to engage with multiple figures and construct lore differently. In retrospect, I would be interested to see how the workshop and ensuing group narrative would turn out differently, perhaps even improve, if we collectively worked with a single narrative, instead of separating the group as I did here. Given the themes of collectivity that have since arisen from further engagement with the data in this dissertation, such future work could prove very important. I will return to this in Chapter VI.

Following 11.2 and 12.1 that introduced the narratives and asked participants to answer a set of guiding questions (see Appendix II), we then engaged with those stories through a different approach inspired from conversations with both Jason Jacobs and Jan-Louise Lewin. The process was as follows: (1) divide the narratives in sections (or “acts”); (2) write one word for each section that summarises it or best captures its meaning; (3) collect all words together for everyone on a single large flipchart paper; (4) the group applies the words to several rounds of image theatre, which involves a process through which each person, taking turns in a circle, creates an image for a word using only his body, each person adding upon the image based on the same word; and (5) repeating these poses, each person then adds a sentence related to that word as they enter the image.

The approach described here is designed to better understand the embodied meanings participants have for the narratives. The first two steps ask participants to highlight the central themes they read from the narratives. Then, through the body-centred activity of the fourth step, they must allow the body to express the embodied meanings each theme or word holds and, finally, the fifth step asks participants to further allow words to emanate from these body poses. The following poem is composed solely of the sentences spoken during the image theatre activity, and the typography is based on the body poses come up with by individuals.

Figure IV-12: drosting

Survive

Onnnnnnnnnnnnnlllllllllyyyyy the s ss sttt tt rrrrr
onn nn g g g g g will
sur rrrrrviiiv e ,, , ,
annnddddd tthh~~eewweeaa~~kksshh~~aallllppeerrii~~ssssshhhhhhhhhhh

i
f
y o u’ r e n ot

s t r o n g e n o
ugh , y ou
w ill b
e p

u
t

d

o

w

n
over and over again
over and over again
over and ove
over and over again
and over again
and
ver over again
ov r and o e gai
o e a o e
again

He’s weak, put him down
He’s weak, put him down
He’s escaped his punishment
He’s escaped his put   down
He’s weak, his punishment
He’s   his punishment

Escape

esc   alway s
ap   e   a s   y
in   is   n’t
g

f r e e d o m i n a j a i l c e l l

i
’   m e
s   c
                                                                                             a   p
i n   g
frompunishment

i’m gett ing up ou t o
                              f

                                                                                                                        he
re

Harrowed

give themselves
to   service

d   o
n’   t   t   r
y   a   n   d   v   i   s
i   t h   o

m e

i
left my family
to

pl
ease
my f ri

ends

The words that came up from the narratives that the group chose to work with through image theatre were: survive; escape; and harrowed. Survival – an important theme central to narratives of runaway slaves – produced some interesting lines through the image theatre. Three relegated survival to a discourse of personal strength. Survival belongs to the strong and, for those who are otherwise weak, their fate is to be put down. The tension between strength and weakness is displayed firstly as: a reliance on vowels and soft consonants to explain the weak will be put down "over and over again" contrasts with the use of harder consonants and digraphs. Secondly, two further sentences narrate a "he" who is weak and, because of this, deserves or needs to be put down, contrasted with a "he" who has escaped his punishment. In other words, escape is equated to survival which is, here, implicitly the opposite of punishment. The punishment, we see, is being put down for not being strong. Perceived or practical weakness, in other words, is the punishment itself, inevitably resulting in cycles ("over and over again") of being put down.

Escape, another word given to the narratives, produced the most performative of responses. The first ("escape isn't always easy") sees a participant physically attempt to crawl to his escape. Another proclaims that he is "escaping from punishment," as another pronounces that he is "getting up out of here." I was drawn to the rhythms of each sentence. "Escaping isn't always easy" begins with a trisyllabic word that has an elongated middle syllable that feels like you traveling therein as you say it, only to then lead you to an abrupt stop with "isn't" and its hard 't.' The latter two words, "always" and "easy," mostly vowels and soft consonants, seem to let you off easy; that is, it eases the blow of the ride cut short due to the apparent difficulty inherent to escaping. "Freedom in a jail cell" is largely monosyllabic and lacks a verb, conveying the very lack of being able to do anything in the confinements of a cell. Yet it leaves the noun, 'freedom,' present and, given that the prompt was 'escape,' it ambiguously suggests that within confinement, freedom through escape (or escape through some form(s) of freedom) remains a present potentiality. “I’m escaping from punishment,” again, allows us to glide along the musicality of the word, “escaping,” while ending with two words that, in one’s mouth, come to feel like the very thing one is escaping from – an array of syllables that pounce downward (-om, -un, -ent). Finally, “I’m getting up out of here,” quite literally carries you with him as “getting” feels like a preparation or springing to action, while the rest of the monosyllabic words shape the mouth in the movements of escape: “up” moves the mouth like it’s grabbing something and “out” is the takeoff; then, “of here” softly leave an open-ended sense of floating away (compared to the -ting, -p, and -t of the preceding words). Such are the poetics of escape.

Harrowed was the third word we engaged further with. Two of the responses interestingly referred to family or home. The first, a sort of advice not to even attempt to visit home. The second, a sort of confession that he left family “to please my friends.” Even the unrelated phrase, “give themselves to service,” which seems to refer to the demands placed upon a working-class labourer, centres ‘them’, unlike the previous stanza that focused on ‘I.’ It seems that the theme of harrowed, or distress, is a social one, that brings to mind family, a past home or ‘them’ who have sacrificed themselves “to service.”

Die grot

The day after the final Maroon event, we all gathered to clear the venue of the stage props, exhibition, equipment and other clean up needs. After doing so and prior to a final celebratory lunch together, I asked to group for a final focus group interview. It was a loosely-structured discussion to reflect on the whole workshop series and what they found meaningful from the whole experience. Figure IV-14 crystallises some of the key takeaways.

Figure IV-14: ***Die grot***

We
still
enslaved

i look at what it was [neh]?

and I look at what is today [neh] ? ?

tactics have changed [n ?]

but ultimately . . .

! *IT'S STILL THE SAME*
IT'S STILL THE SAME
IT'S STILL THE SAME
IT'S STILL THE SAME !

they set
our bodies
free ~~but not~~
~~our souls~~.
you know(?)
whatever slave ancestor

i had [neh] ??

that connection that took his soul bondage
took mine as well

I come from him
since his soul *was bonded*
mine is
as well.
all of us individually
from different backgrounds
been thr
ough
different things in
life,

still

one thing
either we are
gangsters or
drug addicts
or
or
ororor
ororor
or
you know what
i mean?

and We came
to

trust in
one another,
we came
to le-
arn to ev-
en ***love*** *one another*
where we found
that comfort zone
We came
to
op en up to
one another
theres things we can do
here
that we cannot do in
our spaces that we end up going

to
once we
leave
thisspace

In this poem, 'Die grot,' slavery is portrayed as ongoing, with tactics having changed but a particular hold on the soul remains "still the same." This still-ness at once captures a sense of relentless continuity, yet it also conveys a lack of movement. The body, they argue, has been set free, but the soul remains in the same state of bondage as that of "whatever slave ancestor I had." Importantly, when the statement, 'it's still the same,' was uttered, multiple participants joined synchronically in chorus-like motion. The resonance of the notion was felt across individuals and, elaborating, they specify that, on the one hand, the very mechanisms of bondage that capture the ancestor's soul is active today and, on the other, being descendants alone means that the soul remains bonded "as well."

The notion of still-ness is then reinvoked to further suspend a different form of bonds or bonding. Considering the "different backgrounds" and experience the men come from, "still" there is that "one thing" that unifies them. By elaborating that "either we are gangsters or drug addicts or…you know what I mean," they indicate that the individual experience and circumstances is simultaneously what unites them under commonalities. These markers are not only shared realities to bond over, but were the very pathways through which "we *came*" (emphasis added) to experience a profound trust and "even love" in each other. The movement from where or what circumstances they are "from" to an arrival signified by the various forms of bonding to which they collectively "came," highlights a particular collective experience that becomes further accentuated when comparing this bonding to the constraints they face when they "leaving this space." An intimacy through these "things we can do," is characterised as only conducive within "this space" or "zone" that they created over the course of the workshop series.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I applied the methods outlined in Chapter III to the poems selected for this study. I first approached the participant-produced poems, followed by the researcher-produced poems. For the former, I present findings chronologically based on the workshop from which the poems were produced: hand poems; silence poems; maroon poems. For each set of poems and the researcher-produced poems, I go through each poem and present key findings. Because each set of poem was generated in different contexts and through varying processes, it is important to approach each one in slightly different ways. The hand poems were produced through freewriting exercises in response to two prompts focused on the era of slavery and their own experiences being imprisoned for the first time, respectively. Because this workshop generated these two sets of poems, it is in the interest of the research and sub-research questions to analyse each one structurally to then compare and contrast the narrative forms and how participants reconstruct both collective and personal memories. The silence poems, on the other hand, focused principally on their current understandings of silence. It was also not based on single prompts, but rather a set of questions, each of which formed the basis for the different stanzas presented above. Each question, in turn, elicited metaphors based on the five senses of the human body. As such, it is not appropriate to do a structural analysis as with the hand poems, but rather to focus on the metaphors that were used to describe silence.

The maroon poems were written by participants over the course of the workshops series, beginning at various points and chosen by participants to use for the stage performance for their own undisclosed reasons. These poems were edited over several weeks, mostly outside of the workshop space (e.g. at home). For the maroon poems, I apply the full scope of the structural analysis described in Chapter III that identifies the temporal sequences, psychological characters, and themes that structure the narratives in the poems. Finally, the researcher-produced poems were not written by the participants, per se. Although they predominantly feature words uttered by participants as well as workshop facilitators. Based on my listening of audio recordings of various workshops, these poems highlight and attempt to visually convey the complexities, musicality and tensions that arose during these workshops.

As introduced in Chapter III, I use poetic inquiry and performative typography as approaches to formulate these poems. My analysis of them builds on and reflects this listening. In the following chapter, I analyse how the findings described above provide insight for this study's research and sub-research questions. I further place this analysis in conversation with theoretical and methodological literature to reach concluding insights from this study.

| Chapter V |

crypt-ic narratives, fugitive poetics: analysis and discussion

In this chapter, I provide a more coherent analysis of the findings and results presented in Chapter IV. First, I place each poem and set of poems in conversation with each based on how each particular set or poem relates to specific SRQs (see Table III-3). Then, building on the analysis guided by the SRQs, I arrive at the main RQs. Throughout this chapter, I place the analysis and findings in conversation with the theoretical, historical and methodological literature both alluded to in Chapters I, II and III as well as new ones spurred by the particular findings discussed below. This chapter aims to gain a better understanding to the inquiries raised through the RQs. In the following Chapter V, I will address limitations, significant and recommendations based on the discussion provided here.

Shaped by the Silence

Ultimately, we want to understand the relationship between the silent/silenced legacy of slavery and contemporary life. To approach this question, I first endeavour to understand the meanings of silence, in general. I begin with an analysis and discussion of the silence poems, followed by “It’s a dream choice.” This provides a more in-depth exploration of what voicing silence might mean for these men. As such, we can better understand how the men experience silence broadly in order to then contextualise further discussions on participant’s writings and conversations about the silenced history of slavery. Pinpointing how the group understands and navigates silence generally offers a way of reading their written and spoken accounts of this silenced history with focused attention to the narrative strategies they employ to guide this navigation. Put differently, identifying how they navigate silence informs how they navigate the silenced legacies of slavery, so that, from the narrative strategies that encapsulate such navigation, we can begin to trace with more insight the structures of slavery's silencing.

The meanings of silence

Silence Poems

While the prompts for the various stanzas of the silence poems each focus on one particular sense (e.g. smell, taste, etc.), we see multisensory explorations of silence, through which the body becomes a container for silence's uncontainability, carrying experiences of silence that propel the body in motion across spatial and temporal settings. James' description of silence's smell as smoke induces a physical and temporal experience that metaphorically characterises silence as carrying across space and time a sensation of the very fire that produced it. The smoke is not the fire itself, yet its inhalation nevertheless burns, meaning the silence that follows a – say social, as per the social context of the stanza – event carries with it the pain of the event itself. In other words, to experience silence is to (re)experience the event from which the silence emanates. Silence, here, is experienced as an extension of its source, a reproduction of the latter's discomfort and irritation and an immediately recognisable memory of what has produced or reproduced this silence.

The smell of smoke is also invoked in Wes' stanza on the smell of silence. Here, he describes smoke from a semi-automatic gun that was just fired. Again, the silence takes on a temporal element, especially as Wes uses rhythm to contrast the rapid firing of the gun and the silence-like smoke (or smoke-like silence) that ensues. Whereas James' smoke actually carries the sensation of burning from the source to the body, Wes' smoke does not make you 'feel' the shots from the pistol. Nevertheless, the scent in Wes' stanza transforms into sight as the smell of smoke evolves into a visual description of the pistol, forcing us to further pause and gaze upon the imagery. In both cases, then, we are directed from the inhalation of the smoke to grapple with its source and the process implicit to its journey from source to nose. In this regard, we understand silence to not only be an emanation or culmination of particular processes, but also as making the source relatively evident, even as the process itself is as opaque as the spread, air quality, and movement of smoke itself would imply. Perhaps counter-intuitively, that is, silence cannot hide its source, even if it is itself an opaque and threat-laden substance.

We see similar framing of silence in Marcus' analogy of the taste of silence to that of a rotten egg and in Peter's description of the smell of silence as something left outside for months until it rot and became devoid of life or usefulness.. The longer a fire has to burn, the more dense and harmful it becomes, and the more shots are fired, the more smoke is produced. Likewise, Marcus' egg or Peter's 'something' also worsens with time, producing overpowering odours that immediately signal an undefined, but in this case, prolonged period of time. To taste or smell the rottenness is to experience, in its aftermath, the rotting process itself. To experience silence, then, is to consume the action(s) (or inaction) that produced it, the neglect that seems to be central in these stanzas. While a key difference may appear to arise when we consider that the egg, before rotting, could be enjoyed happily, whereas the fire from its inception can burn one, it is important to recognise that the burning of tyres has a particular long and sustained history of political activism.

In such settings, the fire is both contained and created for specific political protest. From its inception, the fire may well be for good cause and should not, at the very least, be reduced to something exclusively or reductively dangerous or harmful. The gun, of course, is inarguably violent, but Wes does not appear to be in the line of fire, so to say, presumably placing him out of harm's way in this specific stanza.. In any case, the experience of both the smoke and the rotten egg signals that the experience of silence is one that is inseparable from the process through which it was produced, inseparable from the acknowledgement of such process. The immediate experience of silence becomes the experience of a longer process that culminates into and is contained within the former.

In Peter's description of the touch of silence we see a continuation of this framing. The act of putting wet toilet paper in the sun to harden reproduces a temporal setting through which we might visualise this hardening take place. Like the egg that is left to rot, the toilet paper is left out in the sun, where its characteristics are completely transformed. Like the fire that started the smoke, the story of the toilet paper has an initial event that ultimately led to the silence-like after-effects. In this case, the initial event is the softening act that first produced a wet toilet paper. One interpretation is to consider how a person – for example, a child – resembles toilet paper insofar as they absorb the circumstances they are put through and may, as a result, become vulnerable (wet toilet paper) immediately after. This person is passively left under the sun to harden, as one might be asked to emotionally harden following a traumatic event, for example. In each case – the individual inhaling the smoke of other peoples' fire, the individual having to eat the rotten food for an unexplained reason, and the toilet paper being left in the sun – there is a sense of passivity that characterises these writings on silence.

Wes' stanza about the sound of silence is insightful here. He presents a highly visual and physical depiction of a body confined within a "tiny space," compressed and coerced. The forced nature of the confinement adds another element to understanding silence, particularly for individuals who have, in fact, been confined in overcrowded small spaces. From the confinement, the sound that silence produces is its release: loud, disruptive, earth-quaking and vibrational. Silence, paradoxically and hyperbolically, is loud. This loudness is first confined to desire, "aching to come out," until it does, revealing itself as massive noise. While this appears as contrast, it is rather a companion to Wes' aforementioned metaphor of the gun smoke, where silence is narrated as the still quiet smoke following the implicitly loud uninterrupted firing. It is companion precisely because James' smoke metaphor, Marcus' rotten egg and Peter's rotten food stanzas reveal that silence carries with(in) it the source and process by which it is produced. The process of silence transports its source across space and time; the function of silence is to suspend the initial act(s) within or on the body, albeit in transformed ways. The fire's smoke carries the sensation of getting burnt; the rotten foods taste and smell according to the length of time they are neglected; and the toilet paper only feels hard insofar as it was, firstly, made wet.

Thus, oxymoronically, silence is both the stillness after the fired pistol *and* the loudness upon being released from forced confinement, precisely because silence *is* always loud. The smoke is always the burning fire. The rotten egg is always its rotting. Already we begin to see the emergence of a conceptual unsettling of temporality that condenses the past within the present. Indeed, the emerging insight speaks to Sharpe's notion of 'residence time' as an alternative sense of temporality in or through which the trace evidence of the enslaved who, despite dying, drowning, or jumping overboard during the Middle Passage, continue to be with us today, alive "in hydrogen, in oxygen; in carbon, in phosphorous, and iron; in sodium and chlorine."[327] In Sharpe's formulation, borrowing from chemistry, she postulates that the dead have all but disappeared, insofar as we might acknowledge their persistent presence as embedded within the atmosphere itself. Whereas the men are writing about silence broadly, of course, we begin to see how their framing resonates with, and even expands upon, existing theories of memory and time. That is, their writings have so far shown that silence is inherently tied to and encompassing of past and invisible processes through which the incipient event is carried over by the silence, not erased. In Sharpe's parlance, a past that marked one of the most traumatic yet undocumented incidents of mass death does not equate to disappearance, either, as those whose voices we cannot hear remain suspended, perhaps absorbed, into the environment.

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[327] Sharpe, *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being*, 19.

Yet the understanding of silence being put forth by the men also expands upon or departs from Sharpe's metaphor insofar as the traces of the event are not simply suspended in the environment through rather invisible means, but instead contain a particular loudness that, when released from confinement is less about silence becoming noise, and more about silence "finally" being heard or recognised *as* noise, as noisiness. Unheard as such, it remains the confinement of the unconfinable. Indeed, the expansive sonicity of silence follows in Marcus' final stanza, when he describes silence as a boundless song: "there is more to that song than u will ever know." Like Wes' sound of silence, Marcus' description disrupts containment. In the latter case, it is in excess of knowability, evading our capacity to "ever know" it fully, its fullness. The "more" to the song cannot be known, yet it can be recognised *as* unknowable if one were to listen. Marcus listens to silence's untameness, its improvisational nature ("a song…just made up") to come to this realisation of its ineffability. Here, we begin to see the sociality of silence. Wes' opening up of the containment and Marcus' listening practice are acts of recognition, modalities of hearing within silence the boundlessness of its noise and musicality, only insofar as they become active observers and allow the silence to be heard. In contrast, the rotten foods lacked any attentiveness from social characters. Left unattended, as was the toilet paper left outside, these symbols of silence are transformed in their solitude, becoming something unpleasant, unappealing, or un-useful to others. In short, they become alienated.

In proximity to others yet at a distance, the inhaler of the fire's smoke knows what social activity this comes from but he is not a participant in the burning of the tires, getting only burnt and irritated as a reluctant and disconnected bystander. The silence released from its confinement by "get[ting] released" (as opposed to releasing itself) is allowed the expanse to be heard, so much so that every being and inanimate object around is affected, turning the solitary confinement into a profoundly social phenomenon. Marcus similarly releases silence from boundedness itself, privileging its improvisational movement to captivate us within its infinitude. This silence, never still, becomes music. James' sound of silence, moreover, furthers this framing through a metaphor of crackling burning wood. Here, one "can hear it's heat," suggesting the sound itself carries the sensation of the fire over to the body. In other words, the act of listening allows the narrator to experience the expanse of the silence, its "heat" representing its story and background. James describes the wood becoming ash, but instead of it simply transforming into nothingness, through James' attentiveness to its sounds it transforms into an intimately familiar warmth. Becoming ash, it is ephemeral and, through its ephemerality, it "still burn[s] higher," becoming more even as it disappears, like the ephemeral improvisation of the song that makes it "more than you will ever know."

Take, as another contrast, Peter's sound of silence: a "dog making noise on a still night." This noise, too, is disruptive, yet the contrast with music is telling. Whereas Marcus suggests that a particular way of listening to the silence will result in boundless music, and Wes suggests the sound's power and breadth can literally move an entire social environment, Peter reckons with the failed capacity to listen when the sound remains contained in some form. Because the dog's barking is instantly juxtaposed to the stillness of the night, the sound becomes that of distress, fear, frustration, protection or any other conceivable reason a dog might bark at night. In other words, the stillness of the night is the container; it surrounds and defines how the dog's bark is experienced. Wes' sound literally eluded boundaries; Marcus' musical silence was uncontained by its improvisational nature; James' wood cracking bridged the fire and the body and became a higher fire even as it simultaneously burned down to ash. But the dog's bark is ultimately bounded, contained within the calmness it disrupts. Such is silence for these men. To listen to it can reveal the possibility of hearing something unbounded, loud, musical, warm. But to listen to the silence can also invite a reckoning with disruptiveness. Silence can be as powerful and beautiful as it can also be interruptive, a disturbance to the calmness or stability of the world around it.

Of course, it is perfectly conceivable that the dog's barking is more than just disruption. Like an alarm that warns a family of some danger or a cry for help that an owner may very well understand. Therein lies the key: how the social world reacts and its capacity to understand. The choice of a dog is symbolic in that the barking is in excess of human language. Understanding the cause or reason for the barking demands a particular kind of attention, one that does not ask the dog to speak on human's terms, but rather requires a human to become familiar with the dog's sounds. Silence, then, is as loud as it is in excess of language, and to understand it is not to demand of it a conforming to the boundedness of language; rather, it requires society to learn to become attentive. Alternatively, we might also consider that the dog does not necessarily desire human understanding. Such consideration is reminiscent of a tradition by enslaved people wherein they formed secretive communication networks and shared linguistic strategies that remained incomprehensible to Europeans for several decades.[328] Yet, the slave networks were as secretive as they were kept beyond the hearing reach of the slaveowners who punished such seditious acts. The dog's bark may also go punished but it notably is not attempting to hide.

Instead, through a silence that can be, among other things noted here, loud, secretive, exceeding language's capacity, purposefully or incidentally incomprehensible, boundlessly musical, and more, we begin to arrive at an understanding of silence that carries its meaning and history to be known by those willing and able to listen. This is nearest to what Avery Gordon describes as a haunting: "an animated state…making itself known, sometimes very directly, sometimes more obliquely."[329] To understand silence as that which carries within it an expansiveness – which is its history, its past, its demands to be heard in all its loudness and musical density, its unknowable improvisation, etc. – is to reckon with all that has been compressed into its containment, into it *as* container. To return to Gordon, then, this silence is indeed like a haunting insofar as it is "not a return to the past, but a reckoning with its repression in the present."[330]

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[328] Vernal, "Discourse Networks and Moral Transcripts in the Cape Colony, 1750-1850"; Shell, *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838*.
[329] Gordon, "Some Thoughts on Haunting and Futurity," 2.

Placing these framings of silence in conversation with Gordon's notion of haunting opens new understandings. For example, in Marcus' poem on the smells of silence, he characterises silence as smelling like the sewer "w[h]ere all the dirt goes." As it contains "all" of society waste, the source of silence's toxicity is society's collective decision to treat silenced topics or experiences as something to discard. Yet, if we briefly take a detour to Wes' carceral hand-poem, we reckon with another important allusion to the sewers as he narrates the pungent bodily odours that specifically encompass the scents of the sewer. The sewer moves beyond being an abstract metaphor for society's waste, as it also arises within a narrative of being imprisoned where its smell emanates from the bodies of those being incarcerated. Silence as sewerage and sewer smells as embodied by carceral figures is powerfully reflective of Baderoon conceptualisation of processes of disposability that mark a continuity between the disposable slave body and the disposable contemporary carceral body.[331] The body becomes what Hartman calls the "inescapable prison home of the flesh."[332]

The point here is three-fold: silence is synonymised with waste through the sewer metaphor; the carceral body, through experiences of impoverishment, homelessness, or otherwise, comes to embody social markers of waste through the smell of sewers; and an important link between the Cape's silenced history of slavery and contemporary carceral trends is, according to Baderoon, the reproduction of 'Coloured' bodies as disposable. To make the argument more succinct, we must again turn to haunting. Kashif Powell formulates hauntedness as located within the body whose “prosaic choreographies of possibility” are haunted by the historical “dragging [of] the imaginative and phenomenal body to the frontier of survival.”[333] The body, carrying the historical legacies of, in this case, the reproduction of disposability through the symbolic embodiment of waste, is thusly haunted by a particular silence that is allusive to slavery. In other words, to invoke the sewer in describing silence is, fundamentally, an allusion to the very processes of disposability that haunt contemporary carceral bodies with the remnants of slavery.

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[330] Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, 142.
[331] Baderoon, "Surplus, Excess, Dirt: Slavery and the Production of Disposability in South Africa."
[332] Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*, 58.

Moreover, the body carrying these silences carries the paradox of silence as loudness, as noise that demands some form or act of listening and reckoning. Again, we are reminded of the sociality inherent to the silence’s demands. We further see this in James’ depiction of the touch of silence as a round sticky ball thrown into sand. Here, silence is layered. Its essence is a round ball that is meant for play and fun, child-like and, as such, symbolic of innocence itself. A sticky layer becomes the endurance of experiences, the way in which the ball will retain that which happens to it. Someone’s decision to throw the sticky ball into sand fundamentally transforms it. The ball loses its interior feel, becoming rough. Thrown, the visual of the ball leaving a person’s hands into sand powerfully conveys the very opposite of being held. This is precisely the message described by Marcus’ stanza on the touch of silence. Here, silence is like fingers slipping through or away from one’s own fingers. It is a breakdown of a social connection or bond. In its “slipping,” the breakdown contains an element of uncontrollability, like slipping on a wet floor or across ice.

The meanings of silence for these men, in conclusion, are revealed as follows. Silence is not the result of an event nor its erasure, but a container for it and/or its remnants or traces. Silence carries within it the experience that produced or preceded it. An event that is silenced, or the process by which something is silenced, is not forgotten or erased; rather, it is held within the very silence itself. Silence as continuity presents the paradox of silence as noise. As such, it operates like a haunting, containing within it all that is repressed and strives to make such containment known, insofar as it can be known given the unknowability that guides its musicality.

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[333] Powell, “Specters and Spooks: Developing A Hauntology of the Black Body,” 28–30.

In this musicality, silence carries an unpredictability and loudness that, by the very definition of silence, can remain unheard, particularly through the dissolution of social bonds and the alienation of the object of such silencing. In contrast, through social acts that listen attentively and in spaces or practices that are unbounded (i.e. do not impose boundaries or boundedness onto the silenced object), an unstifled musicality arises. However, to voice silence runs the risk of being misunderstood because silence is fundamentally in excess of language and knowability. Even if recognised as musical, it is a song that is more than we have capacity to know, requiring one to accept its unknowability. Silence places demands on all of society precisely because it is society that has placed silence within confinement and rendered it disposable. Silence represents the opposite of social connection; yet, through social connection, it can echo the heat of its fire, reveal itself as an infinite song, and shake the whole world around it.

“It's a dream choice”

Before beginning an analysis of the research-produced poem, it is worth taking a brief detour to highlight the growing relevant of the performative typography applied to the poetic inquiry method. An immensely important poet, M. NourbeSe Philip has produced one of the most innovative and challenging works of experimental typography through her groundbreaking collection, *ZONG!*. The reason I highlight this work here is because haunting has emerged as an important element of the analysis in the silence poems and Philip characterises her experimental typography as precisely “hauntological; it is haunting, a wake of sorts, where the spectres of the undead make themselves present.”[334] Here, NourbeSe produces a visual poetics that takes excerpts from a legal transcript from the infamous case of Zong where more than one hundred and thirty enslaved Africans were thrown overboard from a British slave ship in order to collect insurance on their lives.[335] In her reading of NourbeSe’s typographical experimentations, Sharpe describes it: “the consonants, vowels, and syllables spread across the page. The black letters float like those Africans thrown, jumped overboard, and lost in the archives and in the sea…Language disintegrates. Thirst dissolves language.”[336] In her poem, *Zong #1*, we see Philip reproduce legal text, such as “water was good”, with a plethora of disruptions, fragmentations, repetitions, and multidirectionality that destabilise the authority of the legal archive and rupture it with noise. This brief detour hopes to remind the reader that, insofar as we begin to frame the narratives and revisit the history through the lens of haunting, engagement with the researcher-produced poem should follow this framework.

In the last subsection, I explored the layered meanings of silence through a set of participants’ silence poems, which revealed the paradox of silence as noise, the recognition of which visibilises the otherwise invisible processes and origins of such silence. The varied possible outcomes of releasing this noise, in turn, are contingent on how society handles or processes its listening to the silence’s inherent and boundless noise. Allowing silence to be heard and felt can result in understanding or a lack thereof. I now turn to a more in-depth discussion of the meanings of voicing silence through a further discussion of the researcher-produced poem, “It’s a dream choice” (see Figure IV-8) introduced in the previous chapter. In that poem, I poetically re-present excerpts from a transcribed group discussion on Audre Lorde’s “A Litany for Survival,” a poem that fundamentally revolves around the need to speak out despite and because of structural and social forms of silencing. Echoing the complexities described above whereby allowing silence to be heard invites as much risk as it does power, the general reactions to Lorde's poems vary from hopelessness to the immanent deprivation to revolutionary action.

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[334] NourbeSe, *ZONG!*, 201.
[335] NourbeSe, *ZONG!*
[336] Sharpe, *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being*, 69.

These sentiments express a paranoia for what's to come in light of Lorde's call to speak against silence. Yet, the hopelessness simultaneously shares a space with revolutionary hope, further conveying that the unsilencing of silence has the potentiality of either empowering or disempowering outcomes. The perceived lack of control over the outcome is pronounced by an interpretation of Lorde's line, "the passing *dreams* of choice" compounded with her other line, "for those of us who *cannot* indulge" (emphasis theirs in both quotes), as signifying that one does not have a choice. The notion of a 'dream choice' is offered to convey an argument that they continued to be "so enslaved" that choice or control is essentially an illusion or mere desire. Thus, when Lorde writes "when the sun sets, we are afraid/it will not rise in the morning," the interpretation invites an imagery of someone chasing (after) something. Here, again, we see the tension between an outside force or set of conditions that determine what the person feels (fear) and how they should act (chase).

The articulation that "our futures are mapped to ensure our communal servitude" summarises why Lorde's call to speak against the silencing is met with both "a little" empowerment as well as a hopeless sense that "everything you got will be taken." Indeed, this again incites a sense of haunting as formulated by the authors mentioned in the above analysis of the silence poems. For Kashif Powell, the racialised body is constantly compelled by "invisible, yet palpable forces" to be used as a "phenomenal vessel to conjure Trans[oceanic] ecologies of absence and death."[337] The mapping of futures and Powell's invisible haunting forces, together, speak to a conceptualisation of the afterlife of slavery as overdetermining the lives of slave descendants. In Gordon's terms, this equates to a "haunting [that] is a constitutive element of modern social life…the compulsions and forces that all of us inevitably experience in the face of slavery's having even once existed in our nation."[338]

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[337] Powell, "Making #BlackLivesMatter: Michael Brown, Eric Garner, and the Specters of Black Life - Toward a Hauntology of Blackness," 30.

To Lorde's line, "learning to be afraid with our mother's milk," the group offers two interesting interpretations. First, they discuss how one's upbringing instills fear, either "somehow" or by necessity ("have to"), again framing environmental factors as instrumental to one's emotional development. In a movement that is reminiscent of the rough sticky ball and the various similar metaphors explored earlier, they further juxtapose the environmental influences as simultaneously "mak[ing] a baby stronger." It is of course important to note that they come to these interpretations following Lorde's reference to mothers because, as Salo has shown us, women on the Cape Flats have been tasked with the responsibility of controlling a politics of purity and respectability.[339] We also saw from Scully's work that, in the slave-holding colony, enslaved women led matrifocal families given the legal apparatuses that overemphasised matrilineal inheritance of legal statuses.[340] In short, from the men's immediate interpretation of the mother's milk metaphor unveils a gendered narrative whereby the myth of the 'Coloured' mother as being in control continues to situate both the strength of future generations and the labour of regulating of emotional experiences such as fear as a woman's role. Instead of interpreting the mother's milk as, say, the intergenerational inheritance of fear, the interpretation equates mother's milk with communities' shortfalls and dangerous upbringings. As a result, this presents a further kind of haunting of certain gendered narratives.

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[338] Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, 139.

[339] Salo, "Respectable Mothers, Tough Men and Good Daughters: Producing Persons in Manenberg Township, South Africa."

[340] Scully, "Masculinity, Citizenship, and the Production of Knowledge in the Postemancipation Cape Colony, 1834–1844."

That the social environment is alienating yet also cultivates a certain quality of ‘strength’ can be understood, in light of the insights from the silence poems, as a particular kind of hardening that, whilst fuelling fear, equips one to cover the vulnerability in a strength. The same factors that render one fearful of voicing silence, that is, “makes” one stronger. Again, like the silence poems that further articulated the dangers of voicing the silence, here the group turns to another interpretation that centres a hostility to their literal voices. Using the ‘mother’s milk’ as a metaphor for the mother tongue, they talk about how their Afrikaans alone results in a stereotyping that paints them as robbers. This experience of being criminalised further contextualises the limits of voicing silence, particularly as men who have experienced incarceration.

Indeed, one of the first lines, “the hopeful comes in the end” retrospectively feels like an omen as the final line captures the essence: “what you speaking is, you know, is fact, is truth, you see.” Despite the sociolinguistic experience of being stereotyped as criminal, speaking is the site of memory (“you don’t forget”) and truthfulness. This equation between speaking and memory/ truth cements with the findings from the silence poems: just as silence carries within it its origins and processes, speaking the silence is memory-work along the lines of “where you coming from.” In sum, in their discussion and group analysis of Lorde’s poem, we witness a continuation of the understanding that, to speak what’s inherent to silence, may be truthful but there is fear nurtured from, indicative of, and in response to social and environmental fears. As we enter the following section of the discussion which focuses on the meanings participants derive from engaging with the history of slavery, it is important to note these insights on the meanings of silence and voicing silence for the men. Because the history of slavery is largely unknown and mistaught in the Cape, it is experienced through a legacy of silencing. Engaging with this history through the workshop series is, inevitably, an engagement with this silencing. As I show in the following discussion on the researcher-produced poem, "DNA," the men seek through their poems and performance to unsilence this history, to reclaim the narrative and give it back to their communities.

"DNA"

As shown through the researcher-produced poem, "DNA," (see Figure IV-11) a discussion with participants on what they wish to achieve through a public performance reveals a particular discourse around "get[ting] out" of ongoing cycles of bondage that is framed as connected to the slavery of the past. Alluding to the connections between contemporary alcoholism and the legacy of paying the ex-bonded through wine and tobacco, they posit that the afterlife of slavery has become engrained in their DNA. The endeavour to tell the story of their ancestors is framed within a broader project of understanding current conditions such as drug addiction, drug trafficking, sexual violence, and financial debt. Specifically, they point out that "the people that need to hear it is not being told to them in a way that they will understand." Here, we understand that the history of slavery is silenced in a particular way, by narrating it in inaccessible and even untruthful ways. To relay the history and make the connections, therefore, is to understand simultaneously the continuities between past and present and the most accessible way to relay this newfound information. The following discussion will focus on participant-produced poems as well as one research-produced poem that engage with such connections. I will focus not only on which aspects of this history they found most meaning in through their thematic choices in the written and spoken engagements, but also the narrative strategies they employ .

Meanings derived of the silenced history of slavery

Hand poems

"Memory in our works is not a calendar memory; our experience of time does not keep company with the rhythms of months and year alone; it is aggravated by the void…"[341]

The process of writing and analysing the hand poems asked of both participants and research alike to venture toward an alternative understanding of archived memory. As Isoke potently writes: "the conventional archive is a place, buried deep in a Man-made mine of pulverized Earth…The black archive exists in the deep waters of memory."[342] Here, we ventured into the deep waters, entering and writing from the slave ship exhibit and museum well. The writing exercises were prefaced by meditative exercises that guided participants to listen to their bodies' responses and happenings. The analysis, in turn, demands a listening that does not conform to a logics of linear temporalities or coherent subjectivities.

In James' poems, the enslaved character maintains the capacity to reminisce about freedom through the juxtaposition of the enclosure of the slave boat with a child-made open-ended cave, whereas the incarcerated character alludes to his own body as an enclosed container filled with "so much anger." James' imagery presents two worlds. Firstly, the slave narrative contains the duality of the slave ship's coercive hold and the cave's playful holding. Secondly, the carceral narrative presents a layering of containment: the body as a container for pent-up anger is layered within the police van's hold. A similar dichotomy exists in Wes' poems. Firstly, in the slave narrative, he depicts the duality of enslaved people held, commodified, and dehumanised as sardines, on the one hand, and slavers portrayed as both rooted ("hair…like long entranched roots") and pastoral ("large cowtails"). Secondly, in the carceral narrative, the arrested figures held in the carceral space embody the sewerage system through their bodily odours. Here, we begin to witness a narration of history that makes sense of enslavement through its juxtaposition with open or expansive natural sceneries, as well as a narration of the contemporary carceral body as a site of enclosure (of both silenced emotions and the fragrant remnants of systemic inequality, in these instances). Caged up emotions alongside sewerage (as symbolic of social disposability) together portray the body in desolation, without the kind of refuge that the enslaved characters manage to, at least, imagine and remember (note further the one innocent carceral peripheral character who was incarcerated precisely on his way to seeking refuge).

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[341] Glissant, *Poetics of Relation*, 72.

[342] Isoke, "Black Ethnography, Black(Female)Aesthetics: Thinking/Writing/Saying/Sounding Black Political Life," 154.

These dichotomies are powerfully nuanced through Harold's poems. In his slave narrative, the enslaved man closes his eyes to remember a range of imagery from nature to recollect his past home. In the carceral narrative, the incarcerated man must close off his mind from external influences and noises in order to concentrate on his breathing in a meditative-like practice. Like the world-building in James' and Wes' poems, Harold relays, on the one hand, the experience of enslavement in direct juxtaposition to the outdoors as symbolic of freedom and unboundedness and, on the other hand, the experience of incarceration as a deeply internal one profoundly revolving around the body's experience. James and Wes convey how the contemporary carceral figure's body becomes a layer of enclosure within the confinement of the carceral hold. Unlike the carceral figures, the enslaved figures are able to perceive open spaces, however peripherally or distant. For example, Harold's enslaved character travels back to such a spatiality through his memories. What emerges is the narration that the enslaved at least had a reference point for unboundedness and freedom. The incarcerated, on the other hand, are trapped two-fold: firstly by the hold of the carceral system and, secondly, within and through the body.

Like the nature imagery that the enslaved characters reach out to in various ways, there is also a proximity to social kin and kith networks consistently expressed in the participants' slave narratives. In James' narrative, the enslaved character immediately identifies with his fellow enslaved people ("shackled like me"), the sociality of which becomes pronounced when we consider that, in his carceral narrative, the incarcerated character immediately frames his experience as being “all alone shackled.” This contrast is further accentuated as the enslaved character determines that he will “save each and every one” of his fellow enslaved companions. Importantly, the enslaved character sets out to save the others, whereas the incarcerated character prays *for* salvation. In the former, salvation is both self-determined and approximated to particular social connections; in the latter, salvation is completely at the mercy and will of a higher power. A similar tension is seen in Peter’s poems: in the carceral narrative, the god-like figure that can save him is his mother; in the slave narrative, the enslaved character prays to god but specifically identifies reunification with his family as the promise of happiness. Critically, however, while both seem to centre social familial bonds, the carceral narrative’s mother figure is framed as unable to help, leaving him completely alone without anyone who can help. The promise of being reunited with the enslaved character’s family is, contrastingly, framed as practically certain (“one day I *will* be with my family;” emphasis added).

This tension between alienation in the carceral space and sociality at the moment of enslavement is further enlightening in light of Wes’ writing. In Wes’ slave narrative, we also witness the enslaved character expressing an intimate bond with the other enslaved persons, identifying both family and community members on board. However, unlike James’ alienated carceral character, Wes’ incarcerated character conveys an intimate familiarity with the others in the police van. The latter portrays a community of different individuals who share in common various signifiers of similar backgrounds of impoverishment, homelessness and addiction. Wes relies on bodily odours to draw these commonalities. The body as a site for the collective experience is accentuated as both of Wes’ poems portray an overcrowdedness that packs the respective spaces with either more people than can actually fit or an “everyone” that encompasses the expanse ranging between murderers and innocent bystanders. Interestingly, once Wes’ carceral narrative shifts from the bodily smells that inundate the inside of the police van to the sirens of the truck, the body loses control and becomes overwhelmed by a fast-beating heart and aching and cramping feet. Wes' carceral character conveys an affiliation with the others insofar as the narrative fixates on the body, but as the narratives moves from the body to the setting (as in James' focus on concrete, cell's coldness, and walls) the body becomes overwhelmed by the emotions induced by the space.

The notion of the body as the site of both constraint and loss of control are explored in the slave narratives of both Peter and Harold. In Peter's narrative, the enslaved character expresses that, trapped, his fingers and toes have gone cold and numb. In Harold's slave narrative, the body transforms as it becomes the locus of constraint: salting the lips and shackling the arms surrounds the emergence of hate in his heart. When Harold's carceral character, in turn, decides to lean into the enclosed site of the body to discover a hope that is contingent on these very same enslaved figures now framed as ancestors. Presenting an alternative scenario, the incarcerated man's inward movement provokes the body to fill with a hope that becomes externalized as dance. Indeed, this is the overarching theme of Marcus' writings. As was noted in Chapter IV, Marcus decided not to do a carceral narrative per se, but interpreted the second prompt as a continuation of the first prompt's narrative, essentially creating a two-part singular slave narrative with the second part centred on the character's life after winning his freedom. Thus, we treat Marcus' two poems as a singular slave narrative. At the start of this two-part slave narrative, we are presented with the enslaved character's hands, which dream of freedom. Note that the hands do not hold such dreams, but actually do the dreaming themselves. In other words, the body is narrated here as capable of both remembering and dreaming. As in Peter's slave narrative, the enslaved character in Marcus' story prays specifically to see his family again. At the end of Marcus' slave narrative, the character has his freedom and, once again, looks at his hands and contemplates the possibility of finding his family again.

Marcus' ending is particularly potent when we consider that, in James' poems, both endings culminate with ominous messages of imminent danger. In James' poems, the enslaved character hears "those creaks" from outside against which the enslaved need salvation; the incarcerated character, on the other hand, directly sees faded writings welcoming him to hell, notably right after he mentions praying for the first time in a while. Thus, Marcus' character's hands not only dream of freedom but, in the end, behold it and the promise of seeing his family again. Unlike Marcus' focus on the body, James' characters present two futurities with varying distances: firstly, the enslaved can hear but not see the threat roaming around; secondly, the incarcerated directly see the danger they have now entered. We can further understand this through Wes' similar denouements. The slave narrative concludes with the sun setting and the slavers' "true colours" arising in the dark, while the carceral narrative ends ironically with the police truck implicitly breaking the law as it takes its captives to their imprisonment. From Wes' depictions, we see the that the threat is still emerging in the slave narrative, but the incarcerated figures are literally engulfed by the symbol of corruption in the carceral narrative. Like the wall in James' carceral narrative, the police van represents the enclosure itself, both of which are depicted as taking control of the characters' destinies. The creaks outside the slave hold's walls and the emerging "true colours" rising in the dark present an equally ominous danger, but approximates them at a distance across from some form of a barrier – the hold's walls and the sun's setting light.

Once again, therefore, we find the tension between the setting and the body. As shown earlier, the body is a site of collectivity, hope, and even the dream of freedom. Yet, under conditions of bondage, the body can lose control and become a site of enclosure itself. Yet, Harold's characters lean into their bodies and, in doing so, rediscover movement through dance, just as Marcus' enslaved character gazes upon the body that beholds a freedom he ultimately regains. While, for Harold, the carceral figure's body is capable of retaining the freedom inherent to the ancestral dance the feet have recorded, it is worth acknowledging that this freedom takes the character to his ancestors, but not to the very unbounded nature that the ancestor himself imagined in Harold’s (and others’) slave narrative. In other words, even Harold’s efforts to lean into the body against the experience of incarceration was bound to certain limits. Whereas, the slave narratives discussed here have, together, approached the silenced topic of slave history by approximating enslavement to the memory and, even, potential hope of sociality and unboundedness, the carceral narratives centre the body as an irrevocably enclosed site within the carceral system’s further layers of enclosure.

To draw on the insights from the earlier discussion in this chapter on the silence poems, the structure and layering of these enclosures are important. We recognise that, for the participants, silence contains its own uncontainability; it is loud and full of noise that can be heard through particular social processes. In the hand poems, the body has now taken on the role of container – of the smells of systemic poverty; of pent-up emotions; of the ancestors. We further see from the slave narratives that the enslaved body undergoes a collective transformation under the immanent emergence of the dangers and violence of their new life. This emergence becomes arrival in the carceral narratives. Just like silence that can still be heard and understood if released (unbounded) and attended to socially, the enslaved characters are similarly framed in relative proximity to unboundedness and sociality (family), capable of reclaiming these. Yet, voicing silence is also a dangerous act of vulnerability that encourages its own continued self-containment. Such is the fate of the carceral body – dangerous or surrounded by danger, so that it becomes an undisclosed container. The men told narratives of the enslaved that maintained greater promise for freedom and family than their own narratives. As we begin to see, precisely at the points where the slave narratives depart thematically and structurally from their counterpart carceral narratives resides the crypt of slavery’s hauntings.

In the following two subsections, I will further explore these tensions and connections through group discussions and participant-produced poems.

“No Comparison / Just So Small”

I now turn to the researcher-produced poem, “No Comparison / Just So Small” (see Figure IV-10). A fascinating discussion emerges as the group walks, firstly, along key slave heritage sites and, secondly, correctional services. Whereas the hand poems discussed above focused on slave narratives within the context of the oceanic passage, the tour focuses on the auction site and the Slave Lodge itself. From this latter context, we witness a debate emerge around the comparability of the spaces of the Slave Lodge and prison. Prompted by a comparison between the approximately one hundred people found in both an overcrowded contemporary prison cell and the Slave Lodge, the group begins to go back and forth on whether there is “no comparison” or if the prison is “just so small” and, therefore, comparable to the site of enslavement. On the one side of this argument, the incomparability comes from the notion that the men cannot truly understand “what it was like to *be* a slave” and “be owned as something.” On the other end, the spatiality is centred and described as alike. The equivalent smallness of the two sites is not the important factor, but rather the reason that “prison can either make you or break you.” That is, the comparison is substantiated by the memory of a mutual friend who attempted to twice hang himself because he was held in awaiting trial for four years. Two further remarks are made: the formerly incarcerated should be empathised for the damaging experience of revolving in and out of prison since the age of fifteen; and a life sentence means that, against the earlier comment that the incarcerated cannot comprehend the experience of being owned, one become a belonging of the state.

Whereas Nadjwa began the tour with several mnemonic devices (“you must remember…this space…the old yew tree…here, the daily market…plus or minus 65 thousand slaves"), when the group discussion arrives at the comparability between the enslaved and the incarcerated experiences through the memory of the suicidal friend, they do so through similar mnemonic strategies. First, emphasis is placed on space ("inside it's just so small;" "inside also"). Then, a particular image is given; like the yew tree, the hanging man looms over us as listeners. Third, like Nadjwa's emphasis on the repetitive temporal loop of daily slave auctions, the group explains that the suicidal friend tried to hang himself precisely due to the prolonged weight of waiting that endlessly suspended the friend in a precarious experience that implicitly feels like a being stuck in a loop desperately needing to end. Finally, just as Nadjwa provides a broader picture of the vastness of the slave trade at the Cape ("65 thousand slaves"), the participants accentuate the full reach of the carceral experience by stressing the damaging trauma of its high recidivism, particularly starting with teens, and the perpetuality of belonging to the state. The former point – revolving in and out of prison since youth – echoes the initial sentiments that prison is experienced as easier than life itself.

When the tour reaches the Castle of Good Hope, the facilitated discussion unfolds with participants increasingly feeling that the true history has been kept from them for a long time until now. Upon hearing that enslaved children were kept underground and forced to quarry the very rock used to build the Castle, the latter is framed as "dead work," poetically alluding to the underground sleeping and living arrangements as well as the labour-intensive and gruelling work this required. "Dead work" approximates the labour system to premature death, while simultaneously centring the deathly disappearance of the enslaved who, up until now, evidently remained unknown to the men insofar as their particular story was unfamiliar as was the fact of their ages. In other words, as the tour begins to conjure their memory within the very walls that continues to stand as a monument, the literal and figurative deathliness of the slave labour is pronounced. Surely speaking to the probably heightened likelihood of dying from the quarrying work, the words also speak to the ways in which the labour simultaneously erected the building and buried the very memory of the enslaved. It also brings back the motif of death that was introduced in the retelling of the friend who tried to kill himself while jailed in the hold of awaiting trial. Like the daily routine of quarrying rocks, said friend underwent a daily experience that approximated him to potential premature death.

As we enter the sentencing section that was used to interrogate and torture European prisoners, despite the narrative of torture that is recounted, a participant observes that "daai is groter as my sel" (this is bigger than my cell). The remark reinstates earlier points that the spatiality of contemporary incarceration presents a point of comparison when discussing the colonial history. As Nadjwa takes the group to another holding cell, this one used to also hold European captives (Free Burghers to be precise), she uses its preserved darkness and staleness to narrate more saliently what the reality of life at the Slave Lodge was like. Unable to convey this reality at the Slave Lodge itself, ironically enough, the preserved and accessible sites of white suffering provide the men with a more concrete reference for the spaces the enslaved inhabited. Nadjwa further explains that the walls are still damp from the sea that used to reach and pound against the outside of that wall, to which a participant states, "It was the slave that actually pushed the sea back."

Against the erasure and invisibilisation of the enslaved, this statement highlights the fundamental feeling of the group: the enslaved not only built the environment which we had just toured, but they also pushed against the monumental sea itself. The sea, which had once carried the enslaved across it on their voyage to the Cape, now, becomes mastered by the enslaved figure and, yet, as a haunting the dampness lingers on. That is, the slave, having been forcibly trafficked across the sea, was made to then push it back, an act that allowed for a particular preservation of white history and erasure of slave legacy in the city. The legacies of the enslaved, hidden in the darkness, remain noticeable centuries later. However silenced their stories have been rendered, they remain within the very structures of colonial conquest that survive today. Beyond the walls of the Castle, the trace of the slave can be seen by the existence of the city built precisely where the slave "pushed the sea back." Hence, we have a new understanding of the space outside carceral walls. Whereas, the slave pushed back the sea and has, nevertheless, been forgotten for his labour, the formerly incarcerated inhabit a world that likewise practices a particular act of forgetting. That is, when the men earlier stated that, on the one hand, prison is easier than life (on the outside) and, on the other, that the, often homeless, formerly incarcerated are misunderstood insofar as their life traumas are treated as irrelevant, they are pointing to the ways in which they inhabit a world that forgets/silences them.

Maroon poems

In this subsection, I discuss the following two maroon poems: "Boere en Boef" by James and "Untitled #1" by Marcus. James begins "Boere en Boef" with an interesting temporal sequencing that allows the contemporary "I" to reach the broader historic past by using a language of collectivity ("we") and continuity ("always") that allows the "I" to then inhabit a broader historical context he further reclaims through a framework of "rights" and dispossession. He then reinstates this same logical flow to configure the relationship between the colonial past and present realities of the Cape Flats: he localises the self within a distinct context; next, he invokes historical allusions through a specific language of collectivity and seamless continuity; and, finally, he repositions the contemporary self as a victim of an initial injustice that mirrors and explains contemporary behaviours. In the latter case, he specifically focuses on sexual violence as experienced in parallel by enslaved women and contemporary 'Coloured' women, positioning the women's body as the site of shame, even as he suggests that the male perpetrators of this violence are merely acting as inheritors of colonial violence through their DNA.

In “Untitled #1,” Marcus makes a similar gendered framing as he alludes to contemporary and enslaved women’s physical traits to make connections between the past and present. More precisely, Marcus’ use of alliteration and rhythm present’s the feminine body through a masculine constraint that then loosens. This loosening is accentuated when Marcus portrays the sister falling and the boy, himself, holding her “so tight” to prevent her fall. The tight masculine grip is then compared to the hold of slave chains. In both James’ and Marcus’ gendered narratives, we witness the masculine body as both possessing the legacy of enslavement through its forms of control. Whether that control emerges as acts of violence or acts of salvation, they are framed in opposition to a narrative of victimisation and descent framed through the vulnerable feminine body.

This vulnerability becomes pronounced through both writer’s tropes of opacity. In Marcus’ poem, he admits to the very loss of control that was initially embodied by the sister. This vulnerability, in the form of being unsure and wondering, evolves into a blurred visuality that situates him within a darkness. We see similar narration in James’ writing, when he first metaphorises a marble as representing history, insofar as it is unchangeable and “solid.” The image soon takes on new meaning, writing about the child character hiding behind the trees, James’ child character conveys a fear of his eye being an avenue to both history as well as his pain. Thus, he prefers to cover it in a solid black shading that renders the pain impenetrable. The imagery continues when, later in his poem, James takes possession of the marbles and, in doing so, repossesses his ancestor’s memory, particularly acknowledging historic traumas through “the eyes of my father…with the marbles in my pockets.” Therefore, as James and Marcus both introduce themes of vulnerability, they create dark settings that hide them in their vulnerable states. These dark settings are reminiscent of poems described earlier. Firstly, the hand poems particularly cast the slave ship hold and prison cell in dark settings. Secondly, in

“No Comparison / Just So Small,” the group engages with the dark setting of the Castle cell with its haunting damp walls.

The eyes that James covers with shades also witness the historical connections. Similarly, in and through the dark setting Marcus creates, he conveys an ability to feel and hear the enslaved. The reconnection with the ancestral figures in both cases, however, is soon juxtaposed with continued forms of constraint. While James, upon reclaiming the ancestors, juxtaposes the boundedness of being parole and that of exclusionary Apartheid-era policies with the vastness and openness of the mountain, this newfound freedom is quickly stifled by Cape Flats itself, as he introduces symbolic imagery of rodents and rotten dreams in the air. The former conveys hopelessness as an infestation that hides and moves, while the latter suggests that freedom is permeable and hopelessness as pervasive as a gaseous substance.

The Cape Flats, furthermore, is framed as a site of enclosure with reference to a girl named Faith who apparently would not choose to enter this area. Reinstating the gendered discourse, James now closes off the space he inhabits to the feminine figure. Earlier, he invoked women’s bodies to narrate that ‘Coloured’ men have inherited the violence of slavery toward the high levels of sexual violence he alludes to. Now, he inhabits an enclosed environment that not only repels the feminine figure but also contains within it an infestation or gaseous contamination that cannot be controlled. In other words, he inhabits a vulnerability and lack of control that simultaneously speaks to Marcus’ ending. Marcus revisits the site where his hold on his sister was compared to that of slave chains. This time, he is alone and the merry-go-round not only “hold[s] up all of our weight,” but the metal of which now prevents his own fall (“keeps me walking today”). He becomes one with the materiality with enslavement and becomes dependent onto prevent a demasculinisation that would accompany the shameful descent of falling.

In James' poem, furthermore, he makes reference to his brothers that rape his sisters ("broers wat my sisters staan en rape"). Marcus similarly follows a brother-sister narrative in which the former sexualises the younger sister by comparing her to "women," reinforcing a language that feeds into broader tropes of hypersexualising and adultifying young black girls – a haunting relic of colonial sexual discourses. Importantly, both Marcus and James use possessive pronounces ("my sisters" and "our African Ancista women") to convey their relation to these women and girls. Later, Marcus holds his sister tightly, while James laments a girl/woman who will not visit his neighbourhood. Both scenarios further reveal a gendered narrative that rely on women as, to invoke Gqola's writings on enslaved women in the Cape, "controllable, malleable bod[ies]" and peripheral figures who positioned as "constantly violated bod[ies]" on behalf of the whole race.[343] Yet, as we have seen in "It's a Dream Choice," women simultaneously take on the role of responsibility over both the strength of the future and the fear endemic to one's upbringing. Whereas James and Marcus reveal a fear surrounding vulnerability that leads them both to hide, they narratively direct any real harm or objectification toward woman characters to divert their own demasculinisations.

As discussed in Chapter II, particular sexual and gendered discourses shaped and continue to persist in the discourses of enslaved peoples. During the inception of Cape slavery, the slave man was configured systematically as a childlike "man-in-waiting" and discursively as an uncontrolled and unruly being.[344] Black woman were depicted as the epitome of sexualised immorality, against which the Europeans could construct their own respectable imagery and alleged purity.[345] Vaziri reminds us, furthermore, that depictions of enslaved men in the Indian Ocean World (IOW) will often fall into tension with New World popular perceptions of the “spectacular male muscular body in chains,” rendering the Cape reality benign or feminine by contrast.[346] The hauntings of slavery’s gendered discourse are manifest in Marcus’ and James’ respective inabilities to reconcile the possibility of vulnerable masculinities with the violence slavery’s past within their narratives.

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[343] Gqola, "'Slaves Don't Have Opinions': Inscriptions of Slave Bodies and the Denial of Agency in Rayda Jacob's 'The Slave Book,'" 52.

[344] Scully, *Liberating the Family? Gender and British Slave Emancipation in the Rural Western Cape, South Africa, 1823-1853*.

[345] Abrahams, "Images of Sara Bartman: Sexuality, Race, and Gender in Early-Nineteenth-Century Britain."

Fugitives of the Silence

Opacity-making

> *“establish belonging to other states of being.*
>
> *convene.   school the instructors*
> *who are not inhabitants of this noise”.*[347]

“Haikona” and “*Die grot*”

As I attempt to show in the researcher-produced poem, “Haikona” (see Figure IV-9), the group effectively circumvents – and, thereby, problematises – particular pedagogic strategies I employed in my facilitation of a discussion on Etheridge Knight’s “Haiku.” Specifically, I encourage an interpretive process that, against the abovementioned engagements with unknowability, rely on a politics of knowability. In placing emphasis on the allegedly inherent meanings possessed by different unique images and nouns in Knight’s poem, I inadvertently imply the transparency of these images, placing an implicit demand upon participants to follow this logic toward deciphering the apparent self-possessed essence of said images. Instead, the participants continuously redirect the inquiry away from the boundedness of self-possessed meaning to explore meanings that arise through the verbal, relational and spatial elements surrounding the images in question.

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[346] Vaziri, “On ‘Saidiya:’ Indian Ocean World Slavery and Blackness beyond Horizon,” 245.

[347] Bennett, “Flight/Plan.”

For example, whereas I inquire about an abstract meaning of the rock on which a lizard rests, the participants explore the relationship between the lizard and the rock, that of the sun and the lizard through the rock, and the joy or comfort the lizard seeks or experiences. Thus, against a politics of knowability central to my interpretive pedagogy, the group preferred a politics of opacity, which Glissant describes as that "which does not favour any essence, which would be withdrawn into self-satisfaction."[348] That is, they obscure essence and its presumed transparency by deprivileging self-contained meaning in favour of the ambiguous and layered meanings produced through the relationship between objects, their desires and movements, and their experience of spatiality (e.g. compressed lizards).

More specifically, they practice an opacity that, as Davis argues, it not an ontological fact, but rather a process of arriving at a specific political achievement.[349] That is, within the delineations of the workshop space and against the demands by the facilitator to pursue a particular mode of interpretation, the group members build on each other's thinking to produce a collective resistance that, at once, rejects the politics of transparency and achieves an affirmation of the imagery's right to opacity precisely through their alternative interpretive model. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the experience of containment and carcerality is juxtaposed, as in the silence and hand poems, with sociality and unbounded spatiality. Indeed, this is at the heart of the tension here. The discourse undergirding my framing of the discussion as facilitator reflects a discourse of self-containment, transparency, definability, and knowability. Against this discourse, the group highlights the relational qualities between the images, characters and spatial elements in the poem. They go beyond the spatial parameters of the poem (i.e. prison) to twice invoke the presence of the sun. They further explore the potential explosiveness of the lizard beyond its image of resting on a rock.

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[348] Glissant, "The Thinking of the Opacity of the World (Trans. by Franck Loric)."
[349] Davis, "The Politics of Édouard Glissant's Right to Opacity."

In “*Die grot*” (see Figure IV-14) we witness an interest interplay between these elements of sociality and space. After expressing an affiliation with the enslaved vis-à-vis captivity (“that connection that took his soul bondage, took mine as well”), they discuss how each participant comes from different backgrounds and experiences but share in common key markers that overcomes such differences (“either we are gangsters, drug addicts, or you know what I mean?”). They reflect on fostering trust and learning from one another, finding love and comfort within the social bonds they cultivated from the group. Importantly, they specify the act of “open[ing] up to one another,” an act that mirrors the opening up seen in the silence poems. The opening act coincides with the fostering of trust and love that appeared in the hand poems, particularly in contrast to the alienating and enclosed effects of the carceral site.

Moreover, they contrast spaces by noting that “theres things we can do here that we cannot do in our space that we end up going to once we leave this space.” A striking parallel arises between this sentiment and the hand poems as the contrast would suggest that, outside of the workshop space, the risk of ‘opening up’ themselves is much like the risk of opening up silence from the silence poems. In other words, the unbounded sounds of the silenced self may go misunderstood and can result in the general feeling that one *cannot* open up in most social circumstances. However, through particular social practices and relationalities, opening up can result in profound acts of listening and understanding that are, as suggested in this conversation, discovered through the mutual trust, love and learning they nurture within this particular “comfort zone.” As further articulated in both the silence and maroon poems discussed so far in this chapter, vulnerability is navigated through forms of opaqueness that are self-preserving insofar as the vulnerability opposes hardness and strength. The maroon project’s space – by which, here, I mean the social bonds they fostered themselves irrespective of the workshops – allow for a collective embracing of vulnerability that, while hidden or private from the general public and the spaces they “end up going to” after, becomes a site of comfort and love.

Hence the title of this poem, “Die grot” (the cave), which comes from an earlier conversation following a workshop in which one participant likened the workshop space to the caves where the *drosters* hid and found refuge, comes to represent an alternative form of enclosed space that remains open-ended and, as such, produces radically different experiences. It recalls James’ use of the cave image in his first hand poem on the slave narrative that juxtaposed the hold of the slave ship with the playful hold of a cave constructed by a child himself. Like James’ metaphor, the group constructs a site of refuge that presents an alternative form of an enclosed space that is simultaneously open and conducive to radical acts of sociality and bonding. This resonates with what Samuelson identifies as processes of ‘making home’ in the context of cape slavery.[350] Like Harold’s carceral character from the hand poems that decides to lean into his own body within the layered forms of enclosure that exist in the carceral hold, the men here are suggesting a radical way of leaning into an enclosed space (i.e. the private four walls of the workshop venue) but instead of feeling further enclosure, they discover openness and love. As Chapter II outline and as Hartman has conceptualised, the structures of racial enclosure contour Black life across history through recurring and readjusting ways – one form gives way to another.[351] Hence, *die grot* or the cave is offered as a conceptual tool to consider how the men were able to refashion the model of enclosure to construct an alternative space of caring and belonging.

This practice can be further framed and understood through the concept of hapticality introduced by Harney and Moten in their groundbreaking work, *The Undercommons*.[352] Discussing the experience of being in “the hold” – as encompassing the hold of the slave ship, the prison, the contemporary boat carrying refugees, or labourers’ hostel, etc. – they theorise that “the hold’s terrible gift was to gather dispossessed feeling in common, to create a new feel in the undercommons."[353] Thrown together – as by the circumstances and common experiences described in "Die grot" – those in the hold experience hapticality: "the capacity to feel through others, for others to feel through you, for you to feel them feeling you."[354] Indeed, in "Die grot," we see an example of Harney and Moten's hapticality as the inhabitation of "feel[ing] (for) each other" against and in light of the broader structural holds that otherwise "refused sentiment."[355] Away from the spaces that would discourage the ways of being explored or practiced in die grot – which is to say, away from the visibility and surveillance of the varied layers of captivity endemic to the modern prison regime – the group opts to feel each other, to recompose the contained space into a safe one for, to quote Harney and Moten once more, "our hapticality, our love. This is love for the shipped, love as the shipped."[356]

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[350] Samuelson, “Making Home on the Indian Ocean Rim: Relocations in South African Literatures.”
[351] Hartman, *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments*.
[352] Harney and Moten, *The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning and Black Study*.

The carceral figure, as we see from these two poems, engages in forms and processes of opacity-making in several ways. Firstly, they resist the project of and demand for transparency and reinforce the demand for what, as discussed throughout this chapter, has been noted as the demand for unknowability. The poetics of this practice circumvents an epistemology that centres self-possessed objects and favours essence and prefers an epistemology of relationality and movement. Secondly, they explore what Harney and Moten conceptualise as hapticality. They feel (for) each other by reinventing the experience of being in the hold to create a holding space where they can feel held by the others. Against the experience of the carceral hold and in light of sustained discussions about the slave hold, they construct die grot (the cave) as an alternative space that simultaneously remains enclosed insofar as it reifies boundaries and an opacity to the rest of the world and sustains an openness manifest in the capacity to open up and listen to each other.

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[353] Harney and Moten, 97.
[354] Harney and Moten, 99.
[355] Harney and Moten, 98.
[356] Harney and Moten, 99.

Meanings derived from the history of die drosters

"*drosting*"

As explored in Chapter IV (see Figure IV-12), participants engage with a series of narratives pertaining to historical *droster* and slave figures. The engagement with what has been considered as the first gang in the cape, the runaways, speaks to a growing scholarly interest in historical fugitives precisely because "outlaws prompt us to look to the ambiguities surrounding informal and traditional economies, ethnicized and racialized typologies, and political authority, and to those who transgressed it."[357] Neil Roberts offers the notion of sociogenic marronage, as the revolutionary act through which the flight of escaped slaves is attained through agency toward cultivating community.[358] Roberts' theory of marronage iterates that "freedom is not a place; it is a state of being" and "an economy of survival…and condition of becoming."[359] This resonates with Naimou's reading of Palmares, the celebrated Brazilian maroon society that, she argues, offers less a localisable sanctuary as it provokes us to inhabit 'creative marronage' as perpetual process of seeking refuge against captivity.[360] To this growing body of literature, I wish to add some findings from a collective engagement with the history of Cape *drosters* with a group of formerly-incarcerated men.

The particular approach used in workshop speaks to various arts-based methods. Nathan To explores intergenerational hauntings more reflexively through the medium of a 'diasporic montage' of mediated memory that "seeks to 'animate' the ghost to life."[361] Following a viewing of the documentary, *Nanking*, about the 1937 Nanking Massacre during the Sino-Japanese War by a group of second-generation Canadians (whose parents immigrated from post-war contexts), To asked the group to create body movements in reaction to the film that were performed together as a group accompanied by verbal or grunt-like sounds. The dance-like movements and sounds revealed feelings of anxiety, guilt, helplessness, and desperation that "can be considered as the materialised, visible, and conscious productions of immaterial, invisible, and unconscious affective processes of haunting."[362]

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[357] King, "In Praise of Outlaws," 106.

[358] Roberts, *Freedom as Marronage*.

[359] Roberts, 11–144.

[360] Naimou, *Salvage Work: U.S. and Caribbean Literatures amid the Debris of Legal Personhood*.

[361] To, "Diasporic Montage and Critical Autoethnography: Mediated Visions of Intergenerational Memory and the Affective Transmission of Trauma."

In a similar vein and drawing on the example of intense public debate as activists sought to halt development and archaeological exhumations of over 3000 human skeletons pertaining to slaves, paupers, executed criminals, free-blacks, and many more at Prestwich Place, Mark Fleishman problematises the capacity to re-story haunted memories.[363] Performance, he proposes, can "make the archive speak in unspeakable ways" by taking a body-centred approach that physically engages with archival materials.[364] Here, performers were exposed to the range of fragments, collected materials, and historical sites as "a kind of forensic archaeology performed by the body interacting with a fragment," with the hope of allowing the fragments to "reveal meaning rather than to interpret a meaning 'pinned on' to the outside of the fragment."[365] Fleishman frames this as an 'intentional process of layering' that calls on the embodied to become attentive to environment and object.[366] As Joseph Roach further puts it: "performance genealogies draw on the idea of expressive movements as mnemonic reserves, including patterned movements made and remembered by bodies…and imaginary movements dreamed in minds not prior to language but constitutive of it."[367]

From their engagements with these stories, they come up with a series of words that they consider to be central to the narratives: e.g. survive, escape, and harrowed. Based on these words, they composed images with their bodies and, from those body movements, spoke the first line that came to mind. This body-centred and improvisational activity highlights particular ways that the group embodied and derived meaning from the *droster* narratives. Through their use of rhythm and diction, a particular discourse of ‘survival’ emerges, for example. They frame survival not in relation to the system or conditions from which the runaways had to survive, but with a focus on the individual’s strength, the lack thereof at best equates to and at worst deserves or merits being put down. From the *droster* narratives, survival emerged as a central theme. Their own interpretation and meanings to this term, however, resulted in a discourse of individual strength. Here, one’s weakness is itself the punishment. As shown in the silence poems and several of the researcher-produced poems based on group discussions, the trope of being strong as a result of and in response to modalities of silencing emerges across narratives. The transformative experience of either silence or the carceral hold hardens the body and, in “drosting,” we see the internalisation of strength or weakness relates to an understanding of survival that is contingent on individuality.

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[362] To, 85.
[363] Fleishman, "Cargo: Staging Slavery at the Cape."
[364] Fleishman, 15.
[365] Fleishman, "Cargo: Staging Slavery at the Cape."
[366] Fleishman, 15–16.
[367] Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*, 26.

The lines that emerged for the term, ‘escape,’ present rhythms that are highly performative of the poetics of escape. That is, each line conveys within its rhythm, syllabic count and syntactic structure the particular feel of escape, whether it be abruptly futile (as in “escaping isn’t always easy”), hastily active (as in “I’m getting up out of here”), or resigned to alternative freedoms in lieu of the impossibility of action (as in “freedom in a jail cell”). Here, the notion of escape is nuanced as a varied experience that captures the precarity of its outcome. The final word, ‘harrowed,’ invoked social scenarios, including homes they cannot go to and families that were abandoned for friends. This last one, indeed, provides further insight to the first two. The lack of family contextualises the individualistic discourse.

Whereas the hand poems highlighted the hope and desire for family, particularly through its emphasis in the slave narratives against its absence in the carceral narratives, we now see a framing of family as beyond the participants’ reach. As such, we continue to see the experience of alienation that characterises their experiences. Perhaps the *drosters* felt harrowed for the same or different reasons; in either case, they could relate to this harrowing insofar as they have experienced it through alienation from the family unit. However, unlike the slave narratives of the hand poems, this last section of "drosting" suggests that they possess the choice and power to resist seeing their families (within the context of the activity, that is). Perhaps greater insight into meanings of family emerge from the following maroon poems, "Untitled #2" and "Untitled #3."

"Untitled #2" and "Untitled #3"

In "Untitled #2" (see Table IV-12), the author focuses on problematising a contemporary politics of respectability that the poem narrates as rooted in the ways in which a fragile freedom was experienced by the enslaved who dressed well. Interestingly, in seeing thought the colour of the main character's pants the oceanic slave trade, the poem begins with a metaphoric "the colour of the ocean on a cloudy day." This evocation of the weather conditioning the pants with historical undertones, speaks to the conceptualization of 'weather' by Christina Sharpe: "in what I am calling the weather, antiblackness is pervasive *as* climate."[368] Here, Sharpe uses weather to consider how ongoing presence of slavery's afterlife and of antiblackness is experienced ecologically, as an "atmospheric condition of time and place" through which one must navigate "produce out of the weather their own ecologies."[369] Just as we could easily take for granted the "cloudy day," slavery's aftereffects are, as Sharpe instructs us, pervasive, ubiquitous, ever-changing and, yet, taken for granted, much like weather. Thus, when the main character gazes upon himself in the mirror wearing clothes that, on the one hand, give the false impression of empowerment and, on the other, reflect the atmospheric ecology of slavery's afterlife, he is witnessing the self-contained embodiment or internalization of this pervasive afterlife.

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[368] Sharpe, *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being*, 106.
[369] Sharpe, 106.

This pervasiveness, in turn, is inherited inter-generationally, to be precise. In the poem, the mother passes down the narrative of the enslaved man, Lang Klass Eiland, who falsely perceives his own supposed freedom that gets pierced, quite symbolically, by the land itself. This inter-generational passing down symbolizes the inheritance of Lang Klass Eiland's condition. In other words, the respectability politics that profoundly fooled Lang Klass into believing in his own false freedom is passed down through 'Coloured' families. As such, in "Untitled #3," we witness a couple who is drowning in debt under the constant threat of bank repossessions and foreclosure. The material possessions, like the clothing in the mirror, are of course signs of success and stability. The debt, as has been discussed by the group throughout this chapter, is regarded as one form of contemporary bondage that they liken to a new form of the old system of slavery. Surely, this is a historical fact in the post-emancipation period, as has been noted, where debt was a very real and practical tactic for maintaining control of the ex-bonded.[370] Therefore, when the man, Rooi, decides to run away, he effectively deserts his family yet simultaneously escapes the inherited forms of respectability and debt bondage that seem to be endemic to the 'Coloured' community, as conveyed throughout the poems and discussions by all participants. The desertion in "Untitled #3" ultimately ends with the woman who stayed becoming addicted to prescription drugs and eventually dying when they stopped working. Rooi's escape is at once contextualized within a framing of debt bondage as a continuation of slavery's legacy, yet it coincides with the lonely death of his wife in the story.

Thus, when we witness that the group narrates instances of being unable to return to their families in "drosting" above, we regard their desertion of the family in light of attempting to escape such afterlives of slavery as manifested in respectability politics, debt, and other such instantiations. The characters in both poems are bound to the value the mirror, the bank, and the court are ultimately the possessors of. Yet, despite pointing out any perceived systemic causes for such desertion, the decision coincides with pain and loneliness inflicted upon the deserted family. Rooi's act frees himself but has unique consequences upon the main character, who instead relies upon the drugs to cope with the ongoing bondedness described.

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[370] Ross, "'Rather Mental than Physical': Emancipations and the Cape Economy."

Crypt-ic narratives and a poetics of fugitivity

Through a series of found poems referred to as silence poems, the men poetically articulated silence to actually be loud with the echoes of the past: that which created the silence – be it an event, process, or both – remains contained within it. While the traces of this past are carried through and in the silence, the silence is also in excess of what it contains and of containability itself. It is always more than we can know, even if we learn to attend to its musicality. Whereas social practices of alienation and disposability perpetuate silence as unheard and enclosed, alternative social practices of deep and sustained listening permit silence to become unbounded, unstill and socially impactful. Here, we arrive at an understanding of silence through the lens of haunting. Thus, it is important to discuss some theories and conceptualisations of haunting.

Derrida first coined hauntology to consider an ontology that accounts for the unseen, the inheritance of absences, and the "disjointure of the very presence of the present."[371] A homonym of ontology, Derrida's hauntology revisits our being-in-the-world as "shaped by what is no longer (the past) and by what is not yet (the future)."[372] Hauntology surfaces the "temporal disjunctions…constitutive of the Afrodiasporic experience" of enslavement that coercively transported human cargo into both physical bondage as well as the "abstract space-time of Capital."[373] It undoes the Western ontological duality of presence and absence, bringing into the frame the invisible yet real apparition of present absences, i.e. the spectres of haunting 'pasts' that (re)currently manifest within the now-time in ways that unsettle Western assumptions of a linear time that seeks to separate the past, present, and future.[374] Whereas slavery in the Cape is often forgotten, at worst, or rendered a *past* injustice, at best, it rather transgresses any such permeable boundary dichotomising a foregone 'past' and an ever-unfolding present. Racialised and gendered discourses and disciplinary practices time-travel from the colony via the inscribed bodies of the racialised 'Coloured' community through the means of haunting.

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[371] Derrida, *Spectres of Marx*, 25.
[372] Deumert, "What about Ghosts? Towards a Sociolinguistics of the Spectre."

Sociologist Avery Gordon further proposes haunting, rather than 'history', as an analytic to fully grapple with "the debts of the past and the expense of the present."[375] Fisher suggests that hauntology can be understood in two ways: as a "fatal pattern" in which what has passed (i.e. is no longer) remains through traumatic cycles of repetition; or as anticipatory phenomena through which an effective haunting shapes current behaviour and, therefore, the future.[376] The latter is closer to what Marx had in mind when he wrote the infamous line that sparked Derrida's theorisation of hauntology: "A spectre haunts Europe – the spectre of communism."[377] As Gordon further theorises: "haunting is a constitutive element of modern social life…the lingering inheritance of racial slavery…the compulsions and forces that all of us inevitably experience in the face of slavery's having even once existed in our nation."[378]

Through Gordon, perhaps more so than Derrida, we begin to better unpack the effects of the silenced history of Cape slavery on the formerly-incarcerated men. In his theorisation of a hauntology of blackness, Powell tells us that this haunting takes place on and through the body.[379] To add Moten to the mix: "haunting…[is] a kind of doubling…a complex bearing that might turn out to be disruptive of personhood in general…a kind of blur."[380] Haunting, in sum, disrupts: temporarily (the dichotomy that presumes what has occurred in the past cannot also be in the present); subjectivity (the very notion of an "I" that cannot also be a "we" that includes spectres and ghosts of my individual or collective past); and materiality (the Black body racialised through visual modalities that inscribe legacies of violence and erasure upon the flesh and, as such, ever-threaten sudden and continued erasure). This hauntology contextualises the silence poems that, likewise, destabilise bounded notions of time, personhood, and the body.

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[373] Fisher, "The Metaphysics of Crackle: Afrofuturism and Hauntology," 42.
[374] Craps, "Learning to Live with Ghosts: Postcolonial Haunting and Mid-Mourning in David Dabydeen's 'Turner' and Fed D'Aguiar's Feeding the Ghosts."
[375] Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, 142.
[376] Fisher, *Ghosts of My Life: Writings on Depression, Hauntology and Lost Futures*, 19.
[377] Derrida, *Spectres of Marx*, 2.
[378] Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, 139.

Just as Gordon suggests that haunting brings forth a demand by the past for a reckoning with its endurance in the presence, the silence poems reveal that the silence does not do away with the past but rather simply contains an expansive amplification of the past's afterlife. The act of releasing silence's inherent loudness, however, incurs a vulnerability in the heightened risk of going misunderstood or worse, particularly given that silence is in excess of knowability and of language itself. Insofar as silence cannot be witnessed in all its fullness, it maintains a haunting quality, as that which has been silenced does not dissipate but rather lingers and even strengthens over time. This notion is reinforced through their analysis of Lorde's poem where they engage with a tension between social conditions and one's capacity to make autonomous decisions around their individual actions. Here, they offer the concept of 'dream choice' to stress a sense of lacking control. Yet, the very mechanisms that foster fear and vulnerability also develop a strength that echoes another recurring motif in the silence poems where silence was equated to a process of hardening. Thus, to navigate silence is to engage with a vulnerability that also goes against superficial modes of hardening reinforced by silence itself.

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[379] Powell, "Specters and Spooks: Developing A Hauntology of the Black Body."

[380] Moten, *Black and Blur*, 253.

As such, it is important to introduce Gabriele Schwab's tool for approaching haunted narratives. Her notion of the crypt presents a framework for understanding how people create psychic and linguistic enclaves in which to store the 'unspeakable' traumas of violent histories, losses and deaths that have been denied or refused.[381] The crypt is precisely appropriate because, as we have seen, the silence, slavery's hauntings and the layered experiences of captivity all share a common structure of enclosure. The crypt, in turn, is an enclosed space, sealed by language itself, the exact thing that silence is in excess of. The crypt, Schwab argues, is inundated with traces of silences and gaps, which she regards as the crypt's sealed boundaries that latently veil transgenerational memories of disavowed traumatic losses in secrecy.[382] Put succinctly, to approach the spectre is to follow the structure the silence that seals the crypt.

Through Lorde's poem, the men explore the fears and anxieties undergirding the lack and or loss of control over life circumstances, they still suggest that speaking equates to a truth-producing memory-work that encapsulates "where you coming from." As was further expressed in the group discussion relayed through the poem, "DNA," one objective from the group was to address the ways in which history has been silenced in their communities. Specifically, they identify the need to tell the narrative "in a way that they will understand," implying that this history remains misunderstood in parallel to how they conveyed that silence can go misunderstood. Thus, in reading their poems and discussions that directly engage with the theme of slavery's connection to the contemporary context and experience, the meanings they attached to silence help gain insight into their narrative strategies to un-silence history. In short, the task is to approach their written and oral engagements with the silenced history of slavery with attention to how they narrate and navigate moments of vulnerability, unknowability, and disposability, which are all, evidently, essential to silence.

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[381] Schwab, *Haunting Legacies: Violent Histories and Transgenerational Trauma*.

[382] Schwab.

From the hand poems, a trope of the body as a layer of enclosure with the layers of enclosure experienced through carceral spaces emerge from the carceral narratives. These are sites that are presented through a language of vulnerability (internalised emotions) and disposability (e.g. the smell of sewerage and other markers of poverty). In contrast, the slave narratives portray the enslaved characters in varying proximities (even if through memory and speculation) to unbounded nature and to the social units of family and community. Even the notion of disposability is contrasted through the motif of salvation by the heroism of the enslaved character himself. Thus, both the carceral and slave narratives pinpoint social alienation, disposability, and the embodiment of enclosure as the shared moments both narratives of captivity must navigate. Whereas the carceral narratives navigate these moments through a lack of control (e.g. the body's loss of control) and the embodiment of despair; the slave narratives attempt to retain the potentiality of control, of collectivity and of the freedom of inhabiting an unbounded space. When the carceral figures lean into the body, they also rediscover collectivity and unrestrained movement (dance), but these are either cut short by the disruptive force of the carceral hold or confined to the body (however free to move) as opposed to the unbounded spaces represented by the various nature sceneries.

In the guided tour to and of the Castle of Good Hope, the group emphasises commonalities between the enslaved and their own carceral experiences through another set of shared moments along the tropes of vulnerability, unknowability and disposability. Firstly, spatiality comes up twice as the two holds are compared in size and overcrowdedness and as the colonial interrogation site of white men is deemed larger relative to the contemporary prison cell. While one initially remarks that they cannot fathom the experience of being enslaved, of being "owned as something," and the implicitly powerless state of being, a quintessential form of vulnerable and precarious life, the spatial comparison reframes the carceral experience as also one that "can make you or break you." More specifically, they talk about suicidal tendencies in the carceral hold, being state property under life sentences, and the ever-revolving door of recidivism teenagers walk into. The spatiality of the two holds becomes a discussion with various examples of vulnerable precarity along the parallel lines of proximities to death and the perpetuity of being in the hold. What we see is that ongoing experiences of being 'in the hold,' to reinvoke Sharpe, and living in enclosed spaces haunt the men through a persistent discourse or logic of disposability and vulnerability.

Disposability through death is twice alluded to. In the first of these instances, the men narrate how the jail system, notorious for prolonged incarcerations without being sentenced in awaiting trial, will lead one to be suicidal. In the second, the men offer "dead work" to frame the labour of enslaved children quarrying rock from Table Mountain to build the Castle, the same children that slept under the floor and have since been left out of public memory, as portrayed by the surprise felt by participants upon hearing these facts. Importantly, the attempted suicide is done multiple times and is an expected outcome of being in this state of not knowing one's own fate for so long. Finally, unknowability and unknowing is introduced when the men talk about, firstly, the experience that life outside of prison is actually harder; at least one reason for this is offered in the example of a homeless man who has been traumautised by going in and out of prison since a teenager, but this life experience is implicitly ignored and forgotten when one sees this man. The second time this comes up is the discussion of the figure of the slave that pushed the sea back. This culminating remark suggests that, while the enslaved were instrumental in constructing the city we know and experience today, their memories are consistently erased and forgotten. Just as the traumatic past of the homeless that inhabits this city is forgotten, the traumatic past of the city itself is not well known.

In the maroon poems prepared by James and Marcus, we witness them again navigating moments of vulnerability, unknowability, and disposability. In both poems, the narratives take highly gendered approaches as they rely on women's bodies to simultaneously allude to historical continuities and convey a vulnerability and victimisation that are framed through a discourse of the loose and shameful feminine body. In so doing, they frame their own vulnerability as shameful and hide behind different veils and forms of darkness that, in turn, nuance the notion of unknowability. Thus far, unknowability has been discussed in terms of an uncontainable vastness contained within silence and by the silenced unknown figures of the forgotten enslaved and the forgotten formerly incarcerated. Here, the unknowability is also reflective of the limits created by shame and vulnerability itself. These experiences prevent or become reasons for which the men prefer to hide rather than display the unknown. Continuing the gendered narration, they both end with settings that exclude or deter a woman figure. This coincides with further elements or states of precarity and vulnerability that serve as extensions of disposability. The Cape Flats, in James' poem, is rampant with rodents and smoke, rendering the space he inhabits a sort of waste land. In Marcus' poem, he revisits the metaphoric merry-go-round, this time framing it as holding him up and preventing his own fall (as implied by the fall of his sister from the ride earlier in the poem), a move that keeps him from a descending peril that again alludes to the theme of disposability.

The crypt of slavery's haunting reveals itself through discourses of vulnerability, unknowability, and disposability. More specifically, the relationship is such that the state of vulnerability reinforces the transformation of the unknowable into something that does not merit being known or that systematically remains unknown through processes and discourses of disposability. Insofar as social bonds are not in place to listen to their personal and collective traumas, the men reveal the ways in which those silences will remain secretive. Yet, as Feldman shows us, to be "haunted by a past that is never past" it also to continue "bending toward the future," which is the "characteristic temporal arc" by which fugitivity moves.[383] Indeed, this is further captured by Moten: "Perhaps the dead are alive and escaping. Perhaps ontology is best understood as the imagination of this escape as a kind of social gathering…as the word's auto-interruptive, auto-illuminative shade/s."[384] In order to grapple with the haunting of slavery's past on the contemporary context, it is necessary to grapple with fugitivity itself, the spirit of escape that ontologises Blackness and the ways in which this fugitivity is both illuminative (insightful) and shade (opacity).

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[383] Feldman, "Fugitive Voice," 10.

In "Haikona," we witness the participants practice an opacity that achieves a resistance to particular interpretive modes being imposed by the facilitator. Whereas, my interpretative model was imbued with a politics of self-contained meaning, atomisation, knowability and definability, the group employ various tactics to circumvent these demands and offer alternative interpretative strategies that rely on relationalities, ambiguities and spatialities. Whereas the spectral remnants of a logic of containment was evident in my facilitation of the group reading of Etheridge Knight's poem, the group displayed a fugitive poetics that evaded this discursive confinement to explore alternative meaning-making and opacity-making (i.e. against the facilitator's approving gaze).

In "*Die grot*," we further witness a sociality that radically challenges the very notion of spatial confinements. Calling the workshop space the cave offers a conceptual reframing of enclosed spaces as having the potentiality to remain simultaneously open-ended. Through this framing, the men develop a bonding that begins with their shared identities as "gangsters, drugs addicts, or you know what I mean?" From this and through their experiences writing poems, sharing with each other and engaging together with the history, they open up to one another and develop modes of trusting and loving each other. The conceptual name, *die grot*, is of course an allusion to the *drosters* who also found refuge and fostered novel communities within the caves of the mountainous regions. Importantly, this leads us to what Harney and Moten have framed as hapticality: "To have been shipped is to have been moved by others, with others. It is to feel at home with the homeless, at ease with the fugitive, at peace with the pursued, at rest with the ones who consent not to be one."[385] The poetics of fugitivity, as discussed here, emerges as a refusal of the demand for self-containment and the exploration of alternative communal spaces that render an openness within and through the closed space.

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[384] Moten, "The Case of Blackness," 212.

Fiddler et al. suggest that we must "attend to those phenomena that flicker between presence and absence, visibility and invisibility."[386] On the one hand, this study is interested in the continuities of captivity that mark connections between the successive systems between slavery and the contemporary period. But on the other, it is an exploration of traditions of resistance to this relentless hold, to ask "what, if anything, survives this insistent Black exclusion, this ontological negation, and how do literature, performance, and visual culture observe and mediate this un/survival."[387] Indeed, this dissertation used creative methodologies based in poetry to conduct this attending to haunted phenomena.

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[385] Harney and Moten, *The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning and Black Study*, 97.
[386] Fiddler, Kindynis, and Linnemann, "Ghost Criminology: A (Spirit) Guide," 5.
[387] Sharpe, *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being*, 14.

| Chapter VI |

a spectre haunts cape town: a conclusion

"In the Diaspora, as in bad dreams, you are constantly overwhelmed by the persistence of the spectre of captivity."[388]

A spectre is haunting South Africa – the spectre of captivity. This research project sought out to explore the relationship between the historical period of enslavement in the Cape and the contemporary hyper-incarceration of the descendants of those enslaved. As Avery Gordon forcefully conveys, captives of the modern prison regime – including the formerly-confined – are continuously rendered delegitimised and dispossessed state property, incapable of communicating for themselves through a structure that punishes the outspoken and, therefore, they produce "subjugated knowledge"[389] through highly inventive means using the available residues of prison, "including the remaking of themselves."[390] Gordon therefore calls us to give careful analytic consideration to this subjugated knowledge, a "methodology of imprisonment" that requires us to *listen* attentively to that which is already there.[391] To this end, this research looked at history as a broader narrative to be critically deconstructed and re-narrated by centring the voice of the subjected. It uncovered a particular hauntology of 'Colouredness' that sees the spectres of disposability, captivity/enclosure, and unknowability haunting the narratives of formerly incarcerated men. It unpacked the formations and deformations of this haunting as well as the enduring practices of fugitivity that mark particular epistemological strategies carceral bodies employ to navigate this hauntedness.

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[388] Brand, *A Map to the Door of No Return: Notes to Belonging*; Quoted in: Sharpe, *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being*, 83.

[389] Gordon relies on Foucault's conceptualization in which he is not necessarily making an epistemological distinction between the subjugated and the non-subjugated, but rather a political one through which the former's truth claims carry particular political effect: Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*; for further discussion on this distinction, see: Bacchi and Goodwin, *Poststructural Policy Analysis: A Guide to Practice*. I thus wish to extend Gordon's reliance on Foucault's political/ontological formulation to further encompass an epistemic angle, as it has and will be argued throughout this study that careful attention to the carceral subject's fugitive epistemology (or epistemological fugitivity) wields critical insight and insightful critique of a history of racialized captivity.

[390] Gordon, "Methodologies of Imprisonment."

[391] Gordon, 654.

It began by tracing the continuities of disciplinary technologies and discursive strategies reproduced across successive historical periods to keep ‘Coloured’ communities in close proximity to systems of captivity. It used a series of poetry, performance and history workshops with the formerly-incarcerated to engage with this history and generate a series of participant-produced and researcher-produced poems. It used a methodological approach based on expanded and modified iterations of grounded theory, narrative structural analysis and poetic inquiry to analyse the data generated. It concludes that the men experience this particular past through a spectrality wherein the present is bound to the unrelenting presence of slavery. The past of slavery, in other words, is simultaneously present and future, particularly insofar as the meanings of this history remain silenced and, as a consequence, haunting the bodies of further generations who will continue to revolve through the carceral system. What follows is a discussion of this project’s limitations, significance and recommendations for future research.

Limitations

Several limitations haunt this project. It is important to recognise that the analysis and discussion presented throughout this dissertation aims to provide important insight while critically challenge predominant methodological and theoretical approaches and frameworks. However, I acknowledge certain limitations that influenced the data in important ways and that it was not a representative sample. Firstly, the participant group was all male. This undoubtedly shaped the dynamics in a certain way that is difficult to define. While the absence of women participants mean the absence of women’s perspectives and narratives from the participant positionality, yet these dynamics may or may not have also allowed the men to feel like they can open up to each other. Secondly, most of the workshops were conducted in English. While Afrikaans was encouraged and guest facilitators all spoke Afrikaans, the dominance of English is reflected in the poems themselves. Thirdly, the workshops series was arguably too short-lived. While twelve weeks of biweekly workshops seemed adequate at first, we were left with so many topics left to touch on. Related to this point, not enough history was engaged with. Specifically, I would, in retrospect, be curious to know how the group would have engaged with a single *droster* narrative that they tackled together, instead of curated a separate narrative for each participant. There were, of course, technological limitations that have been noted earlier in the thesis. Namely, the first half of the workshop series did not use a reliable recording device that was appropriate for a group setting within the kind of space we normally were in. Finally, the location of the workshops also would have affected the participant pool, excluding many potential candidates who may have found biweekly transport to the central business district (CBD) too large a request, for example. As such, this project does not engage enough with place or class.

Significance

This project attempts to address a very sensitive subject insofar as the topic of slavery has remained silent despite its fundamental role in shaping contemporary South African life. As such, it contributes to a growing body of literature that is seeking to reinvigorate scholarly and public interest in the legacies and importance of Cape slavery. It does so through creative and innovative approaches that may spur more further research projects the centre the arts, community engagement and education and interdisciplinary collaboration. This work contributes to the pursuit of what Ari Sitas has called a 'sociology of civic virtue,' whereby social science in African centres dialogue with ordinary people, not for gathering data but to critically examine, decipher, and unearth rich theoretical content.[392] This thesis contributes to an engaged sociology, or what Michael Burawoy calls public sociology.[393] It further encourages critical and public engagement with sites like the Slave Lodge Museum and the many other key spaces in and around the city that are steeped in the legacy of slavery.

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[392] Sitas, *Voices That Reason*.

[393] Burawoy, *Public Sociology*.

As should be evident by now, this project believes in the transformative power of poetry. For both the marginalised as well as the audiences, poetry possesses the capacity to enrich our understandings of complex issues and narratives. It is the contention of this paper that poetry was not only the benefit of the research participants, but should, hopefully, challenge the readers of this thesis to expand their imaginative capacity to thinking about crime, punishment, and justice. To this end, this research contributes to a call for the justice system to invest in its own literary imagination.[394] Nussbaum has argued that judges who read literary and develop a poetic understanding of people's lives, can become capable of implementing fairer, more balanced and wiser judicial practices. Unfortunately, Nussbaum's ground-breaking argument has not been taken up empirically, nor does this thesis set out to do so. However, it does attempt to use poetry to expand how we understand crime and incarceration, aspiring to encourage further poetic endeavours and greater interest in the poetic lives that the justice system is affecting every day.

There is a growing movement of projects that use the arts as research method and as an approach to work with carceral populations. I wish to highlight some of those here and situate this project within that tradition. To begin, De Mello draws a distinction between arts-based and arts-informed narrative inquiry, where the former uses the arts to gather data and the latter is related to data presentation solely.[395] This research study shows that both are possible and are, in fact, complimentary to develop an analysis that is considerably reflexive while providing participants the platform to shape narratives to their own visions. This thesis also melded together poetry and performance as co-existing art forms with considerable overlap. Indeed, within academia, complimentary to the growing field of poetic inquiry is that of performance studies, the latter of which has pushed a burgeoning interest in performance-based methods.[396] Beyond this democratisation of the researcher-public dynamic with regards to the consumptive process, performance-based methods also carry the potential of shaping the researcher-participant relation as an empowering space, transgressing imaginary borders by privileging an intimate encounter and understanding of the embodied realm of experience.[397]

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[394] Nussbaum, *Poetic Justice: The Literary Imagination and Public Life*.
[395] de Mello, "The Language of Arts in a Narrative Inquiry Landscape."

It also is important to critically reflect on the function and implications of arts-in-prisons programmes, ensuring that they do not serve what Leonidas Cheliotis aptly calls 'decorative justice' ends, or the masking of the carceral state's injustices behind art programmes that ultimately convey imprisonment as benevolent, caring, and fair.[398] From a similar critical perspective, Ashley Lucas points out a common tendency to view arts in prison as exclusively 'therapeutic' or 'rehabilitative' work or to reduce prisoners as "the objects of their own art rather than the agents who created it."[399] The former reduces arts as a means to an end, while the latter treats prisoners' art as "windows into the deviant soul."[400] For Lucas, these trends to treat arts-in-prison work as solely 'therapeutic' or 'rehabilitative' can be contrasted with alternative attempts that emphasize arts-in-prison as community-building, social justice, and the development of new artists and quality craft – art for arts' sake.

Writing on a weekly arts workshop facilitated by Jude Reitman in a North Carolina Women's Prison, Lucas notes how the project shifted artistic medium twice, each time altering the meaning, experience and resulting artwork: "with each shift in the workshop's primary medium from writing to theatre to music, the women's art-making became less individualistic and confessional, more social, and more process-oriented."[401] At first, while still a creative writing workshop, Reitman pushed the women to be unsparingly forthright and truthful with their stories, seeking the "rawness" of their experiences. Through Reitman's rigorous interrogation of their writings' emotional and factual truth and by sharing their work with one another, the writers' experiences were 'therapeutic' and 'cathartic', yet shy from educational or aesthetic.[402] Reitman privileged a specific standard of 'truth' based on her notion of 'factual', which limited explorations into other creative and aesthetic forms of truth. She alludes to scholar Simone Davis' insight as to the treatment of incarcerated peoples:

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[396] Leavy, "Performance-Based Emergent Methods."
[397] Oikarinen-Jabai, "Toward Performative Research: Embodied Listening to the Self/Other."
[398] Cheliotis, "Decorative Justice: Deconstructing the Relationship between the Arts and Imprisonment."
[399] Lucas, "When I Run in My Bare Feet: Music, Writing, and Theater in a North Carolina Women's Prison," 135.
[400] Lucas, 135.

> *"To write as an incarcerated woman is to write into the implicit assumption of predetermined guilt and an oft-reiterated obligation to rehabilitate on paper. The work of emerging from crisis becomes dangerously blurred with mea culpa, and both are stage managed, as much as can be possible, by the correctional context."*[403]

After over a year of creative writing, a shift took place where the incarcerated women had opportunities to perform their written work to outside audiences; this focus on theatrical renderings of their work shifted the focus from being individualistic self-exploratory writings to collaborative group projects produced with public audiences in mind (while still retaining aspects of the former's confessional, therapeutic elements).[404] In a third iteration of the workshops, the writers and (now) performers recruited a songwriter/singer into the group to solidify music as a third element of the productions, while simultaneously a new primary facilitator entered the space, Peter Kramer, a blues and folk musician. Lucas again notes how the groups' focus shifted "more on the [aesthetic] craft of art-making and less on the convention of telling the most painful stories of their lives."[405]

In this regard, it is important to note that the scope of this research project and the workshop periods were not long enough to delve deeply into participants' individual lives.

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[401] Lucas, 137–38.
[402] Lucas, 139.
[403] Davis, "Inside-Out: The Reaches and Limits of a Prison Program," 209.
[404] Lucas, "When I Run in My Bare Feet: Music, Writing, and Theater in a North Carolina Women's Prison."
[405] Lucas, 156.

However, the project did not aim to extract such stories, but rather left it to the participants to determine which lived experiences or aspects of their lives are relevant to the writing exercises and discussion topics covered during the workshops. As with any aspiring artist or writer, arguably, participants would have to participate in multi-year creative writing programs, produce extensive amounts of work, and spend years practicing their crafts before they can organically and authentically write their personal lives into their creative works. It is the hope of this research that such sustained long-term projects are pursued with, for example, incarcerated individuals serving long-term sentences.

On the other hand, while Meiners and Sanabria were very intentional in their objectives of teaching critical thinking and writing with a group of formerly incarcerated women and men, going against general trends of confessional writing programs, they still found participants sticking to what they term the "redemption genre" (e.g. "*I was born, committed evil, served time, saw the errors of my ways (found God), and I am now on the true path*").[406] Their interpretation is insightful: participants' seemingly 'redemptive' style perhaps uses narrative strategies "to destabilize the interpretive process, to leave the desired audience less sure about their ability to know, to empathize, to understand this Other," whereby the writers are negotiating with the Western ways of knowing that readers are bound to rely on, such as empathy, apolitical readings, etc.[407] The data gathering and analysis applied through this dissertation attempts to reconcile Lucas' call for arts-based approaches that forefront participants' artistry with Meiners and Sanabria's recognition of what has elsewhere been referred to as a "hidden transcript", or a strategy employed by the oppressed to critique power without the oppressor understanding.[408] The methodology employed in this research is one that reiterates participants' artistic capacity while allowing analysis to pay closer interpretive attention to inherent opacity of the narrative style. This latter point will be expanded later in this chapter.

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[406] Meiners and Sanabria, "On Lies, Secrets, and Other Resistant Autobiographic Practices: Writing Trauma out of the Prison Industrial Complex."
[407] Meiners and Sanabria, 645.
[408] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*.

As Young-Jahangeer has noted in her work with theatre in a South African women's facility, Western understandings functionally separate art and the 'real world,' whereas African understandings undo this dichotomy to place theatre and healing in greater mutual co-existence.[409] Here, theatre can be fundamentally therapeutic simply by virtue of the interconnectedness between oral storytelling and collective healing. One model that transgresses the paradigms of arts-in-prison as therapeutic or rehabilitative is the Medea Project, a theatre-program created by arts activist Rhodessa Jones at the San Francisco County Jail with women inmates. Using a mixture of theatrical monologues, songs, group dancing and creative writing, Jones' project incorporates mythology and ancient folktale as tools for participants to revisit and ultimately retell their individual stories.[410] Euripides' version of the myth of Medea – which tells a tale of a Greek goddess who commits infanticide in a struggle to free herself from desires for love and revenge – is discussed and debated by the women, who come to varying interpretations of the myth in relation to their own experiences of rage, of committing crimes and of having crimes committed against them. The process creates a space where the women critically analyse (self)destructive behaviours, while celebrating their courage and resistance.

Warner posits that power structures paradoxically create built-in spaces to sanction controlled forms of transgressions in order to induce a relative complicity from under-classes veiled as total disobedience.[411] To this end, conventional narrative forms "encode this systemic interplay of [sanctioned] illegalities," but *myth*, she argues, allow for unauthorised transgressions as myth can be reversed, inverted, and revised. Here, ritual reversal takes a central role. A ritual of matrilineage, for example, asks participating women to genealogically map their ancestral burial grounds by identifying (with) maternal lineages, which is followed by collective affirmation and, then, collective prayer performed with improvisational dance.[412] This ritual positions the women to "claim everything", beginning with a reconstructed past, a present framed with agency ('I *will…*'), and a future with open possibilities.[413]

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[409] Young-Jahangeer, "Working from the inside/out: Participatory Popular Theatre in the Negotiation of Discursive Power and Patriarchy in Female Prisons: The Example of Westville Female Correctional Centre, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa 2000-2004."
[410] Fraden, *Imagining Medea: Rhodessa Jones and Theater for Incarcerated Women*.
[411] Warner, "'Do You Know What Bitch Is Backwards?': Mythic Revision and Ritual Reversal in the Medea Project: Theater for Incarcerated Women."

The Medea Project's approach "collapses time and genre, historical mythical realms [that] allows the participants…to experience an alternative reality," one which instils discipline and coordination through engagement with the mythical goddesses whose stories, in turn, are modified and ritually performed according to participants' imaginative direction.[414] This process, then, places the women in positions to both reclaim and re-narrate their pasts. They use, for example, the myth of Sisyphus to dramatize the cyclical patterns of drug addiction and recovery. Importantly, the Medea Project aims to reimagine community: "short of promising personal salvation, Jones…means her art to build bridges in order to make even the most protected and privileged of spectators feel their connections with those who are not."[415]

Indeed, Warner highlights that the program does not rely on "inspirational, uplifting…rhetoric," relying instead on hardball tough love, despite some participants concerns about triggering traumas and what happens when inmates must return to their cells. The Maroon Project is deeply informed by the work by the Medea Project. Specifically, the performance incorporates the latter's interplay between mythmaking and storytelling. Sara Warner examines this interplay within the Media Project's revision of a Sumerian Queen Inanna myth that tells of her death and rebirth, being called to the underworld by her 'dark sister,' who at first turned Inanna into a corpse and then allowed her to return on the sole condition of send someone in her place, for which Inanna chose her indifferent and ungrateful companion, King Dumuzi.[416] Following the program's call-and-response ethos (the myths are called to the incarcerated women who respond in their own positionalities), they were asked the following questions based on the myth as guidelines to reinterpret the story in their own words:

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[412] Warner, 171–72.
[413] Warner, 173.
[414] Fraden, *Imagining Medea: Rhodessa Jones and Theater for Incarcerated Women*, 69.
[415] Fraden, 3.

1. What was/is your call to the underworld?
2. What were your seven gates of hell? What did you give up?
3. Who is your dark sister? What lured you to her?
4. What is the wisdom of the underworld? What have you learned?
5. What do you have to do to save yourself?
6. Where do your loyalties lie? Who is loyal to you? To whom are you loyal?

Instead of Greek myths, this project relies on narratives of *drosters*. Of course, this is not to reduce the *drosters* to myth, at least not in the sense of undermining either their lived realities or presence in historical and archival records. Rather, it points to the limitations of the curated archive in representing their actual thoughts, beliefs or values. Thus, the palimpsestic historical records of the *drosters* are brought in for discussion with participant groups, but these historical figures are relegated to myth-like characters whose ambitions, dreams and personalities are largely omitted from the archives and, therefore, left to our imagination.

This research projects add to the growing field through several important and novel feats. Firstly, it was highly collaborative, bringing together artists, theatre practitioners and choreographers, poets, and museum experts to develop a multidisciplinary initiative that addressed the topics from various angles. Secondly, it conducted a site-specific approach that engaged with(in) a key historical space of profound relevance to the project. Thirdly, it employs an innovative methodological approach to analyse the data. And fourthly, it tackles certain topics and questions that have mostly been engaged with through historical, sociological and archival analyses, without enough community engagement.

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[416] Warner, "The Medea Project: Mythic Theater for Incarcerated Women."

Recommendations

There are several recommendations I offer here for further research and applications of this research. First and foremost, projects like these should be expanded upon to explore how engagements with history and arts-based practices might benefit other vulnerable groups such as youth. It would be of upmost value to implement a project that goes beyond the confines of the Slave Lodge Museum or other such venue to explore the actual spaces that maroons escaped to and do site-specific work in the unbounded outdoors. There are many sites that require similar and more sustained interventions, including wine estates, public spaces in the city and key buildings.

As mentioned in the limitations, it is highly recommended that similar projects be implemented in collaboration with women participants, especially considering the gendered nature of slavery's history and lasting legacies. It is important to recognise that men must reckon with this history in order to improve the conditions in which we currently find ourselves in South Africa (e.g. unbelievable rates of GBV). Beyond individual projects, however, it is recommended that the State and Province implement a concerted effort to properly engage with the history of slavery in a sustained, informed and creative way so that the enslaved who literally built this city may be justly remembered and current and future generations may understand our relation to that history.

It is perhaps most appropriate to end this dissertation by invoking this language of *summoning*. To invoke the notion hyper-incarceration is to discuss the process of imprisoning thousands of individuals, each of whom must first be summoned by the court to be tried and sentenced. Whereas the carceral state summons individuals for their crimes to then hand out punishments based on personal responsibility, this dissertation summons a broader historical context that has yet to be tried and sentenced for its cyclic crimes of institutional captivity. Likewise, to invoke the notion of haunting to frame the ongoing impacts of the Cape's slaveholding past, in turn, is to embark on a sort of summoning. Far from a ritualistic act of summoning literal ghosts, what I am mean here is a process of calling forth, front and centre, the very ways in which this haunting takes place and shapes the conditions for which the very descendants of the enslaved, 'Coloured' South Africans, now experience the highest rates of imprisonment.

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| Appendix I |

Slave Lodge Museum Workshop Schedule

Outline

Date	No.[417]	Workshop Name	Facilitator	Venue/Location
Aug. 13 (Tues)	1.1	*'Step into the Mountain: in search of…'*	Javier Perez (JP)	Slave Lodge
Aug. 15 (Thurs)	1.2	*'Climb the Mountain I: Re-writing our Origin Myths'*	JP	Slave Lodge
Aug. 20 (Tues)	2.1	*'Climb the Mountain II: Listening to the Sounds'*	JP	Slave Lodge
Aug. 22 (Thurs)	2.2	Slave History & Heritage Tour	Nadjwa Damon (ND)	Slave Lodge
Aug. 27 (Tues)	3.1	'*Excavating the Mountain/Self'*	JP	Slave Lodge
Aug. 29 (Thurs)	3.2	'*The Memory of a Mountain'*	JP	Slave Lodge
Sept. 3 (Tues)	4.1	*'Through the Water'*	JP & Jan-Louise Lewin (JL)	Slave Lodge
Sept. 5 (Thurs)	4.2	Break		
Sept. 10 (Tues)	5.1	*'Stories Housed in the Body'*	JL	Slave Lodge
Sept. 12 (Thurs)	5.2	*'From the Earth'*	JP & JL	Slave Lodge
Sept. 17 (Tues)	6.1	'*Mapping Bondedness*' (Part I)	JP	Slave Lodge
Sept. 19 (Thurs)	6.2	'*Mapping Bondedness*' (Part II)	JP	Slave Lodge
Sept. 24 (Tues)	7.1	*'Listening to the Silences of the Mountain'* (Part I)	Toni Stuart (TS)	Slave Lodge
Sept. 26 (Thurs)	7.2	*'Listening to the Silences of the Mountain'* (Part II)	TS	Slave Lodge
Oct. 1 (Tues)	8.1		JP	Slave Lodge
Oct. 3 (Thurs)	8.2	Haikus	JP	Slave Lodge
Oct. 8 (Tues)	9.1	Slave History & Heritage Tour	ND	Castle of Good Hope
Oct. 10 (Thurs)	9.2	History tour debrief & Group Poem	JP	Slave Lodge
Oct. 15 (Tues)	10.1	*Intro to Performance*	Jason Jacobs (JJ)	Slave Lodge
Oct. 17 (Thurs)	10.2	*Intro to Theatre-making*	JJ	Slave Lodge

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[417] Workshops are numbered according to week and day. For example, the second session on week 2 is numbered 2.2.

Oct. 22 (Tues)	11.1	Feedback Circle	JP	Slave Lodge
Oct. 24 (Thurs)	11.2	*Die Drosters* (Part I)	JP	Slave Lodge
Oct. 29 (Tues)	12.1	*Die Drosters* (Part II)	JP	Slave Lodge
Oct. 31 (Thurs)	12.2	*Die Drosters* (Part III)	JP	Slave Lodge

1.1 | *'Step Into the Mountain: in search of…'* | 13-August

1. Introduction (15 min):
   Circle formation sitting on the floor | Facilitator introduction | Each person will symbolically step into a circle of soil, leaves, rocks, buchu, etc. and introduce your name with a sound and movement (everyone will then echo the name/sound/movement) & why came to the workshop | Upon leaving the circle, each person must pick up and hold onto something that resonates with them or might symbolize them in someway (e.g. a twig, imphepho, rock etc)

2. Group exercise (35 min):

   Warm up exercises (5 min)

   Sculpture Garden (30 min): "Sculpture Garden". 2 or more participants are given a pose by facilitator and freeze in that pose. They have now become statues in display at a museum, and audience analyzes their pose and then give a story to what they think is taking place in that moment. First round **-** Start with obvious depictions;
   Second round **-** Go as wild and abstract as you can;
   Third round **-** Make the story personal (place the self in the image/story)
   Fourth round - In pairs, create own statue/story, while using the objects they picked up earlier

3. Discussion (30 min):

   Intro & Discussion (10 min): Ask "what is poetry?" Discuss its relevance, meaning and tools. Introduce different forms of it.

   Group Reading/Discussion (15 min):
   -Nathan Trantaal – "Delft"

4. Informed Consent (45 min):
   Group Contract (15 min)

   Discussion (20 min.): Go over my study, objectives, aims, and scope. Open it up for questions.
   Signing forms (10 min.): Go over informed consent and participant details forms and give time to read and sign.

5. Closing Ritual (10 min):
   3, 2, 1: Each person shares: 3 things they learned today (not necessarily about poetry, but can be about each other); 2 questions they have for the facilitator; and 1 comment for the rest of the group. Close with a clapping ritual (slowly accelerate clapping and raise voice until a final loud release).

1.2 | *'Climb the Mountain I: Re-writing our Origin Myths'* | 15-August

1. Introduction (25 min):
   Circle formation | Temperature check on a scale of 1-10 | Go around introduce yourself to someone by sharing something unique about self | In the circle, the facilitator then fills a clear bottle with water and some soil (until the water appears dirty or undrinkable), asking the group to think throughout the workshop about how to clarify the water *without pouring any of it out*.

2. Group exercise (15 min):

   Icebreaker (15 min): Untangled – use a long piece of string to tangle the group (by tossing the string across a circle) while sharing their favourite childhood game and task them to get untangled without letting go of the string.

3. Discussion and Activity (30 min):
   Activity & Discussion (25 min): Start with broad ideas on how to clarify the water. Then a discussion of the stigma follows. We revisit the bottle of water as symbolizing stigmatized selves and discuss what it would mean to "make it clear again" as a group. The facilitator unveils an approach is to not remove the water but to instead pour in more water until it overflows and slowly becomes clear again. This becomes a metaphor for removing carceral stigma by constantly writing new poems/stories that "clarify" the complex narratives therein.

   Facilitator recitation (5 min.):
   Facilitator shares/performs "Forts"

4. Writing Exercise (30 min):

   Fill in the blank poem (30 min): Rewrite your origin myth that first juxtaposes their favourite childhood game with prison, followed by a rewriting of one's origins:
   "As a child, I played _______/I became______/The world became_______//Prison is made of_____/I became_____/The world became______/But, in truth, I come from______/I am made of______/I remember______//Prison is______/But I am____." Sharing only on a volunteer basis.

5. Closing Ritual (10 min):
   3, 2, 1: Each person shares: 3 things they learned today (not necessarily about poetry, but can be about each other; 2 questions they have for the facilitator; and 1 comment for the rest of the group. Always close with a clapping ritual.

2.1 | *‘Climb the Mountain II: Listening to the Sounds’* | 20-August

1. Introduction (15 min):

   Circle formation | Temperature check | Pass the Clap game

   Begin a “group contract”: on a poster sheet, list all the rules that the participants wish each other to follow

2. Group exercise (25 min):

   Warm up exercises (5 min)

   Body Language (20 min): Exercise on physical embodiment of emotions and ideas: participants must spread out in the room and use only their bodies to express a range of words chosen by the facilitator, For ex., if the facilitator shouts out “small”, participants must determine what that looks like to them, e.g. curled up on the floor, standing with arms folded, etc. A short discussion (5 min.) follows, reflecting on participants’ experiences.

3. Listening to the Body (15 min):

   Discussion (15 min): Discuss how verbal and body language can inform one another in poetry (e.g. the words “love” vs “like” vs “hate” and how their combinations of consonants/vowels/sounds reflect a physicality of being round/open/soft vs short/finite/harder vs hard/reactionary/closed).

4. Writing Exercise (30 min):

   Rewrite the childhood game poem (or write a follow-up piece) using the 5 words as ‘the spine’ of the poem. Around these five words, write a 5-line poem that reads like instructions to game while also telling the story behind the game.

5. Closing Ritual (10 min):

   3, 2, 1: Each person shares: 3 things they learned today (not necessarily about poetry, but can be about each other; 2 questions they have for the facilitator; and 1 comment for the rest of the group. Always close with a clapping ritual.

2.2 | 22-August

Slave history tour of the Slave Lodge Museum by staff member and collaborator, Nadjwa Damon. Tour covers the following, among other details:

- Colonial construct of "halfslag / volslag"
- Chamber of Orphans, used to manage all slave matters
- First slaves brought to the cape as gifts for VOC officials
- Origins of slaves residing at the Lodge (e.g. Indonesian Archipelago, Africa, China, etc.)
- Number of slaves housed at the Lodge at any given time
- History of "Prize Slaves" and of political prisoners from the Indonesian Archipelago
- Dehumanisation in the hold
- Syphilis and mental illness at the Lodge
- Gynecological testing on enslaved women at the hospital that once stood across from the Lodge
- Column of Memory exhibit and the loss of most slaves' names

At the end, participants journal the following questions:

1. Did any of this history remind of something in your community?
2. Where in the body does this history live for you?
3. During the tour, did you feel any of the history affect you in one place more than the other?
4. What comparisons can you make between the slave hold in the ships and prisons today?

3.1 | *‘Excavating the Mountain/Self’* | 27-August

1. Introduction (5 min):
   Circle formation | Check in using a music artist (e.g. “Today, I feel like Tupac Shakur!”) with the explanation left optional.

2. Group exercise (30 min):
   Refresher of rules, group agreement, and requirements for continuing in the project (15 min)

   Reflections of Tour (10 min): Participants are asked to share one highlight and one lowlight from the tour on Thursday. We revisit the question of “where in the body does this history resonate or live?” with a refresher on the previous sessions on body language.

   Breathing and meditation exercises (5 min)

3. Engagements with the Space (30 min):

   Silent Walk (30 min): Take a silent walk through the Slave Lodge Museum as a group, paying attention to objects, exhibits, and spaces that speak or pull at you. Each time you feel that resonance, write down where and how the body reacts (e.g. beyond just “feel it in the heart”, but a visual of what is happening within the chest).

4. Embodied Revisions (45 min):

   Discussion (15 min): Discussion of how to imagine links between individual and historical narratives. Specifically, how do the childhood games become a space to think about freedom in the Colony?

   Writing Exercise (30 min): Revisit the childhood games poem from week 1, and rewrite it using historical allusions.

5. Closing Ritual (10 min):
   3, 2, 1: Each person shares: 3 things they learned today (not necessarily about poetry, but can be about each other; 2 questions they have for the facilitator; and 1 comment for the rest of the group. Always close with a clapping ritual.

HW: Participants are tasked to bring to the next workshop an item from home that speaks to their own history or heritage (e.g. a cloth passed down from a grandmother; a picture of older generations; a gift from a childhood hero; etc.)

3.2 | *'The Memory of a Mountain'* | 29-August

1. Introduction (5 min):

   Circle formation | Check in using colours (e.g. today, I am yellow) without explanation.

2. Group exercise & reading (30 min):

   Warm up exercises (10 min)

   Group Reading (20 min)
   Etheridge Knight's "The Idea of Ancestry"

3. Diasporic Montage of Memory (40 min):

   Activity (40 min): Take the object each participant was tasked to bring. Spend 10 minutes engaging and sitting with the object, silently going through all the memories of it and interacting with all the details of the object. Then, for 10 minutes, create body movements in reaction to the objects. For another 5 minutes, allow sound to emerge from the movements. Then begin to pair some words to the body movements.

4. Writing Exercise (45 min):

   Freewriting (25 min.): Pick 4 words that emerged. Do 5-minute back-to-back freewriting exercises for each one, with a minute break in between each round.

   Composing the poem (20 min.): Choose the top 2-3 favourite lines from each freewriting exercise and arrange a poem.

5. Closing Ritual (10 min):

   3, 2, 1: Each person shares: 3 things they learned today (not necessarily about poetry, but can be about each other; 2 questions they have for the facilitator; and 1 comment for the rest of the group. Always close with a clapping ritual.

4.1 | ‘*Through the Water*’ | Jan-Louise Lewin | 3-September

1. Introduction (5 min):

   Circle formation | Check in using musicians (e.g. today, I feel like Tupac) without explanation | Introduction to guest facilitator, Jan-Louise Lewin

2. Group exercise & reading (15 min):

   Warm up exercises (10 min)

   In journals, write one word to describe how you feel in your head, heart, and feet.

3. Embodied Memories of the Ship (80 min):

   Before starting, participants must trace both hands (left and right) on two separate pages in their notebooks.

   Guided Meditation in the Ship Exhibition (15 min): As a group, go to the Museum’s exhibition of a recreated part of a slave ship. [Play the O’Jay’s “Ship Ahoy” in background] the group sits in the ship and is asked to embody the memory of slaves’ journeys. With their eyes closed, Jan-Louise guides a meditation exercise that narrates the experiences of slaves while drawing their attention to the bodies’ reactions during this remembering act.

   Guided Meditation by the Courtyard Well (15 min): As a group, go to the courtyard and sit around the well. Once again, with their eyes closed, Jan-Louise guides a meditation exercise that asks participants to remember their experiences of being picked up on their way to prison for the first time: e.g. “try to remember, what was going through your mind that first time? how did it make your hands feel?”

   Past (20 min.): Using freewriting, picture yourself as a child who was taken on that slave ship. Consider, how or where did that child find joy?

   Present (20 min.): Using freewriting, write about that first time being taking to prison. Consider, how or where did you find hope?

   Using chalk, trace one hand on the concrete well. Write three feelings you feel most right now. Do not share but acknowledge these emotions silently. Wash away with water.

4. Closing (10 min):

   Debrief together. Then, in your journals again, write one word to describe how you feel in your head, heart, and feet.

   Always close with a clapping ritual.

5.1 | *Stories Housed in the Body* | Jan-Louise Lewin | 10-September

1. Introduction (10 min):

   Check-in: show how you feeling w/object (embodied) (5min)

Head/Heart/Feet (5min)
recap with this exercise – how are you feeling mentally/emotionally/physically
write it down in the book

2. Group exercise (20 min):

Prepare the bodymap sheets (material: flipchart paper & masking tape) (5min)

Warm ups – body shaping exercise in a circle (15min)
Music i.e. statue game

Prompts:

1. Take the shape of you as a child at the park (*joy*)
2. Take the shape of you running away from something scary (*pain/numb*)
3. Take the shape of a dark cloud on a rainy day (*anger*)
4. Take the shape of a bird in the sky (*freedom*)

3. Bodymapping (80 min):

Music playing softly in background

1. Tracing the shape: lay down on paper, eyes closed, get into most comfortable position, partner traces outline with black khoki (10min)

2. *Stories Housed in the Body (**JL**) (30min)*
~ Explain that I will give x4prompts = x4stories ‘housed’ in the body
~ Think back to an experience/moment/occasion where you felt the most _____, now write that story down IN a SPECIFIC part of the body where you felt it most intently
~ (JOY/PAIN-NUMBING/ANGER/FREEDOM) (*5min each*)

4. Closing Ritual (10 min):

Brief reflection on the bodymapping exercise, go around in circle, each one shares their experience of it. (5min)

Head/Heart/Feet (5min)
recap with this exercise – how are you feeling mentally/emotionally/physically
write it down in the book

Always close with a clapping ritual.

1.2 | *From the Earth* | Javier Perez & Jan-Louise Lewin | 12-September

1. Introduction (15 min):

Circle formation | Check-ins using flowers, in three parts: 1st round, just flowers (no explanations); 2nd round, a description of the flower (its appearance, colours, etc.); 3rd round, a detailed story of the flower (e.g. where it is found)

2. Group exercise (30 min):

Warm ups (5 min)

Cleansing Ceremony (25 min): each personal covers their face in facial mud mask. Then, each takes a piece of paper and peels the mask off to lay on the paper. A short reflection on the masks we wear in our lives.

3. Reading and Freewriting (40 min):

Group Reading & Discussion (20 min)
-Nate Marshall's "Picking Flowers"

Unveil a bouquet of assorted flowers in the center of the circle and each participant is asked to take their preferred flower. A short discussion based on Marshall's poem about the flowers that they carry within them (10 min)

Two freewriting exercises: (1) based on the masks each person wears in life; (2) based on the (hidden) flowers that grow within

4. Writing (30 min):

Self-love intersectionality poem (30 min): Draw a flower where each petal is a different part of one's identity: gender, race, education, location, sexuality, etc. For each petal, write a self-love line or two.

5. Closing Ritual (10 min):

Always close with a clapping ritual.

6.1 & 6.2 | Mapping Bondedness (over two days) | 17 & 19-September

On first day, allow those who missed last Thursday to catch up on individual bodymaps. The rest are painting theirs and putting together a larger bodymap sheets.

1. Warm up and Intro (20 min):

   Check in using a metaphor with a sound

   acCOUNTed FOR: Everyone in a circle, head bowed and eyes closed. One after the other at random order, participants say a number in ascending order starting at 1. The point is to see how far in numbers you can get without more than one person repeating a number or messing up, when you can't see who is speaking, but rather feel for energy.

   Warm ups – body shaping exercise in a circle (15min)

2. Individual Bodymaps (40 min):

   Allow participants time to colour and reflect on last session's bodymaps (10min)

   Poems from the Body (30min)
   ~ Explain the x4prompts for x4 short poems
   ~ Prompt for three-line poem:
   line1 choose a symbol/image to encapsulate the story of the body (draw it) "my_____ houses (symbol/image)"/"My ___ is 'n Huis vir (symbol)". Replace "houses" with one appropriate to the feeling: Joy = Houses/'n Huis; Pain = Cages/ 'n Hok; Anger = Shelter/'n Skuilplek; Freedom = Mountain/'n Berg; Shadow (Skaduwee) = homes/tuis
   line2 one detail of the symbol (colour, shape, texture, smell, size, sound)
   line3 relate YOU to the description from line 2 – how does the description from line 2 also describe you?

3. Collective Bodymapping (30 min):

   2. Walk to the hold again to see the ship and discuss "bonds" (10min)
   3. Discuss vision for exhibition and prepare sheets (3x3 sheets) (10min)
   4. Tracing the shape: 3 people at a time lay down on paper, eyes closed, get into a flat position with wrists and ankles touching, while other half of the group traces outline with black khokis (10min)

4. Closing Ritual (10 min):

   Brief reflection on the bodymapping exercise, go around in circle, each one shares their experience of it. (5min)

   Always close with a clapping ritual.

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worskhop 1: getting comfortable with silence

ROOT:
check-in:
“my name is and if i was a sound, i would be…”

game:
pass the sound: make a silly sound and pass it to the next person, repeat that person’s sound and then turn it into something else

introduce myself:
my name is toni stuart, born in the bo-kaap and grew up in athlone, where my family is from. i am a poet, a performer & a poetry teacher. i run a youth poetry programme at belgravia high school called athlone young poets perform. i come from a long line of silences. it is the silences in my own family, in my own histories and herstories that led to me writing krotoa-eva’s suite, the work you saw me perform. i went looking for stories of where we come from, and who our ancestors are. as a poet, my work is all about silence… sitting in the uncomfortable silences of my history, and the uncomfortable silencing of being born in a skin that is white-passing.

intention for this week:
to discover, listen to, write about and write from the silences in ourselves, in our histories. to explore what they hold and what they might offer us.

BREATHE:
brainstorm:
1) what are the different kinds of silences? wat is die verskillende tiepe stiltes wat ‘n mens kry? soms is ie stilte ‘n goeie ding but then other times it can be uncomfortable. WRITE down as many kinds of silence as you can think of on the flipchart paper

TALK ABOUT: two types of silences: silences that cover up and silences that open up / stilte wat toe maak of toe stiek en stilte wat oop maak
possible prompts if needed:
- the silence of things unsaid / the silence of fear / the silence of grief / the silence of loss

the silence of happiness (when we’re so happy that there are no words to express how we feel) / the silence of death / Sunday afternoons after lunch / silence after rain / silence before dawn / silence of a house at sleep / the silence of shame / the silence of guilt

silence at the top of a mountain/ the silence of peace / the silence of safety / silence of a street before the world wakes / the silence of a cage / the silence of freedom/ the silence of relief

2) what are some of the things in our lives that makes us silent? WRITE down some of the things in your lives that make you silent

body maps– where does silence live in me?:

1. go to your body map and identify two silences:
    - a) a silence that covers up… place a piece of fabric on your body map, where that silence is
    - b) a silence that opens up… a silence that you could speak into it, or write about

2. choose one of the silences you identified, and we are going to write about them.
- if i could smell this silence, it would smell like / as ek die stiltle kon ruik, sou dit soos …. ruik
- if i could taste this silence, it would taste like / as ek die stilte kon proe, sou dit soos… proe
- if i could touch this silence, it would feel like / as ek die stilte kon raak, sou dit soos … voel
- if i could hear this silence it would sound like / as ek die stitle kon hoor, sou dit soos … klink
- if i could see this silence it would look like /as ek die stilte kon sien, sou dit soos … lyk
- the last time i felt this silence in my body was / die laaste keer toe ek die stilte in my liggaam gevoel het, was…

MOVE:

closing circle:
- one thing you learnt today
- one thing you learnt about yourself today
- one word about how you feel right now

close with Javier’s clapping ritual

—

worskhop 2: writing from/ with/ through silence

ROOT:
check-in:
"my name is and if i was silence, I would be..."

BREATHE:
reading – A Litany for Survival by Audre Lorde:
- divide the poem into sections and ask each person to read a section [including Javier & Toni]
- read through the poem, a second time, on your own, and underline any striking lines [explain what striking lines are]
- in a different colour: underline any lines or words you don't understand
- write in your notebooks, just the first thoughts that come to mind:
    - how does the poem make you feel? [confused, unsure are also valid feelings]

    - what does the poem make you think about?
    - what questions do you have for the poet?
    - re-write 1 of the striking lines & write down why it stands out for
    - re-write 1 of the lines you don't understand

- group discussion: share our answers with each other
- "the heavy-footed hoped to silence us"
- what would you say, if you knew tomorrow was your last day on earth?

writing 1:
working from the Audre Lorde poem:

- if today was my last day on earth, the silence I would break is
- one thing I am afraid of saying is....
- one thing I am not afraid of saying is...
- if I knew that I would live forever, the silence I would keep is

writing 2:
working with the second silence on body maps:

if this silence was an animal, it would be a.... because....
describe the sound your animal makes
describe the way your animal moves
if this animal / sound could talk to you, what would it say/tell you?
this animal lives in my _______ (name body part)
I feel it move when _______
it is the colour of ___________
it is the sound of ______
it smells ______

MOVE:

closing circle:

- one thing you learnt today
- one thing you learnt about yourself today
- one word about how you feel right now

close with Javier’s clapping ritual

8.2 | *‘Haiku’* | 3-October

1. Introduction (10 min):

   Warm ups

2. Group exercise (30 min):

   Group Reading and Discussion: Etheridge Knight’s “Haiku”

   Discuss how to write a haiku and come up with examples as a group

3. Writing Exercise (80 min):

   Haiku [40 min]: Revisit the bodymaps. Choose a story and reread it to yourself. Write a haiku based on that story: for first line, choose an object from that story. Second line, choose one detail based on the senses as discussed in Toni’s sessions (e.g. colour, sound, shape, feel, etc.) that is symbolic. Third line, explain the deeper meaning of the object and story as a whole, e.g. why is it meaningful to you?

   Sharing [40 min]: Each person voluntarily shares and the group provides feedback

4. Closing Ritual (10 min):

   Brief reflections.

   Always close with a clapping ritual.

9.1 | Second History Tour | Nadjwa Damon | 8-October

Tour of the Castle of Good Hope by Iziko Museums staff member and collaborator, Nadjwa Damon

9.2 | Second History Tour Debrief | 10-October

Informal/unstructured debrief of the history tour

10.1 | ‘Intro to Performance’ | Jason Jacobs | 15-October

1. Introduction (10 min):

   Introducing guest facilitator, Jason Jacobs. Jason asks group for their vision of the performance (e.g. “What do you want to get out of this [performance]? Where do you want to take this?”) and what creative skills they’ve always wanted to do (e.g. sing, dance, act, etc.).

2. Writing exercise (30 min):

   Childhood Monologues (15 min): Go outside in the courtyard and free-write a response to your younger self who is asking the question “what do you remember when you were my age?”

   Come back together and share.

   Mythical/Bang maak Monologues (15 min): Think of something that happened in your life that it’s hard to imagine this actually happened to someone. Write it from what you remember. Put the pieces together from what you know. Consider, for example, the ghost stories we heard when we were young; you can also think of it as an ancestor’s story or something you tell around the fire.

   Come back together and share.

3. Group exercise (20 min):

   In pairs, devise 1-minute silent performances of the mythical monologues, using only the body to retell the story.

4. Closing Ritual (10 min):

   Debrief on the exercises.

HW: Each person is tasked to bring a meaningful object from home to the next session.

10.2 | ‘Intro to Theatre-Making’ | Jason Jacobs | 17-October

1. Introduction (10 min):

   Ask everyone to get one poem out, including facilitators.

   Exercise: Open up the space and breathing. Tap the body to awaken the muscles.

2. Gestures (30 min):

   Discuss what is a ‘gesture’ as a way of communicating with your body.

   Each person reads his poem. After he finishes reading, one person from the group responds; attention is given to respondents’ body/gestural movements.

3. Theatre-Making Exercise (80 min):

   Each person finds a station (there are five ‘platforms’ scattered around the room; e.g. tables, plinths; etc.) and is given five random small objects (e.g. balloons, string, plastic balls, etc.). Create a threatre-performance on the platforms using only the materials. Rules: (1) create three ‘acts’ (sections) based on the poem/story; (2) you don’t have to use all the material, but can only use the material that you were given (randomly); (3) you’re not allowed to act yourself – i.e. the body is not part of the performance – except at the end where you finish with a gesture; and (4) include two or three phrases from the poem (can be placed anywhere across the acts or save all for the very beginning or end).

4. Closing Ritual (10 min):

   Presentation of all the performances.

11.1 | Feedback Circle | 22-October

Informally invite participants to share one poem each that they would potentially perform in the production. The group provides feedback.

11.2 | ‘Introduction to *Die Drosters*’ | 24-October

1. Introduction (30 min):

   Check-ins

   Follow up on group feedback from previous day

2. Group exercise (60 min):

   Discussion of *die drosters* history (briefly, as it’s been alluded to throughout the project). In pairs, each person will read his partner’s curated *droster* story to him. Once finished, discuss a list of questions that relate to both *die drosters* and the personal.

3. Closing Ritual (15 min):

   Debrief

12.1 | ‘*Die Drosters* (Part II)’ | 29-October

1. Introduction (10 min):

   Check-ins

2. Group Discussion (45 min):

   Each person shares in his own words a summary of his given *droster* story, specifically reflecting on what meanings the story has for him. The group offers some feedback on how to “make the story your own.”

3. Closing Ritual (10 min):

   Debrief

12.2 | ‘*Die Droster* (Part III)’ | 31-October

1. Introduction (10 min):

   Check-ins & Warm ups

2. Group exercise (40 min):

   Re-writing history (30 min): Participants are tasked to divide the *droster* stories into sections/acts and write one word for each that summarises it. Each person, then, assigned three or four words to the story.

   A Collective History: Once everyone is done, facilitator writes down all the words together on one large flipchart paper.

3. Image Theatre (80 min):

   Round 1 - Group stands in a circle. One person steps into the circle as facilitator chooses one word from the flipchart and creates an image for the word using only the body. Then, the next person enters and adds to this image based on the same word. Until everyone has contributed a pose to a group image for that word. Repeat this same image a few times to ensure the group remembers the pose for this image. Repeat for each word on the flipchart (or, if time is short, at least one word from each story).

   Round 2 – Get into one of the images/poses created in Round 1 in the same order as they were added. This time, each person must say a sentence related to that word as they enter the image.

   Round 3 – Repeat round 2’s actions but go against the elements this time. E.g. do the images and sentences with one word as in Round 2 but, for example, do it against fire or in a body of water.

4. Closing Ritual (10 min):

   Debrief about the exercise, noting how participants interpreted the histories using only their bodies and the intuitive phrases that they came up with in those poses. That is, connect the body imagery and phrases as poetic interpretations or deeper meanings that relate to the *droster* stories.

| Appendix II |

Droster Stories

TABLE MOUNTAIN | 1760[418]

Michael Smuts was a slaver who lived in Oranjezicht. All the slaves in his household were from Indonesia and India. One of them, Cupido van Bougis, ran away to join a gang of more than a dozen drosters who lived in the caves of Table Mountain where they resisted by throwing heavy stones. After two of their gang members were shot and killed in the winter of 1760, their leader Fortuijn van Bougis suggested that they steal what they needed from the farmers.

Cupido then suggested they murder Smuts and take his firearms. On July 14, 1760 the gang descended from the mountain and hid near the kraal, while Cupido visited his fellow slave Achilles van die West Coast, who had a grudge against Smuts for punishing him for not selling enough vegetables. At 8pm, Cupido, Fortuijn and another slave named Baloc entered the kitchen of Smuts home, and proceeded to murder the unsuspecting Smuts, his wife and their elder 5-year old son. Two others, Julij and Adonis, went through the house and stole three muskets, lead and powder, and some linen and silverware. The 13 drosters headed north to hideout in the Blouberg dunes, where they survived with mussels and with sheep stolen from a government post at Milnerton.

The group also got help from slaves from Plattekloof farm in Tygerberg Hills, who supplied food and tobacco to the fugitives by hiding these supplies in bushes each Friday. Because a reward was offered for information, a woodcutter slave named Boone van Bougis informed authorities of their location. Boone was granted freedom for this. After the Castle knew where the droster gang was hiding, they sent 10 soldiers and armed farmers to confront them at Swartklip (modern-day Mitchells Plain). Two drosters were shot dead and their corpses were displayed publicly as a warning to other slaves. One soldier was also shot dead. The remaining drosters escaped to Plattekloof, where they consulted a wise slave shepherd and healer named September van Bougis, who practiced *mujarrabat* (spiritual remedies). September was a mystic man for whom they had great respect. September provided food and healed one of the droster's hand that was shot by using saliva and binding it.

Later, authorities took in one wounded droster, January van Bougis, along with Achilles of the West Coast, September van Bougis, seven slaves from Plattekloof farm, and three other slaves from other farms, all for allegedly aiding the drosters. All but two of these men were from Indonesia and India, with at least five from Bougis (a group from the island of Sulawesi). Most were executed. But in September's home, authorities found a letter written in Buginese by another slave named Upas sent to September seeking healing. To this day, it remains the only letter on record written by a slave. September was not involved in the murder of the Smuts family, nor was he a runaway slave. But in the eyes of the government he was a dangerous man due to his literacy. He was taken to the Castle of Good Hope and interrogated mercilessly — asked to name the author of the letter, he was asked to provide more information about drosters and he was accused of organizing a slave rebellion. September refused to give any information.

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[418] https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/cape-argus/20121011/281784216323643; https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/cape-argus/20121018/281767036463899; https://medium.com/@ibtisaamahmed/mutiny-murder-and-a-mystic-7cbcb996e84e

When he was sentenced to death, September uttered not a single cry of pain and the only words that escaped him was the dual shahada, or Islamic declaration of faith in Arabic — There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is His Messenger.

What caves and mountains have you escaped to and hid in throughout your life?

What have you tried to run away from? What are you still trying to escape from?

Which droster from the story do you connect with the most, and why?

Who, in your life, was the Boone van Bougis? Do you blame him for his actions?

September van Bougis was seen as a dangerous man simply for having a letter written by slaves. Given this history, what does it mean for you to be writing poetry?

If you were in the courtroom the day he was sentenced to death, what would you say to September van Bougis?

How would you react to hearing September's last words?

CONSTANTIA | 1712[419]

On October 20, 1712, 23 slaves and political exiles ran away from the Cape, after first gathering at Constantia, the renowned wine farm belonging to Simon van der Stel, a former governor of the Cape who died in June 1712. When the deserters met at the farm, slaves of Constantia reported them. The interference became the first of many incidents that defeated the escape. The plan was led by a Company slave, Lampi. He was optimistic that he could avoid the failures of unsuccessful escapes. He had spoken to Company slaves who had escaped and been recaptured, he understood their failures and came up with a plan. Lampi wanted to escape as a group to undermine the Company, so he recruited fellow slaves who he felt could manage the plan. He moved around often and had friends all over, including at places like the Slave Lodge and Castle.

Lampi's recruitment began after he met Santri, a political exile and imam, also known as Souka Tappa. Santri lived at Constantia, and Lampi confided in him the desire to escape. Santri agreed to run away and offered his house as a place where the deserters could meet on the day of the desertion. Santri came from the village in Batavia. When Santri and Lampi together approached other potential drosters, Santri said, "We are free, you are slaves. Come on, let's run away."

All the drosters in Lampi's gang followed Islam. In preparation, the group of deserters gathered three flintlocks, three pikes, a sword, and a pistol. On the day of the planned escaped, the other slaves from the wine farm were tending the gardens and other chores. It was while engaged in this work that the captives of the farm spotted the Company slaves coming to Santri's house. One in particular, Fabia, reported these unknown men to the main authority of the farm, Phillip Constant, who took over since Simon van der Stel's death. Fabia was regarded as a trusted slave and had been granted freedom in van der Stel's will. The farm captives exposed the drosters for several reasons, one main reason being the threat of punishment if caught failing to report intruders.

Constant rounded up 20 slaves to investigate Fabia's report. On his way to Santri's house, Constant commanded these slaves to pursue six drosters he saw heading up the mountain. They eventually captured the fugitives, bound their hands, and led them back to Santri's house. Chaos unfolded at Santri's house when Santri refused to expose his visitors. Constant demanded that Santri open the door and when Santri refused, he broke the padlock. Fearing the escape had been exposed and they would be arrested, four escapees inside the house dashed out and attacked Constant with pikes. Constant overcame their onslaught and even though Lampi had a pistol, two others each had a flintlock, and another had a sword, none of the drosters used their weapons. This may have been due to the tradition in Indonesia of carrying arms as symbols rather than for actual defense.

One of the drosters managed to free the drosters who were captured on the mountain. All of the droster gang shouted "Amok!" a malay word for which was a war cry. Constant commanded his slave party to retreat while Lampi ordered the escapees to take food and their belongings and to run. Ultimately, 14 of the 23 escapees were captured and taken to Cape Town to be tried. As prisoners, they were interrogated by a prosecutor, who expressed distaste for Islam, for Santri, and at the prisoners having shouted "Amok" at the farm. Referred to as a "so-called holy man", a "sanctimonious and deceitful paap", and a "crafty villain", Santri was tried and tortured for his faith as much as he was judged for his leadership role in the escape. Santri stated he would “die rather than confess.”

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[419] Paulse, Michele (2014). "'We are free, you are slaves. Come on, let's run away': Escape from Constantia, 1712."

In your life, what mountains have you tried to run away on, only to be caught?

What have you run away from in your life? What are you still trying to escape from?

Which droster from the story do you connect with the most, and why?

Santri and Lampi recruited other drosters by saying “We are free, you are slaves. Come on, let’s run away.” What words were spoken to you when you were recruited into a life of gangs and/or crime?

Was there a Fabia in your life? Do you blame him/her for their actions?

The drosters had weapons but did not use them because these were symbolic rather than actual defense. What have weapons symbolised in your life?

The drosters were prosecuted not just for their actions, but for saying the Malay word, “Amok!” Have you been treated unfairly for your faith?

CEDARBERG MOUNTAINS | 1770-1800[420]

In the Cedarberg during the rainy seasons in the Cape Colony, it was a time of movement as farmers moved their animals down to other farms in warmer areas to avoid the freezing rain and snow. For the slaves and Khoi servants, these long journeys with livestock offered a chance to mingle and connect with other slaves and servants from different regions. It also gave many opportunities to escape, as they moved among strangers, were granted legal permission to move publicly, and had with them plenty of livestock. The mountains also offered refuge, or shelter.

The name Cedarberg did not feel right to the Khoi and enslaved, so in the mouths of the drosters, the name changed to *Zuurbergen*. These mountains provided an open wilderness of sandstone and fragrant fynbos. Thus, in the winter of 1793, the slave Adam deserted his master, Jochem Scholtz. When Adam was interrogated later on, his reason for escaping and rejecting enslavement came down to a simple answer: he had run away because he had not been given any clothes.

The reasons likely went deeper, as Jochem was reputably violent to this slaves and servants. Jochem's brother, Hermanus, carried the same reputation. For example, in 1792, Hermanus beat the pregnant wife of his Khoi servant, who was named Jan Swart. This woman, Sarmentje, ran away. Jan Swart ran away later as well. The couple, Sarmentje and Jan, hid in the Cedarberg mountains not far from the farm before Jan's brother, Claas, joined them. Claas's wife, Lena and their one-year child soon joined the growing droster gang, followed by Griet, the sister of the Swart brothers. Claas was so scared of being caught, he ordered Lena to kill their baby to stop it from crying. Claas then went berserk and beat Lena to death. Nevertheless, hunger and fear ultimately defeated the gang and they were forced to return to the farm. Adam must have learned enough from the group's mistakes, and headed in different routes.

When Adam escape, with him was a Khoi woman, Jannetjie, whom he saw as his wife and with whom he had a child, a boy named April. They soon encountered the runaway slaves Africa and Cupido van Malabar. Then, the group was joined by more Khoi *drosters,* Steenbok, Lammert, and Picqueur. The droster, Africa, emerged as the leader of the gang and was a convincing, possibly forceful, recruiter. The gang soon moved southwards, to the Winkelhaak Kloof where they kept within striking distance of the isolated farms to survive off stolen livestock. The resources and strength of the group was enlarged when two more drosters joined them, Rooi and Willem Miej.

The gang would later rob a farm in Eylands Kloof and be on the run as an armed group was sent to capture them. When they reached the Bokkevelt mountains, the group split up. Adam, April, Cupido and Jannetjie attempted to go north to Namaqualand, but did not succeed. Jannetjie and April wend to a farm while Adam eventually returned to the Scholtz's. Adam was taken to trial for the robbery and murders at the farm in Eylands Kloof.

Under Africa's leadership, the rest of the gang remained in Cedarberg and began a dangerous game of robbing farmhouses. An armed group of baptized Khoi servants were sent to capture the group. At Eylands Kloof farm, they found a bloodstained hat. Africa, Willem and two others were soon captured by two Khoi servants on another farm. Somehow, Africa broke his bonds and escaped, never to be recaptured. Rooi and Lammert, however were tracked down and, in a refusal to surrender, were gunned down. Lammert fell dead, but Rooi was wounded and escaped.

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[420] Penn, Nigel (1999). *Rogues, Rebels and Runaways: Eighteenth-Century Cape Characters*.

Four days later, in a nearby farm, the Khoi servant Booij reported a suspicious-looking man amongst the sheep. Rooi was sharing a pipe with the shepherd slave, Jephta. The farm’s owner, Joseph Joosten accused Rooi of stealing his sheep, and Rooi ran as Joosten fired at him. Rooi fell and Joosten came closer to check. Rooi then sprang up and began running again. More fighting and injuries followed, but the batter and seemingly indestructible Rooi escaped again. Eventually, he was tracked again and, this time, went quietly to stand trial alongside Adam. Adam and Willem Meij were sentenced to be hanged, and their bodies to be suspended until the birds and the air “cleansed their bones of flesh.” Rooi was sentenced to wear a noose around his neck, his body bound to a pole, and then to be whipped and branded; then, Rooi would be chained and put to hard labour for the Company for life.

In your life, what was the Cedarberg mountains where you tried to run away?

What have you run away from in your life? What are you still trying to escape from?

Which droster(s) from the story do you connect with the most, and why?

What part of the story resembles something you have experienced?

Adam says he ran away because he had not been given any clothes. What does this symbolise in your life?

The incident of Claas and Lena reveals that the harsh treatment of the masters was so cruel it was preferable to kill their own child rather than return to these conditions. How does it relate to your experiences of parenting (either your own parents' actions or your actions as fathers)?

If you could speak to one of the drosters, what would you say? What would you ask?

Sila van de Kaap | 1806 – 1830[421]

In the Cape Colony, Sila van de Kaap was first enslaved by a widow called Hendrina Jansen, who died in 1806. In her will, Hendrina said that Sila and her other slaves be set free. However, Sila did not obtain her freedom. Four years later, she was sold to Carl Hancke in Cape Town, where she gave birth to Carolina, Camies and Baro.

In 1817, after a heated legal dispute between Theron and Hancke over the ownership of the slave woman, Sila and her children were transported to a farm in Plettenberg Bay. At this place, Sila and Baro were repeatedly whipped and flogged by their new owners, Jacobus van der Wat and his wife; Carolina and Camies were sold to another farmer.

In December 1822, after a terrible beating that left Baro with serious injuries, Sila killed her son with a knife. Then, she escaped from the farm to turn to her neighbor, a militia officer named Witte Drift, where she confessed the crime. Complaining about her master's cruelty and brutality, she was examined by the district's surgeon, who discovered a number of bruises on Sila's body and confirmed her story of mistreatment. Sila, driven by extreme sorrow and utmost despair, decides to take the life of her child in order to protect him from further pain and harm.

In March 1823, Sila was brought to trial for *kindermoord*. In court, her fellow slave Jephta was asked to testify against Van der Wat. Instead of corroborating Sila's version of events, Jephta called her a drunkard and described his master as a kind and good-natured man. Sila herself refused to give an account of the crime and her motives, knowing that the judge and authorities would never believe or empathise with her, nor punish her abusive master. Instead of confessing, she utters only one word: *hartseer*.

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[421] https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/j.ctv1wxt1v.8.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A2019dfc056ca33fc0a00298be87da8c9

Sila’s story was silenced. Her voice is nowhere to be found and she felt she could not tell her truth. Instead, Jephta and others gave her a bad reputation. What do you think Sila would say if she could speak freely?

What would Baro say if he could speak?

If you were in the courtroom during her trial, what would you say to Sila?

Who was the Jephta in your life or family history?

Sila could have said any word in her trial, but instead only said *hartseer*. What is the *hartseer* in your mother’s life?

Sila was supposed to be set free. How would the story have gone differently, you think?

| Appendix III |

Informed Consent Form

CONSENT FORM

Invitation

You are invited to participate in a research study being conducted by a Doctoral student in Sociology at the University of Cape Town (UCT). The purpose of this study is to explore the **meanings incarcerated 'Coloured' men attach to prison gangs through historically-informed poetry workshops**.

Participation Requirements:

If you decide to participate in this study, you will be asked to participate in two **one-on-one interview**, a **series of poetry and performance workshops with other participants**, and finally **a public performance** after the workshops are done. The interviews should take about one hour each. The workshops will be two-hours each and take place twice a week. Any writing or spoken information from the workshops and interviews may be used as data for the study. Should you be **involved in any infractions** against the venue, fellow participants, or researcher, you will forfeit your place in this study. Should you **miss an interview or workshop**, you risk forfeiting your place in this study and may be asked not to return.

I …………………………………………… give permission to
…………………………………….. from Sociology department at The University of Cape Town to interview me. I am of consenting age (18 and over).
I give permission for my **photographs**, **poetry**, **video footage** and/or **audio recordings** to be taken of me during the workshops and/or interviews, which may be used on any platform the researcher sees fit for the purpose of the study. I agree for the workshop media footage/poems/materials to be used in **publications, or television, or online media platforms** that the researcher represents. The researcher will share the final production of the media footage/materials with the me (participant) to use for advocacy purposes and research reports.

No exclusions (can use real name, surname and photograph/video)	☐
Don't use my real name and surname	☐
Don't use my photograph	☐
Other (please specify):	☐

The terms of this agreement have been explained to me, and I understand them fully.
Agreed on this date: ___________________________ in ______________________________ (area/city)
Signed by participant:
____
Signed by researcher:
____
Signed by witness/representative present during the workshop:
____

| Appendix IV |

Personal Information Form

BONDED: THE ADVENT OF THE MAROONING GANG

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Participant Name: ______________________________

Preferred Name/Nickname: ______________________________

Please complete all sections:

1. Race: ____

2. Gender:

Male ☐
Female ☐
Other ☐

3. Age: ____

4. Current Location/Area: ______________________________________

5. Language:

	Excellent	Good	Poor
Spoken language	☐	☐	☐
Written language	☐	☐	☐

Preferred language ______________________________________

6. Disability(ies):

Physical ______________________________________

Learning ______________________________________

7. Highest Level of Education: ______________________________________

8. Membership in a Gang:

Currently ☐
Previously ☐

Never ☐

9. Are you on Parole?:

Yes ☐
No ☐

10. Any other restrictions to participation? *(please explain)***:** ________________________

Participant	**Date**	**Signature**
Researcher	**Date**	**Signature**