

**AN INVESTIGATION OF DISCRIMINATORY
LANGUAGE USED IN COMMUNICATING WITH
SOUTH AFRICANS
BORN IN TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA**

by

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this mini-thesis submitted for the Mphil in Intercultural Communication in the Department of Linguistics at the University of Stellenbosch is my own original work and has not previously been submitted for the same degree in any other institution of higher education. I further declare that all sources cited or quoted are indicated or acknowledged by means of a comprehensive list of references.

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper was to investigate the language used in communicating with South Africans born in Zambia and Tanzania during the years of “the struggle” and now repatriated – *the returnees*. From 1991 the children of the freedom fighters that migrated into exile in the 1960s to avoid the apartheid rule, returned. Some settled with their children in Khayelitsha near Cape Town, but they have found it difficult to fit in. The surge of foreign nationals from Africa who subsequently encountered xenophobic attitudes and allegations of corruption, drug smuggling, contributing to unemployment of South African born citizens and being carriers of HIV/AIDS has contributed to the returnees “new struggle” for integration and adaption as they often share common ancestry, linguistic and physical attributes with foreign nationals. They are denigrated as “*amakwerekwere*”, “*my friendoh*” or “*amagweja*”. This has happened despite them learning the local indigenous language, isiXhosa.

Since the study is phenomenological, a qualitative research was appropriate. In data-collection, interviews were arranged with the returnees in their homes. Critical Discourse Analysis, sociological and historical accounts and sociolinguistic research revealed complex socio-cultural issues of the Xhosa world, which may have complicated the returnees’ integration experience. The returnees seem to be leading a secluded solitary life as if exiled at home. The study found that in exile the returnees were at times tagged as outsiders, as “*wakimbizi*”, “*the Mandelas*”, “*amagorila*”.

On arriving home in the country of their exiled parents, they were again, painfully and unjustifiably, subjected to discrimination and marginalisation. The Xhosa speakers who form the majority of those formerly disenfranchised and marginalised in the Western Cape, and who were expected to be the hosts if not guardians of the returnees, seem not to understand and appreciate the role of the newcomers. That they were instrumental in the mobilisation of objections worldwide against apartheid, racism and human injustice seems to be forgotten. Rather than using their power and heritage to end xenophobia and ensure returnees are part of the future South African social fabric, they are found to be hostile and discriminatory.

Key words: *migration, xenophobia, integration, returnees, Critical Discourse Analysis*

SAMEVATTING

Die doel van hierdie studie was om die taal wat gebruik word in kommunikasie met Suid-Afrikaners wat tydens die jare van die vryheidstryd in Zambie and Tanzanie gebore is en nou gerepatrieer is, te ondersoek. Vanaf 1991 het die kinders van persone wat in die 1960s geemigreer het om aan vervolging van die Apartheidsregering te ontsnap, teruggekeer na Suid Afrika. Party het hulle met hul kinders in Khayalitsha naby Kaapstad gevestig, maar hulle vind dit moeilik om in te pas. Die vloedgolf vreemde burgers van Afrika het uiteindelik in sekere omgewings xenofobiese vervolging beleef met verwyte van korrupsie, dwelmsmokkelary, besetting van skaars arbeidsplekke ten koste van Suid Afrikaaners, en verspreiding van HIV/VIGS. Dit het bygedra tot die teruggekeerdes se nuwe stryd om integrasie wat nie noodwendig makliker gemaak is deur kwessies soos gemeenskaplike herkoms met die plaaslike bevolking nie, en ook nie deur ongewone talige en fisiese eienskappe wat die gevolg is van die jare van bannelingskap nie. Die nuwe inkomelinge word beskryf as “*amakwerekwere*”, “*my friendoh*” of “*amagweja*”. Hierdie soort distansiëring vind plaas ten spyte van die feit dat hulle die plaaslike inheemse taal, isiXhosa, aangeleer het.

Aangesien die studie fenomenologies is, is kwalitatiewe navorsing as die gepaste benadering gekies. Data-insameling is gedoen dmv onderhoude met die teruggekeerdes in hul huise. Kritiese Diskoers Analiese, sosiologiese en geskiedkundige verhale en sosiolinguistiese navorsing het getoon dat komplekse, sosio-kulturele kwessies van die Xhosagemeenskap waarskynlik die teruggekeerdes se integrasie-ervaring gekleur het. Dit lyk asof die teruggekeerdes ’n afgesonderde lewe lei, asof hulle bannelinge in hulle eie land is. Die studie het getoon dat die teruggekeerdes tevore ook dikwels as buitestaanders geïdentifiseer is terwyl hulle buite Suid-afrika gewoon het, en toe ook geïsoleer is met skeldname soos “*wakimbizi*”, “*the Mandelas*”, “*amagorila*”.

Met hulle tuiskoms in die land van hul banneling ouers is kinders wat in die buiteland gebore is weer op dikwels pynlike wyse onregverdelik blootgestel aan diskriminasie en marginalisering. Xhosasprekendes het getel onder die meerderheid van dié wat voorheen in die Weskaap van die stemreg ontnem is, en die verwagting was dat hulle gashere, indien nie die bewaarders van hierdie bannelinge sou wees nie. Dit blyk uit die studie dat

hulle nie die rol van die nuweling verstaan of ondersteun nie. Dit blyk verder dat plaaslikes intussen vergeet het dat die uitgewekenes destyds instrumenteel was in die mobilisering van wêreldwye protes teen apartheid, rasisme en sosiale onreg. Eerder as om hul mag en erfenis te gebruik om xenofobie te beëindig en om te verseker dat die bannelinge deel van die toekoms van Suid Afrika is, word gevind dat hulle vyandiggesind en diskriminerend is.

Kern terme: migrasie, xenofobie, integrasie, bannelinge, Kritiese Diskoers Analiese

DEDICATION

To my mother who passed on in 2006.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Subsequent to the banning orders imposed by the apartheid government on the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and other liberation movements during the 1960s, scores of South Africans (of whom the majority were Blacks) went into exile. They could not accept the discriminatory laws, the perpetual rage directed against them, and the constant harassment by the police. The ANC, PAC and other political organisations had to devise new methods of resistance to bring about change; going underground or into exile became one of the strategic options available for their survival.

Many South Africans were exiled in neighbouring southern African countries such as Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Tanzania, Swaziland, Lesotho, Mozambique and also Angola. Other countries such as Great Britain, the United States of America, Russia, East Germany, China and Cuba played a supporting role. They provided educational opportunities, employment opportunities and, in the case of the Eastern Block, military training to exiled South Africans. Independent southern African states served as guerrilla bases, places of exile and/or organisation for the ANC, PAC and other black organisations.

Life outside the country meant that South African refugees had to adjust to new conditions and adapt to the norms of the new society. Some moved abroad with their families and children, whereas others established new families in exile – sometimes marrying into the local community. Exile was protracted over three decades, and in that time South African refugees could not come back to their home country without risking imprisonment, torture or death. Although they continued with life in exile, the hope to return home was always alive.

After the demise of apartheid in 1994, a ‘new’ nation was effectively born – premised on the democratic principles enshrined in the Freedom Charter of 1955. The new era brought a fundamental shift in the socio-economic and political landscape of the country, and also allowed those exiled to come back home. Harris (2002:169) states that in the post-apartheid era unity had to replace segregation, equality had to replace legislated racism and democracy had to replace apartheid. At the same time, however, new discriminatory practices emerged. One such kind of new discrimination is manifest in the way in which South African public culture has become increasingly xenophobic since the 1990s.

Incidents of African migrants (refugees, asylum seekers and economic migrants) becoming the target of abuse at the hands of South African citizens received increased media coverage in the 1990s. According to Human Rights Watch (1998), members of the police, the army, and the Department of Home Affairs participated in the abuse of foreign nationals. In 2002 the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) stated that xenophobia had an impact on the ability of foreigners to meet their socio-economic needs such as seeking employment, accommodation, health care, education and social security (South African Human Rights Commission 2002). Feeding the xenophobic attitude are three common stereotypes, namely: (i) migrants are “job-stealers”; (ii) migrants are “criminals” and (iii) migrants are “illegals” (Danso & McDonald 2000).

Attempts have been made to address the situation and to reduce the xenophobic and violent attacks on foreign nationals. According to Crush (2002), in as early as May 2001, President Thabo Mbeki stated that all South Africans must be vigilant against any evidence of xenophobia directed against African immigrants. The President of the time noted that it is “fundamentally wrong and unacceptable” that South Africans should treat people who come to South Africa with good intentions as though they are enemies. Notwithstanding campaigns to roll back xenophobia, attacks on foreign nationals (particularly from the African continent) have constantly resurfaced.

Often unsubstantiated and inflammatory statements have been made about the influx of migrants and how this is responsible for the current crime wave, for rising unemployment, or even for the spread of infectious diseases. Professor Jonathan Crush of the South African Migration Project published an article called “The Perfect Storm: The Realities of Xenophobia in Contemporary South Africa” which provides an important synopsis of xenophobic and violent attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa. This study reveals, among others, that competition for jobs and criminal activities dominate the perception of many South Africans as to why foreign nationals are coming to South Africa. According to Crush, 48% of South Africans are reported to believe that foreign nationals are a criminal threat to South Africa, 37% indicated a conviction that foreigners have come to take away their jobs, while 29% said foreign nationals bring disease (Crush 2008:28).

Between May and August 2008, incidents of violent xenophobic attacks sprung up in townships almost all over South Africa. This demonstrated a degree of dissatisfaction among some township people who coexist or cohabitate with foreign nationals. The violence left 60 foreigners dead and ten thousands displaced. Hundreds of victims were injured and lost their property. The Human Sciences Research Council issued two reports in June 2008. These reports identified the following underlying common causes of xenophobia: (i) the local people’s concerns over migration policy (illegal immigration), (ii) competition for low paid jobs, (iii) business opportunities, (iv) housing, (v) organised crime perpetrated by foreigners and (vi) violence caused by the local people towards vulnerable and illegal immigrants (HSRC 2008).

Xenophobic attacks began in the Alexandra Township in Johannesburg in May 2008 before spreading throughout the country. Like many others in South Africa, this township is burdened with poverty, unemployment and over-crowding. For example, the infrastructure which was designed for a population of about 70,000 now accommodates approximately 750,000 people. There is a significant demand for water, and sewers frequently block and overflow because of the high density and congested nature of the backyard shack development. Interestingly, the population increase in Alexandra is

caused by both internal and external migration of various people coming from within South Africa and neighbouring countries to seek employment opportunities (n.n, n.d. 1) Paying tribute to the victims of xenophobic attacks in July 2008, President Thabo Mbeki appealed to all South Africans to remember the role played by the African states during the liberation struggle. He pointed out that South Africans who fought for more than three centuries for liberation and dignity, should never allow people to fall victim to the criminal perversion of xenophobia characterised by genocidal destruction of people all around the world. Most importantly, Mbeki exhorted South Africans to never stop extending the hand of help to all other Africans whether from the Central African Republic, Somalia, Guinea Bissau or Comoros, Sudan, Niger or Zimbabwe (n.n.n.d.2).

The post-apartheid discriminatory practices have also affected those born in exile (hereinafter referred to as “returnees”), as they often find it difficult to adapt to their local communities. In the townships such as Khayelitsha in Cape Town, for instance, returnees are fighting a struggle for recognition and respect. This happens in a country from which they claim ancestral privileges. Returnees feel that local communities exclude them to such an extent that it seems as though they have been exiled in their own country. The isolation of returnees is partially a result of the mis- or pre-conceptions and negative attitudes which are often displayed toward foreigners coming from African countries.

Linguistic issues are central to the discrimination of those returnees who were born outside of South Africa. Since they often only had limited opportunity to acquire South African languages in exile, many cannot speak Xhosa well, and they end up being called hurtful names. They report that they are classified arbitrarily and disdainfully as “My friendoh” or “Amakwerekwere”, an offensive name or pejorative moniker (Ribas, Lopes & Zamboni 2010; Ngwaila 2011; Mathers and Landau 2007; Nyamnjoh 2002) used against foreigners from the African continent. They carry a label of “not belonging in this place”. The returnees interviewed in this study argue that this inaccurate and prejudicial classification by the local people stems mostly from the way they speak. Their pronunciation of some Xhosa words has resulted in them being labeled as “amakwerekwere” and equivalent derogatory names.

This study investigates the impact of discriminatory language used against South Africans born in exile in relation to their quest to be integrated into the Xhosa community of Khayelitsha as well as their aspirations for the future. Therefore, the study is divided into 10 chapters. **Chapter 1** outlines the background and purpose of the study. **Chapter 2** gives the social and political background relevant to this study in two sections. First, it discusses political resistance in South Africa. It also addresses the rejuvenation of the ANC in the 1940s and the consequences of banning orders imposed on the black political organisations in the 1960s. Second is a discussion of the armed struggle that followed from the political resistance, the formation of *Umkhonto weSizwe* (MK), underground MK military activities and the movement into exile. **Chapter 3** details the research methods and scientific tools of the analysis used to interpret the data collected. It also highlights the challenges encountered by the researcher during fieldwork.

Chapters 4 to 9 give the outcomes of the analysis and interpretation of the data of this study. **Chapter 4** draws attention to the returnees' life in Zambia and Tanzania as well as the establishment of South African college in Tanzania after 1976. **Chapter 5** provides a linguistic overview of the enrichment of Xhosa (the dominant language spoken in Khayelitsha where the returnees live). **Chapter 6** discusses the linguistic integration of returnees in Khayelitsha (Cape Town), the nature and consequences of discriminatory language used against them. **Chapter 7** narrates a wonderful story of belonging and the returnee's conception of home. **Chapter 8** discusses the general relationship among the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town (rural and urban Xhosa) and why the returnees may be caught in between. The chapter also deals with returnees' conception of future. Finally, **Chapter 9** concludes the study.

1.2 Research Questions

- 1.2.1 What types of discriminatory language and practices are encountered by South Africans born in Zambia and Tanzania?
- 1.2.2 What effects does such linguistic discrimination have on the South Africans born in Tanzania and Zambia in their quest for integration and adaptation in Khayelitsha?

1.3 Benefits of the Study

A sense of mismatch and misunderstanding exist between the Xhosa speakers and South Africans born in exile who have chosen to return to their parents' place of origin. The linguistic experiences and challenges that the returnees encounter in Khayelitsha due to their circumstances of birth in exile ought to be studied. This study is especially critical in the context of South Africa where for many years people (the majority of whom are black) had struggled against discrimination, human rights violation, dehumanisation, subjugation and social injustice.

Much is not understood about the returnees' background, and sometimes they are treated as foreigners rather than as South Africa citizens. The discriminatory behaviour demonstrated toward the returnees is a consequence of exclusionary, xenophobic attitudes that exist within many local South African communities who view foreigners from the African continent in a negative light. The lack of understanding regarding why people leave their places of birth and sometimes go into other countries has had serious implications for the integration of returnees, and it continues to hamper human relations which are crucial in the functioning of modern societies.

Taking the Xhosa linguistic situation in Cape Town as a microcosm of profound intercultural and intracultural engagements, one could gain an understanding of the contradictory relationship that exists between the Xhosa speakers themselves and the people of South Africa generally. This study has potentially long-term benefits regarding South Africa's social and political history and social identity.

The study also provides an insight regarding the depth of humanity and care showed by many African countries, Soviet Union, China, England, America and others to support the military, organisational or socio-political endeavors of the South Africa's national liberation movements during apartheid and the protracted years of exile. But of utmost important is the examination of the implications of the Xhosa speakers and the returnees'

relationship on the country's response to xenophobia, the promotion of *Ubuntu*, human dignity, constitutionalism and sustainability of the democratic society.

CHAPTER TWO

BACKGROUND: SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

2.1 POLITICAL RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.1.1 ANC Rejuvenation and Mass Mobilisation

The African National Congress (ANC) in the 1940s, under the leadership of Dr. A. B. Xuma rejuvenated itself and reconsidered the impact of its political traditions on the advancement of black population (Edgar 2005:154). This was the period of transition from old elite politics to a new mass political organisation. The ANC was being rebuilt, renewed and radicalised (Dubow 2000:20). Since its inception, in 1912, the ANC's methods of struggle had been characterised largely by a constitutionalist and consultative approach rather than the 19th century military engagement with white colonists. The changing context and demeaning conditions of life of many Africans were central to such organisational renewal effort.

After the Second World War, there emerged a general belief around the world that it was wrong for European powers to have colonies in Asia and Africa. As a result, in 1947, India and Pakistan gained independence. This encouraged Black African inhabitants of various colonies to also call for self-rule (Muller 1981:450). In South Africa, the ANC and the South African Indian Congress began to pressure for a greater share of governance and the abolition of discriminatory laws. These demands prompted whites to feel that their privileged position was threatened. The National Party (NP), led by Daniel Malan at the time, optimally exploited these feelings of insecurity. Effectively, NP leadership assured whites that it had a policy that would safeguard them against 'Black peril'. This is referred to as the 'danger belief' i.e. the belief that Africans would revenge the centuries of white domination and exploitation once they are voted into power (Muller 1981:463).

According to Giliomee (2003:355-356), there was also intense rivalry for power, status and economic opportunity within the white community. The main NP rival in white circles was the South African Party (led by General Louis Botha and Jan Smuts from 1910). The NP believed that the South African Party was more concerned with foreign interests and that it did nothing to control the influx of immigrants from Great Britain as well as from the so-called 'native reserves'. The NP wanted a government that would put the interests of the Afrikaners first. It started by calling for equal recognition of Afrikaans and English cultures. Eventually, however, it became clear what the NP meant by the recognition of Afrikaans and promotion of South African interests: it meant prioritising the interests of Afrikaners.

The NP believed that the relative economic, cultural and social backwardness of the Afrikaner community could be overcome by developing a unique identity. Hertzog (one of the founding fathers of Afrikaner nationalism) was cited making a stern remark about "waging a language of struggle". This means that a language promoting and recognising Afrikaner nationalism and Afrikaner identity was to dominate social, intellectual and political discourse. Hertzog said Afrikaners needed not to be considered as *agterryers*. This is an Afrikaans word for "the one who comes from behind or second". The outcomes of the political battles between the English and Afrikaners led to the shaping of a particular form of the Afrikaner identity - racial exclusivity and rejection of social leveling (i.e. cultural and economic backwardness or lack of social progress).

To many Africans, according to Grobler (1998:126), Afrikaner nationalism personified extreme forms of racism, segregation and oppression of Africans. This programme was captured in the term "apartheid" which in English means 'separate development'. The apartheid programme had two sources of inspiration: firstly, the need of the NP to secure the support of those sectors of white society (working class, Afrikaner farmers, Afrikaner petite-bourgeoisie) who were threatened by industrialisation; and secondly, capitalist development, and the need to meet the new demands of such economic development (i.e. increased exploitation of the black labour force) (McKinley 1997:14). Furthermore, black

urbanisation, brought about new forms of competition for resources and economic opportunities (Johnson 2005:139).

When the National Party (NP) came into power in 1948, the black population stood at 8.5 million and approximately 2 million lived in towns and cities where they lived in close proximity to whites, who became fearful of inter-ethnic violence. Most of riots that occurred in the 1940s were inspired by contradictions in social and working conditions, which largely favoured whites at the expense of Africans (black people). For instance, riots between blacks and whites had broken out in the western suburbs of Johannesburg. This, in 1944, motivated Verwoerd to write an editorial in “Die Transvaler” indicating that racially mixed areas had become dangerous and that the government should take action. Similarly, D. F. Malan stated that the only possible way out of fierce competition with blacks was to adopt a policy of separate development (Giliomee 2003:496-497).

The ANC had been the embodiment of the African’s will to present a united national front against all forms of oppression, but the Congress had its own shortcomings. The ANC Youth League argued in the 1940s that for many decades the ANC had not been able to advance the national cause in a manner demanded by prevailing conditions (cf. Edgar 2005: 159). Critics saw the ANC as reactionary, elitist and conservative, and that it had lost touch with the needs of the people. Essentially, the Youth League became the new focus of African nationalism and African self-determination. It was designed to be an organisation where young African men and women would meet and exchange ideas in an atmosphere pervaded by a common dislike of the oppression effected on Africans and the absence of freedom in their country. The league served as a coordinating agency for all youth political struggles. It employed strategies arousing popular political consciousness to fight oppression as well as reaction (n.n.n.d.3).

Once in power, the National Party government passed a number of legislations which were the cornerstones of apartheid policies: (i) the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, (ii) the Immorality Act of 1950 (prohibiting inter-racial sexual relations), (iii) the Population Registration Act of 1950 (a nation roll according to racial classification –

population register), (iv) the Group Areas Act of 1950 (demarcating all land use according to race), (v) the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 (outlawing the Communist Party of South Africa and giving wide powers to silence any person and/or organisation seeking change), (vi) the Land Amendment Act of 1952 (restricting rights to reside in urban areas to Africans born there), (vii) the Bantu Education Act of 1953 (preventing Africans from acquiring skills or knowledge that could not be used in the native reserves, and also ensuring reserves, farmers and the mining industry had sustainable supplies of black cheap labour), (viii) the Native Resettlement Act of 1956 (allowing the authorities to withdraw existing property rights and remove their owners), and (ix) the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953 (requiring any place used by different races to be equipped with separate amenities, including separate toilets, entrances, and counters). The ANC and other black organisations waged relentless campaigns against these government policies and legislation (McKinley 1997:14; Johnson 2005:141-144; Giliomee 2003:513).

2.1.2 Women Resistance and Defiance Campaigns

The brunt of the socio-economic and political burden was carried equally (if not excessively) by women in South Africa. The role that women played in the fight against apartheid is immense. Lodge (1983:139) states that the 1950s were a period of unprecedented activity by African women with spontaneous forms of protests. In many occasions, female movements were characterised by an appetite for confrontation qualitatively sharper than that usually displayed by men. However, at first, within the male dominated ANC, women did not get recognition. They continued to fight against gender domination. It was only in 1931 that their formal structure, the Bantu Women League (BWL), whose first president was Charlotte Maxeke, was established. Women were only admitted as formal members in 1943 (n.n.n.d.4).

The ANC Women's League (ANCWL) was formed in 1948, coincidentally, the year the Nationalist Party came into power. Mass mobilisation, anti-pass campaigns and beer hall activities were central political activities of women in the 1950s. A beer hall system was introduced by the government to replace traditional beer business, which was the main

source of income for African women in the townships. Since this move was perceived to pose threat to their business and promoted men's lethargy, women entered into beer halls and chased men away.

The Defiance Campaign of 1952 and a mass demonstration on August 9, 1956 (which later became Women's Day), signaled the intensity and determination of the women's struggle. The ANCWL was boosted when the Federation of South African Women (FSAW) was formed in 1954. Hereafter the ANCWL indicated that it wanted to be involved in improving the life of women nationally – not only within their own organisation. The Federation brought together women from the ANCWL, the Coloured People's Organisation, and the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congress of Democrats. Eventually, in 1956, the ANCWL President, Lilian Ngoyi was elected the first woman to join the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress (ANC) (n.n.n.d.4).

When ANC Youth League leaders took over positions of leadership in the 1950s, the struggle for freedom reached a new intensity. In June 1955, in Kliptown, assisted by women, the ANC organised the Congress of the People where all people of South Africa (including black and white) were called upon to chart a way forward to a free, democratic South Africa. The ANC, South African Indian Congress, Coloured People's Congress and the white Congress of Democrats formed the Congress Alliance (Pinnock 1994:94). The Congress of the People adopted the Freedom Charter and its broad vision of a democratic state of South Africa.

The Charter was meant to unite and rally every person to strive for the liberation of Africans and their prosperity. However, profound political contradictions prevailed within the liberation movement when a breakaway group of prominent leaders expressed dissatisfaction with involvement of non-black allies in the ANC. Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, Potlako Leballo, Clarence Makwetu and other Africanists led the break-away group to establish the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in April 1959. The PAC pursued

the philosophy of “Pan Africanism” epitomised by the Youth League of the 1940s (Johnson 2005: 151; McKinley 1997:32; Giliomee 2003:512).

In 1959, the ANC planned to stage a national protest campaign against the pass laws and for an increased minimum wage on 31 March 1960. The PAC under the stewardship of Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe intercepted the idea and rolled it out on 21 March 1960. People gathered in Sharpeville without their passes to encourage the police to arrest them. Confusion and tension prompted the police to shoot and kill 69 people, and wound 180. The world condemned this callous example of unwarranted police repression against unarmed South Africans. Yet, the South African government ignored the world, continued cracking down the opposition, declared a state of emergency, and hundreds of arrests were made (Johnson 2005:151-152).

According to Cooper (2002:145), the 1960’s were grim years for South African politics. The escalating militancy of the ANC and the PAC mass demonstrations and mass violations of pass laws as well as bus boycotts culminated in government imposing the banning orders on these organisations. The NP led government planned to silence the black opposition parties by taking increasingly tougher action against them. Apartheid was harshly applied: the ANC and PAC as the backbone of black resistance was broken down. Leaders of the liberation movements were imprisoned, executed, murdered and/or exiled. All political alternatives were also acutely narrowed. Segregation, inequality and subjugation of black South Africans were amplified. Thus, a military plan to liberate South Africa was believed to be inevitable.

2.2 ARMED STRUGGLE AND GOING INTO EXILE

2.2.1 Formation of Umkhonto weSizwe

According to Senzangakhona, Mabitse, Abrahamse and Molebatsi (2001), in 1961, the time had come for an appropriate response through a profound change in policy and strategic decisions. A different approach to the liberation struggle had to be adopted. By mid-1961, the leaders of the liberation movements realised that peaceful and non-violent

methods of resistance had failed and would have to be abandoned. The imposed banning orders led both the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) to establish armed branches – *Umkhonto weSizwe* ('Spear of the Nation') and *Pogo* ('Going it all alone') respectively. Mandela and many other ANC and PAC leaders were soon arrested. Mandela was to stay in prison (on Robben Island near Cape Town) for twenty-seven years (McKinley 1997:25).

At their secret meeting at Lilliesleaf farm in Rivonia, *Umkhonto weSizwe* activists discussed four possible forms the armed struggle could take, namely: (i) sabotage, (ii) guerilla warfare, (iii) terrorism, and (iv) open revolution. Sabotage was deemed a logical choice in the light of their political background. Mandela emphasised that sabotage did not involve loss of life. The decision was taken because the ANC believed that blacks and whites in South Africa were drifting toward a civil war. They were wondering how long it would take to eradicate the scars of interracial war given the length of healing of the scars of war between the Boers and Briton (Benson 1986:108). Senzangakhona et al. (2001) conceded that the principal ANC strategy for establishing the *Umkhonto weSizwe* (MK) was to harm the South African economy and force government into negotiations.

MK struck on 16 December 1961 for the ANC to gain publicity that it was, despite being banned, still a viable organisation. According to Williams (2004) a series of explosions rocked all major centers in South Africa. Fortunately, no one was injured or killed. James Ngculu (former MK soldier and Chairperson of Parliamentary Health Portfolio) noted in his article "The role of *Umkhonto weSizwe* in the creation of a democratic civil-military relations tradition" that resorting to violence was a response to violence used by the oppressor and abuse of South African citizens, which the ANC leadership could not stand. Armed actions were to take place within a broader political context – meaning – the basic policy direction of the ANC had to be observed and that a sense of morality and justice ought to be applied (Ngculu 2002:240).

2.2.2 Migrating into Exile

Jandt (2004:323-324) states that today about 185 million people live outside the country of their birth. In 1975, the number was 84 million. Some people migrate to escape war or persecution whereas others search for better economic opportunities. Furthermore, international political relations, trade, education, employment and technological advancement have necessitated migration from one place (country, town, house, etc.) to another. Essentially, migration has been defined by geographers as a change of the place of residence (White & Woods 1980:3).

Migration sometimes has more to do with other reasons that are not included in the geographers' definition. Below is an insightful definition of migration from an anthropological perspective:

In an anthropological context, the term migration defines every temporary or definitive movement of living beings from one territory to another driven by various motivations, but essentially linked to the necessities of life; alterations of the conditions of the original environment which has become unfavourable due to lack of resources or of vital necessity to human populations at least since the beginning of agricultural activity and they made possible the populating of the whole planet (De Lucia, 2004:1).

The search for opportunities, in particular, has resulted in people moving from one country to another. People move to other places because they think their needs and desires will be better-satisfied (White & Woods, 1980:7; Jandt, 2004:323). De Haan (2000:1) argues that migration is “often seen as the consequence of ruptures, of environmental disaster, economic exploitation, or political or civil tensions and violence”. Sometimes, it is perceived to be a cause of problems, like environmental degradation, health problems, ‘brain drain’, political or social instability, declining law and order, and unraveling social fabric and support systems.

It is common to find people with different cultures, historic background and religions conglomerated in one country. Muus (2001:32) defines international migration as the movement of persons across national borders with the intention to settle in another

country for a period of at least a year. Most importantly, the need for survival, famine, religious intolerance, racial discrimination and political and economic upheavals can be understood as 'push' factors behind international migration (De Lucia 2004:3).

Kosinski and Prothero (1974:33-35) uphold a view that different stimuli or initiating factors produce autogenic and allogenic spatial mobility. Autogenic factors are voluntary and rational. Allogenic mobility is initiated due to political and institutional forces (known as impelled migration due to war and/or oppression), as well as environmental forces (like floods, drought, bushfire and geophysical hazards). Actually, movement from native reserves or rural areas to the cities in South Africa in the 1940's had been characterised by a search for better living conditions and employment opportunities (Edgar 2005:159).

Industrial boom attracted people from the reserves and abroad into the cities in South Africa. Racial intolerance and riots at the time (see Giliomee 2003:496-497) gave the National Party an opportunity to the triumph in 1948. The policy of repression and apartheid prompted resistance which culminated in emigration of the ANC and PAC in the 1960s. It was the time when survival for many political and social activists could no longer be considered sustainable under the wrath of the then Pretoria regime.

Central to this study is the movement of South Africans into exile as a result of political intolerance and consequences of many years of struggle on South Africans. Most importantly, this outside movement (emigration) was not motivated by higher pay or environmental forces, but by what De Lucia (2004:3); Jandt (2004:323); Kosinski and Prothero (1974:33-35) consider to be political, institutional and racial intolerance as well as fear of prosecution. South Africans went into exile firstly to survive away from the political pressure inside their country and to get support so as to revitalise their political struggle.

2.2.3 Underground Military Activities

As noted above, before moving into exile, the ANC had its first act of sabotage on December 16, 1961. This day was chosen by *Umkhonto weSizwe* for the initial sabotage acts because of its historical significance. It was a public holiday in South Africa: Afrikaners were commemorating the military victory of the Afrikaner Voortrekkers over the African warriors on the banks of the Ncome River (re-christened by the settlers Blood River) in Natal in 1838. The day was symbolic for the ascendancy of white power over the Blacks (Johnson 1981:155; Senzangakhona *et al.* 2001). Nevertheless, under the current democratic government, 16 December is celebrated as a Day of Reconciliation. The process of reconciliation seeks to address the consequential socio-economic complexities of segregation of races, discrimination and repression of black people in South Africa.

Since it was never going to be easy to sustain armed struggle inside the country, both the ANC and PAC moved their military bases into exile, mostly to Zambia and Tanzania (Cooper 2002:145). By forming MK, the ANC, in particular, and its allies reckoned they acted in accordance with firm revolutionary guidelines informed by the recognition of the new situation. This included an understanding of the art and science of armed liberation struggles in the modern era.

Before imprisonment, Mandela underwent military training in Algeria and China in 1962. He also visited Addis Ababa in Ethiopia and toured Africa accompanied by selected senior cadres, including Oliver Tambo who became the ANC Acting President (after Chief Albert Luthuli) from 1967-1991. They succeeded in securing arrangements for MK recruits to undergo military training. Oliver Tambo was mandated to lead the ANC underground and in exile. This was quite an intricate and delicate task in the history of South African struggle as nothing of this nature had happened before (n.n.n.d.5).

As this revolutionary work was unprecedented, there was no blue print. Oliver Tambo who was tasked with leading the liberation movement in exile had to curve the way for survival of expatriates and sustainability of the ANC's political and military strategic

objectives. Khawuta, the MK cadre who now stays in Khayelitsha, praises Oliver Tambo for the diplomatic work he did in exile. The following excerpt epitomises the importance of that diplomatic brokering:

Ukumka kwethu besingayazi ukuba sizakuphila njani. Eyonanto yayiphambili kuthi yayikukufuna imilitary training sizakubetha amabhulu. Sith e sakube siyifumene itraining eAlgeria naseRussia sabuyela eZambia. Ngethuba siseAlgeria kwavakala iindaba zokuba iinkokheli zethu eziquka uComrade Nelson Mandela, ooGovan Mbeki, ooRaymond Mhlaba, ooAhmed Kathrada, ooSisulu nabanye zibanjiwe for treason. Sasiyazi into yokuba itreason was very serious and it warranted death sentence, nothing else. U-Che Guevara sambona efika ezekutrain iSpecial Force that was to come and destroy South Africa should lamacomrade axhonywe. Kodwa sathi sakuva ukuba bathunyelwe eRobben Island yathi leadership masike sixhwarhe sifunde nezinye izinto about guerrilla warfare. Abanye bethu bathunyelwa eRussia. Sith e sakube sibuyile eRussia saziva siready for umlo. Lahamba ixesha kungacaci nto; amaguerilla adikwa kukungenzinto. Sasele sihleli kwifama endala eKongwa. Kaloku ijoni kufuneka ulinike litye le nto beliyitrainele. Sa-engage leadership; sisithi sifuna ukubuyela ekhaya. Izinto azintlanga pha. That was the Luthuli Detachment! Sazama ukubuya ngeZimbabwe. Ekuhambeni kwethu sahlangu ne-enemy kwanti. Sayibetha. Imane enemy ibaleka iphinde gqi sele ixhobe nangakumbi. Samane ke siyidudula. Kwanyanzeleka sithi saa. Yaye sasesiphelelwa nakukutya namanzi Kwakukhona nokungathembi ithi kanti imilambo le ifakwe ipoison. Sagqiba kwelokuba sisondele ngasemizini ezilalini siyokufumana uncedo. U-Oliver Tambo wasefundisile idiplomacy zange sibenangxaki. Sathi xa sifika kanti sele kudala uTambo ethethile neenkosi. Nazo ke zabenefit-a ekukhuselweni nakwiziph eazithunyelwa yileadership (P.C. Khawuta 2007).

[**Translation:** When we left, we did not know how we were going to survive. The most important thing to us was to get military training and come back and hit the Boers. After getting the training in Algeria and Russia, we came to Zambia. When we were in Algeria, we heard the news that our comrades, including the likes of Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada, Walter Sisulu and many others were charged for treason. We knew that treason was very serious and it warranted death, nothing else. We saw Che Guevara arriving to train the Special Force that was to come and destroy South Africa should these comrades be hanged. However, later we received the news that they were sent to Robben Island. The leadership told us to remain in exile and learn more about guerrilla warfare. We were sent to Russia and coming back from Russia, we felt ready to fight. Time went by and the guerrillas grew tired of doing nothing. We were given an old farm in Kongwa. One needs to give the soldier a test of what he has been trained for. We engaged the leadership; insisting on coming back home because we believed that things were not getting better. That was the Luthuli Detachment! We tried to come

back via Zimbabwe. On our way, in the middle of nowhere, we locked horns with the enemy. We won the battle. The enemy came back heavily armed, and again we forced it to retreat. As we were running out of food and water, we had to go into the neighbouring rural areas to find assistance. We did not trust the water as there was a general suspicion that the enemy might have poisoned it. Since Oliver Tambo taught us diplomacy, we did not have any problems. On our arrival, we discovered that Tambo had already spoken with the chiefs in the villages. These chiefs also benefited by being protected and getting some gifts from the leadership (P.C. Khawuta 2007).]

Going to a foreign place where there were no relatives or friends must have been nerve wracking for many South African expatriates. As indicated in the above excerpt, the expatriates did not know how they were going to survive. It was a big challenge in the sense that they not only had to hide away from the authorities for the fear of being caught and deported. They had to strike a difficult balance between keeping themselves in hiding and seeking support and food in the public domain. One could have easily been a victim of unscrupulous apartheid police or military that was patrolling near the borders or police in the foreign countries who were working with the South African security forces.

Such eventualities were overshadowed by a selfless desire to train, fight and liberate fellow South Africans. From Khawuta's input (see the excerpt above) one can basically generate a lot of discussion points. Firstly, receiving military training in different countries away from home was a motivating force. This training was seen as one of the recourses against the police brutality back in South Africa. Secondly, the eagerly awaited judgment on the Rivonia Trial in 1964 must have had a tremendously debilitating effect on the psychology of the MK soldiers and freedom fighters at the time they were training in Algeria. Surely, a moment of relief was ushered in when judgment was handed down which was contrary to what every activist was hoping for against the background of the severity of apartheid laws, especially the Suppression of Communism Act (1950).

Thirdly, the idea of interacting with and being trained by Che Guevara should have been morale booster. To be trained by Che Guevara must have been very special to the guerillas and should have made them feel overwhelmingly superior mentally due to the international revolutionary stature of Che Guevara. Fourthly, national liberation

movements drew a lot of strength from the revolutionary theory propounded by Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Vladimir Lenin, Mao Zedong, Fidel Castro and others. Most importantly, going to Russia where Marxism was put into practice in the home of Lenin, Trosky and Stalin to learn about the advanced revolutionary strategies and tactics must have been profusely inspirational.

Fifthly, the spirit of intrepidity demonstrated by the Luthuli Detachment of forging their way to South Africa through Rhodesia– traveling long distance without adequate supply of food and ammunition – is incredible. These warriors in the people’s army and pioneers with stoic revolutionary personality armed with the desire and hope to liberate and democratise South Africa was to remain monumental for generations. The fact that Khawuta was party to that history is a bestowal any nation can dream of. Finally, the principled temperament, selfless drive, integrity, humility and infused sense of purpose demonstrated by the pioneer MK cadres who spent days in the open-fields cutting across Southern Africa on feet should be colossal.

Without the solid groundwork and diplomatic supremacy of the leadership collective of Oliver Tambo, Yusuf Dadoo, Gagathura Mohambry (Monty) Naicker, Alfred Nzo, Alfred La Guma, J.B. Marks, Joe Slovo, Moses Mabhida, Joe Modise, Moses Kotane and many other revolutionaries leading the movement abroad, in foreign countries not much would have been achieved in terms of international solidarity. Unremitting persuasion which resulted in the support accessed from the Nordic countries, Russia and the World Council of Churches proved to very crucial, and “waiting for one’s country to become liberated was an exhaustive process where patience was a compulsory virtue” (Maisela 2004).

To the South African expatriates it was logical to learn to survive and struggle away from home rather than to continue witnessing the deliberate trauma of the tyranny of apartheid at home. Perhaps, sending some ANC leaders to Robben Island and forcing others to migrate into exile could now be viewed as a considerably proper option given the eventual triumph of the liberation movement. Sentencing leaders into death could have painted a grotesque picture about South Africa for many centuries to come.

Had the special task force trained by Che Guevara in Algeria come to South Africa to wage the full scale war, as Khawuta indicated, a different story would have been told by now about liberation struggle and possible political and economic wreckage of the country. Perhaps South Africa would have been severely ruined by now and the possibility of reconstructing her would have been a pipe dream. Though the apartheid government might have thought that they would quench the spirit of resistance, they offered freedom fighters a great chance to take a vista on the past and brainstorm the future democratic society, which they struggled for until its subsequent installation.

Very important lessons should be drawn from the decades of life in exile and protracted period of struggle, including the imprisonment of prominent political leaders. For instance, Robben Island shall remain both a symbol of crushing repression and reservoir from which enthusiasm and political energy needed in the long journey to freedom can be drawn. All South Africans (black and white) pride themselves on a rich heritage, albeit acquired excruciatingly and laboriously, which should discourage anyone hoping to undermine the noble cause of freedom, human rights and social justice.

It is thus fair to state that resistance and vision of Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Dennis Goldberg and others on Robben Island made certain that transition from apartheid rule to democratic governance became a reality in the 20th century. Mandela's determination and competitive drive, in particular, played a crucial role in bringing together the protagonists of various antagonistic persuasions both locally and abroad to pave the way for a future democratic South Africa where all people shall coexist in harmony and work toward a better tomorrow for all.

2.2.4 International Support for the ANC

In its 2007 *Strategy and Tactics* the ANC recognises and declares the importance internationalism as one of its ideological fronts. The internationalist character stems from the fact that the ANC survived the many years of exile due to international support and that the post apartheid reconstruction and development of the country depends on the support from the international community. The *Strategy and Tactics* emphasises that:

The ANC forms part of the global forces – including governments, political parties and civil society organisations in developing and developed countries – campaigning for a humane and equitable world order. In its history it has gained from and contributed to a culture of human solidarity across the globe. It is informed in its international work by values of internationalism, promotion of human rights against all abuses and violations, and support for national liberation. In this regard, the ANC supports the right of all peoples to fight against oppression and tyranny (Strategy and Tactics 2007: 151).

Good relationship with chiefs and political leaders of different countries in Africa was very instrumental in ensuring safety and survival of South African expatriates in exile. Countries such as Zambia, Tanzania, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Botswana, Angola and many others showed solidarity by accommodating and supporting the South African people. Though the great works of diplomacy by Oliver Tambo and his leadership collective deserve praise, it would not have succeeded without open-mindedness, principle and resoluteness of leadership and people in these countries.

Thus, the narrative of the triumph of the spirit of revolution in South Africa in the 20th century can never be complete without the story of the international condemnation of apartheid South Africa and the social, political and military support offered by Zambia, Tanzania, Ghana, Nigeria, Botswana, Swaziland, Egypt, Algeria, Angola and countries that worked actively to get South Africa expelled from the Commonwealth. These countries lobbied to weaken South Africa's international position and to support struggle for freedom inside the country (Benson 1986:112). The United Nations (as the successor of the League of Nations) also played a pivotal role in the struggle against apartheid. From 1952, the General Assembly passed annual resolutions condemning apartheid and as a number of Asian and African states gain independence United Nations devoted attention to South African racism (Thompson 1995:214).

Despite mobilisation for international solidarity, acts of sabotage, though seldom, continued in South Africa over the decades. For example, over 200 bomb attacks were launched by the MK cadres on post offices, government buildings, railway roads and electrical installations near the main industrial centers. However, that came at a huge

price (Thompson 1995:211). In July 1963, many MK leaders got arrested in an attempt to break down the three main organisations involved in the military resistance against apartheid: *Umkhonto weSizwe* (Spear of the Nation – the ANC military wing), *Poqo* (the PAC military wing) and the *African Resistance Movement* (a multiracial organisation consisting mainly of young white professionals and students).

Incidentally, after many prominent leaders such as Mandela, Sisulu and Sobukwe were imprisoned on Robben Island and Tambo went into exile, according to Thompson (1995:211), there was political lull or quiescence in South Africa. Stuttner (2003:182) attested to the fact that in exile armed activities were also very limited. To resurrect its armed campaigns, the ANC launched its first operation of engaging white ruling class in southern Africa on 31 July 1967. The name of this campaign was the ‘Wankie Campaign’. ANC volunteers joined forces with Zimbabwe guerrilla warfare and participated in the campaign because of their commitment to the struggle for freedom in South Africa.

According to Van Driel (2003:7-8), the Wankie campaign signified the beginning of the ANC’s armed struggle in exile. Also fondly known as the “Luthuli Detachment” ANC guerillas were very impatient concerning the overthrow of the apartheid government. This guerrilla pioneer group epitomised a first series of armed clashes between white rulers and black people in the 20th century. The extent of determination of the armed guerillas can be inferred from Khawuta’s narrative which discusses the Luthuli Detachment.

According Ralinala, Sithole, Houston and Magubane (2004) 30-31 July 1967 was a night where a group numbering about 80 strong crossed east of Livingstone, 15 km below the Victoria Falls. This was the nucleus of the Western Front guerrilla activity that became known as the Wankie campaign. Senior leaders of the ANC and MK, including Oliver Tambo, Joe Modise and Thomas Nkobi, who was by then the ANC’s chief representative in Zambia, came to the camp to see the cadres on their way. Although neither Tambo nor

Modise would go to Wankie, they led the way down the cliff, followed by Nkobi, and remained on the Zambian side of the river until all the cadres had crossed safely.

On 02 August 1967, when the detachment reached the Wankie game reserve, ANC Headquarters in Lusaka took decision to split the unit into two. One unit had to move towards the east, near an area called Lupane, and the other to march towards the South. The one that moved southwesterly direction towards Botswana was given instructions to go underground in South Africa. John Dube of ZIPRA was in command of the 57 members and Chris Hani was the commissar charged with the responsibility of ensuring that the MK cadres infiltrated South Africa safely. The rest of the detachment, about 23 cadres under command of ZIPRA's Madzimba Matho, with Andries Motsepe of MK as his deputy, moved towards Lupane in northeastern Matabeleland (Ralinala *et al.*, 2004).

The period between 1963 and 1969 was distinguished by unsuccessful efforts to infiltrate South Africa through Zimbabwe (then still called Rhodesia). Johnson (2005: 170-171) tells that after completing their training, the first group of MK fighters grew tired of sitting and doing nothing in Tanzania. Morale and discipline deteriorated. Many cadres could not tolerate the increasing corrupt practices by the ANC leadership and decided to join the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) to battle the then Rhodesian forces before heading to South Africa. Some guerillas were killed, captured, and imprisoned for 13 years in Zimbabwe.

The nature of planning the detachment (Wankie operation) was heavily criticised by Chris Hani who had been commander of a larger group that was to establish MK base in South Africa. Hani and a few others escaped to Botswana where they were caught and jailed for 18 months. This incident and conditions in the camps led to the Morogoro Consultative Conference, which was convened by Oliver Tambo in April 1969. It was the first full ANC conference since 1959 – not only of national executive committee (NEC), but the whole ANC.

The accession to power of Frelimo in Mozambique and the MPLA in Angola further halted ANC attempts to smuggle MK soldiers into South Africa (Van Driel 2003:15). Military inaction, apathy and lack of success in guerilla infiltration forced the ANC to rethink and search for strategies of survival hence the plan was not to stay permanently in exile. Though unity and solidarity were very crucial to the MK soldiers, some cadres gave up the military and requested to be integrated into the local communities.

There were many hundreds of MK cadres in exile in the late 1960s. Macmillan (2009) claims that there are no precise figures regarding those who participated in the Wankie Campaign. About 50 MK men with a smaller number of ZAPU combatants took part in the Wankie campaign, which was launched across the Zambezi from near Livingstone in western Zambia at the end of July 1967. The ANC's Luthuli Detachment was divided into two main groups – the western group was intended to move through Rhodesia to South Africa. A second group split off from the first in the Wankie Game Reserve and moved eastwards with the intention of establishing bases with ZAPU in northern and central Rhodesia as part of a 'Ho Chi Minh Trail' to South Africa.

Records from the ANC website indicate, on 31 July 1967, the ANC for the first time launched an operation with the possibility of militarily engaging the apartheid regime in South Africa. A group of 79 guerrillas from the ANC and ZAPU embarked on a joint mission. This ANC unit was named the Luthuli Detachment, after the late Chief Albert Luthuli who had died in the same month of July 1967. This joint military venture between the ANC and the Zimbabwe People Revolutionary Army (Zipra) became popularly known as the Wankie Campaign. Lennox Lagu was the commander of the ANC group of 56 men, while Chris Hani was the second-in-command (n.n.n.d.6).

The guerrillas crossed the Zambezi River from Zambia into then Southern Rhodesia, and embarked on a long march home through the Wankie Game Reserve. The bush was so dense that a number of guerrillas who became separated from the detachment were never to meet it again. Tshali (one of the MK cadres) recalled that soon after crossing into Rhodesia, Nqose and three others were reconnoitering ahead of the detachment and were unable to reunite with it. A few other guerrillas were dispatched to look for them, only to

get lost themselves. When the detachment reached the game reserve around 2 August, it split into two units. One moved in a southwesterly direction towards Botswana, in accordance with instructions to make for South Africa and go underground. John Dube of ZIPRA was in command of the 57 members and Chris Hani was the commissar charged with the responsibility of ensuring that the MK cadres infiltrated South Africa safely (Ndebele and Niefertgodien 2004).

An abridged version of the article written by Chris Hani about “The Wankie campaign” offered the following to mark the determination of MK guerillas:

Within the unit moving towards the South was quite a substantial number of those comrades whose mission was eventually to reach South Africa and establish MK units within the country. In the unit moving towards the South with the eventual aim of getting to South Africa were comrades Lennox Lagu, myself [Chris Hani], Peter Mfene, Douglas Wana, Mbijana, the late Victor Dlamini, Castro, Mashigo (the ANC Chief Representative to Lusaka), Paul Sithole, Desmond, Wilson Msweli, Shooter Makasi, Eric Nduna, Basil February and James Apri (n.n.n.d.7).

About 23 cadres under command of ZIPRA’s Madzimba Matho, with Andries Motsepe of MK as his deputy, moved towards Lupane in northeastern Matabeleland. MK members in the smaller unit included James Masimini, Charles Mhambi, Motsepe, and Comrade Rodgers. Their orders were to remain in Rhodesia and set up a communications network between ANC members in exile and those based in South Africa, and map out a route for future MK cadres to use on their way to South Africa. The Luthuli Detachment comprised a relatively small percentage of the more than 500 MK cadres who were in the camps in Zambia and Tanzania (Ndebele and Niefertgodien 2004).

The first battle between the joint ANC/ZAPU unit and the Rhodesian security forces occurred on 13 August on the banks of the Nyatuwe River, between Wankie and Dete. According to Reid-Daly, a Rhodesian African Rifles (RAR) patrol consisting of 18 African soldiers and a number of British South African Policemen (BSAP) were following the tracks of the guerrillas and were ambushed at 1.20 pm. After a battle lasting seven and a half hours, the Rhodesian forces fled, losing two African soldiers, two white BSAP officers and a white army officer, in addition to two African soldiers being

wounded. When they returned that night to retrieve the bodies of their dead, the Rhodesian forces found five dead guerrillas (Ndebele and Nieftagodien 2004).

By and large, the Wankie Campaign did not go according to plan. General Nqose is cited by Ndebele and Nieftagodien (2004) offering remarks about the outcome of the Wankie campaign: ‘Some cadres were killed in battle, some died of sickness during the campaign, some were captured by the enemy, and some escaped into Botswana and were later sentenced to various periods in prison’. There is no question that there was a great deal of frustration and disillusionment with the ANC leadership’s inability to devise strategies for infiltrating guerrillas to South Africa. Some cadres who took part in the Wankie campaign took issue with the High Command for sending them into foreign territory without adequate food, information, weapons and ammunition.

In 1968, a group of MK cadres sought asylum in Kenya, alleging widespread dissatisfaction in the Tanzanian camps. Among the reasons, they claimed, was that the Wankie campaign had been a suicide mission to eliminate dissenters. They also alleged that some of the guerrillas who had been imprisoned in Botswana felt that the ANC was no longer providing any direction for the revolution. A year later, some of these defectors, together with defectors from the PAC, formed an ethnic-based and Zulu-oriented exile movement, called the National Liberation Front of Southern Africa (NLFSA). One of its aims was the creation of a separate Nguni-Zulu state (Ndebele and Nieftagodien 2004).

In understanding how struggles erupt, escalate, de-escalate, and become resolved, people should know how identities are formed and re-formed. Some identities are nested in each other’s compatibly as in the case of geographic ones within a country (Kriesberg 2003:57). The Wankie Campaign served as tremendous inspiration for other cadres who later joined *Umkhonto weSizwe* (MK), and prompted the ANC to adopt the first and now prominent Strategy and Tactics Document at Morogoro Conference in 1969.

United by one struggle for survival, the ANC allies – South African Communist Party (SACP), Congress of Democrats and Indian and Coloured Congress leaders who went into exile (instead of Robben Island prison) – agreed to use the ANC structure rather than creating their own centers. However, according to Johnson (2005:168-169), exile was not a well-planned retreat. South Africans found themselves scattered between London, Lusaka, Dar-es-Salaam and Moscow. The ANC's revival took long. The SACP's privileged access to Soviet bloc countries and the fact that many of its cadres' were connected to the European left had been helpful to the survival of South Africans abroad. SACP network and organisational discipline were the secrets of the ANC's unity.

At some point Julius Nyerere (then Tanzanian President) expressed concern about the behaviour of the guerillas that were ill-disciplined and very pompous about their superior training received in the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Cyprus and China. In the 1970s, he ordered the ANC leadership to close guerilla camps in Tanzania and evacuate to the Soviet Union. Later, the ANC leadership, President Oliver Tambo in particular, pleaded with President Nyeyere, and the MK cadres were brought back to Tanzania (Johnson 2005: 169).

Khawuta (PC 2007) commends the Soviet Union and ANC leadership. He said the Soviet military specialists assisted in training and planning numerous attempts by *Umkhonto weSizwe* to infiltrate guerillas into South Africa. Much is owed to the ANC leadership that worked diligently to get these guerillas back into Africa, as it was critical to launch their military struggle from within the continent. This also ensured that the guerillas would play a crucial assistive role in liberating other African states, especially in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region.

2.2.5 Youth Activism

Regarding activism within the country, the political situation in South Africa took a turn in the 1970s. After a long period of political lull in the 60s the Soweto Student Uprising of 1976 served as a highlight of youth activism and determination to revive the stoic struggle against apartheid oppression. Maisela (2004: 27) describes Soweto as a “typical

bastard child of apartheid. It was established in the early 20th century as an informal settlement for African miners and their families”. The name Soweto is an acronym for South West Townships, which was known globally before the events of 1976.

According to Thompson (1995:211) there were three developments which led to the student uprising. Firstly, there was movement in the arts. For example, Drum magazine and numerous books sent a strong liberation messages into the townships. Secondly, economic growth led to development of class consciousness among many semi-skilled workers and trade unionism. Thirdly, the government plan to exercise control over the minds of black students through education backfired. The introduction of Afrikaans as medium of instruction at school and the difficulties associated with its teaching and learning prompted the national student uprising. The student uprising was sparked by the Minister of Bantu Education who indicated that black children would be taught certain subjects in Afrikaans, ‘whether they like it or not’ (Maisela 2004: 27). The association of Afrikaans with apartheid prompted students to object the government position on Afrikaans. Disturbed in their march to the rally in Orlando soccer stadium and shot at by the police the 1976 youth attacked every apartheid symbol, burnt down government buses, municipal beer halls, administrative buildings and post offices. Hector Peterson was the first victim: Tsietshi Mashinini disappeared.

Violence spread throughout the country. As a result a number of school going age crossed the borders illegally in search of the ANC in exile in order to get military training from *Umkhonto weSizwe* and come back to fight the apartheid government. Maisela (2004: 24) states that the youth of 1976 was itching for military action when they left South Africa. They could not wait to be conscripted into the revolutionary forces intending to topple the apartheid regime. However, they were surprised to find that there was no infrastructure to accommodate their military ambitions. There were not even open spaces for them to join the MK ranks. Instead youth spent time on the waiting list – both for military training and scholarship – for a couple of years.

Internal power struggle between the Africanists and communists is not new to the ANC. The paradox is that Communist Party played a huge role in getting support for the ANC in the Eastern bloc, and also was pivotal in sharpening the political outlook of the cadres through its rich Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory. But for the ANC to gain respect from the Western and African powers it needed to define itself without alignment with communism. This proved to be a constant challenge over the years of exile. Open membership to non-Africans, in 1975, led to the expulsion of 8 prominent ANC leaders who opposed that notion. This was another setback as ANC was still recovering from the breakaway of prominent leaders such as Sobukwe, Leballo, Sibeko, Motopeng, Masemola, Mda, Ntantara and others to form the PAC in 1959 (Johnson 2005: 172).

The ANC was also deeply challenged by the influx of 1976 students, a young generation that fled apartheid regime to join the liberation movements in exile. The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) was fraught with many problems of its own, and did not offer an alternate solution to the youth of 1976. Structures were inadequate and leadership had not much to offer to sustain the privileges of the youth. Nonetheless, the ANC rebuilt itself, and it also registered a number of successes. A school was established in Morogoro (Tanzania) for the young members of the Soweto generation who could not join the army.

As time went on, problems of discipline emerged, as the majority of youth was not as educated and politically sophisticated as the older generation. Mutinies became a factor, and were quenched with ruthlessness. Loss of familiar life, gang mentality of some, hardship of military training, lack of privacy and alleged favouritism (preference of the Xhosas) were the major reasons for ill-discipline. For instance, in Angola, Quattro was set up as a punishment camp with appalling conditions. Torture, human rights abuse and death pervaded. Penetration of the ANC by apartheid spies, uncertainty and allegations of treachery also essentially defined the ANC in exile (Johnson 2005: 172-174).

According to Stuttner (2003:182), military and security concerns replaced organisational practices, and secrecy became immanent. As a result, control and authority (leadership centralism) was often exerted on the cadres' lives. Though, new lives were built and new ties were formed, as many ANC cadres got married and started families, ANC supervised

such arrangements. The ANC members in exile got accustomed to those traditions and now that they have returned they are left to their own devices. Most importantly, at the onset of a democratic process in South Africa, the ANC had to transform its character and embrace the principle of open engagement, freedom of speech, and of association.

Clearly, the 1976 Soweto Uprising created new conditions, a new impetus that encouraged the ANC to resurrect its military activity inside South Africa. The spirit of resistance continued to intensify right up to the eighties when there were mass uprisings in a number of townships in South Africa. At the Kabwe Conference of the ANC in 1985 the issue of continuing tension around the lack of coordination between the political and military structures of the organisation was raised. There was linked to mass political revolutionary bases throughout the country in both rural and urban areas, and underscored that armed activities could not grow significantly either in scale or quality unless they met such a requirement (Ngculu 2002).

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Demographic Information

This is an ethnographic study, which entails spending time with people in the returnee community of Khayelitsha. The ethnographic approach is an alternative to quantitative, questionnaire-based studies because it provides the researcher with more in-depth information about the social and cultural values of the community. In this case, the information was elicited through semi-structured, qualitative interviews as well as through participant observation. Ethnomethodologists study the processes of sense making – the idealising and formulising that members of society use to construct the social world and its factual properties (Leiter 1980:5, cited in Wardhaugh 1988:248).

Respondents are South Africans who were born in exile in Zambia and Tanzania, and whose parents were members of the *Umkhonto weSizwe*. Eight respondents (i.e. 4 females and 4 males) were interviewed (See Appendix A to C for sample transcripts). Only one of the respondents had two South African parents; all others were children to a South African and non-South African (either Zambian or Tanzanian citizen). These respondents live in a commune-like flats establishment, which they occupied and renovated in the middle of Khayelitsha. This establishment was in the past used by high ranking officials in the army for accommodation purposes. Upon arrival from exile, some of the respondents and their families stayed temporarily with extended family members in Langa, Gugulethu, Nyanga and Kensington. Others were accommodated in some flats paid by the ANC in Woodstock.

These were temporary arrangements until the returnees sorted out their own accommodation. The returnees indicated that they could not sustain good relationship with their extended families (usually cousins, uncles and aunts) for two reasons – limited space and ‘shame’ of being related with “foreigners”, as they were generally referred. As

a result, some returnees went back to the flats in Woodstock whereas others searched for accommodation elsewhere. In Khayelitsha, they bought a compound-like settlement around 1994. It is a close-knit kind of settlement; almost isolated from the rest of the community. This settlement was an accommodation for top army officials before 1994.

All respondents were repatriated at various times during the 1990's. It was a bit difficult for those who came earlier whilst some who came after 1994 found accommodation already waiting for them. In this study, they are given pseudonyms: Bulelwa, Vinolia, Sindiswa, Makhakha, Mzala, Nono, Lucky and Mandisi. At the time of compiling this report their ages ranged between 20 and 40 years old. The table below indicates dates of birth and arrival of South African refugees (the respondents) in South Africa.

Table 1: Period and Age of Arrival

Name	Year of Birth	Arrival	Age of Return
Lucky	1984	1991	7
Bulelwa	1971	1991	20
Sindiswa	1972	1991	19
Makhakha	1987	1998	11
Vinolia	1976	1991	15
Nono	1978	1992	14
Mandisi	1967	1998	31
Mzala	1969	1992	23

Additional information was obtained from personal communication with a former MK soldier, a man from Tanzania and three men from Zambia who own salon/barbershop in Site B, Khayelitsha. The latter four provided an insight on how South African refugees were settled in exile. Interestingly, after South Africa attained democracy, they were inspired to come and live in a new democratic South Africa – possibly to pursue social and economic opportunities.

3.2 Language Proficiency

Language spoken by the returnees was also explored during the interviews. The idea was to get an insight on the nature of their linguistic repertoire. All the discussion of language proficiency that will ensue is based on self-reported data only (See Appendix D for language proficiency form). Lucky was born in Mumbwa Village in Zambia in 1984. In 1991, before coming to South Africa, he stayed with his parents in Lusaka (Zambia). He is now staying with his mother and sister in Khayelitsha. Lucky's language repertoire comprises of five languages: (i) English, (ii) Nyanja, (iii) Xhosa, (iv) Shona, and (v) Afrikaans (though done at school after returning to South Africa; he said he is very weak in Afrikaans). The table below shows proficiency level for Lucky.

Table 2: Lucky's Language Proficiency

Languages	Proficiency			Context of Acquisition
	<i>Read</i>	<i>Speak</i>	<i>Write</i>	
English	Good	Good	Good	Where and How? At school and home
Nyanja	Fair	Good	Weak	In Lusaka (was his first language)
Xhosa	Fair	Good	Fair	In Cape Town
Shona	Weak	Weak	Weak	His mother's first language
Afrikaans	Weak	Weak	Weak	At school in Athlone

Lucky's proficiency in English is good. He also speaks a great deal of Xhosa. Nyanja, a language he spoke as a child in Zambia, follows English and Xhosa. Though his father is Xhosa they never communicated in the language. He left Zambia while he was still young and received more exposure to English (at school) and Xhosa (in Khayelitsha). Lucky indicated that he has only moderate reading skills in Xhosa because he did not study it at school. His Nyanja has deteriorated since he leaved Zambia. He said that whenever they visit their family in Zambia everyone notices their change in pronunciation, and that they have forgotten certain terms. Lucky is weak in Shona, as this language is not often spoken at home. Shona is his mother's first language who was born in Zimbabwe. As a teenager, his mother left Zimbabwe and went with her parents to live in Zambia.

Bulelwa was born in 1971 in Lusaka, Zambia. She stays with her son and friend (Vinolia). They have now formed a big ‘family’ of about eight people. It is made up of Vinolia and her two sons, two sisters and her husband. Bulelwa’s father is Zambian; her mother comes from Rustenberg, and is Tswana speaking. Her father died in Zambia. She decided to come ‘home’ to South Africa with her mother in 1991. She speaks ten languages: (i) Bemba, (ii) Nyanja, (iii) Tonga, (iv) Ila, (v) Swahili, (vi) Chewa, (vii) Tswana, (viii) Zulu, (ix) Xhosa, and (x) English. The table below demonstrates Bulelwa’s proficiency in the languages she speaks.

Table 3: Bulelwa’s Language Proficiency

Languages	Proficiency			Context of Acquisition
	<i>Read</i>	<i>Speak</i>	<i>Write</i>	<i>Where and How?</i>
Bemba	Weak	Good	Weak	In Lusaka speaking it with people
Nyanja	Fair	Good	Weak	At home in Lusaka
Ila	Weak	Good	Weak	In the streets of Lusaka
Tonga	Weak	Good	Weak	In Lusaka speaking it with people
Swahili	Weak	Good	Weak	In Tanzania (SOMAFCO and Mazimbu)
Chewa	Weak	Good	Weak	In the streets of Lusaka
Zulu	Fair	Good	Weak	In Tanzania (SOMAFCO and Mazimbu)
Xhosa	Weak	Weak	Weak	In Tanzania, Rustenburg and Cape Town
Tswana	Fair	Good	Weak	Her mother’s first language and Rustenburg
English	Good	Good	Good	At school in Lusaka, SOMAFCO and at work

The above table indicates that Bulelwa is good in speaking all the languages except Xhosa. English is the only language that she is good in all proficiencies given above. Out of 72 languages spoken in Zambia, everybody is encouraged to speak English, as it is an official language. She speaks mainly in English when speaking to his son. In terms of her Xhosa reading, writing and speaking abilities, Bulelwa displays weakness altogether. She acquired a bit of Xhosa in Mazimbu (Tanzania), in Rustenburg as she was married to a Xhosa man and also learnt a great deal in Cape Town. After breaking up with her husband Bulelwa decided to come to Cape Town to find work and stay with her sister who stays in Table View.

Bulelwa shows weakness in reading and writing Bemba, but good in speaking. As far as Nyanja, Tswana and Zulu are concerned, she can speak them fairly well. Now that she is in Khayelitsha, she has to learn to speak in Xhosa in addition to that she acquired in Tanzania and Rustenburg. The dominant language in Lusaka (her place of birth) is Nyanja. Tswana is her mother's first language. Bulelwa said among South African languages spoken in exile (Zambia and Tanzania) Zulu was fairly dominating.

Sindiswa was born in Lusaka, Zambia, in 1972. Her father is Xhosa and her mother is Afrikaans Coloured. But Afrikaans was almost never used at home. English has always been a dominant factor in her linguistic life. She first attended a private school in Lusaka before studying at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO) in Tanzania. They came to South Africa in 1991. Her family arrived and stayed briefly in Woodstock – in ANC organised accommodation. She now stays in Khayelitsha with her husband, children and uncle. She speaks three languages: (i) Xhosa, (ii) English, and (iii) Nyanja. The following table illustrates that, according to her self-report, Sindiswa speaks English better than Nyanja and Xhosa.

Table 4: Sindiswa's Language Proficiency

Languages	Proficiency			Context of Acquisition
	<i>Read</i>	<i>Speak</i>	<i>Write</i>	<i>How and Where?</i>
Nyanja	Weak	Good	Weak	At home and in Lusaka
Xhosa	Weak	Fair	Weak	In Tanzania and Cape Town
English	Good	Good	Good	At school, work and home

As stated earlier, English is an official language in Zambia. As Sindiswa attended English-Only private school, her command of English is very good. Most importantly, after listening to Sindiswa speaking Xhosa, one may get a sense of her accent being influenced by a mixture of Nyanja and English. Sindiswa never attended any Xhosa school. She acquired the language in Tanzania and largely from the streets of Cape Town. It is also used at home with children though mixed a lot with English. Her Nyanja speaking ability is good. She also indicated that she understands a bit of Afrikaans, but cannot read, speak or write it. At home, the dominant language even in Khayelitsha is

English. Her children speak Xhosa and she is weak in reading and writing Xhosa, but speaks it fairly well (her accent notwithstanding).

Makhakha was born in 1987 in Dar–Es–Salaam, Tanzania. He was born of South African and Tanzanian parents: a Xhosa father (a former member of Umkhonto weSizwe) and a Tanzanian mother. Both his parents are back in South Africa and Makhakha came with his mother in 1998. In his linguistic repertoire, there are four languages: (i) Xhosa, (ii) English, (iii) Swahili and (iv) Afrikaans. The table below demonstrates Makhakha’s (self-reported) language proficiencies.

Table 5: Makhakha’s Language Proficiency

Languages	Proficiency			Context of Acquisition <i>How and Where?</i>
	<i>Read</i>	<i>Speak</i>	<i>Write</i>	
Xhosa	Good	Good	Good	At home and school in Cape Town
English	Good	Good	Good	At school in Khayelitsha
Swahili	Fair	Fair	Weak	In Tanzania and home with his mother
Afrikaans	Fair	Fair	Weak	At school (one of the subjects)

Of the four languages he speaks, Makhakha is best at Xhosa and English. He claimed that his Swahili is as good as his Afrikaans. He is studying Afrikaans at school at secondary level. He speaks Swahili at home with his mother and brother. He goes to school in Khayelitsha, and has Xhosa, English and Afrikaans as subjects. He said he is battling a bit with Afrikaans at school, but is determined to succeed. In Makhakha’s intonation and Xhosa vocabulary, there are no traces of foreign-ness. It is probably because he came to South Africa at any early age (eleven years of age), and he always had a desire to speak Xhosa natively. His home language was Swahili. His cousin played a significant role in teaching him Xhosa and integrated him into the Xhosa society. Makhakha said he taught his cousin how to speak and communicate in Swahili. Their acquisition was two-way.

Vinolia was born in Dar-Es-Salaam, Tanzania. She was born in 1976. Vinolia stays with her husband, two sisters and two sons as well as with a friend (Bulelwa) and her son. Her

father is Xhosa and her mother is Tanzanian. She studied at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO) and came back to South Africa in 1991. They left her mother back in Tanzania. Vinolia speaks eight languages: (i) English, (ii) Xhosa, (iii) Swahili, (iv) Nyanja, (v) Kihaya, (vi) Sesotho, (vii) Bemba and (viii) Zulu. The table below illustrates Vinolia's (self-reported) language repertoire.

Table 6: Vinolia's Language Proficiency

Languages	Proficiency			Context of Acquisition <i>How and Where?</i>
	<i>Read</i>	<i>Speak</i>	<i>Write</i>	
English	Good	Good	Good	At school and speaks it at home
Xhosa	Good	Good	Fair	Acquired in Tanzania and Cape Town
Swahili	Good	Good	Good	First language acquired in Tanzania
Nyanja	Fair	Good	Fair	From fellow South Africans from Lusaka
Kihaya	Fair	Fair	Fair	In the villages of Tanzania
Sesotho	Fair	Fair	Fair	In Mazimbu (Tanzania)
Bemba	Weak	Weak	Weak	From Bulelwa and others from Lusaka
Zulu	Good	Fair	Fair	In Tanzania (Mazimbu)

Vinolia's highest proficiency levels are in English and Swahili. Xhosa is following the two. However, she does not write well in Xhosa. She is fair in reading and writing Sesotho, Kihaya and Nyanja, but good in speaking Nyanja. Her proficiency in Bemba is weak. Bemba and Nyanja are Zambian languages which she acquired through some friends (fellow South Africans) who came from Lusaka to Tanzania to stay or study at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO). This college was established shortly after the 1976 Soweto Uprising.

Mzala was born in 1969 in Dar-Es-Salaam, Tanzania. He studied in Dar-Es-Salaam Public School before going to Mazimbu to study at SOMAFCO. He was born to a South African (Xhosa) father and a Tanzanian mother who speaks Swahili as first language. He came to South Africa in 1992 at the time when discrimination against foreigners was rife, particularly in Johannesburg. Mzala came to South Africa to look for his father who left them in Tanzania to check if conditions were suitable for the rest of the family to come.

He said he had the impression that South Africa was not as big as it is and that people would know each other.

Mzala said he was in Johannesburg around the time of Shell House bombing: the ANC identified the situation as risky, and that all the returnees had go out and trace their families. He said he heard a rumour that his father was seen somewhere in the former Transkei. He took the train to Transkei. He claimed that they (the returnees) came to South Africa at a time when South Africans were really not happy to have foreigners in the country. He said he witnessed people (foreigners from African countries) getting thrown out of the moving trains. On the train, on his way to Transkei, he decided to keep quiet so that no one could hear his pronunciation or foreignness in his speech. In fact, he said he could not speak Xhosa – only communicated in English.

After an elongated spell of searching and getting lost, Mzala finally found his father in Cape Town. His mother came to Khayelitsha with the rest of the family in 1998. He works as a long distance truck driver and a mechanic. He speaks three languages: English, Swahili and Xhosa (though his Xhosa is foreign). The table below indicates Mzala’s linguistic proficiency in the above-mentioned languages. His father is Xhosa. He said only English and mostly Swahili were spoken at home in Tanzania. But now they mix English, Swahili and Xhosa.

Table 7: Mzala’s Language Proficiency

Languages	Proficiency			Context of Acquisition
	<i>Read</i>	<i>Speak</i>	<i>Write</i>	
Swahili	Good	Good	Good	First language (acquired in Tanzania)
Xhosa	Weak	Fair	Weak	Learnt to speak in Cape Town
English	Good	Good	Good	At school in Tanzania

Mzala admits that he speaks English and Swahili much better than Xhosa. His Xhosa can be described as characteristic of an adult language acquisition. His speech has a lot of lexical omissions. His articulation or manner of speaking will be further discussed later.

Nono was born in 1978 in Lusaka, Zambia. She came to South Africa in 1992 and lives with her family of five and her two sons. Both her parents are still alive. Her mother is Zambian and father is Hlubi (a dialect of Xhosa) - from Mount Fletcher in the former Transkei. Nono speaks five languages: (i) English, (ii) Xhosa, (iii) Zulu, (iv) Nyanja, and (v) Bemba.

Table 8: Nono's Language Proficiency

Languages	Proficiency			Context of Acquisition
	<i>Read</i>	<i>Speak</i>	<i>Write</i>	
Bemba	Weak	Good	Weak	Acquired in Lusaka and speaks it friends
Nyanja	Fair	Good	Fair	In Lusaka and speaks it with family and friends
Zulu	Weak	Fair	Weak	Acquired from friends from exile
Xhosa	Weak	Fair	Weak	Acquired on arrival in Cape Town and at work
English	Good	Good	Good	At school in Lusaka

The above table indicates that Nono's English is good in all proficiency levels. She can also speak Bemba and Nyanja very well. However, she is not strong in writing these languages. Though she is weak in reading Xhosa, she speaks the language fairly well. She said her proficiency in isiZulu is similar to that of Xhosa. In fact, she said she finds it difficult to keep these two languages apart. Nono has never attended any Xhosa school upon arriving in South Africa. Her Xhosa developed as a result of the time she spent living in Khayelitsha. She expresses a great sense of disappointment with how South Africans in general have treated foreigners from other African countries. She is also bothered by the gap that exists between different language and racial groups in South Africa.

Mandisi was born in Lusaka, Zambia, in 1967. His father is Xhosa and mother is Zambian. From Zambia, in 1994, he stayed with his sister in Lesotho. He studied in Zambia and only after matriculating at the age of 18 in Kamaura Secondary School, he went to Dakawa in Tanzania. Effectively, he attended school at Kabuata Primary in Lusaka. He was then sent to Lusaka Boys' Secondary. After passing matric, he went to

Tanzania where he worked as the ANC driver in Dakawa. In Zambia, they would go to discos, soccer matches and cultural dances organized by the ANC over weekends. In 1995, Mandisi moved to Pretoria and stayed there for a short time before going to Cape Town. He speaks English, German, Nyanja, Swahili, Xhosa, Sotho, South African Sign language and Bemba. The table below indicates self-reported proficiency levels.

Table 9: Mandisi's Language Proficiency

Languages	Proficiency		
	<i>Read</i>	<i>Speak</i>	<i>Write</i>
German	Good	Good	Good
Nyanja	Fair	Good	Fair
Swahili	Fair	Fair	Fair
Xhosa	Weak	Fair	Weak
Sotho	Weak	Fair	Weak
English	Good	Good	Good

The above table illustrates that Mandisi has good proficiency in English and German. He went to study in German. He attended German language school to prepare him for his tertiary education. As someone born in Zambia (Lusaka), he can also speak Nyanja very well. He is fair in all proficiency levels as far as Swahili is concerned. Mandisi felt his Xhosa is developed similarly to his Sesotho. His mother who is Pedi, taught him Sesotho and he did not speak Xhosa very well when he came to South Africa. He said he was introduced to the kind of Xhosa that was spoken in Tanzania. Upon his arrival, he had to improve his Xhosa by communicating with people. His accent, however, gives away the fact that he grew up in a foreign country. His non-South African accent also becomes evident especially when speaking in English.

Mandisi grew up staying with his mother because his father was busy in the MK. His father is Xhosa. However, in Tanzania they were staying in the village called Dakawa, which was mostly in tents before it was transformed into houses by the ANC. In the camp in Tanzania, apart from English, isiZulu was a dominant language. However, there also developed other languages where people would mix Sesotho, Xhosa, Zulu, Nyanja,

Swahili and English amongst others. The idea was to give recognition to a diversity of people in the place as well as to lend credence to their identity as South Africans.

Mandisi not only improved his Xhosa when he came to Cape Town, he also acquired South African Sign Language as he was working as Community Development Worker for Catholic Welfare Development (CWD) in Khayelitsha. He also worked as a driver at Noluthando School for Deaf in Site B (Khayelitsha). Mandisi believes that South Africa is a wonderful place filled with opportunities. There are few things that need to be sorted out.

The returnees are multi-lingual, as they all speak more than two languages. It is important to state that no language thereof was learned at the expense of another. In fact, the researcher gave each respondent a chance to describe or gauge his/her own proficiency. Assessment of proficiency is largely a subjective matter. The researcher could not ascertain proficiency levels in this case. Therefore, the respondents were given time and space to take a comprehensive decision about their proficiency levels – to measure their (in)competencies. Their willingness and determination to learn Xhosa, although they claimed to have had little contact with Xhosa in exile, indicates that they did not want to be excluded linguistically in the community they live in.

Though the majority had Xhosa speaking fathers they did not have much time to learn Xhosa from them. Most of the time it was few words mixed with other languages. They claimed that it was very limited. Possibly, it was because their Xhosa parents (most of whom were members of *Umkhonto weSizwe*) did not spend enough time with their children. The first obstacle someone encounters when entering a new society is often language. Therefore, the returnees had to improve their ability to converse or communicate with the local people. Their immediate challenge was to learn Xhosa. It can be safely stated that the returnees have considerable knowledge of Xhosa. Though self-reported proficiency levels do not give an accurate picture about one's linguistic performance, it does give a panoramic view of the richness of the returnees' linguistic repertoires, and degree of integration.

Only one of returnees (Makhakha) attended formal Xhosa classes at school in Khayelitsha. Many others had to learn it by trial and error on the streets. They maintained that even their Xhosa parents would mostly speak English and local languages to them in exile. Lucky was at least spoken to in Shona by her mother. Notwithstanding, all of the returnees are pretty comfortable in English, as it was their *lingua franca* in exile. They noted that English was viewed by the ANC as a universal language accessible to many nationalities and could even serve the future democratic state of South Africa very well.

Moreover, the returnees maintained that English was a medium of instruction at school. Though they were allowed to speak other languages during recess, but inside the classrooms it was strictly English. Furthermore, the returnees, those who were in Tanzania, indicated that Sotho and Zulu were sometimes spoken in exile by South Africans. They indicated that, for instance, Vinolia, Nono and Bulelwa, could speak a bit of isiZulu when they came to South Africa. Mandisi said he spoke a bit of Xhosa when he came to South Africa, which he learned in Tanzania. He said English is dominant and official in Zambia as much as Swahili is dominant in Tanzania.

An important observation made by the researcher upon visiting the respondents' homes was that there was an apparent lack of enthusiastic welcoming usually displayed in an average Xhosa home. In other words, the traditional conversational routines were not followed. The only exception was the two houses where there were old Xhosa people. They would engage the visitor with a conversation, and potentially ask background-searching questions before touching on subject of the visit. This is the traditionally Xhosa presupposed way of making the visitor feel comfortable.

Despite the returnees' good command of Xhosa (those who speak the language very well), an average Xhosa speaker would observe that their straightforwardness and brevity is of a markedly peculiar kind. When, the Xhosa speakers meet on the road they would normally engage in a short and intense conversation despite being in a hurry. If one decides to be brisk in his or her approach the Xhosa people might begin to be suspicious.

3.3 Research Techniques or Tools

A qualitative methodology was used in this study. The primary data collected is based on the autobiographic narratives of South Africans born in Tanzania and Zambia. These respondents were asked to talk freely about growing up in exile and their experiences of how life after returning home to South Africa. This research was conducted using a semi-structured interviews (lasting between 30 and 60 minutes). The interviews were arranged at the homes of the respondents. Particulars about repatriation, expectation, linguistic challenges, issues of integration and their perception of their future in South Africa, particularly living amongst the Xhosa speaking people, were explored.

Huberman and Miles (1994) associate qualitative research with three features. Firstly, it is the conduction through intense and prolonged observation of the life situation. Usually the situations are ordinary or normal situations, which reflect the everyday life of individuals, groups, society and organisations. Secondly, the attempt of the researcher is to capture data on the perceptions of local actors, through a process of deep attentiveness, of empathetic understanding and of suspending or “bracketing” preconceptions about the topics under discussion. Thirdly, the main task is to explicate the ways that people in particular settings come to understand, account for, take action and otherwise manage their day to day situations. However, the interviewees or respondents gave a general account of their lives (in exile and at home in South Africa). They did not give a detailed account of day-to-day life events. This could not be captured in 30 minutes interview.

However, McCracken (1988:9-10) states that long interviews are one of the most powerful methods in the qualitative armoury for certain descriptive and analytical purposes. This method can take the researchers into the mental world of the individual, and allows him/her to have a glimpse at the categories and logic by which the interviewee sees the content and patterns of their daily experience. Qualitative interviews give the researcher an opportunity to step into the mind of another person to see and experience the world as they do. Nevertheless, Coffey and Atkinson (1996:56) view narratives as a form of discourse that is known and used in everyday interaction. These authors maintain that the

genre of the 'story' is an obvious way for social actors (in talking to strangers) to retell key experiences and events.

During the course of interviews, the respondents were allowed to express themselves in a free and spontaneous manner. In terms of language choice both Xhosa and English were allowed. Moreover, respondents were allowed to switch between codes in order to give a sense of their level of integration and articulation in the local language. Open-ended questions were asked to provide the respondents with space and freedom to communicate their attitudes and beliefs. The researcher's duty was to guide the discussion by occasionally asking for clarification and, more generally, by sustaining conversation. The idea was to inspire confidence, elicit uniqueness of expression and maintain fluidity or flexibility in each respondent.

Additional information about life of South Africans in exile was obtained from three personal interviews. The first personal communication involves a former ANC guerrilla who went into exile between 1962 and 1993. He is among the second group that went into exile to get military training after the likes of Mr. Mandela. In this study, he is being referred to as Khawuta. Khawuta was also part of the 1967 Luthuli Detachment, which attempted to enter South Africa through Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). He gave an account of their movement, first-hand experience of going into exile, their determination in the struggle and the integration of the youth of 1976.

A second person to give additional information was Peter from Dar-Es-Salaam, Tanzania who now stays in Khayelitsha. Peter provided a profound insight on his life experiences in both Tanzania and South Africa. He commented on how South Africans were treated in Tanzania. He also expounded on the character of Tanzanian people and their social life. Though he claimed not to have had much contact with the ANC people, as he was close to the PAC people in Tanzania, he spoke generally about how South Africans were settled and integrated into communities in Tanzania.

Three Zambians who own a barbershop and salon in Site B (Khayelitsha) gave another perspective. They provided information on the life led by South African refugees in

Zambia, particularly in Lusaka (where many were accommodated). They also commented on the relations between South Africans and foreigners from the African countries. They indicated that what they have witnessed and experienced in South Africa regarding xenophobia and discrimination is not as prominent in their country (Zambia). According to them, South African refugees led normal lives in Lusaka without disrespect or discrimination.

3.4 Data Analysis

The underlying meaning of the discriminatory language used by the people of Khayelitsha in communicating with the South Africans born in exile (returnees) was investigated. Giving an overview of ethnography of communicating, Schiffrin (2003:8), based on Hymes model, states that “cultural conceptions of communication are deeply intertwined with conceptions of person, cultural values, and world knowledge – such that instances of communication behavior are never free of the cultural belief and action systems in which they occur”. In order to interpret the experiences of returnees, discourse analysis was used.

He (2003:428-429) states that Discourse Analysis (DA) is concerned about contexts and processes through which oral and written messages are conveyed to specific audiences, for specific purposes, in specific settings. It portrays linguistic phenomena in terms of affective, cognitive, situational and cultural contexts in order to identify linguistic resources used in constructing the people’s lives. DA deals with naturally occurring language data and enables the revelation of the hidden motivations behind a text. It questions why language is used in a particular way and how people live linguistically.

Developed around the 1960s, DA has a notion of going beyond the sentence or utterance (Ostman and Virtanen 1995:240). It entails the application of critical thought to social situations and the unveiling of hidden meanings. Discourse analysis, according to Howarth (2000:4), examines the dialectical relationship between discourses and social systems, and exposes the way in which language and meaning are used by the powerful to deceive and oppress the dominated. Discourses can be used for an assertion of power

and knowledge, and they can be used for resistance and critique (McGregor 2004). The researcher is a native Xhosa speaker and is knowledgeable of both deep rural Xhosa and urban mixed version of Xhosa. Therefore, critique of the returnees' speech and experiences was informed by the researchers' knowledge of the language and culture.

The returnees' application of prosody (intonation) was examined in relation to what an ordinary native Xhosa speaker would employ. In other words, rhythmic identification of prominent or stressed syllables and their distribution or realisation across the talk as well as potential effect of foreign language on the Xhosa spoken by the returnees, was analysed. The study also acknowledges that there is unequal distribution of linguistic resources in Khayelitsha between the returnees and native speakers of Xhosa. The spoken discourse between the returnees and local people is characterised by a form of struggle for power and control of resources. Basically, power and status define relationship between members of the homogenous language i.e. Xhosa speakers with allegiance in the rural areas and Capetonians whose allegiance is in the city.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as an interdisciplinary approach is crucial in the analysis of data. Van Dyk (2003:352) defines Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as "a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context". For Wodak (2002:10) CDA states that language on its own is not powerful. It gains power through the people who use it. CDA often chooses the perspective of those who suffer and critically analyses those in power i.e. those responsible for inequalities and have means to improve conditions.

Critical Discourse Analysis assumes a dialectical relationship between particular discursive events and the situations, institutions and social structures in which they are embedded: on the one hand, the situational, institutional and social contexts shape and affect discourses; on the other hand, discourses influence social and political reality (de Cillia, Reisigl & Wodak 1999). CDA is therefore not interested in investigating a linguistic unit per se but in studying social phenomena which are necessarily complex

and thus require a multidisciplinary and multi-methodical approach (Rudak & Meyer 2008).

Obviously, from its inception, CDA was designed to question the status quo by identifying and analysing the manifestations of power in the discourse. In Khayelitsha, the returnees (mainly Xhosa speakers born in exile) and foreign nationals from the continent of Africa are subjected to the language that has discriminatory overtones by the majority group (the Xhosa speakers). Power is central for understanding the dynamics and specifics of control (of action) in modern societies, but power remains mostly invisible. Linguistic manifestations are under investigation in CDA (Rudak & Meyer 2008).

Working on a tape-recorded and transcribed spoken text, the researcher selected data upon which the analysis of pronunciation, construction of sentences and interpretation of certain words or phrases was based. As Xhosa is central to the Xhosa culture, philosophy and social character of its people (amaXhosa) evolution, distribution and stylistic aspects of the language were worth examination. Moreover, the Xhosa speakers and their relationship with the world can be studied in relation to the ideological, political history of South Africa. Hence, the returnees are a consequence of that history.

3.5 Research Constraints

According to Arksey and Knight (1999:64-65) permission must be sought before starting the research process from the gatekeepers. 'Gatekeepers' have the power to grant or restrict access to research settings. In other words, they can implement stalling devices or they may not pass information about the study to potential interviewees. Negotiating procedures for contacting potential study participants and reaching an agreement about issues related to confidentiality, anonymity and others are extremely crucial. In the case of the study of South Africans born in exile, the researcher had to speak to Khawuta who is the oldest person in the area – the lead person that played a key role in securing the residence for the returnees. Khawuta also characterized the journey from South Africa to exile in the 1960s, life in exile as well as the retuning back home.

Though Khawuta was busy and did not have time to talk to potential research participants, the researcher was allowed to use his name as a reference. The researcher disclosed his identity and purpose of the research. The respondents were enthusiastic about it. Hereafter, the researcher requested their consent and scheduled an appointment for the interview. Getting an agreement or consent was not difficult for some, though there were those who could not be reached easily. Others refused totally to participate in the research. Eight agreed to participate in the study. Sieber (1993:18) emphasises the importance of informed consent to be far more than a consent statement; it means communicating respectfully and openly with participants and community members throughout the project; respecting autonomy; and lifestyle and providing useful debriefing about the nature, findings, and value of the research as well as its likely dissemination.

As this type of study challenges the respondents to delve into and/or potentially recall some negative experiences, not everybody approached for the research purpose was willing to participate. Those who refused postulated that they would rather not share their 'sensitive' experiences. Lee and Renzetti (1993:4-5) noted that sensitive research topics can involve particular kinds of costs – it may take the form of psychic costs such as guilt, shame or embarrassment. Since the researcher was a member of the dominant language group in Khayelitsha possible mistrust could have developed among those who refused to participate. Distrust between the majorities and minorities (often based on prejudice and racial stereotyping) is always deepening. Also insufficient or improper solutions to serious political and psychological problems are a potential detonator of future racial and ethnic conflicts (Ruisel and Sarmány 1996:213).

CHAPTER FOUR

LIFE IN EXILE

4.1 Identity Suspicion

When South Africans moved into Tanzania, Zambia and other countries the challenge they faced was certainly that of adaptation and forging new ways of life in the foreign land whilst keeping alive the notion of liberating fellow black South Africans at home. They were stretched across home and foreign country. To succeed in exile they needed cooperation and assistance from the local people in order to hide their identity from South African authorities and their associates. A new social identity as a form of disguise was carved i.e. changing names, acquiring new language and culture to submerge into foreign social life.

According Jenkins (1996:1) one's identity is constantly being questioned upon visiting a foreign country. For example, immigration officials ask for one's passport and look at one's nationality to check the traveler's right of entry in a particular country. One's purpose of visit is always put under scrutiny by the authorities and people in general. A similar sentiment has been expressed by Khawuta (MK veteran) who, when they were heading into exile, especially in Botswana and Zambia, claimed that the police were suspicious of their identity. He said:

Ekwehleni kwethu eferini saye sahamba ehlathini eBotswana. Lo mntu wayesikhokhele wayesixelele ukuba masithi saa apha ehlathini. Sasingaphezulu ko 50. Caba kwakukho itruck eyayiza kusithatha kwalapho ehlathini. Mna zange ndifune ukuhamba ehlathini ngoba ndandingavani neenyoka. Ndakhetha ukuhamba ngendlelana ekwakhamba kuyo iimoto kwalapha ehlathini. Ekuhambeni ndadibana namapolisa andifuna "usithupha". Ndandizixelele ukuba ndizakugibisela umntu ibhozo. Kamnandi amapolisa abo akaphathi mipu. Bagqitha xa bebona ukuba andizimiselanga kusebenzisana nabo. Bagqitha bayakubuza eferini singabantu baphi na. Baxeelwa ukuba siyilagroup yeMK isuka eSouth Africa. Baphinda basilandela (P.C, Khawuta, 2007).

[**Translation:** When we left the ferry we moved through the forest in Botswana. We were more than 50 people. Our leader had told us to disperse while moving in the forest. Evidently, there was a truck that was going to come and pick us up. I decided to move through the road because I did not like the snakes. After sometime I met a few policemen who asked me to produce *usithupha* ‘a passport’. I told myself I was going to stab anyone disturbing me with my big knife. Fortunately, these policemen did not carry guns. When they realised that I was not to cooperate they passed and went to ask the ferry drivers. They were told we were a group of MK cadres from South Africa. Then, they followed us (P.C, Khawuta, 2007).]

The word “*usithupha*” is adopted from Zulu – meaning “the thumb”. In this context it refers an identity document / passport. Caught without this important official document one could be jailed or get deported immediately from a host country. Khawuta alluded to the fact that this practice of asking for passport reminded him of the South African police attitude toward Africans at home.

Khawuta added that the South African repatriates could not hide the fact that they looked differently. People on the way to Zambia were always suspicious of them. Kriesberg (2003:57) states that identities are socially constructed based on various traits and experiences. Some characteristics are socially fixed at birth (including descent, religious origin, place of birth and skin colour), whilst others may be acquired and modified later (like language spoken, costume worn or food eaten). Skin colour becomes an important marker of identity in some societies but not in others.

Khawuta said on their way to some train station in Botswana and inside the train to Zambia people took note of their different appearance:

Abantu esagqitha kubo xa sasisiya kwesinye isitishi saseBotswana babesuspicious. Mhlawumbi babebona ukuba asifani nabo ngecolour. Nesinxibo sethu sasohlukile kwesabo. Safika etrainini sabamba istrategic positions ngasemnyango. Sathi xa sifika esitishini eLusaka abe amapolisa enze ibhanti esithi afuna thina. Sehla istuff ingekemi itrain kuba sasiyiqhelile lonto. Umntu wavula indlela ngebhozo lakhe. Esaa amapolisa. Ngaphandle kwesitishi sakhwetywa sibizwa ngabantu be Zambian ANC. Sahamba sayakuhlala iiveki ezintathu emzini kaKaunda. Apho sasimncedisa ekwenzeni nakwidistribution of pamphlets zecampaign yakhe. Emva koko saya eTanzania; siyokulungiselela ukuya eAlgeria kwifirst military training (P.C, Khawuta, 2007).

[**Translation:** The people who we passed on the way to some train station in Botswana seemed suspicious of our identity. Perhaps, they noticed that we were different in terms of colour. Our dress code was distinct. In the train (to Lusaka) we held the strategic positions next to the door. When we arrived in the Lusaka Station the police had formed an encircling belt claiming that there are illegal people from South Africa. We jumped while the train was in motion because we were used to doing that. We headed straight to police – clearing our way with our big knives. Outside the station a group of Zambian ANC members called and took us to Kaunda’s house. We stayed there for three weeks. We assisted in producing and distributing pamphlets for Kaunda’s campaign. After that we headed for Tanzania to prepare for our trip to Algeria to attend our first military training (P.C, Khawuta, 2007).]

From Khawuta’s quotation above one would notice that the MK cadres were prepared to kill in order to protect their identity and to avoid arrest. Getting caught meant that they would be deported to South Africa and face charges of sabotage and skipping the country illegally. On one hand, the use of big knives demonstrates determination of steel not to be caught and brought back to South Africa. On the other, it implies gravity of fear that these repatriates had regarding the police and authority back home. Effectively, they might have gotten long jail sentences, soul breaking torture or even execution by the security forces. It was therefore logical for them to hide identity since getting caught could have revealed important secret information about other MK cadres in the struggle.

Kenneth Kaunda, the former of leader of Zambian ANC and former president of Zambia protected the South African refugees for a while – hiding them in his house – before heading for Tanzania on the way to get their military training in Algeria. That gesture was extremely critical to the South Africa migrants. According to Khawuta, as they were moving further north in Africa their presence was rather rejoiced. But they could be identified easily as people from South Africa. From Tanzania to Sudan and Egypt where they were going to catch plane to Algeria they did not encounter any problems. They enjoyed themselves learning about life in other countries.

Effective protection of economic, social and cultural rights of migrants as well as the right to development is fundamental to a balanced migration management system. Against the background of racism, deprivation of human rights and discriminatory

actions and policies, the African Union (former Organisation of African Unity) is determined to address such matters. The African Union has pointed out that exploitation, mass expulsion, persecution and other abuses in both transit and destination countries should be safeguarded. Safeguarding implies the effective application of norms enshrined in human rights instruments as well as the ratification and enforcement of instruments specifically relevant to the treatment of migrants (African Union 2006: 6).

4.2 Settlement in Zambia and Tanzania

Movement from one country to the other is always filled with uncertainties. The support of South African refugees was to be extremely crucial in exile. Grobler (1998:146) states that the ANC and PAC's movement into exile gained the support of many newly independent states in Africa. The Organisation of African Unity (OAU), established in 1963, provided a platform for promoting opposition against apartheid. It also stated that the OAU coordinated African and foreign assistance to the ANC and PAC through the Liberation Committee. Despite a number of setbacks the OAU made sure that political support continued for the liberation movements in the continent of Africa (Ndebele and Nieftagodien 2004; see also Serote 1992.).

The untenable political situation at home and availability of support abroad resulted in scores of South Africans fleeing to neighbouring countries to get protection, financial and political support as well as military training to sustain their liberation struggle. Strategically, as soon as they settled in exile, the ANC organised a new round of armed attacks to mark its presence rather than trying to cause any impact on the attacked. The idea was probably to send a message about its existence to both the enemy (white government) and Africans (Omer-Cooper 1987: 151).

Throughout the three decades of exile, Tanzania and Zambia became the home for the South African liberation movement in Africa. Notwithstanding the contribution of other countries such as Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Lesotho, Botswana and Nigeria the two (Zambia and Tanzania) deserve a special mentioning. The ANC was given settlement by the Tanzanian government in Morogoro (Mazimbu, Kongwa and Dakawa). The

headquarters of the ANC were in Morogoro. Mazimbu is the place where the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College was established in 1978 for the children of South African refugees who were born in exile and for the youth that emigrated from South Africa after the 1976 student national uprising. Guerillas were trained in Kongwa and Dakawa.

Morogoro region occupies a total of 72,939 square kilometres which is approximately 8.2% of the total area of the Tanzanian mainland. It is the third largest region in the country after Arusha and Tabora. About 19,056 km² of the area is rural. Administratively, Morogoro has five districts that are divided into 30 divisions, 457 villages and 140 wards. The 1988 census indicated that Morogoro had a population of 1,220,564. The economy of this area is dominated by agriculture and allied activities such as food and cash crops production subsistence farming (cotton, coffee, sisal and sugar) and cattle keeping. Agriculture employs about 80 percent of the labour force. Additionally, there are other small manufacturing and mining activities (Morogoro Region Socio-Economic Profile 2000: 19, 29, 37).

Before the Rivonia Trial in 1964, the ANC had established relations with countries in the Soviet bloc for financial support, logistical assistance and military training. This support became very crucial for survival in exile. For instance, in 1963 the ANC received \$300,000 on top of the \$56,000 allocated to the South African Communist Party (SACP) from Russia. In 1965-1966 the ANC received \$560,000 and the SACP \$112,000, and after these grants the ANC and SACP continued to receive regular financial infusions, supplies of arms, military equipment and military training until the early 1990's (Johnson 1981:170).

What the ANC and MK needed in exile was much more than financial and military support. Cooperation with local people, social integration and recognition were of paramount importance. Khawuta who went into exile early in 1962 revealed that determination to be trained needed to be supplemented by the friendliness of people in the host countries.

Xa sasiyiya eAlgeria apho sasizakufumana khona imilitary training. Sathatha iferry from Tanzania to Sudan. Iferry was the cheapest method we could use. Indawo yokuqala sasingenakutya singenayo nemali. Kaloku phaya kutyiwa yonke into le. Kwakusityiwa ukutya esingakuqhelanga. Ndaye ndarealise ukuba apha emhlabeni zinintsi izinto esingafani ngazo singabantu. Izinto ezifana namasiko. Saye sathenga ibhokhwe. Kodwa eyanto yasihluphayo yayizimosquito. Abantu bethu batyiwa kakukhulu zimosquito. Sahamba kangangefortnight apho emanzini. Kangangokuba abaninzi babemane bethunyelwa esibhedlele. Abantu balapho basenzela lula. Kulamazwe, they were very friendly. Yeka into yokuba thina sibehostile xa befika apha (P.C. Khawuta 2007).

[**Translation:** When we were going to Algeria to get our military training, we took ferry from Tanzania to Sudan. Ferry is the cheapest method we could use. Firstly, we did not have food nor the money. The people in those areas eat everything. They were eating the kind of food we were not used to. I realised there are so many things that marked us differently from other nations of the earth; things that are related to cultures and customs. At least we bought a goat there. We traveled a period of fortnight in the water. Our comrades were bitten by mosquitoes. Instead of moving forward they had to be taken to hospitals. The people made it easy for us. In those countries, people were very friendly. Contrary to hostile treatment we [South Africans] have displayed towards foreigners who have come here (P.C. Khawuta 2007).]

Settlement in Zambia was somehow different from that of Tanzania. The majority of ANC people in Zambia (Lusaka) got integrated in the cities or suburban areas. They lived in private households; with their children attending private schools. In Tanzania, ANC had its own settlement in Morogoro. Nono whose father is Hlubi and mother Zambian, for example, spoke about their schooling in Zambia and how the ANC looked after them. Regarding their upbringing she said:

IANC beisikhathalele. Besiattenda private schools. There was an ANC car coming to collect us in the morning and bringing us back in the afternoon. Mhlawumbi lonto ibisenziwa yinto yokuba abazali bethu bebekuMkhonto weSizwe. Nezindlu ebesihlala kuzo bezibhatalwa yiANC. Besincedisa nje nathi. Besiencouragwa ukuba sizisebenzele. Uma engekho okanye xandibuya esikolweni kufuneka ndiyekumncedisa ngoba kaloku yimali yethu leya. Sitya yona.

[**Translation:** The ANC had taken a good care of us. We attended private schools. There was an ANC car coming to collect us in the morning and bringing us back in the afternoon. This was probably done because our parents were busy in the MK. The houses we lived in were paid for by

the ANC. We were also not running short of groceries. We also contributed. We were encouraged to sustain ourselves. My mother had a small vegetable stand (a hawker shop). When she was not there or when I come back from school I would go and assist her because it was our money as we used it for food.]

Sindiswa was born in 1972 in Lusaka. She also described life in Zambia as good. It was different compared to what their parents had experienced:

Bekulula kuthi thina bantu bavele izinto sele zenziwa. Akufani nakubazali bethu. Bathi bona kwakunzima kakhulu.

[**Translation:** It was easy for us who were born in a situation where everything had been prepared already. They (our parents) said for them it was extremely difficult.]

Their parents had to till new grounds, forge links with the local people and ensured that they got the necessary support required for survival. These parents certainly had to work hard to ensure their children got access to the best possibly education and life opportunities in exile. In other words, life in exile meant much more than military and political preparation.

Lucky who was born in a village in Zambia in 1984 and came to South Africa in 1991 said even though he left Mumbwa Village in Zambia as a child he still remembers how they lived as a family with grandmother and other siblings. His mother speaks Shona and she was born in Zimbabwe and moved to Zambia as a teenager. Lucky also spoke about life in Lusaka and how he would play with his friends. To him it was normal: he said he felt home in exile.

4.3 Education and Social Life in Exile

ANC valued progressive type of education to counter the vestige of apartheid system of Education labeled by Njobe (1990:45) as “one of the draconian measures enacted to attain a high level of perfection in the white minority colonisation and exploitation of the black majority indigenous population of the country”. It is this type of education and enforcement of Afrikaans as medium of instruction that prompted South African youth in

1976 to a rebellion. This youth, particularly those who could not join the *Umkhonto weSizwe* (MK) were sent to various schools, colleges and universities inside and outside those respective countries of exile.

Similarly, the majority of South African children who were born in exile were not encouraged to join the MK, but to attend school. Mandisi was born in Lusaka in 1967, and moved to work for the ANC in Dakawa at a later stage. He worked the ANC driver. His duty was to transport sick people to and from Morogoro General Hospital. He also fetched food and vegetables from the ANC farm in Mazimbu. In the following excerpt Mandisi tells of how education was upheld by the ANC leadership:

Bendifuna ukujoin iMK, but ANC ayavuma. Bathi alikho ilizwe elizakuphathwa ngamasoldier. Ndathunyelwa esikoloweni. Ngo1986, nday' eGermany ndiyokufunda iMechanical Engineering. Ndabuya ngo92. Xa ndandifika eZambia abazali bam ndadibana nabo eairport eLusaka. BAthi bayagoduka baya eSouth Africa.

[**Translation:** I wanted to join the MK but the ANC did not agree. They said the country (South Africa) cannot be governed by soldiers. So, I was sent to college. In 1986, I went to Germany to study Mechanical Engineering and came back in 1992. When I arrived, I met my parents in the airport in Lusaka. They told me they were going home to South Africa.]

Njobe (1990:53) emphasizes the role of education in liberation as the one that should focus on “the creation of a liberated personality with appropriate knowledge, skills, value systems and attitudes adequately positive enough for a self-less service to the best interests of the new nation”. Education as an important, defining factor of liberation struggle was demonstrated by what the ANC did when the groups of youth migrated from South Africa after the 1976 Soweto Uprising. This youth also comprised of school going children and others without adequate education to secure jobs. The ANC decided to establish a school to educate and provide them with vocational and survival skills. The name of school is Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO), and it was built in honor of the MK combatant, Solomon Mahlangu who was executed in South Africa in April 1979.

The Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO) was established by the African National Congress (ANC) on land provided by the Government of Tanzania, at the Settlements of Mazimbu (1000 hectares) and Dakawa (10,000 hectares), near Morogoro in Tanzania between 1977 and 1990. This was designed to cater for the exodus of youth and adults after the Soweto Uprising, and subsequent periods of turmoil in South Africa. At Mazimbu, the ANC built SOMAFCO's secondary school, primary school, nursery school and the Adult Education Centre, while at the ANC Dakawa Development Centre, the Ruth First Education Orientation Centre, the Vocational Training Centre and the Dakawa Arts and Textile Centre were built. These structures were complemented by boarding complexes, youth centers, a multi-purpose library, daycare units, sports facilities, a 16-bed hospital, two clinics, and a host of many staff houses (n.n.n.d.8).

The opening of school by the ANC, according to Morrow, Maaba and Pulumani (2004:10) gave institutional expression to the multi-faceted nature of the ANC struggle, which meant remaking of the South African society rather than overthrow of apartheid minority government. The school received support from donor countries who were not interested in supporting military activities of the ANC. Through this non-political school ANC wanted to establish itself as force to be reckoned in terms of moulding a new contemporary South African society. It is worth mentioning that despite vigorous and fundamental curriculum debates might have been the final character of this school has essentially left an important legacy in respect of establishment of academic, social, political, cultural and organizational home for many young South Africans.

Henry Makgothi, former director of SOMAFCO said in many respects, the college had curricula that were in essence outcomes based. This means that teaching was learner-centered; based on collaborative learning and continuous assessment. Relations between teacher and learner were non-authoritarian. The secondary school offered 10 subjects. There was dual emphasis on the social sciences and the natural sciences/mathematics. The ANC's own examination board examined the former, while the University of London Examination Board examined English and the sciences/maths. SOMAFCO graduates had the option of obtaining scholarships through the ANC's National

Scholarship Committee to universities in African, Asian, East European and Western countries, or doing vocational training at either the Dakawa Vocational Training Centre (VTC) or elsewhere in Tanzania (n.n.n.d.9).

Serote (1992:47-48) states that SOMAFCO was the ANC school in Morogoro, Tanzania. It was built on a 250ha plot. At the same time, SOMAFCO was expected to provide accommodation for the community servicing the school project. Farming was part of the servicing project of the school – dairy, piggery, and other small and big stock, poultry, and crop sections. Carpentry or furniture factories, cobblers or shoe factories and services such as tailoring workshops, supplies and logistics, motor mechanics, electrical, wedding and the general maintenance departments were established. This resulted in a fully-fledged community erect around the college.

Much in terms of diversity and development of curriculum had to be accommodated in the ANC School in Tanzania. Tikly (2004:614), the first director, describes the SOMAFCO experience as one that demonstrated not only benefits for curriculum development that the transcultural context of refugee education affords, but also the difficulties involved in defining a common identity. Much of debate was focused on whether to choose political or academic education. Those in support of political education emphasised that the principle of coming into exile was to equip themselves politically and militarily for the complete overthrow of white minority government in South Africa. Those in favour academic education held a view that children should be offered universal education like other children in the world. It must be free of political and military innuendo. The matter of curriculum took time to resolve. Finally, those who supported academic style won the battle, but with strong emphasis on English, Science, Maths and History.

Vinolia (born in Dar-Es-Salaam in 1976) and Mzala (born in Dar-Es-Salaam in 1969) studied at SOMAFCO, and they said education at SOMAFCO was tailored to assist them into becoming international citizens. The language of instruction was English – because it is a *lingua franca* around the world. However, other languages were used outside the

school environment. Swahili dominated conversation, though mixed with languages such as English, Zulu, Sotho and Xhosa. Lucky, Nono and Bulelwa echoed the same sentiment about educational situation in Zambia. They believe learning through the medium of English has helped them a lot regarding communication and opening of opportunities.

Vinolia remembers how the ANC took care of them in exile and that they led a very good life. It was life with opportunities. She noted:

There were opportunities. Maybe the change (in locality and lifestyle) was not necessary. For those who were older, who came (to Tanzania) from South Africa, were missing home. We lived a good life and we would be taken to Europe. I remember going to London, where I met some of the ANC top leaders. We went there to represent South Africa. We were treated as children from South Africa. We performed cultural activities, dance, music and many more.

Sherry McLean (2004) describes her experiences at SOMAFCO in a paper presented at the Anti-apartheid Conference in Durban. She was recruited as a social worker to develop support systems in the community, specifically for the more vulnerable students and children at the SOMAFCO Primary and Secondary schools. McLean was to start a counseling support system at the ANC Holland Solidarity Hospital. Speaking as one of the international volunteers who worked at SOMAFCO, between the years 1985 and 1987, she said:

One of my strongest expectations was that as a white person, I would be met with initial resentment by black South Africans. This was dispelled quickly on my arrival and I was made to feel welcome and became integrated in the community quickly. From day one a steep personal and political learning curve began for me, and this continued throughout the two years of my stay in Mazimbu. This was about human-ness, tolerance, understanding, questioning and above all patience. These components of life at SOMAFCO have been an important part of my own development and remain with me to this day.

McLean largely portrayed life in Mazimbu as communal, and that they lived in well-designed cool airy houses comprising of 4 – 6 people of which some included children. She also stated that one of the challenges for international volunteers and South Africans

was adapting to living with one another. Food was distributed equally amongst people, and tasks such as cooking and cleaning were shared. Differences of language, culture and practices had to be overcome through ongoing negotiation and compromise. This was a learning process for everyone involved. Most importantly, there was exchange of life experiences and stories.

After finishing Grade 12 (Form 5) Mandisi who was born in Zambia went to stay and work in Dakawa. Comparing life in Zambia and Tanzania Mandisi said:

In Dakawa, the difference was that they lived in a commune like camp. Everybody lived in one place – one big family. It was different from where I grew up. However, there were Tanzanians who would come and assist with cleaning; who also interacted with people. In Zambia, I lived with my parents, even though my father was always absent.

The ANC family was bigger, as it comprised of refugees in Africa, England and other parts of the world. Sponsors, volunteers and activists around the world formed part of this family. The volunteers and sponsors, though coming from diverse backgrounds (some in America and Europe) learnt about importance of solidarity, common values and purpose which were paramount in the ANC settlement in Tanzania. In other words, they had to acquire understanding of an African identity rooted in humanity and collectivism. It is that sense of community and spirit of togetherness the returnees are apparently longing for in Khayelitsha.

Two factors come to mind in respect of the life of South African youth in exile. Firstly, they were brought up in the host countries as local children but with access to best education opportunities where English was a medium of communication. They generally attended private schools (primary, secondary and tertiary) abroad, and specifically the ANC School in Tanzania which served as microcosm for future South Africa.

CHAPTER FIVE

XHOSA LINGUISTIC ENRICHMENT

5.1 Xhosa Varieties

Xhosa is a tonal language of the Bantu family. This language is spoken throughout South Africa, but predominantly in the Eastern Cape, Western Cape and Northern Cape. It has several dialects: Gcaleka, Ndlambe, Ngqika, Thembu, Bomvana, Mpondomise, Mpondo, Xesibe, Rharhabe, Bhaca, Cele, Hlubi, and Mfengu (Pinnock 1994:1). The Nqqika and Gcaleka dialects are considered “standard” dialects because they are the varieties used in schools, books and official communications. Written Xhosa is based on these two dialects because of the development of the printing press at Lovedale and general development of literature that spread throughout the Xhosa speaking areas (Finlayson 1992:109).

The Bantu ethnic group that speaks Xhosa is referred to as “amaXhosa”, and they call their language “Xhosa”. A distinctive phonological feature of the language is the prominence of click consonants. The presence of clicks in Xhosa demonstrates the strong historical interaction with Khoisans (Finlayson 1992: 107; Pinnock 1994:8-9). This means words of Khoisan origins are prevalent in the Xhosa lexicon. More than one-sixth of the Xhosa lexicon is derived from Khoisan. Even the names of some chiefs have Khoisan origin: *Ngqika* and *Rharhabe*, and also religious words such as *uThixo* (God), *igqirha* (diviner) and *uQamata* (the traditional name for God) show Khoisan influence. In addition, words such as *utishala* (teacher), *mantyi* (magistrate), *irhamente* (*gemeente* – Afrikaans word for “congregation”), *ipasika* (*Pase/Paasfees* – Afrikaans “Easter”) and *torho* (*tog* – Afrikaans “yet”) exemplify lexical borrowing from Afrikaans and English (Finlayson 1992; Pinnock 1994).

The Xhosa-speaking groups have inhabited the coastal regions of southeastern Africa since before the sixteenth century. Following the death of the Xhosa chiefdom (Phalo), in about 1750, lineage split into two rival sections. Another split followed in 1782, and

consequently there were three major divisions: (i) Gcaleka (centered east of the Kei River), (ii) the Nqika (between Kei River and Fish River), and (iii) the Ndlambe (in the area known as Zuurveld, west of the Fish River). The Ndlambes shared their area with other Xhosa speaking chiefdoms, including Gqunukwebe, who had incorporated people of Khoikhoi origin. Frequent skirmishes occurred with Afrikaner trekkers, particularly in the Zuurveld area. In 1779-81, 1793, and 1799, the first of the ferocious Xhosa wars broke out. Boers (Afrikaners) often provoked Africans because their government rewarded them for capturing Xhosa cattle, labour and land (Thompson 1990:73; Parsons 1982:85).

The contact with other ethnic and racial groups whether by force or choice demonstrates that the Xhosa language is neither static nor pure. The adoption of words from Khoisan, English and Afrikaans indicates that the language has gone through processes of metamorphosis. This is indicative of the fact that there will always be variations and lexical additions resulting from migration, contact with other languages and cultures. Besides the imposition of foreign linguistic resources, the scattering of “amaXhosa” throughout South Africa should teach every Xhosa speaker that there is a possibility of other Xhosa speakers being born in unknown places who shall always bring forth a variety of linguistic and cultural resources to enrich the Xhosa language.

It is critical to study the Xhosa variations and to accommodate differences in a more respectable manner. The story of Xhosa coming into contact with foreign European languages and cultures dates back to the frontier wars between the Xhosa speakers and the Dutch and British settlers. Evidently, the incorporation of Xhosa speakers into the Cape Colony after the 19th century defeat by the military “fire-power” and “ruthlessness” of the British, according to Pinnock (1994:91), hugely affected their language and culture. This resulted in the adoption of elements of foreign linguistic cultures.

As a Bantu language itself, Xhosa has a concordial system, which allows syntactic flexibility and harmonisation. Foreign forms which are usually employed during prestigious functions, for instance, *manene namanenekazi* “gentlemen and ladies” cf. the

traditional “ladies and gentlemen” in English (Finlayson 1992:116), define this lexical harmonisation and flexibility. Coupled with harmonisation is linguistic and cultural enrichment. Thipa (1989:40) refers to such linguistic enrichment as ‘adoptives’, which denote acceptance and incorporation of foreign forms of address. For that matter, a Xhosa speaker who often uses this form of address outside prestigious functions domain is afforded some degree of respect and prestige, as this *manene namanenekazi* adoptive symbolises being cultured or civilised.

Re-culturation and linguistic enrichment also happen due to the movement of people from rural to urban areas and vice versa. This movement has contributed to a number of changes in the Xhosa language. As a result of urbanisation, two versions of Xhosa have emerged. One variety is closely associated with what is deemed as “standard”, and the other as “non-standard”. Hudson (1980:32-33) attributes a standard language to the variety that serves a special relation to society. This variety has resulted from a direct and deliberate intervention by society – the standardisation process. Standardisation refers to the four stages through which a language or variety passes, such as: (i) selection, (ii) codification (iii) elaboration of function, and (iv) acceptance as a national language.

Finlayson (1992:109-110) states though urban and rural Xhosa have developed independently, yet when migrant workers return to their rural homes cross-pollination takes place. This intervention makes it difficult to draw a clear distinction between varieties. However, a standard variety of Xhosa is characterised by two critical factors. Firstly, the introduction of schools (education) and emergence of printing presses brought about this variety of Xhosa. The standard variety is found largely in literature. Secondly, there is a makeshift, code-switching which resulted from people using more than one linguistic code in a single conversation. Usually, this “non-standardised” standard version, according to Finlayson (1992), can be associated with the educated elites who wanted to display modern sophistication and civilisation.

Other Xhosa speakers who have contributed to the enrichment of their language are those people who spend more time in urban areas where many languages come together. To

display their exposure to modernity once they return to their rural homes they would use elements of foreign lexicon. Today, the rural variety has become more recognised as closer to the standard version, whereas urban Xhosa has lost its prestige. Anyone who goes to the rural areas and speaks modern urban Xhosa will be looked down upon allegedly due to (i) demonstration of linguistic contamination; (ii) cultural disorientation often displayed by urban Xhosa speakers; (iii) distrust largely associated with urban people; (iv) display of “non-rural” behavioural patterns; and (v) unfamiliarity with some linguistic and cultural mores often identified with deep rural Xhosa.

5.2 Morphological Enrichment

The demise of apartheid and abrogation of the pass laws brought about renewed surge of people from the rural areas to urban areas in search for employment, business opportunities, “better” lifestyle, education and quality health care. In the midst of all, the Xhosa language and culture in both rural and urban areas were affected i.e. there was cross-pollination (Finalyson (1992:109-110)). During this dynamic linguistic encounter the urban Xhosa speakers get re-orientated and re-introduced to cultural and linguistic resources that might have been forgotten or those that may have emerged whilst they were away.

Nonetheless, changes in the structure and content of the Xhosa phonemes, morphemes and some lexical items also dates back to the period of first contact with the Khoisan people, Dutch and British settlers. The following are some of the examples of such linguistic transformation, which renders Xhosa largely a mixed language:

Phonemes: There are phonemes that do not reflect Proto-Bantu features. Some of these voiced/voiceless, aspirated/non-aspirated and nasalised phonemes, e.g. c, t, ch, th, nc, nt, nkc, gc, ngc, nd, have been borrowed or adopted from Khoi and San languages.

Morphemes: Borrowed words assume the morphological structure of Xhosa. This incorporation usually becomes possible with the addition of prefixes. For instance, words such as **isituphu** from the Afrikaans word *stoep* and **isabhokwe** from *sambok* (Afrikaans word for a whip) illustrate successful integration or incorporation.

Tone: Xhosa has its tonal aspects influenced by Zulu and Sotho i.e. the Xhosa spoken near Lesotho and KwaZulu Natal is influenced by the two respective languages.

Lexical items: Lexical items provide proof of language change in Xhosa. New items such as **iemele** from emmer (Afrikaans word for bucket), **layisha** from *laai* (Afrikaans word for load) and **itapile** taken from *aartappel* (which is an Afrikaans word for potato) have been introduced (Finalyson 1992: 110-113).

The underlying principle about the above examples is that morphological items have been adopted and customised to fit within the morphological and syntactic spectrum of Xhosa. What is provided by Finalyson (1992) in the above excerpt has been discussed further by Du Plessis and Visser (1992:9) at another level in which case they maintain that in Xhosa there are lexical borrowings or certain adoptions that do not change the structure of the language. Since the Xhosa word order follows a SVO pattern – object always following the verb – certain terms have been integrated and adopted both the morphological and phonological features of target language i.e. Xhosa.

Without a dedicated morphological and syntactic analysis anyone learning Xhosa informally would not easily identify possible adoptives, borrowings, transfers, and/or any potential linguistic creativity performed. According to Thipa (1989:111) lexical borrowing serves to fill gaps that exist in the vocabulary, and this acts as a fulfillment of a need to keep up with the pace of technical, social and institutional developments. A word such as *usiba* (developed as a result of development of literacy in Xhosa) has an extended meaning: (i) feather, (ii) pen, and latterly used by attaching a declarative prefix “*uso-*” to form the word *usosiba* to mean “secretary”. However, *usosiba* is literally translated as “the owner of the pen” (Finalyson 1992:114).

In the olden days when few people were bestowed with an opportunity to study, they demonstrated literacy by carrying pens in their chest pockets. This practice signaled being sophisticated, educated, intelligent and/or civilised. As this was in the public domain some ambitious Xhosa speakers literally without any formal education identified with that magnificent practice. These fellows would put pens in the chest pocket and buy newspapers. Ironically, they would read newspapers upside down, and thereby embarrass

themselves in the process. While pretending to be reading studiously they would make strange remarks or produce utterances that would draw attention to their witty activity.

Zotwana (1987:46) views linguistic varieties as that which occupy different points in the status spectrum, more especially, with some considered “purer” and more “prestigious” than others. Varieties can mean different things to different speakers. Some speakers may attach sentimental value to disappearing varieties whereas others may hold contempt towards them. In the case of urban Xhosa, people tend to borrow more from English and Afrikaans as well as other languages. The speakers of urban Xhosa are more linguistically innovative than rural Xhosa speakers who are largely deemed as conservative.

Language varieties often define people in terms of a particular social setting. Basically, rural Xhosa is characterized by speakers who have had little exposure to western influences and experiences. Red-blanketed Xhosa speakers are regarded as rural Xhosa representatives (Thipa 1989:26-27). Zotwana (1987:45) postulates that an individual may have an attitude towards language, which is not conditioned by any desire to identify with a particular group. For instance, in Cape Town, due to the way one speaks, he or she would frequently be asked to indicate their historic background.

As the majority of Xhosa speakers come from the Eastern Cape (in the Gcaleka, Ngqika and Ndlambe place) and due to the existence of various dialects one would be expected to account for and indicate the part of the Eastern Cape from which he or she comes. At times, this measure of differentiation among the Xhosa speakers determines relations between the Xhosa linguistic groups. This is interesting, especially in Cape Town, where there are Xhosa speakers who were born in the rural and urban areas of the Eastern Cape, and those who were born in the rural and urban areas of the Western Cape as well as from other parts of South Africa where Xhosa is spoken.

Soliciting one’s linguistic background is a feature cutting across the age groups. The only difference is how the question is structured. It is, basically, people below 40 years of age

who would say: *aphi amaXhosa wakho?* (“where are your Xhosas?”) or *ungumXhosa waphi?* However, those older than 40 would normally say: *liph i khaya?* (“where is home?”). If they happen to be coming from the same region, *oh, ungumkhaya* (“oh, you are my homeboy or homegirl”).

There is age-related variation in the way Xhosa people phrase the background-soliciting-question. The difference marks both enrichment and distortion of the basic syntactic and semantic rules of the Xhosa language. In addition, identifying people from one’s region may be exciting, but it becomes problematic when favour, employment and patronage are dispersed on the basis of regionalism. In Cape Town, and probably in other places in South Africa as well, there is also a slight tendency not to treat people who are from a different region with high regard.

In a conversation among Xhosa speakers or people with common identity, but one of them speaks in very strange way a question might be posed as to what kind of a Xhosa would speak Xhosa like that. By implication, such a question tends to be problematic, as one would not be able to determine the real purpose for such solicitation. It could be that he or she speaks a variety closer to that of the solicitor or may be using a register that is below the solicitor’s expectation – status wise. In other words, Xhosa speakers (a) expect certain varieties in certain contexts, (b) are highly sensitive to phonological, syntactic and semantic variations, and (c) are generally attentive to what is linguistically and culturally divergent.

The integrity of the identity-soliciting linguistic pattern can be manipulated with people who harbour certain prejudicial or stereotypic nuances. In certain occasions, the Xhosa speakers would constantly enquire about one’s origin or identity perhaps with an intention not to extend friendship, but to position themselves carefully well in relation to whoever does not belong to their speech community. Sometimes, the practice could persist, notwithstanding, how the visitor feels: it can be interpreted as patronisation or silent discrimination.

Whilst the above claim may not always be correct, it suffices to illustrate a point that people who speak the same language might misjudge or misconstrue one another. That can influence the way they relate, interact or communicate with each other. Judging by what has happened in Cape Town and the Eastern Cape, among the Xhosa speakers, ‘foreigners’ do not get given full citizenship rights and voice they deserve even if they are sharing the same ethnicity and language. Stigma does not seem to be going away.

5.3 Phonological Difference and Tsotsi Taal

Different meaning is attached to the same sequence of consonants and vowels when uttered with a rising or falling and/or high or low intonation. There are certain lexical items that make the job of exclusive differential much easier both at morphological and sociolinguistic level. A good example of this is the word *ithanga*. This word has four different meanings: (i) a kraal, (ii) pumpkin, (iii) an underwear garment, and (iv) a thigh. Pronunciation plays a significant role in the realisation of meaning. For instance, *ithanga* “thigh” is pronounced with the falling pitch on the second and third syllables, “tha” and “nga”.

The second example is *ithanga* “pumpkin” which is pronounced with the movement from middle to low pitch in the last two syllables, “tha” and “nga”. The pitch is in the middle at “tha”, and in third syllable “nga” the pitch is low. Thirdly, *ithanga* “women’s underwear or old style G-string” is pronounced with pitch rising at the second syllable “tha”. In the fourth instance, *ithanga* “a kraal”, the pitch movement is falling from high, middle and to low. Refer to the following example for the pitch deployment and semantic realisation in the homonym *ithanga*:

- (a) Īthàngà (**pumpkin**)
- (b) Īthāngā (**thigh**)
- (c) Íthángá (**underwear**)
- (d) Íthāngà (**kraal**)

It also important to take note of the realization of the pitch in the initial vowel “I”, a high front vowel in all the examples – a to d. In the first two examples, (a) and (b), “I” is pronounced as middle long vowel whereas in the last two examples i.e. (c) and d) “I” is articulated as a normal high front vowel. Most importantly, any misapplication of pitch in some Xhosa words invites attention, and may lead into other Xhosa speakers asking questions about one’s place of origin.

Though, the business of this study is not to provide a comprehensive analysis of the phonological, syntactical and semantic systems of Xhosa but to give an overview the use of Xhosa linguistic nuances to exclude other speakers of the language. Members of the in-group tend to look out for nuances that would mark the speaker of out-group linguistically different. In this context, the ‘background checks’ or ‘speech monitors’ are found to be patronising or outright prejudicial, even if the contrary was intended.

Essentially, intonation or pronunciation can assist in distinguishing the native from non-native speakers or the region from which a dialect of Xhosa comes. During interlocution among Xhosa speakers in Cape Town a litany of identity searching questions may be asked for one to disclose his or her actual identity of background. Sometimes, the returnees assume these identity searching questions or speech monitors to be stereotypical. They said the reality has always been that such interrogation is followed by discrimination notwithstanding the fact that the speech monitoring devices are deployed honestly and genuinely to learn about one’s Xhosa origins.

The feeling of discomfort might affect one’s motivation to learn the language or joining a particular group or speech community. If the feeling of discomfort persists in the host community the out-group members may become overly sensitive and/or suspect discrimination even it does not exist. Therefore, the out-group members could feel beleaguered and alienated. Sachdev & Bourhis (1991) and Bourhis (1994) are cited in Hewson, Rubin and Willis (2002) emphasising that intergroup relations tend to involve unequal power. Members of high- and equal-power groups show more bias than members

of low-power groups, and discrimination by members of numerical minorities with high power is especially strong.

Prah (2011) argues that the social character of language and its function as the key transactional instrument for the communication of human groups makes it both the supreme divider and, at the same time, invisible instrument for uniting people. A good example of language used for either uniting or dividing speakers of the same language can be found in urban and rural Xhosa versions. In Cape Town, for instance, urban Xhosa is prevalent amongst black youth, while elders speak some form of a deep rural version. The youth associate the rural Xhosa with backwardness and predominant rural identity. In this case, language serves as unifier to the young urbanites, a divider toward ruralites.

Young people from the Eastern Cape (largely rural areas) upon their arrival often end up adopting a new urban version to avoid being differentiated exclusively as rural, backward and less sophisticated. The urban version was introduced largely a slang spoken by township thugs – Tsotsitaal. Bogoda (1999) characterises the medium of communication amongst the urban youth as “Tsotsitaal, Ringers, Sprake or Sqamtho”. Though the four words can be used interchangeably, however, there is no clarity about the origins of Tsotsitaal. Some people believed it originated in prison whilst others believe it originated in the shebeens, parties or social spaces.

According to Brook (n.d) the language (Tsotsitaal) developed for several intertwined reasons:

It was born as a language of creativity and passion as well as an expression of the sadness, anger and resentment felt by these people dislocated from their sense of identity; it acted as a bridge among young segregated communities that spoke several distinct languages (Molamu 2003:xxi, xiii); it functioned as the *lingua franca* of male social interactions (Slabbert and Myers-Scotton 1996:322); and finally, it served as a means to organize illicit activities yet remain unintelligible to police who could not speak the language (Motshegoa 2005:1).

Moreover, urban languages emerge against the backdrop of dense multilingualism. The exact constitution of urban languages differs from one city to the next in terms of languages actually spoken, the social, cultural, and economic value judgments associated with these languages. Tsotsitaal, for example, refers to a form of speech which is in some cases based on Afrikaans, in other cases on Zulu and/or Sotho (Beck, 2010).

Tsotsitaal is a slang which, for instance, has been associated with some of the idiosyncratic aspects of youth. According to Motshegoa (2005:1-2) cited in Brook (n.d) Tsotsitaal has developed into a culture, which is characterized by wearing clothes of particular labels, often-times flamboyantly expensive. Besides fashion and hairstyles form the use of language has been identified to measure age-specific behavior.

According to Bembe & Beukes (2007) the youth shape and reshape language to suit their individual needs and status. Tsotsitaal is subject to change in form, particularly in terms of its lexicon to suit the needs and demands of its speakers. “Apart from slang being a fashion item, it is also a marker of identity and delineator of groups, separating young from old, urban from rural, and a marker of an in-group from the out-group” (Labov, 1972 and Eckert, 2000 cited in Bembe & Beukes, 2007).

Tsotsitaal is sometimes realised as Flaaitaal which probably owes its origins to language contact within a multilingual setting in nineteenth-century South Africa and to the rise of the urban and township communities. With the discovery of minerals some people from the South African interior, others from all over the world as well as from parts of South Africa flocked to places such as Johannesburg. Europeans speaking English, French, German, Dutch or Yiddish and Africans speaking Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho and Tswana contributed to the development of Flaaitaal. It may be known by any of the following names: ‘Iscamtho’, ‘Withi’, ‘Sepantsula’, ‘Lingo’, ‘Lingam’, ‘Isikhumsha’, ‘Shalambombo’, ‘Himli’, ‘Himbul’, ‘Taal’, ‘Hova’, ‘Bika’, ‘Sjita’, ‘Setsotsi’ or ‘Tsotsitaal’ (Makhudu, 2002).

In the sheebens where most of Tsotsitaal is spoken, Bogoda (1999), a special class was created. Moreover, various factors such as ‘linguistic groupings’, ‘socio-economic status’ as well as ‘political and academic status’ determine the class of. In other words, patrons who are wealthy and educated sit in the lounge in the shebeens and receive special treatment. So, Tsotsitaal is used to exclude the young ones from the adults and urban youth from rural youth which is considered to be backward in life. Makhudu (2002) attests to that Flaaitaal carries overtones of urban life, as evidenced by the superior attitude of Flaaitaal speakers to non-users, who are stigmatised as ‘country bumpkins’.

Sometimes, the aspects of urban behaviour and urban Xhosa version tend to affect the core of the rural linguistic-cultural upbringing and grounding. In essence, the idea of wanting to fit into the urban life poses a challenge to an extent that some rural boys and girls get immersed or lost in the niceties of the urban culture. They first stop going to their rural home often; cut themselves off from rural friends and relatives in the urban areas; and change their dialects and lifestyle. Others would learn and use the urban register for communication purposes, but upon going to their rural Eastern Cape homes they would try to re-adapt themselves to rural life.

Sometimes, re-adjustment or re-orientation to rural life puts a challenge to the speakers of Xhosa who often struggle once more to fit in linguistically and culturally. There is generally little room reserved for urban Xhosa, culture and lifestyle in the rural areas. Should one persist on urban Xhosa he or she runs a risk of being labeled and attributed all kinds of bad characteristics of the ‘tsotsis’. This is a form of discrimination the Xhosa migrants strive to avoid at all times. They would prepare themselves and remind themselves of the rural register before embarking on the journey to their rural homes.

It usually takes a couple of days to get inducted and adjusted completely to the rural Xhosa, as urban speech behavioural patterns might often creep up. In such instances, scorns would be tossed around. In fact, it appears as if one needs to pass a linguistic qualification test. Therefore, it becomes a responsibility of everyone to lose the urbanised version of Xhosa even before catching a bus home. Quite interestingly, as soon as Xhosa

speakers reach the Stock Road Bus Terminal in Lower Crossroad near Phillipi, they change and emulate by speaking dialects closer to their rural home versions. Also their linguistic behaviour (gestures, jokes, speech contents, etc.) also changes drastically.

This bus terminal is also used as an example of linguistic rehearsal platform (though not formally organised). Those who go home regularly would come into contact with those who rarely go home. The fact that type of Xhosa spoken in the long distance bus terminals displays rural characteristics, to an extent, these places, in Cape Town, are referred to as *iindawo zamagoduka* (“the places for the rural migrants”). To the Capetonians visiting bus terminals such as Langa and Lower Crossroads stigmatise one as *igoduka*.

Tone, speed, clarity and texture of the rural returnees’ speech change. They would speak in a high pitched but coarse voice. Speed in articulating certain phrases gets slower. Since people tend to be nostalgic about their rural homes their speech content is dominated by rural stories. Respect for the elders is observed. Tsotsitaal diminishes vastly. Posture and body movement is characterized by being a bit stiff and slow with shoulders drooping slightly. Speech turns get elongated; silence between turns is observed; exclamation points gets reduced; high pitched and animated utterances are minimised.

The change in identity is evidence when one upon arriving in the rural areas he or she has to embark on a process of ‘de-urbanisation’ or ‘re-ruralisation’. During this short period, one’s expressions and reactions would actually be treated with contempt. For instance, the following remarks would often be made: *Yho hayi, wethu usuke watshintsha, caba kumnandi eKapa. Awusasithethi kakuhle tu Xhosa. Khawutsho kwenzeke ntoni?* (“Hey, you have changed! You do not seem to be speaking Xhosa properly. Perhaps, it is nice in Cape Town. Tell us, what happened?”).

Morpho-syntactic features of Xhosa, though not discussed comprehensively, successfully give a general overview about the richness and diversity of the language. It is the language that evolved through contact and borrowing from other languages and cultures.

It plays an important uniting role in the society. However, some speech events, whether intended or not, tend to have undesirable consequences on those learning Xhosa as additional language. For example, the deployment of 'speech monitors'; the use of varieties to mark one's identity and social status; admission to and exclusion real groups highlight the challenge migrants might encounter in a Xhosa speech community.

CHAPTER SIX

THE LINGUISTIC INTEGRATION OF THE RETURNEES

6.1 “The Way We Speak Betrays Us”

The dominant language spoken in Khayelitsha (Cape Town) is Xhosa. The majority of people who live there are rural migrants (*amagoduka*). There are pockets of Capetonians or those Xhosa speakers that were born in the cities or towns in the Eastern Cape. They generally do not have allegiance in the rural areas. It is, therefore, extremely important to observe and examine the linguistic and psychological relationship established between the Xhosa speakers and the South Africans born in exile (the returnees) who are Xhosa.

Discussing the ‘in-group’ and ‘out-group’ experiences of “us versus “them”, Van Dijk (1995), states that members of the in-group (we) are associated with positive properties whereas the members of out-group (they) are associated with bad properties. Taylor and McKirnan (1984) suggest that the majority tends to accept highly qualified members of the minority because such assimilation contributes to the stability of the society. Minority members may be pacified. Those marginalized are likely to be characterised as “other” in the “us/we-them” dichotomy. In other words, intergroup competition increases the salience of social identification—defines “us” and “them” (Hamilton, Sherman, & Lickel, 1998 and Tajfel, 1982 cited in Cikara, Botvinick & Fiske 2011).

Argyle (1969:68) states that language is used to convey information to others about facts that help in the finding of solutions to problems. It also plays an important role in enabling two or more people to work together at a joint task, discuss problems and make decisions. Underpinning this function of language is cooperation, unity and respect for each other. However, the exclusionary aspect of language is missing in Argyle’s rendition. Put succinctly, language appears to fall short of resolving the challenge of integration and recognition that exists between the local people in Khayelitsha and the returnees. Instead of closing the linguistic gap it has exacerbated the gap.

Vinolia said that in Tanzania people speak any way they preferred. Though Swahili was a dominant language, they could mix it with other languages. Nobody would ask them why they were speaking in that manner. She never realised that language could be used to prejudice people's identity. Now that she is in South Africa (Khayelitsha) she realised that the way they speak and the code they choose from time to time influences how people would react. Vinolia said at times they would speak in English because they thought that would discourage people from probing about their place of origin.

Possibly, Vinolia's accent and intonation when speaking English might have brought attention to them, as it deeply foreign from countries in Africa. Very significantly, when she speaks in Xhosa it becomes evident that she is speaking Xhosa as a second, third or fourth language. South Africans born in exile have a challenge to not only acquire a particular language or variety, but also a correct way of using intonation. To illustrate the difference in intonation, Sindiswa, one of the returnees, said, *I was excited because ndatsho ndabona nenkosikazi katat' uMandela uWinnie*. ("I was excited because I saw, Winnie who is Mr. Mandela's wife"). Despite mixing English and Xhosa, the word order and word choice follow the rules of colloquial Xhosa. Yet, her intonation betrays her as an outsider, i.e. as someone who grew up outside the Xhosa community.

It is, in fact, worth noting that Sindiswa learnt Xhosa minimally as a child from her father who is Xhosa. The dominant language spoken at home, she said, was English and Nyanja. Due to the fact that exposure to Xhosa was minimal as her father would be away on *Umkhonto weSizwe* training and missions Sindiswa's Xhosa reflects elements of second language acquisition. For instance, the two words *katat' uMandela* put stress at somewhat different places than what the ordinary Xhosa speaker would have done. The following example illustrates the differences between the non-native and native pronunciation.

Sindiswa's Non-native pronunciation:

(i) katat' uMandēla

Native pronunciation:

(ii) katat' uMandèlà

Sindiswa puts more stress on *Ma* and pronounces it with a rising tone. A native Xhosa speaker would put the stress on *nde* pronounced with a simple falling tone. The way Sindiswa pronounces *katat' uMandela* indicates contraction which resulted from either the omission of the *a* from the last syllable of the word *katata*. Native speakers of Xhosa make this omission deliberately to save time. It is widely used in Xhosa novels and drama books. However, in the case of Sindiswa's pronunciation the sound has been changed.

The resulting *t'u* which is realised as a rising alveolar stop followed by vowel *u* pronounced with the tongue high at the back of the mouth, influences the pronunciation of *Ma*. Because of the influence of the surrounding low back *a* vowels of *ta* in the case of *katata* and *Ma* of *Mandela*, *t'u* in ordinary Xhosa is pronounced as middle pitched. In Sindiswa's example, the pitch rises from the second syllable of *katat* and this rising of the pitch affects *Ma* of *Mandela*". That is why more emphasis is made on *Ma* instead of *nde* as it is the case of native speakers.

Another example comes from a statement made by Sindiswa about her arrival in 1991. Like any other urban Xhosa speaker, she omitted "nineteen", saying "*ndafika apha ngo ninety-one*". ("I arrived here in 91") Though this is part of an English vocabulary, Xhosa speakers have adopted and integrated it into their vocabulary. Sindiswa pronounced "*ngo ninety-one*" as "*ngo 90-1*". The tone is rising in *ngo* and *90*, and then falls in "*one*". A Xhosa speaking person would have pronounced *ngo 91* with a *ngo* that is middle pitched, and a falling pitch in the rest due to their influential vowels (hereby 91 is phonetically realised as [nəInti:wʌn]).

The following example shows the tonal difference between Sindiswa and native speaker:

- (i) Ngó91 (Sindiswa's utterance)
- (ii) Ngō91 (Native Xhosa speaker)

The above example indicates different realisations of *o*, and its relationship with the following vowels. Effectively, the first vowel *a* in [nəInti:] in Xhosa has an influence on the following “*I*” vowel, and brings it to the middle. In English, the high vowel “*I*” has a strong influence even on the syllable “*ngo*”. The first vowel in [nəInti:] rather becomes a middle vowel.

One can easily hear that Zulu has influenced Vinolia’s intonation. She said she was exposed to Zulu in Mazimbu, Tanzania. She claimed, “In exile *bekunabantu abaningi ababethetha isiZulu*, and I thought my Zulu was going to help me in communicating with the Xhosas” (In exile there were many people spoke Zulu and I thought my Zulu was going to help in communicating with the Xhosas). From the above example, “*bekunabantu abaningi*” (there were many people) indicates a Zulu formulation whereas in Xhosa it would have been *bekukho abantu abaninzi*.

Typically, Vinolia uses Zulu instead of Xhosa words in her speech. She recalled a moment where she felt very South African - speaking to other women in church. She has a leadership position where she serves as an organiser of women’s issues. She said in the interview, “*ndiziva ngcono xa ndithetha nabomhamha ecaweni*” (‘I feel better when addressing women in the church’). “*Nabomama*” follows a Zulu morphology where “*nabo*” replaces the Xhosa Class 2(b) prefix “*noo*”. Xhosa basically has 15 noun classes. Due to the fact that Xhosa and Zulu are mutually intelligible versions of Nguni languages, one can easily decipher the meaning.

Another example comes from Nono who just like other returnees does not like to be gossiped about. She said *sihletywa* (‘we were gossiped about’). Again, stress is put in the wrong syllable and pitch is raised where it was not supposed to be. In ordinary Xhosa, the stress is put on the middle syllable “*hle*”, and the intonation is falling. Nono pronounced “*sihletywa*” with a rising pitch in the third syllable. These differences in prosody mark the returnees’ speech as unusual, compared to the matrilectal varieties spoken by those who grew up in South Africa.

Another example is when Bulelwa visited a shop in Khayelitsha to exchange some goods she bought. Xhosa speakers made her feel battered, estranged and bewildered. She was verbally badly treated. She said a sales person ordered her to go back to the queue, which she refused. Her strong values and principles made her stand up against the siege. She felt it would have been unfair for her to go back since she already was in the queue before buying the product. Bulelwa uses foreign intonation to relive the moment of shouting in the shop, *Ah, makaphume! Akuboni ukuthi likwerekwere elo?* (“Ugh! She must get out! Don’t you see that this is a kwerekwere?”).

Bulelwa’s foreign intonation can be detected in how she delivers the word “*makaphume*” in the above utterance. The following is the transcript of delivery of pitch in Bulelwa’s pronunciation:

- (i) Mākàphūmē (native pronunciation)
- (ii) Mākāphūmé (Bulelwa’s non-native pronunciation)

Xhosa vowels have a lot of influence in the way that certain words get articulated. For instance, “*u*” of “*phume*” is influenced by the surrounding vowels and does not sound like such a high pitched vowel. In this case, it is somehow pitched in the middle –like “*e*” of “*me*” in ordinary Xhosa. Bulelwa pronounces “*ka*” with a long horizontal middle pitch instead of using a low pitch, as it is done by a native speaker. Both “*u*” of “*phu*” and “*e*” of “*me*” in the syllables “*phume*” are high pitched in Bulelwa’s pronunciation. Effectively, “*e*” is a middle, not high pitched vowel.

Either Bulelwa is aware of the fact that “*u*” is a high vowel, and cannot be pronounced otherwise or it is just that her pronunciation comes naturally due to her foreign accent. Only a native or near-native Xhosa speaker would understand the difference. Judging by her pronunciation in any Xhosa communicative even native Xhosa speakers can easily determine her foreignness in the Xhosa language. But not all the returnees demonstrated these linguistic markers which characterise the Xhosa of returnees, i.e. intonation and morpho-lexic borrowing from Zulu. Makhakha, Lucky and Mandisi speak Xhosa very

well. As a result, they were able to make friends, and did manage to fit into the language and possibly dominant culture.

6.2 Acculturation

Acculturation is a process of change that results from contact between groups and individuals of different cultures (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936 cited in Berry & Sabatier 2011). Assimilation and marginalisation often determine the degree of integration of immigrants / foreigners in the host culture. When there is both a wish to maintain one's heritage culture, and also to participate in the larger society, the integration orientation is defined. When there is both little desire to maintain one's heritage culture and to have relations with the larger society, then marginalisation is defined" (Berry & Sabatier 2011).

The majority of the returnees have not really been assimilated into the Xhosa culture since they are stigmatized as foreigners. Upon returning to South Africa they were not adequately socialised. Hudson (1980: 101) states that speech is an important factor in socialisation and that it is through people's speech that a child (or a person) learns to identify meaning of concepts or linguistic items. A language that a child learns is closely related to the concepts he or she learns during socialisation. Hudson goes on to state that children learn concepts before the development of speech, and that certain concepts are learned after their names have been known. Speakers of other languages, as is the case of the returnees in Khayelitsha, could not be readily triggered to comprehend the underlying meanings, concepts and linguistic items.

Mandisi, Lucky and Makhakha have learnt a great deal about Xhosa. They were rather more motivated to go out and make friends with Xhosa speakers in the community. Much would still need to be learnt by Vinolia, Bulelwa, Mzala and Sindiswa. At least Nono indicated that she is using Xhosa at work. There is a possibility that she would be exposed to a lot of Xhosa concepts. Due to absence of cultural activities, as it might be the case in the rural areas, however, given that the returnees (except Makhakha) did not

study Xhosa at school, they could not easily succeed in attaining native-like Xhosa standard.

Asked about the organization of cultural activities in exile, Lucky said:

In Mumbwa Village bekungekho zicultural activities njengalapha. Even if my grandmother uthwe must slaughter something only the members of the family including the extended family that would com, not the entire village. I remember kunefuneral Kwa-Langa abantu belokishi baya. Ibifani lonto. That is different.

[**Translation:** In Mumbwa Village, there were no cultural activities like here. Even if my grandmother instructed we must slaughter something, only the members of the family and extended family would come, not the entire village. I remember the funeral I attended in Langa. The whole community attended. That was funny. That is different.]

Social practices or traditional events do teach about certain linguistic and cultural aspects inherent in a particular speech community. Even though one would speak the language but lack of exposure to such practices might reveal one's linguistic and cultural shortcomings or foreignness. In the above excerpt, Lucky shows no signs of linguistic difference. His language sounds and appears like any other modern Xhosa speaker as he is mixing the language quite similarly to other ordinary native speakers of Xhosa. The fact that he came to South Africa at the age of seven has helped him to mingle with people in their socio-cultural spheres.

In the event one does not demonstrate understanding of the appropriate linguistic code amongst the dominant group that may reinforce contempt of the speaker from minority language. The Xhosa spoken by the returnees though vary in degrees of foreignness can be regarded as marginal. Sociologists in the so-called Chicago School have stated that the speakers of the 'marginal' variety are somewhere in the border, and not full members of the speech community (Reinecke 1964:535). Mandisi said at times when he addresses old Xhosa speakers at the Community Welfare Development in Khayelitsha and finds it difficult to express himself or relate to them in a certain anticipated way these old people

would ask him, *ungumXhosa waphi lo ungasaziyo Xhosa?* (“ where is this Xhosa coming from who does know how to speak Xhosa?”).

Among the six learning strategies (cognitive, metacognitive, memory related, compensatory, affective and social) as identified by Oxford (1990) social strategies (e.g., asking questions, asking for clarification, asking for help, talking with a native-speaking conversation partner, and exploring cultural and social norms) enable the second language learner to learn via interaction with others and understand the target culture (Oxford 1990 cited in Ehrman, Leaver & Oxford, 2003). Mandisi benefitted from the interaction as he said that the old Xhosa speakers would help explain or clarify difficult cultural concepts. Mandisi qualifies to be an adult second language learner, as he came to South Africa at the age of 31.

However, Mandisi said being asked where he was coming from that he could not speak Xhosa properly was embarrassing to him. He knew that because he was addressing elderly people some of whom might not have had chance to get educated he needed to learn to address them properly in Xhosa. He said after explaining his background the elderly people understood why he did not speak Xhosa very well, and they started teaching him. This embarrassment might have served as a motivator for Mandisi to learn or improve his acquisition of Xhosa.

Sindiswa echoed the same sentiment that the way they speak often tells that they are foreign to the Xhosa community. She said, “even if we could mix Xhosa and English, our accent would indicate very clearly that we have a non-South African background. Many of us speak with foreign African accent which is entirely distinct from the local people. Sometimes, you may be using proper Xhosa words intonation and use of vocabulary is what Xhosa speakers often pay attention to”.

There is a significant difference between Mandisi who came into the country at the age of 31 and Vinolia, Sindiswa and Nono who arrived in South Africa aged 15, 19 and 14 respectively. Mandisi seems to have been more highly motivated and more open to the

acquisition of Xhosa. Krashen (1981:25) identifies attitudinal factors having an influence in the acquisition of language as serving to two functions. Firstly, these factors do encourage 'intake' and 'enable the performer to utilize the language heard for acquisition'. This means that hearing a second language with understanding appears to be necessary but is not sufficient for acquisition to take place unless that acquirer is 'open' to the input.

LoCastro (2001) states that individual differences, specifically attitudes, motivation, and learner self-identity, may influence and constrain the willingness to adopt native speaker standards for linguistic action. As language learning involves the self-identity of the learner as an individual with a personal history and as a member of a group, a society, and a culture, the input provided may not become intake due to reasons that implicate the learner's beliefs and values as well as features of the socio-cultural context. The history of discrimination, being disrespected, and the apparent lack of recognition and appreciation of the returnees' identity amongst the Xhosa speakers in Khayelitsha may have been influential in determining some returnees' acquisition and use of Xhosa from time to time.

6.3 The "Coconuts"

Language can serve as an instrument to unite or classify the people. When language is used as a classifier it divides and controls other people. Hodge and Kress (1993:63-64) characterise classification as an instrument of control. It controls the flux of experience of physical and social reality in science as well as society's control of conceptions of that reality. An example used in this instance is that of a common language which has always been a powerful means of creating solidarity within social groups. This language defines the group in ways that are felt to go deep into basic structures of thought and feeling. Therefore, repression of minority cultures similarly acts through suppression of their languages.

Suppression occurs even within homogeneous groups who embrace an ideal of evolving a distinctive vocabulary, which would exclude outsiders and unites the group. In

communicating with three Zambians from Lusaka who manage a hair salon in Site B about degree to which foreigners experience exclusion in South Africa, they said (similarly to the returnees) that in Zambia though discrimination against others exists it is ideally rare. They said in South Africa the anomaly is that discrimination is often accompanied by violence. They referred to a situation in Johannesburg where fellow African brothers and sisters would be discriminated against to an extent that they would get beaten up. They would not be allowed to open shops. They said it does not matter how long one has been there without being noticed, but as soon as they find out that someone speaks another language rather than a South African language he/she would be tormented (PC, Victor, Kenneth & Pazarora, 2007).

Vinolia said the experience of gossiping and arbitrary classifications consolidated their determination to improve their Xhosa. A solution to fitting in was to learn the language. Refer to the following extract for her general linguistic experience in Gugulethu and perhaps around Cape Town:

I mostly spoke Zulu (people could easily pick it up that I could not speak in Xhosa). Zulu helped us a lot. People would say when we speak English “Baphakamile aba bantwana” (these children are full of themselves) or “Ayingobalapha” (there are not from here). “Why would they a different language?” “*Ayisingobalapha*”. We were amazed because we did not understand why should someone be forced to speak a certain language. We grew up knowing to speak however. People would gossip about us in our presence. After they finish their conversation we would confront them.

Sindiswa pointed out that whenever (on their arrival) they came to their parents complaining about not being able to find friends to socialise with, their parents said they must learn to speak their language. She indicated that people found it strange that would not speak Xhosa in Cape Town whereas they are black. See the excerpt below:

It is like this, apartheid has affected us a lot black South Africans. We are the ones who do not cope with other situations. Like when we first came here it was hard for us to fit into the Xhosa world. Hard for us to fit into the other world. You, here, and speak English amongst you black people, it was linto “into efunny” (something funny). “*Heh, ngabantu abatheni abamnyama*

abakhumshayo?” (Well, what kind of black people who speak in English?) You know it was funny. It was hard.

The returnees led a kind of linguistically rich life in exile where they could speak any language they felt at any given moment. Their linguistic exposure which was a liberal mixture of English and other languages has affected them negatively once they came into Cape Town. The reasons and context for such negative experience will be explored later.

Principally, Mandisi indicated that the dominant South African language spoken in Mazimbu, Tanzania, was Zulu. But other languages just featured whereby people would mix Zulu, Xhosa, Swahili, Tswana, Sotho and English. In fact, English was frequently used as a *lingua franca* in situations where people did not speak each other’s language. In Cape Town Mandisi conceded that the returnees experienced a different situation: the use of English was minimal and Xhosa is the main language spoken. Anyone using English was perceived to be a “coconut”.

Sindiswa shared similar sentiment with Lucky who said they were often perturbed by behavior demonstrated by the Xhosa speakers in the buses, on their way to school. She said, conversing in English did not help, as we would switch to English to avoid being stigmatised for speaking ‘improper’ Xhosa and being referred to as *amakwerkwere*. She advised that some people would whisper, *ngamaXhosa anjani la athetha olu hlobo?* (“What kind of Xhosa speakers who speak like this?”). One would respond, *Hayi suka! Zi-coconuts ezi* (“Agh! these are coconuts”).

In the townships, the term “coconut” and “cheeseboy” had gained some popularity. ‘Cheeseboy’ has been associated to the male students of former Model C schools, and is used extensively to characterize anyone believed to be ‘spoilt brat’. Cheeseboys are those teenagers who believe they should be getting everything they want – expensive clothes, technological devices and cars. The term originates from the fact that former Model C learners usually carry expensive lunch boxes often with a cheese sandwich. ‘Coconut’ is a generic term used against both female and male students of former Model C schools.

Though it may now appear as an ideal state of affairs, but in the past such characterisation used to carry a lot of stigma.

Literature has covered the implications of identifying students or learners as coconuts. Vivian de Klerk's (2000) studied the reasons underlying the decision taken by the Xhosa speakers to send their children into English-medium schools and subsequent linguistic and psycho-social effects of that move. The resultant risk is that the non-English child may suffer alienation of several kinds (linguistic and cultural) in his/her community. While these children are recognisably black by virtue of their skin colour, they find themselves immersed in a very different cultural milieu whereby they are challenged to adopt new linguistic and cultural norms. For instance, when they speak, the hearer's (stereotyped) expectations are not met, and fellow blacks who denigrate and see them as 'traitors' to the language and the culture (de Klerk 2000:202) regularly use the derogatory term 'coconuts' ('black on the outside, white on the inside')

Stephanie Rudwick (2008) explored how labels such as "coconut" and "oreo" bare testimony to the intriguing relationship between language, culture, identity, and ethnicity in South Africa. The study interrogated the ethnolinguistic constructions of identities among isiZulu mother-tongue speakers in Umlazi, Kwa-Zulu Natal. A derogatory term such as "coconut" or "oreo" reflects negative sentiments toward people who have started to adopt English as their medium of communication and to adopt a western lifestyle. Individuals that are labeled "coconuts", generally did not attend school in the township, but the ex-Model C schools found in multiracial areas. Furthermore, an identity crisis is very likely in these children as they are likely to find their linguistic and cultural identities in conflict. They also may find themselves wondering who they are and who they want to be (de Klerk 2000:202; Rudwick 2008: 111-112).

The ways in which learners of the former Model C schools speak and present themselves, including emotional tone, body language and silences is often criticized in their black communities. As with Fanon's black skins/white masks, 'coconut' was a metaphor for perceived black identification with white – the 'coconut' being brown on the outside and

white inside. Girls could also be accused of violating ‘culture’ and embracing whiteness for being too sexual. It seemed that by criticising the ways they were policed by their parents/mothers in relation to sexuality, and by idealising white parents’/mothers’ presumed liberalism, black girls risked being accused of cultural violation (Pattman and Bhana 2006).

Referring to students as coconuts has an emotional dimension which could be attributed to ‘Xhosas/blacks’ being jealous of other ‘black’ peoples’ economic triumphs or access to better education. The term “coconut” is often used disparagingly to describe black township young residents who assume the cultural capital such as accent, dress or slang associated with whiteness (Salo, Ribas, Lopes & Zamboni 2010). Ndimande (2004) studied the relationship between language and identity with respect to African languages in South African higher education context. Accordingly, higher education institutions in South Africa admit both students from multiracial (private) and government (public) schools. There is a relationship discrepancy or asymmetry amongst these groups of students.

Those that studied in multiracial schools display a greater degree of fluency in English whereas their counterparts from the government schools do not. Learners from multiracial schools tend to regard those from government schools as inferior to them. They look down upon them, and tend to discriminate against those who are not fluent in English or who take African languages at university. This, therefore, creates unfriendly relationship between them (Ndimande 2004).

Students from government school end up feeling inferior about their identity as Africans. Those who choose not to code-switch or decide to stick to their monolingual varieties are assumed to be less proficient in English. Those who are having high levels of proficiency in English do not want to accommodate others who have lower levels of proficiency. The impact of this discriminatory practice is seen in the lecturing staff for African languages being looked down upon. They end up abandoning qualifications and advancing research on African languages: they decide to pursue studies in disciplines such as tourism and

business administration to avoid stigma (Ndimande, 2004). Clearly this anomaly has serious implications for the future of African languages, African identity and social cohesion.

Conversing in English only had had its prejudice and that the returnees were thus somewhat indirectly forced to learn or improve their Xhosa. Mandisi's Xhosa developed through communicating with people. He never attended any special classes or courses. His acquisition or development of this language was done purely by trial and error. Basically, Mzala claims to have never spoken Xhosa before coming to South Africa. He explained in the interview how difficult it was to interact with people through the medium of English. Today, Mzala speaks Xhosa with an effort, but his Xhosa is very much indicative of someone who has learnt the language at a late stage.

Generally, Mzala's speech is running short of inflections and he employs certain verbs and phrases improperly. The example below illustrates the point made about his speech:

Kwati xakubonwa ukuti amajoni ayapela kwatwa sizakutata nina laba ndikutreyine niyokulwa phaya koMalawi. Kwakungabo 79. Xandibuya khona ndati hayi kwanele.

[Appropriate Xhosa version: Xa kufunyaniswa inani lamajoni liyehla ayaphela kwathiwa sizakutrain nina niyokuncedisa eMalawi. Kwakungabo (19)79. Ekuyeni kwam ndagqiba kwelokuba kwanele.]

[Translation: When they realised that there is a need for more soldiers as the number was decreasing we were trained and asked to go and assist in Malawi. It was in 1979. When we returned back I resigned – I could not take it anymore.]

Mzala's use of Xhosa is characterized by frequent morphological omissions and non-native-like pronunciation. He tends to omit "h" in consonant cluster in *sizakuthatha*. Aspirated words lose their aspiration which can lead to a change in meaning as in "*sizakutata*". The meaning here becomes "we are coming to our father" whereas he meant, "we are going to take" (*sizakuthatha*). He said the people do not want to give him a chance. His physique and speech make people think he is a foreigner. Mzala is tall and

very dark in complexion. He noted that often people in Khayelitsha sarcastically and mockingly repeat what he says, as if he is a child trying to learn the language. This display of disregard happens despite his physical appearance telling that he might have non-South African or non-Xhosa background.

Makhakha said his motivation to learn Xhosa is to know more about traditional use of the language so that, as a man, he could be able to perform rituals in his father's absence. He maintained that with cultural and relevant linguistic knowledge he can perform rituals properly. Austin (1962:14-15) cited in Thomas (1995:37) lists the following conditions for successful speech acts: (1) there must be a conventional procedure having a conventional effect, (2) the circumstances and persons must be appropriate, (3) the procedure must be executed (i) correctly, (ii) completely. These conditions are called 'felicity conditions' and seemingly apply to various linguistic and cultural domains.

In a traditional Xhosa homestead when one enters the room it is expected from him or her to greet in a very dignified and respectful manner. It is important to address the elders first and ask what they were doing. One is expected to start conversation and background information will be shared before going to the purpose of the visit. This condition is expected of both the visitor and host. To just greet and start addressing the purpose of the visit is perceived as disrespectful and abrasive. However, most of the returnees are straightforward and appear to care little about such rural antics. Since first impressions last, Xhosa speakers examine one's approach critically, and it is even extremely crucial in Khayelitsha where the majority of people come from the rural areas. This pragmatic competence can determine whether one is cultured or not.

6.4 Untutored vs Tutored Bilingualism

South Africans born in exile found it necessary for them to acquire a type of Xhosa that would make them communicate in Khayelitsha. However, their situation is different from the rest of the makeshift or an artificial language. They have ample contact with Xhosa (as they live in an environment rich in Xhosa) and are socio-economically not more marginalised than the Xhosa speakers in Khayelitsha are. Their competence varies

particularly in respect of the time and age in which they arrived. Those who came early and had attended school in South Africa, speak Xhosa fairly well.

Bulelwa said, “Xhosa is the language I learnt on my arrival. I use Xhosa when I speak to Xhosas. But my accent and my Xhosa got people to ask me where I was coming from that I do not speak Xhosa very well. Then, I would explain”. Theories of second language acquisitions have been advanced in relation to tutored and untutored second language acquisition. The dominant view on second language acquisition is rather what one might label the target deviation perspective:

- A. There is a well-defined *target* of the acquisition process—the language to be learned. As any real language is a clearly fixed entity—perfectly mastered by those who have learned it in childhood and who are thus competent to judge— and is more or less correctly described in grammars and dictionaries.
- B. Second language learners usually *miss* this target to varying degrees—they make errors in production as well as in comprehension, or they process the language in ways different from those of native speakers (Klein & Dimroth 2009).

Moreover, Klein and Dimroth (2009) argue that labour immigrants, for example, primarily learn by daily interaction to the exclusion of certain amount of tuition. Classroom learning, on the other hand, can be interrupted or complemented by communicative interaction with a target language community. Some teaching methods can be more grammar oriented or more communication oriented. They suggested that three important factors should be considered regarding language acquisition: (1) access to the system, (2) communication pressure and (3) systematic external control.

In untutored acquisition, the learner has access to the target language by everyday communication. The sounds (or graphic representations) of the language are embedded in a relevant context, and from this material, the learner derives how sound and meaning are coupled and how complex expressions are formed from simple ones. However, in tutored acquisition, such material is preprocessed in different ways. In the extreme case, the

learner is initially offered only a metalinguistic description and some illustrative examples.

In relation to communication pressure, immigrant workers rapidly find themselves in situations in which they cannot wait for the relevant structures to be acquired in the exact target language way. Instead, the copied raw material has to be used immediately for communicative purposes, and the expressive means of a rather limited repertoire have to be extended as far as possible. A silent period like the one encountered in first language acquisition might be beneficial for language learning (Krashen 1981; Slobin, 1993), but is often no option for adult immigrant learners who have to survive in the second language speaking community (Klein and Dimroth 2009).

Outside the classroom, the learner has two ways to control his or her success: (a) Do I understand, am I understood? (b) Do I have the impression that my way of speaking is exactly like that of the others? In the classroom, there is a teacher who permanently checks to which extent the learners' performance agrees with the target norms. Clearly, this gives the copying faculty a much higher weight than in untutored acquisition. As a consequence, one should expect that—everything else being equal—tutored learners are better in copying than untutored learners, and if ultimate attainment is measured in this way, then classroom learners should have an advantage here.

There is a relationship between input (learning) and output (production) in second language learning. Hall, Smith and Wicaksono (2011) offer a fecund presentation of the Vygotskian view on the intersection of input and output theories in the Second Language Acquisition (SLA):

In Vygotsky's view, social interactions not only lay a context for second language learning but also cause second language development. It is social interactions, neither isolated input nor isolated output, that causes SLA, because in Vygotsky's world, there is no pure input or output, and they are links and loops of social interactions. Input and output cannot be separated but are mutually dependent.

Before teachers give input to learners, teachers often first assess learners' present language competence by their output. Output may demonstrate in the form of speaking, writing, or test taking. On the basis of learners' present output, teachers also anticipate their potential in order to plan and modify tasks and instructions accordingly. In this way, the initial input is linked with output. During the process of learning, input is often shaped by output. Teachers often rephrase or modify their instruction according to learners' response. Input may be simplified if questions and misunderstanding arise (Min 2006).

The Vygotskian zone of proximal development (ZPD) maintains that there is a region between what an individual's "actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving" and the higher level of "potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (1978:86). In other words, the ZPD is an area between what one can perform on his or her own and what one can perform with assistance from a tutor.

Chaiklin (2003) introduces the three Vygotskian assumptions, namely: (i) *generality assumption* (applicable to learning all kinds of subject matter), (ii) *assistance assumption* (learning is dependent on interventions by a more competent other), and (iii) *potential assumption* (property of learner, which enables best and easiest learning). Relevant to this study is the second assumption which marks a symbiotic relationship between an adult speaker and the novice. The returnees lacked assistance from the Xhosa speakers who would have improved their potential to master the target language through tutoring or mentoring.

Therefore, ZPD in the context of the returnees' acquisition of Xhosa was not fully recognised and fully operationalised since many of the returnees' did not enroll for the Xhosa studies. Their acquisition can be characterised by a "pick-and-go enculturation model" where learning happens spontaneously without a tutor or adult mentor. This Vygotskian social interaction principle might have applied to Makhakha who attended

Xhosa school. He now speaks the language without dint of foreignness. His accent is fine.

Becker (2007) provides that there are three main factors leading to successful L2 acquisition process, namely: (i) the motivation of the learner, (ii) the exposure to the second language and (iii) the learner's efficiency. Garcia and Hasson (1991) cited in Cote (2004) regard "a comfortable, nurturing environment" as supremely important in promoting communication and that a "stress-free" with "low anxiety atmosphere" will facilitate the language acquisition process. Cote (2004) believes that the more positive relationship with the native speakers and the learner the more the will learn the target language.

What happens in language learners' minds, according to Hall *et al.* (2011), embraces individual differences, such as aptitude and motivation. Also crucial to note is the fact that the people around the learner can either promote or retard the acquisition of target language. Mandisi, unlike other returnees who came to South Africa as an adult, speaks a great deal of Xhosa, and mixes it appropriately with English. His case is a special one in an environment that is hostile for the returnees and foreigners.

Possibly, Mandisi's outgoing character, his ability to easily make friends and perhaps not allowing negativity to dissuade him are perhaps one of the reasons why he has achieved a lot in learning Xhosa. The following utterance has been extracted from Mandisi's interview and it shows how advanced he has gotten in his acquisition of Xhosa:

Xhosa sam was not that good. I just had to improve. Ndingatsho ndithi "my Xhosa wasn't in the same stage as it is now". In exile, besisithetha Xhosa kancinci, ntonje sasisidibanisa with other languages. I thought xa sibuyela ekhaya we thought we were just going to pick it up in the street or sifunde xa abantu besthetha anyway.

[**Translation:** My Xhosa was not that good. I just had to improve. I could now say it confidently, "my Xhosa wasn't in the same stage as it is now". In exile, we spoke a bit of Xhosa kancinci though it was mixed with other languages. I thought upon returning home we were just going to pick it up in the street or learn when other people are speaking anyway.]

Regarding the above scenario three issues come to mind: (i) the little Xhosa Mandisi spoke in exile was mixed; (ii) he thought he was going to pick Xhosa from the street and/or learn it while people are speaking; and (iii) the environment in which languages were used in exile might have given Mandisi that relaxed attitude that could just learn Xhosa anyhow or anywhere.

6.5 Code switching

The type of Xhosa the returnees learnt is largely mixed because it is happening in an urban area (Cape Town). That enables them to switch between different codes. Literature shows that code switching is a common alternative for all bilinguals (Gumperz 1982; Swann 2000; Nilep 2006; Slabbert & Finlayson 2000; Snow 1998). ‘Code-switching’ is defined by Gumperz (1982:64) as the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical and lexical systems or subsystems. Swann (2000: 148-9) refers to code-switching as a form of language variation, or language use prevalent in societies where more than one language is spoken, because the communities are bi- or multilingual.

Code-switching is an alternate use of more than one language that can occur at the morphemic, lexical, phrasal, clausal and sentential levels. It is often used to convey certain meanings or to negotiate certain rights among the interlocutors. According to Nilep (2006) a useful definition of code switching for sociocultural linguistic analysis “should recognise it as an alternation in the form of communication that signals a context in which the linguistic contribution can be understood. The ‘context’ so signaled may be very local (such as the end of a turn at talk), very general (such as positioning vis-à-vis some macro-sociological category), or anywhere in between”.

With the ever-increasing appreciation of education, modernisation and the enrichment of languages contexts which allow for the switching or mixing of linguistic codes have become many and varied. Slabbert and Finlayson (2000: 120-125) indicate that one’s competence in a multiplicity of languages and language varieties is indicated in the use of

complex code-switching patterns which can be both inter and intrasentential, within and between conversational turns.

Basically, Snow (1998) provides four reasons for code-switching, namely: (i) code-switches are often considered evidence that bilingual speakers do not speak either language very well, (ii) the speaker has forgotten or does not know the word in the language spoken, (iii) both speakers know the language but have experienced a sort of bilingual slip of tongue, and (iv) code-switches are common in families where two languages are spoken and the speaker selects the words from either language that best express the intent.

Gardner and Lambert (1972) are cited by Snow (1998) proposing two motivating factors contributing to the acquisition of second language: integrative motivation and instrumental motivation. The former refers to the desire for the speaker identify with the culture of the target language whilst the latter addresses the motivation speakers develop to learn the target language – possibly to get a good job or pass an exam or work much better in a current job. Accordingly, these factors are a predictor of L2 learning progress.

Snow (1998) further highlights the existence of five groups of researchers who have contributed to the understanding of second language acquisition. These groups are: (i) the teachers who were worried about students' progress, (ii) child-language researchers who are concerned about whether second language acquisition is similar to first language acquisition, (iii) linguistics who wanted to use second language acquisition to test the notions about language universals, (iv) psycholinguists who were interested in language processing issues, and (v) sociolinguists and anthropologists interested in how languages is used in social settings.

Socio-cultural approaches to second language acquisition are of great importance for this study. These approaches take the societal context of bilingualism into consideration. Snow (1998) states for sociologists, social psychologists, anthropologists and sociolinguists “language use is tied closely to personal identity, cultural identification,

national or ethnic pride, to specific communicative tasks, and to a set of attitudes and beliefs influence the course of second language acquisition.” Auer (2011) sums code-switching or codemixing up comprehensively in the following excerpt:

Code-switching/mixing receives its social function and meaning from a complex interacting dimensions, among them the prestige and value of the varieties involved on the linguistic market, the social powers that regulate this market, the specific constellations of majority/minorities (or centre/periphery) within a society that relate to these forms of power, the accessibility of language resources, and the ideologies around these languages, and their (bilingual/ monolingual) use (Auer, 2011:464).

In most cases, people apply code switching in informal speech contexts. It is a speech used by cohesive minority groups in modern urbanised regions who speak the native tongue at home while using the majority language at work. Sometimes, these individuals live in situations of rapid transition where traditional intergroup barriers are changing and breaking down. In addition, motivation is perhaps to find words to express what they want to say in one or the other code (Rothman 2008).

The richness of linguistic repertoire allows the returnees to use more than one language at home. Makhakha, for example, said that he speaks Swahili with his mother and brother. In the community, amongst friends, he speaks in Xhosa. Sindiswa, Mandisi, Bulelwa and Nono use Nyanja when they are talking to each other, but switch to Xhosa as soon as somebody else comes into sight since they do not want anyone to feel discriminated against or think that they might be gossiping. Bulelwa is a hair stylist and talks to a number of women in the area either in Xhosa, English, Sotho or Tswana. They also speak Nyanja or Swahili when their cousins or friends from abroad visit them in Khayelitsha.

Lucky said he visited Zambia twice (i.e. in 2000 and 2005) since his return to South Africa in 1991. He said he felt more linguistically comfortable and appreciated in Zambia than in South Africa. However, he also indicated that he does not harbor any feeling of going away from South Africa. Lucky said he speaks Xhosa and English at home. Refer to the following table for code-switching patterns and contexts for the returnees.

Table 10: Code switching patterns

Speakers	Language and Domain
Lucky	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Xhosa and English at home and around Khayelitsha and Gugulethu where he has friends. • Nyanja with cousins from Zambia and when he visits his grandmother and family in Mumbwa (Zambia).
Bulelwa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nyanja, English and Swahili at home, but switches over to Xhosa or Zulu or Sotho or Tswana depending on her client as she has home business. • In the streets she speaks Xhosa and speaks English at work.
Makhakha	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mixes Xhosa and Swahili at home. • Xhosa among friends and colleagues at school. • Swahili with his brother.
Vinolia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nyanja, English and Swahili at home, but switches to Xhosa or Zulu when the local people enter into the house. • Nyanja or Swahili with people from Zambia or Tanzania. • Xhosa in church • English and a bit of Xhosa with her children
Mzala	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Xhosa, Swahili and English with the family • Swahili with people from Tanzania • Xhosa in the streets, but indicated that sometimes the people do not comprehend what he tries to say.
Sindiswa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English and Xhosa at home, especially with children • English with her husband • English and Nyanja with her friends and people from abroad
Nono	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mixes Xhosa, English and Nyanja at home • Nyanja with her first child • Xhosa in the street and speaks English at work
Mandisi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho and Tswana depending on the type of people he is socialising with • Nyanja and English with people from Zambia • Swahili with people from Tanzania • German with people from German speaking countries

Apparently, those returnees who were born in Zambia and had to go to Tanzania at a later stage demonstrate linguistic diversity and communicative versatility. Xhosa is featuring

in their linguistic wealth and has been integrated into their home registers. For instance, during the time of research Vinolia was trying to prevent her three-year-old son from endangering himself, as he was fiddling with the tablecloth as there was a pot boiling on top of the table and she retorted, *Suka apha! Yeka!*, “Get out of there! Stop it” *Akubona ukuthi uzakutsha yimbiza le?* (“Get out of there! Stop it! Don’t you see that the pot will fall and burn you out?”).

Children of the returnees speak Xhosa in the streets and mix it with English at home. Therefore, mixing seems viable. Effectively, when returnees talk with people who do not understand foreign languages such as Nyanja or Swahili, English and Xhosa are used. Implicated in the decision is to avoid being labeled as foreigners and to show consideration and respect to strangers. This situation has been the same since their arrival in the early 1990’s. Learning Xhosa to the returnees serves three principal purposes: (i) to access and be accessible to the Xhosa community; (ii) to protect themselves from being classified arbitrarily as foreigners and therefore be discriminated; and then (iii) to prepare a better linguistic and social future for their children.

Due to rise in worldwide immigration and increasing establishment of ethnic minorities socio-linguistic and psycholinguistic challenges have emerged. In a globalised society, a great responsibility rests with everybody to reconsider their approach and methodology to immigrants and ethnic minorities to allow space for multilingualism and multiculturalism to proliferate and reflect the richness of their social spheres. Globalisation phenomena compel everyone to seek a better integration of sociolinguistics, discourse analysis and social theory. Such integration requires an empirical program that addresses language diversity and interaction in their situated co-occurrence as well as language hierarchy and systemic processes holding across situations and transcending localities (Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck 2005).

CHAPTER SEVEN BELONGING AND IDENTITY

7.1 Conception of Home

The history of South Africa is characterised by broken families, broken dreams and seemingly irreconcilable ethnic and racial differences. Life is now lived by many South Africans from the perspective of never going back to the past. But a journey into the future is fraught with its own challenges and misgivings. “How to deal with a divisive past is considered by some to be a test and opportunity for unifying nation-building while others view the very exercise as deepening old cleavages” (Moodley & Adam 2000).

Nostalgia about the past is something realistically affecting everybody in the society. It stretches people across two countries. For the South Africans who were exiled in the 1960s and 70s the desire to come back home was extraordinarily alive and very symbolic. It symbolised a multiplicity of reality with a variety of meanings. In an attempt to remembering what was like back home, Akhtar (1999:125) characterises a situation where cultural artifacts from back home, pieces of native music and poetry readily evoke tears of aching pride and affection among those exiled.

Cultural activities served as a reminder to those nostalgic and home sick about the value and beauty of what their countries could offer. In respect of the South Africans abroad, according to the returnees (South Africans born in exile) cultural activities (dance, music, drama, etc.) were organised to teach them (children of freedom fighters) many things about South Africa (their home country). These activities were performed in different countries in Europe and around the world. Mandisi conceded:

We learnt different types of South African dances. We would perform indlamu nomxhentso. Zambians were also invited and sometimes them kwezabo. Thina ke ikakhulu sasisenza ezalapha eKhaya. Kwakubamnandi nje. It was a great mix.

[**Translation:** We learnt different types of South African dances. We would perform Zulu traditional dance called “indlamu” and Xhosa dance called “umxhentso”. Zambians were also invited and sometimes we would join their activities. But we were, in the main, doing our own South African cultural activities. Those were joyful moments. It was a great mix.]

From the above excerpt two fundamental experiences can be drawn. Firstly, South Africans in exile decided keep themselves and their children reminded of their country of birth. This is a strategic way of culturally educating their children about much more than South African politics, military struggle and economics. Inducting children in the South African cultural way of life was designed to assist their children, upon returning home, to integrate into the South African life, as hope and possibility to return did not fade away. Secondly, South African cultural activities served as a therapy to those home sick and the children who had harboured a great interest in visiting or living in South Africa beyond apartheid.

When the reality of repatriation and of finally coming back home dawned it was a dream come true to those South Africans who were waiting. It began with a remarkable announcement made by President De Klerk, in February 1990, to release the political prisoners and lift the banning orders placed in the 1960s upon political organisations which opposed the apartheid government. Leaders such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Govan Mbeki, Dennis Goldberg and others walked from many years of imprisonment to freedom.

The release of political prisoners marked a historic turn around in the political landscape of the country. The fact that the apartheid government was prepared to negotiate changes to their system of governance epitomised a political and social shift where a dawn of hope for the African National Congress (ANC), Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and other liberation movements as well as South Africans at home and abroad who had for many years fought for freedom.

Gready (2003:226) describes a moment like that as the one of choice and acknowledgement in relation to articulations of home and identity. There were those who

felt so overwhelmed by the idea of going back home and others were happy with how they have lived their lives abroad and felt home could not going to offer much to their well-being. They remained abroad because they have lost hope in the ability of all South Africans to live side by side given the long protracted hideous history of colonialism and apartheid.

The unbanning of political parties gave the exiled South Africans an opportunity to articulate and emphasise their identity as South Africans. They wanted to come home. For their children who were born outside the idea of going back to home was not entirely a celebrated one because some were not sure of the situation for which they were heading. Nonetheless, from 1991 onwards, exiled South Africans were repatriated back into their country of origin. They were excited about the possibility to build something new – a democratic South Africa premised on constitutionalism, patriotism, human rights and justice for all.

Immediately, the ANC evoked and extolled the principles enshrined in the Freedom Charter which, according to Senzangakhona *et al.* (2001), captured the hopes and dreams of the people and acted as a blueprint for the liberation struggle and the future nation. The future meant integration of races and all peoples of South Africa under one national heritage. However, there was no actual plan of integration of all South African races as well as accommodation of those who went to exile. Despite the excitement of finally making it home, they might have been conscious of challenges they were going to face.

According to Howell (1999:163) any migration contains elements of traumatic separation. It is a peeling off of the customary – the predictable comfort of the life lived routinely for many years to that which was left behind or that is unfamiliar. Ghanem (2003:8-9) argues that the returnees (exiled people) might feel alienated in their country of origin. This has a special bearing on their reintegration because when the returnees go back to their country of origin their personality grapples with coming to terms with the social settings and the potential changes in their respective homes.

It is expected for people who stayed in other countries away from home to find a lot changed partly due to being used to ways of life in their host countries or because of developments that might have taken place in their countries of birth while they were absent. In particular those born in exile grew up in societies which might have been totally different from South Africa. They never knew how it was to grow up in their own country. They only had access to life back home through representation from stories told by elders or teachers at school, particularly those who studied at Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO) in Tanzania.

Fathers who were members of *Umkhonto weSizwe* might have been the source of these stories about South Africa. To the returnees South Africa was seen a majestic place, full of promises for the future. Their teachers (mainly South Africans at SOMAFACO) had told them wonderful stories about the country. Vinolia states that she liked the idea of finally coming to South Africa. Her teachers at the SOMAFACO told lots of good things about South Africa. She said:

I was very excited about coming back to South Africa. So much we heard from our teachers about this country. It was like a land out of this world. A world not on earth! So, that got me interested. I thought wow! I have got a father who is South African. So, I qualify. I did not think of anything else.

Gready (2003:193) characterises home as that which means childhood, youth and family. In other words, one “cannot think of anything else” but home as place of growth, protection, comfort and compassion. For the returnees the conception of home meant more since unlike some of their parents they (returnees) were entitled to two homes (one in exile and the other in their fathers’ country of birth). Nono, Mandisi, Sindiswa, Lucky and Vinolia indicated they lived mostly with their mothers. They would have often enjoyed hearing and learning more about South Africa. This was partly because they (returnees) could not spend much time with their fathers because of their fathers were busy with the *Umkhonto weSizwe*.

Unfortunately, non-South African mothers could not tell them much about South Africa because they had never visited South Africa before. The exception was Bulelwa whose father was Zambian and mother South African. So, her mother could narrate to her stories about growing up in South Africa. Nonetheless, all the returnees indicated that what was dominating in the narratives of home (South Africa) was the political system (apartheid) which made it impossible for the black people to lead free and comfortable lives without being harassed, tortured, imprisoned, killed or exiled.

7.2 Upon Arriving at Home in South Africa

Bowlyby et al (1997) and Giddens (1985) cited in Lucas and Purkayastha (2007:244) provide a basic definition of home as a physical structure that provides shelter. A house, apartment, condominium, institution or trailer is an example of a home. In addition, beyond a physical space, home embodies specific feelings of safety, familiarity, comfort, love and belonging. While the returnees had found comfort, shelter, love and safety in their places of birth, they were excited when they heard that they were returning “home”.

Lucky who came to South Africa when he was seven years from Lusaka (Zambia) in 1991 describes how everybody’s rejoiced after finally making it ‘home’ (South Africa). He said they spent a couple of days in a hotel in Johannesburg before dispersing to their respective places. He remembers:

Sasuka eLusaka sayakutsho eJohannesburg. Sahlala ke apho iintsuku eHotel. Kulapho kwakufikele khona bonke ababese-exile. Safikela apho sibaninzi. Hayi kwakumnandi bonke abantu ababefike kulahotel yayingabantu ababesuka e-exile kwiindawo ezi-different. I-most yabantu babeyi-enjoy-a gqithi la-day. Sasicula. Bonke abantu be-happy!

[**Translation:** From Lusaka we went to Johannesburg where we stayed a couple of days in a hotel. It was where everybody from exile gathered. There were many of us from different places in exile. It was a very nice day. Most people enjoyed that day very much. We were dancing and singing. Everybody was very happy!]

One can imagine the returnees’ feeling of euphoria, a gratification that finally a long

history of racial animosity has really come to an end to give way to fresh life in a post apartheid society. Lucky observed that everybody including their parents were happy, singing and dancing. This gives an indication that there is no substitute for home.

Coming back home after many years of exile can bring back a lot of memories – ones parents, relatives, people in the community, life and death regarding those left behind. This movement back home was not only about enjoyment to some adults, as they were not entirely sure about the conditions to which they would be arriving. Makhakha who came to South Africa at the age of eleven said his father left the family and decided to come to South Africa alone just to make sure things were right first:

Utata waye wasishiya weza eSouth Africa. Wayezekujonga ukuba imeko injani na ngoba sasiqhubeka sibona kudutyulwana kumbhombiswa. Sasingekayiqondi eyonanto yenzekayo ngethuba abanye abantu behamba. Wahlala ixesha elide elingange 6 years. Sasesicinga into yokuba asinakuze siphinde simbone.

[**Translation:** My father left us for South Africa. He came to check if things were okay. On television we saw lots of bombings and gun shots. We were not sure of what was happening when many people were leaving. He stayed longer; for about 6 years not coming back. We thought we were never going to see him again.]

Ghanem (2003:19) characterises the evolution of one's perception of 'home' as follows: "one's relationship to his/her country of origin varies from one individual to another". A poignant mixture of pain and joy was stirred up by the accompanying wish to recapture an idealised past. Those returning home often have their consciousness wrapped in the sense of recollection and remembrance. This means that they had no job guaranteed for them, no insurance, and uncertainty about the financial and mental preparation of those who were to receive them back at home.

The sojourners usually experience two types of pain. One is caused by the remembrance of their past negative experiences which led to their circumstances of exile, and the other is generated by the knowledge uncertainty of the fantasy of reunion.

Gready (2003:234) states that exiles married foreigners and/or raised their children abroad. This means they established families that had different understandings of home. These families were actually richer than other families, as the children have two home countries. South Africans born in Tanzania and Zambia (the subjects of the research) claim that at least they were made aware, as they were growing up, that they belonged in a country different from which they were born. When the time came in 1991 that they needed to pack their belongings and head 'home' some were enthusiastic whereas others treated the matter with great caution.

Anne Wolpe who was exiled in Great Britain as an adult had to couple excitement with identity re-evaluation. In the following passage she characterises her own experience of living away from the country of birth for 27 years:

Harold and I have been twenty-seven years in England, and I've been at the Poly for the past 22 of them. Our daughters Peta and Tessa were six and five when they arrived in London. Nicholas was only a baby in arms when he followed one month later, and we have all been proclaiming my connection to South Africa, a country I have hated passionately for years for what it has done to me and my family. I am confused. I thought I would never live to see the day when I could visit my country...Now all this has changed. The chance of 'going home' filled my consciousness. A middle-aged, middle-Class white woman, walking with the aid of a stick, speaking English with only the slightest trace of South African accents (Wolpe 1994:3-4).

Mixed feelings about returning home found an expression in those who maintained that they were not entirely delighted about the prospect of life in an unfamiliar country. In the case of children, according to Gready (2003:134), they were cut off from the life that they were used to. To them the return of parents often represented abandonment, betrayal, disruption of their lives and division of social world.

Actually, homecoming destroyed the life that enabled the children of freedom fighters to survive in exile. Sindiswa describes the experience of her parents coming back home after they both went abroad to join the MK and fight back. She said MK provided a home and hope to those who went in exile. She recounted:

When I was told I was coming to South Africa, I was not excited. I did not know to which home I was being taken. I had no idea why we had to leave. From television I always saw South Africa filled with bullets. My father had always had a wish of coming to die in this country. I was scared. My parents looked much happy. But when they touched base in Johannesburg, I looked at my father and mother I realised they were not very excited anymore. My father and my mother did not leave South Africa because of politics. I am the product of mixed marriages. They went away because of mixed marriages [Coloured mother and Xhosa father]. My father is originally coming from Mount Fletcher and my mother comes from Milburg in an area formerly known as Transvaal. My mother never went to Mount Fletcher. When my father left the country he was already staying in Cape Town. He was studying in Langa when he joined politics.

Sindiswa's father is Xhosa and mother is coloured. The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 (McKinley 1997:14; Johnson 2005:141-144; Giliomee 2003:513), made it difficult for them to live together given the fact that black people were not allowed in certain areas. The racial tension sown between the communities during apartheid could not have afforded Sindiswa's parents any liberty to sustain their relationship. It is indicated that Sindiswa's father joined politics in Langa as a student. Clearly, his decision to go into exile was based on more than just wanting to sustain a mixed marriage.

Lucky remembers how it initially felt to be told that his family was moving to South Africa. He just heard about South Africa, but his father was always not at home to tell him more about the reality of life at home. His father was involved in the MK, and would be absent for many months. When they were told to pack their bags and head for South Africa, Lucky said:

Yho, ndandi-sad ukumka kwam ngoba ndandisele ndineefriends ezininzi pha. Enye into ndandisiva ngaleSouth Africa, ndandingayzi ukuba yindawo enjani. All of a sudden kwathiwa masipakishe, makuhanjwe.

[**Translation:** Well, I was sad to leave because I had so many friends there [Lusaka]. Another thing about this South Africa was that I was not sure what kind of place it was. All of a sudden we were told to pack our bags and go.]

Lucas and Purkayastha (2007:247) compound the description of home by arguing that transnational experiences define the two places that are located in different countries. Effectively, those who are born in one country and move to another would experience transnational identity which affords them the benefits of dual homes. However, people with dual identity or dual citizenship and/or dual homes can be split into two personalities – nostalgic on one hand and optimistic on the other hand.

Some of the South Africans born in exile who have settled in their South African homes are still missing a lot about life and food back in their places of birth in exile. Vinolia who earlier had accounted for her good feeling about coming ‘home’ now describes waking up to the reality of a different life in the following extract:

Here (South Africa), I tasted food I did not know. Food where I come from was natural – no added chemicals. It is organic food such green banana, different types of green vegetables, beans, mango and wild food we just picked.

People who are nostalgic will always compare aspects of life between the two countries. They will always find an imaginary refuge in the positive aspects of life in their birth place once they are confronted with challenges in their target home country. For instance, Vinolia compared South Africa to Zambia and Tanzania. She said “where I grew up there was no rape and not much violence”. She said only heard about the scale of such things upon her arrival in South Africa.

Mandisi who came to South Africa as an adult (31 years old) feels that crime is the most serious issue to deal with in South Africa. He has been a victim of two criminal activities, where in the first instance he was robbed of his money, and in the second, his car was stolen. Bulelwa, who returned at the age of 20, was born in a suburban area of Lusaka. Her mother is Tswana and father is Zambian. She regards herself as South African because she came ‘home’ with her mother after the death of her father. Not that in Zambia she was not welcome, but she felt it was logical for her to come with her mother in 1991. Bulelwa lives with her exile friends in Khayelitsha, and she said this about Zambians and South Africans:

Another difference is that people do not have manners here. People in Zambia are disciplined and respectful. Zambians are quiet people by nature. I am a Christian. I believe in the Lord. My background and Lusaka is dominated by Christians.

Ironically, respect and discipline is something that is taught to people in South Africa from an early age. It is arguably one of the values emphasized most often to children and adults respectively due to its being a major tenet of the philosophy of *ubuntu*. Underscored by the philosophy of *ubuntu* is ‘humanness’, ‘allegiance to the people’, ‘respect’, ‘bond amongst the people’, ‘unity’, etc. The use of ‘I’ in the second and third sentence indicates a strong personal feeling of association with Zambia and a great disapproval of the behavior of South Africans as they were supposed to be practicing *ubuntu* toward the foreigners. Here Bulelwa fervently identifies herself with discipline and Christian values.

Bulelwa’s perception of the way that many South Africans treat foreigners stands in stark contrast to the deep-seated Christian values many people in South Africa are believed to possess. She said it is not easy for them to mingle with South Africans where they live. Because they are staying in a place dedicated for people from exile, they would only get along with people with whom they were in exile.

7.3 “We are leading our own lives”

According to Gready (2003:233-234) homecoming just like exile combines both rebirth and death. It symbolises a death of dreams and images of home. Returnees’ dreams of good life and of South Africa as the place to be got destroyed by the little integration and acceptance they have achieved in the community of Khayelitsha. It was also the beginning of new life for them. Exile is then abandoned to the reality of something entirely different.

Moreover, there is a discrepancy between what the exile returns with and what others expect him/her to return with. For instance, some families often expect the returnees to

bring some money to provide at home. But as far as the returnees are concerned that was not to be. They were coming from countries that were not as rich and developed South Africa. This can be proven by the fact that not only South Africans returned, but also people from various African states came in search of better economic opportunities. Transition to democracy has led to South Africa being the dominant economic power in the continent and, as such, South Africa has become an attractive destination for millions of African foreigners, in particular, those coming from the neighbouring states (Ngwaila 2011).

In countries like Afghanistan repatriation of refugees into that country has displayed a number of challenges. Altai Consulting (2006) was commissioned by the International Labour Office and the UNHRC to study the situation of Afghan returnees and their integration patterns in the Afghan labour market. It is stated that in the last 25 years, Afghanistan had experienced massive population displacement due to ex-Soviet Union invasion of 1979, the civil war, and the Taliban regime. Over six million people left the country.

However, after the fall of the Taliban regime in November 2001, many refugees returned. Approximately 4.5 million had returned in last 4 years; with some are occupying the lowest levels of the social ladder, still isolated in returnee settlements, and not fully integrated. Others who had gained some skill in exile are in high power positions and the current democratic context has allowed them to gain tremendous power. Therefore, they influence the reconstruction process, and improve their financial situation (Altai Consulting 2006:4-6).

In the same line of reasoning, in South Africa, the undercurrent of repatriation pattern was characterised by lots of challenges for the returnees and local people. Among other things, the question of accommodation, identity, integration, and inclusion/exclusion became paramount. In many situations the returnees are still fighting a struggle for recognition in the communities where they live. At times the returnees might wish to become part of local communities, but they generally end up getting alienated. Mzala, a

brother to Makhakha, came to find his father. He did not wish to disclose his identity, as people were hostile. He said:

Ndikhumbula ngetuba siseJo'burg endingamkwazi kuyiteta Xhosa naluphina ulwimi laseSouth Africa except English. I was here to search for my father whom I was told he was somewhere in Umtata. Bendicinga one could just go there and ask people around. Kubenzima ngoba abanye betu were thrown out of the moving trains. I could not ask anybody as that would have suggested ukuthi ndingubani; ndisuka phi. Ndakheta ukutula ndibe ndedwa.

[**Translation:** I remember the time I was in Johannesburg. I could not speak Xhosa or any South African language except English. I was here to search for my father who I was told he was somewhere in Umtata. I thought you can go there and ask people around. It was difficult because I saw some of us (people who were born in other African states) were getting the thrown out of the moving trains. I could not ask anybody as that would have suggested who I was and where I come from. I decided to keep quiet and be isolated]

In certain instances, one never forgets, as stated earlier, who he or she is, and where he or she comes from. There will always be a feeling of wanting to go back home particularly when things go wrong. At the heart of home lies the need to belong. Home is the most precious possession, and is everything the exile is not: security, a haven of the familiar, yet obscene and unlivable (Gready 2003: 220). Conditions which prompted certain South Africans to exile were unendurable. Coming back to one's home country which purports to be peaceful and getting confronted with animosity and violence (people killed or thrown out of trains) makes a dream of coming back home impossible.

Experiences of violence can affect and alienate people who come from a background where violence was limited. Ward and Rana-Deuba (2000:293) state that in all probabilities both home and host national relations are capable of affecting the psychological adjustment of sojourners. Their access to host and co-nationals and the quality of interaction is likely to influence that adjustment. In order for the returnees to survive they needed to devise new methods. If there are certain aspects of life that seem too unfamiliar adjustment can be difficult.

According to Boyarin and Boyarin (2005:86) group identity has been constructed in two ways. These refer to the product of a common genealogical origin and that, which is produced by a common geographical origin. The first is race aligned whereas the second is positionering. The latter epitomises a feeling of alienation in ones' country where one needs to constantly reposition and re-adjust. For the returnees, coming back to South Africa can be defined as "losing a lot but gaining little" in terms of comfort, shelter and joy.

Steyn and Grant (2006) studied the experiences of South Africans who returned home after a long spell in exile. The research participants were former members of *Umkhonto weSizwe*. Steyn and Grant (2006: 378) shared the concerns expressed by the former MK members that there has been a loss of the comradeship to which they were accustomed in exile. This view has been echoed by the returnees, who indicated that in certain instances in exile they were very close and lived as one big family. Most importantly, the ANC took good care of them and provided for them.

Nono who came into South Africa at the age of 14 in 1992 remembers the days her childhood in Zambia. She said:

IANC beyiskhathalele. Isenzela yonke into. Indlu ebesihlala kuyo ibhatalwa yiANC; igroceries, impahla and school transport. Bekhukho itransport esithathayo ekuseni isise esikolweni nasemalanga isibuyise. Probably because our parents were involved in the MK. Heyi, bekuna opportunities for us. Ndandiyipart of the group that visited Czechoslovakia to perform cultural activities. In South Africa, we live in our house, and lead our own lives.

[**Translation:** The ANC had taken a good care of us. The house we staying in was paid by the ANC, groceries, clothes and school transport. There was transport which took us to school and brought us back in the evening. It is probably because our parents were involved in the MK. Well, there were opportunities for us. I was part of the group that visited Czechoslovakia to perform cultural activities. In South Africa, we live in our house, and lead our own lives.]

Sherry McLean, international volunteer, who presented a paper in the Anti-apartheid Conference in Durban in October 2004, has echoed the same sentiment. McLean

described life in Mazimbu (Tanzania) as largely communal. They lived in a well-designed cool airy houses comprising of 4 – 6 people. Some houses included children.

After finishing Grade 12 (Form 5) in Zambia, Mandisi went to stay and work in Dakawa, Tanzania. His duties included transporting the sick people from Dakawa and Mazimbu to Morogoro General Hospital. Mandisi said about life that:

In Dakawa, the difference was that they lived in a commune-like camp. Everybody lived in one place – one big family. It was different from where I grew up. However, there were Tanzanians who would come and assist with cleaning who also interacted with people. In Zambia, I lived with my parents, even though my father was always absent.

The ANC had provided everything for them in exile. Mandisi said that they were taken to school by ANC transport. Sindiswa, who returned to Cape Town with his parents, explained that the ANC had organised flats for them in Woodstock, Cape Town. She stated that:

When we came we did not go to Langa. We went to Molahisso in Woodstock. It was organised for the people from exile who did yet not have a place to go. My father tried to go to sister's house in Gugulethu. He went in exile and came back as a family man now. The space at my aunt's was very small for us. We went back to Woodstock until her son who was staying in Ilitha Park, Khayelitsha, went away with his work and the house was left alone for a while. So my aunt said we must go and occupy that house. She said it was going to be left alone anyway.

Upon arriving in South Africa a sense of individualism and self-sustainability characterised the nature of their lives. Lucky exemplifies the situation right from the moment they departed from the hotel in Johannesburg. He said:

Ifamily nganye yathatha idecision ukuba itrace irelatives zayo. Wonke umntu wacinga ukuba uzakusuka ayephi na. Sasuka ke kulandawo sasikuyo see saa. Abanye baya eBloemfontein, eFree State nakuzo zonke iindawo zaseSouth Africa. Thina saya eCape Town. Utata wazalelwa KwaLanga.

[**Translation:** Each family took a decision about tracing their relatives. Everyone thought about where they would go. From the hotel all of us went astray; with some going to places like Bloemfontein, Free State and all other areas in South Africa. We took to Cape Town. My father was born in Langa.]

Marginalization and disaffiliation haunts the returned South Africans who were born in exile. Affiliative behaviour takes place in joint activities such as work, playing, conversation, and it consists of elements such as eye contact, proximity and friendly styles of verbal and nonverbal behaviour (Argyle 1969:51). Some members of the community seem to be much more concerned about being affiliated. The returnees wanted to be fully integrated and accepted into the Xhosa society. Even in Gugulethu where Nono's family stayed before coming to Khayelitsha they were regarded differently. Nono said:

Uyithini into yokuba abantu ebekumele ukuba babeyifamily yakho iphinde ibekwangabo abakuchwethela ecaleni. Esele iworse into yeyokutreat-wa komzali wakho phambi kwakho ukuba angathini umntakwethu ukutshata nabantu bangapha? And because we could not speak Xhosa properly we chose to speak in English. Lo nto yenza ukuba oocousin sisters zethu basibize ngokuba singabantwana babelungu. Yenza lonto si-feel-ishe ngathi asamkelekanga. My father does not owe anyone anything. My father left South Africa immediately after becoming a man at the age of 15. Wayengenamfazi nabantwana. Wayebashiye osister bakhe bebadala. Kutheni bezakumsokolisa nje?

[**Translation:** What do you say to a situation whereby the people who supposed to be your family end up pushing you aside? The worst thing is the treatment my parent got in front of us; of being asked why would he get married to "those people". And because we could not speak Xhosa properly we chose to speak in English. That made our cousin sisters to call us "white children". My father left South Africa immediately after becoming a man at the age of 15. He had no wife, no children. He left only his mature sisters. Why should he be bothered?]

The above extract illustrates how acceptance, recognition and integration failed to take place in the families. Since the returning brothers probably did not meet the expectations of their family members they were not welcome. In Xhosa there is a saying *ingqeqesho iqala ekhaya* ("charity begins at home"). Anything that manifests outside is alleged to

have been permitted at home. Therefore, some returnees could not find recognition and acceptance from their immediate families. They were left to find life outside family structure – which was to be a big challenge.

Challenges of integration were neither fully explored nor shared by parents at the time belongings were to be packed on the way back home to South Africa in the 1990s. The mothers were playing a care taker role to the South Africans born in exile (returnees) while their fathers were busy with the MK activities and could not help to prepare their children for the reality of life in South Africa, as they (mothers) did not set a foot in South Africa before. This was a relatively new experience to both mother and child.

The word “home” which many writers associated with ‘love’, ‘comfort’, ‘joy’ and ‘safety’ required a new definition judging by the returnees’ experiences. Thus, challenges encountered by the returnees in their quest for home provide a different perspective, as there was a general belief that whites, the police and apartheid authority tended to force people away from homes during apartheid. If apartheid institutions were symbolic of the black people’s enemy, what or who is enemy now? Should language be used as a barometer to determine people’s acceptability, identity and destiny?

CHAPTER EIGHT

DISCRIMINATION AMONG XHOSA SPEAKERS

8.1 Rural versus Urban Migrants

If language is a property of the mind it brings about concepts, thoughts and habits of the speakers into the outside world. People from different historic and geographic backgrounds are likely to think about or see reality differently. In their encounter they would develop perceptions about each other. These mental images can be mutually appreciated or concomitantly disparaging. In many instances, certain people are subjected to negative treatment because they speak and look differently, or are not associated with a particular group or class of people.

Bourdieu (1991:14) argues that power plays a crucial role in any social context because it determines the level of exchange and the resultant outcome. It can be a deciding factor in the choice of principles governing intergroup inclusion and outer group exclusion as well as their interaction with one another. Furthermore, this symbolic power is invisible in that it is legitimized by the powerful people who wield it against the weaker people who are at the receiving end.

The apartheid legislation, land expropriation, taxation and labour policies forced black people in the reserves (mostly rural areas) to seek employment in the mines, farms of the white men as well as in the factories, especially after the industrialisation boom of the 1940s. Since the promulgation of the Land Act of 1913 (the appropriation of land from the natives) many Africans left the rural areas to seek employment in the cities. The character of rural-urban migration in Cape Town should be studied from the history of the compounds and many black townships in places such as Langa, Gugulethu, Paarl, Nyanga and Strandfontein. The psychological legacies of apartheid are captured in the effects social engineering, spatial dimension, the development of the Cape Flats and the relationship between black Africans residing in those areas.

In his description of the racial architecture of apartheid in Cape Town, Salo *et al.* (2010) argues that race-based laws such as the Influx Control Act of 1945, the Group Areas Act of 1960 and the Bantustans Act of 1970 differentiated between black urban dwellers and rural dwellers. These laws created the perception of the Bantustans as black ‘foreigners’, who, by the 1960s and 1970s had become the most marginalised socio-economic group in the country. Accordingly, the intersectional effects of structural discrimination such as class, race and cultural marginality had resulted in the establishment of Manenberg, Langa, Nyanga and Gugulethu as dormitory suburbs of the city of Cape Town.

Manenberg was established in the late 1960s by the urban planners of the apartheid era specifically to resettle people who were classified coloured and who were forcibly removed from the leafier suburbs of Cape Town. Langa, Nyanga and Gugulethu were established in the 1940s for the few Xhosa speaking, urban born residents of the city, who were allowed to remain in the city after the promulgation of the Influx Control Act of 1945 (see Salo *et al.*, 2010). These suburbs have different histories that are associated with the racial differentiation of blackness and the hierarchy of relative deprivation under the old apartheid legislation.

Since only Africans who were born in the ‘white’ South African city could remain in the cities permanently, those who born outside Cape Town carried a stigma of being “foreigners” who occasionally had to return to their “homelands”. Relations between the rural and urban Xhosa speakers have not yet drastically improved despite approaching the second decade of liberation. This, *inter alia*, is characteristic of the psychological scars caused by the ‘legacies of apartheid’. Male migrant labourers (*amagoduka*) who were separated from their wives and families resisted the social and political system: they encouraged women to come to the cities.

In addition, socio-economic conditions in the rural areas prompted women to come to the cities to search for employment opportunities as factory and domestic workers. To some men and women physiological needs surpassed social and moral conventions and they entered into marital relationships some of which were illegitimate and illicit. As a result,

such ‘illicit’ and modern ‘non-traditional’ marriages were forged and sustained, sometimes to the detriment of the rural traditional marriages.

Under those circumstances, children were born and raised. Those children born in Cape Town proudly identified themselves as “Capetonians” who are not ‘backward’, but ‘sophisticated’ and ‘enlightened’. They lost their connections to rural areas and their relatives, and forged a new urban identity. Instead of demonstrating understanding, sympathy and congenial disposition toward their rural relatives they became more hostile and disdainful to their rural counterparts who in return show disrespect and disdain to them.

A cultural and linguistic gulf filled with discriminatory overtones is evident between the Xhosa speakers from the rural areas and those born and raised in the urban areas. This induced further divisions amongst South Africans whose ethnic identity differences were exacerbated by the apartheid policy of ‘separate development’. To-date there is challenge of social cohesion and mutual respect among racial and ethnic groups in places such as Cape Town. However, this study is only interested in relations amongst Xhosas.

Certain terms used among the Xhosa speakers testify to the somber relationship among rural and urban speakers. Migrants from the rural areas are regarded as *Amajoyini*, *AbezengoBlue Line*, *Amagoduka*, *Iibhari*, *Amafori*, etc. Those who were born in Cape Town and have no relationship with the rural areas are referred to as *Izikoli ZaseKapa* (“Cape thugs”, “crooks” or “tsotsis”) and *Kaapse Muite* (“Cape girl”). ‘Mutie’ is an Afrikaans word for a maid. Similar to their fellow Capetonian brothers, these women or girls are often labeled “felons”.

Amajoyini are predominantly males who came through the process of The Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA), which was responsible for the recruitment of migrant labour in Southern Africa over the last century. These workers came to work in various labour intensive and low paid industries. Usually, they stayed in the Langa, Nyanga and Gugulethu compounds. *AbezengoBlue Line* is a general term used to refer to those who

were born in the Eastern Cape, and had come to Cape Town by bus of the Blue Line Company. This is now used irrespective of whether one took a taxi or train as long as they were not born in Cape Town.

Amagoduka are those who often go home whose allegiance is always not in the cities (in the rural areas, Eastern Cape). These individuals do not typically want to build or buy decent houses in the city because they send their money home. They are very proud of building and shaping their backgrounds, especially taking care of their families financially. The term *amagoduka* is as nearly old as that of *amajoyini* (“the migrant labour recruited by the TEBA agency”). Though these migrant workers gave birth to the Capetonians (the bonafide Cape Town citizens), they were and are still disrespected as backward.

Amafari is a short hand of the English borrowing “foreigners”. The term applies to those who were born outside the Cape Town municipality – either in the rural or peri-urban areas. They are deemed foreigners by their fellow Capetonian Xhosa brothers and sisters. This treatment emanates directly from the fact that they (foreigners) migrate from the rural areas where there are not enough economic opportunities. They come to Cape Town essentially in search of better employment, health and education opportunities. Regarding fellow Xhosa speakers as foreigners is an apartheid nomenclature which is antithetic to the concept of *Ubuntu*.

Rural-urban migrant discrimination is as serious as that which is meted out against the Africans from outside South Africa. Places such as Khayelitsha and other black townships in Cape Town are predominantly a result of apartheid spatial dimensions. The propaganda that the migrants were tempering with ‘peace’ in the urban areas made the Capetonians detest migrant workers. Any discrimination of this nature demonstrated apartheid mentality on the part of the perpetrator or instigator.

As a result of the social conflict between rural and urban Xhosa speaking men from the Eastern Cape are often discouraged to get married to the urban women. It is because such

marriage typifies a long term relationship which would be cemented by the production of children. Urban women are sometimes wrongly accused of stealing away rural men from their families at home, so that they end up ignoring their responsibility. Urban women have become notorious for being ruthless in stealing the migrants' money and discarding them when they are broke or sick. The migrant husbands who would have gotten married and have taken care of their traditional rural women end up ignoring their women back home, who in turn suffer from poverty and underdevelopment. Thus, to avoid conflict the city women have been stereotyped as heartless and insensitive people whom one should avoid at all costs.

Migrants (usually male) would be suspected of not wanting to go home. Getting married in the city, usually without one's family's traditional blessings, carried stigma and sometimes a curse. This would make it difficult for men to take their city wife to go home in the rural areas. Mocking songs were even produced by artists to throw aberration to city wives who were known as *abafazi bephepha* ("a certificated woman"). This naming of city women or wives implied that they needed papers or a certificate to prove their worth to their husbands and families. Ancestral unions organised formally by the families is what is valued even more than a marriage certificate which serves a different legal purpose.

The rural men who stayed in cities for long periods of time would be accused of being turned into *itshipha*. He is warned by his home boys not to eat money with the city women. 'Itshipha' is the rural term used to identify anyone who has neglected rural home; is running away from his people; and is spending his money in the city with women. This term carries so much stigma in the rural areas that men are warned against this tendency upon coming to the city for the first time. These practices have in fact become part of the rural discourse, and is shared every now and then whenever the migrants go back home.

Since Khayelitsha was largely built to accommodate migrants from the rural Eastern Cape the people of Khayelitsha are still regarded as *Amagoduka*, *OomaXhoseni*, *Tribals*

or *Iibhari*. They are deemed to be backward and are not expected to show any form of sophistication or integration in the Cape Town sense. The expectation seems to be that the people of Khayelitsha would remain stubbornly backward or tribal. Ironically, the Eastern Cape is known as *emaXhoseni* (“the place of Xhosas”). Invariably, this is a concession that Xhosa speakers do not belong in the Western Cape.

Furthermore, rural men in Cape Town are forced to spend their money with women if they do not want to be stigmatized as *Oomali ndiyithobile* (“the-money-I-have-sent-home”). Those who do not want to be stigmatised will abandon their steadfast rural principles and therefore spend their income on the city women. As soon as their rural or tribal counterparts (*tribals* who do not want to succumb) learn of this spending they would inform the families in the rural areas. Upon going to the rural areas ‘the money spender’ would be brought to book or stigmatised *itya mali* (“the money spender”). Therefore, the rural-urban migrants are always confronted with difficult choices in their quest for survival and integration into these Xhosa speech communities.

8.2 Post Apartheid Black-on-Black Racism

Effectively, South Africa’s background of separate development fostered an environment of distrust between the various ethnic, tribal and racial groups. During colonialism and apartheid the enemy of the Africans (natives) was the white minority – beneficiaries of previous regimes who still continue to enjoy material and cultural supremacy to-date. Typically in the social discourse the “them versus us” dichotomy has found permanent expression. With the arrival of foreigners from the African continent this dichotomy got extended. It manifested in the type of discriminatory language used to describe them, and ultimately in xenophobic attacks witnessed in 2008.

Xenophobia, Afrophobia and black-to-black violence is not something new in South Africa. However, in 2008, xenophobia reached a new pinnacle, largely attributed to socio-political and economic reasons. As a matter of fact, it was the strongest among the street hawkers and squatters, not only because of competition for scarce survival space

but for the rare opportunity to ostracize others. In this way, new identities of superiority were manufactured among Africans (Moodley and Adam, 2000).

Foreigners coming from the African continent were and are still labeled as the “other” and are deemed people who have come to take away economic opportunities from black South Africans who have fought hard to attain their freedoms. Anyone who fits the stereotypical image of the foreigner had become a target of xenophobia or discrimination. This has contributed more to the already rich inter-racial discrimination literature, which often characterised this notion as white and black.

It suffices to state that though South African ethnic groups were united to fight stoically against colonialism and apartheid there were ethnic skirmishes before the advent of European settlers in Africa. The struggle for liberation has introduced self-defense strategies amongst black Africans, which were used as a form of resistance and protection from white minority oppression. Ironically, an unintended positive effect of racial segregation was that while it served as a system of control and oppression, it also served as a buffer against any form of domination.

The negative consequences of the past stoic struggle for power have possibly reproduced or re-channeled themselves in a ‘new self-defensive strategy’ against black foreigners from the African continent. Moodley and Adam (2000) in their study of race and nation in the post-apartheid South Africa discovered ten factors that are defining the racial landscape and interactions in South Africa, namely: (i) legal, (ii) scientific, (iii) social (iv) sporting, (v) aesthetic, (vi) sexual, (vii) cultural, (viii) educational, (ix) economic, and (x) psychological legacies of apartheid.

Of significant interest and relevance to this study are the ‘social’, ‘cultural’, ‘sexual’ and ‘psychological’ legacies of apartheid. These factors continue to negate the endeavor for peaceful co-existence, harmony and stability in the communities. Subtle social racism in a cultural hierarchy of arrogance has frequently replaced cruder forms of contempt and discrimination. Racism is not only a white–black affair. Europeans may have elevated

‘the figment of the pigment’ to a pseudo-scientific ideology; nonetheless, Africans do practice racial hatred against fellow Africans. A typical example is the Rwandian stand-off between Tutsis and Hutus. Tutsi could be referred to as a proto-type settler, the Hutu a proto-type native (Mamdani 1998: 11, cited in Moodley and Adam 2000).

South African inter-ethnic hostility could be studied from the longstanding feud between the Zulus, Xhosas, Tsongas, Fingos, Sothos, etc. Pixley ka Isaka Seme, one of the founding fathers of the African National Congress (ANC), in his message to the Congress, emphasises the need to mobilise natives along tribal lines to end the inter-ethnic antagonism:

It is urgent that this Congress should meet this year, because a matter which is so vitally important to our progress and welfare should not be unnecessarily postponed by reason of personal differences and selfishness of our leaders. The demon of racialism, the aberrations of the Xhosa-Fingo feud, the animosity that exists between the Zulus and the Tongaas, between the Basutos and every other Native must be buried and forgotten; it has shed among us sufficient blood! We are one people. These divisions, these jealousies, are the cause of all our woes and of all our backwardness and ignorance (Imvo Zabantsundu, 1911).

Seme’s message spoke volumes of the need for the formation of an organisation (ANC) that would unite all Africans against racism and ethnic divisions. His protest against the selfishness of the leaders can be seen as a concession that inter-ethnic aberrations and racial animosity are deep-seated that they have led to conflicts – they have “shed among us sufficient blood!” A typical example of Xhosa-Fingo feud is happening in the villages in the former Transkei, Eastern Cape, where polarity and enmity makes them treat each other with disregard and contempt. Inter-marriage between the two groups is often discouraged.

On the contrary, Seme gives assurance that “we are one people” and that ‘jealousies’ and ‘divisions’ are the cause of backwardness and ignorance. Addressing the imbalances, jealousies and divisions has been a challenge facing ethnic groups in South Africa. For example, the 20th century feud between Zulus and Xhosas can be traced back to the early 1990s where antagonistic grudge manifested itself in the skirmishes between the “Zulu

dominated” Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and “Xhosa dominated” African National Congress (ANC). These feuding groups have similar identities, and their artificial differences are sustained with enmity that supersedes the characteristic white and black acrimony.

Therefore, a narrative of 20th century racialism and post apartheid black-on-black violence should be used as justification for xenophobia and ethnic animosity. Though colonialism and apartheid left wounds in the psychology of Africans, antagonism among the black and white people should not replace the ideals of peace and harmony amongst the people of South Africa.

8.3 “They are calling us by names”

From the 1990s, and sometimes to-date, Africans who speak English almost-natively are assumed to have benefited from the white education system, a direct opposite of the Bantu education imposed on many black people. Effectively, the returnees come from an environment in exile where English was promoted as a “language of liberation”. Speaking English fluently did not assist the returnees upon returning to South Africa. They said when they arrived in South Africa they thought they would easily be able to communicate in English. Instead, they were associated with being foreign or having benefited from the Model C education system.

Mandisi recounts a miscommunication situation when he was facilitating a workshop for old people. He was working for Community Welfare Development. He felt embarrassed when he could not speak Xhosa properly knowing that the older people could not understand English either. He heard some of them asking each other *ngumXhosa waphi lo ungasaziyo Xhosa?* (“where is this Xhosa speaking person coming from who does not speak Xhosa?”). He said this situation made him feel very bad.

Some form of exclusive differentiation and marginalization was experienced by the participants of this study already in exile. The returnees had indicated that in Lusaka, Mazimbu and Dakawa they were made aware of the fact that they belonged to another

country. Mandisi, Bulelwa and Sindiswa told of how they were discriminated against in Zambia; for example, they were called “Magorillas” instead of “Maguerillas”. In fact this is because they are the children of MK soldiers. Sindiswa said

In Zambia there was a line separating “us” from “them” you know. They would say those are the “guerrillas”, “the Freedom Fighters” or “the Mandelas”. I felt a bit of a twitch, but as a child it did matter. In fact it felt better than what it is now in South Africa.

Sindiswa has also, however, told of the labeling that took place when she made friends with other children in her government school. She reports that other children would refer to their South African friends as “the Mandela people”. Name calling in this instance can be viewed as positive identification.

Bulelwa who was born in Zambia and stayed for fifteen years before spending six years in Tanzania recounts how the discriminatory labeling practices experienced in South Africa resemble those of Tanzania:

Again when we were out in exile; maybe when we were with our mommy they would say “Oh, here is a guerrilla”. And again in South Africa we are called “makwerekwere”. In exile they called us “maguerilla” – “terrorists”. Mostly, when they saw our parents (MK soldiers) they called us “guerrilla kids”, “wakimbizi”, “run aways”. This happened in Tanzania.

Vinolia concurs with Bulelwa and other returnees about their experience of discrimination in exile, though she maintains that they were not as intense and hurtful as what they have experienced in South Africa, their place of belonging. She reports that, although they were generally regarded as South Africans in Tanzania, there were called by names:

We were even called “Wakimbizi” (the run aways). But it was somehow different and it was a fact unlike the term “makwerekwere”.

The returnees conceded that they had not had too many problems with this kind of labeling in exile because they were different and their roots pointed belonging in another

country. Even though Bulelwa tries to justify the discriminatory practices in exile, the following statement she made illustrates a deep-seated disdain for foreigners:

We were discriminated against because the people knew exactly who we were. It did not matter whether we were coming from Zambia or elsewhere. We were in the ANC concentrated camp. People knew Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College was built for Wakimbizi – the people who were so weak to face challenges at home and decided to run away.

Speaking about being selected last in sport by children in Zambia Sindiswa said:

Even in sport at school we would not be selected for sports. It did not matter good you were. They would consider you last.

The above anecdotes gives a sense of the justification, defense and mitigation that the returnees award to the Tanzanians and Zambians. Discrimination in South Africa, though not totally different from that of exile, may be intolerable for two reasons: (i) it is directed wrongly to the returnees who are South Africa; and (ii) it is of a violent nature.

Vinolia maintains that the discrimination they experienced in exile “was somehow different and it was a fact. It is unlike the term ‘makwerekwere’ used to identify foreigners here in South Africa”. In Khayelitsha, the returnees feel a bit of twitch when it comes to issues of integration. Sindiswa said, “it is hard for us to fit in. We do not fit at all. People call us by names”. Sindiswa believes that the place they live in currently is also stigmatised. She said once they mention the name of the place people would say:

Oh, uhlala kwezaa-flats zabantu base-exile.

(Translation: Well, you are staying in those flats where people from exile live.)

With respect to the returnees’ experience of discrimination in South Africa, many questions come into mind, “Until when will the returnees be referred to as the people of exile?”, “Will the stigma attached to the place they live in go away?”, “When will it be that South Africans recognise them as South Africans who happened to be born outside

the country?”, “Does the same treatment get extended to those South Africans who were born in other countries outside of Africa?”.

Terms such as *Amakwerekwere* (“foreigners”), *My friendoh*, *Amagweja* (tsotsi taal derivative of the word *kwerekwere*) have become a pervasive part of daily vocabulary for many black South Africans. There is a need to explore their meanings and the purposes they serve. *My friendoh* or *makwerekwere* is an offensive name used against the foreigners from the African continent (Ribas, Lopes & Zamboni 2010; Ngwaila 2011; Mathers and Landau 2007; Nyamnjoh 2002). The frustrations of the South African urban poor, based on a lack of service delivery, high unemployment, low wages and feelings that ‘we’ have not attained the life that ‘we’ imagined ‘we’ would now be living, partially shape the attitude of South African blacks towards foreigners (Cooper 2006).

The derogatory term *makwerekwere* comes from the Sotho word for “incompetent speech” (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2001 cited in Cooper 2006). Since these fellow Africans cannot be clearly distinguished in terms of their countries of origin, just by looking at them, South Africans choose to use a disparaging blanket term to refer to all of them who speak foreign languages. The naming logic behind the word *kwerekwere* is “illegal alien” which in South Africa has reinforced the ‘us-them’ distinction. *My friendoh* is still derogatory because of the suffix “oh” added to the word “friend”. This stems from the fact that foreigners prefer calling fellow South African counterparts generally as their friends even if they are not.

Nonetheless, the returnees use a different honorific altogether which stems from either the church or Xhosa tradition – “brother” or “sister”. For instance, when Vinolia introduced the researcher to Bulelwa for an interview, she said, “Here is that brother I told you about who is doing research about the lives of South Africans born in exile. He is here to do the interview with you”.

The Cape Town youth have derived a new version of *kwerekwere*, which is *igweja*. Essentially, *My friendoh* and *gweja* do not sound as crude as the word *kwerekwere*. These

words, though attenuated, still carry the same meaning or definition *kwerekwere*. Since they come with a mitigated jingle or sound this shows consideration, mindfulness and development of understanding that foreigners might be hurting from the way they are labeled and treated. However, anyone whose physical appearance does not resemble that of Xhosa speakers; and/or is speaking unintelligible language; and/or is behaving linguistically and culturally differently would be defined as a *kwerekwere* even if he or she is South African.

In many instances, the term *kwerekwere* would be used by youth when they express dislike or disapproval of the foreigners' behaviour. It is because foreigners are expected to be docile and compliant. Bulelwa relates a story that unfolded in a shop where she went to exchange shoes. Apparently, she did not buy the right size. When she returned the shoes people at the shop verbally abused her because of her different accent and defiance. She said:

My accent and my Xhosa got people into asking where I was coming from; how I did not speak Xhosa very well. Then, I would explain. After my explanation others wouldn't mind. They would just continue talking. But there are those who are sarcastic. But I also know how to put them in their place. One day I was in a shop. I bought something small and I went to change it. The Xhosa sales lady told me to go and find the size that fits. When I came back the lady expelled me to go to the far end of the queue. I told her "lady, I was here". I said "I won't go back to the line. I was here". I said, "where is your customer service? You were supposed to go and fetch the right size for me, but you did not".

Upon hearing her accent the other Xhosa speakers in the shop instead of trying to neutralize and calm the situation down they also attacked her. She continues:

Then there were people who said "Ah, makaphume. Akuboni ukuba likwerekwere elo? Babalekile emakwabo apha. Bazokusenzela nzima apha eSouth Africa". I felt bad. I said, "but I am not going back whether ndilikwerekwere or not".

[**Translation:** Ah! She must get out. Don't you see this is a kwerekwere? Sis, they have run away from their countries. They have come to nag us here in South Africa.]

Both female and male returnees had their share of discrimination. Lucky narrates a story of when he had to face discriminatory remarks at school. His physical appearance resembles that of a Somali – deep brown complexion with very curly and long limbs. He said:

For example, ukusuka eprimary school where I had already adapted ndaya ehigh school. It was a new environment. Discrimination started from friends. Bebendibiza ngokuba ndili “kwerekwere” okanye bathi “my friendoh”. Those were my additional names. I could not cope with that. Intliziyo yam ibibuhlungu kakhulu. Abanye bekhuthaza into yokuba singabahoyi. Even though I tried to explain everyday who I was but they wouldn’t listen. Abanye baba bandidiscriminatayo ngeye imini bapretend(e) as if bayavelana nam. Ngenye imini ibengabo abathi ndilikwerekwere and that I should go back to where I come from. Le nto ibisenzeka qho xa sinequarrel. I told them that I did not choose my situation.

[Translation: For instance, from primary school where I had already adapted I went to high school. I was a new environment. Discrimination started from friends. They called me a “kwerekwere”. Those were my additional names. I could not cope with that. My heart was very sore. There were those who suggested that I ignore this. Even though I tried to explain everyday who I was but they wouldn’t listen. Some who were discriminating against me one day would pretend as if they sympathise with me the other day. The next day they would be the ones who call me a ‘kwerekwere’ and that I should go back to where I come from. This happened often when we have a quarrel. I told them that I did not choose my situation.]

Mzala said he detests discrimination because none seem to understand the true value of another person. It is like people are wearing blinkers.

Ndiyayicaphukela le discrimination kakulu. Ngoba abantu bakubon’ingathi ivalue ayiko. It’s like abantu benxibe le nto uyifaka entloko idonki - blinkers.

[Translation: I really hate discrimination. People don’t see any value in you. It’s like they are wearing blinkers.]

The above statement indicates that returnees would always have to be mistaken with foreigners and that no amount of explaining helps people to understand their true identity and value. It is like they are determined to perpetuate these discriminatory practices.

Mandisi noted that wherever people visit foreign countries they will experience some kind of discrimination. But he said he does not want discrimination to drag him down. He has a wide range of friends from different backgrounds (Sotho, Zulu as well as Xhosa), and he socialises with everybody.

Mandisi added that he keeps on telling black South Africans to get rid of xenophobia because it will not take the country anywhere. Sometimes, his friends envy him because he seems to have some kind of a ready-made answer for every situation. He tells them that it is because he has been through many experiences and has met many people. Mandisi went to study in Germany at Frankfurt Polytechnic College, where he also encountered some degree of racial discrimination. Nonetheless, he claims that the people in Germany were “getting along just fine”. In contrast, he describes his experiences of discrimination in Khayelitsha as “sickening”. Below is a narrative of the discrimination he encountered in Khayelitsha:

There were certain other people who when hearing my accent called me “ikwerekwere”. I am referring to the Xhosa people who would also ask, “Ufuna ntoni apha?” (What do you want here)? As a South African it feels so bad. It annoys me. I have been to so many places, and wherever you go you get some kind of discrimination. But xenophobia here is a sickness. It’s really out there! Look at what other countries did for South Africa from the sixties. Countries like Zambia, England, Tanzania, etc. To me it is sickening.

Xenophobia in South Africa, according to Mandisi is rampant, and it appears as if it accepted as a norm in the society. Many people don’t seem to care how hurtful it can be to its target. He said he is also aware of the fact that some Nigerian guys have been accused of participating in illegal activities. But there were South Africans in Lagos who attended universities. They were treated as human beings. He does not understand why people from the countries who played a significant role during the struggle against apartheid should be treated negatively.

8.4 Defying the label – *Ndililo ikwerekwere ke!* (“I am a foreigner”)

Mandisi noticed that there is a gap between Xhosas, Zulus and Sothos. He said, “maybe apartheid is still entrenched in our heads. People find it difficult to integrate and respect one another”. With the establishment of homelands in the 1970s, Sothos, Xhosas and Zulus were separated into groups and encouraged to dislike one another. Nel (1990) said the following about apartheid segregationist laws on spatial development:

The visible expression of the apartheid ideology has been felt at three spatial levels (after Western, 1981):

- 1) At the interpersonal level through the provision of racially exclusive facilities.
- 2) At the urban or nieso—level, through the rigid redivision of all urban areas into zones of single race residence and the forced relocation of people so as to accord with the provisions of the 1950 Group Areas Act and the 1923 Native (U r b a n A r e a s) A c t.
- 3) At the regional or territorial level, the entire country has been subdivided into ethnic areas as a result of the homelands policy as enforced through the 1913 Natives Land Act and the 1959 Bantu Self-Government Act.

The exclusive differentiation appears to have been strongly internalized as orginalism or regionalism is believed to serve as determining factor of ones intelligence and capability. This is evident in the speech monitors that are deployed and the resultant consequences. Even if one speaks Xhosa fairly well, there are certain ways of pronunciation which would distinguish him or her from native Xhosa speakers. Then, someone would make a remark, “this is not a Xhosa” and would be subjected to explaining his or her actual identity.

Barreto and Ellemers (2003) state that social identification constitutes a subjective process through which externally assigned category distinctions are accepted and in-group characteristics are adopted to help define the self. However, they indicated that there is evidence demonstrating that individuals do not necessarily endorse identities that are externally ascribed to them, and that as consequence displays of group allegiance cannot simply be derived from the knowledge that people satisfy certain external criteria for category inclusion. Therefore, in times of heightened inter-ethnic vigilance, it is even more important to be aware that external observers are often mistaken in their

conclusions about who people actually are, what they stand for, or how they are likely to behave. Mistakes of this kind were responsible for several instances of unjustified ill-treatment in the past.

Physical appearance, besides accent, tends to mislead people's categorization, especially among Africans. Nono, for instance, resembles a typically strong upper-bodied, dark faced African woman with strong tiny legs. She is unlike a typical Black South African woman who has a medium upper-body and big-hippy legs. Nono referred to some people who had asked her if she was South African or not. She said "when they asked, I just knew what they were implying that I am a foreigner. Whenever someone is asking me that question, I just shout, *ndililo; ndilikwerekwere!* (I am. I am the foreigner!).

In this case, Nono is self-stereotyping, and may sometimes have her assumption about the allegedly intended discrimination misplaced. To ask about someone else's background or identity may just be an honest and innocent exercise to try and reach out. It may be a sign for an appreciation of diversity. To just utter a response to what one assumes people want to hear can be grossly inaccurate and detrimental to positive communicative intentions. Nono justified her self-stereotyping behaviour by saying, *abantu abaningi bangitshela ukuba indlela endibukeka ngayo iyakrokrisa* ("Many have told me that the way I look is causing them to be suspicious").

Steele (1987) cited in Bramscobe, Ellemers, Spears and Doosje (1999: 47) states that in situations where one's identity seems to be threatened by (members of) an out-group he or she can either enhance self-affirmation or self-stereotyping. Instead of assuring the people who enquire about her identity Nono chooses 'affirmation of false identity' or self-stereotyping. Perhaps, this was done with an intention to discourage interlocution. It is possible that she labels herself in this way because discrimination would cause less pain when self-inflected or self-induced.

To illustrate further her discomfort and hatred of the notion of discrimination, Nono said, *I would rather be called a "kwerekwere" than ukuba ndibengumntu ohlelele*

ukudiscriminate abantu abangabaziyo (“I would rather be called foreigner than to be someone who sits there waiting to discriminate against the people he or she does not know.”) From the above statement one can get a very strong sense of pride, articulation of self-belief and hatred toward anti-social discriminatory behaviour.

Nono highlights the fact that she cannot simply accept everything that is identified and accepted in the Xhosa culture. She will only choose those aspects of Xhosa linguistic culture that affirm her values and beliefs. This implies that if there is no other alternative she would stick to elements of her foreign culture or identity. The way South Africans have treated the returnees make them miss their countries of birth even more.

Sindiswa said she misses the place of her birth. It is where she never felt unwelcome. She believes though they were made aware of the fact they were South Africans, they were treated with some level of respect. Mzala said about growing up in Tanzania: *Khange senziwa sizibuze ukuba singobani na. Besifana nabanye labantwana bapha. Besikhula kamnandi sivana nje.* (“We were never made to question our identity. We grew up like other children (Tanzanians). We grew up very nicely without many problems”).

In South Africa it is a constant struggle. Nono and Bulelwa indicated that at work other co-workers are gossiping about them. Nono works with coloureds, and she is determined to learn Afrikaans. Bulelwa said she knows how to put people in their place. She said, “I noticed that they were talking about me. I hate it when people gossip about me in a language I do not understand because as a victim you not get a fair chance to defend yourself”. Sindiswa had a similar situation at work where co-workers who were Xhosa speaking had questioned her promotion. She said they wanted to know, “*why kusenyuselwa amakwerekwere nje sikhona?*” (“Why are the foreigners are getting promotion ahead of us?”).

Dealing with the whole question of negative remarks Makhaka said he would just keep quiet when his friend starts making remarks. However, he claims that it is not something they do often. He said to call people by names is not right. He warned the people of South

Africa to stop doing that because there are many South African children born abroad who are interested in coming back home, whose parents perhaps died. He said they would not wish to come back when they hear that people are getting discriminated against. In fact, all the returnees have expressed a great dislike and disdain for people who call others by derogatory names, especially if those names are directed to their fellow African brothers and sisters.

Words and expressions such as *amakwerekwere* (“foreigners”), *oomy friend* (“my friends”), *aba bantu* (“those people”), *hayi, suka ngomnye wabo* (“Ugh, he/she is one of them”) are used to refer to foreigners including the returnees because of how they speak Xhosa. Mzala is betrayed by the way he speaks Xhosa and how he looks. He has very dark, shiny skin with an agile, masculine and strong body structure. Because he came to South Africa as an older man and speaks a kind of pidginised Xhosa with foreign intonation he can easily be regarded as *omnye wabo aba bantu* (“one of them – foreigners from the African continent”) who has just been in Khayelitsha for a very long time.

Bramscobe *et al.* (1999: 47) state that group-level defensive strategies are equally apparent when the threatening behaviour of the out-group is more chronic and ingrained. For example, Vinolia uses a defensive strategy by verbally attacking name-callers. She said she tries to stop people calling one other *amakwerekwere*:

Wena ungubani sowubiza abantu ngamakwerekwere? What does it benefit you to call them like that? What are you too? The fact that when you speak to them uthetha Xhosa you sound very strange. Nawe ulikwerekwere. How would you feel going to another country and people start calling you ikwerekwere? As African we are not limited to languages. We can speak any language.

[**Translation:** Who are you calling people kwerekweres? What does it benefit you to call them like that? What are you too? The fact that when speak to them you use Xhosa you sound very strange. You too are a kwerekwere. How would you feel going to another country and people start calling you “kwerekwere”? As African we are not limited to languages. We can speak any language].

Nono protested about the South African people say *amakwerekwere azekusithathela imisebenzi, forgetting that kudala bahleli eKapa ningenzinto* (“the foreigners have come to take our jobs away, forgetting that they [South Africans] have been around doing nothing”). Besides, being identified as *kwerekwere* Sindiswa has been mistaken as coloured. She is fair in completion with a sharp nose and a slight build. Her accent resembles that of a Coloured person who grew in deep rural African regions.

Because of her appearance she was asked if she was coloured, and she said, “I would answer by saying no, *ndingumXhosa*” (I am a Xhosa). They would ask “*ungumXhosa waphi lo unje? Liphi ikhaya? Ungumni?*” (Where is this type of Xhosa coming from? Where is home? What is your clan name?). She would tell those who ask her if she feels comfortable that she is Xhosa. But they would continue trying to find what kind of Xhosa she is that she looks they way she does. They would also want to know about her background (original home) and clan name to check if she is really what she claims to be.

Nono said one of her brothers does not want to talk to her in Nyanja when they are in the public places. He does not want to be labeled as a foreigner. Her brother feels it better to speak Nyanja once they are all at home. She said it is only her younger sister who does not mind talking to her in Nyanja. One of the returnees, Makhakha, has a good command of Xhosa. She said he would not comment when his friends start calling foreigners by names. He just keeps quiet in order not to invite attention to him.

8.5 Cheap Black Labour: AmaGhana or AmaNyasa

Migrant cheap black labour has contributed tremendously to the South African economy since the discovery of diamond and gold in the 19th century. Harington, McGlashan and Chelkowska (2004) explain that gold and diamond miners were accommodated in compounds, often segregated by ethnic group, and contracted for 18 month contracts with no certainty of reengagement. The source areas of these miners have for the whole of the twentieth century fallen into three political categories: (i) men from within the borders of South Africa itself, including former black ‘homelands’; (ii) men recruited from High Commission, now independent territories, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, who were

often treated as honorary South Africans; and (iii) those from foreign countries, principally Mozambique and from as far afield as Angola, Zambia, and Tanzania.

Essentially, recruitment began with the formation of the Native Recruiting Corporation (NRC) in 1912, at which time Mozambique was still the major source of labour, followed by the Cape and other provinces. In 1977 the NRC was amalgamated with the WNLA to form The Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA) (Harington *et al.* 2004). Blanket terms such as *amaNyasa*, *amaGhana* were used to describe the miners and workers from the fellow African countries. So words such as *makwerekwere* have recently been coined and have gained momentum in the 1990s.

In the villages, particularly in the former Transkei, the people who had been associated with the term *kwerekwere* were the Somalians and Pakistanis. This was possibly due to the way they speak. Somalians and Pakistanis were famous for selling bed covers, clothes and duvets from Durban. They speak a foreign unintelligible language, which people regarded as *ukukwereza* (“garbling” or “prattling”). It was common to hear people saying, *lamntu ukwerezayo* (“that man prattling in an incomprehensible foreign language”). An equivalent term to the speaker of such language is *intlanga* (“foreigner” or “race”).

Amazingly, *amaGhana* (Ghanaians), *amaNyasa* (Zambians/Ugandans) and *AmaVambo* (Namibians) who lived and worked in the former Transkei commanded a huge respect. They were afforded status, and to a certain degree they still do. The term *amaGhana* could generally be attributed to anyone who has a dark complexion and round eyes. The status afforded to them normally came from the fact that they worked as professionals (doctors, teachers and shop owners) who provided essential services to people in the rural areas and rural towns. They regarded as intelligent, humble and disciplined people.

The source of derogation and discriminatory terms such as *amakwerekwere* is the urban areas (Cape and Johannesburg). It never really occurred to many people in the rural areas that foreigners from African countries would be called *amakwerekwere*. Initially, this

concept was a bit confusing. Invariably, the people from Nigeria, Uganda, Kenya, Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia are superficially described as *makwerekwere*, *amaGhana*, *amaNyasa*, *amaVambo* without any distinction. In some areas in the Eastern Cape, hawkers go by the derogatory description of *makwerekwere* while teachers and doctors are afforded respect, and are called *amaGhana*, *amaVambo* and *amaNyasa*.

In the event that there are no lexical items to describe an event, object and novice or unknown situation, people copy or borrow linguistic systems or terminologies from other speech communities. The word *kwerekwere* in the rural Transkei is a borrowed term which is used to refer to hawkers from the African continent that are not afforded the respect, status and recognition given to *amaGhana* and *amaNyasa*. Thus, this linguistic behaviour introduces an element of a class or classism. Of course, discrimination now happens not only at racial level but it is introduced to define a class antagonism among Africans. Hopefully, the society will coin mindful and sensitive terms in the future.

8.6 The Returnees' Concept of Future

As South African past and present social life is pregnant with contradictions the future appears to unite the people behind the possibility of a better life. There is misery and hope. Misery is the product of the fear and atrocities caused in the past whilst hope is associated with the desire to move forward in a forgiving manner to a better life. Instead of moving forward ethnic and racial groups have found it difficult to forgive and forget. The contradictions that describe the nature of South Africa add more strands to the already cumbersome puzzle of racial and ethnic integration. Experiences of segregation, exile, loss through death and imprisonment are part of the lives of many South Africans who desire to surge diligently forward.

Despite what they experienced upon their return to South Africa, and having to think about the kind of life they have lived abroad, South Africans born in exile are hopeful about the future. Chiefly, their everyday wish is to survive and coexist with the rest of their fellow South Africans. Yet, they cannot tolerate discrimination by fellow South

Africans and of their fellow African brothers. All the returnees speak highly of their host countries, but that does not make them want to go back to their country of birth - another 'home'. They are looking forward to the future.

Nono conceded:

Nokuba bangasibiza ngokuba ngamakwerekwere sizimisele ukuhlala apha ekhaya. Ingase bonke abantu, ingakumbi abantu abamnyama bamanyane. Ingase bazi ukuba bangafunda nto kulamakwebza or ikwebza lifunde something.

[**Translation:** Despite being called amakwerekwere we want to stay here at home. I wish all the people, particularly blacks, to come together. I wish they can try to learn from foreigners and vice versa].

A sense of optimism has been shed by Sindiswa who said "maybe our children or a generation after this will try to mingle. In fact, they are learning the language already. Everything looks set for them. Our children will grow up speaking the language. They are better than us". Moreover, Nono noted that people must know it is just language, culture and the way people grew up that makes them different. Otherwise they are the same. About the South Africans who complain about foreigners who have come to take away their jobs, she argues that they need to be patient or instead learn to work together to improve their living conditions.

Furthermore, Nono claims that they were taught not to wait until their parents die (as it appears to be the case in South Africa), but to help their mothers in doing business. They were taught to sell food from an early age or to assist their parents in their businesses because at the end of the day it was everybody's food. So they grew up with the mentality of "doing it for yourself". She also made a very important statement that *umzali ukulungiselela kwingomso lakho* ("your parent is preparing you for tomorrow when she is not there").

Lucky shows some form of integration despite the fact that he is not as proficient in Xhosa as Makhakha. His experience of getting cut off from the life he was used to in exile is reflected in excerpt below:

Yho, ndandi-sad ukumka kwam ngoba ndandisele ndineefriends ezininzi pha. Enye into ndandisiva ngale South Africa, ndandingayzi ukuba yindawo enjani. All of a sudden kwathiwa masipakishe, makuhanjwe.

[**Translation**] Well, I was sad to leave because I had so many friends there [Lusaka]. Another thing about this South Africa was that I was not sure what kind of place it was. All of a sudden we were told to pack our bags and go.

Some form of integration is evident from the language. Not only does Lucky speak the Xhosa very well, he is showing an ability to code-mix. In fact, Lucky's interview was conducted in Xhosa, and he was also allowed freedom to express in English as well.

Another example comes from Sindiswa's interview where she explains how difficult it is to try and forge links with the rest of the people in Khayelitsha. She tells of the stigma attached to their place of residence. Obviously accent or intonation may not be heard, but that is the only thing that can tell and make every Xhosa speaker suspicious. In fact, this type of variety mixing is an example of modern Xhosa, which is growing among the youth in the townships.

Though all of them expressed disappointment about South Africans they felt that there is a brighter future for everyone. Nono has noticed a change of heart in some who call her in different way but still maintain the *kwerekwere* term. The male youth would refer to them as *kwebza* or *kweja lam* ("My kwebza" or "my kweja") to mitigate the intensity of the derogatory *kwerekwere* word. This form of affectionate address is used by youth and has a *tsotsi taal* influence. Returnees believe that it will be extremely difficult for the people of South Africa to stop calling them by such names: no form of modification will change the fact that they use discriminatory language toward them.

Vinolia says South Africa should wake up, and no one should feel threatened. South Africans can only succeed if they learn more about other countries and why people move from one country to another. They should know (just like many who went abroad) that circumstances in their countries have forced South African expatriates into taking refuge in the foreign countries. People go to other countries to make a living, and it is incumbent upon the hosts to show compassion that was extended to South Africans in exile.

Sindiswa is very confident that their children will try to change things around in the next ten to fifteen years. They want to raise their children to know about the past; to change the future. She puts a challenge to all South Africans, particularly black South Africans to try and change their xenophobic attitude. She maintains that tradition and rituals should not be used to justify intolerance and prejudice. For example, one would hear the Xhosa speakers saying, *hayi wethu singabantu bamasiko. Zizakuthini izinyanya xa kusenzeka lento* (“well, we believe in our traditions and customs. What will our ancestors say when we do this”).

According to Sindiswa a girl was dating a guy from abroad and people happened to notice them in Wynberg, Cape Town. The people started talking about her and discussing the possibility of what will happen when she gives birth to a child. They were thinking negatively about a time when the guy would just disappear. Among the Xhosa speakers a woman preferably has to fall in love with someone a family approves of and whose home is known. In some instances, a woman who just picks a man whose background is unknown would be prejudged when she falls pregnant. People would say, “your man will disappear and you will take care of that child alone” or ask, “what kind of ritual would be done for that child when it is born?”.

Lucky says that South Africans should learn about other people and cultures, particularly those countries that have helped South Africa during the apartheid era. They need to practice the principles of *Ubuntu*. He said South Africa is a beacon of hope not only for Africa but to the rest of the world. Since the country has a good international image, people choose to come to South Africa to make a living. In other words, the high ideals

espoused in the constitution and the strategic vision of a society charted in the constitution should be implemented collaboratively by all South Africans irrespective of their creed.

Having gone through the most painful experience in the past these people were expected to provide leadership to the people of the world regarding functional human relations and exigencies of coexistence. One's struggle to speak Xhosa cannot be treated with sarcasm; instead one should open opportunities for the returnees and foreigners to learn the language, especially since the returnees are determined to stay home. Access to a better system of education in exile than the case of Bantu Education which many adults South Africans experienced may prove to be beneficial to both the South Africans and the returnees and foreigners. Notwithstanding the potential diplomatic benefits that can be accrued if the returnees are allowed to lead both local and international campaigns to unite all the people of Africa.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

The types of discriminatory language and practices which are encountered by the returnees, the South Africans born in Zambia and Tanzania, and the effects of discrimination on their quest for integration and adaptation in Khayelitsha, were explored in this study. Interviews were arranged to get an in-depth understanding of individual experiences, to unpack hidden power struggles, bias and prejudice characteristically found in the society to which the returnees turned when they arrived back and where they were accommodated since the first groups returned to South Africa in the 1990s. I identified and analysed a range of linguistic markers, from single words, sentences and paragraphs, tone and register, to insinuations and presumptions about the returnees' sociolinguistic experiences, their challenges regarding social identity, the representation of discrimination and how they related to the Xhosa speakers in Khayelitsha as well as to everybody else in South Africa.

Historical accounts (Muller 1981; Giliomee 2003; Grobler 1998; McKinley 1997; Johnson 2005; Cooper 2002; Ngculu 2002), sociological studies (Jenkins 1996; Kriesberg 2003; Grobler 1998; Omer-Cooper 1987; Jandt 2004; White & Woods 1980; Muus 2001; Kosinski & Prothero 1974; Edgar 2005; De Lucia 2004), theory on second language acquisition and code switching (Gumperz 1982; Swann 2000; Nilep 2006; Slabbert & Finlayson 2000; Snow 1998), Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis (He 2003; Ostman & Virtanen 1995; Howarth 2000; Van Dyk 2003; Wodak 2002; Wodak & Meyer 2008; De Cillia, Reisigl & Wodak 1999) have provided a great deal of insight into the liberation history of South Africa, the movement and settlement of *Mkhonto weSizwe* cadres into exile, the emergence of new forms of struggle in the post-apartheid South Africa and dynamics the Xhosa culture and language.

The study revealed far more complex sociolinguistic issues that may have affected the returnees negatively in their quest for integration, adaptation and accommodation in Khayelitsha (Cape Town). The post apartheid surge of foreign nationals from the African continent has introduced and unfolded new forms of struggle. The vulnerability of the foreign nationals has brought them accusations of stealing local people's job opportunities, of perpetuating drug abuse, of escalating crime and corruption as well as HIV/AIDS (Harris 2002; Human Rights Watch 1998; Crush 2002, 2008).

The escalated violence and discrimination (xenophobic attacks of 2008 and prior) remain inexcusable acts of criminality. Crime, drugs and alcohol, HIV/AIDS, unemployment, inequalities and corruption have been an indelible mark of large sections of South African society, even before the arrival of foreigners from the African continent. It is irresponsible to attribute these problems to foreigners. When and how will the black South Africans repay the kindness, support and sacrifice made by the African states during apartheid when they get belligerent, discriminatory and violent treatment in South Africa?

Migration studies have characterised competition for economic opportunities as a source of social tensions, ethnic or racial conflicts and wars. People search for better employment, education and life opportunities away from their place or country of birth (White & Woods 1980; Muus 2001; Kosinski & Prothero 1974; Edgar 2005). Foreigners have come to South Africa seeking refuge and asylum due to economic and political conditions back home that are similar to what those experienced by South Africans between the 1960s and 1980s.

Among the foreigners there are many who are contributing immensely to South Africa's economy. They brought some requisite skills, entrepreneurial spirit, and determination to succeed regardless of the lack of reasonable financial and intellectual support from the society and government. Some open their businesses and provide jobs to South Africans, while others serve in professional institutions. It is an example that many South Africans

can emulate to improve their socio-economic conditions as well. The returnees have indicated that South Africans can learn from them about self-reliance.

Scarcity of resources, health, education and search for employment opportunities has driven many South Africans to move from the rural areas to the cities. In Cape Town, for instance, black townships are a result of such rural-urban migration. Limited access to economic resources has resulted in many Xhosa speakers discriminating against others of their own community – Capetonian Xhosas vs people from the rural Eastern Cape. Social relations amongst the two groups have spurred social antagonism, which can be captured in the language they use to describe one another. Capetonians (those who are born in Gugulethu, Nyanga East and Langa) regard their Xhosa counterparts from the Eastern Cape as *amagoduka*, *amafori*, *oomaXhoseni*, “tribal” and “backward”. In turn, they are referred to by their rural counterparts as “felons”, “thugs”, *skolis* and *Kaapse muties*. Thus animosity exists not only between local residents and returnees, but also between the city locals and newcomers from rural areas.

All the Xhosa speakers have common ancestry in the Eastern Cape. Capetonians are the offspring of Xhosa migrant workers who suffered a lot during colonialism and apartheid. Their labour, servitude and intellect have brought liberation and democracy. Therefore, originalism and regionalism should not be used arbitrarily to prejudge one’s credibility and integrity. This counts for those who recently moved into the Western Cape, regardless of their place of birth. Speech-monitoring-devices and background-soliciting-questions such as *lippi ikhaya?* (“Where is home?”) and *aphi amaXhosa akho?* (“Where are your Xhosas?”) should not be used to make the returnees and non-Xhosa speakers miserable.

The returnees spoke highly of the ANC support and protection they received in exile. The South Africa communities should now return that kindness and take similar responsibility. This should be extended to their parents or anybody who came to South Africa in need of help, support and legal protection. The feeling of the former MK

members, disclosed by Steyn and Grant (2006) is concern that there has been loss of comradeship to which they were accustomed in exile, as should come to an end.

SOMAFCO and Life-in-Exile should be used as a model for the development of progressive cosmopolitan social relations in the new democratic South Africa. Currently, contrary to expectations, the returnees are leading a secluded life in Khayelitsha and do not feel comfortable in speaking in any of the languages in their repertoire (Nyanja, Bemba, Swahili, English, etc.) for the fear of being labeled as foreigners or ‘coconuts’ (De Klerk 2000; Rudwick 2008; Pattman & Bhana 2006; Salo *et al.* 2010).

In exile, they were referred to as *Wakimbizis*, *Amagorilas*, “the run-aways” and “the Mandelas”. To be subjected to similar or even worse naming in South Africa, certainly is painful. The returnees believe that their future is in South Africa, their ancestral land: they do not want to be called *Amakwerekwere*, *My friendoh*, *Amagweja*, etc. The rich heritage generated during years of liberation struggle, colonial apartheid, racism and inequality can assist to shape a new society and give birth to a new person or a new native whose relationship with people (irrespective of their colour, background or creed) will not be defined by the past regressive socio-cultural and linguistic nuances or traditional standards, but by care, compassion, empathy, and mindfulness.

It is important to note that power is a dimension that characterises a symbiotic relationship between people in the dynamic and ever-evolving society. The only challenge is how this power is managed, enforced and directed. If it is used to promote development it is progressive, but if it is used as a tool to alienate and discriminate against others it is negative and unhelpful. Therefore, the political power that black South Africans have, should be used to build a non-racial and prosperous nation. It should also be used to heal the nation of its past and present social evils.

Since they acquired Xhosa informally (untutored) as adults who had limited exposure to the language in exile, it should be expected that some would have ‘missed the target’ (Klein & Dimroth 2009). But their determination to learn Xhosa should serve as

barometer to measure their desire to be part of the Xhosa social fabric. They need understanding, acceptance and support in learning more about their identity and language from “those who are more mature” – the native speakers (Vygosky 1978; Hall *et al.* 2011). As Cote (2004) put it a supportive environment ought to be established for the returnees to learn the target language i.e. Xhosa.

As much as Becker (2007) claims that successful L2 acquisition process depends on: (i) the motivation of the learner; (ii) the exposure to the second language; and (iii) the learner’s efficiency, it is impossible to think that all the returnees, as adult learners could achieve competence in the target language unless ‘a comfortable, nurturing environment’ that is ‘stress-free’ with ‘low anxiety atmosphere’ is facilitated (Garcia and Hasson 1991 cited in Cote 2004).

Invariably, the children of freedom fighters can be involved in the shaping of a better future instead of being alienated. They could serve as a symbol of African solidarity, nation-building and *Ubuntu*. Their enthusiasm to finally come back to their ancestral land should be celebrated as enrichment to the country’s rich heritage and history. The home that is often idealised in exile should not remain an illusion of a distant possibility, but a reality infused with prosperity, love, joy and comfort (Ward & Rana-Deuba 2000; Lucas & Purkayastha 2007).

Xhosa speakers in South Africa generally have the power to lead the nation toward unity and racial harmony. Women who, in the 1950s, demonstrated superiority of strength and technical acumen can lead their male counterparts in the quest for psycho-social emancipation of all South Africans. All South Africans should interrogate their own racism and cultural prejudices and create a new legacy. Most importantly, a longitudinal sociolinguistic study is required to investigate the implications of black-to-black racism on national reconciliation and transition from local cultures and identities toward embracing national culture in a globalised society.

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APPENDIX A: LUCKY'S INTERVIEW

Khawundichazele ukuba nafika nini apha eSouth Africa?

Ndafika ngo 1991. Uzakubala ke ukuba ndandineminyaka emingaphi.

Yayimingaphi iminyaka yakho ngelo xesha?

Iminyaka yam? Six years.

Khaundibalisele ukuba nasuka e exile nafikela phi? Chaza nizenjani apha kule ndawo nikuyo? Yonke nje lo nto.

Sasuka eLusaka sayakutsho eJohannesburg. Sahlala kea pho iintsuku Hotel. Kulapho kwafikela bonke ababese exile. Safikela kea pho; sibaninzi sinjalo. Lahamba ixesha. Emva kwexesha saphinda sasuka kula ndawo sasikuyo se saa. Abanye baya eSoweto, abanye ePretoria abanye eBloemfontein, abanye eFree State zonke ezindawo zase South Africa. Seza apha eCape Town ke thina. Safikela ku bhuti esasizalana naye ohlala eHazendale. Safikela kuye ke thina.

Sahlala apho kuye from 1991 to 92. Ngo 1992 sahamba saya Langa. Safikela kubhuti ekuthiwa nguMike. Until 94. Saya eGreen Point eJinowa kwa 83. Ukusuka kwethu eJinowa ngo94 sahamba sayokuhlala eKhayelitsha kwezi flats.

Le iflat le sihlala kuyo ngoku sayinikwa ngutata Tshawe. Qha utata uTshawe ngenxa utata wam wayegula. Wathi ha – a makungene thina. Otherwise ngesahlala kule katata Tshawe yena ahlale kule yethu. So ke yena akahlala kule bahlala kwizindlu ezazitemporal (next to their flat) ezazilapha ngasemva. Wakhetha ukuhlala paho ke utata uTshawe. Yona le ndawo le ilungiselelwe abantu base exile le ndawo le. Ekwakhiweni kwayo ukuva kwam kwakuhlala abantu abamhlophe. So, bayishiya ke. Sibengabantu bokuqala emva kwabo bantu ukuoccupy space.

Phambi kukuba use apha eSouth Africa. Benihlala kwindawo enjani e exile?

Uyabona mna kula kula village ndazalwa ndemka ndisemncinci. Andisakhumbuli. Ndaye ndamuvela. Umama wam wayengaphilanga. Wayenenakulunga ukundishiya. Ndimke ndisemncinci ndayokuhlala eLusaka.

Ufunde kwisikolo esinjani?

Pa eLusaka ndandifunda kwisikolo serace ParK. Yayiyi English School. Ndafunda ixesha nook elide. I think, ndafunda uSub A kwaze kwafuneka sihambe size apha. Ndashiya.

Udibene nayo phi English yona?

English ndadibana nayo kwesasikolo. Ndandithetha language eli lasekhaya. Ndandingenayo English background. Ndandi enjoy(a) into eninzi kwesasikolo. Ndandinefriends endazishiyayo. Inoba mhlawumbi ezinye zasweleka ngoku. Ndandi enjoy(a) ngoba yayiyiprivate school – ingafani nezinye izikolo.

Yha sasiyivuyela khe siphume ngaphandle. Imost yabantu ababefunda kwesasikolo yayingabantu abazalelwe pha ingabase exile (kodwa ingengo balapha) – South Africa in particular.

Yintoni onokuyithetha engumahluko kubomi balapha nobase exile?

I enjoyed ukukhula pha ngoba ulife walapha wohlukile nowapha. Wawudifferent. Sasihlala kakuhle. Kwakungekho racism, ucalucalulwano. Sasihlala free. Eyonanto ndandingayitsho ngalandawo ndandizelelwe kuyo kukuba pha kwakulinywa izinto sasingazitheni. Umhakhulu wam unefama.

Ungayithi yindawo enjani?

Yirural area eyayingenawo umbani. Amanzi siwakha kude.

Nagaphandle kwe English zeziphi iilanguages enanzithetha esikolweni?

Ivenacular sasizithetha ndaphandle; esikolweni zingafundiswa. Sasingavunyelwa esikolweni ukuba sisithethe (eklasini). Phandle eklasini yayiyiEnglish (English Policy Only). I think kwakulungiselelwa xa siyuba sikwazi ukuba nendlela yokuthi sicommunicate.

Ukumka kwakho waziva njani?

Yho, ndandi-sad ukumka kwam ngoba ndindisele ndineefriends ezininzi pha. Enye into ndandisiva ngale south Africa ndingayazi ukuba yindawo enjani. All of a sudden kwathiwa masipakishe makuhanjwe. Ndandi-expect ukuba eSouth Africa sizakufumana yonke into esasiyifumana. Safika kungenjalo. Utata nguye oyiSouth African, akazange andixelele ngoba andizange ndispende xesha notate kakhulu. Ubesoloko engabikho. Abuye aphinde ahambe. Zange ndichithe xesha lide naye. E-involved kwiMK. Amane ahamba aphinde abuye. Wayehamba for months maybe five months. Nalapho ahlale for few days aphinde ahambe. Zange ndibenethuba lokuva ukuba why baye beza e-exile. Yayiyintoni ingxaki.

Kwakunjani xa nifika eSouth Africa?

Uyabona ukufika kwethu eJo'burg. Yho, hayi kwakumnandi lamini sasifika ngoba bonke abantu e-exile endwaweni ezidifferent. Kukho nabanye . Imost yabantu babeyi enjoy(a) gqithi la day. Sasicula banke behappy abantu.

Nanisebenzisa oluphi ulwimi?

Sasisebenzisa English ulwimi esasilisebenzisa. Since abanye besuka kwezinye iindawo.

Nahlala ixesha elingakanani pha eJo'burg?

Sayigqiba iveki sihleli pha. Inokuba babesacinga (ANC) ukuba "heyi, sizakuthini njengokuba sebefikile sibasenjani kwiindawo zabo". Ekufanele ukuba sibasuse kule ndawo bakuyo. From A to point B bahambe bayeemantla into enjalo. Mhlawumbi babesaqokelela amatikiti, andazi sahla iveki sahamba.

Ekusukeni, ifamily nganye yathath ideocision ukuba izakutr(a) i-relatives -iroots zayo. Wonke umntu wacinga ngee relatives. Umntu uzakusuka aye ngapha nangapha. Than saya eCape Town. Utata wazalelwa eKapa kwaLanga. Kulendawo ndiyichazileyo (83 Jinowa).

Utata omkhulu wakho yena wayesukaphi?

Hayi andazi utatomkhulu wam. Kuthiwa wazalelwa eQueenstown. Ngelishwa nam wasweleka utata ndingekayi ngapha. Lilonke mna ndingowalapha eCape Town.

Yeyiphi ichallenge awayifumanayo eHazendale?

EHazendale kwakunzima ukucommunicate nabanye abantwana.

Wasifunda phi isiXhosa?

IsiXhosa sona ndasifunda from friends next door. Ndafunda kwi Coloured School. Actually, my primary school was shocked by my speaking of English. I only learn English and Afrikaans. Ngethuba sifika apaha eKhayelitsha ndandingenaproblems speaking Xhosa.

What does isiXhosa symbolise to you?

Xhosa symbolises relief. Ibizakuba-funny into yokuba ndingasithethi isiXhosa and I am claiming to Xhosa. When I got to Langa I did not even know the meaning of my name. I only learnt about that here in South Africa.

Zeziphi languages enizithethayo apha ekhaya?

AT home we speak Xhosa mostly. It is only our relatives have come that we speak other languages. Zambian relatives.

Nikhe naya eZambia njengokuba nifikilee apha

We often visit Zambia. Xa sifika pha we need to adapt. They can pick it up from our speech that we have been away. Pronunciation has changed. So, they would laugh at us. They suggest we better speak the languages so that we do not forget. They kind of claim us. Andinangxaki nokuba besicclaim or not because I have experienced discrimination in many occasions.

For example, ukusuka eprimary school where I had already adapted ndaya ehigh school. It was a new environment. Discrimination started from friends. Bebendibiza ngokuba ndili “kwerekwere” okanye bathi “my friendoh”. Those were my additional names. I could not cope with that. Intliziyo yam ibibuhlungu kakhulu. Abanye bekhuthaza into yokuba singabahoyi. Even though I tried to explain everyday who I was but they wouldn’t listen.

Abanye baba bandidiscriminatayo ngeye imini bapretend(e) as if bayavelana nam. Ngenye imini ibengabo abathi ndilikwerekwere and that I should go back to where I come from. Le nto ibisenzeka qho xa sinequarrel. I told them that I did not choose my situation.

Ekuhlaleni Ingaba ikhona into wayenza?

Kula Coloured School sifunde Computer Studies. Ndakhe ndainvolved ina project ye Substance Abuse. Sibane sifundisa ngayo eLook Out Hill. Ndandingekayipass imatric.

Zange kubekho ngxaki?

Amantombazane aye awubona umahluko phakathi kwam namanye amakhwenkwe wamaXhosa. Even some Xhosas babecinga ukuba ndiliColoured. Nefani yam yeye Afrikaans.

Nakhwela ntoni ngoku nisuka Zambia?

Ukusuka uMumbwa Village sathat bus ne taxi ukuya eLusaka. From airport eLusaka saya nge plane eJo'burg. Then from Jo'burg seza apha eCape Town.

Bezikhona cultural activities eZambia?

There were no cultural activities. Mzekelo, xa kukho into umhakhulu ubexhela. Ibiba yiimmediate family and extended family ebisiza. Ndabona umahluko kwaLanga xa kwakukho funeral. The whole community came. That made it look unusual. Yandibonisa lonto ukuba ukhona umahluko.

Ikhona into encomekayo ongayithetha ngeSouth Africa? Owafika wayibona?

South Africa is so advanced. Akho pension eZambia for abantu abadala. If you did not save wayisebenzisa yonke imali yakho, especially xa ubusebenzela ugovernment. You must save and do your own business.

Ungathini ngamanye amazwi ngokubalapha eSouth Africa?

Though I belong here, I feel at home in Zambia. Izinto apha eSouth Africa get worse as you up. I remember working with another brother in schools. He was shocked to discover that I can speak Xhosa the way I do. Ubecinga andingomXhosa. Maybe it is the way I look. Mhlawumbi ikhona into ebaxelelayo ukuba ndinomahluko. But my Xhosa is good, but I get betrayed by looks.

Ingaba njengokuba nilapha niyazenza cultural activities?

Here, there are no cultural activities. There are no contacts. Siyaziphilela nje ubumi bethu apha. At least apha eKhayelitsha, Langa nase Gugulethu xa ndivisitele friends we move to restaurants. People do not notice when I am with friends. But if I talk they get amazed. Uyayihamba nokuba yicawe?

Watch Tower. Jehova's Witnesses. Our approach is different.

Loluphi ulwimi enilusebenzisayo?

At church siyasisebenzisa isiXhosa. At first people babethetha nam in English. Ndayamkela lo nto. It is my background. We have similar blood.

Do you discriminate?

I treat people equally. I do not draw boundaries. I wish SA – amaXhosa – who are too much ignorant to go out of the country bokufunda ngabanye abantu nezinye icultures. Bokufunda ngolife in other countries.

Zeziphi proudly South African moments zakho?

In Zambia they treat me as South African with value. Nobody knew and I was not treated as outsider. But when they learnt about it they started treating me with too much value. Mindset yabantu iyafuna ukutshintshwa. Abantu abamnyama bayafuna ukufundiswa ngamanye amazwe la asincedayo ukuze sifumane inkululeko. Ifeel bad xa abantu besibiza ngamagama ngoba Ido not like it. I also feel sorry for those who do it ngoba ibonakalisa ukuba banento abangayaziyo?

APPENDIX B: BULELWA'S INTERVIEW

Tell me about your childhood?

A place I was born in was a suburban area of Lusaka. It was nice. We played different sports game – netball, volleyball. They were also games like “touch-touch” and “block-block”. Today kids do not play. During teenage years I would go for sport and play and then come back and assist my mother in the house. Kids do not do that unless you tell them. For us it was part of growing up. You must know when to play and do your home chores.

What languages did you speak at school?

English. Second language was French / German. I did not do vernacular. I chose French. I spoke Nyanja in communicating with Bemba.

What made you to decide to come to South Africa?

What made me decide to come is repatriation. My mother is Tswana and my father passed on in Zambia. My father is Zambian. From Zambia I thought it was logical to come with my mother. I went from Zambia to Johannesburg and then went to my mother's home in Rustenberg. My mother decided to come to grandmother's sister.

What year did you come?

We came to South Africa in 1991. I was 20. I was excited. But I was disappointed later. It is so hard for us to fit. We do not fit in. People call us by names. We do not fit in at all. Again when we were out in exile; maybe when we were with our mommy they would say “Oh, here comes a guerrilla”. And again in South Africa we are called “makwerekwere”. In exile they called us “maguerilla” – “terrorists”. Mostly, when they saw our parents (MK soldiers) they called us “guerrilla kids”, “wakimbizi”, “run aways”. This happened in Tanzania.

When did you go to Tanzania?

15 years old. I went to Tanzania and stayed for 5 years. In Tanzania I had to learn there.

Did you experience any communication problem?

There was no communication problem because English is mostly used. But there were very strong in Swahili and we had to learn to communicate with them (people of Tanzania) by learning Swahili.

Why do you think you were discriminated against?

We were discriminated against because the people knew exactly who we were. It did not matter whether we were coming from Zambia. We were in an ANC concentration camp. In the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFSCO). They knew it was for Wakimbizi – those who were so weak to face the challenges at home, so they ran away.

When did you come to Cape Town?

I stayed in Rustenberg until year 2000. In November I came to Cape Town. My husband prompted my move to Cape Town. I had problems with him. I decided to come to my

sister who was staying in Table View. Then after 6 months I moved out to stay in Khayelitsha

Where is your sister now?

My sister is in Plumstead.

Do you mix mingle with people in the community?

People in Khayelitsha in the area where I live are coming from exile. It is easy to mingle with them. Besides, I only interact with my customers. I have a talent. I am doing plates and braids. I am working with Coloureds. At first it was difficult because they wanted to rule me around. It doesn't go down well. But everybody knows what I don't like. Before they did not understand me, where I was coming from, so, I told them, and they now know about the situation.

What can you say about Coloureds compared to Xhosas?

I have realised that there is a big gap between Xhosas and Coloureds. I do not understand why there should be that gap. But I associated myself both sides. I do not draw boundaries.

Where did you learn to speak Xhosa?

I learnt Xhosa mostly in Rustenberg and Cape Town. This is a new language I learnt upon my arrival. I use Xhosa with the Xhosas. My accent and my Xhosa got people into asking where I was coming from; how I did not speak Xhosa very well. Then, I would explain. After my explanation others wouldn't mind. They would just continue talking. But there are those who are sarcastic. But I also know how to put them in their place. One day I was in a shop. I bought something small and I went to change it. The Xhosa sales lady told me to go and find the size that fits. When I came back the lady expelled me to go to the far end of the queue. I told her "lady, I was here". I said "I won't go back to the line. I was here". I said, "where is your customer service? You were supposed to go and fetch the right size for me, but you did not". Then there were people who said "Ah, makaphume. Akuboni ukuba likwerekwere elo? Babalekile emakwabo apha. Bazokusenzela nzima apha eSouth Africa". I felt bad. I said, "but I am not going back whether ndilikwerekwere or not".

What does Xhosa symbolise to you?

I feel Xhosa is a language like Tswana. People can feel strongly about it, but it is a language just like others.

Do you attend cultural activities around?

I do not attend cultural activities unless when I was in Rustenberg. I am busy. So, I do not have time for those. I attended in Rustenberg a traditional function, cultural dances, Heritage Day functions. I enjoyed but not really feel part of it. I would at home in Zambia in my place of birth.

Which languages do you speak? Where?

I still maintain my contacts. When I meet my people from Zambia I will either speak Nyanja or Tla depending on what they speak. Those who speak Tswana or Bemba I will speak.

What do you think is the difference between Zambia and South Africa?

I love my pap and dry fish. There are different types of foods in Zambia, which is not here. Another difference is that people do not have manners here. People in Zambia are disciplined and respectful. Zambians are quiet people by nature. I am a Christian. I believe in the Lord. My background and Lusaka is Christian dominated.

Do you have contact with other people born in exile?

I still communicate with others who share the same experience of being born in exile. In Pretoria they still organise functions every since I came. In Cape Town there is nothing. There was one in Johannesburg but I couldn't attend.

APPENDIX C: VINOLIA'S INTERVIEW

Tell me, where were you born?

I was born in the City of Dar e Salaam in Tanzania. But I left for Karagwe where I grew up. I came to South Africa as a teenager.

What did you notice as difference between Tanzania and South Africa?

In South Africa, I touched food I did not know. But it was exciting. Food in Tanzania was natural – no added chemicals. It is organic food. That is what I realised. We ate green banana, green vegetables, beans, mango, and picked some natural food.

What childhood games did you play?

I played football, volleyball, judo, karate, soccer, cultural dance (indlamu) taught in Tanzania by South African teachers. We also learn more about Zulu speaking people. Not much about cultural activities.

Tell us about your schooling

I studied at SOMAFCO. I started my schooling Mazimbu, Morogoro.

What can you say about the people in Tanzania?

People there are so welcoming, so loving and respectful. I never experienced things like rape and violence. I first heard about it here. I first saw the white people the white people in Dar e Salaam. It was a strange thing to see. Everybody would say “Mzungu”. Come and see Mzungu.

Which language did you use for learning?

I studied in English. It symbolises communication. It is an international language.

When you heard that you were coming to South Africa how did you feel?

I was excited about coming back to South Africa. So much we heard about this country. Our teachers told us a lot. It was like a land out of this world. A world not on earth, so, that got me interested. I thought whow! I have got a father who is South African. So, I qualify. I did not think of anything else.

How did you come to South Africa?

Apparently the ANC organised the trips. We went for vaccination at the repatriation office. We came by aeroplane. I have been in England. Got into East London, and we arrived at night. I felt like I was in England.

What were you doing in England?

I represented South Africa through arts. We would meet other South African leaders.

How did people treat you in Tanzania?

In Tanzania, we were regarded as South Africans. We were even called “Wakimbizi” (run aways). But it was somehow different and it was a fact unlike the term “makwerekwere”.

Are you still in touch with your family?

Not really in touch with the family. My father was born in Transkei. His family was in Gugulethu. I did not grow with my father. I only saw him when I was 13 years. We, in South Africa, living in a strange country. We started in Gugulethu and because of space constraints the family could not accommodate us. I stayed with them for a week or two and then went to Woodstock. Stayed in Woodstock for 3 years.

Did you experience any difficulties?

My father was sick and we felt packing and going. My mother was in Zambia. I did get the opportunity to bond with him. I mostly spoke Zulu (people could easily pick it up that I could not speak in Xhosa). Zulu helped us a lot. People would say when we speak English “Baphakamile aba bantwana” (these children are full of themselves) or “Ayingobalapha” (there are not from here). “Why would they a different language?” “Ayisingobalapha”. We were amazed because we did not understand why should someone be forced to speak a certain language. We grew up knowing to speak however. People would gossip about us in our presence. After they finish their conversation we would confront them.

When we were alone we spoke in English, and Xhosa to Xhosas to avoid being outcasts. But sometimes, consciously we would become very proud and Speak Nyanja or Swahili. We would speak whatever we were feeling about.

What Xhosa symbolise to you?

We were blended with people from different background. We had to learn Xhosa. Xhosa does not symbolise anything. It is a way of understanding the Xhosa people. It is my father’s language.

When did you arrive in South Africa?

I arrived in 1992.

Do you participate in cultural activities?

I am not a traditional person. I believe in God. I do not do imicimbi. I do not believe in killing cattle or goat or sheep. I was not brought up like that. I never undergone any ritual or something.

Which language do you prefer?

English is my preference and I communicate better in English. Nyanja and Xhosa. I feel good when I talk to women organising events in church in Xhosa.

Where do you spend most of your time?

Spend time in church. I try to be a better person, better mother and wife.

Are you married?

I am married to a Coloured guy from P. E. When I go to his home we stay normally. I am black. I am unique and they are coloured and unique. So we keep it that way. We just respect each other.

Are you still in touch with Tanzania?

I am very excited about the stories told about Tanzania. They tell us how it has changed. Certain shops and infrastructure like South Africa's is now becoming available – Edgars, Shoprite, Game.

Which language did you speak in Tanzania?

Swahili is the main language we speak. There were opportunities. Maybe the change was not necessary. For those who were older who came from South Africa were missing home. Just like we do now. There were opportunities and there were those grabbed the opportunities. We lived a good life – going to Europe.

Proud South African moments for you?

I am proud of being South African. Only when there was ICC World Cup. I love cricket. Proteas make me feel proud. But it seems as if they are losing it. Countries in Africa and here us oppression as an excuse: they do not want to move on. You do not make others miserable just because your life is miserable. Do not hold on to the past. You won't go anywhere. There are people who have internalised that and cannot move forward. They have been paralysed. I would rather be called "kwerekwere" than to get paralysed by backward mentality.

I hate people calling others by such names. I would confront those people; ask them who they are, calling people like that. The fact that you speak language he or she does not understand you are "kwerekwere" to him or her. I would tell them that the fact that you do this shows there is something you do not know. Please learn! What does it do for you to call people like that? How would you feel being in another country and people call you a "kwerekwere"?

We are Africans. We should not be restricted to languages. We can learn as much about other people. Try to find out why people are the way they are.

What types of people are in Dar eSalaam?

Muslims dominate in Dar e Salaam. But we learn in Swahili most of the time. Swahili is dominant.

What do you think of the future in South Africa?

South Africa should wake up. Do not feel threatened by anybody. Only you can determine your future. Do not let few people threaten your future. Just learn to speak, mostly those from the countries that supported South Africans. These people are running because of circumstances in their countries. They are trying to make a living. So show compassion to them.

APPENDIX D: DEMOGRAPHIC DETAILS

Respondent No: _____

1. Names: _____ Surname: _____ (Optional)

2. Gender:

Male	Female

3. Place of Birth: _____

(**Town**) _____ (Country) _____

Mark with level with an X.

Language	Read			Speaking			Writing		
(i)	Weak	Fair	Good	Weak	Fair	Good	Weak	Fair	Good
(ii)	Weak	Fair	Good	Weak	Fair	Good	Weak	Fair	Good
(iii)	Weak	Fair	Good	Weak	Fair	Good	Weak	Fair	Good
(iv)	Weak	Fair	Good	Weak	Fair	Good	Weak	Fair	Good
(v)	Weak	Fair	Good	Weak	Fair	Good	Weak	Fair	Good
(vii)	Weak	Fair	Good	Weak	Fair	Good	Weak	Fair	Good
(viii)	Weak	Fair	Good	Weak	Fair	Good	Weak	Fair	Good
(ix)	Weak	Fair	Good	Weak	Fair	Good	Weak	Fair	Good
(x)	Weak	Fair	Good	Weak	Fair	Good	Weak	Fair	Good

APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS IN XHOSA

Indawo Yokuzalwa

- Yindawo enjani le wazalelwa kuyo?
- Yintoni ongathi ingumahluko phakathi kwabantu balapha nabantu balandawo wazalelwa kuyo?
- Yeyiphi imidlalo enikhule niyidlala pha?
- Njengomntu obekhulela phaya Ingaba ubusoloko uyonwabele into yokuba pha?
- Khawundichazele ngokutya enanikutya. Kunjani na?

Ekufikeni eMzantsi Afrika

- Nize njani apha eMzantsi Afrika? Neza ngebhasi, ngenqwelo-ntaka, ngenyawo?
- Waziva njani ukushiya indawo ozalelwe kuyo?
- Ngowuphi kubazali bakho owazalelwa apha eMzantsi Afrika?
- Wazalelwa keyiphi indawo? Senikhe naya nje apho?
- Xa ebalisa ngayo indawo le awazalelwa kuyo, ubesithini?
- Ekufikeni kwenu apha Ingaba ikhona indawo enaqala kuyo okanye navele neza straight apha eKapa?
- Ingaba oko nahlala apha kule ndawo?
- Ingaba usayikhumbula indlela aziva ngayo xa wawufika apha eMzantsi Afrika? Waziva njani?
- Ingaba abazali bakho baziva njani? Babevuya, bexhumaxhuma, becula okanye babenxunguphele?

Ulwimi

- Ingaba wawuyithetha na ilanguage yalapha eMzantsi Afrika ngethuba ufika?
- Wawusenza njani xa kufuneka uthethe nabantwana okanye nabantu balapha ekuhlaleni?
- Ingaba zikhona na languages owathi wazifunda xa ufika apha eMzantsi Afrika?
- Xa uthetha nabantu balapha usebenzisa eyiphi language?
- Khawundixelele ngobunzima owathi wabufumana ekuthetheni kwakho nabantu balapha ekuhlaleni. Zange ufumane ngxaki?
- Usebenzisa eziphi languages xa usekhaya? Isube uzithetha nabani na?
- Ingaba uyafunda okanye uyasebenza?
- Esikolweni okanye emsebenzini usebenzisa eyiphi language?

- IsiXhosa esi kuwe ngaba sithetha ntoni? Sineliphi ixabiso?
- Usazisebenzisa ilanguages zala ndawo usuka okanye wawuzalelwe kuyo?
- Ingaba wakhe wabetraywa yindlela othetha ngayo? Itsho abantu bazi into youkuba wena awuzalelwanga apha eMzantsi Afrika?
- Ingaba ikhona indlela abantu balapha bakhe bakubona ngayo ukuba wena uyafika apha?

Amasiko

- Ukuye kwicultural activities apha ekuhlaleni?
- Wakhe waqaphela mahluko mni phakathi kwe cultural activities zalapha xa uzithelekisa nezase exile?
- Uyayihamba icaweni?
- Ngaphandle kwe Kapa Ingaba likhona na elinye ikhaya lakho?
- Niyawenza amasiko kulendawo nihlala kuyo? Yeyilanguage esetyenziswayo?
- Yintoni oyikhumbulayo ngamasiko kula ndawo wazalelwa kuyo?

Iindawo Zolonwabo

- Wenza ntoni ngexesha lakho xa ugqibe yonke into ekufanele uyenze ngemini?
- Ingaba usadibana na nabantu abazalelwa exile?
- Niye nithini, niorganize cultural events?
- Ingaba unayo into ongathi yakwenza waziva proud nge South Africa?
- Ingaba ukhe ubacalucalule abantu?
- Ingaba akhona na amagama athi asetyenziswe ngabantu ajoliswe kubantu abavela ngaphandle?
- Akuphatha njani?
- Ingaba la magama akhe athethwa kuwe?
- Waziva njani?
- Ingaba unabo ubudlelwane obuhle nabantu balapha ekuhlaleni?