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CONNECTING MEMORIES

Using Playback Theatre to stimulate dialogue on the origins of people living in Hammanskraal.

By

Fortunate Busisiwe Radebe

04/05/2020

A Research proposal submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts for Applied Drama and Theatre in Education, Communities, and Social Context

In the

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

WITS SCHOOL OF ARTS: DRAMA FOR LIFE

At the

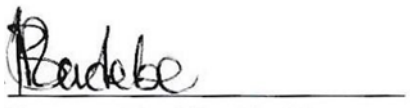
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Politics have come over the traditional leadership of a community but back in my community [Mmametlhake] Chiefs governed more than politics (municipalities?) yes, municipalities. Eh…the chief would bore holes for water for the community and then the municipality came with this thing of 'we will bore water for you and you will pay us. You see it is this thing that makes it difficult. It disconnects because there used to be a water pump for the community where everyone would go with their drums and whatever else. I know that it's like back – its things of the past but that thing sort of connected us a lot. Now because we pay for water, we pay for the toilet [sanitation], we pay for electricity, everything is monetary and it separates us and creates this… who can afford what and 'if Thando's family can afford and I can't then I don't mix with them. We are not the same. We are most certainly in a different setting.' Yet in the same community […] Because there is no longer that sense of traditional leadership in that people- a chief is a chief for the people. Yes, and they used to make it a big thing for them to in that they wanted to please their people so much so that they can be. But now politics, no, this thing just has that thing of Vote! And your vote does nothing for your life.[1]

So most of the time when you look at people that come from village homes, people that come from there are people that go to school. When they come back from school they have activities that they do. You already know that when I am from the village, when I come back from school its either I go to play soccer or marathons. Eh…once we get to Pretoria [Hammanskraal], (*Pitori ke ga mampuru*) Pretoria is a place of undesired pressure. Everybody does their own thing. We don't go to school. What is big is when we come back from school to go where? (*Mozoolong*) Where we can hustle. When we come back from school we go to the station [Hammanskraal station] - and you know what you end up doing when you get used to money?[2]

You have finished Grade 12/senior high but you can't go to varsity. You don't have information regarding NSFAS, bursaries and everything. Uhm… I feel like Hammanskraal has been abandoned after what Remo has told us. After the governance of Mangope they just went- ah! Hammanskraal, ah! It falls under Gauteng. Yes, Gauteng will see what it does with it- Gauteng has forgotten it. Ah! You [Hammanskraal] will see what you do with yourselves.[3]

Christian households, in their architecture and gender division, assisted in the erosion of traditional models…everyone lived together and…had cattle…[now] each man's house is a *kgoro*.[4]

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[1] A conversation with a Hammanskraal resident. Recorded 15 February 2018 in Johannesburg

[2] Extract from Playback Post performance focus group interview in Hammanskraal: 06 September 2019

[3] Extract from Playback Performance interview in Hammanskraal. 06 September 2019

[4] Isabel Hofmeyr (1993:137). Thesis. We Spend Our Years as a Tale That Is Told: Oral Historical Narrative in a South African Chiefdom. University of the Witwatersrand

*Background compass from Map of Temba Native Village," 1960, SAB BAO 2/1995 61/8/1247/1, National Archive, as cited in Godsell, S.D. (2015) Thesis. *Blurred Borders of Belonging: Hammanskraal Histories 1942-2002*. University of the Witwatersrand. Johannesburg

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To my mother Nancy Radebe for the amalgamations stories of remote ways of living from your past and present day. Thank you for your continuous prayers and faith in the journey I have chosen even when it plays to be difficult.

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To the community of Hammanskraal, especially to those who were present in performances at Temba, Mandela Village and Marokolong. You are people who have humility unprecedented by the challenges they face. I am proud to be your fellow and humbled to include our narratives for the purpose of this study.

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Key words: Playback Theatre, memory, community, ritual, storytelling/ sharing, historical origin.

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Introduction

Between 1997 and 2003, from when I started primary school, the prescribed books of history that we studied were based on the history of the first ships that brought settlers to South Africa like the infamous Jan Van Riebek and ships like the Dromedaries, and the lives of the Khoi-Khoi and San[5] people. Later the books focused on the Zulu Kingdom during colonial times. This was followed by the history of Apartheid with most content looking at those areas in the country that recorded the violence and political uprisings. These, at the time, were context-removed from me because my elders shared many stories of how they grew up, but none were of oppression and the Apartheid struggle, especially within the context of Hammanskraal[6] where I live. The place I call home.

Hammanskraal is a peri-urban area north of Pretoria in the Gauteng Province, South Africa. Historically it is mostly referred to as *"Hammans stockade"* a name given to it by a local nineteenth-century farmer called Hamman, who built a stockade here to protect his cattle from lions. Hammanskraal stayed a small settlement with a few cash stores until the early 1960s. (Küsel US Knowledge Report, 1970).

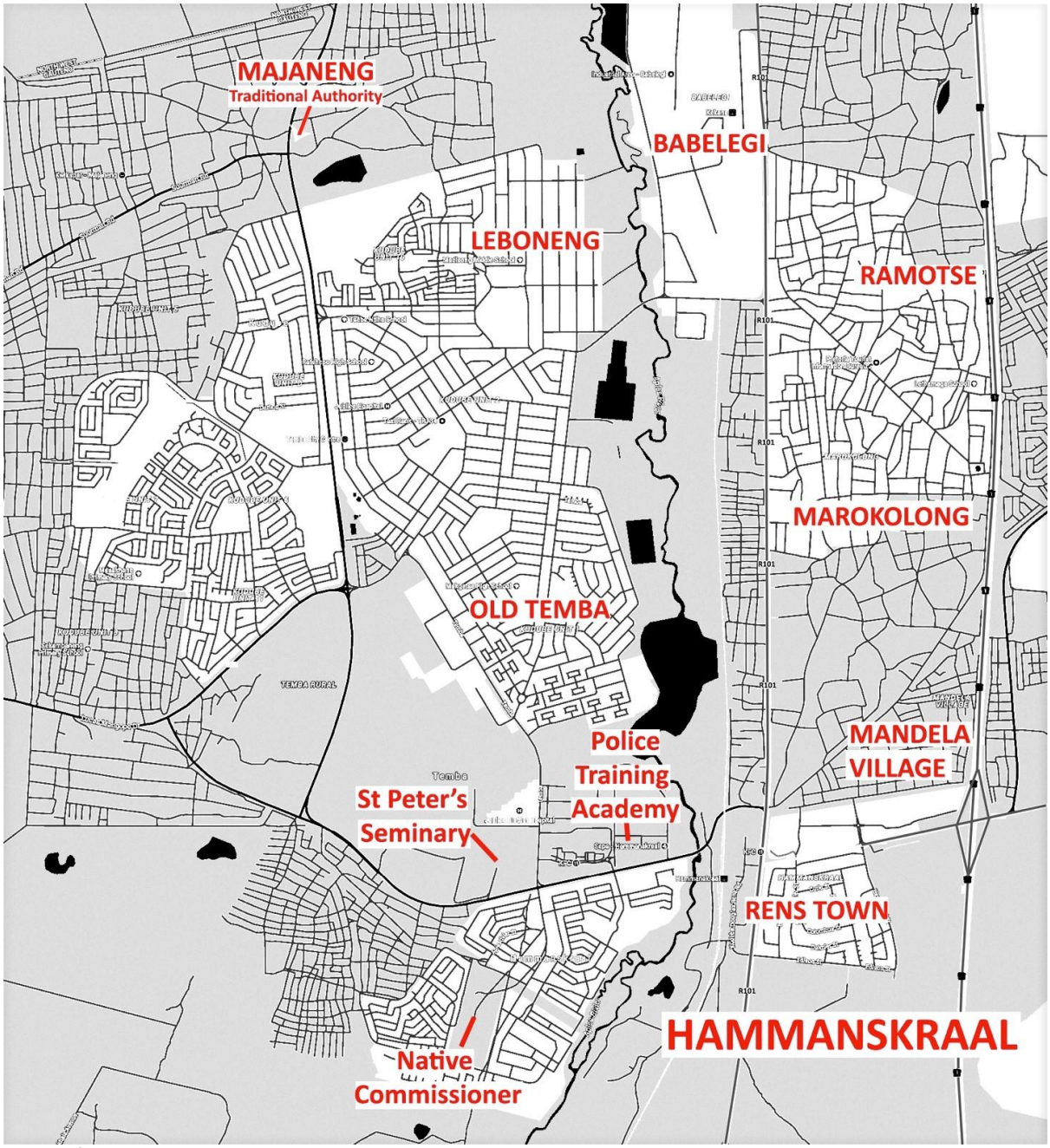
When I started travelling into different parts of the country in my quest for higher education, I was confronted by the perception that a Zulu person living in Hammanskraal is considered not a fully-fledged Zulu person. This also goes with the fact that I spoke S'pitori[7]. One narrative that may have led to this distinction between "fully-fledged" and not "fully-fledged" Zulu people might be a result of the Bantustans[8]. I say this because not everyone who resided in a specific homeland belonged to a specific ethnic group, thus these people and their descendants are linguistically and culturally displaced and adapt to a different culture, language and education system, their learning being informed by that language and moral system. I realised that I needed to have a good grasp of the history of the area in order to identify the collective historical memory and provide context for the narratives of the area.

[5] The Khoi-Khoi and San people were the first occupants of the Southern Africa hemisphere.

[6] Hammanskraal, from Marokolong to Lebotloane, dates from when Hammanskraal was a magisterial district in the Transvaal province with a Native Commissioner posted there from 1906 (Godsell 2015:12).

[7] S'pitori -Sepitori is not an official language in South Africa. However, it is a language spoken, a combination of Setswana, Sesotho, Sepedi, Tsotsi taal/ Street slang of 'loanwords' derived from English and mostly Afrikaans- a regional culture and language in townships in and around Pretoria)

[8] Bantustans or homelands were traditional areas set aside by the Apartheid South African government for specific black ethnic groups.



Map 1[9]: These are the main areas of Hammanskraal showing the Native Commissioner's area which is now Kanana - an RDP housing establishment

I was constantly being reminded that a place like Hammanskraal should not be called home as there is no one living there who can trace their genealogy back to that area. My home was said to be in a village somewhere outside of the area. In fact my parents were from Bosplaas (previously Boschplaas, as from the Dustch language, plots that you see after passing Babelegi between Makapanstad and Hammanskraal. Further context will be given in the following discussions) and, because my mother spent her childhood in Venda I would be told Venda was

[9] Nicholas Welch, "Key Areas of Hammanskraal," February 2015 as cited in Godsell 2015:1.

the place I should call 'home'. This was ironic because Venda was not my father's home. His lineage, although he was Zulu or Hlubi[10], also did not revert directly to Kwa-Zulu but rather was part of the complex stories of migration through Kwa-Ndebele and Transvaal, thus, my paternal great grandfather, settled in Bosplaas. Today I identify as a Zulu/Hlubi, African woman.

I am the fourth generation of both paternal and maternal families that have lived, died and continue to live in this area. I choose to identify myself from historically, in the presence, as a Hlubi[11] Woman with African descent. Hammanskraal constitutes a home for me because I am also part of a community that share this form of identity of historical migration and interrelated lineages. It is part of their ethnic rights. I am a young African adult who has lived in duality of, and is from, a poor of the poorest, empoverished – previously disadvantagnged backgroungd and setting. My nuclear home partly represented the middle working, as well as a setting close to accessibility of reaching out to opportunities of privilidge. My desire to undertake this research was due to having more accessibility to origins and history of my country and fragments of the origin and history of my home, beyond my family history which is also fragmented.

Research Question and Method of Inquiry

This research study uses a methodology of inquiry whose form of interview allows participants to share their narratives in community and witness the narratives of others within a performative ritual. This is the ritual performance of Playback Theatre ('PT').

> Playback theatre is a spontaneous improvised theatre involving a unique collaboration between performers and audience. A playback theatre troupe usually comprises several actors and one or two musicians. In addition, the performance is led and facilitated by a conductor who interacts with the audience, encouraging them to tell stories from their everyday lives. Someone from the audience tells a story from their life, chooses actors to play the different roles, then watches as their story is immediately recreated and given artistic shape and coherence (Hutt and Hosking 2004:4).

[10] Radebe, my surname, means "Ancestor of Hlubi" when translated from Zulu and amaHlubi have not not been recognised as a nation like amaZulu oe BaTswana and the lot..Submission to the commission on Traditional Leadership Disputes and Claims. Draft 1. Approved by AmaHlubi King's Planning Committee, AmaHlubi Royal Committee, AmaHlubi National Working Committee, (Isizwe samaHlubi: 2004)

[11] The History of AmaHlubi Tribe in the Izibongo of Kings. MA Thesis. University of Natal-Durban. (S.B. Hadebe:1992)

The practice, founded in 1975 by Jonathan Fox and Jo Salas in the United States, has currently three established theatre troupes/companies in South Africa. One of which, Drama for Life Playback Theatre Company, has been active for eleven years. After enrolling in the short course and attending playdates and auditions, I became member of this company in 2017 and at present am performing in monthly open themed performances in a metropolitan setting as well as in communities with performance themes central to their social contexts like migration, democracy, rape culture, project training, birthdays and conference reflections. My interest in studying its effectiveness as a method of research inquiry in a setting like Hammanskraal came out of my performative experience in the company. The research question which this study attempted to answer was:

To what extent can the ritual of stories in Playback Theatre be effective in stimulating discourse on the historical memory and origins of people living in Hammanskraal as a means of (re)building unity?

According to Fedhendler:

> in the Playback Theatre process, the playing out of life stories has further the qualities of dynamic anthropology, social investigation and intervention, understood as cross-cultural hermeneutic phenomenology. It is a process whereby the underlying political and social dimensions become apparent: one can develop the kinds of social bonds which take into account the singularities and self-expression of the individual, while at the same time acting as a catalyst for a dynamic of mediation which focuses on reliance, relation building and synergy between, the Self and the Other, the individual and the society (2010:1-2).

In this extract, PT posits itself as having the potential, because of the quality of its ritual, to explore cross-cultural hermeneutic phenomenology, whose themes are interpretation, textual meaning, dialogue, preunderstanding, and tradition. It is a method of generating shared knowledge using personal narratives. Members of the audience can listen and learn about themselves and others concerning themes framed in the performance. Personally, I wanted my method of inquiry to not only draw information from the participants but also to allow them to learn about themselves from their narratives and those of others within a community context.

The PT method is appropriate as it allows for the investigation of the collective memory of the present mixed community by drawing attention to their narratives within a shared place of community and living. This makes it possible to measure how much of their history and origins they actually know and understand, and how their historical memory affects them and how they

perceive themselves within the broader South African context. Who are they now? Before moving onto providing the researcher's own lineage and context that frames this research report, I wish to provide an understanding of the geographical creation of Hammanskraal based on Godsell and Hofmeyr.

Previous perspectives on studies conducted in Hammanskraal, its History, and Ritual

I based my foundational context on two PhD Thesis publications: *Blurred belongings: Hammanskraal Histories 1942-2002* by Sarah Godsell and "*We Spend Our Years as a Tale That Is Told": Oral Historical Narrative in a South African Chiefdom* by Isabel Hofmeyr. These hold extensive research on borders and ways of belonging, and narratives of tradition and narratives of modernity. These are also 'a collection of strands' (Godsell 2015:9) of history; these significantly aided in the formation of the baseline of this study as they are oral narratives drawn from the people and not observations resting on research done by an outsider. In my opinion, research formulated by someone from outside of the community cannot fully translate the episteme and currency of how these communities came to be where they are/were in the present/past.

The difference between these two works and this research report is in the method of inquiry. While Godsell and Hofmeyr both interviewed their participants during their research.This echoes the collection of books written with reference to groups located in language as tribes or groups of an anthropological study instead of a sub-group of a nation that may have shifted or found evolution to their ways of living over time due to colonial and migration effect. Books such as *Ritual Theatre* (2010) Edited by Claire Schraider, Sue Jennings on *'The Nature and Scope of Dramatherapy: Theatrev for Healing'* (1992), *Theatre, Dramatherapy, and Transformation: The Senoi Temiars*, and Roose Evans (1995) *Passages of the Soul*, amongst others.

These books and studies have been written by outsider observers in the communities and groups of their respect and widely by by those of western and European perspective and privilidge and lacking entry points of understanding coded language and practice of the group they are working with. I believed that coming in an insider researcher will offer me this privilledge when conducting the study.

The Researcher's Lineage and Reality, The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and Allies of Pre-Recorded History

I would like to insert a journal snippet illustrating the lineage of my upbringing within different livelihoods existing in Hammanskraal, from my family background, before I provide further reasons for undertaking this project.

> *I have had the privilege of living and engaging with some of the different areas in my childhood and adult life. I lived parts of my childhood with family members like my paternal aunt's home in Portion 9 who lived in two-room iron corrugated houses without water and electricity with a family of three (3). During my pre-school days, I was moved to live in a four-roomed 'cement formed' brick house for a family of six (6) without water and electricity at my paternal uncle's house in Danhouse. There were many visits to my grandparents as well. My maternal grandparents lived in an 11 roomed face brick home with a double garage for a family of four (4) with electricity and water in Bosplaas. My paternal grandparents, who lived on the same street as my maternal grandparents, lived in a five roomed sand/cement formed brick house with livestock (cattle, turkey, and chicken) and a five-morgen size field for a family of five(5) and two(2) grandchildren. Lastly to my own home, a six roomed face brick house for a family of three (3) at the time before my brother was born in 1997.*
>
> *In fourth grade, my mother started selling vegetables at what was previously the prominent local bus rank a road away from my home. It was in this space that I was able to engage with different people from in and around Hammanskraal for twelve (12) years (some of them fellow hawkers and others were commuters of buses). It was in this space I experienced a sense of community, a sense of hate/disgust from people looking at other people's ethnicity and socio-economic class. It was in this space I saw the rhythm of the flow of people living in Hammanskraal. Where in the morning I would hear buses going into Pretoria from around 5 am to be quiet at 8 am until it gets busy again when people come back from work from around 4:30 pm. They would be rushing to the cheapest shops and supermarkets for mostly bread and other necessities, no matter how far it would be from the nearest Spar[12], which was more expensive. They would make it back in time to catch their last bus home and this would continue until 7 pm when the shopping complex and Spar close.*
>
> *I say "a privilege" because the memory and knowledge this experience has afforded me is priceless as a member of the Hammanskraal. However, it becomes a challenge when my*

[12] Spar is a grocery supermarket franchise

capacity to understand this community is always dismissed when I mention that I am from Rens Town. I am then seen as a person who can afford a 'lavish' lifestyle and not understand what other people go through or who they are. At first, I didn't blame people who did this because I knew individuals from my neighbourhood who would look down on others because they were not of their calibre. However, this act of scaling and boxing my ability to engage with everyone from Hammanskraal became a concern when I would meet a stranger, fellow students, lecturers, and other educated folks out of Hammanskraal who would still do the same. As if this was not enough, there have also been those who have fully removed me from the area in it's a whole saying it is not a place to home, my home should be a village. It was then that I became curious to find out what may have led to this strong barrier of seeing the other for who they are in the same community. How can we work together if we do not understand and accommodate the difference of others? How can we learn to understand and accommodate the difference of others for a better community? Who were we, when we came into Hammanskraal?

Today the apartheid laws, that forced displacement and segregation, are an ongoing factor and account for why I was born into a fragmented and unrecorded community. But, I do not believe that this culture of not fully acknowledging what pre-existed should continue. The more pertinent question is how to help the generations to come to know themselves through their history so that they can better understand how to adapt to a change which would be more in line with their biological makeup. In a report on forced removals by *The South African Council of churches [SACC] and The Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference [SACBC]*, it is pointed out that:

> the result of removing people from their homes and lands, and relocating them elsewhere, has been to cut off their means of livelihood. Through relocation, black people have lost much of the capital they put into their property and land. Their share in the productive forces of the economy has been steadily reduced, especially when this has impinged upon the economic advantage of whites (SACC & SACBC, 1984:54).

There was a lot of bloodshed during the resistance to Apartheid and even though the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) offered a platform to bring about a form of healing and closure for many of those families who lost their loved ones to the brutal forces of the era, the reconciliation of those 'cut off from their means of livelihood' may have not been addressed with as much rigour as the TRC was commissioned to do. This led to a permanent loss of ownership of land and homes and diluted traditional and cultural community living. For some, the sense of hopelessness brought about a cycle of generational acceptance of the current situation and a loss of interest in how the pre-colonial concepts may add perspective and value

to the question of how better to move forward. For these reasons this research developed into an oral history project on the area. It aims to stimulate the discourse of historical memories of origin within a community using the ritual of stories in Playback Theatre.

The Historical Community, the Spatial Past, the in-between, and the Continuous Present of Hammanskraal

Küsel in his US Knowledge Report reports that Hammanskraal received its name after Hamman's time when it 'started to become a major settlement area for black people. Though it originally was intended for Tswana people it eventually became a mixed Black cultural area. Where most surrounding areas were controlled by tribal authorities Hammanskraal and Temba became townships with industrial development areas (1970). Today the town serves as a central shopping district for surrounding locations, villages and rural areas close to the borders of Mpumalanga, North West, and Limpopo provinces. It has become a central business area with a mall, shopping centres, complexes, and the main hub for public transport (buses and taxis) travelling to cities, towns, and other provinces. All the areas of Hammanskraal differ in spatial qualities. There are Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) houses, townships, suburbs, plots, farms, informal settlements, and wastelands. This shows the origins and development of the place but not the origin and evolution of the people living in the area, the residents and the community.

I assumed that there would be a gap in our inter-activeness, informed by our historical tribal disputes and the enforced displacement of place, language and culture these coming out of the different realities experienced during the time of the Bophuthatswana Government[13]. Despite these historical disputes, there is a tool for communication, the language of S'pitori. It has become a language of cultural identity. This holds us together; it is our uniting activity that exists while we obscure who we are as a community and how we came to be. It has the potential to move the community forward as one unit. Although there is no language barrier there is a lack of togetherness and connectedness, due to no acknowledgement of the other and their respective ethnic language, culture, placement, and social standing.

[13] The Tswana Territorial Authority, Bantustan/homeland, with self-governing status awarded by the white Apartheid government. This construction further legally solidified the racial border that cut through Hammanskraal. Temba, Majaneng, Ramotse and Marokolong were incorporated into the Moretele district, and the Kgatla-Ndebele Regional authority was dissolved. This recreated these spaces of Hammanskraal under a new name, a new flag and new super-imposed identity (Godsell 2015:216).

> The Hammanskraal of today is rooted in the arrival of three different groups in the area: the AmaNdebele-a-Moletlane[14] traditional authority, the Rens family, and the Native Affairs Department with the South African Native Trust. (It should be noted that the area was not unoccupied when these groups arrived. Historically, the Bakgatla ba Mmakau were linked to Hammanskraal, influencing the area linguistically) (Godsell 2015:47).

The reality is that many epistemes of history that exist in Hammanskraal as snippets of the tribal and ethnic identities in the area these are also interlinked to tribal authority and political white governance. Hence the existing history is more about how the black South African communities in the area navigated themselves through the changeover times of different power structures. Sarah Godsell captured the chronology of their becoming, how people came to settle there and the development of Hammanskraal.

- → The name 'Hammanskraal' is attributed to 'Hamman', a trekker who initially built his 'kraal' on what became the farm Hammanskraal 112JR, claiming and taming the space (Godsell 2015:12).
- → Three key farms were important in early Hammanskraal. The first was Hammanskraal 112 JR (which also includes Hammanskraal 435). The post office and the railway station were located on this farm. The Native Commissioner's office was also located here. This is why the name Hammanskraal, actually a small farm in the area, became an important point on the map (ibid:48).

[14] The Ndebele community originated from Kwa-Zulu Natal, and formed part of the Ndlovu clan as descendants. The Ndebeles broke away and migrated to Pietermaritzbug because of the tribal wars, which took place during the early part of the previous centuries. The migrating community was led by Paramount chief Keke, at his death, his son Bolongo, took over as leader of the Ndebele. Bolongo moved and settled in the Transvaal to the North of Pretotia; today known as Tshwane. [ONLINE] http://amandeleamoletlane.co.za/background.php



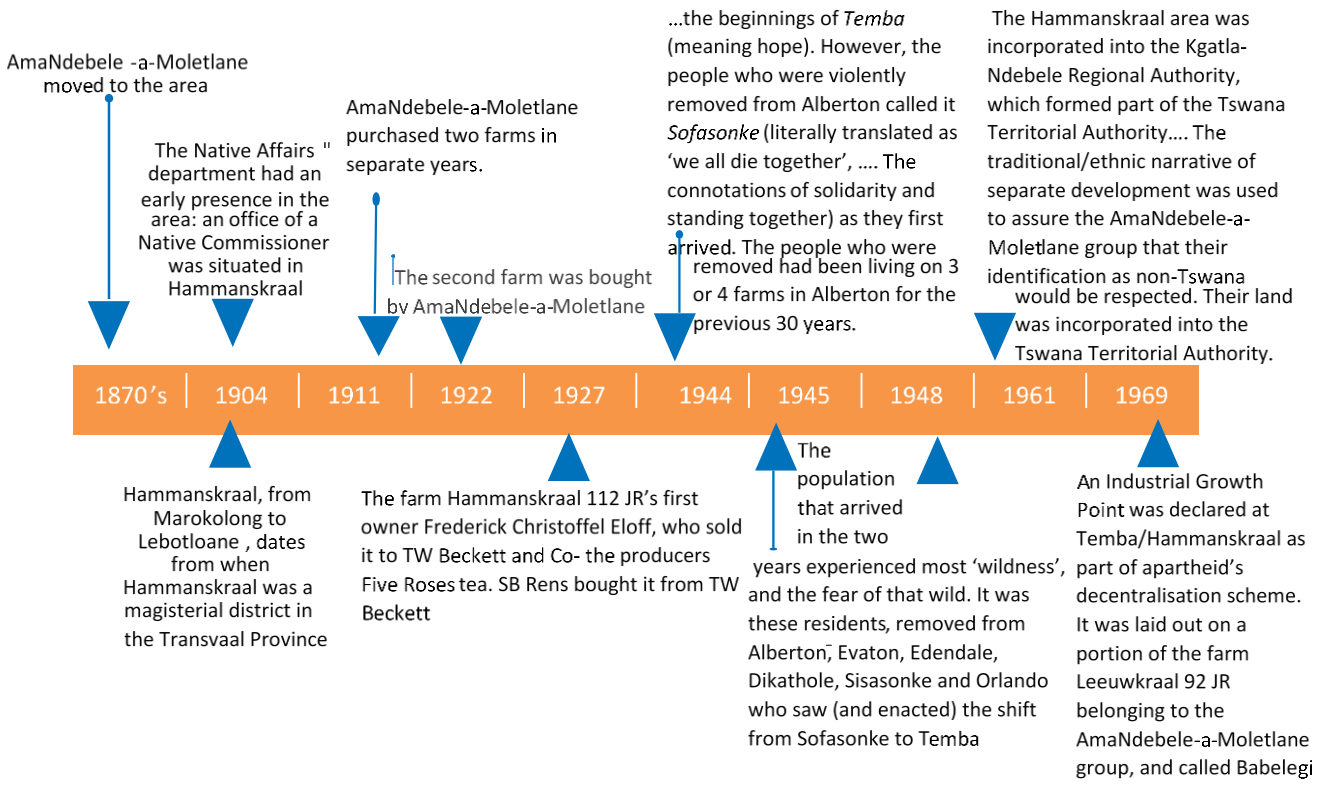
Figure 1 –Top and 2 - Bottom



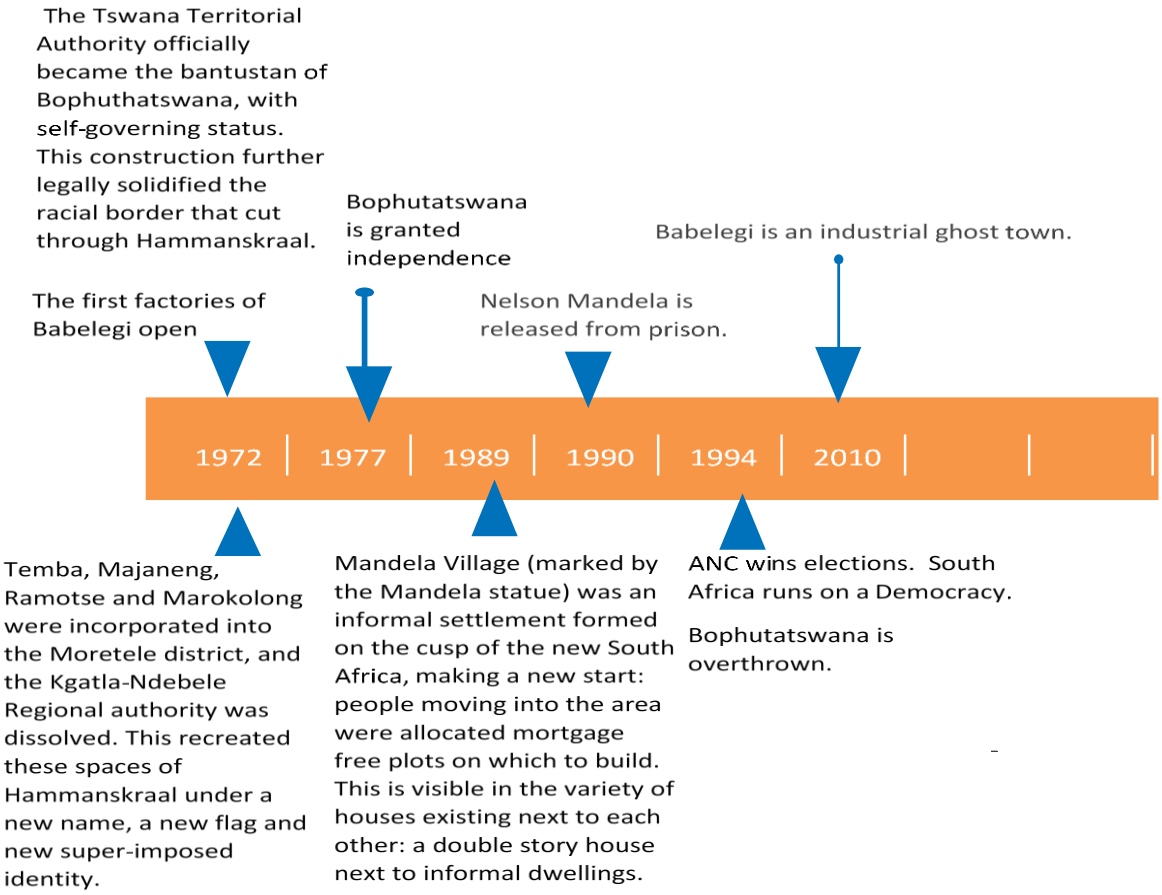
Figure 1 and 2 areTwo oldest buildings in Kanana, said to be where the office of the local native commissioner was stationed before a Courthouse and a Home Affairs department was built in Temba. Elders of a neighbouring church using the space, found documents and letters dating to the 1920s when they were cleaning the building for occupation. Unfortunately these archives of history have been thrown away and lost forever. More on historical context of these buildings will be shared in the timeline to follow.



Figure 3 is an image of Kanana, an RDP establishment is seen in the background behind the milling factory and Hammanskraal station from a standing point in Rens Town, previously the white residential area in Hammanskraal. The RDP area is also where you find the previously mentioned home affairs whose deteriorating buildings never gained opportunity to stand as monuments that can share parts of the history of Hammanskraal in Aparheid times.



Timeline[15]: How Hammanskraal came to be a place occupied by different groups of people.



Timeline Continued.

'The Hammanskraal that exists today is that area which took part in a coup which was a united and violent protest against Bophuthatswana, as in other regions under Bantustan governorship just before 1994. It left Hammanskraal with an identity complex as it was a rural, peri-urban area with surviving wastelands still present.' I include this historical survey to put what may emerge from the present community into context. This is the community I will be investigating using the findings of the currently published history of Hammanskraal which was put together from interviews with older residents and martyrs of Hammanskraal and material from national archives and records in newspapers and articles.

I have been privileged to be part of an institution that has some recorded history of Hammanskraal in its library. However, this type of material is not easily accessed by the community that needs this knowledge to help them understand their current situation. This, for

[15] Information sought from *Blurred belongings: Hammanskraal Histories 1942-2002* by Sarah Godsell (2015)

me, raised the question of how studies of people and communities can be made more accessible to the people who generated the knowledge.



Figure 3: The earliest[16] picture of Hammanskraal against one in the year 2020 of the same point position.

This research report is structured as follows:

The section on 'Why look at memory, story, ritual, and communinity informs about the reasons why this study chose an approach that has memory, ritual, and storytelling as a central base for its course of inquiry and PT as an activating tool for community building by an approach that stems from orality in the sense oral tradition in storytelling. It also aims to compare the shift in community behaviour and identity caused by colonialism. It will also provide the reader with the theoretical lens used in the research. The Literature Review, discusses the literature that has assisted me in the research and argues that this study is important for a study of South African origins within the context of a specific region of South Africa. Chapter Three will give the reader a fuller understanding of the research methodology. It unpacks how PT collected data using the inquiry method as a tool. This will be followed by the analysis, comparison, and deduction in Chapter Four of the data captured from the PT performances in Hammanskraal. Chapter Five concludes the report by looking at the effectiveness of PT in stimulating dialogue,

[16] Picture on left from Godsell (2015:58).

thepre-requites for PT to be successful for data collection and presents research recommendations and limitations before the conclusion.

Chapter One

Concepts that frame the study

To frame a clear focused study, this research was viewed through the lens of community building, community displacement, and the effects of oral history. The aim was to explore the invisible discourse of the community regarding the historical memories of the individual and their community. bell hooks affirmed that people may still long:

> …to live in a society where beloved community can be formed-where loving ties of care and knowing bind us together in our differences. We cannot surrender that longing…We need such bonding not because we cling to utopian fantasies but because we have struggled all our lives to create this community…. The small circles of love we have managed to form in our individual lives represent that beloved community is not a dream, that it already exists for those of us who have done the work of educating ourselves for critical consciousness. (1995:263-264)

This emphasizes that in order to re-imagine a community we (the community and the service providers) must work together to unlearn what was imposed on us by outside influences in our past, the western influences and the colonial structures, and re-learn what has been existing but has been suppressed because of these influences. Such previous forces have segregated, marginalised, and divided South Africans and the effects are still present today. Fox explains that:

> …there is a deeper reason why oral tales are "traditional" which demands that we imagine ourselves in a world with no books - no written information at all. In such a context, remembrance is essential, for if we forget, the story and its content will be gone forever, with no possibility of retrieval. (1983: 14)

I used Playback as a method of data collecting through observation and a practical engaging device. It played to help to build community by exploring stories. I used the stories to inform my research. This was possible because Fox (1983:46) informs us that 'a striking feature of the transcript is its emphasis on social interaction. A good deal of the performance, in truth, consists not of drama, but of talking around the drama'. This, in my context, was the exploration of stories and historical memories on origins and current discourse in Hammanskraal.

The idea of an uncontaminated 'local source' being mined to give a 'true' version of a previously unvoiced history has remained a problem in South African historiography (Godsell 2015:87). Moreover, Lekgoathi (as cited in Godsell 2015:87) wrote:

> The product of a government ethnologist, Van Warmelo's work provided the kind of scientific evidence that the state required to control Africans…Similarly, African intermediaries involved in contemporary struggles over chieftainship drew on his writings to legitimate their own lineage's claims. Both their expressions were in response to the complicated history which exists within the Ndebele tribe that is split in Hammanskraal even today.

This called for the researcher to pay attention to the biases and to the use of a methodological approach that may influence but not address or give precedence to any single-story narrative. All stories needed to be recognised, affirmed and acknowledged for critical analysis to take place. In a broader context, a nations' subgroup cannot begin to participate in a social order when it does not know and understand its own contextual identity.

Years ago, when racial segregation was the norm, most folks learned about folks from a different ethnic/racial background by hearsay, relying on stereotypes, gossip, and fantasy-based projections. Nowadays, mass media is the location where most folks gather information about the "other," that is folks who are different from themselves (hooks 2009:57). This dependence on external others to tell us about ourselves reflects the conditioning to trust stories that continue to dispossess and to malign as Adichie has warned. In a confrontation we need to realise that 'remembrance is essential, for if we forget the story and its content will be gone forever, with no possibility of retrieval' (Fox 1983:14).

Why look at memory, story, ritual, and community?

> We are born and have our being in a place of memory. We chart our lives by everything we remember from the mundane moment to the majestic. We know ourselves through the art and act of remembering. Memories offer us a world where there is no death, where we are sustained by rituals of regard and recollection (hooks 2009:5)[17].

In this quote, hooks captured the imagined outcomes of the aims of this study. As we now live in a world that is mobilised by development, innovation, and technology, the recollections stored in our memories tell us how we can map our lives from our histories as we adapt and live with one another in this ever-changing world. Her notion that 'memories offer us a world

[17] bell hooks writes and assumes her name in small caps in her writings.

where there is no death' is a monarchical statement reflecting the oral traditions that have existed in African communities for the long past years. It also gives us the certainty that our true identities can never die or wither in a world where we appreciate these memories. To be 'sustained by rituals of regard and recollection' reminds me of being held and contained by a communal practice that acknowledges one within others and a practice that affirms our being in its wholeness; an embrace of self and community as an interlinked entity.

I was motivated to conduct this study by the traditional customs, events and stories of the community where my mother grew up in Venda[18] although she was born in Suurman, Gauteng Province. These were stories about celebrating new harvests and best plantation competitions before feasting on those foods at the gathering of the community. Their community would meet to engage in coming of age events, celebration rituals and beer dance oratory during her time in Venda between 1968 and 1986. I was interested to find out from others what memories inform who we are in the Hammanskraal community. Are these ways of living still alive in our current era whether by events or collective behaviour and habits?

These stories, and hook's notion of rituals of regard, reflect Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's words that remind us that, in an African context, drama was not an isolated event but:

> was part and parcel of daily and seasonal life of the community. It was an activity among other activities, often drawing its energy from those other activities. It was also entertainment in the sense of involved enjoyment: it was moral instruction, and it was also a strict matter of life and death and communal survival. This drama was not performed in special space set aside for the purpose… 'The empty space', among the people, was part of the tradition (wa Thiong'o 1989:37).

Although nowadays there is a lack of such community gatherings, a significant act of reflecting through re-enaction or engaging in 'comic relief' after an event takes place whenever a group organically gather, unplanned. I say this because of my encounters and observations within my own neighbourhood. After the day's work, the weekend or a school year, it has become a tradition for peers in Hammanskraal to meet (unorganised) at any available place to speak about their day, their lives, their challenges, hopes and plans etc through a re-enactment of an encounter. These would mostly describe a moment, a person they encountered, or an event that sparked something that moves them to share. These meetings can happen under a tree in one's home or a park, or in a garage opened to view people walking the streets before going back to

[18] A rural village area in the Limpopo Province in South Africa

their households. Sometimes these moments organically happen when a shared experience is sparked in a salon, a taxi, and any given long queue.

This is a form of reflection done using storytelling and a re-enactment of the day's events. I saw that it might be able to introduce a form of storytelling that encompasses being able to sit and reflect on your story when it is played back to you and you are on the outside, witnessing it. This would result in recognition and can build a sense of relatability with the others which sometimes forms new relationships. While I understand that my peers and I reflect each other on a small community level and also how our stories mostly reflect the present, I am interested in seeing how this same community can be engaged to delve into stories of their historical memory.

Although these meetings happen within a temporal space, they are evidence of the intrinsic culture of storytelling that lives within this community. It doesn't, however, remove the fact that inviting the same people to participate in a ritual performance that asks them for a dedicated and undisrupted time of engagement on their part could be a challenge. Somers, as cited in Prenkti and Preston, restates that "here are many fewer opportunities for community members to meet and engage with each other. Physical proximity is not enough; just because people happen to live in the same place geographically, this will not necessarily create circumstances which can produce 'a community'" (2009:207). A socio-temporal community already exists in Hammanskraal, apart from the shared geographical living community. I agree that the concept of 'community' does not depend solely on the fact that people live in the same place but, because the community of Hammanskraal have a flare for drama and storytelling in their performative nature. I became convinced that given an opportunity, they would meet to share stories. I then saw how this could be achieved.

This study is as much for the community, as it is for the researcher. It is a collaboration of seeking what has not been transparently shared within Hammanskraal regarding knowing and understanding the people wholeheartedly. In her book, *What is Slavery to me?* Gqola mentions how Zoe Wicomb 'lamented the absence of folk memory of South African slavery even in the Western Cape, where the bulk of the slave population lived between 1658 and 1838, and where the majority of their descendants continue to live' (2010:204). And how 'historian Robert Ross (1983) questioned the same thing when he noted that the only residue of this era in South African history lies in the court records. These court records offer us a glimpse into what slave life was like for the enslaved.' (2010:204). Recorded and accessible to anyone anywhere in

South Africa this history, in the context of South Africa, is of the recent past and not that of the origins of the Cape colony, the Zulu Kingdom and the Khoi-Khoi and San people. We may not have had textual forms of recording our history and happenings, but oral tradition and storytelling has proved to be successful in the past.

The performative nature of the ritual of regard has withered to those performed at weddings and some coming of age ceremonies that now are mainly practised in remote villages in the rural areas of provinces like Kwa-Zulu Natal or, by families that still believe in their importance. These include those of a performative nature that come with affirming one's identity.

> When you inquire what they [Tsonga Informants] know about the past, you find first, a story about their origin which bears a strongly mythical character, secondly, traditions more or less legendary about the migrations of the various clans, thirdly, genealogies of the royal family containing eight to ten names, and fourthly, historical narratives which go back as far as the beginning of the nineteenth century, and which give the impressions of true historical facts (Hofmeyr 1993:130).

This is an example of the nature of the recalling of clan names in praise of where one originated. It encompasses lineage and the events that one's generation has encountered and which affirm how they have lived to carry a family name as a mark of identity for those descendants who will come after them. It used to be a memory that adopted the changes and events in history as they were encountered by one's ancestors and which did not need to be written as it was able to be shared and transferred to new generations as life evolved. This way of recollection is also, sadly, now only practised by those who still have pride in their ancestral lineage while others have been discontinued due to the different facets of change that have affected this cultural phenomenon.

Tamisari (2005) also observed this phenomenon in the *Yolngu* [19]ritual performance. She saw that it was one of the most elaborate and effective ways of negotiating, reproducing and interpreting the Law (*rom*) just like the other Australian indigenous ceremonial traditions that are held together by song, music, dance and designs in a ritual context. She tells us that it is in

[19] A ritual dance performance for ceremonial and other intercultural political encounters in north-east Arnhem Land that is an Australian indigenous tradition. These dances within their context 'strive achieve several general goals: to achieve co-presence through forms of participation; to engage total attention through a movement backward and forward between different levels of intensity or feeling; and to express something beyond what is represented' (Tamisari 2005: 47)

the staging of *Yolngu* ceremonies that people retrace and re-enact the ancestral journeys which shaped and named the land, and in this way gifted it to specific groups of people. All details of these law-giving ancestral journeys are retraced in the events described in the songs which are like road maps criss-crossing the land, connecting the land and the people. This gives an insight into how people, on a global scale, relate songs, dance, and rituals to make sense of their environments and way of living.

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o also posited that 'drama was not an isolated event in pre-colonial Kenya' (wa Thiong'o 1986:262). He speaks of rituals the community practised, in context, that were organic to their way of living. These rituals included 'rites to bless the magic power of tools' (ibid:262), rites for the mediation of the hand and tool worked together to clear forests and to plant crops. There were 'fertility rites and ceremonies to celebrate the life oozing from earth, or from between the thighs of humans and animals' (ibid:262) and 'rituals and ceremonies to celebrate and mark birth, circumcision or initiation, and the different stages of growth and responsibility, marriages and the burial of the dead' (ibid:262). These resemble *Kgoro*[20]in pre-colonial South Africa whereas in Kenya they focused on:

> performances that included marriages, piacular intersections, ritual occasions, judicial deliberations, funerals, and commemorative ceremonies. All these events required the display of historical information which was expressed in a wide variety of forms that included genealogy, praising, beer drink oratory, prayers, ritual intercessions and legal disquisition. These ceremonies were also characterized by a degree of performance. Part of this performance lay in song, dance, music, and mime. But part also lay in the language of ritual which itself a form of action rather than simply an accumulation of propositional statements. As a focus for these various activities, the *kgoro* became, in Pitje's words, 'an open theatre' (Hofmeyr 1993:131).

Some of these rituals have survived in the current South African context but only on a family and relative level. Although the current generation may or may not be aware of this change, due to being born in a climate where mostly it has already dissolved, it does question whose way of living is informing our current identity and whether or not this adopted way of life is kind to heterogeneous African makeup. Hofmeyr (1993) captured a similar culture in the lives of a tribe that lived in the small town of Potgietersrust, which shows us that we are not that far

[20] Kgoro (Setswana language) was a culturally informed place for governance by past chiefs, rituals, and storytelling and a cultural system of living that existed amongst South Africans in pre-colonial times. It is said to be still practiced in some parts of provinces like Limpopo.

removed from the people in Kenya. She informs us that the use of *kgoro* started to wither before 'the effects of mass education that took off in the chiefdom during the 1960s' and which was a 'further factor diminishing the hold of a participatory, oral performance culture' (1993:136). Potgietersrust, is known today as Makapanstad, north of Hammanskraal. It is also, from time to time regarded as Hammanskraal because the community uses Temba and Hammanskraal as their major shopping centre and to commute to further away areas and towns.

There is also mention of these rituals taking place in 'the empty space' in Kenya and in 'an open theatre' in South Africa, both these are not defined by place but rather by people coming together in an open space to participate in rituals and ceremonies prevalent in their lives. This notion supports the idea that the events of theatre/drama/ritual when used for education, healing and transformation does not need a venue, but people. The space used for the dramatic/performance/action/ interaction can be wherever there is one available.

> PT's goals are, with the involvement of the individuals and communities involved, to open pathways which promote interaction within the existing social structure, to facilitate instead of lead by giving the members involved the power to share values and experiences, to discuss delicate issues in a safe environment, and to support all involved through the telling and representation of their stories (Teruel et al:4).

Principles of approach and practice within the PT ritual involve negotiation and shared power relations between the actors and audiences, the service providers and the community. The above extract stipulates that it can happen in any venue providing it is in a safe environment where all parties involved can feel safe to interact. Unfortunately, such open or relevant spaces are not as easily acquired as they used to be unless they are in the confines of a community like the grounds of a school or church that may be willing to assist. There is a bureaucratic force policing how other spaces are spontaneously used which sometimes leads to unaccommodating procedures particularly where a council manages the spaces and venues. I see this not so much as a challenge but as an opportunity to re-imagine the potential of these different spaces together with the community.

As shared by the participants in Hofmeyr's research, 'Christian households, in their architecture and gender division, assisted in the erosion of traditional models', moving away from a time where 'everyone lived together and…had cattle'. Now 'each man's house is a *kgoro'* (1993:137). I have noticed that due to different reasons (to seclude or include), the living arrangement of gated communities and those contained behind walls/fences/gates/ closed road

circles has given rise to a culture of separateness which we have adopted. Villages used to have one *kgoro*. There was only one gate, even when the village was big.

The modern way of living has given family heads the freedom to gate their immediate family within their household, leading to small scale counter-dependence. The onus is now on each household to survive, gradually changing a community from one of connectedness to one of togetherness. I refer to connectedness in the sense that we are now disconnected in that each family chooses, some don't have a choice, where they go to discuss grievances and needs as they emerge: the school, the healthcare or security services and so on. However, when a challenge proves to affect a multitude of people we start to stand together (togetherness) in a form of solidarity to overcome the challenge: fees must fall, contaminated water strike in Hammanskraal, activism against gender-based violence and so on.

Unfortunately, these acts of togetherness are not responded to with the same level of efficiency in every area. Hammanskraal has had contaminated tap water, since 2015/2016 (I remember because I used to travel back home with bottles of clean water from where I stayed in Johannesburg during my studies as my family could not, and still cannot, afford to buy clean drinking water daily). And even after many procedural efforts and protests, with the biggest being during the 10-day drought in 2019, the water came back as contaminated as before. Nothing has been done to overcome this challenge which infringes on the Human Basic Right to water. Together with the need for personal survival, and a demotivated spirit, caused by the leaders who are supposedly attempting to resolve, address, and affirm community needs, and grievances, there comes a 'disconnect' and a collective spirit of hopelessness.

I strongly believe that this behaviour within communities can be reimagined and reconstructed. Somers, as cited in Prenkti and Preston, says that theatre can be an important tool when building this new community identity and, through its research and performances, can ensure that its development is based firmly on the positive elements of the past. Such theatre calls for a dynamic exploration and presentation of the defining narratives of a community (2009:208). I believe that the forgotten or hind-sighted narratives of a community, which are relative to their humanity, can, in the sharing of personal stories, honour those who, as the single units of a bigger community, are re-building unity and identity. It is those people who know themselves who can be able to know where they need to go and how to get there, together.

In his lecture paper published by The John Hopkins University, Brieger (2006) gives three definitions of community:

1. A group of people living in the same defined area sharing the same basic values, organisation and interests (Rifkin et al, 1988),
2. An informally organized social entity which is characterized by a sense of identity (White, 1982) and
3. A population which is geographically focused but which also exists as a distinct social entity, with a local collective identity and corporate purpose (Manderson et al,1992).

Hammanskraal is a community by nature of the first and second definition. The definition of a community with shared residence areas, interests, basic values and organisation contrastingly overlaps with the community historically organized to settle in the area and also with those communities that are part of the area but have historically and currently been neglected. Members of the community do live in a defined area but because of the diversity, and complexities of their different ethnicities, socio-classes, livelihood environments and the past inflicted differences of labour and class they share a perplexing identity. *S'pitori* is a living culture coming out of this perplexity. It comes from 'the colonial policy that required each 'native' be affiliated to a local traditional authority based on location rather than matched 'ethnicity'. This added to the linguistic heterogeneity in Hammanskraal' (Godsell 2015:37).

Playback Theatre, as my chosen method of inquiry in the community within Hammanskraal aimed to stimulate dialogue. It is a tool that encompasses a performance structure that can contain these complexities. The emotional openness of Playback and its strong ritual container allows for the sharing of core experiences necessary for dealing with conflict and allowing reconciliation (Breed 2002:2). I am drawn to this notion because I believe that before we work towards a better future as a nation we, together, must acknowledge and understand our differences then we can become a strong unit for transformation. Thomas shares that 'sites of cultural displacement and encounter may thus be seen to offer, albeit chaotic and unguaranteed, revised definitions of the self within a wider political, geographical and cultural dimension' (as cited in Gqola 2010:201). The assessment of PT's effectiveness begins with the invitation, framing, and engaging with the community highlighting what measures are needed to successfully allow the community to come together and participate, and lastly, what emerged from the performances.

Wole Soyinka (1976), posits and reminds us that "we black Africans have been blandly invited to submit ourselves to a second epoch of colonialization—this time by a universal-humanoid abstraction denned and conducted by individuals whose theories and prescriptions are derived

from the apprehension of *their* world and *their* history, *their* social neuroses and *their* value systems" (Soyinka 1976, as cited in Gilbert and Tompson 2002:53). In the context of Hammanskraal, Soyinka's words stand true to the environment of displacement and disconnect in the community of Hammanskraal. The branches of different cultures and socio-economic classes are the upholders of displacement and disconnect among the community and neglect the concept of community and humanity. The current period sees members of the community who are financially secure holding up the status of 'success' more than that of sharing.

This study invited the community to collectively revisit and affirm, through storytelling, the historical memory that is an intrinsic part of everyone, and to re-build a community that has already developed multiple facets of segregation and displacement. French philosopher Paul Ricoeur, as cited in Fedhendler (2010), describes the dialectic of the narrative process as "Encountering Self as an Other and discovering Oneself as Another. Connecting life stories opens up to identity building through narrative identity" (2010:1). Our human experiences play a part in what makes us individuals but also, the culture of the communities we live with or come from form part of how our identities are shaped as we reflect and project these identities in our individuality. Previous influences of Apartheid have segregated, marginalised, and divided South Africans and the effects are still present today.

Graver tells us that 'most of the problems from which people suffered during the National Party's[21] reign (low wages, high unemployment, inadequate housing, crime) remain pressing issues, but without an obvious target for accusation' (1999:7). In my view, the diverse socio-economic class and geographical livelihood differences of people and areas present in Hammanskraal could be one of the other reasons why there is a disconnect in understanding the other, because each area produces it's kind of individuals that relate only to their specific area-community. Jackson gives a critical view on the effectiveness of storytelling for re-empowerment as he points out that

> …to argue that storytelling is crucial to this process of re-empowerment does not mean, however, that the stories themselves have power; rather, it implies that by enabling dialogues that encompass different points of view, the act of sharing stories helps us create a world that is more than the sum of its individual parts (2013:57-58).

Jackson is affirming that a collective of different points of views gathered through storytelling is the material needed for re-empowerment. This echoes Ricoeur's philosophy that it is through

[21] Apartheid regime party

the action of 'connecting life stories' that we can re-empower ourselves to be able to re-imagine and build the narrative identities of the previously non-favoured or forgotten. For these reasons I have chosen to use PT as a method to explore the stories of Hammanskraal residents in order to trace and study the synergy of people with different narratives of their history, their origins and experiences within their different geographical contexts. Jackson speaks of this kind of intervention as a process. This means that results and transformation happen through action, over time. It is not a quick fix but an interactive process for change. Hosking and Penny (2000) support these concepts in their description of Playback Theatre as a methodology as follows:

> Playback Theatre is a methodology that enables an exploration of an issue or concern rather than delivering a message. It is not an approach that offers teaching or immediate solutions to a situation, and in this way PBT (Playback Theatre) differs from other social action theatre approaches…. PBT presents the challenge of working without judgement and of promoting understanding of others who may have different values and beliefs. It is an effective process for bringing out the points of view of different sub-groups in a community and encouraging people to speak and listen to each other. In this work differences can be told, seen and heard alongside one another (2000:5).

Playback Theatre protects me, as the researcher, from bias or prejudice when formulating questions stemming from my subjective knowledge of the participants. Also, because it is a time-framed ritual performance, there is no space to disregard what is being shared. Anyone can share their story/narrative without being silenced by other members of the audience as the process honours one teller at a time (the person who shares a moment/story from their lives where they were the main subject of the story) .

The key to recognizing the cultural importance of oral tradition is to understand the paradox that any one instance or performance *is itself a fragment* but *stands for the whole* (Groenwald 1990:3) Playback performances have the potential to affect its participants so that they not only make visible what they individually hold in their personal stories but they also start seeing their lives, not in isolation but as they are relative to others living around them, this is what gives meaning to what Groenwald is saying. Playback stories shared within a particular theme are single fragments that, when all put together, offer a broader view and understanding of how the stories are all connected, thus coming out of dividedness comes a singular notion.

Within its methodology, there is also the challenge of working without judgement and promoting understanding and encouraging people to speak and listen to others who may have different points of view, values, and beliefs. It is 'a bottom-up approach for reconciliation that

has been successfully tailored to fit [even] the Nepali context' (Saud 2016:188). Although there was a contrasting challenge that 'the top-down approach is characterised by a perception that [...] for local dynamics to change, national intervention must first take place. This will then filter down or create the conditions (and incentives) within which local actors can pursue reconciliation processes' (Bloomfield et al as cited in Saud 2016:189). Saud provides that:

> it is an illusion to believe that only reconciliation imposed from the top will automatically engender individual steps towards reconciliation. The authorities cannot impose trust and empathy by decree, nor can they forgive in the name of the victims. However, it was found that the project of sharing personal stories for healing had been supplementary to the activities of government authorities at the community level reconciliation processes in the country (Saud 2016:189).

I also hoped that this intervention would be recognised as a supplementary device spearheading relevant strategies and bringing change in the community context plus other similar attributes. I was an insider because of I was resident in Hammanskraal and even though this may be a positive position to be in for an in-depth understanding of the cultures and people in their context, it posed the challenge of monitoring any bias I may have held because I do not share all the values and beliefs of the community in context. Also, I was a member of the outside PT group coming in to perform.

To honour this study and to keep to the bottom-up approach, for the success of the intervention I adopted the position of a reflexive researcher. This was so I could work without the danger of any personal bias influencing the study. Reflexivity is a process whereby researchers place themselves and their practice under scrutiny, acknowledging the ethical dilemmas that permeate the research process and which can impinge on the creation of knowledge (Khoo-Lattimore n.d:4). The research project is an Applied Theatre (AT) based project which uses the qualitative method of inquiry and data collection and which is what makes it to be qualitative research.

I found myself further identifying as an insider-reflexive researcher. This was because I shared the background, and some of the experiences, beliefs and value systems with the community that was the target of this study. How then does the insider researcher listen? Bonner and Tolhurst believe that being an insider researcher gives three advantages to the research. First, an insider will be able to better understand an issue; second, he will not disrupt the flow of social interaction; and finally, he will be able to extract true data from the participants as he can relate well to them (as cited in Saidin & Yaacob 2016:850). These advantages allow for

deeper listening to the new information coming from the participants and also gives weight to that information which the researcher is already familiar with. All information is noted and goes into the report to avoid bias and to help with the critical analysis of truth in new and old information. It is also used to extract the information the researcher may not be familiar with but which is within the scope of the research.

To answer the research question, I went through the following steps:

1. I invited actors from Drama For Life Playback Theatre to volunteer for the performances to take place in Hammanskraal. This meant that I was responsible for conducting a rehearsal that would frame the performances (the research) before going to Hammanskraal This was an invitation to playbackers as performance co-researchers to carry out the success of the performances and research study recordings to reflect to thereafter. It als guarraunteed a mindful approach carried by players who are well practiced in the form of of PT.
2. I reviewed the Anthropological and Historical PhD Thesis publications of Sarah Godsell and Isabel Hofmeyr to help with my extensive baseline research. These allowed me to explore themes relating to historical memories and origins. They gave me an informed themed framework for the rehearsal with the PT actors and the performance with participants from Hammanskraal.
3. I hosted three (we missed the fourth, due to unforeseen circumstances) performances (one and a half-hour long) on two days in three different areas of Hammanskraal which were all video-recorded for later transcription. The first performance had an audience of 8 persons, the second 61, and the third 12, all with signed concent to use their stories for the study, to whose succussesion, comparison and contrast will be further discussed in the study (Chapter 4)
4. Post-Performance I held focus group sessions with the participants/audience members to further unpack their experience of the performances. This was to unpack feedback from all that were there, those who only observed, those who shared stories, and what the ritual performance of PT had left them with.
5. I then transcribed the performances into scripts that I thematically and comparatively analysed before writing up my findings. Having had a visceral experience as a performer, I could now go back to a text to study the stories in order to search in them the answer to the research question on this study.
6. From my analysis I made my deductions and concluded the study and report.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

A PT intervention offers the opportunity to create a case study through oral engagement, to identify moments in a performance/ritual that determine the successes, failures, challenges, and weaknesses of the ritual - these then determine its ability to build solidarity, and to create and reinforce shared symbols. This framework enabled me to give statuary meaning to the use of PT as a method of inquiry and data collection in the context of Hammanskraal and academia. Rossner & Meher warn us that:

> the dynamic, messy nature of lived life, and therefore rituals, comprise variables that cannot always be pre-determined or measured. Because of this, the use of ritual theory in research tends to rely on qualitative methods (live or video observation, participant-observation, interviews). Observational techniques are important for discerning the components of a ritual event: What are the ingredients of this interaction? How successful is it? What causes variations on mutual focus and emotional cohesion to occur? What are the consequences of these variations on the participants' overall focus and cohesion? (2014:26).

In terms of the variables that Meher and Rossner declare 'cannot always be pre-determined or measured', my approach is to posit PT not only as a method of inquiry, but also as a tool for collecting data/narratives. To achieve this the performances will be video recorded, transcribed to script, and then unpacked, analysed, and compared with existing knowledge. I will also use post-performance focus group interviews to get objective input from audience members to compare my with findings.

Chimamanda Adichie stresses the power of story in her famous Tedtalk: *The Danger of a Single Story* by saying 'Stories matter. Many stories matter. Stories have been used to dispossess and to malign, but stories can also be used to empower and to humanize. Stories can break the dignity of a people, but stories can also repair that broken dignity' (2009). In concurrence with the main principle of PT to build community, there is a resonating call to action in Adichie's words that story has the power to empower, humanize, and repair broken dignity. Just as a broken community is not broken overnight and, that ritual is an event consistent to everyday life, this call to action and the process of re-imagining ourselves should be allowed to have a consistency which can add to its effect.

When stories are not told by their owners but by hearsay and the media, Adichie's words that stories can break the dignity of people are echoed. It is only when a narrative shares different perspectives can the stories repair that broken dignity and empower people, as Adichie has pointed out for us. In theory and practice, the ritual performance of PT, therefore, is my trusted non-discriminative approach in inquiry and data collection. Above all it invites imaginings that can lead to social change and transformation.

> Communities…have a history-in an important sense they are constituted by their past-and for this reason we can speak of a real community as a "community of memory", one that does not forget its past. In order not to forget that past, a community is involved in retelling its story, its constitutive narrative, and in so doing, it offers examples of the men and women who have embodied and exemplified the meaning of community. These stories of collective history and exemplary individuals are an important part of the tradition that is so central to a community of memory (Fox 1994:208).

The "community of memory" which Jonathan Fox talks about possess, in the context of this study, narratives that define who we are from our past. Our present, and our future selves are also embedded in the collective memory of a whole community. The individual in a community has, from their past experiences stories that can give a strand of meaning to the community context. Nonetheless, socio-economic and geographical displacements, and the fact that people live in areas that instil class difference, have shifted communal behaviour away from listening and sharing stories which teach, acknowledge and overcome challenging circumstances. PT has the potential of being able to re-construct a platform for what oral tradition used to achieve. It is a tool for community building. This notion is shared by Fox (1982), Nash and Rowe (2000), and Salas (1983) in that "a playback theatre performance promotes community values of togetherness and connectedness" (as cited in Barack 2013:111).

These concepts of 'togetherness' and 'connectedness' posit being present and real, the true achievement of a "community of memory". It becomes vital for such a gathering to have honesty and realness for it to be an effective intervention. For a community to exist, conceited individualism must be allowed to digress and in that process, solidarity will be entrenched. hooks (2009) reflects that while rugged individualism predisposes one to arrogance, the 'soft' individualism of community leads to humility. Begin to appreciate each other's gifts, and you will begin to appreciate your limitations. Witness others share their brokenness, and you will become able to accept your inadequacy and imperfection. Be fully aware of human variety, and you will recognize the interdependence of humanity (2009:66).

I find it that it is therefore pertinent to invite such individuals to challenge their difference with the hope of their becoming part of a community that resembles true citizenship rather than members of a select few. Such behaviour does not reflect pre-colonial African people as they are described in the literature. It can be deduced to be an attribute that, even if it was already an existing feature in some individuals, may have been heightened by the past segregationally affluent practices with a colonial influence. The process of unlearning previous rigid individualism is what I believe will lead to 'recognizing the interdependency of humanity', described by hooks, that we have lost.

While individual households still appreciate their family members' achievements, marriage, the rite of passage, coming of age/independence (turning 21) through forms of ritual gatherings, most families do not have the necessary financial resources required to carry them out. This also speaks back to the displacement of wealth and community. In some cases, the interest to carry them out is lost all together within a family or by individual preference. "The latter can be challenging to the self because according to these rituals [they] 'create the micro foundation of social life…[and] are grounded in emotional exchanges, which connect people across a range of different situations in space and time'" (Rossner and Meher 2014:6).

In the context of South Africa, apartheid did not just affect the single person, but different masses of people were forced to live in structures that did not acknowledge their cultural identity. Although some areas were planned to group people according to their respective home language, the spatial set up did not represent how they lived together as a community prior to the change. Their actual circumstance drove them to focus on the livelihood of the immediate family rather than community. This became the enforced identity of that community.

Geertz, as cited in Bell (1992) countersigns that, pointing out the "distinction between 'ethos' and 'worldview'." He explains that "ethos designates the moral and aesthetic aspects of a culture - a people's underlying attitude toward themselves and their world" (1992:45). Thus, places that were a symbol of hope (industrial areas, mines and factories with low minimum wage) constructed the emblematic action of striving to succeed in a 'limited opportunity'. This gave an unspoken order for there to be 'one man for himself' and breadwinners[22] were people who became preoccupied with providing for their families and not engaging in what the land,

[22] Reflecting the phrase ' To put bread on the table' , a breadwinner refers to an individual in a family fortunate to find paying work, and having an overly hard working experience, but burdened to support more than what their earnings can attend just to provide basic needs and essentials.

the area of their home could readily provide for them so that they could not participate in cultural or non-paying activities.

However, hooks reminds us that ‘contemporary black folks who embrace victimhood as the defining ethos of their life surrender their agency’ due to the previous ‘power of dominator cultural to dehumanize’ which ‘ more often than not takes precedence over our collective will to humanize.. tragically, the power of dominator cultural [is] to dehumanize’ (hooks, 2009:49). This is not to stipulate that all agency is lost in such communities but it reminds us of how, in its place, there was the residue of victim hood and this was imparted over time. It is, therefore, possible to deconstruct it considering that we live in a time and place where the constitution of our democracy calls for freedom and equality.

Furthermore, because the action of this change is delayed in some areas of the country, studies of this nature can assist this process of change. ‘While telling a story for all, an individual is also in communication to other members of his or her subgroup' (Fox 1994:49). This means that the PT performance is also a conversation. The stories become a conversation about what the community is collectively experiencing, and this conversation is aided by dialogue coming from different viewpoints within a shared place adding to people's understanding of what needs to stay and what needs to go, collectively.

The PT ritual mediates between this communal order and seeks to help the community to witness commonalities that can transcend the knowing of who they are and what they have gone through to what they may need as a communal entity. Here communication between members of a community is made possible with the element of the story connecting missing links of collectiveness and reconstructing trajectories of fragments of history, thus really unpacking and seeing the present identity of the community as it exists and starting to reflect or re-imagine the community.

Participants in qualitative research are not ‘test subjects’ but people who could also be regarded as co-researchers of the different social phenomena. These people have their beliefs, values, and an experiential knowledge that should not be disregarded. If we want to pursue true research that does not obscure their realities and, in essence, the truth about their ways of living, we have to admit to ideas and knowledge of livelihoods we at first perceived to be unimportant or irrelevant. Such research validates differences, not as something negative but as a factor to guide interventional projects for change, not based on the researcher’s subjective knowledge but rather radically addressing, exploring and investigating without bias.

It is easy to reveal problematic areas of society that need to be addressed but the principles which come with formulating interventions with an analytical direction should make use of other social action forms that have a mutual goal within a specific action. For this reason, this project is based on the premise that ritual is a study present in scholarly inquiry and local ways of living.

To rationalize this study, I focused on ritual theory to give meaning and understanding to how the Playback Theatre ritual encompasses the principles of an effective approach to social change and transformation. Previous scholars and theorists within the field of ritual study, have different perspectives of ritual theory depending on their different approaches and the contexts that inform their arguments and debates. I, however, am applying ritual theory principles within the specific context of my project, to look at how the different perspectives overlap and sometimes are relevant within different phases of the research. Due to the nature of Playback Theatre, these contrasting perspectives are present simultaneously. The following are definitions of ritual that capture the ritual essence in Playback Theatre.

1. Jennings describes ritual as, first of all, a display to an observer (god, theorist, etc.) or observers (the community itself) and, second, as an epistemological project. Both of these dimensions of ritual act as a "point of contact" between the rite and the attempt by outside observers to grasp a "theoretical-critical understanding of it (hooks 1992:48).
2. Collins defines rituals broadly as any encounter where participants mutually focus their attention (Rossner & Meher, 2014:21).

In this context, when using PT, the display is for the community who are the observers and not so much for a theorist or researcher. I say this because, in this study, an analysis of the generated knowledge will happen through sorting the scripted performance and through observation during the performance. This display is in the form of a performance which is a replay, a ‘playing back’ of their shared stories and not of stories imposed on them or coming from unrelated storytellers. This is where the epistemes, what has happened before, how it came to be and how it exists in the present, start to manifest in the story. The performance space in PT is the point of contact ‘we construct and negotiate our social identity through the stories that we tell other people (and through the stories that get repeated about us) stories [that] assist us in developing a moral sense, as they give moral weight and existential significance to actions and events (Boyd 2010). This, I believe is the critical understanding of rite Jennings is referring to. This understanding then coincides with Collins’ definition which emphasises how ritual is

a collective activity where participants mutually focus their attention to understand the whole of a fragmented, un-incapsulated topic.

> Ritual theory can identify rituals as dynamic events that build solidarity, create and reinforce shared symbols, and offer individuals opportunities to choose how they engage with the ritual and the co-participants. It also suggests a means of reading these events, for determining how successful a ritual might be, who its key and peripheral participants are, showing when new cultural symbols come into being and, conversely, when the power of older symbols begins to diminish (Rossner & Meher, 2014:24).

This preposition of ritual theory is the principle that the ritual is a vehicle for the continued organisation of community and social cohesion, building solidarity and creating and reinforcing shared symbols. Without the variables of community, society, social interaction and dialogues that accommodate difference, solidarity cannot be maintained. I have already discussed earlier in this chapter how PT draws its 'fuel to move' from stories of the community and honours difference. The ritual in a PT performance is set like a route to a destination that must be followed and is fuelled by stories of the community. Salas (1999:163) has shared the five integral stages for a PT scene, "the full enactment of a story told by an audience member" below:

→ The first stage of the enactment is the *interview,* when a teller from the audience communicates the story onstage. The conductor helps the teller to identify the key moments in the story and then invites her to select actors to play the primary and supporting characters in the upcoming enactment. An actor can represent more than one character.

→ *Setting-Up* is the second stage, after the *interview,* when the actors reflect upon their assigned roles and quietly get the stage ready for the enactment. There are usually milk crates, or cubes onstage, which can be arranged in a variety of ways to suggest different settings. Additionally, a "clothing tree," draped with different colors and types of fabric, is available onstage for the actors. The fabric pieces can be utilized to suggest a character(s) and/or prop(s), as well as to represent symbolically feelings and/or forces of nature. The *setting-up* is often accompanied by atmospheric music, played by musicians, who are also located onstage.

During our performance, several actors provided guitar and percussive accompaniment.

→ The third stage is the dramatic presentation of the story. The actors perform an improvisational *scene,* intentionally working together to emphasize the essential events

and meanings of the story. They strive to create a flow of moments without necessarily showing realistic details. The *scenes* are usually metaphoric and nonlinear in performance.

→ *Acknowledgment* is the fourth stage after the completion of the *scene*, when the actors pause and look at the teller, honoring her presence and story.

→ *Bringing it Back to the Teller* is the fifth and final stage, when the conductor communicates with the teller to make certain that she is satisfied with the enactment. If an important element is missing, the *scene* can be enacted again

→ The replaying of part of a *scene* is called a *correction*.

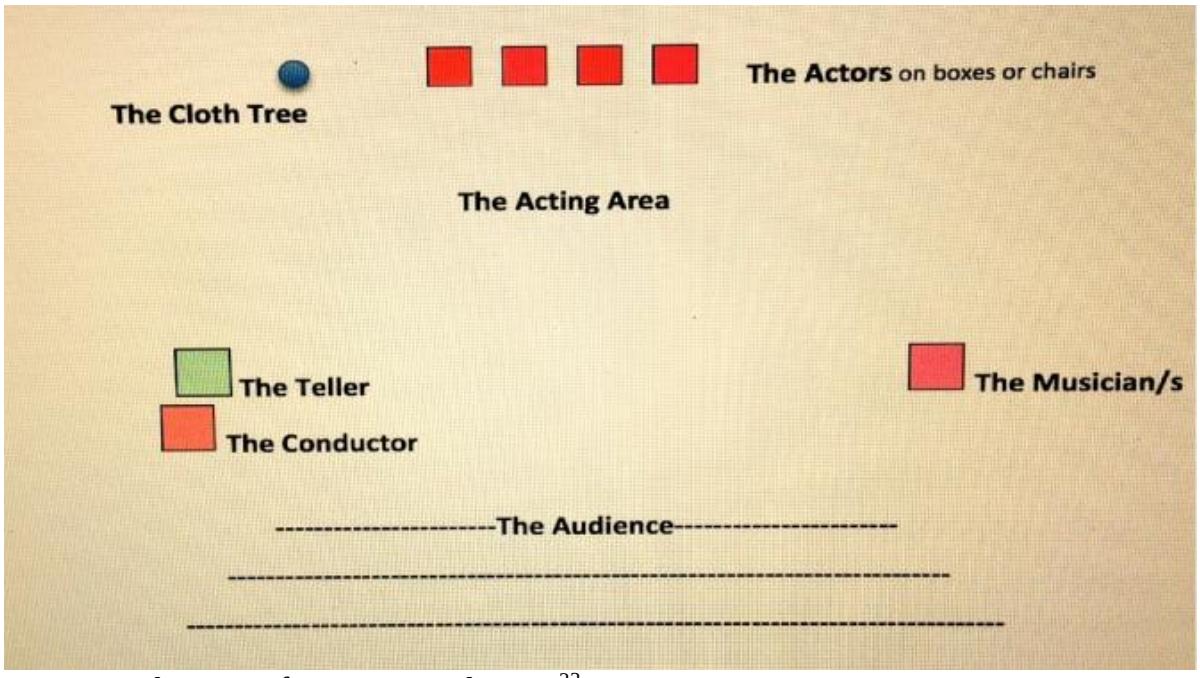


Figure 4: The PT performance ritual set up[23]

The PT ritual is cleared of its key co-participants and thus the array of stories in the full event can then be critically read, analysed and unpacked post the performance. Knowing what variables need to be present in the ritual, and working with a ritual that encompasses them, enables the researcher to measure and analyse its succession and effectiveness while the community grasps the new and old knowledge generated by the diverse stories shared in the performance. The ritual here posits itself as an activity which encourages an analysing culture. This also gives the researcher a range for cultural analysis as in a case where the same ritual is observed in different sub-groups. There one gets to observe accepted and unaccepted soft and

[23] Needa (2015:2)

hard rules of the ritual and the reception and engagement of the different groups of participants/audience members.

Building on key concepts from Durkheim and Goffman on ritual study, and drawing on data from a wide array of courses which identify the main ingredients and outcomes for a successful ritual I find that the primary elements are:

1. Co-presence

2. Barrier to outsiders

3. Mutual focus of attention

4. Shared mood

In PT, the ritual follows a structure and format that shares these primary elements. The actors on stage are normally in comfortable pants and t-shirts standing in neutral facing the audience. When a story is being told they are listening to it for the first time, as with other audience members. They only use their body of knowledge, skill, imagination and spontaneity to playback the story that was shared in that space and time. This way of playing requires the actors to be present with the audience from the beginning to the end of the ritual and also incorporates the third element of the mutual focus of attention.

PT only uses a performance space which is not necessarily a barrier but a space for re-enactment. This area of performance should not be far away from the audience because, in PT, the immediacy of engagement is often encouraged for a real connection to take place. There is also a culture in some PT companies of having each member of the company introduce themselves by name plus a moment in their life that pertains to the theme/topic of the performance. Other members play it back to introduce the style of play-back that is the essence of a PT performance. This act, in the beginning, establishes relativity, co-presence, the demarcated performance space and invites the mood to be shared by the audience during the performance. A ritual, embedded in performance, and non-scripted theatre does not infringe upon people's different religious associations, beliefs and values as it does not imprint a social order but reflects social orders present in the specific community.

Narrative involves creating an account of events and may weave together several stories (McLeod as cited in Hill 2012:12). This process of weaving together several stories places it within the reality of memory which is playing a part in oral tradition and storytelling because

storytelling and orality are variables of memory as much as memory can be the subjective storage of action and of what has existed in one's life. This notion is supported by Denis, who reminds us that

> man is in constant action and has reaction…he alone can consciously re-play what has been played on and in him - what been im-pressed. His interiorised impressions are "mimemes", and the re-play of these stored "mimemes", and their expression in other words, is "memory". Thus all memory is psychomotor in origin and the strength of the recall, re-play of the original gestural elements (2000:69).

Denis here tells us that memory is (in a sense) a story/event/experience that has happened and is now being carried in a constant 'loop' of recollection. Memory does not choose things to leave out of recollection but rather, we humans, choose what to leave out depending on whether it was too painful, embarrassing, or we think it is not necessary. Sometimes this loss is generated by events that do not support parts of our history and but are pivotal to our identity.

It shows us that social action, working with community, memory, and narrative are processes the effect of which cannot be measured on the first intervention but only in that place over time. However, by going to different subgroups, the process allowed for an analysis of relativity, difference, and the identifying of links, knowledge that can invite and supplement long term community-building projects.

Chapter Three

Methodology

Pre-performance preparations

The method of inquiry in this research report demonstrates the institutional principle of the practice used. Playback Theatre is an act of service with the guiding principle of building community. As an intervention, the team of players meet their audience members only at the time of performance. The team, however, starts preparing for this performance beforehand by exploring the theme that will frame the performance through workshops during their rehearsal time. Familiarizing their bodies and minds to the content as well as themselves to holding the content as an ensemble. This is a principle of practice particularly for Drama for Life Playback Theatre.

The members of Drama for Life Playback Theatre meet once a week for 2 hours and 30 minutes to rehearse. Although the form is improvisational, these rehearsals are important because this is where we explore, with our bodies and the Playback Theatre diaspora, the different topics and themes that we come to play in our performances. It also becomes a workshop space for company members to explore emerging content within our practice of critically working with a theme/topic for a performance. We invite guests to hold wellness sessions, seminars, and workshops during this time. This is where we also reflect on our practice, our own stories, the different audience dynamics we face and how to address what we share that needs attention. We play with the forms that form part of the Playback Theatre ritual and explore new forms that are being used by other Playback Theatre Companies around the world.

I conducted one workshop during rehearsal time to prepare the Playback actors who were part of this project. It was an opportunity for them to explore the project themes and to frame the Playback Theatre performances in Hammanskraal. Initially, I had two workshops planned, however, we had a Migration project running concurrently. The migration project dealt with the theme of a home which is why we saw it fit to have one preparation workshop from the Migration project, combined with the inquiry on the theme from the Hammanskraal project, this would help us explore the theme in its complexity. I say this because, as mentioned before, Hammanskraal was a station where people had stopped, hoping to find a better life, and now also accommodated people forcefully removed from their homes during Apartheid. This gives the area a sense of refuge and migration; a past temporary parking area for people seeking ways

to survive better which has over time developed into a place of permanent residence. This is an example of an experience of migration.

The workshop I conducted was in two parts. The first part was Rolling stories, an exercise workshopped by Bev Hosking and Christian Penny - The process is as follows:

- → The group - or the exercise leader - decides on a theme. (Is this a check-in? Are we warming up to a theme for a show? Are we looking to deepen our connections? Is there no theme?)
- → To start, someone steps forward and begins telling a true story (on the agreed theme, if there is one).
- → When something that the teller says reminds another person in the group of a story of their own, that person steps forward and starts telling *that* story. When that happens, the current teller stops talking and steps back.
- → That process is repeated until enough stories have been told. (What constitutes "enough" is not easy to define and may be different depending on the circumstances. Wollongong Playback sets aside about 20 minutes for the process, but time limits are only one way to decide when the process is done. Sometimes the group leader makes that decision based on their assessment that the process has achieved its aim.)

(Sourced from Bev Hosking and Christian Penny's 10-day New Zealand Playback Summer School)

We had worked with this exercise in one of our rehearsals before. We were familiar with using it to assist our practice. The members practise to spontaneously feel out good moments to interrupt a story that shares a link. In performance these are moments of adding to or addressing the story, the content or to add a backdrop/background to the story, to offer a different lens for looking at the same thing or a contrasting thought that was heard when the story was shared. This allows for the story to be a whole, even when it is fragments of the story that was played back. The feature that provokes the other actor to interrupt and add is the improvised action driven by a spontaneous recall of a remembrance coupled, on the spot, to story-making responsibly.

I used the following themes while leading the exercise:

Moving around - the young, the old, the new
Accommodating - welcome to my home
When I was younger - there used to be…

The good, the bad, and /or the ugly of difference
Home - outside the four walls/fence
What I learnt, which was not said when I visited…

I drew out these themes from Godsell's research. Initially, when submitting my proposal, I had planned to run drama workshops with old age homes in the area for baseline research inquiry. After my first contact with three that I identified, I discovered that two of them housed elders that were from out of the province and only came into Hammanskraal for the accommodation and services of the home. It was then that I came across Godsell's anthropological research that I believed would be a good source for a baseline reference because it offered a history of Hammanskraal covering 60 years which was based on historical archives and interviews with prominent figures of Hammanskraal. For this reason, I decided to use the body of information from this thesis as my source of baseline information and discontinued my plan to conduct workshops.

When the specific-content workshops had been delivered, the team was ready to go into the community. This, coupled with our regular rehearsals, was satisfactory because in company life 'the norm is for a group to practice together regularly, perhaps one evening a week, for a period of time, before performing openly' (Needa 2015:6). We also meet regularly and do a monthly performance in the same public venue where we continue to grow familiar with our practice and regular engagement with our community of audiences. All members participating as Playback actors in this project had done so in a voluntary capacity. It was, as Needa has also shared, an 'investment of shared experience' which 'over a period of time creates an artistry that can be truly extraordinary' (ibid:6). These workshops and rehearsals happened in Johannesburg where Drama for Life Playback Theatre regularly meets.

The performance

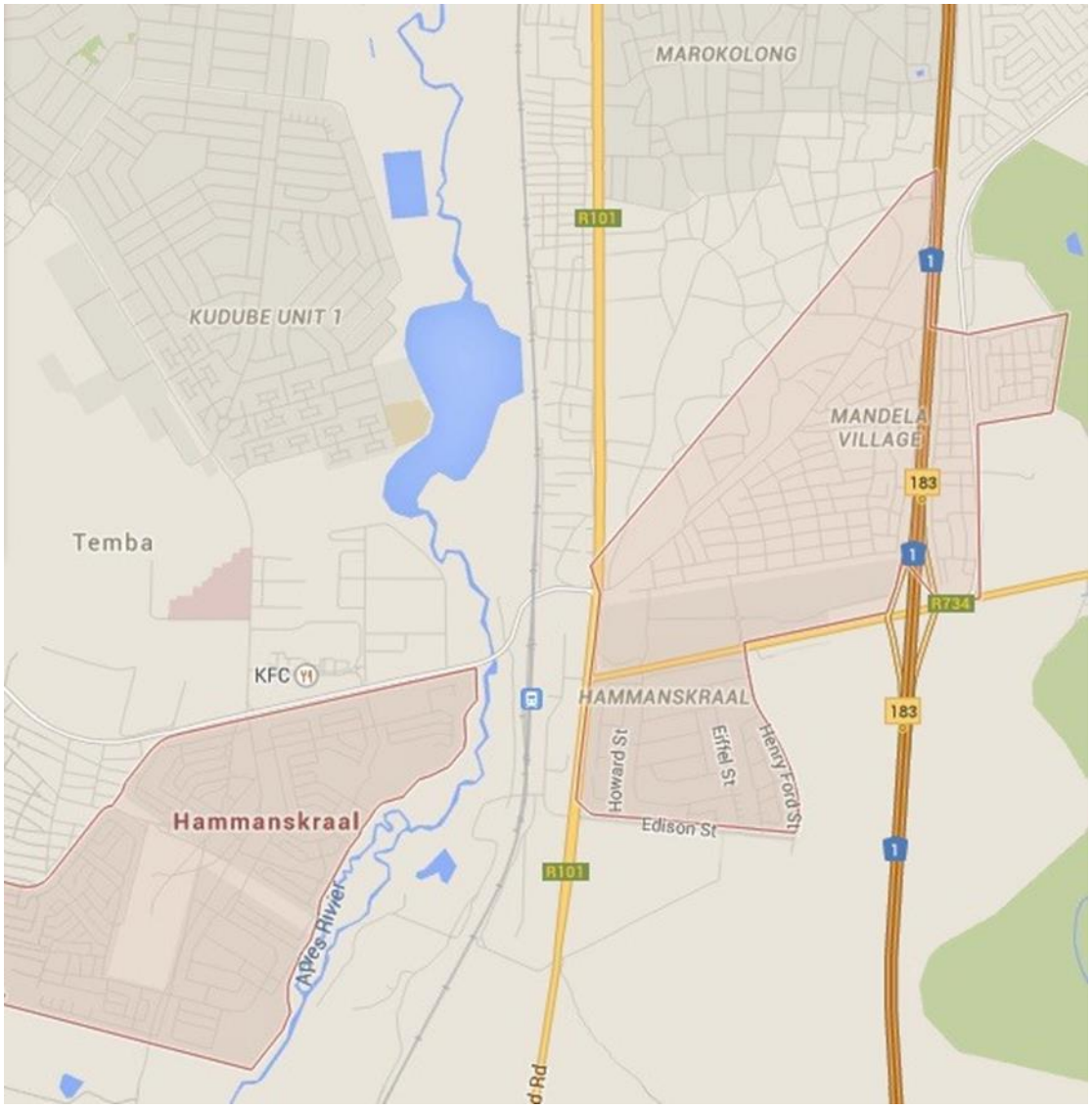
With permission granted from the Ward 49 Councillor's office and a Youth Skills and Development Centre manager, four Playback Theatre performances, split over two consecutive days, were booked to be performed in three Tshwane municipal halls and a youth centre. One performance in the late morning and one in the afternoon on each day. I considered the high level of unemployment in the area when making these times. This automatically targeted an audience that stayed or worked at home and would be able to make time to come to the performance. These performances were video recorded for reference and transcribing purposes. The lens was set in a way that the actors, musician and conductor were in the frame but none

of the tellers to ensure anonymity. I will elaborate on managing anonymity and confidentiality in the Ethics section of this chapter.

The municipal halls also attract people of different ages as this was encouraged in the poster and advert. Suurman and Temba for the first day of performances, Mandela Village and at Tshedimosetso Youth Skills and development centre in Marokolong for the second day. I chose these areas because by 1942 the AmaNdebele-a-Moletlane (Majaneng) had already established the villages of Majaneng, Marokolong, Ramotse and Surumane (Suurman) (Godsell 2015:93) 'while Temba was demarcated as a town, and so governed by a town council' (ibid:64). These areas had a long living history of residents in Hammanskraal and better encompassed the dynamics of socio-economic livelihoods in Hammanskraal.

These venues are also easily accessible and known by most community members as they serve as places where local disputes, meetings, payment of electricity and water bills are made. The Mandela Community Hall in Mandela Village is situated close to the Hammanskraal station and in between Rens Town, Kekana Gardens, Portion 12 and a part of Marokolong. It is R8 to go to Kanana or Jubilee Mall (they are opposite each other) with a taxi leaving not far from the hall and it is also walkable, but the traffic has subsided due to two distinct large slipways, one at Nyaope and one at a bridge over the Tshwane/Apies River going past the Police Academy next to Jubilee Mall.

Tshedimosetso in Marokolong is in between Mandela Village, Ramotse, Portion 9, and also close to Babelegi factories. Temba is situated next to Unit D, Makhanjane, Lephengville, and Rockville. Lastly, Suurman is an old rural area that has hardly changed over the years and is like Marokolong where few adaptations have been made. The community there has a similar nuance to areas like Majaneng, Bosplaas, Danhouse, Makapanstad, Mogogelo, Kgomokgomo and the likes. These are areas further away from Hammmanskraal according to geographical maps, yet their occupants do most of their shopping in Temba or at the Hammanskraal station. This is because they do not have shopping complexes and the people within these communities and Hammanskraal refer to these extended areas as part of Hammanskraal.



Map 2[24]: How Google-maps show the demarcations of Hammanskraal.

Qualitative research asks of us not to test for cause and effect but rather to seek to learn (Baden & Major 2013:6). Considering that one has no presuppositions, to get the best out of the data would require one not to be distanced from the project as an outsider observer but to rather be part of it. I say this because during the ritual of Playback there are no disconnected participants. By this, I mean that there are no onlooking listeners. Everyone in the performance witnesses and can share a story when moved to do so, at any time. Those that do not share are still part of the ritual as witnesses. This is the act of learning Baden and Major speak about and on which I posited myself. This way of learning about others is also the reason why I was drawn to use Playback Theatre as a method of inquiry. During the ritual, we are all listening and/or sharing.

[24] www.maps.google.ac.za accessed on 16 February 2015, edited by Godsell (2015:45).

Each teller tells their story with the freedom to choose how much content they want to share. All are welcomed.

Furthermore, the researcher can be part of the audience and use methods of audio and/or video recording for capturing what they will later analyse. This way of acting offers the researcher a way to assess the method from both a subjective (from the performance) and objective (from the recordings) point of view. To honour the Playback Theatre ritual, no one can interfere or join the ritual without respecting the way the Conductor is holding the performance. The Conductor holds a relationship with both the actors and audience members and:

> is a key person in a playback theatre performance, it is he or she who engages the audience, develops the theme and sees that appropriate cues and directions are passed to the actors. The conductor must be able to maintain and support him/herself throughout a whole performance. He or she must also be a multifaceted person or a person of many roles. The ability to change roles in response to the audience or teller is fundamental to the task (Salas 2009:83).

Three out of the four performances were achieved. We were unable to do our first performance in Suurman as we were delayed. This was due to a challenge that emerged in the morning regarding our vehicle for transportation. Our apologies were shared with the community because the group was coming from Johannesburg and it was financially challenging to arrange the trip.

The Strategy - achieving different roles within the project

I participated in the performances as a Playback actor in these performances. This allowed me to listen twice in this process in different capacities; firstly, as an actor listening and responding with my body and intuitive capacity to capture the heart of the story within the ritual and to spontaneously improvise the reflection of the story shared and secondly, as the researcher, analysing content post-performance with the only reference the recorded stories.

My analysis focused on the themes and topics of the stories in order to contextualize their foundation in the existence of Hammanskraal thus giving the community a feature of identity. As an actor, my sole responsibility was to perform an act of service and honour the stories shared without judgement and criticism. This allowed me to experience the practice as a practitioner in a different community context. Although as a resident I am part of the community, I had never performed the practice in my kind of community setting and frame.

If as a researcher, I had decided to sit in the audience or just out of the audience I would be disconnected making observations during the performance, infringing on the ritual and creating a client-therapist set-up where a form of analysis would be happening as audience members shared their stories. It is important to understand that the ritual space in a PT performance is not set up to be a therapeutic space, but the qualities of storytelling/sharing, reflections and witnessing elicit therapeutic effects for its participants coming from the experience of being part of the ritual. The PT performance ritual requires full engagement by all parties involved for effective engagement, whether you are an actor or an audience member witnessing and not sharing a story. To assess its qualities as a qualitative method, it asks for full presence and engagement both in and out of the performance space; what emerged, what shifted, what stayed the same, what was affirmed, even what has been activated and inspired during the performance ritual.

As an extension of the inquiry, I had prepared a post-performance focus group questionnaire for audience members. These were received by the youth centre members. Participants who had come to performances at the Municipal halls had other commitments to attend to. Others had to go back to studying, some back to their small businesses, some to their hustle and others to attend to chores and errands. This is the daily life structure for members of the community who are not working or committed to an activity outside the area. I must confess I did not know what to expect regarding general participation.

A call advert stipulating the purpose of research, voluntary participation, and what participation entailed also the dates, time, and venues for the performances were sent out and posters were distributed. However, when I engaged with people while putting up the posters I was asked if there would be food and suggestions about alcohol were even shared. The reason for this kind of behaviour and expectation will be broadly discussed in Chapter Four because it is embedded in the themes and topics around collective behaviour which came up during the three performances.

I transcribed the video recordings into scripted dialogue after the performances. The stories now became a body of information which I could critically sort and use to analyse the themes and topics. The videographer was asked not to take a record of the tellers but to have the camera always facing the actors. This gave me a thread of deep listening, even for an objective phase in the analysis. It is not important to look at what the teller is doing because at this stage the actors serve their purpose in their listening and later in their spontaneous response of

improvised play-back during the performance. This is where the method of inquiry becomes a data collection instrument and starts playing two roles in the project.

Playback Theatre makes listening readily available to the researcher. The performance is improvisational, non-scripted, and not rehearsed. There is no knowing what stories will come out and what the players will do. As one does not know what to expect one is required to listen with no presuppositions as these are stories from individuals that have never been pre-recorded and that is the reason that makes Playback Theatre a relevant method of inquiry for this research. Listening is one of the three injunctions required if the researcher is to effectively draw out what the stories offer for analysis. This is offered by Anthony Balcomb. I was drawn to the guiding principles available in his paper about *The Power of Narrative: Constituting Reality through Storytelling*. He points out that three things are required: *listen, identify, recognize* (Denis 2000:54).

"In addition, a researcher's familiarity with the cultural and political structure of an organisation will help him to save time in trying to understand the issue he is studying as he already has some knowledge regarding the issue" (Smyth & Holian 2008, as cited in Saidin & Yaacob 2016:850). I use 'us' and 'we' interchangeably with 'they' and 'them'. This is only to acknowledge that although I am an insider researcher, not all experiences can be shared by everyone even in a community context. It is also notable to mention that I, throughout the research, played roles that were not far removed from me. I am a resident of Hammanskraal and conducted research within a community whose views I understood, and I have had experiences similar to those of the participants. I am also a practising member of Drama for Life Playback Theatre whose members served as co-researchers for the practical fieldwork of this research project. I did not juxtapose my roles at any moment in the project, but I was rather playing a different role within its set phases.

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000), qualitative inquiry is properly conceptualized as a civic, participatory, collaborative project. This joins the researcher and researched in an ongoing moral dialogue (2000: 1049). My subjective involvement in this project comes from the knowledge carried in my personal and inter-connected experiences with my community. The objective enterprise is the text-analysis of the script/transcribed performances that came out of the ritual performance. Thus, an archive/recorded case study now exists, the text coming from various storytellers who told of their reality; a real-world that exists and carries the truth

they shared in Playback Theatre space; a space that invites oral storytelling from its audiences. A qualitative method of approach.

For the second injunction, *identifying*, he uses words from Richard Niebuhr to point out that:

> we can perceive history from the outside as non-participant observers or from the inside as involved participants. To perceive it from the inside means that people, events, and things are all closely related and to perceive it from the outside means to perceive people, events, and things as objects in a kind of cause and effect relationship in which their importance depends on how powerfully they impact upon other objects (Denis 2000:55).

Niebuhr is telling us that we can deduct from our findings among people, events and things about each other, seeing them as objects with no relativity only interacting as each one impacts the other instead of seeing how one engages, relative to the other as a person. These deductions are determined by where we are positioned as participants when perceiving history and analysing past events. In this study, which focused on the origin of a community, as an involved participant and actor in the PT ritual I was able to look at the data post the performances and as a researcher I could be able to identify the relative components from an objective perspective.

The focus for me when sorting themes and topics was based on the areas they came from and what they said. This meant that by looking at the themes that came out of these stories I could compare and analyse which elements/ identifying factors of Hammanskraal were important in each area. I looked at how many of these elements/ identifying factors are perceived to be the same or different in the different areas? What social issues are connected to their identity and relate to their history and origins and give the community its complexity. These processes came out of the data, which was collected, fulfilling the third injunction of *recognising*.

Balcomb tells us that we need to recognize which stories mean much to which communities and why. And which stories mean nothing to which communities and why (ed Denis 2000:59). Due to the complexities of difference in Hammanskraal, one could even say that sub-communities are emerging within the area because of its history and the present areas which house the different socio-economic and environmental classes. Playback as a method allows for the analysis of which stories matter to which community, which ones are irrelevant and which ones are relative. This became possible because the performance explored the theme in the different parts of the areas/ communities.

Playback Theatre as a tool for social change/transformation

According to the Australian researcher Phillip Taylor, "[AT] intentions can primarily be categorised into five different intentions:1. Doing activism/politics 2. Posing alternatives 3. Working with healing 4. Challenging contemporary discourses, and 5. Presenting voices from the viewpoints of the silent and marginal" (Gjaerum, 2013:350).

The categories Taylor has provided can pose as intentions subjugated to the main objective of the project, but this does not mean that AT is limited to achieving one intention per activity. This project included four of the five intentions Taylor has mentioned. Numbers 1,2 and 5 are parallel to the interventions. Number 1 activated dialogue on the history and origins of a collective past in Hammanskraal. Number 2 saw PT as an alternative for oral narrative archiving. Number 5 were the voices from the viewpoints of people in a marginalised area. As I have mentioned earlier in this chapter, the ritual of PT can elicit therapeutic effects, but it is not necessarily a therapy. I say this in conjunction with point 3 - working with healing. This project has, however, also had a positive effect on participants that only listened to the stories and witnessed the performances which reflects point 3, working with healing. This reflects the therapeutic effects which PT incites, as mentioned under the previous heading. Nonetheless, I provide quotes from participants reflecting their experience of moments where the performances incited empathy and made relativity visible, at the end of Chapter Four. They specifically pertain to the post-performance focus group interviews and reflect on the capacity of PT to build community.

There are countries where PT has been used specifically to promote empathy and understanding in conflicted communities and to help them to re-build their sense of community. One I would like to mention is the Chautari Natak PT group in Nepal that was adopted by the Nepali theatre in 2015. After the restoration of democracy in Nepal, Saud (2016) says that 'in this context, the officer [who was part of the PT performance] claims that Playback Theatre is a democratic process for reconciliation in terms of active and inclusive participation of victims and perpetrators for healing and social justice by engaging in dialogue' (Saud 2016:189). This comes from a participant who experienced the effect of PT. Another participant says that 'we, the ex-combatants, were perceived differently in this community, now, the *Chautari Natak* has given us a space for connecting with other community people and a chance to change their perception toward us' (Saud 2016:187).

PT groups continue to form in different countries using this practice to build community in the different contextual spaces. Even when these interventions are on local topics, their impact affects the different microcosms of society at large positively. It builds empathy and understanding within communities and helps to re-imagine or solidify a better unit over time. This is what makes PT an effective tool for social change and transformation.

Practice-based Research

This research project lends itself to Practice-Based Research. I will draw on and articulate the definition Practice-Based Research provided by Candy (2006) to illustrate this.

> *Practice-based Research* is an original investigation [the origins/historical memory of people living in Hammanskraal] undertaken in order to gain new knowledge [what makes Hammanskraal different] partly by means of practice [Playback Theatre] and the outcomes [community building/ transformation/ collective reflection/mapping existing trends or realities that help identify the community] of that practice. In a doctoral thesis, claims of originality and contribution to knowledge may be demonstrated through creative outcomes in the form of designs, music, digital media, performances and exhibitions [the recorded ritual performance gives birth to a script of real stories of knowledge and information previously not investigated, the practice being used as a data collection instrument]. Whilst the significance and context of the claims are described in words, a full understanding can only be obtained with direct reference to the outcomes [the analysis of this new knowledge compared against existing knowledge of the topic of study] (Candy 2006:1).

This project undertook workshops informed by the practice of PT in the preparation stage, before going into the community. It used the PT performances as a method of inquiry and as a practice of social change/ transformation within the community context. In the latter, the transcription of the recorded stories becomes data collected, this data exists in textual form and thus became a tool for data collection. PT was, in this research, the resourceful artefact used for unpacking the origins and the community's knowledge of their history. Both contributed to answering the research question.

Ethical Considerations

This research project was conducted within the specifications provided by the University of the Witwatersrand Human Research Ethics Clearance Committee (HREC). All participants were orally informed about the details and expectations of their participation in the project. A detailed information sheet was also given to all participants to refer to as this conversation was

happening. Only after fully understanding the research intention did the participants' consent to the use of knowledge and information drawn from them during performances.

There was the challenge of managing anonymity and confidentiality in the project. Anonymity could be guaranteed using pseudonyms in the report paper, transcribed data and references within the paper, however, confidentiality cannot be guaranteed as the stories shared in the performances was a public event. It was blatant that confidentiality could not be guaranteed because the performance would and did happen within a group of people that would be able to identify or recall the references mentioned in the research report. This was explained in detail to the participants and provided on the participant's information sheet to satisfy informed consent from the participants as the performance and sharing of stories is done in unsecured confidence of the group and not the individual. The research paper will guarantee the anonymity of the participants but not of place because the place and different areas within it are what is central to the topic of this study.

Communication and Language Considerations

Amongst a considerable number of factors, the language was initially an area of concern. Hammanskraal is a multicultural community and has *S'pitori* as a post-Apartheid cultural language of communication. Language is part of the thread of the culture of expression that pertains to a specific group of people in a particular setting and should, therefore, be understood and effectively interpreted by a person of that specific group as to meaning rather than to the words they are saying i.e. they are not relying on wording as would an outsider from that group.

PT can be 'implanted and practised anywhere despite cultural and language barriers' (Fox 2009). This statement comes up as a question in Zanjam's research: *Language And Interpretation In Playback Theatre In A Multi-Lingual Society*. In her research, she found that Cherae Halley, the co-director of Drama for Life Playback Theatre:

> thinks that in a diverse cultural country like South Africa, the Drama for Life Playback Company has the potential to communicate to anyone. She [Halley] explains that if the diversity of the country is reflected in the group, then when going into any community to perform, the person most familiar with the language and culture of that community can lead the performance (Zanjam 2011:86).

Zanjam, in her inquiry on whether PT needs to go through any changes for it to fulfil its purpose in a multi-lingual society, deduced that 'in the Playback experience, the actor holds the roles of both citizen and actor. The actor constantly switches back and forth between the two roles

of actor and citizen' (Zanjam 2011:88). The company members represented diverse cultural groups of South Africa in respect of language, class, and contextual background. Our conductor used Setswana as the model language of communication. In the listening to a story the Playback interviewer, actors and musician are listening as part of the community in that performance. At this point actors, musician, and the community was referred to for translation and contextual understanding in matters of language differences, they constantly 'perform as needed by the community, then melt back into the social fabric…' (Fox as cited in Zanjam 2011:88). This is how we conducted our performances in Hammanskraal.

In conclusion, applying the spoken about steps in preparation for the performances prepared me and my co-researshers for the inquiry due by PT. PT in this case was the only mode of communication left to carry out the research and lead to discoveries and data from the performances as will be discussed in the following chapter 4.

Chapter Four

In this chapter I gathered and analysed the social issues, themes, and topics that came out from three performances done in Hammanskraal. The scripts to the structure, details, and questioning of these performances is found in Addendum 3,4, and 5. It is from these Addendums that I further discussed the red thread, to be fully explained in the subsection, collective narratives, and PT as a model of inquiry

Social Issues

The outcomes of AT interventions are seldom to never isolated from other social factors apart from the intervention's main objective/s. This project has spelt out its aim and its intentions for its inquiry as well as to why its purpose is of importance. Therefore, it is critical to mention the main social issue that emerged from all three performances. Especially because these current issues are the manifestation of the perplexity of the history of the area. It also shows the socio-economic and political nuances of Hammanskraal as a microcosm of the broader South African society. The form of entry, language, research on historical knowledge, and approach come to play a role in how effective our intentions (while using AT to investigate social context) can be.

The social issue has, in a general sense, been disregarded in the broader vehicle of change which the democratic government has promised since the inception of democracy. But instead of moving with the rest of the country in development, there is the theme of moving backwards in the sense of a deteriorating community existence. Although these are issues facing other communities in South Africa what is specific to this community is the high rate of unemployment. This is due to many factors but mostly to a corrupt local government which when implementing projects hires outside experts instead of using local residents that qualify. Such unemployment rates feed and escalate drug addiction. The increase in the use of Nyaope (the street name for a combination of marijuana and prescription pills) and other drugs has led to a rise in crime, as well as a culture of social clubs that demand compensation for sexual favours, and alcohol dependency.

Themes and Topics from performances

We performed to an overall of 81 audience members. 08 at Sebothoma Hall, 61 at Tshedimosetso Youth Skills and Development Center, and 12 at Mandela Village/Hammanskraal Community Hall.In the following diagram, I have illustrated how common some topics were in the different areas that we held performances.

Themes and Topics that were prevalent from the performances	**Temba - Sebothoma Hall**	**Marokolong - Tshedimosetso Youth Skills and Development Centre**	**Mandela Village - Hammanskraal Community Hall**
Protest Action and still have no results - Water contamination	√		√
Bophuthatswana governing was a better time than Democracy	√		√
The high rate of Unemployment - Corruption in the running of local industries (Babelegi) and local government development projects	√	√	√
Alcohol dependency	√	√	√
Teenage pregnancy	√	√	
Nyaope addiction	√	√	√
Mavuso Social Club		√	√
Spatial development and its effects of change			√
The current government abandoned Hammanskraal.	√		√

The red thread/main theme in each performance

In PT there is what we call a "red thread". It is 'a metaphor from weaving, in which the red thread allows the weaver to find the pattern, and is a common phrase in German for connecting element.' (Hoesch, n.d: 22) I will point out the general themes that existed in each area where we performed before discussing the themes which existed in all three performances. These themes and topics offer us a lens for identifying features of Hammanskraal as a place and how it came to live in the way it does today. Consequently, we will begin to appreciate the dialogue of the origins of people living in Hammanskraal.

Each group of audiences with their participants had a theme in their stories. The performance at Temba brought forward the general theme of helplessness and empathy for peer-related challenges. I say this because, in the first story, the teller spoke about how he was visiting in Johannesburg when he heard about the strike [protest] happening in Hammanskraal to address the matter of contaminated water in the area. For him it had become the norm and he had no hope of the matter being addressed as it is one of the many challenges that are never addressed in the area.

The second teller spoke of how they felt that the transition from Bophuthatswana to Gauteng/South Africa had brought disorder in contrast to the past order which existed under the Bophuthatswana government. The teller felt that 'South Africa is not governed by us' but by a 'superpower' and that there is 'frustration and confusion' because '1994 took away privilege, freedom, and democracy' from Hammanskraal. These views contrast with Godsell (2015), who found in her interviews that

> 'apartheid was practised in Bophuthatswana. Because we are in Bophuthatswana everybody was expected to speak Tswana. Whether you are a Shangaan or a Venda or a Zulu or what. You are not a Motswana by birth, you are forced to speak Tswana. Even at schools, the medium of instruction was Tswana irrespective of all the groups that were there' (2015:234).

This view came from a person who had lived in Bophuthatswana as a youth had experienced very little of Bophuthatswana. They had spent most of their life in the current democracy. These are perspectives from different generations who lived in the same area at different times.

In the following three stories, the tellers were sharing stories about their concern at seeing how their friends and peers have succumbed to alcohol dependency, teenage pregnancy, and drug addiction. One of the tellers said that they feel 'powerless' as they witness the negative effects of drugs which turn a healthy peer into an addict resorting to criminal activities right in their community.

Most of the tellers from the performance in Marokolong positioned themselves as victims in the broader context when they shared their personal stories. A short story and a long story shared notions of being born in a generation and place where their parents and elders are not working and how this is becoming a cycle where one gives in to what is available, which is mostly demoralizing activities, or one pushes on, not giving up even when they have no form of satisfactory reward. Both tellers expressed how they had chosen to attend the short unaccredited computer and life skills courses offered by Tshedimosetso in the hope of doing something better (and this despite living in households that struggle to survive and where they carried the responsibility of providing for the family). These two stories put flesh on the expression 'there is nothing else to do' and gave the reason why alcohol and drug dependency, coupled with the Mavuso social club are on the rise.

The performance in Mandela had a theme of becoming; what used to be and how we are now. What was also interesting about this group is how most stories suggested that the structure of development and the falsehood of change is what has given rise to Nyaope addiction. The first two stories spoke of a place, *Tšhilae'bolae*, that used to be set up at Hammanskraal's station next to a taxi rank. The station used to be the main business area and commuting hub before other shopping centres and a mall were built outside of the station area and some of the old complexes in Hammanskraal station were removed completely.

The name, as a sentence structure is *tšhila ga e bolae* which means dirt does not kill and this expression, in my experience, was also used to persuade someone that it was OK to eat/drink food that may have something like dirt in it such as a fruit/vegetable with a rotten part that could be cut out, or a drink that may have a fly or something floating in it which could be removed. It promoted a culture of not wasting food or drinks merely because of the specks of dirt that are found in them. As an area, the name described the essence of the flow and rhythm of what the different people were like. It was a place that stank of urine and had a sit-in liquor place where taxi drivers, passing through, or commuters, hawkers and even people waiting for family members shopping, with the hopes of getting the best grocery deals would get a drink while waiting or just get a break. The building that landmarked this place still exists as well as some of the complex, but the flow of people has reduced enormously and the empty spaces within the station are occupied by Nyaope addicts.

The following two stories spoke of a place called Temba as a hopeful business area and the neighbouring township, Unit D, as a township whose people were tolerant of homosexuals in

the late 1990s, as compared to people in rural settings who were homophobic. However, it is not a safe anymore due to the rise of Nyaope addicts. The expression was that 'Nyaope addicts are mostly homophobic and target homosexuals' for crime-related reasons.

The last two stories were unfortunately not recorded due to running out of battery power for our camera. However, they both spoke about the experience of living in Hammanskraal before its development as a business district. Both perspectives were from youth members who had witnessed the changes from their childhood. The crux of the story from the 5th teller was that when they were children playing in groups they were seen in almost every street [referring to Mandela Village]. She pointed out how it used to be safe and free for children to travel around the location whereas today children group themselves indoors due to criminal activities in the area like kidnappings, rape culture, and the movement of cars in streets. This, she said has reduced [after school] interaction amongst children which is also true of community members who now build high walls, lock gates, and stay indoors to guard against home break-ins and to be able to watch over the children. People doing these break-ins are most of the time known Nyaope addicts and are unemployed members who are known to be criminals.

The last teller shared a longer story of coming from/growing up in Marokolong. He spoke of how, as a young boy, he used to go to the forest with his parent to get firewood but over time he saw the forest change and become smaller and smaller These changes included the petrol stations, Rens Town suburbs, the Hammanskraal station which included a two-shopping complex, taxi ranks, and the bus rank. This is the same teller who shared an extension story of *Tšhilae'bolae* in this performance. My own family started living in Rens Town in 1993 during the beginning of this change.

As far as I can remember, I have always lived within the developing times of Hammanskraal. I have also seen the Hammanskraal station change from being just a petrol station to a busy bus rank, taxi rank and one shopping complex with a supermarket that could have 10+ cashiers working every day. Even in trying times where the bus rank moved to the new built mall leaving the taxi rank with the shopping complex within it the previously busy supermarket that now has a lesser workforce of only 2 to 3 cashiers at the tills while all the other tills are vacant due to the reduction in the flow of the people shopping there.

The collective narrative - From South African people living in Hammanskraal to Bophuthatswana citizens, and back to Hammanskraal residents in Gauteng Province in South Africa

In the Introduction, I told how, at the beginning Hammanskraal had one tribal connection and at the start there was one family business. As a semi-rural area there was a Native Commissioner and different ethnic groups settled in the area in pursuit of job opportunities during Apartheid times. The latter included different classes of people forcibly removed from previous residential areas who had to stay in Hammanskraal because of the forced removals during Apartheid. This all existed before it became part of the area called Bophuthatswana.

Reflections on the growth and development of Hammanskraal cannot ignore the order which reigned in Bophuthatswana. Although it was sanctioned by the Apartheid government, participants who shared their knowledge said that it was a better time than the period immediately after the first democratic elections which led to the fall of Bophuthatswana. For example, before democracy, Babelegi was a fully functioning industrial district but today there is no hope of productivity and employment since there are few factories functioning while others in the district have closed.

> …the policy of industrial development was also problematic. Industrialists did not want to move out into barren areas far from adequate transport and other facilities, so concessions had to be offered to them. These included exemption from minimum wage legislation in South Africa but also that wages could be extremely low, and the Bantustan populations, out of dire economic necessity, were forced to accept employment and these starvation wages. As late as 1980 people working in Babelegi in Bophuthatswana were being paid R5 a week for factory work (SACC & SACBC, 1984:40).

Although Babelegi used to offer low wages, it is still be perceived to be as better than what exists now. The pace of life was also simpler and less financially demanding than it is today bearing in mind the changes that have come with development. Development in the area meant the installation of roads, lights, electricity, municipal rates and the continual drive to seek better education and work opportunities in the cities and major towns. People who live in these areas now have their own space but with it comes extra financial pressure on people The closure of previous fields has changed routes , now forcing a person who before would effortlessly walk to their chosen destination to use a paid mode of transport. What I am pointing out is that even though people can now own a place of residence and have been given spatial development they have no financial freedom. These are people that worked for low wages, who come from a past of Native Commissioners and forced displacement and dispossession which left many jobless who are now sanctioned to pay more bills before there is employment as a pre-requisite of living in a time of change from oppression!

Looking at it from this viewpoint, one can begin to understand that what the participant means is that a contextualised strategy was not set in place to ensure a better transition into a democracy and therefore they feel abandoned by the democratic government and have been left with a sense of non-belonging to the nation's vehicle of change. This could suggest that there is no direct consultation with the community so they cannot work together to address their immediate needs, being a contradiction of the democratic slogan that 'the people shall govern'. This kind of behaviour amongst those in authority who are holding the power for change reflects the corruption, ignorance and negligence that occurs on a national level.

In as much as these challenges reflect the whole of the country, people living in Hammanskraal believe part of the reason this is happening to them is because of the displacement effect of falling in and out of South Africa throughout the Apartheid history and in current time. They believe that because we live on the north border of the Gauteng Province, the border that separated Bophuthatswana and the previous white South Africa, we are the last people to be taken into account with national development strategies or to have quality in our service delivery. Perhaps the development of infrastructure is only the front for of an imagined but not practical ideology of the progressive City of Tshwane (Pretoria) Municipality[25] within the Gauteng Province. The popular phrase, summarised, is that 'Gauteng does not care about us-Hammanskraal'. I say a front because developmental projects are being done and infrastructure exists, but people are still living in impoverished settings with mostly school level entry jobs instead of equal career-driven opportunities which exist in the metropolitan settings.

With little to no positive activity and opportunities within the area, it is no surprise that the topics of inactivity and corruption, teenage pregnancy, alcohol, Nyaope drug dependency, Mavuso - sexual oriented social clubs were raised. The high unemployment rate and the frustration and loss of the opportunity to voice our concerns and needs were addressed.

> Narratives/stories of broader historical reference drawn from memory can pose a challenge to finding a linear/chronological order for information. However, due to some forgotten and loosely or undocumented histories, it is through the analysis of these fragments of history compared against each other and dated available written and visual text that a more informative narrative/s can be found (Goody, as cited Ong 2002:52).

[25] Municipalities and local, regional, and national councils were governing bodies introduced at the time of the achievement of Democracy.

The collective narrative is that the previous system of leadership, under Bophuthatswana, ran their community with a set of moral behaviour that was respected. It comes across that in addition to the current democracy, too much freedom is given to young people and the older generation is helpless to regulate such behaviour which leads to young people being exposed to alcohol and drugs at an early age. Even more significant is the moral code in both teenagers and young adults to respect their elders is also lost as we ‘numb’ ourselves and ‘smoke, date, and drink in front of them’.

I am not saying that Hammanskraal does not have centres of activity to alleviate some of these challenges. It does. However, these infrastructures, like the Sports and Recreation Hubs are not used by the people living nearby or by that group who can afford to participate because they are needed at their homes to assist with hustling for their livelihoods or attending to the unending chores. It is accessible to those people who can come in from outside of the area and to those that can afford to travel by taxi or by their cars. Consistent participation cannot be guaranteed when you don’t know if you will have a plate of food to eat after a programme session. This also results in the falsehood that good things are 'done for people, but they are not interested to participate'.



Figure 5: An entrance road to Mandela Village from an intersection west from N1 road off-ramp into Hammanskraal.

In the above figure, there are 4 chalets on the right, each sectioned into 3 private workshop spaces to generate income for crafts and visual arts practitioners, and an office chalet said to be the regional heritage office. These are for tourism clients brought to the area mostly by the game reserves in the area, however, I have personally known these to be inactive since 2014. At the back of them are the Sports and Recreation Hub, fields, and courts that are actively used by those who live nearby and have easy access. On the left, opposite the chalets but not in the image, are the Municipal offices, library, and Mandela Community Centre hall. Between the Municipal centre and the sports centre is the statue of the late former President Nelson Mandela. It is also important to note that this statue is said to be the first statue erected in 1999 in South Africa, before the well-known statue in Sandton, Gauteng Province erected in 2004. Godsell saw that:

> it is slightly smaller than life size - very different from the giant portrayals in Sandton and the Union buildings. It depicts Mandela standing with his right hand over his heart: Mandela being sworn into the leadership of his country, unlike the dancing, opened armed statues in Johannesburg and Pretoria. [Councillor] Mahlangu explained to me that this statue had been erected in 1999, and that it was the first statue of Mandela erected in the country' (Godsell 2015: 26).



Figure 6: Mandela Square in Mandela Village, Hammanskraal



Figure 7: The statue of Nelson Mandela at the Mandela Square in Mandela Village, Hammanskraal.

Playback Theatre as a model of inquiry in research

I found Playback Theatre effective as a model of inquiry in research, as it offered a platform where different viewpoints and information on the same topic/theme could be shared to give context to the content shared. This allowed me to see the matter in a broader context and to also see where blurred facts and truths exist. This gives the researcher a clear foundation for a broader form of data and reveals areas that need more investigation. I found that there was the matter of contextualisation in the language used when talking about a particular aspect of the topic. This often offered more understanding on the topic. Sometimes the position of the teller concerning a particular topic broadened the scope of the story while, at the same time, contrasting knowledge emerged that emphasised the importance of looking for the basic truth and fact while also leaving room for further investigation on the topic through cross-referencing existing literature.

I will unwrap the sentiments of three topics which were shared over six stories, each topic broadened because of being mentioned by two tellers in the same area and some from the different areas we performed at. I used the following format for transcribing: C = Conductor, T=Teller, GR=Group Response. Tellers have a number that stipulates when, within the performance, they shared their stories, e.g. T1, T2, T3 and so on.

Contextualisation in language - The stories of Mavuso

Mavuso at Tshedimosetso

T3: Mavuso is a…*e re kere ke* (let me say a) social club *nyana* (a bit*)*.

C: Mavuso is a social club?

T3: *E e leng gore ga re le ko yona banyana ba nyaka*… (Where when we are there the girls want…)

C: *Banyana?* (Girls?)

T3: *Ge o mo tseya o tsamaya le yena or let me say o robala le yena, o mo skepa*. (When you take her and leave or let me say you are going to sleep with her, you *skepa* her)

C: To take a lady home *ke go skepa* (is to *skepa)*?

T3: Yeah, *ge e le gore o tsamaya le yena le sa bolela la dumellanna* about *mavuso* and stuff - *mavuso ke tšhelete.* (Yeah, if you leave with her without talking and mutual agreement about *Mavuso* and stuff - *Mavuso* is money)

C: So mavuso ke (is)- its money - so you must pay?

T3: *Ya. Ga a tsamaya a hutlhela ko gaabo*. (Yes. For when she leaves going back to where she lives)

C: So after you have taken - after you have *skepad* - So *wa* (you) *skepa* and then *la tsamaya* (you go) and then the next day she must be paid?

T3: You must pay.

Mavuso at Mandela

T3: Mavuso its a compensation.

C: *Ee Rra*. (Yes Sir)

T3: For when you take out…

C: *Ke eng? Ke go skepa?* (What is it? Is it to *skepa*?)

T3: *No, a se go skepa.* (No, its not to *skepa*)

C: Okay.

T3: It's appreciating someone's efforts or labour but according to that story *se ba se bontshitseng mo* (that was shown on) E-tv. *Bona ba re* (they say) it's a legitimate society, where they go there *ba patella ditšhelete* (they pay monies) every day and then girls come there. So when girls come there. If you are attracted to a particular girl you go home with her. The morning after you must give her something to say ngiyabonga yezwa (thank you, you hear/hey).

Here we can see the different views of Mavuso both shared from male perspectives. The first story offers a perspective on how the culture of leaving with a woman after a night of drinking has been existing before the now formalised system of Mavuso. Hence the teller referred to the act as to *skepa*. *Skepa* is a *S'pitor*i word that means to take a girl home for sex. It can be perceived as insulting as it suggests getting a girl to have sex with a guy with no intention of forming any other kind of relationship. A one-night stand. The second person to mention this story used the word compensation and denounced that it is to *skepa*. This is because to *skepa* meant that the girl would leave in the morning, from the guys home, with no compensation and any promise of a committed relationship. With Mavuso, the girls and women have entitled themselves to be compensated for their sexual favour.

It can be deduced that the insertion of English and Afrikaans into African languages was a way of communicating with the white employer at the time and this language has transcended to generational descendants of the occupiers of Hammanskraal and other surrounding areas. It has become a cultural phenomenon entrenched in people living in and around Pretoria. It does,

however, have its uncertainties due to how the different personalities of people of Hammanskraal have distinctive diverse socio-economic attributes. Before the times of Bophuthatswana, migration and forced removals, the schooling system managed by Amandebele-of-Moletlane adapted and accommodated differences in the area.

> We had South Sothos, what we called the Russians; they were fighting with blankets and all that. Down there we were very much mixed. That is why there's the school, there, Temba, was known as Temba Bantu School. It accommodated everybody. We had a vernacular period where we would go to the class where you are taught in your language. The only language which was not taught then was Tsonga. But all others were being taught here (Godsell 2015:155).

The prefix *se* and the adopted naming of Pretoria, *Pitoria/Pitori,* combined to be *Sepitori/S'pitori* means a Pretorian language. This is because in Setswana when you are asked what language you speak you would be asked: *O bolela sekae*? *Se* being the prefix/preface and *kae* meaning where. The where refers to the place the language is connected to just as we have KwaNdebele and KwaZulu. S'pitori has become a language of cultural identity beyond one's ethnicity as it is spoken not only in Hammanskraal but in other townships in the east and west of Pretoria like Mamelodi, Soshanguve, Atteridgeville and Mabopane. However, just as there are variations in the meaning of words, in a different context, S'pitori also has words that mean different things to different groups of people and the different areas where it is spoken. The Conductor when asking whether Mavuso and to *skepa* meant the same thing as it had been defined in a previous performance allowed for this exploration of different relationships of the language and the activities relative to those words.

Positionality and broadening the scope - Stories of Tšhila'ebolae

Teller 1 at Mandela

T1: *Tšhilae'bolae*

C: *Tšhilae'bolae?*

T1: Ya, a shebeen like down -

C: Okay, I am going to say thanks and ask you, tell me more. Tell me more about *Tšhila'ebolae. Keng? Ke Pleke? E ko kae? Ke motho?* (What is it? A place? Where is it? A person?)

T1: Okay I don't know exact the…the whole whole story about it.

C: Yes.

T1: But it's a place down as go… down -

C: Down somewhere there there?

T1: Down…

C: *E kwa?* (It's there - expressed to mean far?)

T1: Ya - not *kwa* but *nyana* (not that far but just a bit)

C: Hale? (There?)

T1: *Nyana* (a bit) bring it *nyana* (a bit) back *nyana* (a bit).

GR: Around Shoprite.

T1: Ya around Shoprite.

C: Okay around Shoprite. Tell me more about it.

T1: So it used to be a *chillas* (chilling place) for grown people where like they go and buy alcohol and all that until I don't know like bankruptcy or something and then just shut down.

C: It just shut down?

T1: Ya.

C: So these grown people are like your parents? *Bo malome?* (The uncles?)

T1: Yeah, some, some of them and now they moved to different spots now.

C: And what was it like when it was there?

T1: I was too young to know what was happening there.

C: But you know about it.

T2: It was dirty.

C: Can I ask him (to T2) and then I'll ask you for your own story?

T2: *Ya.* (Yes)

…

C: So dirt doesn't kill. So it was just a filthy dirty and so that's where they went?

T1: Yeah.

C: And *wena ka nako eo* (you at that time), when they were there, what were you doing?

T1: I was chilling. Chilling around.

C: *Ko gae?* (At home?)

T1: Yeah. Playing around, pushing tyres you know.

Teller 2 at Mandela

T2: Mm, *Tšhilae'bolae.* It was a taxi rank before. Where there is Shoprite now. It was a taxi rank before.

C: *Ee Rra*.(Yes Mr/Sir)

T2: So this place was behind the taxi rank. So the people who came shopping, some men you know they don't like shopping around you know through this shop with their wives so usually they go to that shebeen and then arrive and wait for their wives to call them and tell them we are finished. We are around, we are going to the taxi so that's the rank. It was dangerous. They were robbing people that side you know. People were experimenting with drugs. Drug abuse. Alcohol abuse. Everything was - that's why they call it *Tšhilae'bolae*, everything was there. The robberies, anything that you can think about.

C: Was happening there? And you used to go there as well?

T2: Ya I used to go there.

C: And when you were there what did you see? What was your experience *o le teng koo* (when you were there)?

T2: I was just chilling, having my bottle of beer and then watching people drinking and pickpocketing yoh yoh, I would just sit and watch and find someone crying 'yooh I just lost my wallet' and I'm sitting next to maybe this guy maybe who is the one who stole the wallet, coming for help from us, you end up standing going around looking for that guy and it's this guy and so you end saying ai bra give this guy his wallet, his wallet back because if I say something, when the person is gone they will come after me.

When *Tšhilae'bolae* was first mentioned by the first teller it was described as a place he had only heard of. It was in the light of an experience of a child whose elders went to a certain place that is said to be dirty and busy but did not experience it himself. A second teller was moved to share a broader perspective on the place as someone who had experienced the life of the place. In this second story, there was more description of the different people that would go there and their different reasons. In his telling, there was also a sort of recreating the feel of the place. This place, that does not exist anymore, whose life may never be recovered, had a moment of its existence in past time, recalled in memory, shared, and witnessed as part of a teller's personal story.

Paying attention to memory recollection, we are reminded by Fox that:

> a genuine community of memory will also tell painful stories of shared suffering that sometimes create deeper identities than success…And if the community is completely honest, it will remember stories not only of suffering received but suffering inflicted-dangerous memories, for they call the community to alter ancient evils. The communities of memory that also tie us to the past also turn us toward the future as communities of hope. They carry a context of meaning that can allow us to connect our aspirations for ourselves and those closest

> to us with the aspirations for ourselves and those closest to us with the aspirations of a larger whole and see our own efforts as being, in part, contributions to a common good (1994:209).

Although the story of *Tšhilae'bolae* is not painful for the tellers, it speaks of an alcohol drinking area whose client's reason for sitting there was related to the positive factor of waiting for family (in most cases women and children) to do the shopping for their homes. Could this be a community of men who can drink to 'celebrate' being able to provide for their families? Or a community of men who wanted to brood on their manhood with others like themselves? I only asked these questions as I am left wondering why their assistance mostly concerned the provision of money and the carrying of shopping bags home instead of the actual shopping? Regardless, this story invited us into a world of a collective behaviour within a business district. It also offered a lens into the strategic behaviour to budget, the collective culture of monthly bulk buying, and the drinking culture linked to the men who would be accompanied by their family or spouse to shop in the central business area of Hammanskraal.

I did this shopping with my mom and sometimes alone from the age of 10 in the year 2000. On a day, in search of a full month worth of groceries, you could see me going to five different supermarkets in different complexes in the area, just for groceries. I can only imagine what other things would be needed by people coming from far off areas, as they could not afford to come and go as they pleased. It explains why the men would go on a drinking spree. Looking back at both tellers, it is interesting to mention how both of them regarded themselves as just chilling. The first teller said he 'was chilling around…playing around, pushing tyres you know.' While the second teller said 'I was just chilling, having my bottle of beer and then watching people drinking and pickpocketing yoh yoh, I would just sit and watch'. They both affirmed what the place was, but were both just observers. Even though the second teller was not drinking in the place, he was just a customer watching the life of the place unfold through various interactions and activities.

I remember the place as described but I never went inside it. It was situated close to a railway line, a mini supermarket, and fruit and vegetable shop which also adopted the name *Tšhila'ebolae*. As a regular customer, sent to the shop by my mother, I knew it was supposedly a dangerous place and I walked on the other side of the road, away from what I believed to be unsafe. These shops were owned by business people, Portuguese, or as my maternal grandfather would call them - *mabodongo*. There were others like them in the area like the Italians - *mantariana* and the Greeks - *maghreeki* who had shops that also offered commodities at competitive prices. It is not really a past evil, as Fox explained, but a memory showing the

survival and flow of Hammanskraal people. It was not a matter of having a better paying job but a matter of finding ways to live better with what we had and taking the effort to make it happen. That kind of shopping was not exciting but it insured a month of less financial stress and pressure in many households. Bear in mind that Hammanskraal people had become accustomed to surviving under high financial pressure and had adapted and developed working structures and places while living in simpler, yet challenged, structured communities like those in rural areas, in corrugated housed areas, and the townships.

Contrasting knowledge/blurred links - Stories about Temba, was it established by Amandebele or Bophuthatswana?

Teller 3 at Mandela

T3: Before all of this nna I hear Hammanskraal used to be called Kudube.

C: Kudube?

T3: Kudube.

C: Kudube?

T3: Yes. It used to fall under the Mangope.

C: Yes. Bophuthatswana?

T3: Bophuthatswana. And, uhm, it was a lot of people who were, who were, businesspeople a lot of them were *ba re keng* (what do they call it)? Ndebele. So Temba, when they came from, I think they came from Mpumalanga and Pieters- but a lot of eh Ndebele people they came from Mpumalanga. When they reached Temba, they said *la iThembalethu* (Here is our hope). Like this is going to -

C: And Temba is an area here?

T3: Ya Temba is there. So when they came from Mpumalanga they reached there, it was still called Kudube. They said *la iThembalethu.* Meaning our business can thrive, everything. So Temba is owned by a lot of Ndebele taxi owners so hence its Temba. So that's why even when you are in Joburg. If people say I come from Hammanskraal they don't understand and you just say Temba and they go '*hoo o tswa Temba m'fwethu'* (Oh, you come from Temba my brother). Ya so Hammanskraal and that place, that's what I know. It, it, it used to be a lovely place.

This story informs us of how Temba was built by a collection of businesspeople from Mpumalanga. In my primary source of contextual reference, Temba was part of the industrialization brought on by Bophuthatswana. Based on archived material, mentioned in my introduction, the president of Bophuthatswana had no positive relations with the Ndebele tribe.

Whereas here the teller has a different story about Temba and the Ndebele people: ‘Temba is owned by a lot of Ndebele taxi owners so hence it's Temba’. This is an example that shows how historical facts and some narratives that are not accessible on a community level lead to blurred knowledge of what happened.

> The blurred links of information are not for the reader to see them as missing links but other narrative of factors that did not permit for such historical narratives to be archived. Narrative originality lodges not in making up new stories but in managing a particular interaction with this audience at this time—at every telling, the story has to be introduced uniquely into a unique situation, for in oral cultures an audience must be brought to respond, often vigorously. But narrators also introduce new elements into old stories (Goody, as cited Ong 2002:52).

Although the teller mentioned the Ndebele people as businesspeople, we already know the Ndebele people were the first residents in the area of Hammanskraal. It could be that the information he provided was given to him in the form of an entangled history of Temba industrialization and the Ndebele people who already existed in the area. I can only speculate and cannot fully dismiss the new element this teller has provided for the area of Temba as it existed in a time undocumented. The teller also added new information that Kudube is the name previously used for Temba. Godsell (2015:225) informs us that in 1977, with Bophuthatswana’s independence, Temba was officially renamed Kudube. This name came from the Kudube Spruit (river), which ran next to Jubilee hospital. However, this name change was made without consultation, and the name Kudube was not popularly accepted.

I know I was once under the impression that Hammanskraal was called Kudube and not Temba. This was due to stories that, no matter how many times I asked, would never be clear of where Kudube was. From childhood to the present, the Kudube Ext 4 sign, that shows the way to the Hammanskraal Station is still on the signpost when you arrive in Hammanskraal when coming from Pretoria on the R101 road.



Figure 7: The road signs adjacent to each other at the intersection marking the beginning of Hammanskraal when travelling from Pretoria on the R101 road.



Figure 8: Left signpost reflects the split of the old white Hammanskraal and Kudube, an extension of the old Bophuthatswana area. The right sign reflects the 'ghost town' Babelegi alongside the Capital City Pretoria, 40km away.

Looking at the information provided here, the performance served as a platform that promoted the emergence of knowledge, and facts that can be measured and compared against previously documented sources. The performance provided context and facts regarding the collective behaviour and culture of how people in Hammanskraal and surrounding areas related to the

central business area. This also reflects the broad spatial/ differences of areas and people in the area. The performance also paid attention to how town developing strategies have led to landmarks that featured in the history of the area being destroyed, leaving events which were now shared through the story in the performances. This example proves that these performances also served to restore memories which can now be documented. Furthermore, the variety in the different cultures of the people, expressed through language reflect the history of the origins of all the different groups of people who first came into the area. The performance here served as an open non-biased platform for participants regardless of background, age, and ethnicity.

These performances have presented the lack of and, at times misinformation of historical knowledge as well as new factual knowledge, and they have clarified the current social climate based on real experience, events and not hearsay.

Measuring difference in past and present knowledge through comparative script analysis: Hammanskraal vs Itsoseng

This model of inquiry in research also gives a premise to measure old and new information regarding specific content. In this section change, and the development of social issues will be analysed and compared with previous bodies of knowledge within the same contextual reference in present time. This allows for a cross-reference analysis of the past and present. To do this, I had to find recorded, existing information about Hammanskraal and couple it with the findings of this research. Godsell's anthropological research based its findings on archival recordings on the history and interviews with consciously selected participants, mostly an older generation of the local tribal and municipal authority and relevant agents of business development in the area. For the reason that this research did not target an audience but rather anyone living in specific areas that were relevant to the research, I was drawn to compare it to a piece of theatre that was not speaking of Hammanskraal but did share similarities with its history, its social issues and community setting and culture.

Itsoseng, written by Omphile Molusi, is a one-person play that started as an essay about what the state of the writer's township made him feel. The reason I found it useful to compare and measure the changes in Itsoseng with those of Hammanskraal is because: 1) It is a published piece of work. 2) Itsoseng it is a township found between Mafikeng and Lichtenburg in the now North West Province that was also part of Bophuthatswana before democracy was

achieved, and is not a fictional place and 3) Because it captures the happenings and changes experienced by its residents from the early 1990s to 2008. This area shares another perspective of why the community of Hammanskraal have a sense that they are being forgotten and are moving backwards in the current democratic era. This repeats a feeling that existed in Apartheid times where black communities were referred to as the 'forgotten factor' (Thompson as cited in Groenwald 1990:12) in South African history due to the lack of documentation of their lives. Of course, now they are living during a time that has been promised changes for the past 25 years and counting and which is a conundrum of the state of governance in our country. This is reflected in Molusi's playscript.

Using the following passages from the play, I will discuss the linkages between phrases in the performance script and my reflections on Hammanskraal that correlate with what Molusi has offered us from his community context.

> ***Mawila*** *If only this burnt-down forsaken space that used to be our shopping complex was…magically transformed back to its days of glory right in the centre of the township, the heart of Itsoseng where it used to be. Just imagine. It's Saturday morning 1993, a week before Christmas. The four entrances of the complex have just opened, the floors are shining, the windows…sparkling, and cashiers are patiently waiting to click at those tills, ready to take your money. Over there clothing stores, there jewellery store, there furniture store, Shoprite supermarket, resturants, library, baeskopo [cinema].*

I have heard many stories of my family history and of the places of Hammanskraal that come from the time of the reign of Bophuthatswana. The interesting fact is that these stories were always told in isolation with no reference to former Bophuthatswana and its President. For example, I grew up knowing that my grandparents used to leave my mother to go to *miki-nigh* - midnight movies at what is now the Temba Complex. This is was in the years before and after 1979 - the year my aunt was born and gained the name Abigail because my grandmother, pregnant at the time, attended a live performance by a famous singer Abigail Khubeka and had labour pains when arriving home that night.

I always knew that where Temba now is there used to be a cinema that was burnt down, but I only found out during this research that the previous place was burnt down as part of the removal of Bophuthatswana to prepare South Africa for the leadership of Nelson Mandela. It was like the taking of government by force, a movement, a *coup d'etat* as referenced by elders who had studied a history syllabus which included the life of Adolf Hitler. Thus, it does come across as negligence when those in power overlook areas and communities in need because

they were actively part of a nationwide movement to overthrow oppression and yet they have not experienced the fruits for their participation in the procurement of the nation's freedom, change and democracy.

> ***Mawila*** *It was our market place… our meeting place… our little town within our township. The whole Itsoseng was alive and now…nothing*
>
> ***Mawila*** *Meeting Tosi is like meeting… the essence of this township. Every time when we bump into money, we drink it. Friday tavern…Saturday funeral… Friday tavern… Saturday funeral…Now he's just waiting for his funeral. So am I…and so are we all… waiting for the second death of our township. We are still living in a plague, a curse. What else is there to do around here - drink, have sex, and play soccer in the streets? (Staring out into the imaginary township)* <u>*Daar is nex hieso.*</u> *[There is nothing here.]*

Comparison 1

T4: Alcohol is a problem. *Ra gwa ka* (we are dying with/of) alcohol. *Ke gore a gona ntwe'nngwe e re 'irang* (Its that there is nothing else that we do). *Re focusitse mo byaleng.* (We are focused on alcohol)

C: So the youth is focused on alcohol?

T4: *A gona ntwe'nngwe e re ka 'irang.* (There is nothing else we can do.)

C: And you are saying that there is a lot of violence because of alcohol and fights that break out?

T4: Ntwe'nngwe le e nngwe ke (Everything is) alcohol. Celebration- alcohol.

C: Celebration alcohol?

T4: Tso tsotlhe (All of everything) - alcohol.

Comparison 2

C: It used to be a lovely place?

T3: Ya.

C: Back in the Mangope time?

T3: That transition from early 2000 until all of these other things that have unfolded.

C: So it's a transition from Bophuthatswana as we have been coming along?

T3: Ya.

C: It moved from that beautiful place and now you find yourself *ko* (at) *Mavuso*?

T3: Our democracy is like Nyaope, Mavuso. Our freedom is like all of these things. We are faced with a lot of things and don't know how to handle them. If we don't know how to handle them we start to fall on all of these other things to numb our confusion.

I have underlined a common phrase that is the essence of the character in Itsoseng and the two tellers sharing their sentiments. They all believe that there is nothing else to do in their communities which is why they drink, do drugs, and engage in antagonistic sexual activity. They choose to engage in these as a form of escape from their disheartening reality.

> ***Mawila*** *…it was Thursday, March the 10th, 1994. (He sits on the trunk.) I was at school in class, Std 7 [9th Grade], when I heard voices singing from outside the school.*
>
> ***Buda Six*** *(Addressing the masses) Comrades! Revolution! We did not choose Kgosi Lucas Lawrence Manyane Mangope to be our president. He was put into power by the white South Africa. We refuse his presidency. When Mandela becomes president, our future will be bright: freedom and a better life for all; and Mangope has no place in it. We trusted him and now he failed us, he betrayed us, comrades. Burn and destroy everything that belongs to him. Maatla, comrades, maatla! [Power, comrades, power!]*

For Hammanskraal, the overthrow of Mangope is recalled as having happened before the year Mandela was released from prison. My mother recalls this time because it was just after she matriculated, before the year I was born.

> ***Buda Six*** *(singing "Menwana phezulu" in a tavern with loud music playing. Then he speaks to Mawilla.) Relax, Mawilla, the government is still…is still focused on other provinces. They know we have fought for them. Revolution! They will build us a new shopping complex any time soon, free houses, free…free everything. Revolution!*
>
> ***Mawila*** *The following year, I was seventeen [1997], just matriculated, with no job, no hope for tertiary.*
>
> ***Mawila*** *And now fourteen years [2008] have passed and all I still keep hearing is change is coming…*

The play has been performed since 2006 on local, national, international stages and school settings. The stories of that came up in the PT performances reflected a similar community identity in current circumstances. The shared challenges being experienced by people living in Hammanskraal. It is twenty-five years into our democracy and 11 years since Molusi canvassed this reality, in a published playscript, that reflected the marginalised community he called 'a great father of this story' of Itsoseng.

The findings of this research show us how, similarly, affected communities like Hammanskraal, continue living in the shadows of past oppressions. The people continue living there as the sense of community depreciates. Origins and heritage continue to be undocumented

because the appreciation for them is succeeded by the need to survive. The development structure also pushes people into individual survivorship, breeding a community that practises their citizenship in areas of work and in residences that do not reflect a sense of community, which is primal to the existence of an individual. The individual loses a sense of belonging in a place and the place loses the identity of its people, its own identity, because its people are drawn out of it or pressured into expunging themselves within it by employing the unhealthy and dangerous life choices which are available to them.

It is also noteworthy to mention that there is one narrative missing that I believe plays a fair part in the defining narratives of historical tribes living in Hammanskraal. This concerns the Bakgatla ba Mmakau, who in a footnote with no reference, from Godsell's research, are said to have lived in the area before the most well-known tribe to live there came into the area.

It is however interesting to mention that there is, on Facebook a group called Bakgatla ba Mmakau and under its "*About*" heading it has the following:

> Not interested in political career or tenders. Interested in seeing change, development, service delivery, community empowerment and transparency in Mmakau/Madibeng. We cannot accept and continue living under these conditions. We can move to big cities and developed areas in pursuit of better living conditions, empowerment, etc BUT MMAKAU remains our home (our families, mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters, uncles, you name them) still live here. Lets assist to spearhead CHANGE. Forgotten village "LED" by Kgosi B.P. Motsepe for many, many, many years. Situated between Magalies Mountains, Mothutlung, Ga-Rankuwa and Hartebeespoort Dam. Nothing developmental has happened since the death of Bophuthatswana. No roads, lights, water, jobs (Mmakau Youth Action Group: Facebook).

I know that this group/person may not represent the truth about the Bakgatla ba Mmakau, however, I was drawn to it because of 1. the areas mentioned are near Hammanskraal. 2. the mention of no change in livelihoods since the death/fall of Bophuthatswana and 3. because the present disadvantaged South African people are calling for the government to act in developing their area. Point 2 and 3 echo the realities found in Itsoseng and Hammanskraal as discussed in my findings.

Collective Behaviour

Different factors in our history have influenced our living arrangements. We have gated communities, walls, fences, gates, closed roads, circles which have reduced our towns to single households except in cases of gated complexes and apartments. What is prevalent here is the

dissolution of community. Communities, in spite of an inclusive inter-generational presence, have limited or lost entirely structures and platforms that allow for interactive engagement and that call for a collective engagement, reflection, reconciliation, rehabilitation, recognition, acknowledgement and celebration of matters and events as they arise.

Villagers used to have one *kgoro*. There was only one gate, even when the village was big. The modern way of living has given family heads freedom to gate their immediate family within their household leading to small scale counter-dependence. Information and the chance to commune with other community members is now limited as the onus is on each household to survive, gradually the sense of community of connectedness is lost and replaced by one of togetherness. I refer to connectedness in the sense that we are now disconnected. Each family chooses, some don't have a choice, where to go to have grievances and needs met such as school education, healthcare, security services and so on. However, when a challenge proves to affect a multitude of people we start to stand together (togetherness) in a form of solidarity in an attempt to overcome the challenge as in the FeesMustFall[26] and the contaminated water strike in Hammanskraal, the activism against gender-based violence and so on.

Hammanskraal is an example of how cultural and traditional community living etiquettes dissolved, brought on by the structure of living during colonialization and Apartheid. The inquiry into the historical origin, using PT, has also allowed us to hear views on how the change that was promised, through collaboration to acquire a democratic leadership, has rather sanctioned the community to live within modern and urban living structures that, so far, are coping with their needs. However, even if the overall change is beneficial to the country, it is ineffective when the power structures forget that every community is unique and thus needs a slightly different approach from other communities. I say this because when the action of change provides an unsuitable service and aid, they are but a waste of money and resources as they are not what that community needed at that time.

For example, the market and crafts houses built for the tourism market and to create business opportunities have now been inactive for close to seven years. Two years ago a pedestrian bridge was built between shopping complexes over the R101 road but no one uses it. Now, underneath, it houses a community of Nyaope addicted people. This raises the question: Which community was consulted, as per the structure under which the Municipal Council should

[26] FeesMustFall is a national movement that began in 2015 in South Africa. Its goals were to stop increases in student fees as well as to increase government funding of universities.

operate? Although the Amandebele - a - Moletlane/Lebelo was not in charge of persons who came into the area due to forced removals or migration, the ways involving people meeting with their chiefs for grievances, and all their processes were transparent and worked through a protocol known and understood by all.

Gqola has recognized that 'nation' as an imagined community rests on the myth that:

> what holds a nation together is a conscious decision on the part of every member to affirm his or her acceptance of that nation's collective identity and cultural heritage. Members share in their past a glorious heritage and regrets, and in their future, a programme to put into effect. Their sense of shared values and collective affirmation of such values is what constitutes a nation (Kiguwa as cited in Gqola 2010:212).

This is an allusion as, although the nation/country fought together to achieve democracy, there are the invisible borders of class still present in rural, township, peri-urban, and urban to metropolitan areas because they hold different identities and cultural lifestyles that can distinctly separate a nation even though it put aside those differences to fight for a better country. The achieved goal of democracy in some areas cannot be carried forward because its geographical setting is far from areas of more privilege. Thus, even most of Hammanskraal's published history lies in archived material dating from, and administered by, the apartheid government. Other histories which have recorded the way of life of people have not been made available for educational purposes. Does that mean we should settle for an identity and ways of living predetermined by colonialism and forget about our ancestral ways of living that inform our instinctual genetic behaviour?

> The emergence of an identity, with social values embedded in it, will in time solidify into memories of cultural practice, which can be both a blessing and a curse, that predispose us to replicate our values and social practices wherever we are in the world. When we reach that stage, having decided that its benefits somehow secure our future, we will have arrived to begin, perhaps, yet another age of creativity (Ndebele as cited in Gqola 2010:204).

With continued and consistent PT ritual, strands of different identities from individuals can start to give perspective to the collective identity. I want to pose this identity as the one Ndebele speaks about because having it embedded in social values suggests that these are values shared by a social structure. In the shared values, beliefs, and interests of the Hammanskraal people lies the foundation of a way to reference and look at events, and also a way of working to

address their needs and desires. This is where I believe the emergence of a collective identity can start to form. Hypothetically, the processes and the time given to people in a continuous meeting in a PT ritual are the actions needed to solidify people's action within their cultural practices with desirable results. Dialogue, and storytelling, as used in a PT ritual will stop a community replicating values and social practices that are seen to have damaged their lives, rather, they will be motivated to choose those of the old and those of the new that can assist them to adapt to the current world. This is, perhaps, another age of creativity, which they can arrive at, as Ndebele has shared.

The following statements from participants of the post-performance focus group interviews reflect the capacity of PT to build communities based on those moments in the PT performance ritual that incited empathy, which made visible relationships and also brought about catharsis for the individual:

> A. (Focus Group 06-September-2019): Mmm…you know what I liked about it [the performance], that…like, when people are answering those questions [PT interview] of yours, and then you act them out. You find it fun sometimes, sometimes it becomes emotional you see? It's that you can-it's like you see the thing that the person [teller] was talking about even though you didn't see it [as it happened in real life] but, with your heart and spirit, you become emotional [resonate].
>
> B. (Focus Group 06-September-2019): Playback Theatre, mostly I liked the way you captured the stories and from there it brings out motivation for the inner person to become motivated.
>
> C. (Focus Group 06-September-2019): One person shares a story, another person comes with a different story. You find that thing has happened to me, then another person as we speak now speaks about it. And what is it that they are doing to me? They are encouraging me. I can become a hero tomorrow with that person's story.
>
> D. (Focus Group 06-September-2019): The most important part I liked was that part of Precious[27] when she was explaining her inner self. How she eh…eh, eh…how she succeeded to achieve her goal and how she will continue to achieve her goal. Why? Because eh…I entered Tshedimosetso as a volunteer. As a volunteer, I was trying to help families that are disadvantaged. So far I have upgraded to find that I have become

[27] Not real name

> a counsellor to a point where I can do face to face with the students here at Tshedimosetso and counsel them on the problems that they have. Then when I saw that part of this girl, I felt that it means they [people] are a lot outside that need more counselling. More motivation where a person can succeed in their life and forget the past. To become a new person. To focus on achieving his/her goal.

I explained in Chapter Three how the experience of being part of the ritual of witnessing, and sharing stories elicits therapeutic effects, but that it is not a therapeutic space. This is because the act of storytelling, in the ritual, inherently brings about catharsis in the Teller of the story. It is the process of releasing, and thereby providing relief from strong or repressed emotions. The witnessing of the performance invites reflection and introspection from the Teller while also doing the same for audience members who are additionally invited to resonate and or empathise with the Teller and/or their story thus, capacitating a process of building a community that is aware, reflects and learns from self and others.

Moreover, when I looked at all these comments, I realised how all these participants speak from a place of being activated. Activated to better understand another person's story and become emotional, motivated, encouraged, and inspired to do better to succeed in their own personal and/or close community challenges. It makes it clear that the methodology of PT as a tool for social transformation is effective. The PT approach encourages communication and dialogue and allows the power of stories to lift the participants' lives beyond the performance ritual space because they relate to the stories as reflections that can guide and offer alternative solutions and give new perspectives to real-life events. This resonates with the concept of looking at past events to learn how to do better in the present and future.

I am convinced that a consistent culture of holding PT performances within such communities like Hammanskraal can help them to re-imagine and re-affirm the identity of that community. This could lead to them working, in collaboration with the relevant local and regional authorities and councils to collectively work towards achieving future goals and strategies to make changes relevant to their contextual needs.

Chapter 5

How effective was Playback Theatre in stimulating dialogue?

The historical knowledge expressed the view that the Hammanskraal community, in the past, even though still having an unsatisfactory governing system, had people in it who were more prosperous then than the people who are living there now. One might argue that this is not true, looking at social welfare grants, higher education funds, and housing through the RDP projects but, I ask that we also remember Saud's premise of the illusion that top-down measures for reconciliation are not always effective for the local community. Moreover, the opportunities that the government is offering to the people require finances for the internet, resources, places to live, transport and so on and are not always easily available in the neighbourhood. To dismiss what these communities are calling for is tantamount to ignoring the restoration of their identities and the security of their futures.

There were shared hopes and interest in rebuilding areas that can provide working opportunities within the community. People long for a youth community that does not rely on substance abuse but they recognise the reality that there is no readily available and effective alternative for them if they do not have the support of the government and community. There is also a shared concern about how this hopelessness filters down from adults to young adults and now to children in high school who have no positive regard for their education because they see their predecessors not prospering after matriculation. There is also the prevalent culture of just watching others helplessly while drug addiction and the uninhibited sexual trade culture thrives.

Central to ritual theory, and particularly through the PT ritual, the community was stimulated to share stories that expressed their values, beliefs, knowledge, hopes, interests, fears, realities, and sufferings. This happened by using the primary elements of a successful ritual presentation: co-presence, a demarcated space for performance, the mutual focus of attention (stories for all and performance for the audience), and an appreciation of the shared mood that was felt in the ritual performance.

I appreciate first, the interest and participation of the members of the community who were willing to be part of the PT performances. I say this because it was explained to them that their participation would involve putting their own narratives under scrutiny to meet the needs this study's research question. These performances were able to give the community an opportunity

to share and be in dialogue through storytelling. The stories that emerged expressed historical knowledge, hopes and interests, fears and sufferings, beliefs and a reality all of which were shared by the group but:

To what extent was the ritual of storytelling in Playback Theatre effective in stimulating discourse on the historical memory and origins of the people living in Hammanskraal as a means of building unity?

The narratives which have been analysed and measured found Hammanskraal to be a place that had differences, inequality and politics stemming from oppressive external factors, authorities and institutions. Its development is impregnated with intertwined memories of the limited and fragmented pre and early Hammanskraal history of African indigenous ways of living that have been diluted and stripped away by oppressive factors while the developing Hammanskraal has had its foundations constructed within those same oppressive structures.

The community of Hammanskraal embody and reflect its earliest community, foreign settlers and African tribes that came to settle on unclaimed land. These peoples were migrating from tribal wars and the forced displacement arising out of colonization. However, in present times, settlement on unoccupied land is not as profitable as it was in former times as migrants into the area now include citizens from other African countries fleeing wars in their countries of birth. This displacement causes problems as socio-economic struggles and the forced displacements experienced in the spatial area under the previous Apartheid government have still not been remedied by the current democratic government.

In the focus group interview one of the participants felt that

> our brothers and sisters and our mothers and fathers, they have done their bit. So everything is left in our hands. So they depend on us in that, eh…, what is moving forward for us because it is us who will be leaders for tomorrow.' This statement was a response to a concern relating to the youth population and their risky behaviour and high rate of teenage pregnancy, high school dropouts, addiction to alcohol and drugs, and limited motivation and autonomy to plan and follow through their long term goals (E, Focus Group 06-September-2019).

This is pertinent to the history of the area because the reality of the challenges of the youth population, especially those from "previously disadvantaged" areas in South Africa is the same all around the country. The constant reminders of these realities shared by the youth are like an alarm's snooze button. On one end of the spectrum are those waiting for the government, appointed leaders, local councils and authorities to wake up and on the other end are those who

re-assess current strategies, consult actual community members in their diverse cultures and population groups, and address matters affecting these communities, within their contexts, for the real change and transformation the democratic government has promised. The change and innovations brought by democracy brought about more chaos and resentment than positive changes due to ineffective community consultations, the monitoring of policies, and the assessment and evaluation of strategies in places like Hammanskraal. This reflects the notion that we sometimes write and talk about great ideas to help people without the necessary action plans that are practical and appropriate to their actual needs.

Those in the positions of power who try to enforce change are not effectively carrying the responsibilities of their roles, as was not the case in an era of pre-colonial governance. This raises the question of whether there is still the need to implement a bridging action which takes people into democracy and reconciles the pre-colonial with the post-oppression African person with regard to what is important for the livelihood of the person. This better livelihood strategy should not be taken from foreign ways. Is it not better to adapt and be innovative than to adopt ways which are not essential to our African genealogy?

We are however left to live '*ga maMpuru' in a* modernised home with the constant undesired pressures to survive.

> You already know that when I am from the village when I come back from school its either I go to play soccer or marathons. Eh…once we get to, (*Pitori ke ga maMpuru*) Pretoria is a place of undesired pressure. Everybody does their own thing. We don't go to school. What is big is when we come back from school to go where? *(Mozoolong)* Where we can hustle. When we come back from school we go to the station [Hammanskraal station] - and you know what you end up doing when you get used to money? Even at school, even Mam [the teacher], again you won't go to school when you have more money than Mam. What will you tell her? You won't listen to her. Even when she expels tomorrow, 'aaa, I don't care' (F, Focus Group 06-September-2019).

Mampuru is a word constructed to add maternal character to *Mpuru* which is taken from a Setswana idiom: *Mpuru o faretswe*. This expression is used to put across a tough situation where things are not going well, or a person is in a situation that has cornered them and they are forced to resort to unlikable measures of action. The participant here is referring to Pretoria as an umbrella term for Hammanskraal, assuming that it is inclusive of other townships around Pretoria. However, his statement describes Pretoria as a place of chaos that nurtures destruction and holds back the growth of positive measures of survival because its quick rewards surpass

the patience and perseverance and endurance needed by those living in poverty and who lack effective projects to alleviate these challenges.

When I look at the extent to which the PT performance ritual has stimulated discourse on the historical memory and origins of Hammanskraal, I realise that Hammanskraal has always been *ga mampuru* for African people since its beginning. It has not been a place of violent challenges, but its nature dismantles autonomy, ambition and instils helplessness amongst the many unlucky ones who cannot change the status of their socio-economical standing. Innovation and technology are introduced with no attempt made to make visible where we, within our microcosm, come into the picture. This, which further confuses us because we seek for solutions to our challenges, stems from the history of other areas whose origins are not the same as ours but who are our guides because the common denominator is the oppression experienced during Apartheid although it may not have been experienced in exactly the same way because of geographical differences.

We cannot all have the same approach to change as within our one country there are widely differing cultures, practices and origins. However, all is not hopeless because some institutions and physical structures are in place and only require a collaborated effort to be used effectively for the benefit of all community members.

Requisites of Playback Theatre to be a successful method of inquiry

PT serves as a relevant tool for inquiry as it assists to identify collective cultural activity, common trends, needs, and distinctive features of sub-groups within a community. The different viewpoints of a specific group of people in their respective contextualised space can be expressed without bias. Its method of inquiry varies. Previously undocumented information and knowledge of a topic that could only be shared by its people are made alive as PT uses oral tradition and memory.

As a method of inquiry, PT is successful when the stories are captured through the recording and transcription of the performance into an independent source of material and data. It is almost the reverse of what happens in a performance in mainstream theatre. The main event, an improvised and spontaneous form of dialogue, must happen first before the formal script is made available for analysis. This ensures that the research begins with the ritual performance and that the contents of the scripts are solely post-performance. The script is also now a source of material that can be reviewed and used as a comparative source of knowledge for analysis

by other researchers, PT groups, Social activists, and government agencies when all ethical protocol is observed.

Recommendations

One of the qualities of PT is that it can be performed in any given environment that allows a community to commune and share stories of mutual experience or on a shared focus. It does not discriminate and promotes differences to assure mutual understanding amongst its participants. PT groups are already penetrating different kinds of communities with the aim of achieving social justice, transformation and solidifying existing and new communities of people all over the world on a local level.

I recommend PT as a supplement to national government strategies for reconciliation and the restoration of communities. It can fulfil the needs and stop up the gaps that the top-down approaches to reconciliation currently neglect. I also recommend it as an interdisciplinary method in research studies in history, anthropology and any other discipline that aims to learn about the narratives of a community.

Limitations

The Centre for Playback Theatre prides itself on good ethical practices that are enforced through constant training and the workshops that guide PT groups to hold to the ethical practices of the form. This takes place in short courses, from introductory to advanced level, for actors, musicians, and conductors in PT. They range from leadership training to deepening aspects of practice, the elements of performance and the sustaining of company life. Some courses have pre-requisites others are provided by accredited affiliated schools and trainers. Drama for Life School of Playback Theatre offers two courses, Introduction to PT and Advanced Level Practice of PT.

My first interest was to lead the performance as a conductor. I believed that this would add value in the interview process of the ritual performance because of my understanding of the cultural expressions and as I already had facilitating experience within the applied theatre spectrum but not specifically in PT. However, the conducting course is only offered outside of South Africa and I did not have the capacity, during the time of the study, to go abroad so that I could acquire this skill. I believe that as a conductor, who is also the insider researcher, I could have picked up more nuances within the telling during the interview process of the ritual. I would have further expanded the meaning and understanding of the cultural and linguistic

expression of the tellers. As an actor, my task is to listen, and playback guided by the conductor. I was unable to assist the driver of the interview. As a researcher, I had briefed the conductor and she was phenomenal in holding the ritual but I rather feel that the relatable nuances felt in communication may have added another dynamic to the dialogue that was stimulated already by the set up and approach of the PT ritual and the diverse team members allowing for deeper dialogue.

On the other hand, I do think that if I had been a Conductor, I may have taken for granted some nuances or references which were shared by the audiences and tellers. This could have been disadvantageous distancing the rest of the PT team from parts of the dialogue and interview processes. However, as a practising facilitator, I have trained, and I continue to work on being reflexive and aware of these moments as they arise, and, by making them visible include everyone in the dialogue. Furthermore, I would think and believe that these are matters that could be covered or raised and addressed during a Conductor training course.

Conclusion

I began this study by describing my interest in the community structure and I also unfolded the spatial history of Hammanskraal in the introduction. This was informed by constant navigation and negotiation of ownership of the place, first by tribal occupancy, and then by people coming into the area and adopting the place due to needing the administrative assistance and services coming from colonial governance. At that time the white community cleverly settled in the area and are still part of the growth of the business industry in Hammanskraal. This gave the background and context of the area coupled with what exists there now. The established community came out of these past events. The introduction also made it clear that this study was an inquiry that would focus on the community themselves and stimulate their historical memory using the ritual performance of PT.

In Chapter One, I shared the lamentations of the previously colonised communities who are continuing to live with broken identities and agency because the restoration of their history has still not been effectively implemented. I elaborated on the importance of recollection and memory as a suitable device to mend these broken or rather fragmented identities and I show how the ritual performance in PT encompasses such an approach and uses story-telling, based on recollection and memory, to re-imagine or reflect. I expressed and elaborated on elements

that need to be present for a ritual to exist and the principles of a successful ritual. I compared these with the practices of PT and looked for connections and slight differences relevant to the of ritual of community building. I also clarified how being a reflexive researcher was relevant to this study as I was also an insider researcher.

I continued with my literature review in Chapter Two to further affirm and discuss how narratives from memory are important in research within this context. I elaborated on the use of PT as a methodology and how the outcomes of the practice inform the research.

Chapter Three, the methodology, illustrated my approach and the steps I took to answer the research question. I enlarged on the workshops and rehearsals that I held with the actors before the performances, the arrangements for the venue areas for the performances, the performances, PT and its qualities as a tool for social change, justice and transformation. I lastly detailed why the ethical and cultural language diversity described in this Practice-based research, was important and was taken into consideration.

For my analysis, in Chapter Four, I first sought the themes and topics that emerged from the performances. I continued to analyse the relationships in the common themes that emerged in all three different areas where the performances took place. I then compared the scripted PT performances with a published script that uses the same setting, events, and the history of what still exists in Hammanskraal. Drawing from these findings, I further elaborated on the collective behaviour of the community that was part of this study.

In Chapter Five I provided factors that contributed to the effectiveness of PT and its capacity to stimulate dialogue starting with my deduction of what makes PT a successful method of inquiry. I then expanded on my recommendations and limitations before my conclusion.

This study was based on the inquiry of what the collective narrative of Hammanskraal as a place of residence, a place that is still developing simultaneously with the people that came to occupy it as a home would look like when the historical memories of its different and yet prevalent parts are traced. This was juxtaposed against my own multi-faceted collage of memories and stories that have led me to call it home.

The connection of these memories, with an approach of Playback Theatre as a qualitative method of research, have created a map of the journey of the people of Hammanskraal. Even though some areas of this map may be missing links more than others or have no sense of direction at all, it is still a map, exclusive at times, that has in it a hint of who we are and how

we came to be. Thus, guiding the decisions and actions we can take to move forward within the macrocosm of our country and beyond.

THE END.

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ADDENDUM 1

PLAYBACK THEATRE SCENES and FORMS

Fluid Sculpture

This is a non-narrative short form of Playback Theatre. It focuses on a moment or an emotion from the teller. The Playback Theatre actors use sound and movement to express an audience member's response to the conductor's questions. These short abstracts usually serve as a way to ease the audience into the Playback process. The actors' step into the middle of the stage one after another, perform the teller's moment in no more than a minute then send it back to them by briefly looking at the teller.

Pairs

This is a non-narrative short form that asks the audience member to share a moment where they had conflicting emotions. Actors stand in pairs one behind the other and each person chooses one emotion to express. The pair closest to the musician is always the one to start. Like the fluid sculpture, they use sound and movement rather than words.

Corridors

This form is used for a story that has many sides to it: people, events, moments, social political dimension. The story's events, characters and scenes can be understood, interpreted and enacted in multiple ways. The actors step up on impulse, one actor at a time, and claim the stage for a short solo enactment. It ends when any of the actors decides that all the important elements of the story have been honoured (usually 6 to 10 enactments are sufficient) and that the time is right for it to end. One by one they freeze upstage in a Tableaux.

V- Narrative/Structure

This short form requires a short story rather than a moment or emotion from the audience. The conductor joints the actors to form a V structure on stage. The conductor or one of the actors standing at the head of the V narrates the teller's story while gesticulating and expressing with the hands and body. The other actors follow the gestures produced by the conductor without using any words or sound.

Chorus

A clump of actors (two or more) uses voice and body together as one entity. One person makes an offer immediately accepted and developed by the others, until a new offer is made. A Chorus may depict a whole story (as a short form) or it may be an element in a long-story form scene. An actor may step out and become a different character, then melt back into chorus.

3-Part Story

In this short narrative form, three actors choose three key elements from the story. Going one actor at a time, the first actor uses voice, body, movement, and space to convey essence of one element then freezes. The second actor does the same for the second element. She/he may interact with frozen first actor, who does not respond. The third actor does the same with third element.

Tableau Stories

An audience member is asked to share a moment that is just a little more expansive than for the fluid sculpture. As in the V-structure, the conductor listens then retells the story in short sentences or a series of titles. After each one of these sentences, the actors create a tableau, a sculpture that is still, not fluid expressing the main idea in the sentence.

Long Stories

Here the teller is invited to the stage to tell a longer story. The conductor elicits the story through the ritual of questioning and then sends it to the actors. The actors have the responsibility of creatively performing the teller's story but honouring it by keeping to its structure. At the end of the improvisation, the story is acknowledged by sending it back to the teller.

ADDENDUM 2

PLAYBACK THEATRE RITUAL

The ritual in Playback Theatre creates a sacred space. It is repetitive and remains the same all the time so people know what to expect and provides a sense of safety to the audience. Everyone works together to hold the ritual space (quality of ceremony).

Stage

Neutral stage (boxes or crates and actors in line).

Two crates for conductor and teller (sideway).

Cloth draped over on a stand (left).

Music area with instruments (right).

The Playback stage is in front of boxes.

Conductor

The conductor explains the Playback Theatre model.

Who would like to tell (conductor asks)?

Conductor interviews teller.

"Let's watch" at the end of interview.

Conductor checks with teller about the experience, teller has the last word.

Actors

Actors stand in position, neutral and ready to start short forms and short story forms.

Actors sit on boxes to listen to teller's longer story.

Once picked by teller, the particular actor stands. He is between self and role.

Actors don't ask teller questions.

Actors wait for the conductor's cue of "let's watch" before they begin enactment. In general, they don't begin until everything is in place. The musical introduction of the story allows the actors to set up the scene in silence.

Actors play it back then honour/acknowledge teller after enactment (short and long forms).

Music

Music frames the short forms and long form by providing music to introduce the stories and then draw them to a close.

Music can help create the atmosphere when the audience enters the space of a Playback Theatre performance.

Music adds to creating the emotional mood of the story being enacted.
Musician decides when to stop playing and therefore when action begins.

Teller

Teller chooses actor.
Teller stays in chair to watch enactment after narrating story.
Teller does not talk to actors. It all comes from the conductor.

ADDENDUM 3

<u>First Performance at Temba – Sebothoma Hall</u>

C – Conductor
PA1 - Playback Actor 1
PA2 – Playback Actor 2
PA3 – Playback Actor 3
PM – Playback Musician
GR – Group Response
T1 – Teller 1
T2 – Teller 2
T3 – Teller 3
T4 – Teller 4
T5 – Teller 5
[…] – In-audible speech/missing clip during battery change over

[The stage is set for a Playback Ritual Performance. There are three PLAYBACK ACTORS, each standing in front of a crate UPSTAGE CENTRE. The CONDUCTOR's and TELLER's chair CENTER STAGE RIGHT and the PLAYBACK MUSICIAN with her instruments on CENTRE STAGE LEFT. The team is wearing different coloured t-shirts with black pants]

C: Dumelang! *[Hello]*

GR: Ahee! *[Hello]*

C: Lekae? *[How are you?]*

GR: Re teng le na le kae? *[We are fine and how are you?]*

C: Re teng *[We are fine]*. Nna ke Kego and batho ba le ba bonang bae me mo*[My name is Kego and the people that you see here]* are from Drama For Life Playback and today we wanted to have a full performance for you mara [but] because of time we are going to have more of a conversation and we will still show you what Playback is. First question I have for you before we begin, nna ke bua Setswana, ke tswa ko Botswana so ke bua Setswana sa ko go Botswana. Sepitori ke a se utlwa *[I speak Setswana, I come from Botswana so I speak the Setswana from Botswana. I can hear Sepitori]*. You are very welcome go bua ka sepitori, ka se ga lona *[You are welcome to speak sepitori, your own home language]*, Setswana and English is also very welcome. Ga ke palelwala I am going ask for somebody to please help me. For translating. Is that okay? So feel no pressure to speak in English. Whatever you feel comfortable with. We'll get through. We just want to hear your stories. So to begin,

we'll start by saying hello and introduce ourselves so that you know everybody who is working with you, and then we can start.

PA1: Hello, my name is Thando[28]. So every time ga ke travel-a batho ba bagolo ba rata gong mpotsisa gore gae ke kae and then ke rata gore Rens Town. Ba re ga se ko geno koo, ko geno ke ko magaeng? Mara ke belegetswe mo, goletse moo. Mathata a otlhe a lefatshe, ke tla mo Rens. *[So every time I travel, older people like to ask where I am from and I like to say that I an from Rens Town. They say that's not my home, your village home? But I was born here, I grew up here. With all the challenges I face in life I come to Rens]*.So that's my home.

[The PLAYBACK MUSICIAN starts to play music and the PLAYBACK ACTORS step forward and start to Playback the introduction with a short FLUID SCULPTURE]

PA2: It's here.

PA3: This is home.

[FLUID SCULPTURE reaches an end. PLAYBACK ACTOR 2 steps aside from the group to introduce herself]

PA2: Hi everyone, my name is Didi. my mother, my father, my aunties, my uncles – my whole family – for the longest time has been quite about our history. Our family history. But I have done the work now. I have the answers. And I am going to write a play about it.

[The PLAYBACK MUSICIAN starts to play music and the PLAYBACK ACTORS walk and step next to PA2 and start to Playback the introduction with a short FLUID SCULPTURE]

PA3: Story

[28] Names of players and participants have been changed.

[FLUID SCULPTURE reaches an end. PLAYBACK ACTOR 3 steps aside from the group to introduce herself]

PA3: Hello, My name is Thato. I just got back from Europe and people know a lot about their history, like they'll tell you dates and very specific and they are very proud of it. And I listen to them telling their stories and I think about myself and I go hmmm… I don't know my history like they know their history.

[The PLAYBACK MUSICIAN starts to play music and the PLAYBACK ACTORS and start to Playback the introduction with a short FLUID SCULPTURE]

PA1: Was I also?

PA2: No.

PM: Sanibonani, igama lami ngigu Thobeka *[Hello, my name is Thobeka]*. For years I have been trying to find myself and here I feel like and finding myself through writing and poetry.

PA3: Receive.

[FLUID SCULPTURE reaches an ending. PLAYBACK ACTORS walk towards the PLAYBACK MUSICIAN and start to Playback the introduction with a short FLUID SCULPTURE]

C: Nna ke Kego, ko gae mme waka o bitswa Motlagomang *[I'm Kego, at home my mother is named Motlagomang*]. It's a name that runs in our family and I think I am going to name our children Motlagomanng.

PA2: Generations. Generations. Generations.

PA1: Yours.

[FLUID SCULPTURE reaches an end. PLAYBACK ACTORS return to stand in front of their creates.

C: So this is a snapshot ne *[ok]*, like a little image of what Playback is. You will tell stories. (responds to a reaction of some members of the audience) O sharp? Go 'eragalang? Keng le bolawa ke ditshego? *[Are you ok? What is happening? What is causing the laughter?]*You are going to share your stories and our team will play

them back…Nothing just play that story back to you. So our sister here (pointing towards one of the PLAYBACK ACTORS) is doing her Masters. O rutegile blind ngwanyano *[She is educated]*. So this is part of her Masters research. She went to school, and went to university and decide to do her Masters research at home as she is from Skraal – Hammanskraal. Ga twe le ibitsa Skraal a ke re*?[It is said you call it Skraal right?]*

GR: Ee *[Yes]*.

C: So just to begin, I want you to think about Skraal, Hammanskraal. Mo le dulang teng [*Where you live]*.If you are a citizen of Hammanskraal [...] Anything that says that this is definitely Hammanskraal. Nowhere else can this happen, only in Hammanskraal.

[TELLER 1 gives a gesture to respond and says 'Strike']

C: Lebitso la gao ke mang? *[What is your name?]*

T1: Tshepo.

C: O ne o re strike? *[You said strike?]*

T1: Eya *[Yes]*.

C: What happened? Which strike happened?

T1: […]

C: Metsi a bola? *[Water rots?]*

T1: Ke ra gore na a se monate, like na a na le – *[I mean it was distasteful, like it had-]*

GR: Contaminated.

T1: Yes. Yes.

C: Ok. So there was contaminated water and then there was a strike?

T1: Yes.

C: Who was striking?

GR: Batho mo gae *[People at home]*.

C: The people of Hammanskraal?

T1: Yes.

C: What were they striking for? They wanted clean water? Water to drink, water to use.

GR: Yes.

C: Were you a part of that strike?

T1: Nee *[No]*. I was somewhere else eish![29]

C: So where were you when this was happening? When people were striking about water?

T1: Around Jo'burg[30].

C: So, you were staying around Jo'burg ka nako ya teng? *[So, you were staying around Jo'burg during that time]*

T1: Ya, I was visiting my sister. So ya *[So yes]*.

C: You went to – so where did you see the strike? On the TV? The radio?

T1: On the media.

C: On the media?

T1: Ya.

C: And did you have friends also telling about it?

T1: Ya, some people told me.

C: And what were your thoughts?

T1: […]

C: So, you thought it was actually normal gore batho *[that people]* must strike now because water has been contaminated for some time now.

T1: Ya

C: Lets watch Tshepo story of witnessing the strike about contaminated water from Johannesburg. Let's watch.

[PLAYBACK ACTORS take a step in, one at a time to do a FLUID SCULPTURE]

PA2: It's about time.

[FLUID SCULPTURE reaches an end. ACTORS find a neutral 'send the story back' by making eye contact with Tshepo then return to stand by their crates]

C: Does anybody else have a short moment about living here, being here. Hammanskraal. What reminds you about being here? (Tshepo says something to share again and the group laughs) So Tshepo just said Witchcraft. I am very curious about that story but for now just hold on to it. Remember that story. So does anybody else have something? (TELLER 2 raises her hand to share) Hi.

[29] Eish is an exclamation used across South Africa to express anything from excitement to horror. It can show surprise, annoyance, regret, anger, shock, accident and some other feelings fitting its context.

[30] A short word for Johannesburg

T2: Hi, my name is Tebogo Sepeng.

C: Tebogo?

T2: Yes.

C: I actually have a lot of stories to tell but due to time I'll stick to the topic Hammanskraal. I have been a witness and have experienced the transition between Bophuthatswana going to the supposed to be liberated and democratic South Africa. For me, comparing where we have been as Hammanskraal, as part of Bophuthatswana. We had privileges. We had order. We had control. For example, you wouldn't find ngwana wa skolo after 7 [pm] ko *strateng [you wouldn't find a school child after 7pm on the streets]*. That was not done. Today its rife to a point where it's not only a school child in a school uniform around- between eight and eleven. No, they also have alcohol in their hand. […] Between believing that there is democracy. There is freedom. Or whether that was all a trap to continue with whatever that was happening. So, what I am saying is we are experiencing oppression. Even though we think we were more oppressed during Bophuthatswana.

C1: Tebogo what is your view or what is your opinion of everything since well you've spoken about the transition from it being part of Bophuthatswana. A ke re Mangope was the President? *[Mangope was the President right?]*

T2: Yes.

C1: And there was order while it was part of Bophuthatswana and then it got included in the later Republic of South Africa and independence. And you watched this transition and how that left you feeling or what do you think? What is your position?

T2: It has left me frustrated and it has left me confused and even right now I don't think the ruling party is truly representing unemployment and all the other that we go through on our behalf. I believe in my own theory that South Africa is not governed by us. South Africa is governed by the superpower. The people who have always been in power. What they did in 1994 is actually take our freedom and democracy, our privileges away through the current ruler.

C1: Thank you Tebogo. This is Tebogo's story about the transition between Bophuthatswana to Democratic South Africa. Let's see this in a Chorus. Let's watch.

[PLAYBACK ACTORS step in to playback in CHORUS Form. When it reaches an end, they stand in neutral and 'send the story back' by making eye contact with TELLER 2 before returning to their crates]

C1: Did we capture moments of your story?

T2: Yes. Thank you.

C1: Thank you for sharing. Does anybody else have a story. We have moved on from short moments. […] Skraal. Where you all born here – oh here is a story. What is your name?

T3: Tshiamo

C: Tshiamo?

T3: Yes. Uhm, uhm, uhm I have a dream about how uhm, uhm, the youth of Hammanskraal uhm spend their holidays for example like June 16, like they would rather go to ehm.[…] of which they could write, or we could create some dramas that remind us of what happened that day and then we can have eh… people dancing eh…like they used to do and then we could have a speech or poem about what happened that day and we tell each other about what happened that day. And we can learn. Learn and appreciate.

[…]

[PLAYBACK ACTORS with the CONDUCTOR form a diamond shape and playback the story in a V-NARRATIVE Form. At the end of the story the ACTORS find a neutral position and 'send back' the story by making eye contact with TELLER 3 before returning to their crates.]

[…]

C1: And are you saying that it has been for the longest time or its out of control?

T4: It's out of control. People now are like it's okay to raise a baby while you are in school.

C1: And have you witnessed any friends or family members who were pregnant as teenagers? What does that leave you sitting with? Thinking? To have teenage pregnancy increasing ngwaga le ngwaga *[year by year]*.

[…]

C1: This a story about teenage pregnancy and about teenagers being able to feel for each other in a chorus. Let's watch.

[PLAYBACK ACTORS step in to playback in CHORUS Form. When it reaches an end, they stand in neutral and 'send the story back' by making eye contact with TELLER 4 before returning to their crates]

[…]

C1: Can you speak up just a little bit so that we all hear the story.

T5: Yeah ok. I was saying, its actually about uhh… a guy that we grew up with. We were best buddies in school.

[…]

[This story was about the teller witnessing his friend turn to the Nyaope drug for social pressure relief and how he cannot not help his friend come out of what is now an addiction. He cared for his friend but was also helpless as the needs of his friend were beyond his ability to help]

C1: Lets watch.

[The CONDUCTOR narrates the story for the TABLEAU Form. At the end of the story the ACTORS find a neutral position and 'send back' the story by making eye contact with TELLER 5 before returning to their crates.]

C1: Something like that?

T5: uhh…

C1: Is there anything I missed? Anything I –

T5: No, e sharp.

C1: Thank you. Thank you for sharing. Thank you to everyone of you for sharing your stories. Thank you to everyone who didn't share for being here and witnessing the stories. Thank you for letting us share with you as well. Uh, I see that you all have forms. Consent forms. I should have done this in the beginning. As you can see the conversation was filmed. You are not going to be on TV or anything. This is so that she can do her research and can look through and see through the questions and the responses and the stories about your community. Nobody's face in there, it's just us us and we only hear your voices. So thank you very much. We are just going to leave you with a little gift from us to you for sharing.

[PLAYBACK ACTORS with the CONDUCTOR form a diamond shape and perform a short rotating V-NARRATIVE Carousel where each member narrates a summary of one story that was shared]

C1: Thank you very much.

The End

ADDENDUM 4

Second Performance at Tshedimosetso Community Skills and Development Centre and Other Projects – Marokolong, Hammanskraal

C – Conductor
PA1 - Playback Actor 1
PA2 – Playback Actor 2
PA3 – Playback Actor 3
PM – Playback Musician
GR – Group Response
T1 – Teller 1
T2 – Teller 2
T3 – Teller 3
T4 – Teller 4
T5 – Teller 5
[…] – In-audible speech/missing clip during battery change over

[The stage is set for a Playback Ritual Performance. There are three PLAYBACK ACTORS, each standing in front of a crate UPSTAGE CENTRE. The CONDUCTOR's and TELLER's chair CENTER STAGE RIGHT and the PLAYBACK MUSICIAN with her instruments on CENTRE STAGE LEFT. The team is wearing different coloured t-shirts with black pants. The audience is seated. This is performed under a corrugated iron roofed shelter outside in the middle of the centre's classroom venues and a day cay centre]

[…]

PA1: Dumelang *[Hello]*.

GR: Ahee *[Hello]*.

PA1: Lebitso laka ke nna Thando[31]. Every time like ge ke tsamaya batho ba bagolo ba rata go mpotsisa gore 'Gae ke kae? Gae ke kae?' Ene nna ke rata go re ke Rens Town. E be ba re 'hai! hai! Re ra ko geno, ko magaeng. Ko geno like kwa somewhere. And then I'm like – well ke belegetswe mo ko Majaneng[32] [clinic], ene ke goletse ko Rens Town. Ke ko nna ke yang ga ke tlhoka anything. So ke legae la ka. *[My name is Thando. Every time I travel older people like to ask me 'Where's home? Where's home?' and I love to say Rens Town. They would reply 'no! no! We mean your village home. Your home far [land] somewhere' and then I'm like- well I was born in Majaneng, and I grew up living in Rens Town. That is where I go whenever I'm in need. So that is my home.]*

[31] Names of Playback team and participating audience members changed.
[32] The clinic in Majaneng is the oldest clinic for African people in Hammanskraal. Presumably built by Esther Kekana during her position as chief of the Amandebele-a-Moletlane.

[The PLAYBACK MUSICIAN starts to play music and the PLAYBACK ACTORS step forward and start to Playback the introduction with a short FLUID SCULPTURE]

PA2: This is home. This-is-home.

[FLUID SCULPTURE reaches an end and the music stops. PLAYBACK ACTOR 2 steps aside from the group to introduce herself]

PA2: Hi everyone, my name is Didi. my mother, my father, my aunties, my uncles for the longest time they have never shared anything about our history and where we come from and who we are. But I have done the work to find out. And I will write a play one day.

[The PLAYBACK MUSICIAN starts to play music and the PLAYBACK ACTORS walk and step next to PA2 and start to Playback the introduction with a short FLUID SCULPTURE. When it reaches an end, PLAYBACK ACTOR 3 steps aside from the group to introduce herself]

PA3 Dumelang *[Hello]*.

GR: Ahee *[Hello]*.

PA3: Lebitso la ka ke *[My name is]* Thato and I just got back from a trip to Europe. And what I've learned is that they really know their history. They'll tell you dates. They'll tell you details. They give you detailed history. And when I think about myself and what I know about home and our history. I don't know.

[The PLAYBACK MUSICIAN starts to play music and the PLAYBACK ACTORS start to Playback the introduction with a short FLUID SCULPTURE.]

PM: Sanibonani *[Hello]*.

GR: Ahee *[Hello]*.

PM: Igama lami ngigu *[My name is]* Thobeka. And for a very long time, ngivele ngiyaz'funa *[I have been self-searching]*, trying to find myself. And through music and poetry and writing I think I am finding myself.

[PLAYBACK ACTORS walk towards the PLAYBACK MUSICIAN and start to Playback the introduction with a short FLUID SCULPTURE]

C: And ke nna *[I am]* Kego. My family go na le leina la Motlagomang. Mme waka o bidiwa Motlagomang *[My family has the name Motlagomang. My mother is named Motlagomang*]. So 'from who do you come from'. And I want to give that – have that translate to one of my children.

[PLAYBACK ACTORS walk towards her and playback a short FLUID SCULPTURE of her introduction.]

PA2: Generations. Generations. Generations.

PA1: Yours.

[FLUID SCULPTURE reaches an end. PLAYBACK ACTORS return to stand in front of their creates.]

C: Okay, la bona a ke re [so you can see]. This is what Playback is. You share a story, a story about yourself. So these stories tse e leng gore le tla go re bolella [So these stories that you will tell], you must be a part of the story. Ke story sa gago. Wa bona. And then rona, ka moka, ra le tshamekella [It is your story. You see, and we will play them back to you]. So just to start. Just to warm up. I am going to say a word.

[PLAYBACK ACTORS start walk around the space]

C: And then ke batla gore le mpolelle go re ge ke bolela lefoko le, le le gopotsa eng. Ne? And just - ke batla gore le emise matsogo gore go se ke ga nna le lerata. When I say home or ko gae, le gopolang? *[And I want you to tell me what comes to your mind when you hear this word. Okay? And just-I want you to raise your hands so that we don't make undesired noise. When I say home, what comes to mind?]* Just words.

: Belonging.

C: Belonging.

[PLAYBACK ACTORS freeze in different images associated with the word and move about after a short pause. This repeats with every word shared by members of the audience]

C: Somebody else. When I say home. Gae *[Home]*.

: Where do you come from.

C: My Culture.
My religion.

: My language.

C: My language.

: My family.

C: My family. And when I say history. What do you think of? History. Ko letswang teng *[Where you come from]*

[…]

C: Matsatsi a fetileng? *[Days that have passed]* – (responding a previous sharer) go na o o sa buang. Wena o buile *[There is someone speaking. You have spoken]*. I'll come back to you – yes?

: Apartheid.

C: Apartheid. Anybody else? History.

: Discrimination.

C: Discrimination.

: Reconciliation.

C: Reconciliation. And when I say community. Le gopolang? *[What comes to mind?]* Community keng? *[What is Community?]* Ke eng ka Setswana? *[What do you call is in Setswana?]*

: Setšhaba *[Community]*.

C: Setšhaba. Ee rra? *[Community. Yes sir?]*

: Unity.

C: Unity. Two more.

[…]

C: Fighting one another. Anybody else?

…

C: Building one another. Thank you. Thank you very much for engaging. Ra leboga *[Thank you]*.

[PLAYBACK ACTORS return to stand in front of their crates]

C: Jaanong *[Now]* I would like to extend. I want to extend these one words into a moment. Biki nyana fela *[Just a bit]* you know. Biki nyana fela. Ge ke le botsa ka Hammanskraal, mo skraal. Le akanyang fela? Like, go nale eng mona se le itseng gore nyaa tse ke di taba skraal fela, ga gona gongwe gope gape mo go gatweng di diragalang.*[Just a little bit. When I ask about Hammanskraa, here in Skraal. What to do you think of? Like, what is here that you know that its only news in Skraal, there is nowhere else where such can happen?]*Yes? (the audience laughs as a member speaks) Ke kopa leina la gago *[May I please have your name?]*.

T1: Thabo.

C: Thabo. Wa re Nyaope? *[You say Nyaope?]*. What about Nyaope?

[…]

C: I am going to have to ask you to speak up so that they can her (pointing towards the actors.) They can't hear you.

T1: Ke yona e rulang Hammanskraal *[It rules Hammanskraal]*.

C: Ke yona e rulang Hammanskraal? E rula Hammanskraal yang? *[It rules Hammanskraal? How does it rule Hammanskraal?]*

[…]

C: …about how Nyaope rules Hammanskraal and the sadness it brings. Let's watch.

[PLAYBACK MUSICIAN starts to play music and the PLAYBACK ACTORS take a step in, one at a time to do a Fluid Sculpture. The sculpture reaches an end and the actors to return to neutral and 'send back' the story by making short eye contact with the teller before returning to stand by their crates.]

C: Re o kapile moment wa gao? *[Did we capture your moment?]*

T1: Naa… *[No…]*

C: Okay, so tell me more.

[…]

[The CONDUCTOR elicits more of the story from the teller.]

C: Let's watch.

[PLAYBACK MUSICIAN starts to play music and the PLAYBACK ACTORS take a step in, one at a time to do a FLUID SCULPTURE. The sculpture reaches an end and the actors to return to neutral and 'send back' the story by making short eye contact with the teller before returning to stand by their crates.]

T1: Dankie *[Thank you]*.

C: Thank you for sharing. Hammanskraal. Ke'ng se se leng mo skraal hela, nowhere else? Ha le akanya Hammanskraal, le akanya eng? – ke kopa gore le seke la bua gore re utlwe ba bangwe *ne [What happens in Skraal only, nowhere else? When you think of Hammanskraal, what comes to mind? – Please don't speak all at once so we hear those that want to share]* – Did you have a story?

T2: Ee *[Yes]*.

C: What is your name?

T2: Semakaleng.

C: Mang? *[Who]*

T2: Semakaleng.

C: Semakaleng. Eya mma. One o reng? *[Yes mam. You were saying?]*

T2: High rate of unemployment.

C: High rate of employment. Ene e etsa yang this high rate of unemployment? *[What does the high rate of employment do?]*

T2: Mo Hammanskraal-a ase batho ba bantšhi ba e leng gore ba more educated and then ga go le byao o kreya e le gore ga ba kreye mebereko. And le feme tsa mo rena a di na mmereko *[Here in Hammanskraal-there aren't a lot of people who are educated and because it is like that you find that it is not easy for them to get work. And the firms we have here don't have work].*

C: So the firms and companies here do not hire or -

T2: Ba hire-ra but batho ba, ba hire-ra batho ba ba tlwaetseng e seng ba bo rona *[They hire but they hire people they favour and not our people]*.

C: So they hire people from outside, not people mo [here in] Hammanskraal and this is because of the lack of education?

T2: Eya mara le *[Yes but also]* connection.

C: Oh, so ho bereka di connection? *[Oh, so it works with connections?]* So, people are connected, and they call people they know?

T2: Eya *[Yes]*.

C: Jaanong *[Now]* this high rate of unemployment, how has it affected you?

T2: Eng affecta in a big way because gone yaanong – *[It affects me in a big way because right now -]*

C: Sorry, (to the audience) Semakaleng o leka go bua, ga ke mo utlwe ka gore le bua lotlhe ka godimo ga ena. (back to Semakaleng) Ee mma *[Pardon, Semakaleng is trying to speak, I cannot hear her because you are speaking loudly. Yes mam]*.

T2: A ke re ge re sa bereki re felletsa e le gore ba bangwe, youth ya rona e felletsa e le di drugs-ing and then ba felletsa e le gore a gona nthwe ba e dirang ka maphelo a bona *[When we don't work some of us end up, our youth ends up falling to drugs and they end up not having anything better to do with their lives]* .

C: So because of unemployment there are other issues like drugs and you end up being drug addicts and you that leaves you o gopotseng *[Thinking of what]?* O akantseng? *[What are you thinking]* (Silent pause) E go 'irela maikutlo akere because wa bua akere? *[This brings about emotion/concern because you are talking about it right?]*

T2: Eya *[Yes]*.

C: So e go utlwisa yang? *[So how does this affect you?]*

T2: Eng kutlwisa botlhoko just because of o kreya ko mo gae – akere nako engwe ka mo gae o kreya e le gore ntate maybe ga a bereki *[It hurts because you find that at home-sometimes you find that a father does not work within a home]*.

C: Aha *[Yes]*.

T2: Ore ntate - batswadi ga ba bereki and then rona, ba ba nyane, ke rona ba ba thusang, re tshwanetseng go ba thusa and ra pallwa *[Or a father-parents don't work and then we, the younger ones, it is us who help, supposed to help and we can't]* .

C: So it makes wena *[you]* Semakaleng feel pain? E go utlwisa botlhoko *[It affects you badly]* – it hurts you because you are the younger generation now have to take care of or your generation now has to take care of the home because bagolo ba kae *[where are the elders]*?

T2: Ba tsofetse or ba godile *[They are old or have grown old]*.

C: Ba godile *[They are old]* so your parents or your elders are grown and now the responsibility falls on you of taking care of people who are unemployed.

C: Let's watch.

[PLAYBACK MUSICIAN starts to play music and the PLAYBACK ACTORS take a step in, one at a time to do a FLUID SCULPTURE. The sculpture reaches an end and the actors to return to neutral and 'send back' the story by making short eye contact with the teller before returning to stand by their crates.]

C: Thank you for sharing Semakaleng. There is a hand - You have already shared a story so can I hear somebody else. O emisitse letsogo kana o a ikotlolla? *[Is your hand raised or are you stretching?]* (the audience laughs) Ke kopa lebitso*? [May I please have your name?]*

T3: My name is Kagiso.

C: Kagiso? Okay.

T3: Yes. Eh… Mavuso. Ba re ke Mavuso *[Eh... Mavuso. They say it's Mavuso].*

C: Mavuso ke mang? *[Who is Mavuso?]*

T3: Mavuso is a…e re kere ke *[let me say a]* social club nyana *[a bit]*.

C: Mavuso is a social club?

T3: E e leng gore ga re le ko yona banyana ba nyaka*…[Where when we are there the girls want…]*

C: Banyana? *[Girls?]*

T3: Ge o mo tseya o tsamaya le yena or let me say o robala le yena, o mo skepa *[When you take her and leave or let me say you are going to sleep with her, you skepa her]*.

C: To take a lady home ke go skepa *[is to skepa]*?

T3: Yeah, ge e le gore o tsamaya le yena le sa bolela la dumellanna about mavuso and stuff – mavuso ke tšhelete *[Yeah, if you leave with her without talking and mutual agreement about Mavuso and stuff – Mavuso is money]*.

C: So mavuso ke *[is]*– its money – so you must pay?

T3: Ya. Ga a tsamaya a utlhela ko gaabo *[Yes. For when she leaves going back to where she lives]*.

C: So after you have taken – after you have skepad – So wa *[you]* skepa and then la tsamaya *[you leave together]* and then the next day she must be paid?

T3: You must pay.

C: You must pay otherwise its jail?

: Ke mo Hammanskraal mo *[This is Hammanskraal here]*

C: In Hammanskraal? And wena *[you]* have you experienced this?

T3: Nna sa le ka e experience-a but luckily mme waka a tlhaloganya situation gore bayana ba nou ba etsa byao, a kgona gong boosta tšhelete e e leng gore na e batla *[I have experienced this but luckily my mother understood the situation that girls of present time are like this, she was able to boost me with the money the girl wanted]* .

[Audience laughs]

C: Okay Kagiso, there is a situation where you are out, you are at a social party and you have found yourself in a situation where after having your life out and having skepad somebody tells you money or jail?

T3: You have to pay.

C: So its standard, you have to pay?

T3: You have to pay, a gona ka mokgwa o mongwe *[there is no other way]*.

C: It's things like that in Hammanskraal.

GR: Ke batho ba bantšhi and e *normal [It's a lot of people and its normal].*

C: So the ladies of Hammanskraal that you have come across you must pay otherwise you are taken to jail and wena *[you]*, you were fortunate because at least mme mo gae *[mommy at home]* – your mother was like okay, tla ke go thuse *[let me help you]* my child, let me give you the money for this situation.

T3: Ya, net daa *[Yes, just like that]*.

C: And you explained this to your mother, and she helped you out?

T3: Ya and a ba boleli gore vroeg-u *[Yes and they don't tell you that in the morning]* you must pay for meat.

C: Okay so to be clear, they don't say that vroeg *[morning]* you must 'pay for meat'?

T3: Ya.

C: Okay. (Turns to face the actors) Let's see Kagiso's story in Corridors. Let's watch.

[PLAYBACK MUSICIAN starts to play music and the PLAYBACK ACTORS walk in the performance space in a straight line, one at a time to playback the story in CORRIDORS form. The performance reaches an end and one image, and the actors return to neutral in their body and 'send back' the story by making short eye contact with the teller before returning to stand by their crates.]

C: There is a story in the back. Ke kopa leina la gago, lebitso? *[May I please have your name?]*.

T4: Ke nna *[My name is]* Mpho.

C: Mpho.

T4: Eya *[Yes]*, alcohol.

C: Mpho wa re alcohol e dirang? Ke kopa o buele godimo ba kgone go go utlwa.*[What do you say alcohol does Mpho? Please speak up louder so that they [the actors] may hear you.]*

[…]

C: So alcohol is the only way of entertainment mo *[here in]* Hammanskraal and e bolaya *[it is killing]* Hammanskraal? And how is it killing Hammasnkraal?

T4: A ke re ge re tlhapetswe re setse re tagilwe re ikutlwa matla. Ga ong mpotsa…so nna ke nagana and then a re utlwane then nna ko lwa or ra bolayana. *[When we are drunk and very drunk we feel powerful. When you ask something…and I think and then we misunderstand each other and then we fight or we kill each other]*

C: So there are there lots of fights? Like actual fights?

T4: Eya *[Yes]*.

C: And people die?

T4: Eya *[Yes]*.

C: So your youth as Hammanskraal are dying from - because of these fights?

T4: Yes.

C: Okay Mpho, so your story is that alcohol mo *[here in]* Hammanskraal is a big problem?

T4: Yes…

C: Just please repeat that again and speak up re go utlwe *[So that we can hear you]*.

T4: Alcohol ke bothata. E bolaya youth. *[Alcohol is a problem. It kills youth]*

C: So alcohol is killing your youth?

T4: Yes, ke moo (shouting to be audible)?

C: No its fine. Ba go utlwa *[They can hear you]*.

T4: (To the actors) Lang kutlwa? *[Can you hear me?]*

PA: Yes.

T4: You can hear me?

PA: Yes.

T4: Alcohol is a problem. Ra gwa ka *[we are dying with/of]* alcohol. Ke gore a gona ntwe'nngwe e re 'irang *[Its that there is nothing else that we do]*. Re focus-itse mo byaleng. *[We are focused on alcohol.]*

C: So the youth is focused on alcohol?

T4: A gona ntwe'nngwe e re ka 'irang. *[There is nothing else we can do.]*

C: And you are saying that there is a lot of violence because of alcohol and fights that break out?

T4: Ntwe'nngwe le e nngwe ke *[Anything and everything is]* alcohol. Celebration-alcohol.

C: Celebration alcohol?

T4: Tso tsotlhe *[Everything]* – alcohol.

C: Everything alcohol? And wena? Alcohol e go impact-ile yang mo botshelong? A o nwe bojalwa? *[And you? How has alcohol impacted your life? Don't you drink alcohol?]*

T4: Ya.

C: Is this because – so wena a o nwe bojalwa because? *[so you don't drink alcohol because?]* You don't drink because? Is it because of what you see?

T4: It's because of what I see, I am very worried.

C: So o na le balekane? Ditsala who you've seen? *[So you have peers? Friends you have seen?]*

T4: Yes, I have them and gona mo ba teng gona mo. Nka o bontsha bona gona mo ka o ntshetsa bona. *[Yes, I have seen them and they are here amongst us. I can show you and call them out.]*

C: So even here you have friends who –

T4: Yes.

C: Thank you for sharing. (Turns to the actors) Let's see this in a V-NARRATIVE. Let's watch.

[PLAYBACK ACTORS with the CONDUCTOR form a diamond shape and playback the story in a V-NARRATIVE Form. At the end of the story the ACTORS find a neutral position and 'send back' the story by making eye contact with Teller 4 before returning to their crates.]

C: Jaanong *[Now]* I would like to ask another question. I see the hands. I see the stories. I see them. What I would like to ask you, lotlhe le nnetse mo, like le tsholetse mo Hammanskraal *[all of you have lived here, like born in Hammanskraal]*?
(Audience murmurs)

C: Le tlile mo Hammaskraal? *[You came to Hammanskraal?]*
(Some members agree)

C: Who here has a story about arriving in Hammaskraal? Le goroga mo *[arriving in]* Hammaskraal. Ne go ntse yang? Ga tlhabologa ga nna yang*? [How was it? How did it develop/change?]* Who has a story about coming to Hammanskraal?

T5: Igama lami ngu Cebile. *[My name is Cebile.]*

C: Cebile.

T5: Ngizo khuluma ngesiZulu. *[I will speak in Zulu]*

C: Okay mma *[mam]*.

T5: La e Hammanskraal ngifike ngo 2009. *[I arrived in Hammanskraal in 2009]*

C: 2009.

T5: So into e ngi bonayo la e Hammaskraal uku khulelwa kwa bantwana ba sa se skolweni be bancane. *[So what I have seen in Hammnskraal is the amount of pregnancies by youngsters who are still in school]*

C: Ke kopa go go emisa. *[May I pause you there]* (prompts the musician to translate)

PM: Teenage pregnancy.

C: Teenage Pregnancy.

T5: And then ma ba se skolweni, a ba respect-i a bo teacher *babo [And then when they are in school, they don't respect their teachers],* they are fighting with teacher.

C: So o tlile *[you came]* 2009?

T5: Yebo *[yes]*.

C: And you got married in Hammanskraal?

T5: Yes.

C: And what you are seeing ke teenage pregnancy?

T5: Yes.

C: And children or students do not respect their teachers?

T5: Yes.

C: And wena ga o labile *[you when you watch],* when you see this –

T5: Eh… mina lang'khulele khona *[Eh… where I grew up],* I come from KZN, Richards Bay.

C: Ee *[Yes]*.

T5: Eh… lang'khulele khona, iyouth, mang'khulelwe ngise skolweni, which means ekhaya ngiya delela but kune punishment a bangipa yona.*[Eh… where I grew up, if a youth gets pregnant in school it means I am disrespectful to my family and I will be punished]*

C: Ke kopa go emisa for 2 seconds. *[Please wait for a bit]* (Allowing the musician to translate and clarify)

PM: Eh… So into usisi afuna ukuk'buza yona ukuthi, njengoba uthi kena ma ufika la e Hammanskraal ufike wa shada, then yonke lenkulumo le uyi khulumayo iku phatha kanjani? Ma ungabe o bon'ingane encane zingahloniphi othisha, zikhulelwe? So 'loku wa fika la, into libele uyi bona, abantwana be khula, iprengnancy ikhula ikhula ikhula phambi kwe mehlo akho, konke lokho kuk'phatha kanjani? *[Eh…So our sister/conductor is asking, just as well as you mentioned that you arrived in Hammanskraal due to marrying here, how does this topic that you are talking about affect you? When you say you see youngsters disrespecting teachers, getting pregnant? Since you lived her, what you have seen, children growing up and teenage pregnancy rising right in front of your eyes, how does all of this impact you?]*

T5: Kung'phatha kabuhlungu because we had a – a youth ebheke kulaba abanye. *[It hurts me because we had a, a youth that looked up to others]*

PM: So iyouth ek'mele ibukele kulaba abadala? *[So its youth that needs to look up to the older youth?]*

T5: Eya *[Yes]*.

PM: Na laba abancane futhi mele ba bukele kuyo yona le youth *[And the younger ones must now look up to these current youth?]*.

T5: Eya *[Yes]*.

PM: So ngalokho kuwenza ukuthi kena futhi uphuke inhliziyo? *[So with that is what hurts you?]*

T5: Akukho right. Kube kuyakhonakala, ngabe iyouth yethu iyahlaliswa phantsi ifundiswe. *[It is not right. If it were possible, we would have our youth sat down and taught]*

PM: If it is possible our youth should be – they should teach our youth instead of leaving them to the things they do.

C: And ko o tswang teng *[where you come from]* you see that uhm, if ngwana *[a child]*, if a child – if there is an incidence of teenage pregnancy then you can tell gore *[that]* this child wa tella *[is disrespectful]?*

T5: Mm. Eh… ene kuna lento yokuthi thina maskhula, ngikhule ngipha umhlala. *[Yes. Eh…there is this thing when we were growing up, marals were instilled in us.]* In my culture. Ukuze ngigcine, ngibe intombi until ngize ngingene emshadweni. *[So that I abstain, and be a virgin until I get married]*

C: So your culture is to take care of yourself?

T5: Yes.

C: And to preserve yourself and respect yourself and trust yourself and yet – wait for your marriage?

T5: Yes.

C: So when you see this, you see it as o ka re motho *[though a person]* they are not respecting themselves?

T5: Yes.

C: And they are not respecting their elders and you see the younger ones as well looking at these teenagers as this is what is done.

T5: Yes.

C: Let's see Cebile's moment in a Fluid. Let's watch.

[PLAYBACK MUSICIAN starts to play music and the PLAYBACK ACTORS take a step in, one at a time to do a FLUID SCULPTURE. The sculpture reaches an end and the actors to return to neutral and 'send back' the story by making short eye contact with the teller before returning to stand by their crates.]

C: Siyabonga. So, le setse le re tlotletse *[you have told us]*, you told us about Hammanskraal. The things that happen here. The things they make you think of. The things that you see only happening mo [here in] Hammanskraal. Usis' Cebile has told us about arriving mo *[here in]* Hammanskraal. So, at this point in our performance - la di bona ditulu tsele *[do you see those chairs]*? (Pointing to the conductor and teller's chair) I am going to ask somebody who has a longer story. Re tla nna mmogo *[We will sit together]*. We will talk about this story. A longer story to share. So if you have a story se eleng gore tota le ke, o na le mafoko a o batlang go a bua ka Hammanskraal and also the way in which Hammanskraal e tlhabologileng ka teng or kana e sa tlhabologang ka teng jaaka lona lo bona lo le batho ba nnang mo Hammanskraal. A ke re le setse le utlwile batho ba bua ka Hammanskraal? Ke sure le lona le gopotse dilo hela tsa lona gore o le motho o nna mo Hammanskraal o utlwelega yang? Ditlhabologo tsa Hammnskraal keng? Ke eng se se sa tlhabologang? How does it affect you o le motho? Go dula yang mo go wena? Go go ema yang? Go nale mongwe yo o nang le a story? *[So if you have a story that is trully, or you have more to talk about Hammanskraal and also in the way in which Hammanskraal has developed or maybe has not developed just as you have seen and know as a resident. You have already heard others talk about Hammanskraal right? I am sure you some of you have thought your own things as a person living in Hammanskraal and how you are heard? What are the developments of Hammanskraal? What is developing?*

How does it affect you as a person? How does it sit with you? How does it stand? Does anyone have a story?] (A member of the audience offers) O tla tla go dula le nna? *[You will come to sit with me?]*

T6: Ko dula ko kae? *[Where am I going to sit?]*

C: Ditulo di two. Ska wara. *[There are two chairs. Don't worry.]*

[There is an applause as Teller 6 walks up to sit on the Teller's chair. After she sits the PLAYBACK ACTORS sit on their crates]

C: Ke kopa lebitso? *[May I have your name?]*

T6: Precious.

C: Precious. Okay Precious. Pele ga re simolla *[before we start],* in your story, who do you want to be you We have Didi, Thato and Thando. O batla mang e be wena *[who do you want to be you]* in your story?

T6: I think Thando.

C: Thando?

[Thando/PA1 stands]

T6: Ya.

C: Okay, so o batla go simolla kae *[so where does your story begin]*?

T6: E thoma mo pelegong *[It starts from birth]*. The way we were given birth and then o gola ka mo gae o lebelletse *[you grow up looking at]* the background or ka mokgwa o o golang ka teng and then ge o ntse o gola *[the way the circumstance/your environment is when growin up]*, the things that you were dreaming to achieve in life and the unfortunate part of batsadi ba sa bereki *[parents that don't work]* and those things they don't materialize.

C: So just in growing up. The way le godisitweng *[you've been brought up],* the way you were brought up and you had your – the things that you want and the things that you aspire for. But because of batsadi ba sa bereki *[parents not working]* –

T6: Because of batsadi ba sa bereki *[parents not working]* those things they did not materialize.

C: So because of your parents or – this is you, your life?

T6: This is me.

C: So because of you parents being unemployed these things didn't materialize?

T6: Yes.

C: Okay.

T6: And then another thing, ge o lebelletse the other youth kam'kgo ba ti tshwereng ka teng, ba- ke reng? Ba labella the situation e e leng gore e ba affectile ko morago and then ba batla go phela ka – ke gore they want that situation to always revolve around themselves. Ke gore they are afraid of coming out. They are afraid of trying new adventures to help the parents goba to cancel, I'd say – ke reng? To cancel whatever that is happening ko gae and then o lebelletse maphelo a bana ba bangwe ba e leng gore ba tlhokofalwa ke batswadi o kreya e le gore both parents ba tlhokofetse already and then bona ke bona ba ba golang and some they endure gore ba fetse skolo and some can't, it is just too much for them so they just give up in life. *[And then another thing, when you look at the other youth the way they carry themselves, they- what can I say? They look at the situation that has affected them in the past and then they want to live with – it's like they want that situation to always revolve around themselves. It's that they are afraid of coming out. They are afraid of trying new adventures to help the parents or to cancel, I'd say – what can I say? To cancel whatever that is happening at home and then you look at the lives of other youth with deceased*

parents and you find that both parents have passed already and then bona they are forced to grow up faster beyond their time and some they endure so that they finish school and some can't, it is just too much for them so they just give up in life.]

C: So, you have seen that some people take the situation that they grew up in unemployment and they use it to keep going around in circles, they keep the same thing happening.

T6: Ya.

C: But you've also seen people who don't even have parents pushing and making it. But others just give up.

T6: Just give up and ba no re 'ag mama o palletswe, then go ra gore ge mama a palletse ke go kreya lenyalo go ra gore nna le nna nka se nyale. Ge mama a pallwetse ke go kreya mmereko o mo right then it means nna le nna nka se kyeyi mmereko o mo right'. *[Just give up and say 'ag my mother failed, since my mother failed to get married then I will also not get married. Since my mother failed to find work then even, I will not get proper work.']*

C: So, one generation is looking up and they see something, and they decide that that is going to happen to them as well.

T6: Yes.

C: And then wena? A re e busetse ko go wena. Wena what is your story mo botshelong bona? The way o tswetseng ka teng? The way o tshetseng ka teng? *[And then you? Let's take it back to you.What is your story in this life? The way you have come about it? The way you have lived it?]*

T6: I have decided gore nna ka bo nna ke ikemele. *[I have decided that I must stand up for myself]*

C: You decided gore wena *[that you]* you'll stand for yourself.

T6: Yes, I'll stand for myself. And then the, my mother ang godisitseng ka teng, I was fortunate enough gore o ne a bereka *[the way my mother raised me, I was fortunate that she was working]* and then I just lost her this year but then the way ang rutileng ka yona *[she taught me]* , especially based in Christianity. If other people, if it was possible to share my story, ke botse – ke ba botse gore *[to tell-I would tell them],* like you know to go with blessers[33] its useless. To look up to men gore nou *[in that now],* I will look up to my boyfriend gore o tlang tirela skete *[to do things for me]* its useless. Rather stand for yourself and be independent.

C: So, ga nka go botsa (Looks to the actors) ka Setswana keng a metaphor, a proverb? *[May I ask what a metaphor, a proverb is in Setswana?]*

PA1: Go tshwanagana le – ke setshwantsho? *[Just like – it's like a picture?]*

C: Eya setshwantsho like, ga o ne o ka no tshwantsha – *[Yes, a picture like when you want to compare-]*

T6: Tshwantshanyo? *[A simile?]*

C: Ee tshwanthsanyo. Ga o ne o ka tshwantshanya your story le sengwe, o ne o ka se tshwantshanya le eng? Mebala? Pleke nngwe? *[Yes a simile. If you can choose something that is similar to your story what would it be? Colours? Another place?]* Or even animals. So wena ga o tshwantshanya bophelo ba gago kana your story, o se tshwantshanya leng? *[So when compare your life or your story something, what is it similar to?]*

T6: Its hard to say but – you know there is an animal I just forgot gore – khudu *[tortoise]*.

C: Khudu *[assuming rhino]?* Horns?

GR: Tortoise.

C: Oh! Khudu *[Tortoise]*. Okay.

[33] Sugar daddies or older rich men trading money and luxuries in return for sex from young girls/women.

T6: Eya. Ge e bona gore like people are coming against it ke gore enkare e tshogela bophelo ba yona. Ya gunyela. So, le wena o le motho, try gore o gunyele o ipatle gore kwena mang. O ti tshware for that time and then e re mo la ge nako e fitlhile and release yourself. Try gore o lebelle gore o ka nyaka eng? Wa kreya eng*? [Yes. When it sees people coming against it its like it fears for its life. It goes into its shell. So even you as a person, try to shy away and do a soul/self-search of who you are. Contain yourself for that time and then when the time is right then you can release yourself. Try to look at what you want? What do you find?]* And also for an ant. Tshoswane e… e… ge nako e le teng, it goes out ya ya maselong. And then ya bowa ya kgoboketsa. A e no thuntsha menwana, wa understanda? *[An ant…when there is time it goes out to work and collect. It doesn't just snap its fingers, you understand?]*

C: So ya tswa? Tshoswane ya tswa ya ikokotlelletsa? *[So it goes out? An ant goes out to collect?]*

T6: Yes.

C: And jwalo gape yaka khudu, khudu ga e le nako ya teng it shelters itself? *[And just like the tortoise, a tortoise when it is time it shelters itself?]*

T6: Yes.

C: So, we are going to see Precious' story. Precious' story: Khudu le Tshoswane *[Tortoise and Ant].* Let's watch.

[PLAYBACK ACTORS walk to stand near the cloth stand holding hands to 'check in' with their eyes and breath and then start to playback the story in a LONG STORY Form. At the end of their story they find neutral position and send back the by making a short pause making eye contact with the TELLER 6]

C: Which parts stood out to you the most?

T6: There was a time in my life where I wanted to be like – and say you know what, it's fine I'm like this and I don't need to go out and look for other things to do. But I just told myself gore why can I just give up now? And then you look to other people who have, ba ba e leng goreng they have, ke gore ba bile le dilo tse dintšhi ka mo gare ga maphelo a bona but they did not just give up. Ko reng? Ba tswelletse pele and it doesn't matter, ke gore a ba kgathalle gore dilo tse na ba kopana le tsona a ba di dumella gore di ba emise and today they are very successful. *[And then you look to other people who have, those that have had a lot of events happening in their lives and they did not give up. What is it like? They have succeeded and its doesn't matter, they don't allow their challenges in life to stop them and today they are successful.]*

C: Thank you for sharing your story.

(Audience applause)

C: So because ke ya bona gore le tšhaiseditswe ke nako and ba bangwe ba simolla go tsamaya. Ke bona gore gongwe re phuthe gone fa. Re felletse gone fa. Le bona yang lona*? [So I can see that your time is up and some of you are starting to leave. I think we will finish here. End here. How do you see it?]*

GR: No

C: A go nale o mongwe yo o nang leng a story e ba batlang gore ba ka e bolela ya bofelo? Mafoko mangwe? *[Is there anyone who has a story who would like to be the last person? Any other words?]* You've heard many stories gompieno *[today].* Ga gona ope o e leng gore gongwe go mo tsoseditse sengwe? Ke one mafoko a bofelo one a? Okay, ga e le gore go jalo ke gaana re feditse rona. *[Is there no one who has had these stories spark something in them? These are our last words? Okay, since it*

like this we are going to finish here] But before we go, for us to say thank you to you to all of your stories, we'd like to leave you with a gift

[PLAYBACK ACTORS with the CONDUCTOR form a diamond shape and perform a short rotating V-NARRATIVE Carousel where each member narrates a summary of one story that was shared]

C1: Re leboga go minegane. Dankie. *[We thank you]* Thank you for sharing your stories. Thank you for contributing to Thando's research. Ra le leboga *[We are thankful]* and we hope to see you all again. Re batla go bowa mo *[We would love to visit again in]* Hammanskraal. Thank you very much.

The End.

ADDENDUM 5

Third Performance at Hammanskraal Community Hall – Mandela Village, Hammanskraal

C – Conductor
PA1 - Playback Actor 1
PA2 – Playback Actor 2
PA3 – Playback Actor 3
PM – Playback Musician
GR – Group Response
T1 – Teller 1
T2 – Teller 2
T3 – Teller 3
T4 – Teller 4
T5 – Teller 5
[…]- in-audible speech/missing clip during battery change over

[The stage is set for a Playback Ritual Performance. There are three PLAYBACK ACTORS, each standing in front of a crate UPSTAGE CENTRE. The CONDUCTOR's and TELLER's chair CENTER STAGE RIGHT and the PLAYBACK MUSICIAN with her instruments on CENTRE STAGE LEFT. The team is wearing different coloured t-shirts with black pants. The audience is seated. This is performed under a corrugated iron roofed shelter outside in the middle of the centre's classroom venues and a day cay centre]

C: …Masters research that she wants to find out some things about Hammanskraal. Mo geno akere? *[your home right?]* So how Playback works is that I am here as the Conductor-

[…]

[The PLAYBACK MUSICIAN starts to play music and the PLAYBACK ACTORS step forward and start to Playback the introduction with a short FLUID SCULPTURE. It reaches an end and the music stops. PLAYBACK ACTOR 2 steps aside from the group to introduce herself]

PA3 Dumelang *[Hello]*.

GR: Ahee *[Hello]*.

PA3: Lebitso la ka ke *[My name is]* Thato and I just got back from a trip to Europe. And what I've learned is that they really know their history. They'll tell you dates. They'll tell you details. They give you detailed history. And when I think about myself and what I know about home and our history. I don't know.

[The PLAYBACK MUSICIAN starts to play music and the PLAYBACK ACTORS start to Playback the introduction with a short FLUID SCULPTURE.]

PA2: Hi everyone, my name is Didi. my mother, my father, my aunties, my uncles for the longest time they have never shared anything about our history and where we come from and who we are. But I have done the work to find out. And I will write a play one day.

[The PLAYBACK MUSICIAN starts to play music and the PLAYBACK ACTORS step in to Playback the introduction with a short FLUID SCULPTURE.]

PM: Sanibonani *[Hello]*.

GR: Ahee *[Hello]*.

PM: Igama lami ngigu *[My name is]* Thobeka. And for a very long time, ngivele ngiyaz'funa *[I have been self-searching]*, trying to find myself. And through music and poetry and writing I think I am finding myself.

[PLAYBACK ACTORS walk towards the PLAYBACK MUSICIAN and start to Playback the introduction with a short FLUID SCULPTURE]

C: And ke nna *[I am]* Kego. My family go na le leina la Motlagomang. Mme waka o bidiwa Motlagomang *[My family has the name Motlagomang. My mother is named Motlagomang*]. So 'from who do you come from'. And I want to give that – have that translate to one of my children.

[PLAYBACK ACTORS walk towards her and playback a short FLUID SCULPTURE of her introduction.]

C: Okay, la bona a ke re *[so you can see]*. This is what Playback is. You share a story, a story about yourself. So these stories tse e leng gore le tla go re bolella [So these stories that you will tell], you must be a part of the story. Ke story sa gago. Wa bona. And then rona, ka moka, ra le tshamekella [It is your story. You see, and we will play them back to you]. So just to start. Just to warm up. I am going to say a word.

[PLAYBACK ACTORS start walk around the space]

C: And then ke batla gore le mpolelle go re ge ke bolela lefoko le, le le gopotsa eng. Ne? And just - ke batla gore le emise matsogo gore go se ke ga nna le lerata. When I say home or ko gae, le gopolang? *[And I want you to tell me what comes to your mind when you hear this word. Okay? And just-I want you to raise your hands so that we don't make undesired noise. When I say home, what comes to mind?]* Just words.

: Food

C: Food

[PLAYBACK ACTORS freeze in different images associated with the word and move about after a short pause. This repeats with every word shared by members of the audience]

: Happiness

C: Happiness

C: Somebody else. When I say home. Gae *[Home]*.

: Boredom

C: Boredom

: Rest

C: Rest

: Love.

C: Love

C:And when I say history. What do you think of? History. Ko letswang teng *[Where you come from]*

[…]

: Party

C: Party

: Struggle

C: Struggle

: Peace

C: Peace

: Wedding

C: Wedding

C: When I say Hammanskraal?

: Metsi

C: Metsi, Water

: Xenophobic attacks

C: Xenophobic attacks

: Tšhilae'bolae,

C: Tšhila bolaya?

: Tšhilae'bolae

C: Tšhilae'bolae?

: Ya, Shebeen down like-

C: Okay, I am going to say thank you (to the actors) and I am going to ask him, tell me more (now to be first teller).

[PLAYBACK ACTORS return to stand in front of their crates]

Tell me more about Tšhilae'bolae. Keng? Ke Pleke? E ko kae? Ke motho? *[What is it? A place? Where is it? A person?]*

T1: Okay I don't know exact the…the whole whole story about it.

C: Yes.

T1: But it's a place down as go… down –

C: Down somewhere there there?

T1: Down…

C: E kwa? *[It's there - expressed to mean far?]*

T1: Ya – not kwa but nyana *[not that far but just a bit]*

C: Hale? *[There?]*

T1: Nyana *[a bit]* bring it nyana *[a bit]* back nyana *[a bit].*

GR: Around Shoprite.

T1: Ya around Shoprite.

C: Okay around Shoprite. Tell me more about it.

T1: So it used to be a chillas *[chilling place]* for grown people where like they go and buy alcohol and all that until I don't know like bankruptcy or something and then just shut down.

C: It just shut down?

T1: Ya.

C: So these grown people are like your parents? Bo malome? *[The uncles?]*

T1: Yeah, some, some of them and now they moved to different spots now.

C: And what was it like when it was there?

T1: I was too young to know what was happening there.

C: But you know about it.

T2: It was dirty.

C: Can I ask him (to T2) and then I'll ask you for your own story?

T2: Ya. *[Yes]*

[…]

C: So dirt doesn't kill. So it was just a filthy dirty and so that's where they went?

T1: Yeah.

C: And wena ka nako eo *[you at that time]*, when they were there, what were you doing?

T1: I was chilling. Chilling around.

C: Ko gae? *[At home?]*

T1: Yeah. Playing around, pushing tyres you know.

C: And what is your name?

T1: Mtshali Njabulo.

C: Mtshali Njabulo?

T1: Yeah.

C: Let's see Njabulo's moment. Let's watch.

T1: Okay.

[PLAYBACK MUSICIAN starts to play music and the PLAYBACK ACTORS take a step in, one at a time to do a FLUID SCULPTURE. The sculpture reaches an end and the actors to return to neutral and 'send back' the story by making short eye contact with the teller before returning to stand by their crates.]

C: So you had a moment? (to T2)

T2: Ya I used to go there.

C: May I have your name?

T2: Ya my name is Tshepo.

C: Tell me about it. About your experience of Hammanskraal.

T2: Mm, Tšhilae'bolae. It was a taxi rank before. Where there is Shoprite now. It was a taxi rank before.

C: Ee Rra. *[Yes Sir]*

T2: So this place was behind the taxi rank. So the people who came shopping, some men you know they don't like shopping around you know through this shop with their wives so usually they go to that shebeen and then arrive and wait for their wives to call them and tell them we are finished. We are around, we are going to the taxi so that's the rank. It was dangerous. They were robbing people that side you know. People were experimenting with drugs. Drug abuse. Alcohol abuse. Everything was – that's why they call it Tšhilae'bolae, everything was there. The robberies, anything that you can think about.

C: Was happening there? And you used to go there as well?

T2: Ya I used to go there.

C: And when you were there what did you see? What was your experience o le teng koo *[when you were there]?*

T2: I was just chilling, having my bottle of beer and then watching people drinking and pickpocketing yoh yoh, I would just sit and watch and find someone crying 'yooh I just lost my wallet' and I'm sitting next to maybe this guy maybe who is the one who stole the wallet, coming for help from us, you end up standing going around looking for that guy and it's this guy and so you end saying ai bra give this guy his wallet, his wallet back because if I say something, when the person is gone they will come after me.

C: May I have your name again?

T2: Tshepo

C: Tshepo.

T2: Ya.

C: Tshepo's moment of experiencing and watching at Tšhila ha e bolae. Let's watch.

[PLAYBACK MUSICIAN starts to play music and the PLAYBACK ACTORS take a step in, one at a time to do a FLUID SCULPTURE. The sculpture reaches an end and the actors to return to neutral and 'send back' the story by making short eye contact with the teller before returning to stand by their crates.]

C: Thank you for sharing. (She turns to the children) So bo nnana *[little ones],* I am going to ask you a question. You don't have to answer, ha le sa battle ho sharp akere. Ho na le ba bangwe batla utlwella. Lona have you been told stories ka gore

Hammanskraal o ne antse yang ka nako tsele pele ga lona? Le he lentse le le bonnana nyana, bo mme le bo malome le bo papa le bo nkgono ga ba le tlotleli? *[You don't have to answer, if you don't want to it's still alright. There are others who will listen*. *Have you been told stories of how Hammanskraal was before your time? Even as you are little now, your mothers and uncles and fathers and grandmothers don't tell you stories?]* (They nod no) Mm-mm? Lona ga le itse Tšhilae'bolae? *[No? You don't know Tšhilae'bolae.]* (They nod no) Ga le e itse? *[You don't know it?]* So, for everybody else, ga le batla go araba *[when you want to respond]* just raise your hand ne *[ok]*? So, everybody else, hela ka Hammnskraal *[just in Hammanskraal]*, bo Tšhilae'bolae *[Places like Tšhilae'bolae],* ke eng ka Hammnskraal hela *[what is it in Hammanskraal only]* that you know gore *[that]* these things are the only things that can happen in Hammanskraal? No where gape mo lefatsheng *[Nowhere else in the world]* can they happen. Hammanskraal is typical. (A hand is raised) May I have your name?

T3: Remoamogetse

C: Remoamogetse

T3: Mavuso.

C: We are laughing because we heard about it this morning. Your story regarding Mavuso.

T3: Mavuso its a compensation.

C: Ee Rra. *[Yes Sir]*

T3: For when you take out…

C: Ke eng? Ke go skepa? *[What is it? Is it to skepa?]*

T3: No, a se go skepa. *[No, its not to skepa]*

C: Okay.

T3: It's appreciating someone's efforts or labour but according to that story se ba se bontshitseng mo *[that was shown on]* E-tv. Bona ba re *[they say]* it's a legitimate society, where they go there ba patella ditšhelete *[they pay monies]* every day and then girls come there. So when girls come there. If you are attracted to a particular girl you go home with her. The morning after you must give her something to say ngiyabonga yezwa *[thank you, you hear/hey]*.

C: And when did this start happening?

T3: Its uh…A se yak gale.

C: A se ya kgale?

T3: Haa a.

C: Now do you remember a time before all of this?

T3: All of this?

C: Ya.

T3: Before all of this nna I hear Hammanskraal used to be called Kudube.

C: Kudube?

T3: Kudube.

C: Kudube?

T3: Yes. It used to fall under the Mangope.

C: Yes. Bophuthatswana?

T3: Bophuthatswana. And, uhm, it was a lot of people who were, who were, businesspeople a lot of them were ba re keng *[what do they call it]?* Ndebele. So Temba, when they came from, I think they came from Mpumalanga and Pieters- but a lot of eh Ndebele people they came from Mpumalanga. When they reached Temba, they said la iThembalethu *[Here is our Hope]*. Like this is going to –

C: And Temba is an area here?

T3: Ya Temba is there. So when they came from Mpumalanga they reached there, it was still called Kudube. They said la iThembalethu. Meaning our business can thrive, everything. So Temba is owned by a lot of Ndebele taxi owners so hence its Temba. So that's why even when you are in Joburg. If people say I come from Hammanskraal they don't understand and you just say Temba and they go 'hoo o tswa Temba m'fwethu' *[Oh, you come from Temba my brother]*. Ya so Hammanskraal and that place, that's what I know. It, it, it used to be a lovely place.

C: It used to be a lovely place?

T3: Ya.

C: Back in the Mangope time?

T3: That transition from early 2000 until all of these other things that have unfolded.

C: So it's a transition from Bophuthatswana as we have been coming along?

T3: Ya.

C: It moved from that beautiful place and now you find yourself ko *[at]* Mavuso?

T3: Our democracy is like Nyaope, Mavuso. Our freedom is like all of these things we are faced with a lot of things and don't know how to handle them. If we don't know how to handle them we start to fall on all of these other things to numb our confusion.

C: And your name again?

T3: Remoamogetse.

C: Remoamogetse. Remoamogetse's story. Numbing ourselves in Democracy. Let's see this in a chorus. Let's watch.

[PLAYBACK ACTORS step in to playback in CHORUS Form. When it reaches an end, they stand in neutral and 'send the story back' by making eye contact with TELLER 3 before returning to their crates]

C: Thank you for sharing. Is there anybody else who has a story to share about the way Skraal was? (A hand is raised) Yes, may I have your name?

T4: Hi guys, ke nna *[I am]* Thabiso.

C: Thabiso?

T4: Ya. Ke tlile mo skraal ka 1990 e ya go fela. Ra nna ko Unit D. Unit D ke the second township before[after] Temba. *[Yes. I came to Skraal in the late 1990's. We lived in Unit D. Unit D is the second township after Temba.]* Temba was the first township in Hammanskraal. Unit D ke ko na go nnang maphodisa back in the day. So, they sold the houses and people ba ya bo nna ko teng. *[Unit D used to be a residential area for police folk. So they sold the houses and people went to live there]*

C: So they were houses? They were police houses?

T4: Ya. *[Yes]*

C: Ko*[At]* Unit D?

T4: Ko *[At]* Unit D.

C: So when you moved here they had already been converted to residence, homes? People were starting to buy them?

T4: Ya. I am from the rural areas, uh, Sewerskyl. So moving from there to the township, in a decade, uh- from being harassed ko di plaaseng *[uh-from being harassed in the remote farms]*-they don't understand the whole situation, to go tsena ko nthweng *[to get to this place]*, ko *[at]*Temba. For me it was very nice coz *[because]* everybody understood. Ke mo kasi. Uh, trends are different. O phela life e different. Language is different. Ke S'pitori *[Its S'pitori].* From Speaking Sepedi to speaking Sepitori. Having to adapt. For me mara *[but]* it was really nice, though there were guys ba eleng gore *[who came out that]* they were very very homophobic, but I-I have learnt to deal with that until today. Now its worse because bai le ba itatlhela mo domo ga the new drug e ba reng ke Nyaope and then most of them now ba target-a homosexual

people. *[Now its worse because they throw themselves to the new drug called Nyaope and then most pof them na target homosexual people]*

C: So you finding that many people who are homophobic, especially ba [those of] Nyaope-

T4: Ya. *[Yes]*

C: Or that many people who use Nyaope are quite homophobic?

T4: Ya *[Yes]*, 90% of them are homophobic. Some of them would act like- uh no its fine, these guys are fine, ra ba tlhaloganya *[we understand them]*- but behind the scenes wa itse gore *[you know that]* they trick you guys. They call you names, they call you names. Then nako ge ntse e tsamaya batho ba thoma go attack-iwa, dipoo and everything ge o lebella dir'iwa ke bona batho bao. *[When time passes people start being attacked, being mugged, and when you look at everything it's these culprits]* Before the drugs, dilo tse di byao ne di se *[things like these were not]* that high. Yes, they were high but not this high.

C: Before the incident ya *[of]* Nyaope e gola *[arised]* there was…so the incident of crime and people being attacked, mugged...there was, it was-

T4: It was fine but today- in the 90's it was fine. Ge re thoma re jump-ela ka mo di 2000 dilo dya thoma go tlhakatlhakana. Dir'a gape ke eng? *[When we start jumping into the 2000-year era things start being chaotic. What makes them that way?]* The false promises from our government. Uh… promises tsa mebereko and then la ema, go tsena batho ba le sa ba itseng, not from around Hammanskraal. So go tlhoka mebereko ke yona gape e dirang gore bana ba bantšhi ba wele mo di drug-ing. *[Uh… promises of employment and then you wait, it's acquired by people you don't know, not from Hammanskraal. So not having work is a factor that drives a lot of people into drugs.]* They can't go to school. O na le Grade 12 mara ga o kgone go ya varsity. Ga o na information ya di NSFAS, ya di bursary and everything.
Uhm…Hammanskraal ke feel-a o ka re right now ba e tlogetse after ka m'kgo Remo [Remoamogetse] a bolelang. After mmuso wa Mangope ban'ore - ah! Hammanskraal, ah! E fall-a under Gauteng. Noo maan, so ba tla e bona Gauteng- Ba e lebetse mo Gauteng. Ah! le tla tipona. *[You have finished Grade 12/senior high but you can't go to varsity. You don't have information regarding NSFAS, bursaries and everything. Uhm… I feel like Hammanskraal has been abandoned after what Remo has told us. After the governanace of Mangope they just went- ah! Hammanskraal, ah! It falls under Gauteng. Yes, Gauteng will see what it does with it- Gauteng has forgotten it.*

Ah! You[Hammanskraal] will see what you do with yourselves.] I feel like it's like a forgotten township.

C: Hammanskraal is a forgotten township? It needs uh… North West or Gauteng and since the transition from Bophuthatswana it doesn't fall anywhere.

T4: Ya.

C: So you have watched from growing up in a rural area and having experience there to moving here where there is a lot of openness but then also seeing how being deflate by the government has created problems and now go na le bo Nyaope *[there are Nyaope people]* and that has had an impact on your life because of the homophobia as well.

T4: Ya.

C: 3-Part story. Let's Watch.

[PLAYBACK ACTORS step in to playback a 3-PART STORY Form. When it reaches an end, they stand in neutral and 'send the story back' by making eye contact with TELLER 4 before returning to their crates]

…

The last two stories were unfortunately not recorded due to running out of battery power for our camera. However, they both spoke about the experience of living in Hammanskraal before its development as a business district. Both perspectives were from youth members who had witnessed the changes from their childhood. The crux of the story from the 5th teller was that when they were children playing in groups were seen in almost every street [referring to Mandela Village]. She pointed out how it used to be safe and free for children to travel around the location whereas today children group themselves indoors due to criminal activities in the area like kidnappings, rape culture, and the movement of cars in streets. This, she said has reduced [after school] interaction amongst children which is also true of community members who now build high walls, lock gates, and stay indoors to guard against home break-ins and to be able to watch over the children. People doing these break-ins are most of the time known Nyaope addicts and are unemployed members who are known to be criminals.

The last teller shared a longer story of coming from/growing up in Marokolong. He spoke of how, as a young boy, he used to go to the forest with his parent to get firewood but over time he saw the forest change and become smaller and smaller These changes included the petrol stations, Rens Town suburbs, the Hammanskraal station which included a two-shopping

complex, taxi ranks, and the bus rank. This is the same teller who shared an extension story of *Tšhilae'bolae* in this performance.

The End