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A F R I C A N S T U D I E S I N S T I T U T E

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Title: Songs of Town & Country: The Experience of Migrant Men and Women from the Northern Transvaal.

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Songs of town and country: the experience of migrant men and women from the northern Transvaal

We dance in Alex
Our koša is called DitŠhweu tŠa Malebogo
The beautiful DitŠhweu which are known from far
Malebogo is not a place for settling, it is a place for heroes
It is a place for the children of women
Iiuu! I am a Venda, I don't despise myself
I am from Ga-Ramapulana
At Mphephu's place
At Kgothama.
I am an elephant of Mmakala of Phumuga
The head of Phumuga Melala
I am Maleaka who tricks men in the valley
My middle name is Ngaletsane.

Until the weekend early in March 1991 when the No 1 Men's Hostel in Alexandra was transformed into a battlefield, the piece of open ground adjoining it was a focus of intense musical activity during the weekends. On a Sunday afternoon, this began in a fairly desultory way, gradually building up into a fever pitch of excitement by around 5.30. Sometime after midday, the blowing of a shrill whistle would be heard, causing individual men dressed in everyday clothes to dislodge themselves from groups of drinkers sitting around on tins in makeshift shebeens under tattered plastic shading. Grouping themselves on one side of the drummers who began to play a set of hide-covered drums, and each blowing a note on a single aliminium pipe hanging around his neck on a piece of thong, they started by dancing the regimental monti, associated with military attack, and with the return of boys from initiation. These were the dinaka (a term referring to the pipes, but also applying to the group of musicians) of SK Alex.

As the drumming and dancing progressed through a series of different rhythms, a small crowd would gather. At the end of this first performance, the men retreated into the hostel to change into their full dancing gear. This included authentic Scottish kilts, white boxer shorts, white tennis shoes, white shirts with collar, seedpod leg-rattles and headdresses with ostrich feathers and goats' horns. During their next performance, and during a third one right at the end of the afternoon, the crowd gathering to watch this performance increased in size and in enthusiasm until it was pressing inwards, threatening to engulf the dancers in its midst. It would be kept at bay, with difficulty, by "policemen" wielding whips.

In a different part of the open ground, a performance by a different dinaka might begin, sometimes even overlapping with

the one which began before it. Each dinaka represents the Alexandra branch of a broad constituency of worker/musicians from a particular home area in the northern Transvaal/Lebowa. Thus, for example, SK Alex are the dancers from Sekhukhuneland in Alexandra, but there are also groups representing Matlala, Moletse, Molepo and others. One group is easily distinguished from others by its name painted on the side of its drums.

Between performances by dinaka, a number of women would gather around the drums to do a performance of their own. Their dress, like the men's, was uniform: layers of different coloured cloths tied around the waist, embroidered cotton smocks, headcloths of netting or velveteen, numerous beaded necklaces and anklets, and legrattles made of plastic from milk-bottle containers. These clothes are maapara a setšo (traditional Pedi dress). The women sang rather than playing pipes, and their dances were somewhat more sedate than those of their male counterparts.

These were members of koša (meaning "song" but also referring to the group of musicians). In most cases, a dinaka has a koša as its partner, which uses the same drums and performs in between its performances.

The account which follows is based on interviews and informal meetings with members of dinaka and koša.(1) It attempts to outline some of the contrasts between the experiences of male and female members/performers. Although these contrasting experiences may be similar to, or in some senses emblematic of, the broader experiences of northern Transvaal migrants in general, it is not my intention to emphasise representivity.

The men concerned belong to at least a second generation of migrants, all having had fathers who were migrants as well: the women, in contrast, all came from the first generation of female migrants in their families. For men, correspondingly, there were certain customary responses to migrancy, while for women these were yet to be developed.

"Tradition" and the migrant way of life for men and women

Like their dress, the music performed by dinaka and koša next to the Alexandra hostel is thought of by its proponents and its audience as traditional - wa setšo - and Pedi in origin - wa sePedi. The notion of tradition has been shown by various scholars to be a highly-charged and emotive one, whether manipulated by colonisers, governments and elites to justify their actions,(2) or used by common people to lend moral weight to their contemporary cultural expressions.(3) Ethnomusicologists bewail the fact that traditional music is disappearing, while communities of migrants create new songs and dances out of old ones, and insist that these are time-

honoured and unchanging.(4)

An investigation into the precise origins of, inspirations behind, and roles played in everyday life by "traditions" can help to illuminate why these are thought of by their users as so important. But in the case of the music of Pedi and other northern Transvaal migrants, it will be shown in this paper that "tradition" may mean something very different for women to what it does for men.

From certain areas of the northern Transvaal, as from other areas of South and southern Africa, men have been migrating to work on the Reef for long enough to have laid the basis for a distinct way of life and accompanying forms of cultural expression. These in themselves have in some cases come to have the weightiness of "tradition". Dinaka is a good example. It appears to have acquired its current uniform and many of its accompanying features in an urban context, and indeed is only ever played in town nowadays, except when migrants return home for some occasion or are paid to perform at a rural venue.

The honouring of custom in the migrant man's way of life is evident not only in a thing like the performance of music, but also in the succession of stages followed by such a life, and the roles played in it by co-migrants from home.

Lucas Sefoka - nicknamed "Boom" after the street in Pretoria where he first worked - is a good example. He was born in 1944 in Sefoka village, Masemola district, in setšhabeng, the part of the village occupied by traditionalists rather than Christians. He attended school up to Std. 3 but, shortly after completing the first stage of initiation, bodikana, he and others of his regiment ba tshabetše maburung (ran away to the place of the Boers). They walked to Marble Hall, where they found employment with a farmer who paid them L1 a month to harvest tobacco and peanuts, and accommodated them in a dormitory. Although their leaving home was conceived of as "running away", it was something which parents had learned to expect: these youths' older brothers had done so, and their younger ones would follow suit eventually. While working on the farms, they remitted a small amount of money, and in between jobs they returned home for a period to complete the last stage of initiation - bogwera.

After about five years of farm work Boom and his paternal cousin Philip Sefoka decided to go by Railway bus to Pretoria to look for better-paid jobs. Although they had not informed any of their relatives in Pretoria of their intention, and were apprehensive about arriving unawaited in a place with so many people, they were fortunate to see a man of the same age-group - and from a neighbouring village - at the station, who took them to sleep in the backyard room of an old man

from Sefoka village. Soon, both men had been fixed up with jobs as gardeners and accommodation through contacts with bagagešu (home men), and had been introduced to the Mamelodi branch of the Sekhukhuneland dinaka players. When, a year later, Lucas left Pretoria to work in Johannesburg at a job found for him by his maternal cousin, he was transferred to the Alexandra branch, of which he is currently the malokwane (leader).(5)

The significance of people from home in this man's life has been considerable. They helped to ease his passage from one job to another, and to provide accommodation during a period of unemployment following an industrial accident. They are his constant companions during leisure time. The continuities of association, from co-villagers and co-initiates to urban companions and work mates, has strong echoes of migrant association from an earlier period among workers from the same region.(6) What is strikingly similar to male migrant organisation documented in other parts of Africa, too, is the degree of overlap between groupings at different levels of incorporation.(7) Some of Boom's closest associates are not only members of the same dance group, but also family members, co-initiates, people from the same village, and members of the same burial society. In some cases, though not in that of Boom, these people share the same hostel accommodation on the Reef as well.

The memberships of these different groupings are not identical - dinaka has a far wider catchment area in Lebowa than just Sefoka village, and there are migrants from Sefoka working in north-eastern Johannesburg who do not play dinaka in Alexandra. Nevertheless, the siutation is strongly comparable to that described by Clegg for Zulu migrant men:

> "In the hostel they have a burial society, a drinking club, a savings club, a dance team. So the dance team becomes incorporated into the home-boy structure".(8)

A further similarity to migrant groupings documented elsewhere in Africa lies in these men's strong commitment to home.(9) One manifestation of this is in the paying of regular remittances, and of frequent visits, to dependents in the countryside.(10) Accompanying this are fairly predictably conservative attitudes about the appropriate behaviour for a wife. These range from an insistence that women who seek work in town are going against "our culture" and a fear that such women will spoil those at home by showing them township manners, to the opinion that a woman may come to town after marriage at her husband's bidding, but only as a prelude to returning home to establish a homestead.(11)

This image of the typical male working life spent mostly in town, with its corollary of his wife obediently performing

childrearing and agricultural duties in the countryside, has a parallel in the developent of mmino wa setšo (traditional music) itself. Sam Ntshabeleng, for example, learned to play dinaka in his village, but now performs and practices only in town where he works. His wife, in her separate realm in the village, belongs to koša and sings a rural women's style of music called makgakgasa which, although revitalised and influenced by urban performance, has lyrics and contexts concerned primarily with the life of a rural woman.(12)

An examination of contrasting male and female experience in this context would involve looking into the relationship between migrant men and their wives. In anthropology, studies have been conducted, focussing either - most frequently - on the rural end of the rural/urban dichotomy and looking at "women left behind", or on the urban end and looking at their migrant husbands in town. The rural/urban dichotomisation of such studies has meant that gender relations - in the sense of actual interactions between men and women, and the dynamics of power and authority between these - have often been sidelined, and one is left with a sense that women in the country and men in town occupy wholly separate worlds.

Apart from relations between husbands and wives within the migrant household, there is another aspect of gender relations among northern Transvaal migrants which is visible through the prism of musical performance. A number of women who came to the Reef during the early to mid 1970s began in the early 1980s to group themselves together for the purposes of music-making and dancing, as well as for a number of other purposes. Their koša, like the other groups to which they belong, have emerged from beneath the sheltering wing of, and sometimes have developed in parallel with, men's migrant associations. Men and women engage in frequent interactions through regular practices, competitions, visits to faraway places to perform, and the like.

A comparison between these parallel and intertwined forms of migrant association will thus yield insights into gender relationships of a different kind to those forged within households, but equally relevant to migrant experience. Emerging from this comparison is the suggestion that a women's music group is the one form of female migrant grouping which provides some independence to its members as women: not just from the hypothetical control of husbands (which in many cases these women do not have), but also from the control of male migrants and their associations.

In order to assess the impact of these music groups, it is necessary to look at the life stories of some of their members, and to show in what ways these contrast with the somewhat typical male migrant life story outlined earlier.

One of the most striking contrasts is the absence, for the female migrants in my study, of a "ready made" group of people from home to act as sharers of leisure time, procurers of jobs and providers of security during times of unemployment. Although the basis for such a grouping of girls is established, as it is for boys, by being initiated together and sharing membership of a mophato (age-set or regiment), and although the members of such a group, like boys, would run away from home together to work for "the Boers",(13) the solidarity of this grouping would be undermined when some or all of its members left home to marry. Only a few - those who married a close relative or those who did not marry at all - remained living in their original villages. And for those who stayed unmarried, their age-mates who did marry left home for other villages, thus effectively splintering the unified group of age-mates.(14)

Thus the most significant group of companions for country women who do remain at home rather than migrating to work emerges after marriage rather than being consolidated at initiation. Their husbands are neighbours, relatives and co-initiates: but they, the wives, come to know one another only after marrying these men.(15)

The kinds of continuities of association which carry a male migrant singer from his earliest work on the farms to his first town job and which then aid him to climb the small steps towards better pay and more secure accommodation are thus interfered with for women by a gender-related - and patriarchal - factor: the rule of virilocal residence, which states that a woman should leave her home on the occasion of marriage and move to the place of her husband's people.

It was these, her husband's people, that were the prompters when a future koša member did migrate to look for work: her husband,(16) or her sister-in-law who needed a replacement while going home to have a baby.(17) Alternatively, it was one of her own relatives, usually male, who brought her to town: a brother (18) or paternal uncle.(19) Rather than coming to town secure in the knowledge of a wide group of age-mates with whom she could merge (if not bump into at the station), such a woman relied on specific relatives to bring her here and to help her find a job.

Even if groups of home people were lacking, the fact of these women's close dependence on particular family members might be thought to have led to an immediate absorption into the networks of the (mostly male) relatives in question. For women called to town by their husbands, this was indeed the case. Martina Ledwaba and Phina Komape were both married to ZCC members. Both joined the church with their husbands, and automatically, as wives, became members of a ZCC burial

society. In town, their leisure time was spent largely with fellow ZCC members. This pattern of association was to change only with the death of their husbands.(20)

There was, however, a constraint operating both on these women, and on those brought to town under the protection of their own brothers or uncles, which prevented them from becoming as fully absorbed into the networks of male relatives as they might otherwise have done. This was the fact that all of them worked as domestic servants. Although a woman, brought to town by her brother, would be helped by him to find a job as a live-in domestic, his residence in a single-sex hostel in one of the townships of the East or North-east Rand would mean that her chances of mixing with his home-based network would be reduced by sheer physical distance. As this paper will demonstrate, the scattered residence of these domestic workers did not only act as a constraint on making contact with established groups of men from home. It also retarded - although it could not ultimately prevent - the eventual formation of the kosa singing groups which would provide these women with a source of independence in the urban area.

A further gender-related factor which strips away from the life story of a female migrant some of the continuities which characterise that of one of her male counterparts is the hiatusses in her working life caused by having to return home periodically to bear children or to care for them. Salome Machaba, having started working in Parkhurst in 1970 for R80 a month, was dismissed by her employers when she became pregnant and was forced to work instead for a family in Lenasia who paid her R20 monthly. After this interruption, it was only in 1976 tht she managed to move back into the better-paid job market of the northern suburbs. Her sister Andronica also worked in Lenasia for a while, then after returning home for four years to bear and look after children she found her way back to Johannesburg by working on a farm in Groblersdal for a while to earn the fare. Her sister then procured her a job in Parktown North in 1980.(21)

If one compares these examples with that of Boom Sefoka described earlier, one can see that both male and female migrants may encounter setbacks in the gradual process of moving from a first job to subsequent ones which offer more benefits. For a male migrant, however, these are prompted by unforeseen and external factors such as industrial accidents or periods of economic slump resulting in unemployment. For a female migrant, by contrast, a large proportion of these are intrinsic and relate specifically to her role as mother. As Stichter has indicated, what makes a woman worker less than completely proletarian is that, even if she has been "freed" from land and productive resources, she may not have been freed from her duties in the sphere of reproduction.(22)

The factors discussed above all add up to a crucial difference between the experience of male and female migrant musicians - the sense of what gae (home) actually is. For a male migrant who plays dinaka, a sense of the importance of his home village is reflected and reinforced by a series of practices and overlapping social groupings. He remits money to and visits his wife regularly, he lives in a hostel and spends most leisure time with co-initiates who are also relatives and village neighbours. A visionary like Frans Sefoka has dreams of home, inspired by badimo (ancestral spirits) whose place of origin is in his village at Sefoka, and involving his home chief Kgosi Masemola as a principal figure. It is not my intention to argue that this sense of "home" is a primordial one, or is only or even primarily rural, but the fact that it is grounded in a particular geographical area provides a sound symbolic basis for the formation of an identity for a male migrant from a particular region.

For a woman, on the other hand, marriage, and the removal from her birthplace which this entails, makes for a more diffuse and divided sense of home. It may be her husband's village and people, or her own village and people, or a combination of both of these, which provide her with a geographical reference-point when she becomes a worker in a Johannesburg suburb. And, for some years after arriving, a sense of identity with either of these is mediated through the men - husband's people or own people - who had better-established sets of urban linkages with one or other of them.

A look at the differing or changing marital statuses of women singers will thus indicate how individuals define themselves in relation to some home place, and what practical steps they take to ensure their linkages to that place. The koša members interviewed divide into those who came to Johannesburg to live with their husbands, those who came after some marital crisis such as separation or widowhood, and those who have never married.

Of the first category - those who came to Johannesburg at the instigation of their husbands - all but one I spoke to are now widowed. Their arrival in town was not prompted primarily by the need to help maintain dependents at home, but by their husbands' stated wish for their companionship. Most were married to ZCC members. The desire of these migrant husbands to have their wives live with them contrasts with the ideal scenario for most dinaka players, that women should stay in the country.(23) Immediately upon arriving in the city, these wives all, as indicated earlier, became subsumed within their husband's networks which were homebased but mediated through, and expanded to accommodate, church membership. For one of these, Phina Komape, widowed since

1982, her visits home indicate a typical division: she goes to her husband's village where her own house is built, to her birthplace where many of her male relatives and their wives are still based, and - a further complication - an area some distance away from her birthplace where she is becoming initiated as a ngaka (diviner), a vocation which she inherited from her father and was called to by her ancestors.

The second category is of women who came to Johannesburg after some marital crisis. One such woman had been widowed, but the others had separated from their husbands. In contrast to the stress in some literature on rural women's vulnerability to desertion by their migrant husbands,(24) these women, by their own account, had taken the initiative in leaving their husbands and the husbands' villages, and in relocating, together with children, at their natal villages once more. This could not, however, be a decision made completely independently: for Elsie Lekgotwane it necessitated the approval of her parents who paid back the bogadi so that custody of her child could be transferred back to her and to them. But she stressed that she and her family were active agents rather than passive recipients of the decision.(25)

For such a woman the twin processes of separating from her husband and relocating at her natal home constituted significant steps towards becoming more like a migrant man. Partly, this transformation lay in creating a sense of "home" that was less divided and more centred around one place. She built a house in her natal village, became a member in her own right - though often initially introduced as a member through a male relative - of a burial society associated with this village or of a smaller one associated with her own kgoro (family).(26)

And when, as happened in several cases, women from this category married again to men met in Johannesburg, this second union did not prompt a second severing of natal ties or a subordinating of these to marital ties. They retained their houses, continued to remit money for the care of their children to their parents, and sent the children from these second unions home to be cared for alongside those from the first. And, rather than becoming subsumed within the husband's migrant networks as those from of the first category had done, they retained membership of their home-based burial societies, although with certain disadvantages as female members, as will be indicated later.

Part of the reason for the relative independence of women in these second unions lay in the fact that, in some cases, these women's new husbands already had wives at home.(27)

In many respects, the second category overlaps with the third I have outlined - that of single women who have never married, and whose relationships with men are limited to unsanctioned liaisons. For both these these sets of women, there is the same unmediated connection to natal home, and the same independent membership of associations such as burial societies. The only real difference between them concerns the role of the second husband in providing additional sources of financial support to dependents at home. For Rosina Msina, despite the fact that her second husband has a first wife and children living in his home village, he matches her monthly remittances to the four children she supports at her home although only one of these is his own. He sends R200 one month, and she the next.(28)

Sarah Motswi, in contrast, claims that she has never received financial support from the father of her three children. He was a man with his own wife and family, and he offered to marry her as a second wife. But she refused, and even prevented her parents from suing him for compensation, claiming that she wanted children but had no wish to marry. In retrospect, though, she says that had she known how difficult it would be to provide financial support for three children as a single parent, she would have married after all.(29)

It can be seen from examples of women migrants who have a strong attachment to natal home - both those who have reasserted this attachment and those whose links were not severed in the first place - that the status of almost-male almost-independence which this promotes is an ambiguous one.

There are undoubtedly advantages, both for the women themselves and for their dependents. The Machaba sisters, for example, expressed their thankfulness that neither of them has ever married, as it means that they can now help their mother "as a son would", and she in turn has cared for their children with great dedication.(30) But the mere absence of marital ties, although it may free a rural-based woman from patriarchal relationships within the household which a marriage would normally establish, is not sufficient to guarantee a woman's freedom from a nexus of gender-informed disadvantages, of which husband/wife linkages are but a small part. Especially in the S A reserve areas, in which a rural conservatism is partly reinforced by and also overlaid with the structures of an imposed chiefly authority, there is a limit to which a woman can break free of such structures.(31)

A good illustration of this can be seen if one follows further the story of a woman like the fiercely independent Sarah Motswi, mentioned above. Her three children were born during stints of domestic work in Tzaneen and then

Phalaborwa, but she never sent them home to her mother to be cared for because this source of childcare was being monopolised by her brothers and their wives. Eventually the tension between Sarah and her two sisters-in-law became so great that she moved to a different village altogether and built a house there. She did this with the agreement of her parents, convincing them that she would be able to maintain herself and the children on her own. But it is clear that this step into almost complete lack of dependence on any ties - marital or natal - carried a heavy cost for Sarah. The extra financial commitment involved forced her to travel to Johannesburg to look for work, which in turn meant that she could see her children far less frequently than before.

In a case such as this, the mere fact that a woman was unmarried and hence independent of a husband's demands was not sufficient to eliminate gender-related problems from her life. The accepted structures of rural family life were still those in which a daughter was expected to leave for the place of her in-laws, and daughters-in-law, in a sense replacing her, would occupy positions of ongoing and increasing importance in the family: both in helping to support and care for their affines, and in turn in deriving childcare and other benefits from them.(32) A daughter who did not follow this pattern, although still cherished by her parents, became a misfit.

It was, then, either because of strong marital ties, or because of a lack of these, that women who later joined kosa first came to Johannesburg. And, as suggested above, many of these soon became member of male, often home-based migrant associations such as burial societies: through husbands, in the former case, or independently - though sometimes initially mediated through male relatives - in the latter.

Within these burial societies, whose earlier history has been documented by Delius,(33) they found themselves in a strongly male-dominated world. The leaders and senior office-bearers were (and still are) men, and although in some cases women were admitted to titled positions,(34) the extent of their influence was (and remains) limited.(35) Women, as lower earners, felt that men's insistence on raising the monthly contributions or on paying exorbitant matšhidiso (condolences) was based on their higher earnings and were thus unfair.(36) Another area of disagreement, in which men's opinions always predominated, concerned the status of dependents, and is instrinsically related to the factors of gender discussed earlier which influence a female migrant's life. The dependence upon a man of his wife and children is officially sanctioned in the burial societies: their membership is thus automatically guaranteed by his own. In the case of a single woman, or one who though married has an independent membership of such a society rather than being

subsumed by her husband's membership, there is a reluctance officially to acknowledge her dependents as having an equivalent status to the dependents of men. Although money may be given in the event of death, it will be less than that given in respect of the death of a male member's official dependents.(37)

Hence it can be seen that migrant women, despite having in part escaped from the structures of gender relationships in rural households, and having in some ways acquired quasi-male status, were faced in town with a new dimension of gender relationships. These involved, not husbands and wives in marital relationships, but fellow-migrants in associations.

It was against this background that a series of associations providing more scope for women and representing an acknowledgement of their specific life-circumstances were founded, or modified and co-opted, by a set of northern Transvaal migrant women, and assumed a gradually-increasing importance in their lives. Most important of these were the kośa, around which accrued a range of functions far richer and broader than that of mere entertainment. Emerging from the initial patronage and protection of men's dinąka, which some of them still enjoy to varying degrees, the kośa developed a dynamic of their own.

The founding of kośa

It seems that already-existing migrant associations such as the burial societies fulfilled too narrow a range of needs to satisfy the desire for broad-ranging companionship and support experienced by migrant women. The level of social interaction engendered by the burial societies was low, since they met only once monthly, on the first Sunday of the month. Even though a woman joined a burial society soon after arriving in town, the other three Sundays of the month were lonely. She spent much of her leisure time sitting in her room.

Part of the problem for all these women who worked and still work as domestic servants was the fact, suggested earlier, that their work and its associated backyard living scattered them widely throughout the suburbs of the city, and of the Reef in general. And even though there were certain areas in which people from particular country regions established a kind of monopoly over domestic service at specific times, such as Braamfontein and Vrededorp for women from Malebogo (Bochum district, northwest of Pietersburg) during the early 1970s, the pay and conditions of service in these areas were often so poor that the financial drawbacks outweighed the advantage of security. People would make considerable efforts to move out of the enclave even into an unknown territory if this meant improved conditions.(38)

The general pattern, then, for the first eight to ten years of city life for one of the women from the sample was one of isolation from any really significant broader networks. This was broken only by such activities as the sewing lessons provided at various churches for domestic workers, infrequent visits from people working as servants in nearby houses,(39) and trips to Fourways to watch soccer or to Alexandra for burial society meetings or to visit relatives living there.(40)

I have gathered a fair amount of oral evidence to suggest that Alexandra, from early on, was an important area of residence for Pedi-speaking people leaving the northern Transvaal to live in Johannesburg, and for migrants oscillating between the two areas. Its importance as a focus of activity for migrants was to increase after the building of the single-sex hostels during the 1960s. For women employed as domestics in the suburbs, apart from visiting relatives and attending society meetings in Alexandra, the other main source of interest was dinaka which was performed at the piece of empty ground next to the No 1 Men's Hostel. (In similar vein, northern Transvaal migrants based in Germiston and Kempton Park would gravitate towards the men's hostel in Tembisa, which similarly became a focus of migrant social and cultural actitivity).

During visits to Alexandra in the late 1970s, women began to stop by the hostel to watch men perform their rivetingly dramatic dances, as Phina Komape describes:

> One day while working in Brixton in 1979, I visited my sister in Alex, it was on Sunday. While there I heard that there was a group of dinaka playing in 19th Ave. I then developed an interest to go and watch them. While I was there alone, I met Salome and Joyce. By then I knew only Joyce because she is from Masasane, and I did not know Salome. Now Joyce told me that they were looking for a group of women to sing traditional music. They wondered where they could find it, and decided to go to Alex men's hostel. As we discussed I became interested and we agreed to meet the following Sunday. Those who met were me, Joyce, Salome and her sister Andronica. We went to speak to some women from Matlala and talked to them about forming one group, and they agreed.(41)

On the Sunday in question, some of the women who were to form the core of the initial group had dressed in "traditional" Pedi attire. Fransina Monyela claims to have been the one who initiated this practice by donning Pedi dress to attend special occasions at the church sewing class, and two of the women she met at the class, later to become co-kosa members,

followed her example:

> ...we asked ourselves this question. Why can't we show our proper tradition and start singing? Let us not just dress like this with no meaning attached to it, let us also start singing to reveal our tradition properly in that attire.(42)

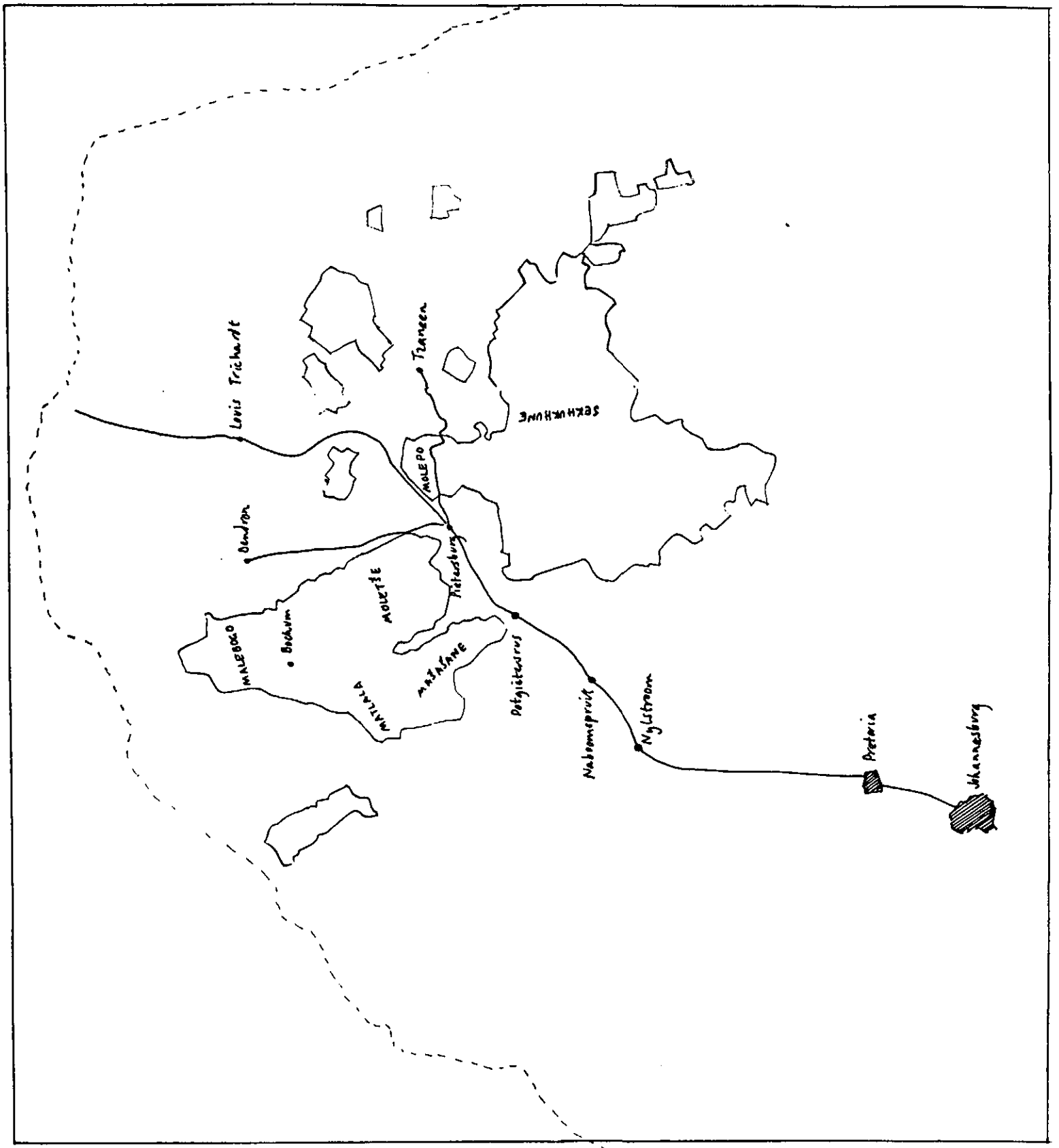
That this "tradition" was a flexibly-conceived one is revealed by the fact that another of the future members, on the day in question, was wearing Venda traditional dress. She takes up the story:

> We agreed to meet at Zoo Lake the following Sunday to compose and practise our songs better. We went to Zoo Lake as agreed and brought tins to play on. We practised for three weeks and mastered our songs. Later on we went back to Alex men's hostel and asked Matlala men if we could use their drums after finishing playing dinaka. They agreed and we played their drums.(43)

It emerges from these various accounts that it was partly the inspiration of watching dinaka that led to the idea of starting an equivalent women's group. In addition, watching dinaka provided a focus of attention for, and so brought together for the first time, a number of women from geographically disparate home areas in the northern Transvaal, most of whom had been previously unknown to each other. The manner of their coming together, although it reflected their interest in cultural practices relating to a broadly-defined place of origin, was also largely "by luck" as one member subsequently put it.(44)

The fact that these women who founded the singing of kosa in Alexandra came from such a wide diversity of rural areas had a further impact on the notions of gae (home), already a diffuse and mediated one for women as has been shown above, and on the associated idea of setšo (origin or tradition). This became one further factor, added to those mentioned above, which gave to women's music groups a very different character to the men's ones which inspired them.

Within the first three years of the formation of this initial koša group in Alexandra, the group had split into two. This process was repeated in a number of other cases I recorded.(45) A tendency to subdivide in this way has been noted by writers studying other forms of urban association in southern Africa, especially in the case of independent churches.(46) But, while this tendency may for some reason be endemic in the formation and development of smallscale and informal urban "voluntary associations", it is significant that in the case of koša this was conceived, or at least legitimated, in terms of reference to a gradually narrowing



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sense of home. Thus, the kosa which started off as broadly incorporative of a wider catchment area in Leboa - a term meaning "north" although later merging almost indistinguishably with the name of the official homeland Lebowa - split into smaller groups, each allegedly representing a given home area and (in most cases) partnering a male dinaka group from the same area.

Members' accounts of how such splits occurred usually provide evidence of some conflict over leadership or resources. Retrospectively, however, these were interpreted in the light of differences between people from different home areas. So, for the Machaba sisters who joined others in a breakaway from the first koša and from the Matlala women, their secession was caused by the election of a new leader who tolerated no dissent or discussion, and by the fact that the treasurer would not permit, straight after a performance, the counting of the money tossed to the dancers.(47) Conflict also began to emerge with the men's Matlala dinaka, their initial protectors, who became disenchanted that the women so often borrowed their drums to play at parties or stokvels. But they expressed this as displeasure specifically with the women from home areas other than their own. Eventually "Matlala men chased us away. They said we are many and they don't know where some of us come from. They wanted only women from Matlala".(48) Andronica Machaba accounted for the split in terms of style of dress: "The people from Matlala don't dress like us. We did not agree about the manner we dress.(49) A further comment, by Rosina Msina, similarly stressed the importance of differences of home, or culture of origin: "we realised that Matlala women were discriminating against us because they did not want us to sing our own songs, so we decided to split".(50)

This account of group subdivision resulting in two smaller groups based on more narrowly-defined home areas provides an example of what Barth calls situational ethnicity,(51) arising in parallel with and perhaps justifying struggles over things more substantial and material than conflicting styles of dress or song.(52) In similar vein, some women who started singing with a group called TV3 from Zebediela in 1983 later separated from them in 1984, to form the new women's koša partnering the Sekhukhuneland dinaka in Alexandra because they as Pedi felt discriminated against by the Ndebele in the group, whom they claimed were "troublesome people".(53)

The story also illustrates another feature of ethnicity as observed by Barth: its subjective nature. The group which split off from the Zebediela-based TV3, allegedly to identify itself with Sekhukhuneland, consisted of women from Molepo and Malebogo as well as from places normally considered as being part of the Sekhukhuneland area. The group which split

away from Matlala in fact retained two women from Matlala area, and eventually incorporated a range of others far beyond the borders of the Malebogo area which gave the new group its predominant praises and its name - Ditšhweu tša Malebogo (the bright/white ones of Malebogo).

If one analysed the composition of each kośa one would not necessarily find a predominance of women from the same area, or from the area which gives the group its name and regional identity. This fact, apart from being explained by reference to the subjective and situational qualities of ethnicity outlined above, has got something to do with the fact that northern Transvaal women in town do not have an automatic or well-defined sense of home or place of origin. When a strongly-developed sense of identity eventually arose, as it did in these kośa between the time of their origin in the early 1980s and the present day, it derived as much from the group itself and from its symbols, mythologies and cultural practices as it did from the rural areas from which these people came.

In order to pursue this idea further it is necessary to summarise some points made thus far. Under discussion are a number of women who left the northern Transvaal for the Reef to look for work during the mid-1970s. Most of them, some time after arriving, established links with male-orientated home-based migrant networks such as churches or burial societies, although these did not feature centrally in their lives. Some of these women then became founder-members of a women's singing group or kośa which later, partly through a process of subdivision, became a proliferation of different groups. The founding of the group occurred with the patronage of, and alongside, men's music groups, but there was far less of a sense of a coherent home region for the women than there was for the men: and indeed it was this ambiguity which led to, or which was held responsible by participants for, the initial frequency of group splitting.

As a group with a particular identity emerged after a period of rapid subdivision, it evolved a more defined sense of its identity, based on symbolic association with a particular "home" area.

As time went by, the groups attracted other members besides their pioneer founders. New members were introduced through individual friends who belonged to the group, rather than through any sense of coming from the appropriate home area. In almost all cases, loneliness and the need for companionship were cited as the reasons for joining. In some cases, single, separated, or remarried new members retained the membership of the burial societies they had joined in their own right, but these were combined with, though somewhat overshadowed by, their membership of kośa, of

church, and of various mehodišano (savings clubs). In other cases, the loneliness that prompted a woman to join was precipitated by the loss of a husband. Two women in this situation, previously subsumed under their husbands' membership of churches or migrant associations, simply abandoned these when joining koša a few years after their husbands' deaths in favour of the "better support" they received from their co-singers.(54)

If we look again at the range of women whose migration to the Reef eventually led them to become members of koša, we can see that it is only in some cases that "life-cycle crises" such as widowhood or divorce caused them initially to become migrants in the way that much of the literature on female migration suggests.(55) For those in my sample who were widowed, what this life-cycle crisis prompted was not the original decision to come to the city, but the decision once there to join - or to be a founder member of - a support group of women in a similar predicament to themselves.

Having stated earlier that insights into gender relationships could be gained by looking at the interactions between men and women migrants in their associations, I also claimed that kosa was to become one of the few such associations which gave women a degree of relative independence from men. Most women's kosa I have encountered on the Reef, however, allow women this measure of autonomy while nevertheless remaining linked to their partner men's dinaka groups in very fundamental ways.

The Sekhukhuneland kosa in Alexandra, SK Alex Basadi, have their own malokwane (leader) and a string of lesser office-bearers. If a member commits some misdemeanour, she is fined or disciplined by the committee. Attendance of members, and matters of money, are kept in a book. All these functions are performed in parallel by SK Alex, the men's partner group which plays dinaka, and the men's group has no role to play in the internal workings of koša.

In certain matters, however, the members of the two groups confer and co-operate. Men will drum for women when they are performing and vice versa, women will dance on the peripheries of a men's performance to add to the general spectacle and vice versa. In a women's performance, men are called into service as "policemen" where necessary, to whip at members of the crowd who are intruding into the circular space occupied by the dancers. When women are called on their own to perform somewhere, a man will accompany them for protection. Or if, as happens more frequently, the men and women are to travel together somewhere to perform, decisions made, ostensibly at least, involve all members equally.

There are areas, however, in which these interactions are based on gender stereotypes inherited from the husband/wife partnership in the household. The most obvious of these is the preparation and serving of food. At the 1990 annual members' party held in the township by SK Alex, men slaughtered a sheep at midnight and women spent the next morning cooking meat and mealie-meal for the feast that afternoon. In a more exploitative vein, members of SK Alex's original women's partner-group were approached for sexual favours by the men. It was this, together with some other grievances, which led to a women's and men's breakaway from SK Alex, and to the formation of the Tembisa-based Sekhukhuneland women's and men's Maaparankwe (royal leopard-skin clothing). In this group, members pride themselves on their sexual propriety, and on the fact that men and women share dormitory accommodation on trips away without any problems arising.

Within the context of these paired music groups, then, a degree of autonomy for women co-exists with some suggestions of their subordination by their male co-musicians. It is only in a group like the extraordinary Ditšhweu tša Malebogo that the development of the fullest degree of women's independence in kosa can be observed.

Ditshweu tsa Malebogo

After conflicts with their initial women partners, and after being "chased away" by the men's Matlala group in 1982, the founders of Ditšhweu tša Malebogo decided never again to affiliate with a man's singing group, having "learned a lesson" from their experience.(56)

The initial phases of independence were not easy for this group, mainly because they had no drums. After first splitting off from Matlala dinaka and koša, they took their year's earnings from dancing and bought some plastic containers from an Indian chemist's shop in town.

> When we came back with them, they (Matlala musicians) laughed at us, they said "they are like children, they play little drums like the Apostolic people". They talked so many things. ... We ignored them. We carried on with our drums".(57)

Eventually Ditšhweu bought their own set of meropa (the four hide-covered drums used in koša and dinaka performance).

> We played the plastic tins until they began to wear out. Luckily one man called Machaba approached us and told us he had made a koma (big drum) for some women who had not come to fetch it. We asked him the price and he told us it cost R10, and we bought it. We also bought dithopana (small drums) from Komape's brother in 17th Ave Alex. We paid R5 for each. That's how we started and our music became famous. By the time we went to "Lapologa" (TV3

programme) we were 8 in number. Since from TV3 many people came to join us. Today we are 29 in number.(58)

It seems that part of the reason for the unusual nature of this group, and for their strong degree of autonomy as women, is that the rural histories of some of its members differed considerably from those of women who migrated from heartland areas such as Sekhukhuneland proper and who form the core of other kosa groups. At least five of them, including three charismatic women who were among the group's founders, had experiences of relocation and of a sudden precipitation into migrancy which made it less possible for them than for heartland migrant women to fall back on the support of home-based migrant men. These women were born in outlying areas which later became subject to removals prompted by the S A government's homeland consolidation policy. In addition to the dislocative process inherent in a customary woman's life-cycle of moving from one's own to one's marital home outlined above, they experienced the more severe dislocation of forced removal.

Mara, near Louis Trichardt, was one of these, where northern Sotho and Venda-speaking people had been living together. Rosina Msina's father, a Pedi, had married six wives of varying ethnic backgrounds. The removals, shortly after her father's death, prompted a disintegration in this family, with a Venda wife and her children remaining in Mara which was officially designated a part of Venda, and others settling in two different areas of northern Lebowa.(59)

Mmakgodu village, near Dendron, was another example. Here the Machaba sisters were born while their parents lived as tenants on a freehold farm cultivated by African owners. In 1960, the government removed the occupants of the land, which they had designated as a "black spot". The farm's owners were relocated in one place, and the tenants - including the Machaba family - in another, in Malebogo.(60)

Such processes of relocation meant that a sense of common origin as a principle around which to group in town would be even less effective than it might be for other migrant women.

A related factor differentiating these from other migrant women is that their families, in these remote northern areas and on these freehold farms, appear not to have become proletarianised as soon as their counterparts in heartland areas. Tales of plentiful harvests and overflowing granaries prior to the time of relocation should be treated with scepticism because of the well-documented tendency to romanticize a "golden age" before government interference.(61) But more definitive proof is found if one compares occupations followed by the fathers of these women and those of the fathers of migrant women from Sekhukhuneland

or Molepo district. The former were farmers, while the latter had invariably worked on the Reef.(62) In most cases, the end of this era of plenty came when the removals occurred.

The later onset of migrancy in the communities thus affected by relocation meant that the development of home-based networks of the kind so crucial to a man like Boom Sefoka when he first came to Pretoria had had less time to develop. This was true for migrant men from these areas, but even more so for migrant women who were fewer in number and lived scattered througout the suburbs.

Nevertheless, Ditšhweu members do all belong to burial societies based around notions of a home region, and sometimes with a head office at home. In some cases, these have their urban meeting-places far away from the women's domicile in the suburbs, for reasons which again relate to the processes of dislocation they have experienced. The Machaba sisters, for example, after their family's relocation and the death of their father, left school earlier and migrated sooner than many other women from their village. Needing better pay than was offered in the Malebogo-monopoly areas of domestic service in Braamfontein, Vrededorp and Lenasia, they made efforts to find jobs in the northern suburbs. When more women from Malebogo began to come to the Reef about 5-10 years later, the area of domestic service monopolised by home people had changed to Kempton Park. The focus for migrant association from their home area thus developed in the hostel in Tembisa, where men from the area were living, and near to the domestic service jobs of most women from the area. The Machabas' attendance at burial society meetings thus involves a lengthy and costly taxi-ride to Tembisa once a month.(63)

For women of Ditšhweu, then, their membership of koša and of a set of women's mehodišano (savings clubs) which were spawned by koša appears to be more important than that of burial societies in providing financial and moral support on an everyday basis.

The financial aspect is well demonstrated by the case of Joanna Maleaka, one of the most enthusiastic "joiners" I have ever met. Her membership of migrant associations divides neatly into those, for both men and women, associated with home, and those, for women only, associated with koša and, although symbolised by emblems and names of home, actually deriving from urban and work-based acquaintances. The former are all burial societies, each based on a more broadly-defined concept of "home" than the last. The latter include a burial society and two mehodišano, all overlapping with the memberhip of koša. The burial society, Thusanang, provides matshidišo (condolences) to bereaved members, while the two

mehodišano supply members with groceries: the first, in stipulated quantities and of stipulated kinds, and the second, of the recipient's choice.(64)

Even for those koša members who do not throw themselves into joining with as much zeal as Joanna, there may be membership of fewer savings clubs, but involving more substantial financial commitment. So, for example, Phina Komape belongs on the one hand to the home-based Kwena Molato Burial Society, and on the other to koša and to a koša-based mohodišano with one other friend. In this stringent financial commitment, each takes it in turn to pay the other R300 monthly, out of a total salary of R500. Of this amount, the recipient sends R200 home, and banks the remainder. And of course, even in a month when Phina is the donor, she must still honour her obligation to send home R200.(65)

This kind of involvement in systems of mutual reciprocity is usual among koša women, especially those of Ditšhweu, and unusual among dinaka men. Asked about the reason for this Society, and on the other to koša and to a koša-based mohodišano with one other friend. In this stringent financial commitment, each takes it in turn to pay the other R300 monthly, out of a total salary of R500. Of this amount, the recipient sends R200 home, and banks the remainder. And of course, even in a month when Phina is the donor, she must still honour her obligation to send home R200.(65)

This kind of involvement in systems of mutual reciprocity is usual among koša women, especially those of Ditšhweu, and unusual among dinaka men. Asked about the reason for this contrast, Alfred Thobejane from SK Alex said "these women don't have fathers or husbands. Now they join many associations to secure themselves".(66) The examples cited above suggest that migrant women, especially those lacking male support and/or those thrown into migrancy precipitously after experiences of rural dislocation, will draw on as many sources of financial and moral support as possible. In this respect, the contrast with men becomes stronger if one notes that most Ditšhweu women, in addition to being singers and burial society members, belong to churches as well. Among dinaka men, in contrast, church membership is unusual - "my church is dinaka" said Tsatsanape Maleka (67) - and often men who join for example the ZCC develop a total commitment to this new group affiliation which gradually excludes and replaces the old commitment to dinaka.

Home, tradition and a new musical style

It should be clear from the preceding accounts of the emergence and evolution of koša from 1980 to the present day that these associations are based on a thoroughly urban set of acquaintances. Ditšhweu, for example, after its origins

among a group of women who met each other "by luck" in Alexandra, then acquired further members partly through "fame" and also through the introduction by existing members of individual friends. Today, there is a remarkable overlap between the membership of this group and the cleaning staff at Redhill School in Morningside. This is not simply because one or two cleaners joined the group, and then brought their co-workers in as new members. It is also because people belonging to kośa were helped by other kośa members, already in the employ of Redhill, to get jobs there.

Still on the level of crucial material resources, then, kośa membership has facilitated the securing of well-paid jobs for those who belong. It has also provided members with an authority structure, with a hierarchy of leadership and other positions. Both these functions, while important for members, are scarcely new to urban anthropologists: they have been documented for migrant associations in other parts of Africa, and elsewhere.(68)

All the activities described so far, however, although having benefits perhaps more easily measured, have been other than musical ones. The practice of music itself is obviously crucial to the importance of these groups to their members. In attempting to account for why they like singing and dancing, some of them describe it like a sport or a source of exercise: if they miss one Sunday, they feel sluggish and dissatisfied for the rest of the week.(69) Others who have experienced extreme loneliness or unhappiness, such as Sarah Motswi who suffered greatly on the death of her father, watched the singers over a period of years and thought that to join them in their music-making would help her to overcome her sense of loss.(70)

Another account, while also stressing the defeat of loneliness as a reason for performing music, linked this to the fact that the music reminds reminds its performers of home: "home is where this music is sung ... we don't want to forget our culture".(71) If one remembers that the members of a group like Ditšhweu have, not one home, but a range of widely scattered ones, and that their ranks include two Venda, two Ndebele and two Tswana women, a statement like this sounds contradictory.

One way of understanding this paradox would be in terms of the evolution of a broader national culture, transcending local divisions. Some informants have stressed that a rural revival of women's kośa music began around 1982, in celebration of the existence of Lebowa and of its chief minister, Phatudi. There is one song in particular associated with this, named Lebowa, which has also given its name as a generic term to the new style of kośa, i.e. that which has developed since the early 1980s. The complex ways

in which this genre has been manipulated by homeland elites, and in which it has been manipulated by homeland elites, have been described elsewhere.(72) It may be, then, that it is this broader, emerging sense of "home" with its newly-evolving national "traditions" to which urban kośa women are referring when they speak of not wanting to forget their culture.

But alongside this explanation, and at least as important, there exists another which refers specifically to the experience of these singers as migrant women. An alternative account of the origins of this music states that Lebowa, and other songs associated with the contemporary kośa style, breaks definitively with the past in that, for the first time, it has women playing, and dancing to, the rhythms played on men's meropa (drums). (Previous women's styles such as makgakgasa involved separate drums and rhythms of a completely different type.) And it is in town, according to this account, that women first began to engage in this new musical practice.(73)

Indeed, several members of kosa, such as the malokwane (leader) of SK Alex who now teaches other members to perform, learned to sing and dance themselves only when coming to town. Others, though acquiring the basic skills in the countryside, found that the regionally-specific music learned at home did not bear much relation to the songs they performed after joining kośa

Such an account, then, suggests an image of women in town severing links with their female rural culture, and beginning instead to imitate a male migrant culture, which they then adapted to express a specifically female sense of migrant identity.

Migrant men, or the ones who play and listen to dinaka, are staunchly bound by Pedi custom. They still emphasise a kind of division into setšhabeng and majekaneng (place of the tribe and place of the Christians) reminiscent of that noted by Mayer among migrant Xhosa in the 1950s.(74) And, given that many of them are strongly oriented away from the church, and towards the ancestors, and may perhaps thus represent a minority among northern Transvaal migrants as a whole, the continuities between rural home place and urban work place established by this migrant culture are very strong. "Home" is a definite bounded area in the country, but also a definite enclave in a township or a hostel.

In the case of kośa singers, in contrast, equal numbers originate from majekaneng as from setšhabeng. There is a role played, in the sense of identity and orientation-towards-home of these women, by badimo (ancestral spirits) and by customary lifecycle rituals such as initiation.

Indeed, each Ditšhweu member in turn is expected to invite the group back to her home to perform, and the occasions on which this has occurred so far have been those of sacrifices to badimo and of the initiation or puberty ritual of a daughter - go binela (lit. "to sing for" the girl).

But this orientation towards custom and towards the spirits of home should not be interpreted as a manifestation of hidebound conservatism. When the koša singers insist on the importance of Pedi initiation, for example, one must bear in mind that they have unofficially constituted themselves as a body performing this ritual in their own right, and on the premisses of Redhill school, in order to initiate one of their members - a Tswana - so that she could marry a Pedi man.

For migrant women, then, mmino wa setšo (traditional music) is not an idiom of continuity between a narrowly-defined traditionalist country base and a place of work, but a compensation for the lack of such continuities. Instead of enforcing a conventional migrant lifestyle, this music allows its performers to live a life outside the bounds of convention, where they have found themselves partly by choice and partly through force of circumstance. Koša provides a loose and flexible system for associating with other migrant women in town, and for creating a "home", symbolically predicated on a northern country area, among these women in town itself.

Footnotes

1. My thanks go to the African Studies Institute, Witwatersrand University, under whose auspices these interviews were conducted, and where copies of them are presently housed. My thanks go as well to Thomas Nkadimeng of the Institute, for the enthusiasm with which he has worked on this project. The paper is based on interviews with seven men - dinaka players - and thirteen women - koša singers.

2. T O Ranger, "The invention of tradition in colonial Africa" in T O Ranger and E Hobsbawm (eds) The Invention of Tradition (Cambridge, 1984), S Marks "Patriotism, patriarchy and purity: Natal and the politics of Zulu ethnic consciousness" in L Vail (ed) The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa (London, 1989)

3. See for example D Coplan, "Eloquent Knowledge: Lesotho migrants' song and the anthropology of experience" American Ethnologist 14(3) (1987).

4. For the former see M Andersson, Music in the Mix (Johannesburg, 1981) and D James "Musical form and social history" Radical History Review 46/7 (1990); for the latter see J Clegg "The music of Zulu immigrant workers in Johannesburg - a focus on concertina and guitar" Papers presented at the 1st symposium on ethnomusicology, ILAM (Grahamstown, 1980).

5. Interview with L Sefoka, 2/5/90.

6. P Delius, "Sebatakgomo: migrant organisations, the ANC and the Sekhukhuneland revolt" Journal of Southern African Studies 15(4) (1990).

7. See for example P Harries-Jones "Home-boy ties and political organisation in a Copperbelt township" in J C Mitchell (ed) Social Networks in Urban Situations, Manchester, Manchester University Press, (1969); J K McNamara "Brothers and workmates: home friend networks in the social life of black mine workers in a gold mine hostel" in P Mayer (ed) Black Villagers in an Industrial Society (Cape Town, 1980)

8. J Clegg, "Towards an understanding of African dance: the Zulu isishameni style" Papers presented at the 2nd symposium on ethnomusicology, ILAM (Grahamstown, 1981).

9. P and I Mayer, Townsmen or Tribesmen, (Cape Town, 1961).

10. Interviews with S Ntshabeleng, 29/7/90, with F Sefoka, 1/12/90, and with L Masemola, 10/11/90.

11. Interviews with F Sefoka, 1/12/90, and with M Lebogo, 25/8/90.

12. Interview with S Ntshabeleng, 29/7/90.

13. Interviews with P Komape, 31/5/90, and with J Ledwaba, 21/9/90.

14. Interviews with S Motswi, 19/10/90, and with S and A Machaba, 13/5/90.

15. For an account of this phenomenon in African society in general, see D Paulme "Introduction" to Women in Tropical Africa (Berkeley, 1960): for an account of it in the Lebowa countryside see D James "Mmino wa setso: women's songs in a Lebowa village" Witwatersrand University History Workshop (1990) pp 7-8.

16. Interview with M Ledwaba and J Maleaka, 20/5/90.

17. Interview with J Ledwaba, 21/9/90.

18. Interview with R Msina, 21/4/90.

19. Interview with S and A Machaba, 13/5/90.

20. Interviews with P Komape, 31/5/90, and with M Ledwaba and J Maleaka, 20/5/90.

21. Interview with S and A Machaba, 13/5/90.

22. S Stichter, Migrant Laborers (Cambridge, 1985) pp 147-8.

23. Interviews with S Ntshabeleng, 29/7/90, and with Lucas Masemola, 10/11/90.

24. C Murray, Families Divided: the Impact of Migrant Labour in Lesotho (Johannesburg, 1981), pp 154-6.

25. Interview with E Lekgotwane, 18/8/90.

26. Interviews with D Mashaba & M Sebati, 7/4/90, and with J Maleaka, 24/3/90.

27. Interviews with E Lekgotwane, 18/8/90, and with R Msina, 21/4/90.

28. Interview with R Msina, 21/4/90.

29. Interview with S Motswi, 19/10/90.

30. Interview with S and A Machaba, 13/5/90.

31. See for example, D James "Land Shortage and Inheritance in a Lebowa village" Social Dynamics 14(2) (1988).

32. Ibid.

33. P Delius, "Sebatakgomo".

34. Interviews with J Maleaka, 24/3/90, and with E Lekgotwane 18/8/90.

35. Interviews with S and A Machaba, 13/5/90, and with M Ledwaba and J Maleaka, 20/5/90.

36. Interviews with M Ledwaba and J Maleaka, 20/5/90, and with J Maleaka, 24/3/90.

37. Interview with S and A Machaba, 13/5/90.

38. Interviews with A Mei 10/11/90, with J Maleaka, 24/3/90, nd with S and A Machaba, 13/5/90.

39. Interview with F Monyela, 20/9/90.

40. Interviews with P Komape, 31/5/90, and with J Maleaka, 24/3/90.

41. Interview with P Komape, 31/5/90; see also interview with J Maleaka, 24/3/90 for an almost identical account.

42. Interview with F Monyela, 20/9/90.

43. Interview with J Maleaka, 24/3/90.

44. Interview with J Maleaka, 24/3/90.

45. Interviews with E Lekgotwane, 18/8/90, and with D Mashaba and M Sebati, 7/4/90.

46. See, for example, B Sundkler Bantu Prophets in South Africa (London, 1961), pp 168-178.

47. Interview with S and A Machaba, 13/5/90.

48. Interview with J Maleaka, 24/3/90.

49. Interview with S and A Machaba, 13/5/90.

50. Interview with R Msina, 21/4/90.

51. F Barth, "Introduction" to F Barth (ed) Ethnic Groups and Boundaries (London, 1969).

52. See A Cohen, Custom and Politics in Urban Africa (Berkeley, 1969) for a similar interpretation of ethnic legitimation.

53. Interview with E Lekgotwane, 18/8/90.

54. Interviews with M Ledwaba and J Maleaka, 20/5/90, and with P Komape, 31/5/90.

55. See for example S Stichter, Migrant Laborers, C Murray, Families Divided.

56. Interview with S and A Machaba, 13/5/90.

57. Ibid.

58. Interview with J Maleaka, 24/3/90.

59. Interview with R Msina, 21/4/90.

60. Interview with S and A Machaba, 13/5/90.

61. See, for example P Harries "A forgotten corner of the Transvaal" in B Bozzoli (ed) Class, Community and Conflict (Johannesburg, 1987).

62. Interviews with S and A Machaba, 13/5/90, with E Lekgotwane, 18/8/90, with R Msina, 21/4/90 and with M Lebogo, 25/8/90.

63. Interview with S and A Machaba, 13/5/90.

64. Interview with J Maleaka, 24/3/90.

65. Interview with P Komape, 31/5/90.

66. Interview with A Thobejane, 30/6/90.

67. Interview with I Maleka, F Sefoka and S Ntshabeleng, 11/3/90.

68. N and T Graves, "Adaptive strategies in urban migration" Annual Review of Anthropology (1974)

69. Interviews with R Msina, 21/4/90, and with S and A Machaba, 13/5/90.

70. Interview with S Motswi, 19/10/90.

71. Interview with F Monyela, 20/9/90.

72. D James, "Mmino wa setso".

73. Interview with L Kgole, 3/11/89.

74. P and I Mayer, Townsmen.