

**Humour as ‘Cultural Reconciliation’
in South African Situation Comedy:**

An Ethnographic Study of Multicultural Female Viewers

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*Despite existing conditions or laws to mandate change, nothing substantial can be changed without **an** organic movement from within the society arising to become a new reality, shifting the previous disposition of social forces (Gramsci, 1973:178).*

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Appendix Notes

In compiling the transcripts, hesitations, repetitions etcetera have been omitted for clarity. In general, grammar has been corrected except where the possible picturesque speech is indicative of the ethnic background and perception of the participants. This applied especially to the Zulu groups.

Where possible the original speech (either Zulu or Afrikaans), has been reported verbatim with a translation following immediately after the reported speech. In certain instances the Zulu, for instance, was not fully audible and this was then indicated thus [Zulu]

The following notations have been used:

[...] Where sections of the speech have been omitted or where the speech was not clear

[**] Used in lieu of proper names. Mostly to conceal the identity of the participants

[Babble] Where the parties all spoke together and it was not possible to report the speech

Glossary

aardvark - anteater
apartheid - official government policy of racial segregation through legislation - applied in South Africa - (Brits, 1995)
blou films - pornographic films
boer - farmer (Afrikaans)
boeredogter - daughter of a farmer
braai - barbeque
briyani - Indian dish comprising a mix of ingredients
broederbond - brotherhood - a secret organisation
chin chin mawetu -
dhobi - washerwoman
doek - head scarf
Engelse vrou - English woman
halfgenaaide - half breed
iqaba - low class
indaba - consultation
ingwala - uninitiated
inkosi - chiefs - rulers
intombezaan - young woman
koeksisters - sweet cakes fried in oil and rolled in syrup
kugel - a spoilt young woman
kungum - the red mark on the forehead of Indian women
kwela - type of music
lekker - nice
lobola - bride price - money paid to the bride's family
magwinja - a sweetmeat made from flour and deep-fried in fat
makoti - a young or new bride
makulu - large
masala - a spice used in curries
mashongani - loan shark
melktert - traditional Afrikaans tart made with milk
memsahib - lady-in-charge
mense - humans or people
miesies - madam, lady of the house
moffies - slang meaning 'gay'
nadi - nil, nothing
Nasionale Pers - Afrikaans press and publishers
nkosikaas - young woman
om reg te lyk - to appear correct
ouma - grandmother
partii - grandmother
poppie - doll
putu - a stiff type of porridge made from maize meal
sangoma - witchdoctor
sari - an Indian dress

shebeen - an establishment selling illicit liquor in the days when non-whites were prohibited the consumption of alcohol. Considered to be legal in the new regime

sies - word used to express disgust

simunye - an expression for unity, literally 'we are one'

sisi - sister

skakelhuis - the equivalent of the American shotgun house. An unobstructed view from the front door down the corridor and out the back door

skokiaan - home brewed alcohol

tolk - interpreter

toyi-toyi - a dance used primarily in demonstrations

tsotsi -ganster

tula - quiet (Zulu)

ukisinda - 'helper' in the home

uitlander - foreigner

verkramp - bigoted, narrow-minded

vetkoek - traditional savoury dough or cake, fried in oil

verligtes - literally - 'the enlightened' - the progressive Afrikaner favouring changes (Brits, 1995)

volksmoeder - Mother of the nation

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APPENDIX A

March 14, 1996

Questions for production team for *Suburban Bliss*

1. In the negotiations with the SABC for production of *Suburban Bliss* who made the initial overture?
2. Can you define the message that is intended in the programme?
3. Is the storyline of the production conceived by a group of writers? Do some write dialogue or is each episode the responsibility of one person?
3. What genre is this programme?
4. Why was the decision reached to use this genre
5. Who is the target audience - what cultural and socio-economic groups?
6. How do women as consumers figure into the calculations as a target audience?
7. Theorists in evaluating TV programmes have indicated that middle class women look at female characters for comparison to themselves while working class women look at class position. How do you see the structure of *Suburban Bliss* in relation to this comment?
8. If female spectatorship negotiates its subject positions, how do you see female characters are constructed in *SB* and what are their social positions?
9. In the parodying critique of traditions of culture, class, gender, there are stereotypes among the characters can we discuss these in more detail?
 - The white husband
 - The white wife
 - The white grandfather
 - The daughter
 - The black husband
 - The black wife
 - The black mother-in-law
 - The brother or son
10. The ultimate taboo in South Africa is sex across the colour line. In last week's episode it was an issue but recuperated back into mainstream thought. Do you intend pursuing this line of thought?

Interview with CARL FISCHER (Producer)

March 14, 1996, at Dapple Productions, (Toron), Johannesburg.

F= Fischer

R= Interviewer (Dorothy Roome)

R In the negotiations with SABC for the production of *Suburban Bliss* who made the initial overture? Did they approach you or did you have this concept and then approach them?

F It's a long story and I'll try and set it down. Gray and I have a long history of collaboration on successful South African television starting way back at the beginning of the 80s]. What we found a pity, as a trend in South African television, apart from all the other problems that we needn't discuss because everyone knows what South African television is, is that in those days we were fairly immediate with our audience, with the writing and the production process was fairly close to its transmission. And, for example, we were still writing and shooting and recording in *The Villagers* while it was on the air. But in spite of the immediacy with the audience, you can adjust performances and you can adjust, you know, some of the kind of defects of the actors and writers and directors, and producers [going on] the show. Over the decades, subsequently then, because of all sorts of bureaucratic controls and personalities and in-fighting in SABC, that lead time between the concept and the proposal of a production to whoever the power of these things were 'till it went on the air, I found it was stretching sometimes three or four years, but minimum three years, until we had that [contact]. And it was a great pity, particularly in South Africa where changes were happening quite fast, yet quite slowly, and the more things change, the more they stay the same. But we in the mid eighties were busy with a show called *People Like Us*. [...]. And it was also trail blazing television at the time, certainly in its concept in early eighties it was rather forward [looking]. But by the time it eventually [aired] it was obviously dated and many of the social issues that we tried to, that we were reflecting in the writing and production in the mid eighties were passe in the late eighties. We rued this fact not just amongst ourselves but also to a senior executive of television at that time. It was in a pub in London, and he said, 'Gee, you guys are absolutely right. How can we change that?' So, that was the very beginning of *Suburban Bliss*. [...] which is actually a spinoff of *People Like Us*.

R Maybe I should see a couple episodes. Do you have any copies of *People*?

F Well let me just tell you about *People Like Us*, because you don't need to know the background or see it to know where *Suburban Bliss* is coming from. We robbed from Archie Bunker, we robbed from *'Til Death us do Part* when we wrote for *People Like Us*. And we said, 'What do we do now in the mid nineteen eighties in South Africa?' And that's how we created the show. What happened to *People Like Us*, just to give you an indication of the kind of social shifting sands that we were getting into and make some kind of comment out of it. Whereas, it was some lower middle class white South African suburb into which different social strata were moving up and down in the new South Africa...

R Like the gentrification that was going on.

F Yes. In the middle was a house, he was a builder, very lower middle class white South African, much the same as Hempies' family would have been in lower, middle class South Africa. Next door, moved a coloured couple, not a black one, a coloured couple who are moving up in the world from ...

R This is about the eighties concept.

F This is the eighties now. And we produced it. It was a coloured couple. It was a doctor and he was moving up in the world. This was his first step into the white South Africa, which was illegal at the time. The Group Areas Act was still in place. Just a bit of background for a moment, when the show was finally produced and shown to the SABC executive, they were too scared to broadcast it and we now understand that it went all the way up to P. W. Botha who said no we can't do the broadcast until after the 1989 elections. So it sat on the shelf for nearly two years after we made it. But anyway...

R Because the Group Areas Act was only, part of it was done away with in '89. Is that what you're saying?

F Yes, that's right. So into the house next door in Brixton, arrived this coloured couple, a Doctor on his way up in the world, and next door, the other side there is an estate agent who went down in the world, a white family who was in the property market and the property market, as you know, was doing badly in the mid to late eighties. He moved out of his

Bryanston home and was moving down into the lower [areas]. Those were the characters. You know, it ended up we made twenty-six of those episodes. And at the end of it everybody just loved to chatter, although at the beginning they were terrified of this concept of [integration]. That's where that started and we found it a pity that in many ways that wasn't the situation. It was just a panacea. It wasn't a situation [comedy] as we designed *Bliss*.

R Because that was going to be my next question.

F It was just a funny series. It was another show that we produced with *Two Weeks in Paradise*. Gray and I have always been pushing those kinds of boundaries as much as we could possibly do with SABC and still work, you see. Because our alternative was, if SABC rejected it, not to work at all [passive] resistance. We went with it, rightly or wrongly, and we stayed just within the boundaries of what clearly was a test case [with] the SABC. Otherwise, we wouldn't work, but as I say, for example, like *People Like Us* which was stuck on the shelf. So we said, the executive now at SABC who was persuaded by our audience about this immediacy, said also that we needed to be able to produce it at the lowest cost per minute that is imaginable. This was 1992. And the kind of average cost per minute then was in the region of seven thousand, eight thousand rands. And they said we must try and [...] that and then we could do a lot of episodes and build audiences, capture them in a particular program and time slot and habit. And we said, 'Hallelujah, that was exactly what we wanted to do'. Those are the criteria. And we added a third one. The political imperative at the time was that TV1 had very few black viewers. We want to try and get away from [that] TV1 is for whites and CCV is for blacks and *Police File* is for coloureds. So you see, design something that can attract black viewers to TV1 as well. That was basically it. Then Gray and the creators of the show, as I say, stole from the various different productions. Not only were we involved with ourselves but we created ourselves with the South African scene. And they also made it a very calculated and deliberate decision that we were going to go sitcom.

R Please carry on. That's fine. That's what I was going to ask you. What is your genre?

F The genre was sitcom. We felt at the time that nobody had ever successfully tackled sitcom in South Africa, with the possible exception of an Afrikaner show and it was a comedy. As I say, that was the closest in my [opinion]. We thought at the time that, and we still think that, South African audiences had

been fed a diet of American sitcom and have come to expect, have come to some kind of expectation for that genre of production. That if you want to be funny, everything's got to be audience laughter tracks somewhere during the show, and in many respects it's not. There are exceptions.

R They're closed?

F Yeah. It's got to be broad, very broad. The characters have been larger than life.

R That each episode is complete. It's closed out?

R That's right. And the most important, the characters have got to be broad. The performances have got to be pitched very, what we call over the top, larger than life, and the situations themselves are filled with coincidences and misunderstandings and all the larger than life situations. And that's where we pitched it, rightly or wrongly. On the basis of South Africans being fed this diet of American sitcoms and that were popular and that South African comedies that we decided to learn from the States experiences were similar. And if you look at the course that makes the interplay, they are very good, in fact, most of the very defined characters and performances pitched quite high. Just to make a comment on what you just said here now, that the Northern Suburbs South Africa, intellectual South Africa, doesn't like that at all ...

R Not necessarily intellectual. I'm looking actually at a class thing now. I think what I'm learning since I've been here a bit is the differentiation that you get into a class thing which we don't think about ...

F Maybe I've used the wrong word. As I've said, Northern Suburbs South Africa doesn't like it. They see it as intellect. They see the white characters as completely unrepresentative of them. They don't know anybody like that.

R Who'd want to?

F Those people don't exist.

R Most of those people don't want to know them. We certainly don't want to bring them into our living room.

F We certainly don't want to show the world that's what South Africans are about. And really for those critical audiences, the black characters just don't exist either. The black people they know are the gardener and the maid and the masses that walk around in the streets and they are not represented by those

characters that are on the television's screen. And conversely, black audiences, in general, across the board, whether it's the upper classes or the lower classes, we are finding in terms of our personal profiles, and also we are finding that even with our scientific empirical research, that they love it. For the first time, on television, they are seeing characters that they know exist in South Africa, but have never been represented on the screen. They are seeing situations and they are seeing both the warts and the cakes, both the negative and the positive sides of South African society represented on the screen as they have never seen before, because it's only been recently [that] white people would allow black people's television, and black people are generally criminals and servants.

R The bad stuff.

F Yeah, the bad stuff. And now it's something different. And there were some interesting responses from both black and white test groups in our test group [...]. Many of the black audiences or black test groups have been asked on which channel would you expect to see that. Most of them said that we expect to see that on CCV, but it's forced to be on TV1 because white people must watch that, is what black audiences said. And generally, on radio, we're generalizing here now, white audiences now, white test audiences, 'Oh, this is for CCV. It's a programme for them. It's not for us. It's for them'. Although there were some differences between age groups in the white test audience, and also between English and Afrikaans speakers, Afrikaans speakers generally, particularly the older ones, just hated and loathed it. It was degrading to white people, and degrading to the Afrikaans. And, whereas, English audiences and their class are kind of precluded from this. 'It should be on television, but don't take off *Married With Children*. Don't take off [...]. So, in that trend of response, it has seemed to be consistent throughout. And if you look at the ratings, which are now the head counts, the conservative, the head counts that have been consistent from episode one, is that, and the panels are now broken up into English/Afrikaans, Nguni-Sotho, adults, children. Basically four panels. In the Nguni-Sotho group, it's consistently number one or two in the ratings, it's been most popular, but English/Afrikaans, that really yo-yos quite a lot. With children, with English/Afrikaans children, it's consistently number one. They love it. With adults, it's the lowest on the English/Afrikaans adults panel. In adults and children, it's number one and two. So it was between another locally produced show [...]. And they now are at eight, on the new schedules for SABC. On the old schedules, in the combined panel now, the

combined adults, combined children, combined means averaged, it's either number one or number two consistently. With children consistently number one, they're finding it much more popular with children. And I've had interesting comments coming to me from people I know [...], that class thing, which they have concluded was terrible, but their children insist that they watch it and they love it. And their children talk about it at school and ...

R That's very interesting.

F Yeah, it's an interesting observation.

R [...]. Maybe they have not had the same brainwashing about this thing. That the class thing is not quite [...] part of the culture of who they are.

F Yes. And [...] here, and one of the most popular characters is Thando amongst the white, upper class children. Now, that's an unscientific observation, it's a kind of ...

R Born to [shop] That is so interesting. Well now you've answered a lot of this, I'm just going to quickly run through this. Can you define the message then that's in TV? Every programme has like an ideology built into it. What do you think is your ideology?

F Well, let me give you two answers. One is, as a producer, I tend to believe in the old adage in that if you want to send the message, use the post office. And if you want to entertain, then use television. That's not to say that you can't produce programming that is both entertaining and challenging and that might contain a message. But the point of departure must be entertaining and watchability. Because very often the failure of what could potentially be good television for programming is that the creators behind it were driven by some kind of ideological message. Television services have been littered by twenty years of politics. I think there's a danger that there are certain individuals with that kind of ideological persuasion and have used television to send a message to people.

R It's interesting you say it, because the topic of my presentation is called *Humour As Reconciliation*. I got this out of a newspaper which basically said this was the aim. SABC wanted a 104 episodes because they wanted to try and use a sitcom to help, you know like the sports thing was to help that. So that is a very interesting comment that you made.

F I Think you're perhaps creating the SABC motivation and planning with a little more foresight than there is.

There was actually in this whole [...].

R I just took this from a newspaper. I haven't interviewed anybody. I would like to get hold of something better.

F This show was nearly killed for many reasons, before it was even commissioned, for many reasons, and not least of which, the exact opposite of what was and I think now. I had to go through. I had to do enormous detailed motivations at the time, we almost cancelled. [SABC] and management [...] and all of it as to how this fit into its new values and aims, without any of them having read it, without any of them having obviously seen it, we hadn't produced it. The other dynamics working against it was this was a show now that was created and going to be produced by white producers and film makers ...

R You have no Black people on your team?

F No, we do. But essentially it's Gray and I. And we had been previously advantaged, so we should now step back and allow other people to come in. So there were those dynamics at work. Whites shouldn't be on payroll. But anyway ...

R That's a very interesting point. When you read my motivation, then you'll see that's a vital issue as to, you have like, *Going Up* is the other one that's not representative and that's not a part of any situation where you have Mafela and Roberta, a white and a black. And those messages, I find, are not getting through. I've done a lot of my research on my black viewers, not getting through. They don't see the value system coming out of that. They're not seeing it.

F I agree. And it will be interesting to identify if you can why that is, because some of their, shows have been very popular, particularly amongst black viewers, but not hopelessly popular ... What I wanted to say to you about the ARS, is that *Suburban Bliss* is the first show in South African television history to reach the top five of all those panels that I mentioned earlier: English/Afrikaans, Nguni-Sotho, adults, and children. Not even the World Cup Rugby achieved that. Nor did the African National Cup Final achieve that. Obviously achieved number one with some of the panels and number twelve with other panels, but no show consistently achieved number five amongst, across all those audiences.

R That's very indicative. That's very indicative, because you're not so particularized any more. You're dealing with general consensus.

F It's a South African show.

R It's authentic.

F It's not made for CCV. To answer the question you asked me about the ideology driving it, whilst on the one hand I'm a great believer in entertainment, that's not to say it shouldn't be educative or challenging or quality. But on the other hand we do believe, and Gray particularly who has created the show and writer, although executive writer, we're interested to see whether attitudes change as a result of a sustained period of watching the show. Because there is some of that ideological motivation behind what we are doing here. Both of us come from that history where we, the apartheid ideology and infrastructure separated people artificially. Instilled in them artificial prejudices, socialized prejudices. And as a result of which we're in quite a mess today that is going to take generations to undo. We're quite seduced by the notion perhaps that not one showing but a sustained viewing of this kind of show might start switching those socialized prejudices. In other words, although quite a lot of the humour is based on the fact that the neighbours are of different racial and cultural background, very often and in fact more often than not, if you look at the body of work, the body of issues, the body of incidents, or the body of situations, that we build a comedy around, it's just two neighbours next door to each other. It could be black-white, it could be playmates, those issues would still be there. Those situations would still be there. [...].

R I love the one about giving up smoking. But I'm going to come to that in a little bit. There's something in there that kind of bothered me a little bit.

F So that's not to say that [we] were being so confounded that's what our prime [motive] we are possibly seduced by that [...] that's merely what we're actually in we're achieving a bit of laughing and forgetting about who they are. Just for [once]. Because for me it was very interesting to note that at the height of the P. W. Botha [apartheid] era, *The Cosby Show* was very popular in Pietersburg and they, [the] white audiences, conservative white, right wing audiences in Pietersburg [...] the colour, that, forgotten more horrifically that *Cosby* was a Gynaecologist and had all that [investigating] to do. Relationships obviously with white women. And they forgot about that. There was no problem. [...]. It was a very very bad era for South Africa. It was exceptionally bad. There was no hope at all. There was no left [...]. Yet *The Cosby Show* was watched by white [...]. So to the extent that we think - we

believe we we're changing attitudes, it would be fantastic to have that confirmed [...]. But I come back to the first answer. If I want to send a message. I go to church or I use the Post Office.

R I know it's [...] OK so now, tell me who is your target audience? What cultural or socio-economic groups?

F That's a different one, because I'm also [...] one of the first things they teach you on television school, is identify the audience you are trying to reach. And there is no such thing as a general audience.

R OK. Audiences.

F Yes. The fact of the matter is that there are many different audiences, some of which might coincide with [a] particular producer, but there are different audiences. I suppose what we try to achieve, who we try to reach here, is South African audiences that want to see perhaps more honest images and voices and people on the television screen than they have in the past. And to a certain extent in the present as well. Because quite a lot of the public domain is filled with very very lofty ideals [...] and this country is at the cutting edge of the world social laboratory in making it possible for different [people] to turn together and work together. But there's a powder keg in this [present] world. I think still that if a spark went the wrong way, it could end up like Yugoslavia. Like Yugoslavia was for many years [a mix of] cultural people, and I still think that the tension exists here. That the public domain, which is leader of industry, society and politicians. Even the right wing politicians are quite reserved in their public statements and even [...] of any of the opportunities [to avoid] any tension in society, because I think they are aware perhaps of this powderkeg on the one hand, and on the other hand, it's now politically correct even for General Viljoen to say the right thing. And it's even politically correct on the other side of the scale for Mandela to say the Springbok emblem must go. So there's a great tending towards the middle and the almost artificial oneness about South Africa. And this show cuts right through that. It says Hempies is a racist. And [...] called the old black lady next door an old hex, a witch, [...]. Basically Ma Moloi is also a racist.

R Of course she is. She's the apartheid era. So is he.

F Yes. There's a line somewhere in one of the episodes and she says 'Gee, I long for the apartheid era. Just how simple it was'. And so we cut through that - in a way that people can respond to it and say

that really, those are the people I know. [...] many people [...] personally. Homes that I go into are bigoted and racist. I'm sure possibly the same amongst black people, but maybe much less. Less so. Because of where they've been, because of the pressure and they being the victims. The white people generally speaking, even so called liberal white people, are amongst the worst racists I know. And we just say that's it, here you are, these are the guys. And people can see we're not telling [lies] back to the [...] and people respond to that kind of honesty, and that's what I want to watch. Because these are the people I know and this is the society I know, and I can laugh at it.

R OK, but now, Carl, you had to sell these programmes to the people who've got products to sell. Right? Now there's got to be the dialectic now. Usually they go for the top ten percent of earners in the country. Now who are these people? Somebody's got to go and sell your show to get advertising for it. Because if you're selling audiences [...]. That's where I'm coming from when I ask the question.

F That's another PhD with respect, Dorothy, that's another PhD. Also especially where we're coming from and where we're professing to go. On the one hand I'm going to try and overset the fire that I see. It's a very complicated issue this. Is that the advertisers and the other kind of [...] that not [...] are fairly rigidly stuck in how things were ordered in the past. And to use the old cliché it's lead and designed and expressed by white male English people. Good old WASPS

End of Tape

F There wasn't a South African [...] controller. Control of images, controls campaigns, controls [everything]. And things are quite comfortable with [control]. And what's happening now is turning upside down all over the world. They call it fragmentation [...]. But I think they've got a problem with what is attempting to be done with careers in Public Service Broadcasting, which is essentially a commercial venture. Eighty percent of its revenue comes from advertising revenue. But its political imperative is very [important]. The board and the government has given it direction via policy statements - a lot of it comes from the IBA, and the status of the IBA is that if you are on the board, if you [...] background, and of course the government itself. And that on the one hand is to create or to shape the services to a National Public Service Broadcasting [...] that is less reliant on consumers. [...] again use the cliché, that means delivering programmes to citizens of South Africa whereas

advertisers are only concerned with delivering consumers to advertisers. And they are very different imperatives. So whilst on the one hand you've got a lofty policy and values of [...] support. Say that is what we've got to do [...]. On the other hand, [advertising] is paying the pocket money, is saying I'm not interested in your citizens and your dreams and your desires, I'm interested in consumers that I want to [sell]. So there's an enormous inherent conflict firstly. Secondly, although the lack of houses are comfortable from where they have been and how they [function] as operator. They also are on the public domain in South Africa where they want to support the changing [circumstances]. So they are adopting a wait and see attitude. We programme makers, I generalise again, but very often we're not creating a programme with the concept in mind. That we want to [...] the conservatives too. Very often we were not doing that because most [...] good programming comes from the heart as a community and they often use a lot of heads.

R Yes, because one of the most successful programmes in the United States, if you go to *Hill Street Blues*, *Homicide* which was not successful when it first started, but gradually sort of changed. *All in the Family*, was not popular in their first break out, but gradually built their audience. So that's in a sense what you're doing.

F There are people that do say right. I need Lion Breweries, my audience, my consumers are eighty percent black, lower income. Let's design a show that we can reach our audience [from]. There are people who will design shows for that. They create programming, particularly if it's unsolicited, from their experience. They're hooked. So into that thing we should factor in the wise men and women [...] that should be picking from all their parts. [...] this show had been made and produced in [...] despite all the problems. There are people who have been wanting to kill it all along. They can't now because it [is successful]. There are advertisers I believe. The last thing in the world they are going to do is to recommend to their clients is that they should advertise [on *Suburban Bliss*] is cheaper and it doesn't.

R Yes. I think that is a very vital thing in South Africa. This class thing.

F So there's that problem. Although that [high] head count and the consistent popularity of the show is forcing advertisers to be different.

R That's a good point, that you have got some of those numbers to show them there are these other

audiences they should be going after.

F Many years ago, if you were in the States, you would know the show called *Thirty Something*, now that was, that show was extremely popular, with the advertising fraternity, because it pitched right into their values and [...] that kind of thing. But it wasn't such a hit on television. It didn't even feature in the top twenty. Yet that show's advertising time was more booked up than any other [...] television [show].

R So it was their perception.

F It was their perception of what they would like to associate their clients with, in the advertising [...] not necessarily in the best interest of the client. And even the clients themselves [...] also responded better to that kind of show [...]. Reflected a kind of value division that they wanted [...]. Despite perhaps their consumers being, not even looking for [it] watching the [...]. I suppose that at the end of the day, common sense must prevail. Got to look at where the [rands] are, whether they like it or not. Whether they like the show or not. In time those things are going to be turned around. Although I think, there is this natural tension PSB, commercial broadcasting [...].

R The question I have is how do women as consumers figure into the calculations. The top audit. You've kind of answered that in your previous discussion. But have you got anything to add to that? If you now refigure this. Have you got any separate numbers on women as viewers?

F No.

R You don't. OK.

F I mean, it would be an estimate. But we haven't designed the characters so that we could capture that type of [woman]. That's why we have wives in the show as well.

R Right. Well I mean, in fact is it proportionate, the numbers are split down the middle?

F We still rue the day. And we are trying to, we tried quite extremely to [show] other [...] particularly female [...]. We lack that, we identify that, we know that is a problem. It's been difficult enough to get anybody else quite up to the speed of the show, where we could leave [...] anybody, whether it's male or female, black, white, we have a problem. No we don't have actors[...]. And [...] we would have liked ideally to have a team of writers that reflect the

- different sexes and the different cultures that are represented on the show. And not just the vast majority of the scripts being written by Gray and Craig Gardner. Craig is an American who lives in this country, has been living in this country for sixteen years. So he's one of them. He's the head writer. He's done a lot of the work. Between Gray and Craig, they have written the show.
- R Dialogue. Does Craig do the dialogue?
- F Yes. Gray and Craig co-write as I say.
- R So the story line is mapped out, and then the writing is done between the two of them.
- F Yes. Essentially. Craig writes it first, then Gray has a pass at it. In some episodes Gray writes and Craig has a pass at it.
- R Interesting. OK. The next point I'm going to make - middle class women. Theorists in evaluating TV programmes, have indicated middle class women look at female characters for comparison to themselves. That's middle class. So if you look like the soaps, that's what women identify, whereas lower middle class women tend to look at class positions and how can I reach that level. So now in the structure of *Suburban Bliss* how do you relate that or is that a question I should ask [...].
- F No. I think you should ask that of Gray.
- R OK. I'll ask him.
- F But I mean, let me give you my spin on that. Writers write from their experience and from [what] and I found as a producer, one of the most difficult things to do is to almost tell a writer to write by numbers. Because it's wooden and they don't understand necessarily.
- R They actually drop [...] subjectivity should come out in what they're writing.
- F And what Gray is superb at in South Africa is showing in all his work as a writer. He's been able to provide through his observation and translation of the South African National character. Particularly the middle class of South Africa. [...] exceptional the middle class watch television in numbers. They are the kind who come home at six, switch on the TV and watch TV while they're eating supper. And the upper classes in South Africa don't watch television. They subscribe to M Net, very often hardly ever watching it. And when that class gets to watch this show [...].
- R OK. Next question. If female spectatorship negotiates its subject position, as a woman I look at this and what can I see there that reflects back on me. How do you see the female characters are constructed so that they are - what are their social positions? I mean like Thando.
- F Thando for us represents - is perhaps not representative of - I'm not going to use the word middle class advisedly here, [...] the black society it's [...] middle class white society. And to a large degree, Thando is not representative of a middle class black South African. She's stereotypical of what one could possibly define as upper middle class urban South African. Not white or black. Upper middle class urban South African. Particularly the social climbing people who are looking to improve their position in society by any means necessary. There's quite a [few] of either return visible blacks in our South Africa. Returned exiles [...]. South Africans who are upwardly mobile wives or professional women who she represents first. Comedy is about stereotype [...] people, but also about changing those stereotypes.
- R Absolutely, absolutely, parody certain cultures and social positions. Now, in fact that was my next question. The parody [...] of traditions of culture class and gender. There are stereotypes among them and we discussed these in more detail. Now should I rather discuss them with the writers, rather than with you?
- F Yes. I think so. But again, I can give you my [opinion].
- R Give your opinion. Yes, and I've just gone through this and you're [...] you would like to sort of add a couple of lines to each one of the characters. I'd appreciate that. I mean you can ... you can just...
- F No. I think leave that for Gray. Kobie on the other hand, representing a class of white South African women, perhaps you'd call them lower middle class. [Who aren't] that concerned with the social climbing, but just with a comfortable life [...]. And funny enough or perhaps more malleable as South Africans in the 'new' South Africa, than anybody else.
- R They didn't have much to lose before [...]. Maybe they have more [...].
- F But when confronted by a challenge, they see the possibility much quicker than upper class [...]. And funny enough, even their husbands. Now Billy,

- who is far more threatened by the possibility of Ike being a partner than Kobie will. In fact, it was Kobie that [...] persuaded [...]. I think that probably two of that kind of feminine [...].
- R That is so interesting. Because I think that's where it's at. What you've said now sums it up.
- F Because they're the guys that are going to lose their jobs. Whereas their wives are the ones who are saying 'hey. There's no [...] here, just do what you're doing, do it while you can'.
- R Yes, yes. Don't rely on your white skin to keep you in your position. And then I thought the relationship that you've established between Frankie and Andrew was interesting. Particularly the last episode. I thought Wow! We're going right in there. [...] right back [...] all safe. But I thought it was so interesting. The ultimate taboo of course was sex across the colour line. Particularly in this country. I mean, it's the same in the States, and you don't see many mixed marriages, but life is [...] as an issue. but then you must [...] like that was that, because you felt it was too early to pursue it or [...] deliberately misunderstand it. But [...] ideological messages.
- F Yeah, no, there was. That was - I didn't watch it. but it was the pregnancy one. Care [...].
- R Yes, and the old mother was the gossip and eavesdropping and always looking for changes in the whole intercultural communications.
- F That's probably another PhD. Because as you say, that's a phenomenon all over the world and its not just black - white, it's Jewish, Christian. Personally, I believe that pushing that too far, it doesn't become funny anymore. Whereas if you take the concept and the stereotypical fear that everyone has, I'm perfectly happy to have black [...], perfectly happy to work with them [...]. And if you take it to that extreme, then it becomes unfunny. Because you...
- R You're really getting into deep [...].
- F No, what I'm saying is not necessarily, it doesn't mean to say that I don't believe it's valid television. One should get into that [...]. I believe, but this isn't the vehicle for it. This is situation comedy.
- R [...] if you [...] either throw it out or think about it. My last question to you, in terms of just where you're coming from. There's one of the famous Professors just been visiting out here, from the University of [**] - Paddy Scannell. This is his thing, this is his bailiwick and he said to me, 'you know, I still don't know why they haven't got into a soap opera as opposed to a sitcom, because the advantage of the soap opera, well soap opera style I mean, if you look at *Hill Street Blues*. [...] but it was really the melodramatic soap opera style carrying on the series concept where - if you got like five threads going through different characters [...], because you get people hooked into that. Even though you might repeat one episode of this weeks watching, the rest is carry on, to hook them in. So you get your closure, but it like hooks into the next - you can still get the same sort of message across there. So I just wondered if you had any sort of thought about it. Maybe something [...] for the future.
- F We were doing that way back in 1976.
- R *The Villagers*.
- F Exactly right. Ja, I agree with you. That's a question you should put to the broadcaster. Because if I were a broadcaster. If I were a programme director, that's exactly where I would [...].
- R South African type of soap. Not [...] *Egoli* which has got the mix of Afrikaans.
- F *Egoli's* trying to do it with the head, not with the heart. Although it's popular and it's very successful, they're trying to - *Egoli* - and I say the [...] *Egoli* was designed as a political [platform] for the Afrikaners [...]. They didn't want to produce some - they didn't want to spend so much money on a ropy production. There were film channels and sports channels and Afrikaans - the government [...], the government at the time was under enormous pressure. And it was intellectually designed to meet...
- R Not the realities, but not the realities. When you say, like that instinctive thing, that's a very good point.
- F That's not to say that hasn't changed in the six years. It has, and I think it has got a little bit better than before.
- R You see when I first came here I thought that was the programme I would use as my case study. But then when I realised there was so much Afrikaans in it, which is hard for me, I mean I lived here twenty years ago. I don't have the Afrikaans.
- F Ja, you don't want to presume what they do there, they tried in [...] the African lobby [...] - When they did that there was such an uproar from the white audiences that they immediately dumped the [project].

Interview with Gray Hofmeyr (Writer - *Suburban Bliss*)

March 15, 1996, at the SABC Offices.

H= Gray Hofmeyr

R= Interviewer (Dorothy Roome)

R When I spoke with Carl he said that, basically this idea, you had developed the whole concept behind this production. And that one of the things which has grown out of was something that was worked on in the eighties called *People like Us*. Now, what intrigued me, why did you feel that this would be appropriate right now? What stimulated you to think that it was ...

H Well, I'll tell you, the reason that it came into being in the first place was very simple. I was at a seminar in London on television and the then head of television, Quentin Green, was also there. And he said to me, 'Can you come up with a concept that will pull black viewership in for TV1?' So it was a very simple, clear brief. The idea of a black family and a white family living next door is not an original one. But it seemed a very obvious vehicle with the new South Africa and with this becoming a reality. Just on the creative level, the one element which we added, which I added at that point, was the workplace which serves two purposes. One is purely a creative structural device, which gives them a place to interact outside of the home situation.

R ...is that also what you ...

H Yeah, so there's always something happening at the Dwyers, something happening at the Molois. And the discussion of it, or the interaction thereof, goes on generally speaking in the workplace. And then the problem goes back home again. Also the workplace in the initial concept of the thing has the added dimension of the black guy, Ike Molois, the salesman, wanting shares, wanting a stake in the business. And all those industrial realities. And those conflicts and so on. From there, most of those considerations become comedic and entertainment things, in the sense of the kind of characters that one creates, in that Billy is this terribly insecure guy that actually does nothing but desperately hangs onto being managing director because it's the only way he can maintain his dignity, if you like. The workplace is not a typical situation in terms of industrial realities. It's taking those industrial realities and turning them into a comedic vehicle, because of the kind of characters that one creates within that situation. You know, if one was doing drama, it would have been

completely different. We would have the boss and the worker and those things would be treated much more seriously, obviously.

But coming back to the original question. The British have done a couple of series like this. There was the *Till Death us do Part* one. The Americans took that into Archie Bunker. The British did that thing, I think it was called, I can't remember. But it was also a black family and a white family living next door. It was not an original concept. But it was one that I thought was very useful. In terms of *People Like Us*, which is very interesting. That was commissioned (I must check my dates on this) in '73. I think it was that we made it. I must check these dates with Lindsey because she worked on it. I'm not very good at remembering years. There was kind of a brief, 'Prague spring' politically in this country at that time.

R '73?

H Unless it was '77 but that sounds too recent. It could have been '77. We must check that. It was at a time when coloured families began to move into Mayfair legitimately, well not legitimately, but there was a huge discussion about gray areas, at that time.

R Hillbrow ...

H Well, Hillbrow, but Mayfair, I remember, was also a big point of contact.

R We better check with them for the date of the *People Like Us*.

H When we taped *People Like Us*, yeah. And there was a kind of a feeling that things were going to ease up. As a result of which, *People Like Us*, they agreed to make *People Like Us*, which was about a coloured family moving into a working class white area. While we were taping it, there was a whites only general election, and there was a huge swing to the conservative party. As a result of which, the SABC got cold feet on the whole thing and shelved it for four or five years. And it was eventually shown late on a Saturday night and no problems of this sort. But it was an embarrassment to the SABC. But what is interesting to me beyond that about that particular series is that I think it was ahead of its time. Not only in the sense of the SABC's political reaction to the thing, but in our reaction as creators, the way we approached it. It was like trying to make a comedy about something that wasn't funny.

R Almost like black humour?

H Yeah, it's not even that it was black. It's that, you know, the restraints we placed on ourselves and John Cundle, by the way, wrote that series. You know, we couldn't go the whole hog as writers and creators, because it was not a funny topic. It was a desperately, desperately serious thing at that time.

R There were no boundaries to put it in.

H Well, the kind of things that Hempies and Ma Maloi say to each other in this series, which people find funny, we'll go into why they find it funny in due course. But we couldn't do, because if the black and white family traded those kind of insults at that point in time, it was ugly. And now it's not ugly.

R It was part of peoples' reality.

H Yeah, I just want to try and finish with *People Like Us* first. We placed constraints on ourselves and it was very, very difficult to make it a comedy. And we found ourselves drifting all the time into the serious aspects of the thing. Like throwing stones through windows and stuff like that, and get out of the neighbourhood and so on. In this series we've got stones through the window, but it's funny. Maybe we're better at doing comedy, but I think that the essential problem with *People Like Us* is that it was ahead of its time and it was a very, very unfunny topic. Now, with this series, I think one of the reasons that it works, is that I think people find it a release to an extent. You know, after all the years of angst, to actually find this thing thrown wide open with very few holds barred. It's almost like the first time one heard 'fuck' on the stage. You laughed because you had never heard it before. It's that kind of thing. People see this and they kind of can't believe it, and they kind of laugh after nervous relief, irrespective of whether it's funny on any other level we can get into it. I see it like kind of a pressure valve. That people are so relieved to see all of that crap being made fun of, that I think people find it, by and large, a relief to watch it. And I think that's the essential difference between what we tried to do then and what we're doing now.

R Can you try and define the message that you're trying to get across on the program? I know, yesterday when I spoke to Carl, he said, 'Well, I don't do messages on TV'. When I think if you're a creative person, part of whom you are comes out in what you do. So whatever is motivating you, it's going to come out, quite unconsciously.

H Yeah, I think that's correct. I mean, through all the years when I worked and made programming for SABC during the apartheid years, the bulk of my

work was an attempt to bring about change from the theme, if you like. Now, I come from classic, non-confrontational liberal family. We tried to, with a lot of the work that I did in things like, well, *People Like Us* for one, before that I did a comedy called *The Outcast*. I don't know if you remember that. It was about a coloured half-brother in the Knysna forests. And it was a very, very strong racial high drama. Before that I also did a thing called *Two Weeks In Paradise*, which was, in fact, a forerunner of *People Like Us*, which was about a coloured family and a white family who both won a free holiday in Mauritius and wound up having to share a hotel suite. My work has always been geared in that direction. So inevitably one has some sort of an agenda. *Suburban Bliss* has to be, first and foremost, entertainment. Otherwise, it fails.

R Can't be moralistic.

H Yeah. But for me, there are a couple of things that I had in mind, and to what extent these things are reality perhaps your research will show. But one of the things is, I think, these two families have essential similarities in terms of their petty jealousies and the things that concern them as families and their fears and prejudices, and what have you. And I'm oversimplifying here. But hopefully, one subconsciously comes to realize that there's not that much difference between blacks and whites. We tend to play up some of the differences. Well, in the series, because conflict is comedy, so one utilizes those things. They're very stereotypical, no question about that. You know, like slaughtering sheep in the back yard and all those obvious devices that one uses. But the essential motivations, hopes, dreams, and secret fears of the two families are very, very much the same. You know, it's how are you going to feed the family, how are you going to pay the rent, you know, all those things. So, that's one thing, is hopefully, people kind of subconsciously start to not see the opposite race as that different. Another thing is I thought simply by showing blacks and whites interacting even on a community level one becomes more used to it and it ceases to be the issue that it used to be. You know, as the series progresses, they react like any two neighbours would. When we started writing, a lot of the themes were centred around race, if not racial differences and prejudices, race was the cornerstone of the concept. But as the series progressed, one simply ran out of those things. As creators, as writers, there's a limit to how many things you can write about that. I would say 75% of these episodes could be about two white families or two black families in terms of the things that they are about, which is largely kind of neighbourly, petty

interaction. So, I think simply showing these two families continuing to interact somehow normalizes that thinking. And again I am speaking perhaps idealistically. But maybe it goes some distance towards that because I think the bulk of black and white people in this country, there's no question, still have never sat down to a meal with the opposite race in their home. Or in any body's home. A certain number of people do, but it's very very small. And so hopefully it goes a certain distance towards normalizing that kind of interaction. You know, we do poke fun at racism. There's no question that we don't condone it, even where we express it on the screen. We do poke fun at it. We have consistently avoided trying to put down any particular political group. We had one episode where there was a guy, who was obviously very AWB, got involved with one of Hempies's chums, who wanted to recruit Hempies as their local representative for the right wing alliance. I watched that episode and I actually felt a little bit uncomfortable because my objective is to bring people together as opposed to moving apart. And I think by singling out an organisation like the AWB and saying these guys are stupid and what have you, I think you would accentuate the divisions rather than bringing people together in a democratic society. So, I deliberately avoided harsh political satire, if you want to call it that. Because I think it has that danger of creating division rather than the opposite. So we have tended to send up the differences between the people in the families and so on, rather than be hard hitting politically in any way.

R So now the story line of which production is this? It's your conception and you do the writing, or do you have writers to help you? I mean, in the States, you know I've spoken to writers about writing, and they, for example, might have three or four writers at a time who write different story lines, you know. How does it work for you? Do you have to do all this work or do you have people who help you?

H Well, I'll tell you, when we set out, our intention was... Well basically, I have one head writer. His name is Craig Gardner. Who's an American who's lived in this country for fifteen years. I'll tell you how ... and he's married to an Afrikaans girl and his kids go to an Afrikaans school. And they speak English with an American accent. Very strange. I'll tell you the background of the thing. I'm just going to go into as much detail as I can. Is that alright?

R I appreciate it. It's wonderful. I mean, this is a great, I'm contextualizing the stuff that I get into afterwards. This will be in the actual writing of what I am doing.

H OK. I was asked to write a pilot episode for this before...

R We've never seen that.

R No, no, no. I was asked to write it, not to make it. I was asked to write it. The first episode, which would then be evaluated unseen. And I wrote the episode. And I don't come from a comedy background. I come from a drama background. I have done comedy in recent years because I wanted to. I did a couple of movies with Leon Schuster. And I learned a lot about comedy from him. But his style of comedy is very, very visual. It's not dialogue driven. It's slapstick driven.

R Groucho Marx kind of stuff?

H Yeah. You know, slapstick is a fascinating medium. And a very, very technical one. As a result of working with Leon, a lot of my own prejudices about that kind of humour disappeared. Because it is simply a type of comedy and all types of comedy are valid. And I think the perception that slapstick is lowbrow, is garbage. Slapstick is returned to the international marketplace in no uncertain terms in recent years with things like *Home Alone* and so on. That's absolute slapstick. Anyway, I'm digressing.

I wrote a first episode with them and I decided it wasn't going to fly because I couldn't write funny dialogue. My strong points are structure and story. That tends to be where I drive towards. Craig happened to come into my office and he said, 'Look, I want to be a comedy writer. You've been involved in corporate stuff and what have you'. So, I said, 'OK, look, there's an episode, go and rewrite it'. So he rewrote it, and it came back much funnier than my episode. Of course, sitcom, whilst has to be strongly story driven, and I think one of the strengths of *Suburban Bliss* is that we are strongly story driven, far more so than in much of the American sitcom. I think we have stronger, better structures and story, probably because it's much stronger thing. But writing sitcom dialogue is, you know, the British particularly, it revolves quite a lot around sarcasm and put-downs and smart retorts.

R The one-liner.

H Yeah. Now, we as South Africans don't speak like that. We don't have that culture. Whereas the British do, typified particularly by the Cockneys who are always trying to outsmart each other with the way they talk. That's just the way they speak. And a lot of it is put-downs and so on. It's the way they communicate. It's the way they're brought up

speaking. With the result that the British are so good at writing that kind of comedy. The Americans. I don't think are like that to the same extent as the British, but they certainly have it. It's a culture that they are brought up with in the way they communicate with each other. South Africans don't do that.

R [...].

H Well, I think we're kind of quite [conservative]. So, Craig was able to bring that kind of snappy dialogue to the plot. And then he was employed as the senior writer and we went from there. We were originally contracted to write twenty-six episodes, which we did. At that point, and Carl may have gone through all this, the SABC said to us at that stage, 'How can we make this as cheaply as possible?' And Carl said to them, 'The more episodes in the contract, the cheaper it becomes'. So, they said, 'OK, write 104 episodes'. Which was a massive amount. And when we went into that exercise, our intention was to try and get a dozen other writers who would write episodes and Craig and I would edit them. And Craig particularly would do a dialogue pass at them, and tart up the dialogue and make it funnier and what have you. What happened is that we were almost unable to find people who could deliver. And we were obviously, quite naturally particularly looking for black writers to inject black storylines, you know, who would write stuff from a black perspective. I think we ended up with probably about eight episodes completely written by other people and perhaps, and when I say completely, that's with an enormous amount of input from Craig and myself, and perhaps another half dozen stories that we bought from people and then we have developed into full outline. But we've been unable to build the kind of team that we had hoped to be able to do. We have spent a certain amount of money on developing writers in the knowledge that we actually would have to work this stuff. But that was part of our overall program of training

R It's almost RDP stuff?

H It's almost RDP stuff except that we've been doing it for quite a number of years within Dapple films. Just as part of kind of building the industry. But anyway, the long and the short of it, is that Craig and I have written the bulk of the stuff ourselves. And the way that we approached that is that the two of us sit down and we brainstorm an episode. Sometimes we approach it with absolutely nothing in mind and we just chat. In the early stages we used to take a dictionary and just take a word and say, isn't there something about, you know, toilets or whatever it

may be. You know, one just simply chats. As the time have gone on, we've become more efficient at doing it, in the sense that we just have to do it so we do it, you know. But we do that together. We sit down. It usually takes us about half a day to knock out a basic structure. We put that down in some form. I generally take that away and work with it into a full structure, with timings and how long each series and so on. Craig then writes the episode--writes it out, comes back to me, I do a pass at it and it goes back to him. As the productions become more streamlined, I have also been writing full episodes myself. He generally writes about four and then I write about two of them. It's an insane work load. It's not an ideal way to work. There's no question about it. It's too much. But it's one of those things, you know. I mean, when I first started working, I said at that stage, told the Americans I directed twenty-six episodes of *The Villagers* on the trot. They couldn't believe it because they had like four directors in that time. But at that stage there's no [...]. It's what we did. It's the same situation here, you know. That's what we have to do so we do it. And I think it's quite amazing. And that's not a pat on the back for me or Craig, that we have in fact succeeded in doing that. I think it's interesting that the human being is actually capable of doing it as it turns out.

R My next question, some of these questions I've already asked and you're giving a different perspective ...

H May I just add a little bit that I think may be interesting. I've gone into why I think we're not that good at writing comedy. I think in terms of writing for television, I think the Afrikaans writers are better than the English writers. And I think the black writers are sitting in third place for obvious reasons, because they haven't had the opportunities to do it. Coming to English and Afrikaans, I think that the reason Afrikaans is better and Afrikaans television has generally been better than English television, is because over the years the SABC was seen as something to aspire to by the Afrikaner and it was an outgrowth for their creative talents. Whereas, for the English, the SABC and television always had a political stigma with the result that I think a lot of our best English talent moved into advertising. And obviously a certain number left the country. But I think that's the reason for that. You know, it's a private little theory.

R It's very interesting because you kind of wonder about it. The ads are so good here. They really are good. Lots of creativity, lots of fabulous effort [...] ... putting, as you say, into developing more English stuff.

H Well, the other thing is, you know, what I see as becoming fascinating, provided that we continue to raise the standards of television which is another aspect, another discussion altogether, the well of talent amongst the black people is absolutely enormous and if that can truly be exploited and nurtured and trained, then, I think, you know, we have a wonderful opportunity to do very, very good stuff. There's no question about that. So when I say that I think the black writers are coming in third place, I'm speaking from a point of ignorance of black languages. I don't know the quality of the work there. Except that, they haven't had the budgets and the opportunities to produce good work with the result that most of the black material that's being produced for television, if one wants to evaluate it on a critical level, as opposed to an entertainment level, it's not as good. But that I think comes down to the fact that for the last fifteen or twenty years, it's been ...

R ...kind of a moralistic kind of thing. Which segues quite nicely into the question I have for you. Who do you visualize, if you visualize at all, the audience? What culture, what socio-economic groups?

H OK. When we set out to do the thing, there was no question that the objective was to reach an equal black and white audience. I hoped or I imagined when we set down, that we would be doing something that would be sufficiently sophisticated to interest the more educated English speaking audience. As it turned out, those audiences hate it. And, you know, when we set out with the thing, I had never done a sitcom before. In fact, we had never done a successful sitcom in English in this country. And so I was in the dark as to where to pitch the thing. The one thing that I have realized as a result of watching American sitcom, which we set out, we set out to do American sitcom, not British sitcom, when we started this thing, because that's what the public had been weaned on for the last ten years or whatever, what they were used to, so that was our model for the thing. And Craig and I chatted a lot about it because Craig is an American who has watched this stuff since he was born. American sitcom, the actors always have their tongues in their cheeks. Whilst they don't sing themselves [...], there's something about, it's closer to performing on the stage, because you're in front of a live audience, than it is to making soap opera where you're trying to be real. You're playing to an audience and there's a subtle difference. OK. When we set out to do the thing, I perhaps pitched the thing slightly broader than I might have done had I known more about it. But the result was perhaps by default, we pitched it in

an area which the black population are enormously comfortable with, because they see it as theatre. They see it as entertainment. They don't ask those critical questions about, gee, this isn't like *Black Adder* or what have you. With the result that the black viewership has grown and continues to grow enormously. As I said here the white...

End of Tape

H They don't like it. They find it too raw. They find it 'too over the top'. Nevertheless, the people in that area who have watched it, I think watch it despite themselves. But the bulk of the white audience like it. The audience ratings speak for themselves. What has surprised me is how popular it is with the children. I thought it would be too, I don't know if political is the right word, but too, when we set out to do it. I thought the whole thing was sort of too sociological to really appeal to the children. But as it's turning out, our biggest audience is, one of our. I don't know if the numbers but certainly in terms of the ratings, both black and white populations with kids absolutely love it. From six years old right through. And that surprised me quite a lot. So all I can say is that we happened to have hit the mark and I can only say that that was a question of luck and perhaps some sort of instinct as a result of working in this industry for these people for the South African population for so long.

R My main interest has always, well, the reason that brought me back to South Africa is to see where women are situated in the post-apartheid cultural sense. So gender for me is the major issue whenever I look at any to see how women are represented. So, my next question to you relates to in terms then of what you just said about the sociological aspect, how did you visualize women in these episodes?

H You know, there was certainly no conscious, it wasn't a conscious aspect of the concept, it was to involve women in a particular way. In all the work that I've done, I've always enjoyed writing for women, creating strong women parts. In fact, the women in this series generally are far stronger than the men. With the possible exception of Hempties who has a very, very strong point of view. You know, Kobie is the dominant character in that marriage and Thando manipulates Ike all the time, although she's, you know, her battle with the [Ma Moloi]. So, I think the women in the series have been written very strongly and very interestingly. But it wasn't a conscious decision. It's simply that I've always written strong women. I can't tell you why.

R That kind of segues into the next thing. The theorists, and I quote on that, in evaluating TV programs have indicated that middle class women look at female characters for comparison to themselves whether as outside their reality, you know, they can relate to that, whereas working class women tend to look at class position, something to aspire to, and particularly you look at soaps, you get this kind of thing, you know. So in the structure of *Suburban Bliss*, I'm looking at somebody like Thando, who for me, actually it upset me a bit, because I felt that her acquisitiveness was such a negative context for black women. I don't see any redeeming features in that. I just wondered how you, you know, you obviously ... I know you were coming from the buppy, I understood that ...

H Let me tell you, the only parameters that I had when creating these characters, was to create a spread of types of characters. And, you know, you look at your six leading characters. OK, Ma Moloi and Hempies, they are fairly simple people. They're easy to read. Within the other four, one's got to try to create as much difference as one possibly can between those characters. So, the creation of those characters came from a dramatic point of view as opposed to any kind of a sociological point of view. You know, you've got to have a straight guy. And rather than make the white be the straight guy, we thought let's make Ike the straight, you know. Let's get away from the stereotype with regard to the black guy always is conniving. Let's make him straight and honest as the day is long.

R He doesn't like cheating on his wife and all that stuff.

H Yeah, all that stuff. So, he's that guy. You've got to have that guy as one of the four.

R It's the old morality of morality thing, the evil and the good ...

H Yeah, you know within comedy, the same as drama, you try to create differences in things and differences of character which creates conflict which creates comedy. So, we settled on Ike as the straight, then. And the actor maximizes his material enormously. Yeah. It's, in fact, one of the more difficult roles to play. Because he's the straight. Alright, then you look at, OK, what kind of wife are you going to give this guy. And again it was an obvious dramatic device to make his wife the pushy one, that's she's the one who wants to move into the suburbs. He's happy in Soweto. And she's driven by this success and avarice and all that kind of thing. So it was a dramatic decision, not a sociological or gender decision.

R The only other thing, that episode where Kobie is

trying to give up smoking, and then she comes to the fence and she tries to tempt her with a cigarette. I thought it was a very dramatic moment, but I also thought, well, I mean I'm trying to sit back from it now and to look at it from a critical point, well, you know, what good qualities is this black women being shown. Do you see my point? It's not a criticism. It's just trying to look at it in terms of you do need positive role models, also.

H Sure. Now, look. You're absolutely right. And, you know, the same is applied to all the characters with the exception of Ike. What are their redeeming features? You know, and it's a thing that we've ... of course, one creates these characters that, if you like, are slightly larger than life. They are eccentric in certain ways. As we've written, we thought 'Gee, man, but this is a dreadful person'. So, now and again, we write an episode which redeems them. And, in a way, it's worried us much more about Billy. He's just this bumbling asshole, with no redeeming features. Why does Kobie stay with him? How do they tolerate him. So, you know, we've written a couple of episodes where the guy gets it right for a change. And we've written the same things for Thando as well.

R Maybe I haven't seen those.

H Because if you haven't, you should look at the one where she gets elected to the residents' association. Ask Lindsey for it. So, you know, we do try to give all the characters some redeeming features from time to time. The one thing that we have maintained is that there's never any question of them splitting up, you know. The couples have always, their relationship is deeply rooted in love. To answer your earlier question, I don't think we took, when I said I could do the thing, creating role models was not high on the agenda. And perhaps it ought to have been, but any agendas one had were more on the sort of the national level than on the individual characters created. The characters were created in order to create the opportunity to write comedy.

R That kind of answers that, but my next question follows onto that. If female spectatorship negotiates its subject positions, I'm a female spectator, I'm looking at this, how can I relate to this work? The reason I'm asking this question is, one of the women I asked to lead a group for me refused, because she said, 'I can't stand that woman who smokes all the time'.

H Let me say first of all, that, rightly or wrongly, and I'm reiterating what I said earlier, is that the characters were created to be interesting characters and funny characters more than any kind of role

model. I think your point is valid. Perhaps I should have taken it more into account. The problem is that your more role model stated characters are quite often not as interesting as flawed people. As far as Kobie is concerned, I think she... more than any one else in the series, people have very strong opinions about her. They either absolutely hate her or they like her very much. And I think ...

R And I tell you, I think it's a good impact.

H The people who don't like her, hate her for reasons that this woman has given. One might find, although I don't know it, that the people who hate her are perhaps generally upper crust. I don't know whether that's the case or not. Kobie is very, very true to herself at all times. She's very consistent. She's not a hypocrite in any way. She may lie occasionally about whether she's bet on a horse, but she's true to herself and her own perception of herself. And I think that's what makes her strong. And I think in a way that's a better moral characteristic than to not smoke, which is, everybody knows smoking is bad. We don't advocate her smoking, she's the only character in the series who does. But she's, you know, she says, bugged you, so I smoke and I like my gin, you know, and I'm a slob. What's wrong with that?

R I don't see that as a problem. I just was intrigued in terms of establishing almost like a social class, you know, how people would relate to ...

H None of these people come from a very ... they all come from a very specific background. They're all working class. That is the characters who they are. They are not high class people. You know, Hempies was a farmer. Kobie was brought up on the farm. She left the farm because she wanted to pursue her dream of becoming an air hostess and seeing the world and what have you. Came to Johannesburg. She was working at Ansteys and she met this guy who owned a red Alfa and she fell pregnant and that was it.

R Bios. Do you have these bios?

H We've got them, yeah.

R Would that be acceptable to you? I'd like that.

H Billy got Standard 8. He went to trade school and he became a cabinet maker. That's where he comes from. And I have always found, personally, the working people more interesting subject matter than the intelligentsia, the more upper-class people. I've never made a program. I've never done a Dallas and those kind of things. Those people don't interest me

as much as working people interest me. I can't tell you why that is, but it simply has always been so. I mean, I was raised upper class if you like. And I've consistently all my life gone out of my way to experience the other side, so it's simply a personal, it's simply what interests me. This whole series is not geared to the upper class. It's not made for them. It's made for the ordinary man. It's made about the ordinary man.

R So you've spoken to me about the white husband. We've talked about his weaknesses. You see, I think you're doing a rather gender bender here which I love. And I think that that to me introduces other dynamics. You may not even be aware that you're doing gender bending. But I can see it. I mean, he does do the dishes occasionally. He's the one who cleans the house. I think that's brilliant. I think that's absolutely brilliant. Because you are showing that, even though he's a bit of an asshole, you know, I mean, and he doesn't always see himself as that. He needs to, for his own insecurities, to catch on to these factors. The fact is that it's OK for him to, you know, clean the house and so on. And I think that that to me is good.

H You know, again I come back to this thing is that, how do you create interesting characters? Whilst on one level these characters are stereotypical, on another level they're not, because of that kind of gender bending that you're talking about. And it's simply, it's a dramatic technique, apart from anything else.

R That she's the gambler. You see, you don't always think of that. As women having this, it's another kind of acquisitiveness, but it's also making women other kind of vices. You normally think of women being bad women in terms of sleeping around and that kind of stuff. You don't get into that. But the only time you get into that, and I've found that fascinating, is the ultimate taboo in South Africa, sex across the colour line. Last week's episode, the one that I watched, kind of got into that and you recuperated it back into mainstream thought. This never really happened, but, my god, that's like the worse thing that could happen

H Well, it's an obvious plot with this series, you know. I just wanted to get back to that comment that your friend made about this racial jibing. I think you called it. Between Kobie and Thando there is absolutely no racism. The jibing that goes on there is out and out female jealousy. There is nothing, if they use any racism it's because of their personal relationship. That they might try to exploit some racist thing. I mean, they might say that... I mean, they never call each other that white bitch or that black bitch or anything like that. They might say that thing with the dyed hair, you know, or that bloody black cougar or

something like that. But their relationship has nothing to do with race. It's simply that at bottom. Kobie is jealous of Thando, because Thando is actually going places and has aspirations and does things. And Kobie is stuck, you know. She's been stuck for fifteen years with this Billy Dwyer, and handmade furniture and that's it. And Thando genuinely thinks that the Dwyers are low-class people.

R Yes, yes, it's all right there. It's low-class ...

H OK, Thando is a snob, there's no question about that. But it's by that inversion of the general status quo that one creates the conflict between the two women.

R What about Ma Maloi? She provides comedy and sort of almost like a motivating thing, that her actions motivate plot in the episodes that I watched. I see her as being part of the old pre-apartheid days that sort of symbolizes a lot of that more traditional thought. It will be interesting when I change to my more traditional Zulu women to see how they respond to her, whether they approve her or disapprove her or whatever.

H Ma Maloi is quite an interesting character because, I mean, she does come from that background. You know, she has clearly established that she used to do laundry for white families. At the same time she is very, very sophisticated. And she has some of the most sophisticated comedy lines in the thing. And how we motivated that is, you know, it's mentioned occasionally, is that she worked for many years for an American correspondent out here, that he appears in an episode, which is where she picked up a lot of her kind of worldly wisdom, if you like. You know when you read the sort of biography thing, what we set out to do with Ma Maloi and Hempies, you know, she's out of her environment. She grew up in a township. She started off in Sophiatown, and now she's out of her environment in the white suburbs. Hempies is a farmer and he's out of his environment in the city. In a strange way, Ma Maloi and Hempies provide each other with something to do, with a purpose in life, which is to fight one another, and to take points off one another. And it's a bit like kind of being inverted soul mates, you know. If the opposite member were taken away, their life would become dreadfully, dreadfully boring. So, in a way, they kind of provide each other with a purpose, you know.

R It's actually one of the [best] episodes. It's got the slapstick, it's got real situational. The comedy is coming out of the situation of the drinking and the profit.

H ...technically, it was quite rough. I would say...

R Oh, that's interesting.

H Not a terribly slick...

R It comes across. Perhaps it's very rawness. It comes across as being so part of here. You know, this is not an American situation. This is an African situation. Slapstick, with the Groucho Marx kind of thing is coming in to that. Wonderful. Wonderful.

R If I may have your permission, I'd like to speak to some of the actresses and actors, how they visualize their parts. I'd very much like to talk to Thando, and Ma Maloi...

H The BBC did an insert on *Suburban Bliss* and they interviewed one of the black TV critics who writes for I think the Sowetan?. And he was making the point that this whole series is untypical. Firstly, because so few people move into the, black people move into the white suburbs. Although it's happening more and more but the percentage is tiny. And that this kind of [...] is very, very unusual, atypical. And therefore, the series was invalid because it was not dealing with the grassroots realities of the working class black man whose street he lives in Soweto is a fantasy. I think that may be a valid criticism, but nevertheless, this is what we're doing, not that. And to say that we should, what he was talking about was a different series. Also a good series, but this series is about this.

R I have no problem with that at all. All that I am saying and the questions that I am asking ...

H Coming back to the original thing of why is this series popular, it's totally politically incorrect. In terms of specifically the kind of stuff that Ma Maloi and Hempies dish up to each other, and I think people find it terribly refreshing that it's actually being told like it is, as opposed to posing all kinds of things and pretending that everything is too wonderful for speech. I think people embrace that. Because of all the political correctness that's banded around. And an interesting thing that there is no multiracial soap or sitcom in the States. And I don't think there has been for many, many years and I don't think there is one in the UK either. There's a resistance to it in the States. It's stemmed from market research that blacks don't like watching whites and whites don't like watching blacks in the States. So your sitcoms are either black or they're white. And this is probably unique worldwide, at the moment?

APPENDIX B

March 18, 1996 **Questions for Actresses & Actors from Suburban Bliss**

1. Carl Fischer and Gray Hofmeyr have used the term 'over-the-top' style of acting in SB. How do you see your acting in SB?
2. Do you think SB represents the lives of only the 'lower' orders of South African society?
3. Do you think that comedy can mediate the contradictions of the new social life developing in South Africa, which is causing anxiety among certain people?
4. Can this series appeal across class and ethnic divisions?
5. Can different groups make their own meanings from their personal experience when they view your interpretation of the character of (Kobie, Thando, Frankie, Ma - Moloi) (Hempies, Billy, Ike, Andrew) ?
6. Can the clues you provide for your character be interpreted according to an audience's own cultural and social values so that the understanding of the character might be different from your interpretation?
7. To what extent do you believe black and white South Africans who watch this show understand the intended humour?
8. Can you define the message your character represents in the series?
9. Theorists in evaluating TV programmes have indicated that middle class women look at female characters for comparison to themselves while working class women look at class position. How do you see your character in relation to this comment?
10. If female spectatorship negotiates its own subject position, how do you see your character constructed and what is its social position?
11. Do you see your character as a positive or negative role model for females of any age?

And is seen as a threat. Is seen as vulgar. So I think that in that way it has been successful, because [...] don't want to see this - side. And I think these women exist and I think that woman, - the colonial one - is in the minority. [The] places that [I] go to as Sue - when I go to the Vaal or I go to the movies, I find women coming up to me in their capacity [...] Kobie. And then like say 'thank goodness you came along', because, yes, I could relate to that party, or yes, I could relate to that, or I've tried to give up smoking, or I'm tired of my husband doing this and doing that. So, it's very interesting. Very popular amongst the black viewers. There's a [...] premiere at [...]. What's a good word for a real person who's not prejudiced, who gives Thando ...

R A run for her money.

K A run for her money - exactly. They're much more critical of Thando than of me [...] I'm a *memsahib*, so I can understand the white colonial ...

R And I used 'colonial' in a special sense.

K Ja, ja. I know exactly what you mean.

R Pre *apartheid* kind of [...]

K And might even be liberal.

R I wouldn't necessarily go as far as that.

K OK. OK.

R But you know, you know particularly the Durban colonial.

K Yes, yes. I know exactly.

R And I mean she's sweet lady, and was so kind to me. I was shocked when she said this. And then I thought 'well you know, frankly you might be quite comfortably off moneywise, but you really don't have that much to shout about.

K No.

R What are you setting yourself up in a class situation for? Indicating I wouldn't want that woman in my living room.

K Yes, yes.

R Yuk! OK - I'm going to press on because I know they're going to call you back on the set [...]. Do you

think that this is the kind of comedy well actually you've said yes. My next question was nothing. Your answer was comedy can mediate the contradiction of the new social life developing in South Africa. And you actually answered that when you said these women [...]. So we've done that one. The next one. Can this series appeal across class and ethnic divisions? There I have a problem. I can see [...]. But I don't know. I don't think intellectual. I mean, I come from an academic background. But I don't see it bridging class divisions.

K I think -----

R I'd like your opinion.

K I think I [...].

R The other day, that woman, the [...].

K [...] Michelle?

R Now you see, characters like that, some ... you. I think, could identify ---

K Yes.

R And I mean, she has a classier ---

K Yes, and yet she's supposed to be [...].

R Yes, but she's made him Australian.

K Yes.

R Well, she's made a mistake.

K Absolutely.

R She's got more of a sophisticated ---

K More sophisticated look to her

R There are a lot of white women who [...] look at her [and could identify].

K [A lady?].

R Yes.

K [...] and we haven't had many of them, in fact. I think in terms of [...] the series [she's only me].

R Because of the [race].

K [...] I think my class is better, and she thinks her class is better. I think my class is better [...]. I've

got a good job. I'm a Financial Director [...] etc. etc. And I see myself as running a business. which is far classier than for example, going shopping. She thinks that our aesthetic is low class and that she is of a better class.

R Yes, that's a good word. OK You think of clues that you provide for your character. But I'm going to get into that -- what I mean by that, can be interpreted according to audience's own culture and social values [...]. Did you see the *Cagney and Lacy* stuff in South Africa?

K Yes [...]

R There was a character there -- the one character's actually been an alcoholic, and she's in ... not remission. what's the word?

K Rehabilitation.

R And she's very beautiful, and you know, and it's like she's always battling this thing to [...] It was a very positive role model.

K Yes

R Now, your gambling, and it was made, you know, that type of series, but much more a melodrama, almost soapy, but it's not soapy per se, because [...] sitcom and one liners and that sort of thing. However your gambling addiction is very interesting for me. because people never associate women with gambling. And I find that, as a bio, very interesting.

K Well I don't know what statistics are. but [...].

[...].

R But you are a role model - you cannot get away from it. You're on television, you're there, you're a role model. People look at you either negatively or positively. Will identify.

K Yes, will identify, will identify.

R [...] that's it.

K Yes, I suppose I don't think positively, because I think I'm sickened by the squeaky clean look [...].

R OK.

K [...] I pushed it into a more negative [portrayal]. So I'm much more curious, and I bet there are millions of mothers [who] admit [being] a good mother.

R Well what is a good mother?

K What is a good mother?

R One that controls the child?

K Exactly [...] good mother [...].

R I don't think you're a bad mother. I really don't. But I would say that [...] I think to South African women, you're a terrible mother.

K Terrible mother! I don't cook, I don't clean.

R Don't do those female things.

K Ja, I don't do the housewife things. I think there's a kind of sister bond between the two of them. I think that she's a very strong willed woman. She will get what she wants and she'll do what she wants, because she's stubborn. Somewhat quite insecure, and I think the equation of the insecurity is the gambling.

R OK.

K But it's not a ---

R The motivation for the character then comes through that gambling.

K Ja.

R A lot of the stuff goes in that ---

K I think again it's like [...] hoping that they will notice the subtleties because it's quite big acting and very sort of ... as Gray and Carl put it - over the top. You can't find the subtleties, but one hopefully will ... couldn't see when she tried to give up smoking - it's quite sad so [...].

R [...].

[...].

K It is interesting.

R So I mean [...].

K People think of Kobie as level headed, feet on the ground kind of strong woman. But I think that underneath it there's this desperate, there's a ... to fly, but she can't even fly, so she flies in a fantasy of

gambling [...] and Kobie doesn't have the guts to do it. That's what I'm talking about. It's that the gambling is a cover [...] ja, I think that one has to look beyond, because, basically what she is, is she's quite [...] and the relationship is very typical ... It could be in Australia, it could be in England. A very typical measure of two people, who met when they were quite young, in fact very young, got together, didn't know who they were, and have grown in a way have actually grown up [together].

[...].

R OK, my next question is - you might like to comment on this. Theorists working class women would perhaps look at what I call the *petit bourgeoisie*, look at class position. [...], watching any kind of programme as an Upper Middle Class woman. I would look at.

K The character.

R [...] or I'd look at the [class]. Ja [...] there [...] whereas perhaps if I was, you know, in another setting, I would perhaps look at Thando and say competition. [...]. So what I'm saying is - how do you see your character in relation to [the sitcom?].

K My character would get involved in sitcoms, would really like sitcoms and would, funny enough, not be as enchanted by Soap. Now think Thando's character could be more involved in Soap than in Sitcom, now [...] justify my point [...] I'm not a soap person, but I do like Sitcoms and there are certain sitcoms, for example *Mad About You* which is like my sitcom. I relate to it, my situation, and I can sit back and think I would do that. I would do that, yes, that character's just like me. And I think to myself, 'well, how are people looking at Kobie?, how would Kobie be related? Kobie's got the kind of sense of humour and why look at one that would a sitcom kind of situation would ... would appeal to her and she would go for characters, I don't think she would desire aesthetically the way Thando desires. And I think that's the big difference. That's the clue. It's the clue, if you look at [...] soap. Soap is huge in the black community - huge in the white community. It is which class? Or is it? OK. Because I feel [...] not so much.

R Now my last question is: Do you think that the character is a positive or negative role model for women?

K OK. Well, I think, for me I feel positive. I feel positive because I think we're dealing with the real aspects. That is insecurity, temper, sense of humour,

Beyond the emotions that lie beyond the face. And someone that is firstly very accessible, understandable and [...] needs and someone who's not a particularly, like squeaky clean human being, which most of us aren't. But I think she's got a heart, so I think it only becomes negative when you don't feel, or there's no heart. And I believe that she's got a heart and she's not a prejudiced human being. That she's open. She's come from - you have to remember - that she's come from a very conservative background. So the place where she's come to is an enormous example, for me, a very positive place. Because she's far less conservative than her husband.

R In terms of her letter to her father, how do you think the viewers will interpret?

K OK. I think at first in Afrikaans communities she's probably seen as a very cheeky girl. How can she be so horrible to her father, and so cheeky to her father? I think that's the Afrikaans view, because there's always an Afrikaans community [...] or think [...] the other values, which is just again really because having an older *verkrampde aardvark* [...] like my father-in-law [...]. It's not going to be easy. It's a pain in the butt. That is the father - he's a pain in the butt. And therefore that's got to come across. The point is, she'd never kick them out and she will never kick them out.

R Yes that's a good thing. I hadn't thought about that. Ja. She is loyal.

K She is loyal, but she'll fight, but she'll fight.

R [She's] conservative.

K [Yes] so of course she's going to try and correct him and try and argue with him. And she'll never let him.

R I love her [...] have to tell you. Over the top actually sucks you in.

K Ja.

R I mean, don't find that ---

K I think, because I think you're going to [...]. Because I think that's exactly instead of thinking [...] for me you couldn't even go as far as against the window, I mean, if you say I want to tell you [...] table, for me it's moving into the because it's like it [...] there are boundaries. And I think that is what's so nice about it. Is that they [...] and [...] and laugh and I mean I may consider *Roseanne* [...] it is not popular with all the [...].

R *Roseanne*?

K Have you looked into *Roseanne*?

R Oh yes, [...].

K People don't like it

R I want to ask specifically about yourself. What's your personal history. Just a quick bio. How did you get into this?

K I was at school in Cape Town, come from a very big family. With broad minded parents and then siblings that have got more and more conservative, and funny enough quite fascist.

End of Tape

K My siblings have been quite critical of it. Not from the point of view of critical of Kobie, but its more from the right hand.

R It's interesting.

K [Their] value systems. My parents were far more open minded, I think.

R I mean, it's like a reversal of things.

K It is a reversal. [...] ja, I mean my brother's reaction then [...] is that some of the episodes he finds are quite harsh on his two young sons of ten and seven and they don't understand the racism at all. They don't know why these people are - Hempties and Ma Moloi are shouting at each other. And he's in conflict about it, because he doesn't know whether they should watch it, and then he can sort of explain that's what it was like. And [...].

R Oh, I don't think you can protect them. You can't protect them because then they'll think that [...] really bad [...]. Listen, I thank you. Thank you so much for sharing this with me. I really appreciate it.

K It's a pleasure.

Interview with SYLVAIN STRIKE (Frankie in *Suburban Bliss*)

F= Sylvaine Strike

R= Interviewer (Dorothy Roome)

R Thank you. How do you see your acting in *Suburban Bliss*? Do you see it as over the top, some of it or not?

F When we first got together and rehearsed, we were told [...] the acting style sort of varied from [...] and finally back to [...] leads to style that is forced and is [...] and defined and exaggerated. Because Frankie isn't as prominent [...] her style of going over the top isn't as disturbing or as shocking, because she kind of feels and foils, so a lot of what she says is bounced off Martin and Sue, her parents [...] off Frankie says. So she has a more natural style than her parents.

R But what about? OK, let's go back to this now. Do you think that in *Suburban Bliss* that she represents the lives of some of the 'lower' orders of South African life of young women? What are you supposed to be? Sixteen, eighteen?

F Ja. That is what's interesting [...] teenagers of sixteen to twenty. When we first met Frankie she was sixteen, she was in standard nine and by the time we leave Frankie, which will be in 1999, she will have been in her second year of matric. She's almost nineteen by the end of this year. She starts off being quite a sheltered, protected little girl who is really out to impress herself and everybody around her. I think it's a novelty of course. She finds it amazing that the blacks live next door. She finds it challenging. She finds it new age. She of course has been to school with blacks. I mean she has got to be in standard seven when the law changed around - the schools opened up. So she's **been in that kind of system** for a while. [Frankie] deeply resents the fact that her parents missed out on the higher education. She's completely cool with tertiary education. She will put herself through it if the money's [there]. So in a sense, ja, like [...] but I think the fact remains though, because she awakens and she gets finally culturally engrossed and culturally fed. She goes to a fine arts school [...].

R Her aesthetic has changed, like Kobie says. Her aesthetic has changed.

F And she's ashamed of the [family]. She spends her life being ashamed [of them]. My father has a standard seven, my grandfather's a rabid racist [...].

R What about the fact that this is a meeting of the genre comedy - sitcom. Do you think that that can mediate the contradictions of the new social life developing in South Africa? Do you think the anxiety that people feel - the threat that they feel will change. You know this - the backing off. Do you think that the comedy cuts it. How do you see the role of comedy?

F I honestly think it [is] very necessary [...]. It's [...] we don't need a single thing ... like environment [or] neighbourhood watch [...] living in South Africa [...]. One can only achieve that by being there. Because if it comes to you [...] it's over.

R It's so interesting to hear you say this, because some of the theory I've been reading talks about [...] exactly this, that the [...] which is pushing against the church and against the old authority [...] push against these boundaries. And the only way you can [understand it is comedy].

F Yes absolutely. And I think they couldn't be too burlesque, the sets are over the top, they are overdone. They overstate [everything].

R OK. Do you think then that this is the type of sitcom that **can appeal across class and [race]**? You're a younger person. You're getting something back surely [...] otherwise [...] what about you [...] what kind of responses [...].

F [My friends are very critical] I was blind to [...].

R In what way are they critical?

F They're critical because it's overdone. They're critical because the lighting is [bad]. They're critical because ---

R [How do you feel] yourself?

F -- under experienced, that things are overstated [...]. Things are never sort of [easy]. It's unfriendly [...] which is the main [criticism] a natural thing of quality [...] which is I think a reservoir. [...] one doesn't want to sit back and say come on, it couldn't possibly be. And a lot of the writing is conducive to this [...].

R I see now, I think that's the bottom line. Pitching boundaries, which is very post modern.

F It is.

R OK. Now in the meaning that affects your character, do you think that different groups can understand what you're trying to say. [...]. What are you trying to say?

F Quite frankly. The characters [are] trying to cope with one another next door. As an example, she's aware of the social structures that her parents have emerged from. She is rising above [that]. [As] she grows up, [she's aware of] some of the things she did [...]. Andrew makes her realize, you know [...] and then, and they don't have to be in town to do [...].

R That now, you see that's absolutely amazing [...].

F Which is an amazing thing [...] because it's not as if [...] the whole black family - white woman - marriage. It's not like that. It's the [fact] they use each other [that is the] way it goes on [...].

R And then you are the one that kind of brings them back to morality ---

F Yes.

R Where he's trying to push [them] way out. And I thought that was so [different] OK. So now. In evaluating TV programmes, the theory has indicated middle class women look at female characters for comparison to themselves. Working class women look at upper class women. So in terms of that comment [...]. Do you think class doesn't exist? Ethnicity doesn't exist? In terms of ...

F I think it does exist [...]. So she can't really [...].

R Oh, really?

F [...]. My mom had to have me because she fell pregnant and [...] refusing to have a kid because she has a business and because she's successful. Which is a bit of a fallacy. But Frankie [...]. She's aware of the class [...].

R So the aesthetic of class is an element in there?

F Yes, she'd rather go to Thando [to discuss things].

[...].

F [...] she is such ... and at the end lands up making [mistakes] too involved [...] is far too kitsch and, you know, public. But she sees Thando as a sort of person society Kobie has but [...].

R So she's a competent role model?

F Ja, you must see it, you really must see it because she goes to Thando and asks advice about what men are about. All she really gets from her mother ... She asks everybody that, including her grandfather. And for the first time Andrew makes a sexual advance on

her and you see how she responds to that. So in that sense it's very real. [She is a] protected white [girl] in a 'new' South Africa. Very much ... and that is so real. You know she goes [to the school dance], she won't go for the [men] at any school [...] go for this chap [and] works at 'Handmade'

R [...] but that's so real.

F Art school means [hard work], because that's what you go for at art school [...]. She's, I think she's very real and she does go through [...].

R So really, what [...] say here [...] I felt [you] are in a sense the most successful. In terms of breaking these barriers. And it was interesting ... you see, I've only [asked women for the focus group] over twenty one. There's another whole dimension [...] I set my [age limit] at twenty one to sixty plus because I have to know somewhere where I'm going with this. And if you have it all over the place, can't hone in on any of the theory.

Is there anything else you'd like to share? Oh, you were going to tell me a little about yourself [...] Did you grow up here?

F [I was] born in Pretoria.

R Uh, oh really. Did you grow up in an English or Afrikaans speaking culture?

F English - French speaking.

R French speaking!

F [...] French speaking [at the] university [...] my father was [lecturing].

R Oh, really?

[...].

R It could be. It could actually [become a] spinoff.

*** End of Tape***

Interview with DESMOND DUBE (Andrew in *Suburban Bliss*)

March 15th, 1996, on the *Suburban Bliss* set

A= Andrew (Desmond Dube)

R= Interviewer (Dorothy Roome)

R Now Carl Fischer and Gray Hofmeyr used the term 'over the top' style of acting. Would you say that your part - that your acting in *Suburban Bliss* is over the top? Or how do you see it?

A Not really. Because the character I'm playing, Andrew, is over the top. His whole being is over the top. Actually I've met a lot of people who say *Suburban Bliss* is using this kind of over the top acting, but they don't think Andrew's playing over the top. They think he would play like that if it wasn't the style of *Suburban Bliss* anyway.

R I would agree with you. Now tell me do you think that *Suburban Bliss* represents the lives of the 'lower' orders of South African society. Do you think that the characters just generally in *Suburban Bliss*, are lower class or not?

A I think *Suburban Bliss* actually represents both sides, though it looks much like it's more on the lower ...

R Lower class

A On the lower class. But when it comes to the Molois - you realise that even if Thando lives a false life, but because of the struggle they went through, and ending up being neighbours to the Dwyers, it simply means they had to work very hard to get there. And though people look at it and they think - no it's not because of their honest job, you know, though Ike comes across as a very honest man, but I'll give one example - that Andrew stole most of the furniture that is in the house. You know what I'm saying?

R Oh, I didn't realise that. OK.

A You [...] and it means basically Ike has got better things to do with his money, as a working man. Because Andrew, he supplied the needs.

R Means something.

A Ja.

R Do you think that comedy is a good medium - you have the contradictions that are developing - I watched that episode you did just briefly about teaching people to be beggars. I mean, I thought that

was a brilliant piece of comedy. In fact do you think that that sort of episode can actually negotiate the way people see the 'new' South Africa, whites see blacks, the stereotype, and the way blacks see themselves. Do you think comedy helps or do you think it's like a put down? In other words, do you think yours is a positive character or is it framing that type of person who's got to be streetwise and get on with that and survive?

A Ja. I just think it's framing that type of person because I wouldn't really say it's educating, to people [who] are beggars and stuff like that. But basically what I was thinking, is really that episode. I just thought the writer is bringing all these things to the table to discuss, and it's for people to decide. More especially, even the man in the street himself, I think after that episode, we'll have a little amount of [complaining] I swear, because that's exactly what they're scheming when they're in the streets, and they think - OK, it's ...

R But do you think it's based on reality? Do you think there's a reality?

A There is - yes.

R That's realism.

A It's there.

R Really

A Ja, ja.

R Interesting

A Actually, a week ago, I went around, you know, and there are some guys that always have boards.

R Ja, ja.

A Boards and stuff like that. And I went to them asking them, like truly, you know, you hold the ten rands in your hands and you say if you tell me the honest truth, I'll give you the ten rands, and this other guy, he had this thing, this board [on] which was written - three children and a wife, no job, and things like that and only when I got to know that this guy came from the mines, and he came from the rural areas and he

came to the mines to work. And he started working and he never sent money home to his wife, not even to his family, and when he lost his job he was scared then. He was afraid of going home basically because...

R Because he couldn't support them.

A He couldn't support them when he was working, when he had the job. And he decided to stay in Johannesburg, so he went staying with one woman to another, 'til all of them got rid of him. And he decided to try this thing of -- he says he first went begging, standing next to a shop, asking people [for] money. The people wouldn't give a big man like him money, and then he wrote a board that he was a blind man - pretended to be a blind man - and still that didn't work. So he said OK, I decided to be honest, this is what he says - I decided to be honest and I wrote this board. I said but still you're not honest, you don't have kids here and he says ja, but that's the only way, when people think about kids, they quickly feel they should provide something.

R Interesting.

A Now, do you think that people would look at your character, and from their personal experience, let's say blacks [...] people like you. that they will be able to make their own values and look at you? Say you're an Ike in the real world, and you look at this character Andrew, and you'll see him as a black man and you also see him perhaps as a very successful black man. How do you think they'll look at a character like you?

R How would he look at you?

A I'll tell you what. It's a [good] question. A couple of days ago, we had the episode with Frankie and Andrew borrowing money from each other and everybody thinking that Frankie's back, because ...

R Oh, I remember that, yes, yes, yes.

A And this other guy, the real Andrew, you know, the real Andrew I've been following, he says. He came to me and he says - you think you're me, don't you? Why do you say that? It's then I know - I watch TV you know. I see you're trying to be me, you know, and I said no it's just interesting that you actually realised that I was trying to play ...

R Oh he didn't --- Oh, OK, OK.

A Because he's the real Andrew.

R He's the one you're framing yourself around.

A I always go talk to him, you know.

R And then he tells you how to interpret the character.

A And then I thought - yes it means he's looked at me to watch this and he really thought this guy's playing me, and ...

R How do you feel about it?

A Didn't really ---

R Is it bad?

A Didn't really feel bad. I don't think anyone of them.

R He didn't see it as a negative?

A No [...].

R I was concerned about that. OK. Then to what extent do you think that black and white audiences in South Africa equally ... well, OK, you're black so maybe you could tell me how you feel ... how black people see the show. Do they understand the humour? Like that charade scene. You see, I wonder about that. Do black people see anything funny? I don't know.

A Ja, ja.

R I'm looking at that. I thought that was a very white perspective.

A Ja

R I know about charades.

A Ja

R Because I've played them. How many black people have [...] didn't really know. Well now, you're a sophisticated black. How would black people ---

A: Ordinary black people?

R What do you think?

A Well we would [...] couple of episodes like that, you know. When you have lot of white humour.

R Ja, ja.

A But at the same time I think a lot of people learn. It's like an exposure.

R That is pretty --- you've learnt. A wheeler - dealer. maybe you've never heard that before.

A Ja, ja.

R So you learnt also.

A Exactly.

R As a black actor.

A Ja.

R So it's a learning process, it's not just laugh, and something that white people might laugh at but --- OK. That's final. I don't want to hold you up too much, so I'm pressing on ahead. So what is the message that your character defines in this series? What message are you trying to put across? Because every character has a message. What's your message? As you see it. Your interpretation of that character. What is the message? What are you trying to show?

A Basically Andrew is a bad guy, though, you know, when we...

R He's bad?

A When we really interpret the character thoroughly he's not a bad guy at all, he's a middle man. But being involved in things like selling stolen goods, buying stolen goods, it's bad. And it always comes across in all the episodes that he's doing that. Caught up with him in the end.

R OK. So in other words, you don't let the bad character win. Now the relationship with Frankie? I find this very interesting because you have - a sexual line is always the hardest one in television or a film or anything to cross. Because you get into people's subjectivity then. Horrible! Crossing the sexual line in a black - white relationship in this country which [presents] a very rigid or ostensibly rigid line. How do you see your relationship presented in this series helping relationships in South Africa? Your relationship -- share with blacks. [...] it's not implied that you are having a sexual relationship with her, but I mean, how do you see that?

A As in ---

R I mean I ... I don't have a problem. Let me say that up front. I don't have a problem with the situation. My kids have been very involved with black guys. I don't have a problem with black people. But I'm just thinking in terms of presenting your relationship with

Frankie, sharing a flat. What's the reaction you've got from your friends? You, a black man, sharing a

flat with a white girl. Or have these episodes not been shown yet?

A No, not yet.

R Oh, OK.

A But I tell you what. I think basically, like you said in the beginning, that Andrew and Frankie are actually the new South Africa. And that's exactly where it gets you know.

R There isn't the same resistance. It's the old folks who are resisting.

A Ja.

R OK. Alright. So do you see your character as a positive or negative role model for young black men.

A Depending on the economy. I think it could be both negative and positive.

R You mean they could either ape you and say I'll get away with it, I won't get caught ---

A Uh huh. Ja.

R --- or they can say 'Oh my, that's not the way to go'.

A That's not the way to go, ja.

R And then, how do you see the presentation of Thando? As a positive or negative role for black women? You as a black man now, would you like a wife like that?

A *Mirth* - Not really.

R Why not?

A Because she's not being herself and basically she's expensive.

R She's expensive. You couldn't afford a wife likethat?

A *Mirth*

R Thando scares you. So don't you think she's positive to make black women feel that they mustn't have a man to get these goodies for them if they've got to go out and get these goodies themselves and work hard and be educated?

A Hum. No I can't say that, but at the same time Thando is not getting anything for herself. She's using someone to get things for her.

R Oh ja. No, but she's making a man ... she's not standing on her own two feet to get the stuff.

A Ja.

R That would be OK as far as you're concerned?
Thank you so much for sharing this with me.
Thank you.

Interview with PETER SEPUMA, (director of *Suburban Bliss*.)

S= Peter SePuma

R= Interviewer (Dorothy Roome)

R Peter, please tell me a little bit about who you are and how you came to be doing this job.

S I actually started in theatre. When I was in high school I managed to do a magician for an acting class, which was really not my direction and I had my mom saying I was to be a lawyer - got to go to Tech. and be a lawyer. But after I did the auditions I got a scholarship. That was my turning point. Then I was basically involved in the theatre. I specialised in experimental theatre.

R You are an actor as well?

S Yes. And then I [went to] the Market Theatre, as an actor first, then I did a stage managing course as well so I could be a stage manager.

R Very versatile.

S Yes. Quite versatile. And I think when [this is over, I want] do some writing. I got into directing at the Market Theatre. My first production there in the Library [Theatre] and of course we were embarking slowly on protest theatre.

R I saw a lot of that. Whenever I came to visit the country, I would go and see a lot of that.

S Ja.

R Could you just name some of those that you were involved in?

S The one I ---

R *Woza Albert*?

S I was not in *Woza Albert*, but I was in some stuff that we adapted, as well as done by Brecht.

R Oh yes, really, alienation theory.

S Yes, and then we did some [...] productions like [...] which I wrote, and was directed by my ex wife, and then I went into bigger productions.

R Oh really.

S Which was [...] this human struggle for human survival, and one woman, who came from the Cape and she's...

R Is she a coloured woman?

S Black woman.

R She was a black woman.

S Yes. Moved from one place to another and system, and during the process you see her family slowly disintegrate [...] I'm just telling that story. It was in Afrikaans initially, and adapted into a drama by Sandra Coetzee, and directed then by [...] and I went overseas with that production [...].

R That's fabulous! Wow!

S I had been to the States already then, with *The Survival*. And then I came back and the other guys stayed over and [...].

R You came back. Now that was interesting. Help me out. Now that was very interesting. Why did you come back?

S I have always had this vision of acquiring all the knowledge I have but also being able to, yes, come back and educate other people, the need and the necessity for me to come back was much greater than my [staying].

R Personal self [...]. Ja.

S [...]. Yes, people need me, and I realised that I was right only when I got back, because what I did when I got back was touring the townships with productions and writing productions and teaching kids and getting kids in my backyard at home in Orlando, eastern Soweto, and using theatre in education as a format, you have just not to become actors but to ... [...] give them confidence, teach them how to handle themselves and speak [...] and stuff like that and ...

R They can present themselves properly.

S Just help themselves you know, I think all those things were very important to me and that's one reason, really I came back. I felt I was more needed here at home than overseas with the whites. I know that my fellow actors were not happy with that, because we were [anti-apartheid] but now the other two have come back and they were very pleased with my achievements here at home, and then I stuck to

theatre until I went across to the market Theatre to [PACT].

R That's a tricky area.

S Very tricky. And it was still quite a white elephant then.

R Yes.

S My move actually provoked a lot of talk from my people.

R They said you sold out.

S Comments of sold out, sell out and stuff like that, but I've always had a [sense of] seniority. And I always believed that the challenges that were facing me were much what I'd like to go for [...] from these [...]. For me the Market Theatre was initially interesting to be able to talk to the white masses. To be able to take the message to them. But then after I realised that I'm getting the liberal minded agrees with what I'm saying, that's prepared to accept the reasoning that goes with it, it was pointless for me to continue at the Market Theatre, so my crossing over to PACT was..., I was preaching to the converted and it was enough. I knew that somewhere out there, there was the conservative mind that needed me to confront and break open and I crossed over to PACT for that reason. And another reason was that I also believed that as an artist I deserved a job with PACT. I might be a black artist, but I pay tax. It's my tax money, and I deserve a job and they gonna have to employ me. And I must say the success that we achieved thereafter with joining Pact, initially it was me and my ex wife, was that for the first time we were able to sing *Nkosi Sikelele* in the State Theatre. And for the first time, I could see white people break down in tears just watching the story of this black woman who ...

R This is the same story that you ...

S This was performed again, yes, and we performed it in the State Theatre. [...] we went for [...] messages [...] was really [...] they crying the tears. I could see were a lot like in sympathy with this woman, it was like how could we as people do this to other humans? Christians do this to other human beings, you know. And that also helped me in the sense that I then was able to gather more knowledge in terms of theatre, was able to do more [...] do a lot more Shakespeare, which then was quite [foreign] to my own experience as an actor. I needed to get that experience. I was able to understand how [...] which have [...] institutions [...] employed by the

same institution and how the budgets are run. And how the play [...] and all that was actually very foreign to me because I always had the [...] we will one day take over - there is no other way. One day all this will belong to us. We better be able to [acquire] expertise [...] I got that so there were a lot of other factors that went into the [learning process] and...

R And how did you get into the television?

S Well, I started off working at [film] then I went - progressed to [television] and then of course the new dispensation started coming into the picture. And when I realised that I knew that now it's time to go into something else I had already two features which I had shot during the Government subsidy to the film industry.

R Oh, that's what it's called.

S Yes [they] came to me [...] and I did two features which were small time, but they gave me the foundation. [...]. I realise now [was the time to go] to television, and I heard about this [opportunity] to train new black directors [...].

R Because that's a special technique.

S That's a special technique, so I came in and we did the course in seven days. It was a crash course but a very intensive [...].

R Is that available still? That course

S It's still available. We're still running it here at [the SABC].

R Because I've got a lot of students that might be interested to be able to come on a course like that.

S Ja.

R But with different [focus]. So we must talk about that.

S Yes, we will talk about it, because we still running it [...]. When we finish in June, then it will stop. But Dapple Productions, which is the production house that's now doing *Suburban Bliss*. One of their objectives is to make sure that [about] training new directors. And we have been doing this [...] every time we finish a production [...].

R [I must get] those dates from you, so that I can arrange [for my students].

S I did that course for seven days. Now [that] opportunity normally takes four weeks to six weeks. I did it in seven days. I directed *Generations* which was the first black 'soap' in [...] I directed [...].

R That's great.

S My first multi [...] action.

R Wow.

S [...] and then came this production *Suburban Bliss*. And how I got into it was I'd been working with Gray Hofmeyr and Carl Fischer in *The Big Time*, which was one of our successful series on TV. It was about a Greek family that had moved from Greece to South Africa and the story traces their [problems]. So after working with Gray and Carl on this - we knew each other so we [...] twelve years - twelve months [...] co-write and [...] and so like a year ago we started working [together] and finally the production was [ready]. That's how ... of course I can explain how [I can] handle this one. The series itself explains what it actually is - looking at the situation of races and looking at the races moving in next door to each other as in blacks moving into the whites areas. And how do the whites feel about that? How do the blacks feel about that? And for me that was very interesting.

R How about women? I want to get to this. How do you feel, for example, the character of Thando. Because I spoken to Gray and he told me where he was coming from. I wonder how do you feel about the character?

S The character of Thando ---

R You see negative or positive? Is she a positive role model? Is that irrelevant?

S It's a very tricky one. Because Thando on the one hand can be quite a positive character, could turn out as a role model type of character. But it also has tendencies of being a negative type of role model as in her aspirations are totally away from what some of us aspire to, as when we are looking for a house in the white suburbs. I had a house in the white suburbs - long before black people lived there, and looking at the character of Thando, I would like to relate that to my ex wife, the way she was about moving to the white suburbs. There was this thing. I want to be like a 'madam' as well. I want to have my own house with my own maid, a big yard and all that. It was a question of a status thing. And with me it was an investment, it was my nature, or maybe there was another house there - you know, like you sell that and make a lot of money and you move on. One way of

making money - you sell. So we saw it in totally different ways. And I think that the character of Thando is also very much along the same lines. Has the same aspirations of - I just want to move onto the white suburb as a status thing, and I think most black women are now even affording that thing. They do pressurise their husbands, and I think to some extent the black male also has that formula. We are now expanding towards white materialistic issues. They're all basically just a status thing. And to see a person as a role model can really confuse ones mind because there are other priorities that one should be going for, and Thando as a woman, is to me as a black man, a bit of a dangerous character. She gets like to move on the turn -- to move into the suburbs. She doesn't adhere to the duties or to her responsibilities as a woman to a man. She doesn't want children - she just wants to enjoy being a madam with nail polish, well dressed all the time, and a maid and stuff like that and shopping every day or other day and in the meantime the hubby can't afford it. He has to really live on the edge because his money is not enough to cover the prices that goes with a house like that. And a lifestyle like that is - according to us black men - if we cannot afford it, it becomes something else because we then see what we [...]. But if we can't afford it by nature, then it becomes a burden [...]. And then there is breakdown very easily. And we have already seen that. I have some friends who moved into the white suburbs, it's [...] I'm with them, then they [...] and when we talk, it's simply because just to bring the whole thing closer, rationalise it, I think that I should mention this. The same thing happened to me when I moved to the white suburb with my ex. Suddenly communication just broke down between the two of us. She was after something else also [...] totally different goals and that brought about [divorce].

R What about the mother?

S Ummm.

R Mama Moloji?

S Ma Moloji.

R What do you think of her?

S Ma Moloji is a racist and she's like any other black person I know now who is still a [...]. I think it's irrelevant. I think black people are very superficial and very prejudiced in many ways.

R What!

S You hear them talk about, you know, you're a

Shangaan or [Venda] refer to another tribe. I'm not that tribe, and that's a low class tribe, you know.

R Really?

S And very derogatory statements, comments and very humiliating type of comment [...] and prejudiced. And even if you might not be aware sometimes, but subconsciously, without thinking twice, we are very quick at taking out. It happens here on the job. Invariably where one wrong [...] from a white person is turned into a racist issue. And because of that I think Ma Moloi doesn't only reflect the older generation, she also reflects the young one. Normally she does reflect the older ones who are very much holding onto [...] and the [...] Hempies - the old man, the white man who balances it very well - they are both from the same school. But as ... as it progresses, you realise that she might be racist, but she's a human being. She does care for people - she wouldn't let her white counterparts suffer anything if she's able to help, she would help.

R Yes, she's not a bad person.

S She's not a bad person. She's a ---

R Bit of a gossip.

S Ja.

R Bit of a gossip.

S But she is a racist. And I think we still have a lot of that. [...] it hasn't gone [yet] I think it's still going [...]. This series makes it much more relevant, today, that we showing this. People can now just look back and, you know, reflect, they see themselves in the characters, and a lot of people will [...]. But only when they see the characters like this, will they realise - actually I'm like this and this is me. So it means I'm a racist.

R Do you think there are women like that? Mothers who [control] extended families of the blacks. Do you think that still happens? [Mothers-in-law, and] daughters [in-law] western barriers. Do you think that's changed?

S It's still happening. What's going on happens in the future. I think now that we are just couple of years into this new dispensation, this [racist] stuff. But I think as time goes on, what we're going to realise is, a slow cut away from the old ways of doing things as in one day we'll have our own [...] and it's those that worry. One's aspirations for this white kind of lifestyle. This western [...] this taking away from

our African values which have to do with respect. Which have to deal with independent community [...]. If we alienate ourselves from our families until we die [...] your mom and your dad and [...] and that is no longer happening. I know that there are people who are living that their own brother and sisters just walk into their home any time. Because they now live in the white suburbs, they are now so much influenced by western values that you can't just now just visit, you have to phone and say 'are you there? Can I come for dinner with a friend?' And yet when they were in the townships, Sunday morning you are woken up by a knock. Ah, it's me, I'm your brother. I'm here, come on let's start get food and all that. And all those values that made us more of people - human beings, humans - I think we [...] those values are gone. And they will [...] slowly go away [...] with our new nationalism.

R OK. Now my final question - because I know you've got to get out of this. As director of [*Suburban Bliss*] how difficult is it for you. Do you agree with the messages that are coming out. Are you [happy with] the interaction?

S I think *Suburban Bliss* was [...] it's far from fiction. It's very much true story stuff [...] day within our lives. And things that we sometimes overlook because they happen to us as individuals in our own little corners or, our own little communities. But seeing it on TV, it's almost like a message is at large and people are able to see that this is what we are all about. So I think that a series like this was quite necessary for this time in point in this country. What we should avoid is what happened in America when the emancipation came, but in fact what didn't come was the practicality of it. People didn't get to practice this then. They didn't get to communicate within this thing. They still remained alienated from each other and ...

R Separated.

S Yes, separated and thus the anger is still there. I go to America and I think that people are more angry than us here, you know.

R Terrible, terrible.

S And we should use this television, we should use theatre to educate people now about these factors before they get out of hand, so that the new found dispensation, the new found freedom, the new found communication between people can happen and for people to see their mistakes on screen.

R [So that they can relate it to their] subjectivity.

S That's it. They relate to subjectivity to that. It only means that then they are able to correct themselves in what they are doing and before it gets out of hand we will have saved the situation and the anger that I experienced in America between black and white and the conflict [...] people are just about to explode any time. They don't seem to know who the enemy is. You know, they don't know if the enemy's white or black anymore, because they live next door to white people, that they are so angry about whites being next door to them. And here [...] might happen that we move into the white [...] and live next door. But we still so angry with each other that we [...] crossing the line and crossing boundaries simply means [...] basic about it that we are able to talk about it. Look at it in such a way that you are hopefully saying you and I have to work things out together and this is how we are going to work it out together. If we are to call each other 'darkie' and 'whitey', that's fine, but as long as we're working things out together, you know. That we don't leave it until it reaches a point where the conflict is like an explosion, and that is why I think it's very very vital that we have [communication]

*** End of Tape ***

APPENDIX C

Interview with ROBERTA DURRANT (MD Penguin Films & Producer *Going Up*)

April 1995

D= Roberta Durrant

R= Interviewer (Dorothy Rooome)

D So we decided that we needed a male as a sort of foil in the world of women. A lot of homes make use of lodgers. So what they've got was a lodger from Kwazulu, someone from a rural area. That character then developed further. He became very much a sort of every man's man. And in this period he became extremely popular. The title was called [...]. Now what happened as a result of that is that the lead character and I formed a partnership and his name is Joe Mafela. The actor, he had this idea for the current series of *Going Up*. And the whole idea of *Going Up* is to actually have a vehicle where the kind of things that really bothered, one was the fact that if you wanted to do it properly, you had to do it from a certain angle. It had to be all black, and it had to be all ... We tried to push through those boundaries to have a character that, because of the storyline wouldn't only talk in one language, he wouldn't only speak his language [...]. It would be a melting pot of a whole lot of things. And we put it to the SABC and created an absolute storm. Because they were very suspect about the whole thing. TV1 didn't want it because it was black, TV2 didn't want it because how could they have anything that wasn't in a pure African language. So nobody knew what to do. Eventually they said 'OK we'll put it on TV4. And TV4 didn't really have a production budget. It happened on TV3 somewhere at 9 o'clock at night. After we developed a script, they discovered they didn't have any money for TV4. So we had a whole round about thing. We pushed for this for about three years. This about 1989. And because of the whole apartheid structure [...]. And then we decided that this was ridiculous and we just kept pushing [...]. I mean we could have just walked away from it, we could have gone into exile. But I mean the fact of the matter is we pursued. And then eventually it was developed with TV1's input and TV2. For the first time those two departments actually worked together. They were very dubious about it. So much so that after the first three episodes they then decided 'OK we'll develop the rest'. And then we had to do a pilot. And they tested the pilot extensively with different groups. They had a Sotho women group and a Zulu male group and a English white group. It was all racially divided, you know and coloured groups. And they tested this thing endlessly with endless questions to decide whether it actually could work. It confused the advertising world completely

because they didn't know who they were targeting anymore. We were basically before our time. But it did great for us. It was the first multicultural-lingual programme that was on TV. For the first time blacks spoke in English even if they did have an accent. I'm being quite frank with you because you really want to know what the story was.

In the end the pilot was accepted very favourably, everyone loved it. It was like a breath of fresh air. Its so nice to have all the languages together, [...] its natural and projected South Africa. And the result of that we were allowed to do the series... So much so that we got a sponsor involved [...]. It was a great success. Well watched and everybody loved it. And then we wanted to do a follow up and that was even more difficult [...]. And then we finally got a sponsor and then we were finally able to put the programme on air. But how women see it, is something that I don't know. [...]. I'm just trying to find the link.

R I think, what Keyan also asked me, is [...] is this series an allegory? I think that the perception that you give, [...]. I want to talk about that, an allegory of South Africa ...

D That was the idea.

R And it's not just the how women are presented but how women look at a production like this and what do they get out of it. I mean, look at the shebeen queen. I mean what does she mean in that one episode [...]. How would women see those women, the black and the white? [...]. And Joe is such a wonderful person, I mean he's so real. I mean I'm thinking of the sitcoms that I knew before, whether it's American or I'm not familiar with the ones from here, women can always see how women are represented. Because it contextualises it.

D Well I think you're right in the sense that we did see it like that. And I think the whole exercise that we went through to use it was also an example of the little microcosmic theory of the whole. Because of what the story would be, the struggle I mean [...]. But its done on purpose. When we thought it out we wanted a vehicle where we could have this kind of melting pot. We also wanted a vehicle which had the sort of reminiscence of what was old and then the new

coming in. Because I mean right now you don't get all these new cultures. In the days of the prohibition, I mean not even prohibition, I mean going back, you have endless routes [...]. So in a way one wanted to bring the old together because I mean Cluver is completely old, he's colonial. He's back in the sticks. So he's bringing that baggage with him. In terms of it being a microcosm example of what could possibly happen in the whole. Obviously not incorporating it but we did have certain objectives and one of them was to bring the opposites together. Now Jabu is a very streetwise character and he comes with none of the colonial baggage but he also comes with baggage in a sense. Because he comes with a subservient baggage in a way. And he also has to break through a lot of black stuff as he's mediating. And he's also learned how to play the game. The new character [...] is meant having arrived, he's the lawyer, the young one. He comes with no baggage, he's been overseas, he's quite confident, he's come back to the 'new' South Africa, and he's going to get the best out of it that he can get. I can't say he's got no social conscience but he's mainly interested in himself. And then the women. Now June is quite an interesting character because that's the women in the ... She's now living in Johannesburg, away from her frame of reference which is the Cape flats. So everything that's dear to her is hidden down there. She's quite an isolated person, quite a lonely person because all her references are somewhere else. And I think that's the strength of her character because she's able in quite an innocent way to comment on the goings on all around her because she's standing a bit outside the arrangements, she's standing sort of to one side. And at the same time there's a lot of convention to [...]. She's also tried to do something in a way that she's not [...]. I mean the whole way that she talks, she's quite posh. She's practised her English so that it's quite good and underneath you see there's the sort of Afrikaans coloured, typically, background. And she sees herself, definitely, as a couple of notches up from Jabu [...] There's that level.

R What about the security woman?

D The security woman is one of those characters that, you know when you develop something and you write something, you plan certain things, other things just happen. She happened because we weren't even going to have a woman, we were going to have someone else and she came and auditioned. I thought she was a really good actress. And I thought it would be nice to have a character who's very butch. It worked out for herself. How she can survive in the jungle of Jo'burg. Also probably having been out of the country and come back in she also found a niche for herself. And also one that is able to comment in

a way on the violence, on the crime and how she's on the one hand getting something out of it but on the other hand developed this fierce 'trust nobody, fear everybody' kind of attitude where she's over defensive and always on the attack. And I like the idea that she's got kind of butch sidekicks as well. That type of female is not an unknown type, if you want to categorise and I think we do in comedy in a way [...]. You're almost back to types really. I've met quite a lot of women like that that are on their own and circumstances made them into what they are, and particularly in Johannesburg because I think it's quite a tough city.

It's such a pity that we haven't got to do *Madam and Eve* [...]. Have you come across the comic strip *Madam and Eve*? It's a very popular comic strip which comments. It's Madam, and Eve, the domestic. And I've developed a sitcom around *Madam and Eve*. But do you think I can get any of the channels interested. TV1 developed it and then they had second thoughts about it and I think it's that old fear of political correctness, even having a maid [...]. Channel 4 was very interested but they don't have development funds. So I'm hoping someone is going to go for it. There's a lot of interest in America as well but nothing's happening. [...] I mean I've had it for three years now, but that would have been a great one from the point of view of women, because we've got two wonderful characters. They also represent two totally different poles.

R The audience research that was done prior to production ... we lost a little bit of it before. You wouldn't mind giving me a little more background on that?

D Well, as I say, all these groups were tested and everybody loved the characters, they loved the situation. The first series had Ziggy Mynhardt. I don't know if you knew him. He played the security guy as opposed to the young Odendaal. This character now is the nephew of Oompie, the old guy. They were quite worried about him in terms of how Afrikaners would see him when they did the research. They had lots of question about that. The research showed people liked the character. People loved the contrast, they liked what we were aiming at which was really to laugh at different things. People liked that, they enjoyed that. People were never affronted by anything that we said. They liked it, and I think that's the [...]. You've got to tread a very fine line. Even the one episode, the one on affirmative action, we tread a very fine line because we looked at the whole thing of affirmative action and joked about it. Basically we were highlighting the idiotic part of it [...] Different people doing different things and highlighting that, their motivations and examining it.

- I think in doing that we did tread a fine line. Particularly now, where everything [...]. We have to be able to confront things and I do think humour is a good way to do it and I think its good to be able to laugh at whatever. Nothing is so precious that you can't laugh at it.
- R I was not aware of this but Prof Tomaselli told me about it that the main character, Jabu, in fact he's become intertextual. Apparently they adore him and hasn't he done a lot of other stuff as a result of people kind of associating with this or was that there before?
- D Joe made his mark as the character Stuma [...] This was a spin off. *Going Up* was the second series we did. By then he was firmly rooted and loved ...
- R So the intertextuality also about the Chicken Licken and the folk hero that happened before?
- D Yes. It happened with *S'gudi S'naysi*. *S'gudi S'naysi* is on at the moment because we did thirteen episodes quite some time back which were never broadcast because Joe was on the air with *Going Up* and we didn't want to have two series. Its interesting, although its a comedy its [...] it's a sort of slapstick comedy more than *Going Up* is. But its extremely popular. The humour of *S'gudi S'naysi* is really around the hard experience of the every man character, it's one of the survival. What's going to be very interesting is to see how it moves itself into post '94. Its interesting because this was what was kicked off in '84 and I do believe these things are time bound, what's happening at a certain time.
- R How are things with advertisers about content?
- D No the only thing is when we kicked off, we had no idea what we should be doing in the first series. The second series was inundated with advertisers because its got very high AR's and they know they'll reach not only a lot of African people. They are reaching a lot of white, coloured people [...]. Its packed with advertisers.
- R Just because your material I've got is [...].
- D No you haven't got the broadcast ones. What you've got is what I delivered to the SABC and in those blanks they put the advertising. And I mean there's something like nine ads if not more. It really works, its very popular plus SAB came in to sponsor the second series for the reason that the first one was as successful as it was. I believe *Going Up* is alive. Its something that can travel into the future very comfortably.
- R Yes because I think whatever changes come you'll be able to have an reaction. In a sense its much more, for me, like the Archie Bunker kind of thing, which everybody likes. My father came to America and he adored it [...]. Its the same context, you can interpret it as you wish. You can make of that whatever you want and I think that's why its quite brilliant [...]. Data. Have you access or could you tell me where to go for press clips, reviews, what sort of advertising did take place. AMPS?
- D I've got a lot of that. AMPS you can get from the SABC.

Interview with JOE MAFELA (Jabu in *Going UP*)

April, 1995

M= Joe Mafela

R= Interviewer (Dorothy Roome)

- R You and Roberta have worked together on this project. And this was really your idea to pursue this after the previous one which you were doing which was in Zulu.
- M Actually what happened is that we did *S'gudi S'naysi*, which was in Zulu. And then there was a symposium in SABC to say, 'look, how can we make this work if we got to do it in multilingual'. I said it can happen because what we got to do is to take every day life in Johannesburg for instance. I mean, people talk in different languages and that sort of thing. And then I came up with the concept of *Going Up*, take for instance a lawyer's office, requires an interpreter and from there when he knocks off what does he do? He goes to a shebeen, then from the shebeen he goes home. So we followed up: Jabu from work with Cluver, from there he goes up to Squeeza's shebeen and then from there he goes home.
- R In terms of the scope of it, what kind of audience do you think you are reaching?
- M The idea was, actually yes, any way to break through and start getting white viewership on CCV because they didn't understand the language before. If you do it in Zulu you definitely, then you are closing doors there. We felt very comfortable by using, let's say 60%. I think we use English, and then we demarcate the other languages.
- R I was watching the tape when you were the translator for the woman and man who were getting the divorce, and I thought that you are showing how difficult the language was, and how even the young Oxford graduate, the black Oxford graduate couldn't really communicate. I thought that was very interesting. I guess one has always kind of assumed that all black people understand one another, yet it is not the case at all.
Do you really have all these languages? I mean, how many languages do you really speak?
- M I speak about fifteen.
- R Your persona that you have created is half buffoon, the clown but on the other hand you put forward the truth of what is happening in the society, which is really what the clown has always done, going back to medieval times. Do you regard the theory that the type of allegory in the sense that you're trying to indicate broader issues so that as I saw it - the building --- so my vision of this was more as an allegory where the building was like South Africa and then each one of these characters kind of symbolised a group. Can you comment?
- M I think we are actually trying to say this is what Jo'burg was like (in the 50s), and then we do actually do bring out a little bit of the 80s and 90s and today's life. Just that characters, your style's in the *shebeen*. The guys are, like wayback.
- R Not like that today?
- M Yes.
- R Interesting. So you don't feel it is like symbolic of something else that is going on in the society. You have messages, you have moral messages hidden [in the] humour. The fumbling lawyer is like typical of a certain generation who haven't quite adjusted to the whole 'new' South Africa.
- M Ja you are right. You take Cluver, he comes to an African name which he completely can't pronounce it.
- R Most people never bother to learn anything else but their English or Afrikaans.
- M Exactly.
- R So he is presented in an affectionate kind of way. You're not poking fun at him. He's a good type. Because if you start poking fun at him, you actually can alienate a whole new potential audience. What about the young lawyer, the Oxford graduate. Do you think he exists? Is he out there?
- M Yes, you've got a lot of guys who have graduated and who never really know the basic struggle on the ground ... to say this is how people do ... look at Kwawundiphe, he plays that role very well
- R He does. Lovely performance. He's got this one gesture where he always scratches at the back of his

- neck when he's like very puzzled. It's actually a nice little characterization. Because you know when he's going to do that he's like very concerned with his [status]. His [status] is very important and I find that interesting [...], the fragmentation, the stratification is still there.
- M Exactly, like Mrs Jakobus - the secretary.
- R What is her function?
- M Mrs Jakobus is like what used to happen in the 60s, 70s, when coloureds really got jobs like we didn't ... This is what we usually find - me and her - that 'I'm doing more than you do in this company'. [...]. She thought she was an associate, I also thought that as well.
- R What about the portrayal of women in the series. Which is where I'm coming from. One of the problems that I'm having is seeing in what way women are being presented in a different way to the traditional way. And I wondered if you have any comment to make on that? According to Roberta (when I interviewed her last week) she said that this other one - it's *S'gudi S'naysi*, that that had more representation of women and that might be one that I should include in my research, because I don't really see anything that is particularly representative of women. Do you have any comment, speaking of the last 26 episodes?
- M The last 26 episodes I think, like you say, we didn't particularly feature what is particularly women's perception. I say maybe the evolution of women from wayback to now, whereby there is a lot of change. But it's very minimal because you can't see it in a manner that women are quite responsible in many ways. In industry and education they are playing a big role when [...] try to put things together.
- R Somebody like you with the following that you have and the persona that you've developed even now with the wider audience (like the advertisement that you do), the things that you say, anything that you say can really make the difference as to how people perceive what's happening [...] that I worry about. I see this in the United States. Ones I really worry about are the women who are left on their own, with children to take care of, and they have to battle. They have the job to cope with. They need better education. They need to know there is opportunity for them out there, that they don't have to suffer like that. That with better education they can get better jobs.
- M With that I want to tell you, it happens here as well a lot, actually to the majority. I've always been saying ja Joe you talk. I actually blame man. I blame man to do that ... it's terrible that you do that. Either you get married to the lady or you misuse the lady. After that [...] the keys and away you go. [...] and the poor woman is going to be left to die, with maybe nothing. And I hate whereby the man dictates to a woman that she take a job like that or a job like that. Because that is to say don't go forward, stay where you are. Which is wrong, very wrong.
- R Another aspect, did you have any problems with your advertising? They want to change the content of what you were doing? Were they happy with the narrative side of what you were doing?
- M They were quite happy.
- R They didn't criticise. What about that young security officer?
- [...]
- M ... those parts of the country because women behave differently. They got tribes, belong to different tribes, like Zulu women, culturally they are very strong, believing to their culture.
- R Some people disagreed with me when I said that they said why Zulu women, and I said because I think in a sense they've been maintained in their cultural tradition to a greater extent than a lot of other women in the country. And I think they are strong in their own way. That the culture to maintain old ways and traditions is very conservative. They don't change easily. That's why I thought you may be interested when we've finished this research project, just to see to what extent the people in - because I know you've done some research in Pretoria) I saw that. But it will be interesting to see how it works in Kwazulu Natal. So what are your other plans now?
- M We are busy with pre production for Voter Education-*Khululeka 2*. Because we did one voter education the year before for the main elections of last year. We are starting next month..
- R You do Radio as well as television?
- M Just television.
- R I am going to make a controversial remark now. I am going to say to you poor people don't watch television: poor people don't vote. How will you get

the message to those poor people. if they're not watching television.

M Well I think a lot has been done on Radio already. Already I think radio is doing quite a good job. Getting people to go register. And I think there are units that I went to view - some mobile units that were going around the country.

R OK, showing ... because the visuals make a big impact.

M Most definitely, I know ... mobile units do work wonders. That's what they did with the first *Khululeka*. Took it around the country, besides the main centres. So I'm sure that's going to happen again. Particularly, different organisations do that. Political organisations.

R Whichever party wants to get across its message. Right now, do you think people are sceptical about the elections. That the locals are not interested in the local elections. What's your feeling?

M I think there is a lot more to do with understanding what this whole democracy is all about. Last year it was first time voting for the majority of the people. They started making allegations that this government is doing this and that. Without making mention that we are going to have another election. So now when you say another election they're going to say 'what for?', because we voted last year for the government and we're waiting for the government to deliver. So you got to teach those people to say 'look [by] the way we were supposed to have started with these elections before the main ones.

[...]

R What is the role of the *Shebeen Queen*? I want to hear what your version is [...] What do you think her role is? We don't see her much.

M The role of the *Shebeen Queen* is that you know guys will always come back from work either depressed or excited in whichever way. And the *Shebeen Queen* in reality knows exactly what you feel when she sees you come in ... says 'Ah! What's wrong today?' Then you start relating. Then from that she says 'OK, I will play some lovely music', and then she says OK listen to this music, right? Then you listen to it and say 'Wow!, that's lovely'. She says yes. And then it completely changes your mood. And then you go home without bad feelings from work.

R Do you think we still have these kind of places?

M Yes! now they've got licences and they serve everything, like a tavern, like a bar. I think their licences are so loose that they close at about three or four in the morning. The *shebeen* accommodates guys who work shifts.

R If you kind of analyse what you have done, that's one aspect of African life which has continued in a post apartheid era. It's still there. There's been a lot of criticism about the amount of alcohol advertising on television, that many people alcohol as a way to kind of run away from their reality and then it can destroy them. Do you see then that the *shebeen* is more just a social place where you can get transition to be relaxed, or do you think that it could be a negative element and encouraging people to continue with alcohol, when they really can't afford to.

M No, no, no! You see the *Shebeen Queen*, they're really there to say to you, look - and they can tell if you've taken more. They say no, no, no, I think you have taken enough for today. If you say 'No', they would say 'Jabu, can you please take this guy home', or they get somebody to take you home - which is great. Because people today don't drink like they used to ten years ago.

R Really?

M Ja, they drink very sensible. It's the duty of the *Shebeen Queen* to say it will be best if you mix this with that.

R And it is the reality if you are going to do representation of culture on television, the role of the *Shebeen Queen* is the reality, not something made up. The real thing. And it's part of the society [...] to incorporate that. There was one criticism I read, it was in '91, and they said this is all very well, there's this role for you as the black man, and then there's this Cluver's role. And when are we going to have a role where the Black man is the Boss and the white man is working for him. And I was just thinking that in a way the advent of the youngest lawyer is coming in, the new generation, that is very important, because that can affect the series. Maybe we should have a woman lawyer, a black woman lawyer, to show as a role model for my women out there who don't have any role models, or very few.

M Definitely, why not?

R I mean look at *The Cosby Show*, the woman is a lawyer. Oh!, the criticism of that is that it's unrealistic and black people don't live like that.

Well maybe there are lot of people who don't live like that. But, hell, it's worth aiming at that. It's worth thinking well maybe I can also if I stay in school and learn hard.

M Ja, you're right. I think we must do something which is just gonna concentrate on women. We do have women who have made it (who club together).

R Businesswomen, it doesn't necessarily just have to mean that they have to be lawyers because it's hard for anyone to get to that stage. It doesn't necessarily mean you are going to do a good job, but to be a businesswoman ... role models for women. I'm very interested in why more women ... there are small business loans from the United States to encourage local people to have their own business. you go to the Department of Information here and find out about those loans. those loans are available to set up businesses for blacks. It's for the minority! Who's getting those loans? Is it just that - which happens in the States that you have white people who are using those as a front. But the actual people who should be benefitting are not benefitting from that. So what I'm saying is if women can see that they ... and then she went and she got the loan. like the whole process built into a story. You actually then have like a narrative which can educate people as to what is available.

M Exactly, I agree with you.

R Now tell me about your wife ... Does she mind all the time you have for your work ...

M I think she has already built in her that I'm a community worker. I have been doing this for years. I have been doing stage productions.

R Do you know Thomas Mogotlane who was in *Mapantsula*. Who did that with Oliver Schmidt. Because I wrote my thesis on African Cinema. and I couldn't get hold of Thomas. I came to South Africa in '93 to do the interviews. I don't know where he was.

[...]

M He passed away two years ago.

[...]

R ...but maybe now with the new political situation there will be better opportunities for actors like that and more opportunities to bring in more feature films. Do more of the sort of things that you yourself are doing.

In closing: What do you see the future of someone like yourself? Where do you want to be in five years time?

M I must say I'd like to be doing, well maybe producing, directing. I have got few projects which I would like to put up as stage productions. I want to export, you know. I want to go back to the stage.

R Can you get big audience?

M Yes. I went to Broadway and I saw fantastic theatre there and I said 'Wow! I wish to put up a production like that. I must do that'.

[...]

Interview with ABIGAIL KUBEKA (Squeeza - the *Shebeen* Queen in *Going Up*)

April 28th, 1995, at The Carlton Hotel, Johannesburg.

A= Abigail Kubeka

R= Interviewer (Dorothy Roome)

- A So in this production there is a shebeen. And the *shebeen* is being run by a queen. The lady that runs, the owner of the shebeen is called the *Shebeen* Queen.
- R And her status in the community is what?
- A Just a business women.
- R There's no overtures of prostitution going with this? There's not ... like by association?
- A Well, there is yes, until one proves herself. 'That's not strictly business'. But some of them, that goes together with the business, especially where there's a group of men. Where there's a group of men it automatically, I don't know whether it's naturally. But in this production we don't have that.
- R No that would cause problems. In any event to produce for prime time family viewing, that would not be acceptable.
- A Just like a social club where people Jabu and his friend use to meet and plan their day-to-day activities over a drink and have fun and that's all.
- R If you see yourself now as a woman, let's leave this production alone, lets talk about you, that person, Abigail, tell me a bit about other things you've done prior to this production. And how do you see yourself in the world today in a post-apartheid era as a woman.
- A Well I can proudly say it's very bright, it's very promising. As a woman. Mandela now has got more women in parliament than ever before. He's really trying, I mean doing, pushing us forward. It is for us, the doors have definitely opened. The ball is in our court. It is for us to walk into those doors.
- R Money is power. You can say whatever you like, if women don't have independence from money, from being able to negotiate from strength not from weakness. I mean if you've got four kids to support, you'll take any job and you'll take the minimum money because you've got to have that job. Now can you comment on that in terms of what's happening. The power of money.
- A Well, the power of money is still slow because the country is still new as far as we are concerned. We're all still in the woods trying to find our way and so the money is part, is still very...
- R It's only a few who are benefitting.
- A Only a few. That's it.
- R The elites like yourself, I mean let's face it, you and Jabu and others, you form the cream at the top.
- A Only a few are benefitting. Not because we are the chosen few or we are ... the other people are not good enough but just that ... like I say, everything is still ...
- R You've kind of made it.
- A That's right and the other people still have to work very hard but there is a possibility, there's a place for everyone in the sun.
- R What about all those agricultural workers. I'm worried about those women.
- A It won't be a million, definitely. But something ...
- R In their community where the traditional way of life is to keep women as the bearers of children, gatherers of food. What opportunities are there for them? How do they get out of it?
- A That I cannot answer, really because it's not my culture. I am out of that. I am the Soweto - township girl. I was born and brought up in the township.
- R So you grew up with an independence?
- A Absolutely.
- R Good, it's so interesting. So your mother? How did you get where you are today?
- A My parents come from Natal but I was born here in Soweto.
- R What was your nation?

- A Zulu.
- R But then you're the perfect example for me to be talking to.
- A A township Zulu.
- R Did your parents keep a traditional home? Was your father there or was it your mother on her own?
- A Yes, my father has always been there. They've beentogether and working in Johannesburg.
- R So you went to school where?
- A In Soweto, Orlando East.
- R And you still live there?
- A I still live there.
- R And you've grown up with that? Did you have brothers and sisters?
- A Yes.
- R How is it that you made that jump? What helped you to make that jump when you felt that you, Abigail, can be in charge of your life? What motivated you to do that?
- A Firstly it's the talent, the love I had for music and fortunately I have a talent. I'm more of a singer than an actress really. There isn't much of this work here, but there's more. I'm a cabaret artist. I do cabaret, I sing in Johannesburg, Germany, Hong Kong and I'm going to Bangkok in June. I sing everywhere. I do corporate functions. I've sung at Sun City, I sang in the first Miss World Pageant. So that's my scene really.
- R So this other is incidental. I mean its nice exposurefor you but it is not ... that's not the direction that you want to pursue as an actress.
- A Yes. I would but there isn't much ... there isn't enough of that kind of work here.
- R You can go hungry very quickly and lose your economic base very quickly.
- A Yes, absolutely.
- R Did you start off by singing in the church?
- A Nooo! I started in primary school, and then got to high school where I was singing and then Miriam Makeba discovered me. She heard me singing in the concert. She is the one that discovered me, and then she invited me join ... she had it in her group - three women, and they were called *The Skylarks*. So she invited me to join the group
- R And what sort of date are we talking about?
- A The '60's.
- R I thought you were only born then.
- A No.
- R Now do you have a husband?
- A I'm divorced. I've got two children ... a boy and a girl.
- R And are they with you?
- A They are with me.
- R They are still with you. And with their lives now, are they following through as a ... with a musical career?
- A No. Well my son has done Speech and Drama and... But I can say that there isn't much of acting here, so my daughter has done two years of medical technology.
- R Well, one can always get a job with that.
- A I know, she has now taken a break and she is doing computers. She says she is going back to that later. This is her third ... fifth month, she will be graduating in a month or two months time.
- [...]
- R I mean no matter what Mr. Mandela is doing in parliament, we need people like your daughter to be able to take their place in the world. It's very exciting. I had no idea that this was part of what you are, and out of Soweto. You know it's very interesting for me, and the thing that intrigues me here when you talk in a way, all the talk about keeping each of these little nations separate and they all must have their own culture. It really worries me about that, because in a way, maybe then they are not going to grow. Look at the way you've been grown up, you lived in Soweto, you grew up probably in a very tough environment where Soweto had no street lights, but you came out of this obviously a very strong woman. And you are not held back by your culture. Do you know what I'm

saying, sometimes your culture can be such that with the perception of who you are ...

A Even apartheid never held me back.

R No, obviously not.

A It never did. I'll tell you, we were not allowed to sing in the clubs in town. We were not allowed to be in the same cast with whites. If there was any need or maybe a production, we used to sing behind the curtains and only our voices would be heard. Some of the club owners, if they felt you were good enough to perform in their clubs, they used to keep somebody at the door to look out for the police. once you're singing on stage. And when the police come you quickly disappeared into the kitchen and pretended you were washing dishes. When they were gone you had to come back and sing *Summer Time* and *The Living is Easy*, when it wasn't easy. That was just the beginning, because you would finish working there at eleven and there was that curfew. Then you would end up in a cell instead of going home. I for one, I always say to people it made me strong, stronger than anything else.

R I can see that. You did not become a victim. I see a lot of women who become victims. Do you know what I'm talking about? And the husband shouts at them or hits them and they take it. They think that's what they deserve. Do you know what I'm saying?

A I am what I am and nobody is going to keep me down.

R And as a Zulu woman with a Zulu background - you said to me earlier, 'well, I don't know about that, I'm not bothered', and I never realised that you actually have this Zulu background. Why are you so strong? Are your parents still together?

A My parents are still together, but I'm not together with my husband. I lost my mom now in December, they were still together.

R Ah, I'm sorry. It's still hard. Takes a long time. My mother died in 1991, and I had a lot of guilt because she lived here and I was in America and she was always so angry that I went. But I said 'no, I can't stand what's going on there'. We left in '77, I couldn't stand it anymore. So coming back, I also have a mission, and my mission is I want to be able to help black women find themselves, academically that's all I can do. But I want to do what I can. I want to write so that people know what's going on and to make women realise that there is more to just being a domestic. Do you know what I'm saying?

A Those are the exact words I said when my husband divorced me in '83. I said 'Lord I've seen women who have been divorced go down the drain. Please let me be their inspiration, make me an example so that I can show them that there is life even after your husband leaves you with the kids'. Let me be their role model because I'm gonna walk tall, I'm gonna stand up. I just said 'I'm raising my hand up, lift me up so that I don't go down there'. I tell you, I have never lived so beautifully all my life.

R So now, where are you performing at the moment. Do you have any kind of assignment?

A I'm going to Namibia on the 6th. I'll be performing at the Independence [celebration] there on the 6th and then on the 13th it's a corporate thing at the race course at Turffontein.

R Do they pay you well for that, Abigail?

A Ja.

R Do you have your own band?

A No, I don't have a band. I freelance. I work with any band or with backing track. I use backing tracks. On the 19th, I've got one which is again a corporate thing, and another one on the 20th ... I have not recorded ... the last time I did a recording, was I think nine years ago. [...] It's the music that I did for Roberta. Ask them to make a cassette for you. This is for the *Going Up* series.

R When they introduce the programme or during the programme?

A When they introduce the programme and again when there are some episodes where in my scene where I jump into song and start singing for my patrons. I did about four songs. Ask Roberta to make a nice tape for you of the music that I sang in the series.

R When are you coming to Durban?

A I was supposed to be working in Durban from the 3rd of June to the 30th.

R And now?

A Well I got this Namibian thing and the one on the 13th.

R Well I really would love you to come and talk to my women.

A It was their fault, because I was working at the Wild Coast in January ...

R That was a perfect opportunity.

A I was there for a whole month and they phoned me to book me for a gig in Durban. I said OK, I'll be back - I get back on the 6th. Call me. Draw up the contract so that I can be sure that I am definitely doing a gig. And they said they were going to do that. They said the minute you get home we will call you. They never called. After a week I phoned them - I said Guys, what's happening? - they were not there. I left a message on their answering machine, and still they didn't come back to me. Meantime they were busy advertising and going ahead with everything. It's terrible, because it's exactly what is... they always do this these promoters. They book you - they phone and they say ...

R These are black or white?

A Black and/or white. They are the same.

R That's interesting. Because that's what Dianna Ross has said exactly the same thing about Motown - which was a black company but it treated the black singers just as badly as the white [...] do

A Black or white, they book you and then they say OK [...] and then the next thing, you cancel all other bookings, because you will be working with [...]. The next thing they phone a week before - 'sorry there's been some - we have been having some problems - the show has been cancelled'. And what do you do?

R Do you have the contract?

A Sometimes you don't even have the contract. It was a verbal thing. OK you say to them, OK it was verbal, but ...

R Binding.

A It's binding. Then they say OK we'll pay you a cancellation fee. Which is like [...].

R No! That can't pay the rent. Keep you looking like an important performer.

A I'm a public figure and I've got to ...

R You have a persona. You have a wonderful persona. Love your hair. Who does your hair?

A I do.

[...]

R There are a couple more questions that I wanted to ask you. So we've said the character that you play is really the social women and the prostitution side has been kicked out. And in the whole series it's like a reflection of a piece of what goes on in African life. You know what I mean by an allegory? An allegory in literature or in a play or whatever, is like pretending to be just a simple story but actually it may be really telling another story about what's happening in the outside world. So for example I said to Joe 'well that building is really like South Africa, and then all the characters in there are like the different parts of South Africa'. In terms of what you do in there, do you think that that is showing a specific element in black culture. Do you think the *shebeen* is a specific element? Like the alcohol and that. He says people don't drink as much as they use to. Do you agree with that?

A No it's because of finance. Because of finance. That is the reason.

[...]

R If you see the use of alcohol being promoted on television it's another kind of message that's being sent. If you see, as a Zulu woman, these men on television in a shebeen and then it's OK. And then if they come home drunk and they've used up all their money, what kind of message is that? I'm being moralistic. Can you comment on that? What do you think?

A Well obviously it's not a good reflection and it's not good for the family and the upbringing of the kids. But a shebeen to blacks is as normal as going to church. You go to a shebeen to go and drink, sit there. You cannot hit or kill a person or throw stones at one who goes to a *shebeen* because it's wrong. It's part of life.

R And it seems to cross all national lines whether you're Zulu or Venda. All people have the *shebeen* culture. The culture of the *Shebeen*.

A Yes. Even the English sell the African traditional brew. It's also a *shebeen* because people go to that house, they sit outside with their calabashes and still drinking from their painted tins, you know, they wash them nicely and clean and they drink out of that, it's still a shebeen.

[...]

- A Blacks have been through hell. When I think back to the very African beer, we use to get arrested for selling it. You were allowed a certain amount like one tin, the 25 litres. That was all. If they found you with more than 25 litres you got arrested and you were locked up. And yet they decided to sell it from their outlets in town in cartons.
- R So they wanted the control and the money that came from it, the monopoly system.
- A And that's not all. Even the tripe from a cow or a sheep. People use to throw it away and now its being sold, you buy it. The fatcake - *magwinja*. The coffee cart - they used to be call it coffee cart. Years ago - now they call them what carts?, you know where they sell [...]. You know we use to have that in the 50s, in the 40s. Well I was still very young then but I remember, even in the 60s and 70s. People use to call them coffee carts because they sold coffee, *magwinja* - they made these fatcakes and that they cooked this [...] and the tripe. And the government closed that down. They use to arrest them. And later, about three or four years back, they came back in a modern way because now they are controlling it.
- R Tell me something about the *kwela* music and the township jazz. What's your style?
- A That's my style but blacks have always been very American, American influenced. It has always been jazz. Even the African songs that we use to sing, its very jazz inclined. They have a jazz feel, a jazz beat. Being an African, singing it in Zulu but it was a jazz number. That's how it has always been. And then we had the raw traditional music. That's now from the mountains, from Zululand or Venda or Lesotho. The township jazz was jazz in Zulu.

Questions for the Production team of *Going Up III* 1996

Roberta Durrant

1. 'Historical moments' have been said to demonstrate the range of discourses at play at a particular point in time in a country's history. You have been involved in the SABC since its inception. In your capacity as a director and producer could you explain how on the historic continuum each of the productions -- *S'gudi S'naysi*, 1986, *Going Up I*, 1990; *Going Up II*, 1992; and now *Going Up III*, 1996 -- reacts to the historic events occurring at the time of its production and consumption?
In other words what were the historical conditions of production?
What is the use to which the texts have been put as a function of the SABC programming?
2. Subcultures developed by groups in a society attempt to negotiate or oppose the dominant meanings in society. Many white English and Afrikaans speakers in the new SA are not at all comfortable with the new dispensation and the Government of National Unity and the ramifications of the new SA. How does your production team propose to tap into their identity to obtain their assent and understanding of what you are attempting to do?
3. What is the particular target audience to which *Going UP III* is appealing? Cultural and socio-economic groups?
4. I quote from Sally Scott's review of *Going UP III* Wednesday Sep. 4 "Locked up the right frame - trampled iver every sacred cow - lampooned - crime, affirmative action, government gravy train, black visitors from overseas, land fraud" all of these elements have apparently been addressed. Does the series ever address directly or indirectly that ultimate taboo in South Africa - sex across the colour line?
5. Can you define the different messages intended by the programmes?
6. How do women as consumers figure into the calculations as a target audience?
7. Do you think comedy can mediate the contradictions of the new social life developing in South Africa?
8. To what extent do you believe black and white South Africans who watch this show understand the intended humour?
9. The clues provided in the characters - could these be interpreted according to an audience's own cultural and social values so that the understanding of a character might be different from that presented in the episode?
10. Do you see the female characters as a positive or negative role model for females of any age?
11. What were the ideological assumptions of the SABC for television drama during the old days of TV broadcasting?

12. How and why did these assumptions change?
13. How much personal autonomy did Roberta Durrant have within the SABC?
14. Why did you leave the SABC and set up as an independent?
15. What constraints, if any, limit your creativity as a TV director?
16. How do you perceive the changes in the structure and ethos of TV have had on you personally?
17. Do you think the acting is 'over-the-top'?
18. Who provides the storyline for each episode?

Interview with ROBERTA DURRANT (MD Penguin Films and Producer *Going Up*)

September 18th, 1996

D= Roberta Durrant

R= Interviewer (Dorothy Rooome)

D Historical moments have been set to demonstrate the range of discourses at play at a particular point in a country's history. You've been involved at the SABC since its inception. In your capacity as a director and producer could you explain how an historic continuum, starting 1976 through to today, productions *S'gudi S'naysi* (1986), *Going Up I* (1990), *Going Up II* (1992), *Going Up III* (1996), how these each have reacted to the historic events occurring at the time of their production and consumption. So when you first did *S'gudi S'naysi* what was going on and how did that react with what was going on. And then what was going on in 1990

D *S'gudi S'naysi* came about quite by chance against that backdrop because I had actually planned to do a series of Alexandra township. It was called *Dark City*. I can't quite remember what the name of it was. It was a poignant look at apartheid. It was a poignant look at what had happened because so many people had been forced to live on that one square mile. It looked at vigilante gangsterism and how violence creates violence. Violence in the system created further violence. And it was about the gang warfare in Alexandra township. This character Shadrak Matthews, everyone knows about Shadrak Matthews and the *Spoilers* and the *Tsomis*. I had got far with this project, quite, I think miraculously. And then the SABC realised what this project was all about and put a stop to it. I kicked up a tremendous fuss because we had been working on this for about a year and I said 'you can't do this to me' because we put a hell of a lot of energy into this. I'd workshopped it with the late Stan Matchwade from Drum magazine because he had been around at that stage. I really kicked up a huge fuss. I suppose I was incredibly naive actually that I thought it was possible. A strange set of events occurred. I knew that they had earmarked the finances for this production so I knew they had it in their budget but you see it had been stopped when they realised at top level what it was about.

R Was it a criticism of the system?

D Totally, absolutely. And I was given such peculiar reasons. My husband, who is German, was working for the news networks, ZEF and so on, and

he had press clearance from the government as a foreign press agent. And I was told that the reason why we couldn't do this production was because, and this is so ridiculous, he would then be able to get into Alex to shoot this thing and then he would be able to shoot all sorts of other things that were going on and ship it out the country. And therefore he would have access to Alex when they banned all these foreign people. And this was the reason, which was the most putrid excuse in my mind.

Anyway so then one of the guys, Hein Kehan, said to me why don't you rather do a nice comedy. So it was a bit ironic actually. A funny set of events happened. I had worked with Gloria Modow and Thembi Mshali and Daphne Shloanke in various other sort of things. We'd done a youth series which was very well received. It was an educational youth imaginative thing. I just thought I could see these three women together in trying to survive in a township situation during that period. It was actually Zimze Kuhlhu, who now has her own production company and was working with us at the time, who said 'you really do need to have a man somewhere around there, maybe a lodger'. Funnily enough, Joe walked into my office just introducing himself to Penny. And I looked at him and I thought 'he's the perfect lodger'. Just because of how he was. You know he looked like he could be anybody, everybody. I immediately saw the comic potential in him and I spoke to him about it and I said 'look Joe, what do you think about this'. And we were actually incredibly lucky. I don't think it's ever happened like this before but because they'd earmarked the money for this other production we didn't actually write scripts and then go to production. We just got a contract. So with this contract Daphne, Tembi, Gloria, Joe, myself and Richard Beynon, we sat down and we worked this comedy out. I thought, its really ironic, here we are, in this period, it was '86, it was the height of all that was happening in the PW regime and so on and I thought to myself 'here we are doing this comedy'. So there were some question marks around the fact that we were doing comedy. Joe put all those sort of *fiebies* (whims) of mine, my concerns about it. He brushed them aside and said "you don't realise what a need there is for people to laugh in South Africa today. There's such a need". And I recognised this and then we worked very hard at it and we just went

for it. And I remember, my background was theatrical. I recently, when I say recently, '82, '83 I'd started to really work in television. Although I was part of the SABC original training group. I left because I couldn't stand it. It was dreadful there. I lasted for six months and then I left and I performed all over the place and I produced Pieter Dirk Uys's *Paradise Closing Down* in London. I lived in London for four years. I left in '76 because I couldn't take it anymore really and I thought 'I've got to get out of here'. I met my husband. I then was out of the country for four years and through all sorts of personal reasons I decided to come back and persuaded him to come back. And we were here for a year and he couldn't bear it and all left again. It took us a long time to sort of settle down here. We just put heart and soul into this comedy and we rehearsed it like we were having an opening night. We moved into quite a small studio and we just did it. I don't think we realised what an extraordinary success it would be. It just goes to show that there was a tremendous need and hunger to be able to laugh and relax. Although there was the base of the township setting and because Joe represent the character S'Duma is a character who is an every man character who tries to survive in a set of circumstances. He's trying to eke out a living, he's trying to live somewhere. All the storylines represent survival. I think that's why there was a relation with this story because Joe actually relates to anybody as the character. So people identify with his circumstances and how he was coping with survival and I think that in a way symbolised the kind of macro survival theme. If you want to academically analyse it but I'm not sure if one can really. That was what people recognised and what people latched on to. And it was really amazing because I know of stories, I mean these tapes were sent out and played on busses in America to exiles out of the country. These tapes circulated all over the place, they were seen by South Africans all over the world. One of the things that was extraordinary for us when Mandela came out of prison, Tembi actually met with him as part of a music delegation, and when he saw her he just couldn't believe it. He tore out of his diary "with warmest regards to Joe, Daphne, Gloria, Tembi and little Berto" because I think he thought I was a male actually and he said at the time that *S'gudi S'naysi* was his favourite programme and when he was in prison he never missed it he always watched it and he loved it. He loved it because it was a comedy, it made him laugh, it entertained him. Really I think that's what *S'gudi S'naysi* did and therefore, despite the fact that it was happening during that period that's really the purpose that it served.

- R It was really like an oppositional kind of thing but subtly oppositional.
- D Definitely.
- R And then we get to 1990. Was it 1990 that you did the first *Going Up*.
- D Joe came up with the idea of *Going Up* because he said 'why should it just be Nguni?'. And we agreed that a comedian, he wanted to communicate with all South Africans and that's why we dreamt up *Going Up*. It was basically Joe's concept of having this legal translator in downtown Jo'burg with a shebeen. In a way the Jabulani character has similarities with Stuma because he also wishes he had better opportunities. He always says that he knows everything about the law, he just doesn't have the papers on the wall. And that in a way indicates the same thing as not having been given the opportunity because of the system. Funnily enough, both *S'gudi S'naysi* and *Going Up* you find are not time bound. Its a recipe. We could do *S'gudi S'naysi* now. It would be equally popular because its about characters and their interrelationships that transcend periods of time. They don't have to be locked into any specific period. The current series of *Going Up* is fabulous because we've been able to look at all sorts of current themes, social climbing, the gravy train, the labour movement, the homeless, pornography, taxi violence, hijacking. I'm just mentioning a couple of themes that we've centred our episodes around. We've been able to do that very successfully. We have had a wonderful reception from the press this time when we've shown the various episodes. We have an episode for example called *The Case of the Historically Advantaged Pale Males*". You can't understand why they're not getting any government contracts anymore. We've got interracial marriages. It just goes to show that if you've got the right characters in the right situation, the right basis, the right recipe for a sitcom, its not locked into any period of time. It really isn't. You can take that and put it into any period. Its just these same characters, they were operating in 1990 and now they're operating in 1996. And South Africa's moved on and there're different things happening now.
- Look obviously when we did the first series in 1990 we had such a business with the SABC. The story of *Going Up* and trying to get *Going Up* ... I think I've told you this story before, haven't I? When I approached the SABC, when Joe and I went to the SABC, they were completely flummoxed by it because they honestly didn't know where to put it.

- R Because you had divisions of the different channels: whites, blacks, etc.
- D Well it didn't fit into any channel because it cut across all of that. And therefore we went around in circles month after month. Eventually they thought 'OK, TV4' because they were moving into this multicultural domain. But then TV4 didn't have a production budget because they were just buying in American stuff. Eventually they thought they better get TV1 and TV2 to develop this project because it was in English, although there were lots of blacks in it. So they better work on it together. Now that created all sorts of problem areas because these two channels weren't used to working with each other. It was Paul Kemp and Socks Kubeke and so on. And Paul Kemp felt that *Going Up* wasn't sophisticated enough for his audiences, his white audiences. And we kept trying to pin him down to what he meant by sophistication. To cut a long story short, they sort of developed the scripts but eventually they got the production budget out of TV2 although it was going on to TV4. We turned around in circles with various people at the SABC for two years with *Going Up* before it saw the light of day. We started in 89, eventually in 1990 we did the first pilot in April. It was a hell of a long business. But you see it emerged at the time, in a way, because we had FW coming out in 1990. It was at a time where it happened simultaneously. I mean if that hadn't happened, I'm sure *Going Up* would never have happened. They were so suspicious of it. We had to write three scripts that were then evaluated and they nearly, after the first three scripts, tried to turn it down. Then we did a pilot and then it was extensively researched by the SHRC. So eventually we got the first thirty.
- R You gave me all that. Interesting. So the ideological assumptions of the SABC during this period was still based on the old apartheid concept in dividing the channels.
- D They were changing you see. With TV4 it was starting to happen and then when CCV came about with Madala it was a funny kind of thing because *Going Up* actually almost preceded the CCV concept. When CCV actually came about, Madala was quite thrilled to have *Going Up* because at least it was a programme that's ideology was correct. We were almost pushing ahead of time.
- R You think these assumptions changed because of the political situation changing: Mandela coming out of prison, negotiations with De Klerk. So they had to change.
Now you. Personal autonomy. Roberta Durrant. at the SABC - how much? You told me a little bit about that because you said you had a very hard time and it was even harder when you were pushing for this. You were ahead of your time in terms of ideological concepts.
- D Listen, there's never been any personal autonomy. Let me tell you that I've always been up against a brick wall. I mean you always had to batter on. Perhaps because I was a woman it was actually perhaps easier. Well in the sense that I just went in there and I said 'this is what I think'. I had a reputation of being really quite tough and difficult because I didn't accept no for an answer. I knocked on doors. I remember with *Going Up* I sent faxes to, I think, everybody. Because I could just see the logic of it and I couldn't understand in a sense. Creatively I wanted to do it and I just felt well there's nobody else that's going to do it and I'm not going to get it done by the overseas market because it's too localised and they're not ready for this anyway because of the cultural boycott. And I just feel it has to be done. I just pushed my way through with Joe really. I just went for it. No one's ever come to one and said hey would you like to do this. It doesn't work like that.
- R So you left the SABC in 6 months. Tell me a little bit about that and why you went as an independent?
- D I wanted always to act, I was a bit tall unfortunately for the stage but that was what I wanted to do. And I did a lot of musicals and so on. I had a very autocratic strict father who didn't like where I was heading. He came and saw me in a production of *Kismet*, where I was sort of dancing and showgirling. I had nipple caps and G-strings. He immediately insisted that I apply to the SABC. It was quite funny because I went and saw ...
- R During theatre, this country's always been ahead of itself because you were allowed to do things in theatre in terms of censorship that you were never allowed to do in film, in books even.
I mean lesbianism, the whole thing. So I hear what your father's saying.
- D It was just a personal thing. He was never really keen on the business of the stage. He made me do a degree. I started off at Maritzburg, he removed me to Stellenbosch. He really battled to get me to where he thought it was safe. He insisted that I approached the SABC and I really had big battles. Anyway in the end he won, he was very autocratic and I applied to the SABC. Mr Coop, who was the personnel officer, saw me the afternoon and confirmed my employment. The funny thing was

that that night he was in the second row watching *Kismet*. And there was a walk that side of the orchestra, I mean he was literally a metre away from me. And I remember him looking up at me and with this look 'my god who the hell have you employed here'. So I joined the SABC and I found the actual training course fabulous. I was in the same course as Grey and Annie. I wasn't trained as a producer, I was trained as a PA. I loved it. And then me and two other people were put in an office to start the magazine department. And it was as boring as anything, nothing really happened. And I kept turning down theatrical offers. And eventually I just couldn't take it anymore and I left. Unfortunately not having given proper notice because if I had I would've lost out on this part. In fact for a whole year I wasn't allowed to do anything for the SABC, not even perform. They knew that I was casting things because I had left, suddenly. And then I carried on doing all sorts of parts for Toerien and PACT and CAPAB. Well I had before and that was in 1974 I think, between 1974 to 1976. And then, as I say the political situation was getting to a point where I just felt that it was difficult justifying my situation here then I left. And simultaneously met my husband, which was quite opportune. I met him in Zimbabwe at the time when I was doing a play and he was filming a documentary for German television. Then we went and lived in England for three years and I worked with Stephen Berkof. I carried on with theatre, I directed and produced *Paradise Closing Down* which did very well at the Edinburgh festival. Then all of a sudden my husband was transferred to Germany. So that was a different matter, not being German, my German wasn't very bright and I thought what would I do there. So I persuaded him to try SA. Very difficult but he eventually took long leave from ZEF and came out here and he hated it. We packed up in April. I worked all year at the market and I directed and acted that whole year 1980. And then we left eventually at the beginning of '81 I went back to Germany. I worked in theatre in Germany. I was very lucky, I got cast as a foreigner in Germany in a play. And I worked in the Frankfurt Staatsteater and then I came back here. I started getting incredibly homesick. I think it was Germany. I wasn't very keen on Germany. I could have lived in London but Germany - I found it quite provincial, I didn't like it. And he was away a lot. I was there by myself. I said to him 'either I go back or we're actually going to part ways'. It had got to that. So we agreed to come out here and try it again. He said on one condition that I work in television and I don't work in theatre because he hated it. He never saw me. He worked all day. I worked all night. We were doing it together. So we

started doing little things, little magazine programmes. We worked with ZEF television. I started having this concept of this youth series which I did with Daphne. Then we did *S'gudi S'naysi*. And from *S'gudi S'naysi* that kept us busy for a while.

- R That's when you became an independent producer, when you came back?
- D Yes. End of 82, beginning 83.
- R The constraints, if any, that limit your creativity as a TV director?
- D Well the constraints were definitely there during that time. There's no question about that. I think you made a choice; you made a choice either that you weren't going to at all as a lot of people did, or you made the choice to push it as far as you possibly could and go that route. I actually quite please that I chose the other route; pushing it because I think by pushing it we were successful in what we did because we were careful what we did. When this whole thing happened around Alexandra city, when I realised that I wouldn't be able to do that truthfully. I wasn't prepared to put sugar on it. I was very pleased that the whole concept *S'gudi S'naysi* developed and it developed honestly because you could do that honestly. That was the key.
- R The changes in the structure and ethos of TV that had a marked effect on you because you've been able to keep your integrity.
- D Well look at *Future Imperfect*. When we did *Future Imperfect* it was amazing. We were very lucky at the time we did it because when we kicked off with *Future Imperfect* it was still the old lot there. We were just incredibly lucky because we just did it. We weren't answering to anyone. We're still doing it. Its coming earlier now, its starting at nine. We pushed the boundaries there too. We were actually lucky in the sense that Quintin Green went with it. There was tremendous opposition in the team. They wouldn't have gone ahead because they didn't have any foot into it, they didn't have any say in it, they didn't have any control in it. And I think at that stage they were still trying to control things. It was pre-election, it was during that whole negotiated thing. And it was during the whole Codessa thing but Quintin actually saw the wisdom of it. Quintin did a couple of good things and that was one of the things that he did that was good. Because it was Cowles and Penguin and it had nothing to do with the SABC, it had credibility and

we did it independently of anyone having any editorial control at the SABC. There was none. We didn't answer to anyone, no one viewed the programme. We just sent it in, it was broadcast.

- R Just now, if we can talk briefly about the latest shows. Your latest show which is also very interesting to me and what I want to do with this now is to do as I've done with *Suburban Bliss*. I'd like to get two episodes from you which relate where there are women involved at all, and to present to my people as you'll see I've done here and show it to them in my focus groups across different ethnic groups, English and Afrikaans speaking. How do you visualise tapping into the newer productions, obviously post-election, how do you see those tapping into the subjectivity of South Africans across ethnic lines?
- D I think that they will receive it incredibly well. Look we've again kept our integrity with the series. I have looked at *Suburban Bliss* quite stringently. For me *Suburban Bliss* doesn't reflect at all the SA situation. I think it's a very forced series. I've never met a character as *kugely* as Thando. I mean I don't know of a character like that.
- R A black character?
- D Well I don't even think I've found even a *kugel kugel* quite like that. I found them for me unbelievable.
- R All the characters?
- D I liked the grandmother. She was as close as I could say I believe in her. I didn't buy any of the white characters at all. I found that the grandfather who was going as the racist. You know I don't believe racists are like that, they're actually very different. True racists, which he was going as, hide behind hypocrisy and their racism actually comes out despite themselves. And I think if they had that character that it would have been a much more successful character. I couldn't understand why they shout at each other all the time. I actually didn't relate to them at all. I found them too caricature. Where as *Going Up* is totally different. Those stories weren't really based on situation. *Going Up* is much more situation based in terms of its stories. Because you've got a client coming in, because of the set of circumstances involved, because it's often a misunderstanding, because of Jabu being led in one direction and inadvertently landing up somewhere else. They're much more true to the

situation base and I think that we've planted the series much more in reality than they ever did with *Suburban Bliss*.

- R So what you're saying is that it's not much caricature, it's more this is the way it could really happen. It's more almost like a romantic comedy.
- D It's not romantic at all, it's satirical and borders on being farcical because of the satire.
- R How does Mr Cluver fit in looking at a white audience? Because he's really the only white character.
- D No, we've got Andre Odendaal as well, the guy down stairs. The thing about Cluver is that although he's English speaking and colonial he's actually not patronising and he's not in any way a racist in that sense. He just does his thing in downtown Jo'burg where he always has done his thing. He has a tremendous sense of right and wrong and of morality and he's always been guided by it.
- R My Zulu women in Eshowe that I showed the early episodes thought he was just like [...] we know this man. He's the good kind boss. It's an interesting perception of how they saw him. They actually hated Andre Odendaal.
- D But he's a popular character Andre Odendaal.
- R Well you see this is the thing. Different groups get different levels out of it. And that's why I've decided to do nine groups: Indian, lower and upper, English speaking, Afrikaans speaking, Zulu, upper and lower because I found that my educated Zulu teachers have a different response to the lower classes. They were more conservative and more lets say with the old ways whereas the younger ones and perhaps less well educated ones were all for changing and crossing the colour line and all this good stuff which is interesting. I'm talking about Kwazulu-Natal, I'm not talking about Gauteng. I've got to locate myself there.
- D I've got a couple of episodes that I can think of that would relate. Are you looking very specifically at women?
- R I think where women are because I want to tie it back in to what I've done with *Suburban Bliss*. I'm looking for identity. I've been asked to write a paper for a book in the UK on identity of women in SA. And do this will help me to tie some threads together and to bring it out and then compare how

they responded to *Suburban Bliss* and how they responded to *Going Up* [...]. My final thing is to what extent do you believe black and white South Africans can understand the intended humour?

D I think one hundred percent.

R Because remember I wrote to you before and I had shown that Temba, the young black lawyer from Oxford... My Zulu women who looked at that were very upset with him. And you wrote me back and said 'Its OK what he's doing. He's worked hard to be there.'

It was across the line that I got this response, all my black interviewees. They said that in Zulu society you have always, even if you do well for yourself, you must never show off your wealth. You must always be prepared to bring that wealth back to the community because if you think that ideologically its community based. Now it can be changing.

D But I think you must have spoken to quite Zulu community rural type. I mean you're not going to find the same response in Johannesburg.

R I accept that. But that they saw the fact that he could want this fancy car and spend money on that, they found that unacceptable. He was not behaving with *ixhaba* which is in good taste, that in fact he behaved very badly. That he wanted to have a car and show off to people and show of his wealth. This was a very interesting perception.

D They may find it the case but there are plenty of Tembás about.

R I'm not denying it, I'm just saying its interesting. What is the intention? How do you as production encode what you're doing? You have a perception, you encode it in a particular way. The decoding comes when different groups decode it.

D Well it will be very interesting. [...]. We may in many instances be not politically correct.

R Another thing that I want to congratulate you, really generally speaking, is that I think that your production values are much higher than [...]. When I took my clips to Australia, people were very interested and they now want to see this and they asked for rights, some of the Skywegian broadcasting companies, wanted rights to see this. What I'm saying to you is that they commented that the production there was poor. And when I spoke to Carl Fischer about this, you know we did it cheaply for the SABC, we tried to get it done as

cheaply as possible. How many cameras do you use?

D Three. A very similar set-up to *Suburban Bliss*, but I think our sets are more... Look we didn't work as fast as they did. We did two a week, they were doing one. They had the same budget as us, they just chose to do it they way they were doing it.

R Is there anything else that you think I should know? [...] As a woman, doing what you're doing?

D This is something that I've got the rights to that's working incredibly well, I'm working now with the overseas market, is Madam and Eve. I'm developing a sitcom here, I'm still busy with it. We're now developing it for the BBC and I'm working in conjunction with the British television company and we're spreading our wings.

R I say this with sincerity because I admire you so much. I think you need to show women out there that there are strong women and that its OK. I think particularly white South African women [...]. You say you would knock on doors but there a lot of people who don't do that and I think almost television can show women in a storyline that's not threatening 'you know, its OK to do that'.

D No it is. Its the only way actually. Look I know one thing about the work that we've got. We've only got it because they had to give us it. Because there was such a demand. If they hadn't had to it wouldn't have been peculiar not to continue with another series of *S'gudi S'naysi*. We've got another series of *S'gudi S'naysi* whereas a number of other people were getting work just because they've always got work. We were never part of that network. We were always battling away on the outskirts.

R When you say 'our', who is the 'our'? I see Roberta.

D Ja, I can't deny that that is me. Since I've started working with Joe, he became a partner in 1989. He became a shareholder in 1991 and he's assisted me hugely. We work very well together, he's more laid back than me but he's complemented me in a very good way. We've got a very bonded relationship. With everything we do, on the drama side, we do together and we have done since 1992. It started really to cement itself in 92.

Break in recording

- D Little things that I feel is very refreshing now is that in terms of dealing with the SABC, I'm dealing now a lot with women. And I find it very very refreshing. If I had to compare what it was and what it is, its just I'm finding for myself, that I'm much more able to be myself in an approach whereas before one, you know, had to in a way wangle your way whereas now you can just go honestly; this is where you're at. You have that type of reception and it's because obviously there's been the change of the people we're dealing with. From a producing point of view its like a breath of fresh air.
- R And do you find in your shots now, when you are directing ... I was reading an article in preparation for this about women who work in Hollywood and how they say, for example, someone wants you to produce in a certain way that you can change the way you do your shots because your shots also gives you an interpretation that you want. Would you have control over that?
- D In my own experience, once I've secured the contract I have done what I want to do. I've had a couple of bad experiences in doing that type of documentaries. I once did a documentary on [...] and they cut it to shreds. They really messed the whole thing up and when it went out it was bullshit. I was very very angry about it. In fact, it made me decide not to even bother to submit at a stage. That's really been the only time. And again it was because of the subject matter. I've always felt very very angry if you can't do something honestly, do what you want to do. And then someone comes and fiddles it and you have to pull it this way and pull it that way because you can't do what you want to do [...].
- R If you want to fit the bill would you then have to lose your integrity or just not do it?
- D The better thing is to then not do it. I didn't have that problem with *S'gudi S'naysi*. I didn't have that problem with *Going Up* although by the time we got the contract, because we'd struggled so hard to get it, we were a little bit sensitive as to being careful in case they stopped it now altogether. Because I felt it was worth pushing ahead with it. So I think in that sense I was a bit weary in the first series of *Going Up*, just to be aware that they could have axed it at any point and therefore I was kind of nurturing it. And of course now what's lovely with this series is that its fantastic.
- R Why do you think its on SABC 1? I thought two tends to be more mixed.
- D No, look, one has more Afrikaans on it. Two wouldn't have gone for it because their brief is mainly to have Afrikaans programmes. *Suburban bliss* kicked off as a TV1 production and because it was running on that channel it automatically went on TV2. But in fact its profile doesn't suit TV2, not honestly. Because TV2 is meant to go more for Afrikaans productions and Sesotho productions whereas TV1 is meant to be *Nguni* and English.
- R So do you use any Afrikaans?
- D Ya, we've got Afrikaans, smatterings of it. Not a lot of Afrikaans. Its basically a English production with the other languages.
- R What about June?
- D She's a fabulous character and such a well loved character. I don't know what response you had but we've had an incredible response.
- R They didn't want her, she was a silly lady. You shouldn't have her on. Those kind of people shouldn't have that kind of job.
- D But they like her though.
- R But then women are like that.

Questions for the Production team of *Going UP III* 1996

Richard Benyon

1. Given that 'nation-building' is seen as a primary political task for a post apartheid government how do you see your role as writer of television sitcom to help forge a national identity and to what end?
2. What role can television play in helping to sustain local South African identities in the face of Western economic and cultural dominance?
3. In terms of the stereotypes presented on SA television to what extent does *GU* speak to and for women and their concerns?
4. How do you see that *GU* can connect local culture and identity with a global culture and identity in a post-apartheid context and so, as a writer, how do you code this relationship between Africa, Southern Africa and 'the west and the rest'?
5. Subcultures developed by groups in a society attempt to negotiate or oppose the dominant meanings in society. Many white English and Afrikaans speakers in the new SA are not at all comfortable with the new dispensation and the Government of National Unity and the ramifications of the new SA. How does your production team propose to tap into their identity to obtain their assent and understanding of what you are attempting to do?
6. What is the particular target audience to which *Going Up III* is appealing? Cultural and socio-economic groups?
7. Does the series ever address directly or indirectly that ultimate taboo in South Africa -- sex across the colour line?
8. How do women as consumers figure into the calculations as a target audience?
9. Do you think comedy can mediate the contradictions of the new social life developing in South Africa?
10. To what extent do you believe black and white South Africans who watch this show understand the intended humour?
11. The clues provided in the characters - could these be interpreted according to an audience's own cultural and social values so that the understanding of a character might be different from that presented in the episode?
12. Do you see the female characters as positive or negative role models for females of any age?
13. Who provides the storyline for each episode?

Interview with RICHARD BENYON (Writer - *Going Up*)

October 1996

B= Richard Benyon

R= Interviewer (Ruth Teer-Tomaselli on behalf of Dorothy Roome)

- R I understand that these programmes may not necessarily be the way which they actually were written. She's taken a very strong ethnographic approach to look at the way they have been constructed. So that's basically what she's looking at and the way her methodology, is to show episodes of the programme to groups, to focus groups between six and eight and the facilitator of the focus groups is always the same age and language as the women which she is speaking to. She's only looking at women and she's looking at teenagers and elderly women and Zulu women. I mean it's not all women in South Africa but her groups are Zulu women, Indian women, white women and Afrikaans and within that she sort of stratifies rightly according to what you would consider to be working class, middle-class and higher and looks at the programme and puts a number of provocations to them or the facilitator does. Dorothy video-tapes the whole thing and transcribes it. That can give you a hell of a lot more information than just transcription because you can see where they laugh or where they don't.
- B Absolutely, absolutely!
- R She's done quite a lot of work on *Suburban Bliss* already and it's really quite fascinating because a lot of what they see the writer never intended or the producers never intended and vice-versa. What the producers never intended came about and obviously different groups interpret these programmes quite differently. But what's more fascinating is the amount of the consonance between the groups, like who their favourite characters is for instance. The favourite character across the board is the old man. The dreadful old grey hair ...
- B Hempies.
- R So that's basically the way she's doing it. Now Roberta has given her six or seven episodes of the new series. She did some preliminary work on the previous series but that was really kind of pilot work.
- B So these people will not have necessarily have seen the programmes before?
- R No, sometimes they have and sometimes they haven't. For instance in *Suburban Bliss* a lot of the white middle class women had never really seen it and were actually quite put out when they saw what they were going into, because this was not the kind of programme that they watched in their houses and they had chosen not to see it and that's quite important and their responses to it. But she would probe that you know. How much of it they knew.
- B I wrote a handful of *Suburban Bliss* but I don't think that any of that had been broadcast yet.
- R Oh, really?
- B I had a problem with the characters. It was extraordinary really because I had to immerse myself in a number of episodes and I don't know if it is at all pertinent. Probably not, but I couldn't bear the characters. I mean I couldn't bear the way they proceeded by insulting each other and it made me focus when I then got back to writing *Going Up* because I was almost alternating then for a while. I like all the *Going Up* characters. They're actually all good guys.
- R Maybe that's something we should explore. How do two bits of characters differ?
- B Well, let me be negative first about *Suburban Bliss*. I found that the *Suburban Bliss* characters were kind of unmotivated in their mutual distrust and apparent hatred. I mean I know that underneath, everything is supposed to be fine and dandy. I couldn't really believe them as characters pretty much, but that's also a problem of the writer coming into a project that he didn't totally devise. So you know it's really unfair on the series for me to say things that, funny enough in the way in which the characters so deliberately are politically incorrect. They were conforming to a standard of political correctness that I felt uncomfortable with because every venture outside

the boundaries of the safe was almost an endorsement of what was safe and what was expected. I found it quite predictable in that respect. It would be interesting. I want to see my episodes when they come out to see whether I feel as strongly about them as I do about other episodes that had nothing to do with it.

R So which of the ... did you?

B Well they come much later. They really have to do with, three of them are in a string and it concerns the Molois emigrating to New Zealand. I send them off. They get so fed-up with the crime situation that they eventually emigrate. The other one is Hempies and Ma Maloi remembering their old loves, remembering the old romantics. It's quite a tender episode and it was the first one that I wrote and I can see now that I was reacting against what I saw as being the pattern of *Suburban Bliss*.

R Those almost universal doses of two sympathetic characters as people pick up as sympathetic not because they are nice characters because they're not. Because they have integrity, because they don't change because you know where you stand with them.

B Ja. I see that from the paper. I find them so abrasive. Hempies particularly, I find him so abrasive. That in real life I mean I know it's a sitcom convention but in real life there has to be consequences for the sorts of things that people say to each other but they're not there at all, which is why I find a lack of motivation from time to time.

R O.K. let's try to get through some of Dot's questions. O.K. she said here. I am going to start from the bottom. How do you work out from a purely mechanical point of view. How do you workshop your stories from episode to episode?

B Well we have a workshop - the workshop consists of myself, Roberta, Joe and then the other writer Neil McCarthy. He wrote ten out of the series of twenty-six. At those workshops we simply try to come up with ideas. We don't try to plot them. Joe is an extraordinary character. Have you watched *Going Up*? Because I think he is immensely funny.

R I had quite a lot to do with *Kuleleku* as well. I think you can make connections.

B Ja. sure but he's not your funny guy if you see

him. But when you're having workshops his ideas are really flat and limp. I think, how's this guy? He's a wonderful guy but funny enough a lot of what he says doesn't appear to be funny. Neil and I then go away after we've kind of generated a lot of seeds. We go away and we plot an individual episode which we then discuss again and then we write it. So we come up with the plots and input from the workshops and then we occasionally have ideas we simply work into plot lines and the more you write, the easier it gets because the characters become more and more real.

R Obviously. This sound like an obvious question, but I'd still like your feelings on it. Obviously you've chosen to be the kind of glue for the contradictions of the society that you see yourself in. Why did you particularly take that line of action?

B Well I don't know. I just think that comedy is very serious and I take it very seriously so I think in a way there are more issues that are more seriously dealt with. It's easier to confront them without being earnest about them, because for me I think that's a big trap in drama. I mean it's so important these issues, how you deal with them without becoming portentous. But I haven't tried on a very major scale to deal with them in drama. So I don't really know why I've done it preferably in comedy except for an upset.

R Some of the pilot discussions that we've had with groups, there's two things that they mention over and over again and one of the two, one of them is humour and one is compassion. Is that something that you're aware of when you're writing?

B In a way. In a way I think that comedy is a cyclical idea. You almost always get back to where you started. There's no role development in comedy. I don't think. In characters, what makes them durable and interesting is, is, are these characters kicking against forces they're not aware of and they go through, they inevitably end up where they start in a tragic way. I mean that is the tragedy of comedy. Improbability is not part of the comic world and I think that inspires compassion in me. Comic characters are all trapped in that kind of karma.

R Do you think that's part of your reason for not liking *Suburban Bliss*?

B I don't know. I just find them ...

- R They're not very forgiving characters.
- B No they're not. I think that people do forgive each other all the time. If you look what's happening. But I think that in. I don't know. I just deal particularly. *Going Up*, it's all about criminals but every episode has one or more criminal lying about what they've done or trying to squirm out of what they've done and the whole translation convention is a wonderful one where somebody with heart or with cunning can do all sorts of things between the one side of the translation fence and the other. I mean Jabu being a good man is capable of putting out every gloss he likes on the world to gain its approval so I don't want to get too pompous about it but he is full of compassion for all these poor sods who come through the offices. Did I answer that?
- R Yes you did. I think that's fine. One of the things that kind of intrigued us is why on each of the series, we're into series three now OK, you change your secondary characters. You have Cluver and you have Jabu. Is it something which is thrust upon you or is this something you chose to do?
- B We haven't changed Mrs Jakobs. She remains constant.
- R That's true.
- B The other two that we haven't changed, the *shebeen* queen. What's her name? We changed the door-keeper, the janitor because Siegfried Mynhardt was mugged and he was too old actually and the first series he did was just the last job he did I think. He couldn't do anything else. So we changed him for that reason and then the second lawyer. The first actor that we had didn't really crack it. He was too over the top. The second actor we had we were very happy with but he wasn't able to do the third series and we were not altogether happy with the character who was doing this. In another series we might bring in another player. Maybe a female.
- R Well that's what I wanted to talk to you about because Dorothy has a lot of questions about gender here. Why are the only women characters secondary characters?
- B Well Mrs Jakobs is. I suppose a major secondary character. We have lots of women cameo parts. lots and lots of them and some of them develop into damn really secondary or important secondary characters. There's a character coming up that Liz Mayerick plays who's absolutely fantastic. I am sure one of the episode you're got or that Roberta is giving you must have because they were very good. I don't think that was a deliberate choice. We didn't say well now let's have more male characters than female characters. I think maybe we were reacting without thinking about it to the fact that in *S'gudi S'naysi* we have three female characters. and one male character. I think it's probably no more than that ...
- R Do you think that you just don't want to be portentous but do you think that television can build a part in nation building?
- B It can.
- R Dramatic television?
- B Absolutely, definitely. I think *Going Up* does exact that. I think that *Suburban Bliss* to my befuddlement also does. I think. I don't know to what extent it plays that role amongst whites but I'm sure I know that when I am writing it. I write knowing that black audiences love Cluver. I don't know if white audiences love Jabu. I don't think that that's the nation building ingredient quite necessarily but I also think that it's different now, from what it was when we made the first series. Because then, when the whole situation was invented clearly as a kind of mixed race situation. What I love about Jabu as a breaking of the stereotype, that I think is his major contribution to white audiences is he is the hero of the series and it's his acumen and his cunning and his under-handedness that gets results and gets it in a way that the white lawyer would never think of. So I think in terms of breaking the stereotype even through we might use another stereotype to do it, it is really good news in terms of the new series [which] deals with real issues of fears of whites, hijacking fears of whites **and** blacks and I don't know how that contributes to nation building. We had one episode. I think maybe it was the first series, where we took two of them to a traditional party. It was the final episode in the series. Do you remember that and we enjoyed that very much but we didn't think that it was very funny so we tended to, I mean nation building is not part of our agenda when we have our workshops we're not saying what will heal the wounds of the country.
- R So anything that does happen in that way is almost secondary.
- B Ja, but we are sensitive to issues that are important to us. I think we probably operate unconsciously

- to a large degree. There's no problem that we're following.
- R What's your take on the whole question of local culture versus imported or imperialist culture?
- B My own personal ideosyncratic.
- R You Richard, you Richard.
- B I'm for whatever is good. I cannot ban local culture and I can't ban much American stuff because I think it's bad. It's become tired and cliched and I don't think I'm revolting against it because its cultural imperialism.
- R So what would be good? Lets start with say American sitcoms. Which do you think is really good? Give me, what do you enjoy watching?
- B I enjoy *Seinfeld* very much. That's about it.
- R And what do you think is really bad?
- B I think, well the trouble is I don't watch a lot. I don't watch that much. What I think is really bad is that I've seen, production line stuff. I mean where the gags are, where the gag writer shows too obviously. What would that be. Sorry I don't watch enough anymore.
- R OK where would you put something like *Roseanne*, which is really in very bad taste
- B OK, I like *Roseanne*. I've just got a bit bored of it but I like it.
- R What are the elements that you find attractive?
- B I like the politically non-correct stuff. The fact that she threatens to commit cannibalism or whatever. I think that's quite un-American. But I still hate the morals when they pack the little morals up. I don't like morals. I try not to have morals in *Going Up*. I've just seen some I've been a lot to these films at film festivals and what struck me about a lot of these films by Henry Jaglon who directed *Eating*. Did you see that? It's incredibly low budget and he's American and they are quintessentially American movies and they are hugely amusing and comic. Simply because of what he is portraying is so accurately observed. It's simply the accurate observation that makes me laugh and I think that's true of *Seinfeld* and it might even be true of *Roseanne*. What I don't like
- at all is where you know it's all convention when the convention has overtaken all our considerations do you understand?
- R Talk to me a little bit about, if *Seinfeld* is accurately looking at a sector of the American identity, tell me what you see in *Going Up* as the South African identity or South African identities?
- B [...] I don't really know. I try to make people speak. I try to have them respond to events in the way that I think South Africans respond to events. South Africans of different kinds. A lot of the humour is just off the wall humour. It's absurdist. I think that's the direction I intend to go. I really think it's the way people speak that responds rather than the situation or the ...
- R How much of the investment in the characters do the actors usually put in. I mean I can see that Jabu does but ...
- B There are disparities between what appears on screen and what Neil and I write so I think there's a lot and almost always I approved of the way that it's gone. Sometimes I get a little feeling that, we should have remained with the text but there's a lot of that.
- R For instance, if we take Mrs. Jakobs. That's a very consistent character. Obviously between you and the actor and the producer you're kind of crafted that character until it actually has a life of its own. How much of that actually comes from the actress herself.
- B I don't know if you can answer that. I recognise the character that I helped create without any question and her ideosyncracies and her, but I'm also responding now from the time that I first, up to the first three episodes that we shot. I'm now responding to the actors and so there's a feedback and you can say at what point the writing stops. The actress takes over. I feel it's fantastic that there's a feedback.
- R Because at once she's very organised and very ditsy at the same time. I mean she's enormously believable because her internal contradictions are so very real.
- B Ja, I think that, you know. I've written enough series to know that the best writing starts at about mid-way through the second series and you deal with all the obvious plots that first occur to you in the first one and you are still stabilizing the character where you get to know the character and

it does not really start working properly until way into the 20th or 30th episode.

- R Now, from you, this is just the last series of questions that I really want to ask. From your work and your feedback, you used the word a little earlier. Do you have a vision in your mind of your audience? I mean you have a vision in your mind of your characters but do you have a vision in your mind of your audience?
- B Of the whole audience?
- R Any part of the audience. Do you ever visualise the audience. I mean does the audience ever come to you? You said just now ...
- B No I think I assume no, I assume that I'm a member of the audience. I have to assume myself and I have to surprise myself. The audience then becomes bigger because it's also the cast, the workshop, the cast because we go through scripts but I'm not thinking of the audience. I assume that I'm attuned to at least an important part of the audience but I don't think that this is for a certain segment of the audience.
- R So in a very real way you write for yourself.
- B I can't think of any other way to do it.
- R Because when I write for instance, this sounds silly but I write for somebody in mind and very often it's an imaginary friend. I create a somebody.
- B African children stars. Now I still think that I am writing for myself but I'm writing for the child in me and I don't consciously limit my vocabulary but clearly I don't use the same vocabulary that I would.
- R One more thing I wanted to ask you. Obviously the work that Dorothy is doing is looking specifically at female audiences. Some of the, well in the literature there's all sorts of things from *Star Trek* to soap operas where production houses get massive fan mail. Do you get any mail from your audiences?
- B Me myself?
- R Your company?
- B Penguin does and I. I get a lot of feedback from the audience because well a lot of people know that I write it and so I get feedback from that. I

get quite a few talks on scriptwriting. I get feedback from those sorts of, but no I've never actually seen a letter. I presume there must be lots. I've met people who named their children after S'Duma in *S'gudi S'naysi*. So there must be people writing letters.

- R I think that we must do something to follow that up trying to get them...
- B That's strange, I've never even thought of ...
- R Because with *Egoli* for instance, what really fascinates me about *Egoli*, it's a really bad production. I think it's because they do too much too fast. I'm not quite sure why but I find it terribly wooden and I'm not trying to impose a sort of high culture thing because I don't feel that way at all. I just think that a soap opera is a soap opera. It's a really soap opera. But they have ...
- B How do you think *Generations* comes in?
- R I think that *Generations* is a little bit hysterical. I don't find it [enjoyable], but then you see I always think well, you're not the target audience. Maybe [it's that] ...

APPENDIX D

Project for Centre for Cultural and Media Studies, University of Natal

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE for Focus Group of Women Viewers. Here are a few questions we would like you to answer. Your responses are completely confidential. Thank you for your help.

Date

Last Name

First Name

Address

1. Age: 21-24

25-34

35-49

50 plus

2. Education qualifications:

Std 2 or less

Std 3 to school leaving

Matric exemption to university

University degree

3. Occupation:

Self employed

Business

Government

Housewife

Student

4. Yearly Income:

Under R2000

R2000 - 9999

R10000 - 19000

More than R20000

5. What is the total number of people living permanently in your Household ?

Number of people

6. How many children of your own live with you?

0

1

2

3

4 or more

7. What is your religion, if any?

Muslim Traditional Hindu Presbyterian Anglican

Methodist Catholic Jewish Dutch Reformed Apostolic

Church of Zion Other

8. Does your current permanent partner live in the same house?

Yes

No

9. How many metres is your home from the nearest tap?

- Less than 5 m (inside the home)
- Between 5 - 15 m (outside the home)
- 16 - 30 m (outside the home)
- 31 - 50 m (outside the home)
- Over 50 m (outside the home)

10. How many metres is your home from the nearest shop?

- less than 30 m
- 31 - 80 m
- 81 - 150 m
- 151 - 210 m
- 1 km plus

11. Which of these do you use for power?

- batteries
- electricity
- solar
- power generator

12. Media choices:

How many books do you read in a month?

- not at all
- one
- 2 - 4

13. Which newspaper(s) do you like?

- a
- b
- c
- d

14. Tell a story you read about recently in the newspaper and give the paper's name.

.....

15. How many hours a day do you listen to the radio?

- not at all
- 1 -4 hours
- 5 - 6 hours
- More than 6 hours

16. Which radio station(s) do you prefer in order of preference?

- a
- b
- c
- d

15. Which is your favourite programme(s)?

.....

16. What kinds of programmes do you listen to?

- don't listen to radio
- education
- news
- entertainment/music
- other (specify)

17. How many hours per day do you watch television?

- not at all
 1 - 2 hours
 2 - 4 hours
 5 - 6 hours

18. Which is your favourite TV station?

- a
b
c
d

19. Name your favourite TV programmes.

.....

20. Why do you watch TV?

- education
 news and current affairs
 cultural programmes
 entertainment
 other (specify)

21. What is/are your favourite magazines?

- a
b
c
d

22. How long since you read a magazine?

- 1 - 30 days
 1 - 2 months
 More than 3 months

23. What story did you read?

.....

24. What do you like about the magazine?

.....

25. In general when you watch television is it

- by yourself with another person with several people
 don't watch television

26. If you watch with people, are they usually the same people every time?

- same different whoever is there

27. Please tell us your relation to these people:

- friend family neighbour visitor

28. What is your home language?

- Afrikaans Zulu English Xhosa Other (specify)

29. Did you ever watch *Suburban Bliss* before today?

- No Yes

SUBURBAN BLISS

Eunice Group

March 27th 1997

Episodes:

- a. Maid from Hell
- b. Campaign Trail
- c. Comic Relief

Four Participants:-

- A = Evelyn [**].
 B = Lindiwe [**].
 C = Jabu [**].
 D = Eunice Gambushe (Facilitator)

R = Dorothy Roome (Researcher)

A Evelyn [**].

R Are you working or not working or?

A House working.

R Housewife. Do you have any kids? Living at home?

A I got grandchildren.

R Got grandchildren. Do they live with you?

A Yes.

R OK. And the next lady

B Lindiwe [**].

R And are you living with your family?

B Yes.

R OK. Are you working at the moment?

B No.

R Not working.

A Not schooling?

R Going to school?

B No.

R And have you any children?

B No.

R No children.

R Next.

C Jabu [**], from Umlazi.

R Do you have any children?

C Yes.

R Do you live with your family?

C Yes.

R Are you working at the moment?

C No.

R You are not working.

C No.

R Outside the house.

C Yes.

R [...].

D Eunice Gambushe, Umlazi. I'm second [...] sewing, creche, projects, anyway sewing doesn't give any money [...].

R Alright. I'll tell what I'm doing. Who I am. Eunice knows me. And this lady knows me. I'm doing a project for my PhD which involves working with Zulu speakers, and finding out what they think of programmes that we have on television. We did one once before, which was *Going Up*. This is a new programme and so we wanted to hear what people thought about this programme. Now the big thing is when you answer these questions that Eunice is going to ask you, we want you to say what's in your mind. Don't feel shy - whatever you think. That's the important thing. If you think it's stupid - if you don't like it - that's OK - you must speak. We won't criticize you or think badly of you if you disagree. Or if the two of you disagree -. You know sometimes you find older people disagree with what you have to say. It's OK. In here it's just fine. We want to hear what you have to say.

We'll start with this.

[Babble].

R We will start here. We are going to first discuss *Maid from Hell*, which was the first one where they are employing the woman Dalia. I think we will start with that. OK.

There are four men in the show -. Billy Dwyer, Ike Molo, Andrew Molo and Hempies. Which of these men do you like or dislike the most? What appeals to you about them?

- D There are four men in the show, there's Billy - Billy, the white man, and Ike Molo, Andrew Molo and Hempies. Which of these men do you like or dislike the most? Which would you choose as a partner? What appeals to you about them? *Okokugala senza le programme kuzokwenzexasibe namaphuta xoixolela.* [It is the first time that we do a programme like this, so we are going to make mistakes. You have to forgive us for doing so.]
- D [Zulu].
Billy, the white man? There are four men. Which of these men do you like or dislike
- [Babble].
- R I need a name. We're not talking about the women.
- D [...]. Billy [...].
- R Billy, the white guy, Ike the black guy, Andrew, the young brother and Hempies, the old white man. Which of these men do you like or dislike the most?
- A I like the old man.
- A The old man?
- R You dislike him?
- A I like him.
- R You like him! OK. Now why? Let's hear why?
- A Now he talks nice. and he's straightforward in talking.
- R He's straightforward in talking.
- A Yes.
- R OK.
- A It's the way white people like to ...
- R OK.
- A ... whether it's wrong or right.
- R You know where you stand. So interesting. OK. And what do you think?
- B [...]. Which one? Which one? *Molo umfana omncane Molo.* [Molo, the young man Molo.]
- D Billy, the white man, which one Andrew? *Molo, umfana omndane, indoda emnyama.* [Molo, the young black man.] The young man. The young Molo.
- [Babble].
- C I agree, I like Andrew.
- R You like him. OK. Why?
- C I'm sorry not Andrew.
- [Babble].
- R Why?
- C Because he got no *apartheid* ...
- [Babble].
- A He's friendly. Ja. Like mother ...
- R Mama Molo?
- A Ja. Mama Molo.
- ? You like Andrew.
- [Babble].
- R Yes. Now you?
- D Which one do you like?
- [Babble]. [Zulu].
- R Only the men.
- A Ike. Ike Molo. Ike.
- R Why? Why do you like him?
- A I don't like him.
- R Oh. You don't like him.
- D See, that's what we want, one ...
- R That's alright.
- C He hates other people.
- R He what?

- C He hates other people.
- D He doesn't like other people.
- C Yes.
- R Ike, the black guy?
- C Yes.
- R The husband?
- C Yes.
- R The husband, he hates other people?
- C Yes.
- R Why do you say that? Why does he hate other people?
- C [...]. He got jealous.
- R To the other people.
- C Yes.
- R Which other people?
- C In the family.
- R In the family?
- C Yes.
- D His mother, his brother, what ...
- R Who was he jealous of? What did he do? Was it the way he spoke to his wife or what?
- ? *Umfawabo*. [The brother.]
- Pause
- D He doesn't like it.
- R Oh. OK. So he can be afraid of it. OK. So that made you mad. OK. Alright. Which one would you choose as a partner? Which one do you like? You didn't tell us which one you like.
- D I like Billy.
- R You like Billy!
- D Yes.
- R Why?

- D I like Billy. Because Billy is busy doing everything. He's coming to his wife and say let us do this or that now. OK. Forget about Billy [...] he goes to the old man. OK. Now let us do something, casino or what.

Thando wants to have a maid why is she so keen? Do you think it is a good idea for her to have a maid?

- D Thando is a very ...
- R ... anxious to have a maid. She'd like to have a maid.
- D OK. To have a maid. Why do you feel she is so keen to have it?
- R Why do you think she really wants to have this.
- D Why did she really like to have this maid. *Ixoki*. Why, she needs to have a maid.
- R I mean she's got the mother-in-law there. Her mother-in-law does the work ...
- D But she still need her ...
- R She wants one.
- B She wants to know how her next door stays like.
- D Oh, she likes a maid because she used to go ...
- [Babble].
- R But she got the maid before that maid was going to be next door. She got that maid before. Why did she want that maid?
- A She wanted her ... to help her work with the ... just to help.
- B Although the mother is here, the daughter is here. But , she still wants a maid.
- R OK. What do you think?
- D What do you say about that? Why does she want ...?
- C She want this maid because the maid ...
- D Why does she want to do the work in the house.
- C So that's why she ...
- R Say it in *Zulu* and then she can translate for you.

? *Mgoba ungumakoti yeklana wonke umsebenzi kafamele urenziwe utena.* [Because she is a bride, all the work must be done by her.]

? It's because of she was forced to work [...] the house. That's why she want a maid to come and work. Everyone must see that the madam ... she want a maid because of they do everything for them, but they don't ...

R What do you say?

C I think because the maid she is talkative. She talks about Thando's family. If she working with Thando's family she talks about the neighbours.

D That's why they like her, because they want to know what's happening there.

[Babble].

C Thando is doing the same thing because the other's doing. If that lady she's working there, then she's asking the maid ...

R What's going on ...

C Ja, what's going on next door [...].

R Oh. Let's go to number three.

There are two different kitchens in Suburban Bliss, which do you prefer and why?

D There are two different kitchens in *Suburban Bliss*, which do you prefer and why?

R Each family has their own kitchen.

D How was the other one's kitchen?

R What would you prefer if you had to choose a kitchen?

D Which one?

R Which one?

B Prefer Thando's kitchen. Because it's beautiful and tidy.

D Like what?

? Like a younger lady ... when they ...

[Babble].

D Choose a kitchen. Which one you can use?

D Thando's kitchen bar.

A Thando's not jealous [...] that other kitchen, the neighbours were treating the maid.

R OK.

D She shouldn't have taken bread like that [...] the second time from the white people like that.

R OK.

D And that's why you like Thando's kitchen.

R OK.

? *Isiphi isivumelwano esingavumelana ngaso na?* [What agreement must we make now that Thando's kitchen is the best?]

? She says [...] because she like it, but now they ...

R OK. Number four.

Would you have employed Dalia as a maid? Do you know anyone like her?

D Would you have employed er ...

R Dalia.

D Dalia.

R That's the maid.

? No.

R Why?

B Au! She works here and works there again taking all of [...] every year to the farm ...

[Babble].

R And you?

D Why?

? Not reliable.

? I will say something nice to her.

D Why?

? Because I shouldn't hurt her [...].

[Unintelligible].

D Why? Why you can't take in that maid?

C She talks too much.

R She doesn't stay with [...].

? Ja.

? Because if I talk to her at the same time ...

? At the same time ...

[Babble].

D Have you know anyone like her?

R Not necessarily as a maid. Do you understand?

? Ja.

R ... That's OK. You have? You have known somebody like her [...].

? Yes.

R And how do you feel about that person? Would you tell them anything?

? No!

R You don't think so?

How do you feel about the things Ma Moloi says to Thando? Have you ever heard a mother-in-law say those sort of things?

D How do you feel about the things Mama Moloi says about employing the maid? What do you think about the things Mama Moloi says about employing the maid?

C *Akukuhle ukuphatha umakoti njengesisebenzi.* [It is not nice to take your daughter-in-law as a maid.]

D Well what do you think about that. What Ma Moloi says about employing a maid?

C She doesn't like a maid. She talks about Thando is here, she's not doing anything ...

A The way they talk.

D How do you feel the things Mama Moloi says. What do you feel about what Mama Moloi says about employing a maid.

[Babble].

D *Kwakwenzenjani baze bambize ngesangama uMama Moloi.* [What happened so that they can even call Mama Moloi *sangoma*.]

R Well basically that question is ready to translate. Her attitude towards having a maid. Do you think it's a bad attitude or if it's a good attitude? In other words - If your mother-in-law said things like that, how would you feel?

D How would you feel?

C *Ukuthi umamezala uzokukhokhela yena abe ngu Madam.* [If your mother-in-law employs you as a servant, she is the madam.]

R How would you feel?

C It wouldn't be nice.

D Won't be nice.

B Ja.

A Because if even whatever she is going to say, I have a reason I will give you why she did that. And the mother-in-law doesn't know that, and she'll never even understand, no matter how they explain.

R Do you have another woman living with you at the moment? Anybody?

A No not yet. But I agree with her. Just once as you see it.

[Mirth].

R She was criticizing what you did. She told you what to do.

A Yes.

[Babble].

A This is my house. She knew my time for coming back. She make me buy things. Should have done this, washed, clothes are not washed, not ironed. Everything that ... Now I must do it. I must go to work. Come back and do housework here.

R But you had to make the help - you when you were working?

A Yes.

R Oh. So the mother-in-law did the same thing to you as Mrs Moloji did to her?

A My mother-in-law was giving me worse.

R Your mother-in-law was giving you worse.

A Even worse.

R Why do you think she did that? Why do mothers-in-law ...?

A I think it's oldness. I think that. I take it that way. Because she knows I'm not at home. And she's old. I've children. Even young children, young toddlers. I couldn't just leave everything on her, with children, the house, and everything to her. Then I must have somebody to help her. [...]. But she disliked that. She knew that she need somebody to help her. Now she sometimes she say you give so much money.

R So you understand the things that Ma Moloji asked?

A Because she take it advantage, like she forgot that I am not a child. Ja.

R Takes advantage of her.

? Ja.

R She takes advantage of that.

A Yes.

R Maybe she's jealous.

? Ja.

R Because it's her son.

? Ja.

? [...] he's got lots of money [...] her son.

? They are all like that. All of them.

? Yes.

R Maybe it's just one woman, she doesn't like to lose her son. All like children.

D My son's getting married next week.

R Will you be a nice mother-in-law?

D Yes. Not like Mrs Moloji.

R OK. Now Hempies? What about Hempies?

A Hempies also says some things - he also says some things about employing a maid.

R That's the old white man - Hempies. The old white man. OK. Do you know any men who will say things like that. But he will keep quiet?

? Ja.

? If they tell you he talks - he talk to you?

What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to Billy? Do you know anyone like Kobie? Does her smoking worry or upset you?

R Do you like or dislike the way Kobie speaks to Billy. That's the white woman - speaking to her husband Billy. What do you think of the way she speaks to him?

C That one has no respect for him.

R No respect. OK. What do you think? She's a strong lady.

C No.

R No!

[Zulu].

R You say she's got no respect. OK. The next question.

D Next Question. Do you know any man who would say similar things about [...].

R No. We're looking at number seven.

D Oh! Do you dislike --- do you dislike

R No no. Number seven. Look at number seven. We've asked the first part. Do you know anyone who is like Kobie? Do you know anyone like that?

? No.

D Do you know anyone like that?

A *Bakhona abesifazane abakhuluma noma kanjani emadodeni.* [There are plenty of women that talk anyhow].

R Are they black or are they white?

C All black.

A And white too.

R But nothing to do with colour?

? Yes.

R They can speak to their husbands like that?

? Yes.

R Really? Oooh! - do you know that that's a bad thing? Why do you say that? I'm asking you. You're talking. You're like women. Why is it bad?

A It's bad because even if it's not a man ... your husband ... but any man, even if it's with us they judge like that. If I talk to you anyhow that's not nice. I must have a manner when talking to you whether you old or young. I must have a certain manner of talking to you.

R Like respect for another person. Alright go on.

D Number eight now.

R How about the smoking? What about the smoking? Does her smoking worry or upset you.

B Every time. It's a ...

[Babble].

R Do you know any black women who smoke like that?

A Yes.

R You do!

A Lots.

? Not millions, just Esther! (Evelyn)

R Esther smokes?

? Oooh!

R You!

R [...]. Stop [...]. Doesn't it worry you? The smoke.

A It doesn't worry me about the smoke. It doesn't go to you. Who is smoking [...] yes Ja. It comes to me! In other words I'm smoking.

[Babble].

R Alright. OK. Number eight.

Which of the characters in the show do you find the funniest?

D Number eight. Which ...?

R Character.

D Character do you find ...

R The funniest. Which one do you think is the funniest. When you leave here today and you go home when you driving or you're on the bus, and you smile thinking about it. Which one makes you laugh? Which one?

C Mama Moloi. The way she talks. The way she acts. All of her. What she does, her speech and everything. Everything is easy for her. Talking, acting, doing, sitting, what what. Just like that. Very nice.

R What do you think. Which one did you like? [...].

B Ma Moloi.

R That is good.

B The maid.

D What?

R The maid. You thought she was the funniest. Why? Why? Well that's OK, that's what she felt.

B [Zulu]. [She takes things from there to here, up and down, talking with other people's names, that's why they don't like her.]

D She says that she [...] because to her [...] they go and talk about people from the next door and [...]. About what she say. From there they [...] the enquiry because she was [...].

C Billy.

R You liked Billy.

C Ja. Billy. Kobie.

R You liked her?

C Ja. I liked her.

R When you think about her afterwards, do you think about that [...]. Now why did you like her. It's very interesting. Why?

[Indecipherable].

C [...] smoking if a someone talks nicely. No no no no! Always she wants ...

R Make 'em do it. Make 'em do it.

C Ja. Ja. In fact she's got no respect.

R So you like that?

C Ja. I like that. I like that.

R No. why do you? That's wonderful, why do you like that?

C She told everybody ...

B ... everybody's ironing and because ...

D You think she's like that because she wants everybody to take care of her? Did say something everybody must listen ...

R You think so?

? [...] joking.

R Would it be easier for you to say that in *Zulu*? It's very interesting - what you said. But if it is hard for you to say it in English, then say it in *Zulu*. Because I want to hear what you mean by that. Why you like her? Say it in *Zulu*. OK.

B *Ngiyamthanda ngoba uyalilikisa rezinto azihoyo giyahlekasa akekho serous. Noma umkluwenyananana wakhe ethi uyakhuluma uvele angamnaki avele amthelele utshwala baphuze.* [I love her because she is a clown. She makes everybody laugh all the time. She never takes things seriously, even when her husband wants to say something serious to her, she will just make him sit down and give him a drink. She can always joke.] So. I like Thando.

R What did she say?

D She say she like Thando because she always talk funny things. So those funny things she [...] to laugh at. So she likes her. I don't know why she likes her [...]. She's not respecting [...] say something she's [...]. Why she likes that?

R That's OK.

D She thinks everything's easier. Always a glass of wine or something on the hand. On the other hand is a cigarette or ... Why you like somebody like that?

[Babble].

R Let's go on. OK. Number nine

D Number nine.

Do you think the things that happened on the show could ever really happen to anyone you know?

D Do you think what happens in this episode could be in real life?

R Well. In other words what happens on this chapter, that what we saw about the maid. That situation. Could that take place in real life?

A No.

R Could that really happen?

D [...] that the way that happen can take place in your house. In your family.

A *Sebenza la uphuma ngo four abanye baphuma u quarter to ukulona iginiso.* [Your work here finishes at four o'clock. It is not true that others finish at quarter to four.]

D The way it happens can take place.

R But there's another thing in there. But there's another thing. We've got two women, huh? Never mind the one's black, the ones white. Not important. What are they doing with each other? What are they actually doing?... What are they? ...

[Zulu].

R What are they actually doing? Why they behaving?

C I think one of the missuses got a jealous. About the one maid. Because why didn't you ask another maid to work for her. According to tape one, one maid working for both of them ...

R What do you think?

D What do you think?

[Zulu]. (They were going at one another)

- D We like it Thando is not that way. The maid doesn't know. Because the maid comes out of there telling them there what's happening there. They don't correct. They keep on going on with her. She's going here and there.
- C They ask her 'You working for me?' [...] the answer [...] yes.
- D I suppose you give me two rand. Two rand yes. I think they playing fools of each other.
- R Right. Now let's change to the next one. Leave outnumber ten. Leave out number one. Let's go to the *Campaign Trail*, where she goes to become the President. You know that one ...
- ? ... Yes.
- R Look at number two there.

What did you think of the way Ike treated Thando? Would you be upset if your partner treated you like this?

- D What do you think of the way Ike treated Thando? [Zulu]. What do you think of the way he spoke to her?
- R Don't worry about that. Remember when the scene opens up and she's in the kitchen with him and he's reading the paper and she tries to talk to him, and he gets upset. Then afterwards all the things that happen between the two of them. What do you think about that? Would you be upset if your husband or your boyfriend was talking to you like that? What do you think about that?
- B I wouldn't like it.
- D Why?
- B [...] frightened. Yes. Because he was little too cheeky for me.
- C He didn't look nice. It was [...] a matter I know it's not like that, but at that moment he changed, and looked at her and looked at her.
- R Made you scared. What did you think of what [...]. Hey man! The man wanted some peace. He's trying to read his paper.
- C Ja. [Zulu].
- D She says he mustn't fight with her. He mustn't shout at her all the time. Because if he is shouting

at her all the time, she's going to frighten of him. She's going to not respect him now. Because she's frightened of him.. If he wants her to respect him, he must talk to her nicely, he must say 'hello my darling, wait a minute, please. I'm still reading the paper'. He mustn't say 'No I can't! Can't you see I'm reading the paper!' [...].

- A Number three?
- R Yes.

How did you feel when Thando gave her speech to run for President of the Residents Association? Would you have voted for her if you had been at the meeting? Who else would you have voted for?

- D What did you feel when Thando reads her speech and decided to run for President of the Resident's Association? What did you think when Thando reads her speech?
- R Remember that?
- D What did you feel?
- R OK.
- D [...]. What did you feel? [...].
- [Zulu].
- D What did you feel?
- C I could like it.
- A I like it.
- R You liked it?
- A [...] looking nice, and talking nice, acting nice.
- R Is that good?
- R What did you like? What did you think? How did you feel?
- C [...] like dress.
- R What she's dressed?
- C Ja. Nice dress and she talks so nice.
- R Did you feel happy she was a woman?
- C Yes, she is.

B Yes.

R And would you have voted for her? If you'd been at that meeting. Would you have said 'Yes! She must be the President! Yes! Yes. Yes'.

B Yes.

[Zulu].

R That's a good question. Next one. OK. OK. Leave out this episode word. Because that's giving you a hard time

What did you think of the way the female characters- all of them - how they behaved while this was going on? The whole time. What did you think of the way the other women behaved? Ja.

C That was not nice.

R That was not nice. Did they make you feel embarrassed or angry or kind of got shame? Did they give you shame? That they behaved like that?

C Ja.

R You felt shame.

How do you feel about the things those people standing for election said they wanted to fix - family values, RDP, Racial Harmony. Do you have any of these things happening in your community?

D What do you feel [...].

R Well what did they talk about. [...] they [...]. What was everybody saying? Let's just think about that. What were the things they talked about? They talked about family values. They talked about the informal sector, they talked about racial harmony, and so on. Have I left one out? What else did they talk about? Property values. So what did you think? How relevant were any or each one of those. How important were any of those things? Even in your own communities?

D Umlazi.

[Indecipherable].

R What do you think?

C I was not feeling nice because ... On all my cards. I don't vote.

R You don't like the Councillors, oh really! Now that's interesting

C They are not reliable.

R They are not reliable. OK. Now when you say they are not reliable, let's get into this good stuff. What do you mean, they are not reliable?

B They not racial, but that's what I know.

R Oh! You talking about how you feel. It's what you feel that's important.

C They just make us vote for them promising us big, big things, right? Frightened to vote [...]. Everything we haven't got and things we never ever get, to be done, they never do anyway they don't take notice of us. Down there, down there. They all are like that.

R So for you none of these things that they talked about. That they are going to fix. You thought it was a lot of rubbish.

C Not one of them.

R What did you think?

? [Zulu].

D They going to keep promising them because they want them to vote for them. Once they vote for them, once you win, they are only going to help their families. Forget about them down there. They are also there because of their [...] they put them to be up there.

[Unintelligible].

D Question number?

R Four.

What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to her husband Billy, her father, Hempies and her daughter Frankie? Would you introduce her to any of your friends or your family? What do you think of her clothes and the way she furnishes her house?

D What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to her husband Billy, her daughter Frankie ...

C Indlelaakhuluma ngaya. [The way you are talking].

[Babble].

R We had that question. So we can cut that out because we have actually talked about that. But

- now would you like to meet this woman or not?
Would you introduce her to any of your friends?
Your family?
- C This woman? I wouldn't.
- R You wouldn't like to meet her. Don't think she's a nice woman. Do you like the way she dresses? You don't like any of it?
- R The way she furnishes her house - you already told me.
- [Mirth].
- R OK. We kind of had that question. OK. Now. Number five.
- What do you think of the way Thando treats her husband, Ike, and her mother-in-law, Ma Moloji? Would you introduce her to your family? What do you think of the way she dresses and furnishes her house?*
- D What do you think of the way Thando treats Ike and Ma Moloji?
- R Ma Moloji.
- D Ike and Ma Moloji. What do you think of the way Thando treats Ike and Mama Moloji? [Zulu].
- B [...] very, very good - Ma Moloji. She was doing very, very good - that one.
- R Thando.
- C Yes.
- R You like Thando?
- D You like Thando? [Zulu].
- A The way she talks to her. She [...].
- R What you say?
- D What you say?
- A She say she ...
- R You like her? You like Thando?
- C Yes.
- R You like the way she dresses?
- ? Ja.
- [Babble].
- [Mirth].
- R OK. Now Mr Limpid. Now you never said anything. What do you think.
- ? What about Thando?
- R Yes.
- A I don't like her.
- R You don't like her. Why?
- A She [...].
- R Why?
- D The way she wears a green skirt!
- C Short!
- D Yes, you can see how she moves I don't like her. Next question?
- R No no no!
- [Babble].
- [Mirth].
- How do you feel about the way Mr Limpid behaves when he visits the Molois? Do you know anyone like him?*
- R Oh dear! OK. Alright. Now do you remember Mr Limpid? The white man who came in at the beginning of that episode.
- ? Oh.
- R Yes. Do you remember him? The white guy that came in.
- ? Wearing the black and white thing?
- R Ja. And they ...
- ? The one who said they must vote for him?
- R Yes, that's the one. OK. So what do you feel about the way he's carrying on? The way he speaks to them in the beginning. What did you think about

him. Let's hear some stuff here. What did you think?

[Unintelligible].

R OK. So you know people like this?

A Yes.

R So what did you think of him. When he said to Ma Moloji and she said 'you people! [...] you people!' What did you think of that remark there? Did that like press a button or touch you in the heart here. What did you think about that?

R You didn't like it. How did you feel about it? Did you not like it or [...].

[Zulu].

R Alright. Well, what did you think about Mr Limpid [...]. What did you think about it?

A I didn't like it.

R Why?

A Because of the way he decide to talk about this. He want to be the Councillor or what. The others, they mustn't think about the others. He [...] like Ma Moloji was fighting [...] because Ma Moloji [...]. He wants to be Councillor [...]. Ma Moloji [...]. I didn't like him.

What is 'low class'? What does Thando mean when she says anything is 'low class'?

R OK. Look at number seven. I want to see what people [...]. Understand what Thando said.

D Do you have any ideas about the term 'low class'? And what does it mean to be 'low class'? What does it mean? Do you have any ideas about the term 'low class' and what does it mean to you?

R Low class! Low class! Thando speaks about low class. 'Oh! Can't do that - it's low class' What does that mean?

C That was criticising [...].

B This word 'low class' [...] this word low class, she was [...]. Money [...] making everything look better.

R It's the thing of being better. OK. I just wanted to make sure that you understood that. And is there

anyone else who you think in the whole three things that we saw. We saw three chapters like out of a book. Three chapters. Was there anyone else who you thought was low class?

? There was no-one. No.

R No one. Alright. Moving on to *Comic Relief*. The last one that we did about the cartoonist.

How would you feel if your child started dating a person of a different race? Do you know anyone who socialises with a member of a different race?

D How do you feel about Frankie [...].

R You've got a white, young white girl and a young black guy. OK. How do you feel about that friendship. Whether you're Andrew's mother, the black guy going with a white girl, or whether you're Frankie's mother, the white girl going with the black guy. How do you feel about that? Let's hear!

D [Zulu].

R How do you feel about that? And speak what's in your heart. OK?

D *Nangu usefikile u Andrew.* [Here comes Andrew!]

[Mirth].

D [...] himself at night and we ask a white guy what [...].

R Oh, you mean this is on the television?

A No - on the radio.

R The radio. Oh. OK.

A It's Zulu.

R Zulu? Really. OK.

? What do you say?

[Zulu].

A If two of them fall in love is OK.

B Says she [...] if they both in love. She [...].

R OK. Ja. It's OK. How do you feel?

A Oh. I'm the old type.

- R What's she say?
- D She says she's an old type.
- R Yes. Yes. Tell me. yes, tell me.
- R Tell us ...
- A Anyway, I would accept it.
- R You would accept it.
- A I would.
- C But ...
- B But ...
- A But it was not allowed.
- R But it did happen.
- A Yes. But at these times you must accept it.
- R Now it's OK.
- A Yes.
- D Now it's OK for everyone.
- R Everyone. How do you feel?
- D Now it's the 'new' South Africa. I wouldn't be worried about or even if my daughter, if my son says. Ma ... That's all. I must say. OK, my son. Go ahead.
- A Because if I say no ...
- D So I meet a friend of my son and daughter-in-law. If I said 'No', even my son would run away [...].
- R Ja.

Do you think Frankie was wrong to make fun of her family and friends in cartoons? If she was a member of your family would you be upset by what she did?

- D What do you think about the way that Frankie made fun of all her elders in cartoons?
- R You know she drew those pictures that were printed in the paper at the bottom.
- ? Ooh!
- R You know you saw them.

- ? Yes.
- R Now those were her pictures of her family making like all the things that she was making fun of them.
- B It was wrong.
- R You thought that it was wrong?
- ? Yes.
- R OK. Why? Why? She got a hundred rand for each one. Each picture!
- [Zulu].
- D She says sounds like a maid. Because what has been happening here, this supposed to go in the paper. So now the whole world knows about it. No. It's very bad.
- R But a hundred rand for each one!
- ? It's wrong.
- C But they need some money.
- D But why?
- [Unintelligible].
- R But it was wrong. You say it was wrong.
- ? Ja.
- R And you?
- ? It's wrong.

*****End of Tape*****

- R The pictures that she spoke about. What I'm really trying to ask you is, leaving aside the fact that she shouldn't have put it into the newspaper. You know you saw the things that we showed you on there - the gambling everything had to be so clean, like a bit of a mad person, it had to be so clean, and so on, and so on. Do you think that she was fair to each of these people? We're in number four. Lets go to number four.

Billy is a fanatic house cleaner, how do you feel about a man doing this kind of work? Would any male members of your household clean or cook without being asked to do so?

R Billy's such a keen house cleaner. He's got to clean everything right. How do you feel about a man doing this kind of work, about a man who loves to clean? How do you feel? Is it a bad thing? What do you think?

A It's nice.

R You think it's nice! Oooh. OK. You think it's nice.

A Yes.

R Why? It's not men's work.

A There is nothing that this is a woman's work and we must share the house.

R We must share?

A We must share! The husband of the white lady he must do the cooking.

R Really?

A The other day you watched the ads. We must help each other.

R This is the 'new' South Africa.

A Yes!

R That's for sure.

B Things have changed.

R You think that's a good thing?

A It's very very good. He must know - he also must know and feel how it is to bear children. If only one, just one mistake problem ...

R What's that?

A I'm going to tell you.

R What's the mistake?

A He should have made men to be pregnant. Even if it is dragging, but he must fade. he must fade ...

R How do you fade?

[Babble].

A [...]. How to [...] must [...] husband to come together with him come from work.

D You asking that for him.

R Do you think its right? It's very interesting. Do you think there's a change in this. Come on the younger generation! Do you think mothers ...

C Ja.

R Because with the whites it's the same idea really.

B Whites are ...

R Oh yes. Yes and I tell you honestly the South African white men that I've met are the worst. I mean I don't know. I mean you know that I was in America for many years, and there you don't have servants. You don't have a maid. Although it's very different without. Ja. There it's too expensive.

A Even when you are old.

R Yes. I've worked alone for twenty years. I mean ... but Everything you do it.

A Washing, ironing, all ...

R Yes.

A Cleaning.

R But you cook and clean differently. You don't do this big ironing thing. Everything you've got to iron You don't do that. I can't explain it to you. You take shortcuts.

A Oh yes.

R You know what I'm saying. It's like you do it, but you don't do it like that.

C Ooh

R Ja. It's going [...] half an hour. You know what I'm saying. How much time have we got? Must you iron the sheets. What for? You are going to sleep in it. You fold them nicely and you put it away. So it's ...

A Oh, but you don't iron sheets?

R Well up there you see. You see. But you know what I'm saying.

[Babble].

R So I'm interested to hear that you say there are young black men, they are also not doing much to help or they are? How is it going?

C They said 'I'm a man, so I must sit down and watch the TV or read my paper'. Yes. They can't help any even outside in the garden. You must do the housework here. And come out of the house. See the people, the garden as well. No I mean unless you hire a person to do it for you, and you pay that person. You pay ...

B No way. That's ridiculous!

R Oh my God!

C Why is ...because you pay - I paid a *lobola*

B Ja, ja.

C That's why.

R Oh.

C That's why.

R You pay *lobola* then you don't have to do any work.

C He pay.

A In other words, I bought you - from your parents. Then you must work for me [...]?

B Yes.

A That's what [...]. Because I paid good money. From your parents.

R But ... and still today.

B Yes.

A Yes. I'm doing my gardening. He says 'What Gardening?' He says 'I'm working at work, hard I can't work there and come back and work here.' Here I must stay. Do what I like. I work the TV, I put my [...].

R He's doing the cooking of course and cleaning the house?

A He does not! Mine is the old style.

[Babble].

A No, you know what? He can't cook. [...]. He comes back first - home. The food is cooked. He can't dish up for himself

[Babble].

R He's right. He must ...

A Him wait till I come. Then dish for him.

? Even at ten o'clock.

A He's hungry. Everything is ready.

A Even just to plug the kettle on for tea. Just the kettle on and make a cup, make tea for him, not for me!

R So that's why you think this Billy is a good one.

A A very, very good man.

R You like ...

[Babble].

R What about Hempies?

A He thinks of us.

R What about Hempies? I think he's doing the cooking there.

A Ja he is. He's the one to ...

R Also good.

[Babble].

A Also good.

[Babble].

A He talks like that. That way. But he does help. You can talk. If you only talk!, talk!, talk! [...]. Hau!

R So you agree.

? Yes.

R You want to see this changed.

A Yes.

R You can write it in the Constitution ...

A Yes, yes, ja.

R It's against the law for the men not to help!

A Yes.

[Mirth].

A Very very much against the men.

R You like this? You going to tell them? OK. OK.
Where are we now? What number, we in?

D Number five.

Do you think men would watch this kind of show on TV? Do you think it shows at all what is happening in South Africa?

D Do you think this kind of programme should be shown on TV?

R What we saw today. Do you think it's a good thing to show blacks and whites and men and women doing all this stuff. You think this is good to show this on television?

A It's nice to show on TV. But not all of the men would like it.

D [...]. On the TV, they like to know what [...]. Sports time.

R You saying that men will not watch this programme?

B Yes. They won't know anything about it.

R Oh. Because they don't like to watch it.

C Yes. They are watching the sports time.

R That's all?

C Sometimes.

A Very very much.

B They like the sports times and the news please And thereafter they put the video ou. the cassettes on their own.

R What do you find with the young men?

C They don't like. they don't watch.

R Do they watch? Do they watch this?

? [Zulu].

B What do you learn there? What do you learn?

R They don't like it.

B They don't.

C They can even switch it off.

R But you like it?

C Yes.

A I do like it, but not that much.

R Not that much.

A Not that much because I'm not interested in the way they act ... ja ... By the way it's not nice for the young people ...

[Indecipherable].

A Like father and the son, it's they get married. What do you learn there? What do our young children learn there?

R Why do people like it so much?

D Hey! but they like it.

A So many bad things they like.

D Everybody likes it.

R Oh dear. OK. OK. So do you think ... Well it's part of number five. Do you think this programme kind of shows what's happening in South Africa? What do you think? Do you think it shows what happens in South Africa? This programme.

D Yes I think it shows [...] South Africa. I think now we must know like these two young [...] they are perfect. must know it was perfect. Ja. It was perfect. Ja. this was perfect. I think saying that. I won't say anything. If my son comes. Even if its an Indian. I won't say. because whatever he likes ...

D He likes it! Yes.

A There is just one blood in everything. only the skin. They must respect each other.

D Maybe it's a good thing to show the child.

Do you feel the way Thando shops is worse than Kobie's secret gambling? Do you know any women who shop a lot or gamble?

R Now. You know the shopping that Thando does. The shopping that Thando does. Do you think that's worse. You know she's always got to be shopping. Ma Moloi says 'you got shoes, you got this you got that'. Do you think that's worse than Kobie's gambling? Which of you here gamble?

C Waste all that money.

R Which one?

B Shopping all the time. And that gambling! [...].

R You do it. Do you spend money on gambling? You?

A No.

R No no. Do you ever do it? Mama. do you do it?

C No.

R No no. You never know you might win a hundred thousand rand!

A I rather go straight home.

R So which do you think is worse? To shop shop shop - spend all your husband's money ...

A ... shopping's bad. gambling is worse [...].

R Which is worse?

A Gambling.

R Gambling is worse.

A Ja. gambling is worse.

R Do you know any women who do this thing? Do you know?

D Millions [...]. Oh yes!

R Shop shop shop.

A Yes.

B Every week. a new dress. and a new pair of shoes. Every week!

R So what about the gambling?

A We know them. We know them.

R Which is more - the shopping or the gambling?

D Gambling.

A Ai Gambling!

[Babble].

D All over.

C In Umlazi.

B All over.

R The gambling is terrible.

[Babble].

D Young and old.

R It's sad. OK. OK. What is this mean Number seven.

How do you feel about the things those people standing for election said they wanted to fix - family values, RDP, Racial Harmony. Do you have any of these things happening in your community?

D What does family values mean to you?

R Family values.

D Values.

R What does that mean?

[Babble].

[Indecipherable].

? We are talking about?

R Ja. In general anybody's family. they use the term. They use those words. When she said she was going back ... that white man said he was going to stand for Councillor for family values. You see [...] there's a lot of talk ...

A *Ulwele amalungela abantu.* [Fit for the human rights.]

R I mean. maybe it's not so much in the Zulu culture. But there's a lot of talk now among whites about getting ... people are worried the way the family ...

- getting divorced and the women are not staying in the house to take care of the kids, they going out to work and this and that and the other. And then things are changing. So there are a lot of people who are saying 'no no no, we must go back to family values'. With the family there's more than that. The women stay in the house, take care of the children and don't go out to work. That's the lot when you say family values. It kind of means that .. But can mean whatever you say. It can mean your family is the most important thing to you or it can mean, you know, you must always listen to what your husband says. That's another thing. Don't, and you must take care of your husband. That can also be values. See what I'm saying? It can depend on how you feel about it. What family values ... usually it means that part of it is the woman stays at home, she doesn't go to work, she takes care of the children, does the cooking, puts the kettle on, she gets the food ready. That's usually ... So what do you think about it? I mean, does it? Do you approve of that? Or do you think well ... I'm not sure about that.
- B I am not sure about it, because ... now cost of living is too high. So I don't think it's better if I'm not working, and only working lately. I've got my child now. He's at school. So I need a support. I need money.
- R OK. Alright. I have one other question then, which is part of that, you know, that goes on with what you were saying - what you were saying that too, as a woman today in South Africa. How can you manage, with all these changes that are coming here. How can you manage as a woman? What would you like to see. How do you think it would be good to see things better for women. What do you think should happen? How should women be helped to make their lives better?
- A Women can be helped in order to let the men get good jobs.
- D Higher salary. Yes.
- R OK.
- A Then we could, I think being at home, being a good housewife, mean that at the end of the day the man is coming home with the money. Everything you want you will get. Because there is a [...] that our men are not getting work are the main reasons of us working. We wouldn't work otherwise.
- C Working because of there's not enough money.
- A Yes.
- D Sometimes they not even working.
- C Yes. We don't get enough money. Sometimes happens not even working.
- R Alright. You want to comment on that? Do you want to say something?
- B Mrs Gambushe, she is opening a creche in Umlazi [...]. She's working hard. If a woman are working [...].
- R That's OK?
- B Ja.
- R You think that's OK?
- B Ja, ja.
- R OK. Number seven.
- Do you think the parents did the right thing to start a court case to stop Frankie's cartoons? What would you have done if Frankie was your daughter?*
- D Do you think the parents did the right thing.
- R Starting a court case ... starting. To stop the fighting.
- D [...]. Do you think the parents did the right thing?
- A What was that?
- R To make the court case.
- D On the other hand it was right, because [...] other hand [...].
- R Would you do that?
- A I wouldn't.
- R Would you do that?
- D If in fact there is something that need you to discipline your child [...]. Because if sometimes you done something [...]. You don't discipline him by taking him to court next time you [...] something [...].
- R [...]. Do you think it's right for the parent to take the children to court? Do you think it's good?
- A [...]. *Yebo ngoba uzo gcina enze izinto do ezinkulu uma bemyeka bengamjezisi esqala.* [It's

good to discipline a child, because if you leave him, he will end up doing big things or cases.]

D She likes it. To take him to court. Because by taking him to court you discipline. Because if you don't take him to court the first time, he's going to get worse and do worse things.

R Let's look at number nine.

Which person makes you laugh the most? Would you introduce them to your husband/ partner, mother, mother-in-law, children, sister/brother?

D Number nine. What [...].

[Babble].

? Why?

[Babble].

? He's my type.

R He's your type?

? [...] *Uyakwazi ukukhuluma kalile ngempela nje nga Poli.* [She talks like a Parrot.]

D She talks like a parrot. She also like Mama Moloji.

R You like her?

D You'd like to have her at your house.

R What about you?

B Mama Moloji.

[Mirth].

R What about you?

D What about you?

C [...]. like Thando.

R Oh. You like Thando. OK.

C [...]. Thando.

R Why?

D Why do you like Thando?

D [...]. Thando.

B [...]. Thando ... she's a nice lady ...

R [...] ideas. Ja.

B Maybe tomorrow this South Africa will be better.

[Indecipherable].

R And you. Which one do you like?

C I like Thando, because at times she was talking about President. She was looking, she was acting. She know how to talk to the community. The way she talked to the community. They all said 'Yeah'. All this other been talking talking now. But once Thando was just explaining to them they all said 'yes!' [...].

R I think we should have a break now and then we can have a look at the film.

End of Tape

SUBURBAN BLISS

Joanne Focus Group

Mar 30th 1997

Episodes:

- a. Maid from Hell
- b. Campaign Trail
- c. Comic Relief

Six Participants:-

- A = Tessa-Anne [**].
 B = Pamela [**].
 C = Mary [**].
 D = Norma [**].
 E = Elaine [**].
 F = Joanne September (Facilitator)
 R = Dorothy Roome (Researcher)

There are four men in the show - Billy Dwyer, Ike Moloji, Andrew Moloji and Hempies. Which of these men do you like or dislike the most? What appeals to you about them?

R Right.

? [...] sense of humour.

R Right. Contessa?

A I don't actually dislike any of them. I like the young guy.

R The young student?

A Ja.

R I ...

A Andrew.? I like Andrew because he's what our youth is all about. [...].

R Now. Now - let's probe a little bit. He's what our youth is all about.

? Ja.

R In what way? You see now, I want to know - well ... and it's a very interesting comment you made. If you say that he's like our youth is all about, that's a very interesting statement. What is there about Andrew that's like our youth? ...

E They not as artificial as ... That's within the context of the movies we saw. Andrew is not as artificial as the adults were. He wasn't trying to impress or pull the wool over the other person's eyes, or trying to be what he's not. He was just always himself and he mixed well without actually looking forceful.

You know with another race and that is what our youth is actually like now. The majority are actually ...

R It's a race thing that you're talking about. ...

E Ja, ja.

R OK. OK. I mean. Do you think he's an honest kind of guy? Do you think he's ... or do you think maybe he's ...

A I think he's more open than that ...

? Much open.

R OK.

A He can come across better ... than the others. You know.

R OK. What about anybody else. Has anybody spoken about the person that they thought you know. OK. Want to go on.

Thando wants to have a maid. Why is she so keen? Do you think it is a good idea for her to have a maid?

F Thando wants to have a maid. Why is she so keen. Do you think it is a good idea for her to have a maid? That's the fancy one now hey? Ja. It's not a good idea for her to have a maid. For number one, she's too pushy. And she always look down on the maid because she's now supposed to be the society of that [...] race group. So the others don't mean anything as far as she is concerned.

D Thando has to have a maid because the next door neighbour had said she had a maid. Keeps up with the Joneses.

B [...] keeping up with the Joneses, and wanting to be better than the next one.

D And she didn't need the maid. She was never working. She had nothing to do at home. She didn't have any kind of business or anything! She had nothing else to do.

? She had a mother-in-law to do the work.

R Anybody else?

B Her life seems so empty. Empty. She's ...

F She's actually like one of those dolls that you wind up to talk, now. You know - this is what I must do.

and this is how I must say it.

B You didn't actually see her being like a very good wife or good daughter-in-law or sister-in-law. She didn't come across as that, you know.

E Now she was trying to please her neighbours by having material things and having things that she thought was what white people normally had.

There are two different kitchens in Suburban Bliss, which do you prefer and why?

F There are two different kitchens in *Suburban Bliss*, which do you prefer and why?

E I can remember Billy Dwyer in them's kitchen, but I don't remember ever seeing ... it was always the other people's lounge.

F You saw more of the Moloi's lounge than you did of the kitchen.

E ... seeing the kitchen.

F The little you saw of the kitchen, it was one of the more modern and more developed kitchens of the nowadays kitchen. Whereas the white people's kitchen was more homely.

[Babble].

R So which did you prefer?

[Babble].

F I prefer the white people's kitchen.

? Yes.

[Babble].

B I mean to say it was just like our family's [...]. Our everyday type of thing.

E Although I wouldn't like to have my [...].

[Mirth].

Would you have employed Dalia as a maid? Do you know anyone like her?

F Number four. Would you have employed ... is it Dalia?

R Dalia.

F Dalia as a maid?

B Never!

[Babble].

B No way!

? No thank you!

R Do you know anybody like her? Take the things that she ... not necessarily saying things like being thieves, but the concept of the way she behaved.

[Babble].

C We had a maid like that. My neighbour had a maid like that. Ja.

F They know everybody's business and what's carrying on in the next person's home.

C Our maid used to work on a Public holiday, and they told her that it shouldn't be like that. 'Why does your *miesies* don't let you off on a public holiday?' And ...

R So you think there is someone like that?

[Babble].

B And another thing is the maid was very pushy, the maid was telling what's her name? What she wanted to do, she had the run of the home. Really. Now I don't say that she must lower her dignity and things like that. But she didn't have the makings of a maid.

F ... but she would never work for anybody, in real life really, because she'd be out of a job before she's in the job, you know.

E She was actually an opportunist. She saw these two weak people [...]. And she played both of them.

[Babble].

F She also turned the black against the white. [...].

B And she sowed the seeds of mistrust.

How do you feel about the things Ma Moloji says to Thando? Have you ever heard a mother-in-law say those sort of things?

F Number five. How do you feel about the things Ma Moloji says to Thando? Have you ever heard a mother-in-law say those sort of things?

B [...] you know she was priceless. What she said - I mean!

F I wouldn't say among my current friends, but among the [...], it does happen.

B Ja.

F Because they always feel ...

B Bring her down.

F Ja, it's bring her down and they always want ...

A [...] and try to open her eyes and tell her this is not how you should be, this is not how you should be. In many ways, a lot of things that she said [...].

[Babble].

B She wasn't the type of wife that you would have liked for your son. Not the type of daughter-in-law. She was from the old school, you know, when a daughter-in-law was obedient and ...

F ... Used to be more of a daughter ...

B --- the daughter-in-laws fitted in with the families. All the education and everything, but she doesn't follow the end up, and even [...].

F You would never say that Elaine has got that position that she has and [...]. No, and she's always got such a nice way you can [...] speak to her ...

E [...] talk about Thando.

[Mirth].

[Babble].

B ... like a daughter-in-law [...] with your mother-in-law, your family and so on. Now we knew Mrs Harold when we first came on here twenty eight years ago, and now you're married and she moved into our neighbourhood over here and she's one of us. Now with her she didn't want to be with the family. She always wanted to be a cut above the

next, next one in the family. All trying to be what she wasn't.

F So now?

R This is great. You girls are doing a fabulous job. Fabulous!

What do you think about the things Hempies says about having a maid? Would the men you know agree with him?

F Number six. What do you think about the things Hempies says about having a maid?

[Mirth].

F Would the men you know agree with him?

? [...] now agree with you.

? Hempies is now that old man.

R Old *boer*, old *boer*.

[Babble].

F ... they call them blackies, they all have them. I mean, like now. In those years they had them. Although some of them didn't want a maid. But they still had to know to do the work. Because they felt the children must have clean uniforms or whatever to go to school ...

A So even the fact - in the early morning. I mean my friend is like younger than me.

? Ja.

A And I must [...] also, because he leaves for work at eight o'clock. The maid only comes to work at eight o'clock. He doesn't allow [...] which is [...] eight o'clock [...].

[Babble].

R So does he help? Because you [...].

A He does help. It's just the two of us now. So we clean up once a week.

[Babble].

? I mean I tidy up at [night]. We don't really need a maid.

C You see Elaine with the business while he says maids steal It's like a generalization. You don't just say because there's lots of maids who never steal. Never steal.

[Babble].

F Right. That was number six, hey?

R Right.

F Ja. Number seven is what?

[Babble].

What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to Billy? Do you know anyone like Kobie? Does her smoking worry you or upset you?

F What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to Billy? Do you know anyone like Kobie? Does her smoking worry you or upset you?

B Oh. That cigarette that ...

[Babble].

B Smoking noon and night. That cigarette! You know.

E Her hair is always so untidy.

[Babble].

B And she always tries to bring Billy down. Never mind what he tried to say or do. She always thought that she knew better and ...

R So what does somebody else think? What do you think?

D But she was right in always correcting Billy. He was always trying to compete with this other guy. She was right. He only wants to be the President [...] because ...

? She's right.

E I didn't like her smoking. But that's just my own personal thing about smoking. But I actually liked Kobie and there's a lot of things she said to her husband. I'd love to say to mine!

[Mirth].

E I actually think that it takes a lot sometimes for people to say what they think about their spouse without upsetting them or hurting their feelings ...

? Because they're very touchy. [...].

F You say something, not really meaning to hurt them. But it's just like you feel now I can get it off my chest but I must try and put it in a nice manner, so that he doesn't think - Oh! ... And as soon as you say it, you can actually see their reaction immediately - Oh-oh. I've said the wrong thing.

B You've got to use tact.

F Ja.

[Babble].

F I must make right here where I made wrong. But you know well. Too bad - you know.

? Ja.

R That was number seven.

F Right. And then?

R Does anybody else like Kobie, by the way? Is there anyone else who agrees with the lady over here?

F Elaine.

Do you think the things that happened on the show could ever really happen to anyone you know?

F Do you think the things that happened on the show could ever really happen to anyone you know?

R That's for the first show - *The Maid from Hell*.

F Ja.

? Which show was that?

R That was the first one [...]. The Maid show.

[Babble].

D In fact I don't think there's anyone that would listen to what she's [...].

R Alright, well then, maybe, maybe not the actual maid, but there were other little things tucked in there, you know, it wasn't just the maid. There were other things that you could think back on.

F Sometimes people are an gullible. If I go to [...] I say to Norma - 'hey, you know Elaine and blah, blah, blah'. She may listen to me the first time and second time. Third time she thinks - 'no man, but there's something strange - why is it always something wrong with Elaine?' and [...] you know. So if you're somebody who's gullible you won't [...] instead of thinking for yourself. [...] know she could call me.

E The other thing is I think if it's our neighbourhood we are so much closer. And it would be very difficult for something like that to happen here because we always talking to each other. Communicating over the fence or come to each other, and we wouldn't hear. But then we also don't have that competition. Which is ...

R Why is there that competition? Why is this brought up in this episode all the time? What do you think?

D I think it's because both husbands work for the same company. So their wives are [competitive] and then they must perhaps give them the same money or husbands are getting the same money. So that if that one can have, I can have too.

[Babble].

E Where all the years we'd always feel that to be the ideal family we've got to be like how that family was. Which we don't want to deal with, it was a racial thing, where what was her name? - Thando, came from Soweto and she wanted to fit in with this neighbourhood and she wanted everything her neighbours had.

F She thought her neighbours had.

? Um.

R I think that's ...

B And she wanted to be a cut above them too.

R Ja! There you go! OK.

F OK. Now this is the *Campaign Trail*? Is that ...

R Ja, the next one.

What did you think of the way Ike treated Thando? Would you be upset if your partner treated you like this?

F Ja. What did you think of the way Ike treated Thando? Would you be upset if your partner treated you like this?

D Oh definitely.

[Babble].

C She wasn't running in the first place. But, I mean she was nominated so she felt that ...

[Babble].

B Ike felt threatened. Because his wife was quite popular and he was not looking - he didn't get many ...

[Babble].

B ... and she was quite popular and I like what she stood for.

C She was just an actress, you know.

B Yes. Look at her thoughts, you know [...].

E And the ideas she had was not actually bad. It was only when it changes [...].

? Crime against crime.

B And then he said he'd go for. I think it was business, yes.

[Babble].

B And she didn't want that because she wants to livetop class. And she wanted that the racial harmony. You know where people can mix and [...].

B I thought that was good. It fits in with today.

R OK.

How did you feel when Thando gave her speech to run for President of the Residents Association? Would you have voted for her if you had been at that meeting? Who else would you have voted for?

F How did you feel when Thando gave her speech to run for President of the Residents Association?

Would you have voted for her if you had been at that meeting? Or who else would you have voted for?

B Actually, nobody else, because nobody else gave ...

F A campaign speech.

? Ja.

? Nobody else gave that.

R Move on.

How do you feel about the things those people standing for election said they wanted to fix - family values, RDP, racial harmony? Do you have any of these things happening in your community?

F How do you feel about the things those people standing for election said they wanted to fix - family values, RDP, racial harmony? Do you have any of these things happening in your community?

? No. Nothing.

B Ja. And I thought that that workshop was marvellous. It prepared us, long before the elections. We had various speakers from Natal University, Law Society [...] and even from the Health Department and ...

[Babble].

E ... when they do the careers, we've got a developmental section. And a forum, a development forum, and they look at various issues like finding employment for the youngsters, helping them with their careers. We've got a group of people besides the ratepayers that are also on the Health Committee and they're trying to get the Clinic off the ground. They accessed funding from the RDP [...]. Then we've got the other group that is Environment Friendly. They actually working trying to get them to lower the pollution levels here ...

[Babble].

B ... educated in this field. And I think that they bring other races, you know, to get the message across. It's marvellous. Like even when we had Open Day here at Merebank we had the Doctor Somebody from Engen and so on. And it was educational for the children and the parents.

[Babble].

B ... very very good points for seminars and talks.

E They also trying to get containers to start [...] for offices.

[Babble].

F You pay five cents, five or fifty cents a square metre or whatever a square metre. And you pay an agent fifty rand a month for those containers. And if ... like with the children's career - if they interested in a certain thing they - two weeks ...

[Babble].

B It's also educational for us parents [...]. Because they just [...] education [...].

What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to her husband Billy, her father, Hempies and her daughter Frankie? Would you introduce her to any of your friends or your family? What do you think of her clothes and the way she furnishes her house?

F Oh. What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to her husband Billy, her father, Hempies and her daughter Frankie? Would you introduce her to any of your friends or your family? What do you think of her clothes and the way she furnishes her house?

B I think she's an embarrassment.

End of Tape

C [At] my daughter's twenty first [...].

R Did your daughter's - did your daughter-in-law's mother ... you ... sorry, I missed that.

C No - it was my daughter's twenty first and this girl from Riebler Park and she ...

R A friend of hers?

C [she objected to] her daughter's to come here to Wentworth.

R Oh.

B Yes. There's a stigma attached to Wentworth. They put you under a microscope to just now see how you are going to behave.

R Are you talking about other people in the Coloured Community?

? Yes!, yes!

R So this is happening in the Coloured community?

[Mirth.].

? Yes. And you know when you ...

R ... so there's class distinction among Coloured ...

? Yes [...].

R That's so interesting. I never ...

[Babble].

B And you know they got the cheek to say 'Oh, I didn't know there were such nice people from Wentworth'. Or that we were clean.

[Mirth.].

B When my daughters were chosen for Natal hockey, I'll never forget [...] only chose Sydenham [...] Park people. But the Wentworth - up until today - they outstanding in sport. And you know what, they come and they say now. OK now your name and address and your school and they say Wentworth? Five or six in that eleven a side is chosen from Wentworth. We got star runners, star players, they stars in anything.

F What's the next one?

R Now we're going on to *Comic Relief*, and we can kind of scoot through that you know if like it ... Ja, we'll just see what you think are a couple of important questions in ...

F That's number six. How do you feel as a woman ...

R OK.

F [How] you should try to deal with the changes in South African society today?

R That's a good one. Ja. That's a good one.

F All these others are ...

R We've kind of gone through excepting the gambling one. I'd like you to talk about that.

[Babble].

Do you feel the way Thando shops is worse than Kobie's secret gambling? Do you know any women who shop a lot or gamble?

F Do you feel the way Thando shops is worse than Kobie's secret gambling? Do you know any women who shop a lot or gamble?

B We love a flutter! We love a flutter. But we don't make it a habit. Once in a while.

C Well, I go once a month.

R Alright.

[Mirth.].

[Babble].

C That's why I don't have a maid - at least I got pocket money.

[Babble].

B Well you all know that I been pickling, [...] and I am [...].

[Babble].

E I love gambling, and if I didn't have such a control I'd lose all my wages every time. But because I know it's a risk, we only go when we got extra money and it's an outing for my husband and I, because we both like gambling. The spending that Thando does ...

B Is going overboard.

A I won't like it, because even up until today, we go and do groceries, right? Make a list. Make a list.

F I make a list, but I won't bluff you, most of the time that gets on the list must be bought, just the rice, the oil, the sugar, sugar beans. What else?

E Cabbages [...] the usual.

[Babble].

B Main essentials.

F The main essentials, but the luxuries - Christmas is alright for the luxuries. And maybe Easter.

? But [...].

R So you're not a shopper and you're not a gambler?

? No.

[Babble].

B I wouldn't gamble house money. I gamble on something that I've made extra, or gifts that my children give me. My daughter would say 'Ma's going to the Wild Coast' or Ma was going to Sun City, then our children would all club up and they'll give me spending money, and that's not every time. Twice a year.

[Babble].

E I also take a walk. I don't just ...

F ... don't just go straight to the machines. I mean ...

? Ja. ja.

E But believe me, you needn't have to be a secretive gambler. It's because of maybe the husband putting all those pressures on her that she shouldn't gamble.

R Well, there's another episode before that where she was really getting into deep water about her gambling. And she promised she'd never gamble again. Because she took money out of the business to do that and they [nearly got into trouble.]

[Babble].

Which person makes you laugh the most? Would you introduce them to your husband/partner, mother, mother-in-law, children, sister/brother?

F Which person makes you laugh the most?

R OK.

[Babble].

A That old lady ...

[Babble].

E The old lady's fantastic. She's natural.

? Yes. yes. yes.

E You know.

? Yes.

F You can actually see when she ... like I said ... in the beginning ... some people in this particular show that we've seen, they seem to know that the camera's focused on them. You know. So they actually not taken part on the scripts, they are taking part for the camera to be [...]. Ja.

[Babble].

How do you feel as a woman you should try to deal with the changes in South African society today?

R And then there's just one other. The one about how you feel as a woman you should try and deal with the changes in South African society. Can you give me an input?

? Um.

R What's happening in society today?

F No I just want my [family] put me there behind the cabinet.

[Mirth.].

[Babble].

Could you see yourself in any of the women characters?

R But then the final one. Can you see yourself as a little bit of those characters. You know we had all the four women characters. Can you see yourself, any of yourself in any of those characters.

R Whether it's Kobie or it's Thando or it's ...

C I would sooner like to be like the old lady.

R So you can see yourself as being witty and making people laugh?

C Ja.

E I think so.

B And she also was a very wise person.

C Yes. yes.

B In also in her instilling fat way she got a very wise message across.

C That I'm very shy and nervous and all that. I'd like to be able to speak out like she does. Tell my mother-in-law off you know.

[Mirth.].

[Babble].

F ... I mean you can take no to a certain extent. Eventually you feel you want to explode. And maybe if you explode they'll understand you. You know. Look at me with my mother-in-law. She was wonderful - but we had one argument in thirteen years - at the beginning of the marriage - and that was not because she said anything nasty to me or about me, because she was rude to John, her own son. And I didn't like it. so that what we told each other that. She was so shocked she couldn't believe what she ... she was keep talking to me ... I don't believe that [...] you know? But it's just because that I spoke about ... yes ... Because it's something that I didn't like ...

*****End of Tape*****

SUBURBAN BLISS

Elizabeth Group

April 8th 1996

Episodes:

- a. Maid from Hell
- b. Campaign Trail
- c. Comic Relief

Nine Participants:-

- A = Elizabeth Mncadi (Facilitator)
 B = Fikile [**].
 C = Thembile [**].
 D = Sannikelsiwe [**].
 E = Lindiwe [**].
 F = Maureen [**].
 G = Winnie [**].
 H = Esther [**].
 I = Nonhlanhla [**].

R = Dorothy Roome (Researcher)

- A I'm Elizabeth Mncadi. I'm a mother of six children. I'm working in St Mary's Hospital as a Sister. At the same time I'm a student of Advanced Diploma in Midwifery and Neo-natal Nursing Science and involved in a lot of research. and in Community development.
- R Thank you. OK. Next. OK.
- B I'm Fikile [**]. I have got three children. I'm a teacher at [**] School.
- R That's it? OK. Next.
- C I am Thembile [**]. I've got only one son. I am a teacher at [**] Primary School. I'm also doing a library [diploma] at [**] College.
- R That's it? It's Ok. Thank you. The lady next to you over there.
- D I'm Sannikelsiwe [**]. I got three kids. I'm working for [**] as a cashier.
- R As a teacher?
- D Cashier.
- R As a cashier. OK. Thank you. Next.
- E I'm Lindiwe [**]. I have six children. I teach at [**].
- R What are you teaching? There?
- E English - grade 1
- R Teach grade 1. OK. The next lady with the glasses.
- F I'm Maureen [**]. And I have five children. And I'm teaching at [**].
- R OK. A lot of teachers here today. Next one.
- G Winnie [**]. Mother of four children. two boys, two girls. I'm married to Mr James [**], he's working for Smith & Nephew. I'm teaching at [**].
- H I'm Esther [**]. I have four daughters. I teach at [**] School.
- R What? Is that a primary?
- H Is a primary school.
- R Primary school
- H I teach grade one
- I I'm Nonhlanhla [**]. I'm the mother of seven children. I'm a housewife.
- R Do you work in the home? Are you married? I think you have the husband.
- I Yes. I have a husband who works for Baker's Biscuits.
- R OK. Good. Now if we can start the questions.
- There are four men in the show - Billy Dwyer, Ike Moloji, Andrew Moloji and Hempies. Which of these men do you like or dislike the most? What appeals to you about them?*
- A We have some questions here on, um. on what we have seen today on the television. About *The Maid from Hell*. What we looking at is *The Maid from Hell*.
- R It was the first one.
- A The first one - There are four men in the show - Billy Dwyer. Ike Moloji. Andrew Moloji and Hempies. Which of these men do you like or dislike the most? What appeals to you about them? These men - four men. which one do you dislike the most?
- B Who are they again?
- A Ike Moloji.

- R That's the black guy.
- A The black guy. Andrew Molo.
- R That's the young brother.
- A Young brother. And Hempies.
- R The old *boer*.
- A That's the old *boer*. And Billy Dwyer.
- R Billy Dwyer's the white guy.
- B The husband.
- ? Is he a son to the old man?
- R No. He's the son-in-law. The daughter with the cigarette. She's the daughter of the old *boer*, and she's married to Billy Dwyer, who owns the company called *Handmade*. But the black guy is a shareholder in the company. That's another episode. I couldn't show you all those others, just the one with a lot of women involved. OK. So which one do you like or dislike. It doesn't matter - its just which one struck ... if you leave here today and you're thinking about what you saw, which one's going to stay in your head about ... the men - just the men.
- C The old man.
- R Hempies.
- C Yes.
- R You disliked him
- C Yes.
- R Good. Talk. Talk.
- C He doesn't like black people.
- R OK.
- C He's always fighting with - who's the son?
- R The son?
- C Ja. Which one.
- ? Ike's boy.
- ? Yes.
- R Uh huh. That's that. Anybody else? Anybody who likes Hempies?
- ? The old man?
- R No? OK.
- I [...]. Started [...]. I feel that he was expressing what he had in his heart. That's why he seemed to be more of a perpetrator. Though the other three were the same. I think they all the same. Because they have the same problem of hatred. But the other ones seem to brush it off, and he can't keep it within, he shows it out. That is why it seemed very bad for him. Because as you followed the program they seem to have the same trouble. There are four of them. They say they have the same problem of disliking one another. Because I wouldn't say that they were taking up their - as the old man was expressing himself. They also had something [...].
- R Comment? Anybody else on that question? Do you want to contribute anything on it?
- A You know, I really didn't dislike him. He's honest. He calls a spade a spade. He doesn't hide behind a bush
- R Yes. It's interesting you say that. I've heard that from other black groups ...
- A Yes.
- R ... that I've spoken to.
- A [...] making as if you like a person when you don't like that person. He's not compromising, he's telling you straight out. You know, that is how our culture is. You just tell it out. Yes.
- R Interesting this. Any comment on that? Elizabeth now stirred the pot, to put the salt in, but she stirred the pot. Anybody want to comment on what she said.
- A I can't remember when I found the the ...
- R Well never mind, we'll carry on. Let's go on to the next question. Because there are lots more questions, and as we get into it, you'll start to feel more comfortable talking about it.
- Thando wants to have a maid - why is she so keen? Do you think it is a good idea for her to have a maid?*
- A Thando wants to have a maid - why is she, why is she so keen? Do you think it is a good idea for her

- to have a maid? Thando. Do you remember that girl?
- [Babble].
- H On my side I don't I don't regard that she was correct to have a maid. I think she was just trying to imitate the white ladies, because they usually have maids. That's my opinion.
- G I don't think she's the type to [...]. In fact if you are staying with your mother-in-law, at times it's not easy to get help with everything for you. At times it's good that you have somebody to help you. Because, maybe she may not tell you that she doesn't know. Because I don't trust ...
- R You don't trust your in-laws?
- G No. Not that I don't trust the in-laws. It's not easy to see when is she or ...
- R Oh. I see.
- G And ...
- R OK.
- G So if you keep on giving her a lot of work to do, then she's not happy to do that. Now afterwards she will go around telling people that you are lazy. She's doing everything for you, maybe she's committed to work.
- R Uhuh. Ja!
- H ... I am going to disagree. Tha.. ? What is her name?
- R Thando. The black woman.
- H Thando doesn't work.
- R OK.
- H She just goes to buy dresses and everything. She's not working.
- R Uhuh.
- H She just wants to show off. That she can afford a maid.
- R Uhuh.
- H Because now she lives in a Suburb.
- R OK.
- H That is all. Not that she needs a maid.
- R OK.
- H Then she thinks she'll turn white, because she has somebody calling her 'madam'. Yes.
- R OK.
- H Yes.
- R OK.
- H This is not accepted in our culture.
- R It's not accepted.
- H Yes.
- R OK. What? The being white or having a maid?
- H She didn't have the need to have a maid in the first place. Because she doesn't go to work. Secondly is not right for her to be called a 'madam'.
- R OK. Why is it not right?
- H I don't know how to put it.
- R Well, say it in Zulu.
- A No. 'Madams' refer to whites and browns.
- H No. They are more or less the same age. She and the maid. So she cannot call her 'madam'. Rather should call her *sisi*.
- R *Sisi*?
- A Yes.
- R *Sisi*.
- A .. rather than a 'madam'.
- R Yes. *Sisi*.
- A That refers to something else. If you ...
- R And is still respectful? *Sisi*?. Is respectful?
- ? Yes.
- H All according to age.
- R OK.
- I I would like to know ...

- R Yes?
- I I would like to know who said that Thando wanted to be called as a 'madam'? Did she tell the maid that she wanted to be called ...
- R Oh. Because ...
- [Babble].
- R The woman called the 'madam' ... you see ... she liked that. She was so happy to be called ...
- F But even before that. Her mother-in-law is aware that she's lazy. She's just lazy. If they are lazy, they have to get a maid.
- ? It's not an excuse.
- I I can't agree with the mother-in-law about saying she's a long day shopping or something.
- H But does that mean she needs a maid?
- I Her mother. Yes.
- [Babble].
- I Because her mother is always teasing her [about] being lazy.
- ? Yes.
- I So she must get somebody who is going to fulfill the needs of her mother-in-law.
- H But does it make life better ...
- I Yes.
- H ... when she has the maid?
- I Because if mother-in-law wants tea, she'll just tell the maid to bring tea.
- H Is life better now for Thando?
- [Babble].
- I In the old days they used to have slaves, you know. In your house you used to have a poor person. Maybe your neighbour, who would come in and help and you know - *ukusinda*. Because you used to use the cow dung on the floor. To have somebody to go to the fields to help. And when you reap, she will go back after you have been reaping with her. Then she will have to go back again on her own, going, you know, to pick up what was left while you were reaping. Then she will take that home. It has always been there ...
- H Those are two different situations.
- G You cannot associate with the past. Yes. Because in the past we did not pay their maid. Today we are very careful on how to use our money. But to show that she was a [...]. No no no.
- [Babble].
- H They were helpers. They were not maids. They were helpers.
- G You didn't have money before.
- H Yes.
- I They didn't have fields.
- H No. She was helping you. Not being your maid. You went to the fields with her.
- I I think this issue is critical. You can't discuss about it. Because I'm a housewife. I've been a housewife since 1978 when I stopped working. And I've been washing, ironing, doing gardening and cooking - everything.
- H This one doesn't got a child.
- I After a while I discovered that I was unable to do my ironing. So I got somebody in to do my ironing.
- H Is she your maid or helper?
- I She was my maid, because I'm paying her.
- H These are two different situations ...
- I If I like I can say she is a maid.
- H ... helper. No, it's not ...
- [Babble].
- I ... the worker when she's coming of older. Not when she was young. No, it was a stress. It was a stress all along. No, it wasn't easy.
- [Babble].
- I I have so many children to wash for. And my husband's so ... He want something very clean. If there's a spot on his shirt you have to take that shirt back to the washing. And you've got to cook, you've got to clean the house, you've got to clean

the garden. Being a woman . Otherwise I would have hired a person, a man with those hands.

[Babble].

I I would have hired a top man or a top boy to clean the weeds of the garden like everybody does, but because I like it. It's not everybody that likes to work in the garden. Like I always had questions from people - people passing by. 'Oooh, did you used to work in the gardens - European gardens before?' I always say yes. I'm doing too much. I'm doing it very well for a woman. You see, a man should do it better than a woman.

A You know Thando is quite a sophisticated lady to be a *makoti* according to our culture. Go up, sit down and begin to make ourselves glamorous and polishing our nails. I think that's too sweet for her to be a *makoti*.

[Babble].

R What's a *makoti*?

A A *makoti* is married woman ...

B A newly married into the family.

[Babble].

A A *makoti* is supposed to be a daughter-in-law.

I Yes ... you must understand that Mrs Dot.

R No. I'm not Mrs Dot.

[Babble].

I Now you must understand that a *makoti* is pronounced more especially by a mother-in-law, father-in-law, sisters and brothers-in-law, to a newly married girl, to them ... not.

R OK.

I ... until those people vanish from her face, that word will never vanish. Even if she's seventy two she will always be a *makoti*. Always. It's not for somebody new.

R OK. OK. Alright shall we carry on?

A Yes.

R OK. Let's do that. Thank you. That was wonderful. You girls are just spot on. That was good. Great stuff. What's in your heart you see.

Speak. That's what I want to hear!

There are two different kitchens in Suburban Bliss, which do you prefer and why?

A There are two different kitchens in Suburban Bliss, do you prefer ... which do you prefer and why?

R Remember the two kitchens? The one where the white family all sat down and the other one where the black family sat down. And you actually ...

A Did you see their kitchen?

R Yes. You did, you did. You actually saw it. Maybe it's in the next episode when you actually saw it - where he's reading the paper and she comes ... You remember. They don't have a table, they have like a kitchen bar. With the high stools.

? OK. Ja.

R Right. Let's hear which do you prefer and why.

H I prefer the white.

R You prefer the white one?

H Yes. Not because they are white.

R No. I hear what you say. Just to differentiate. OK.

H Because if you spend quality time together as a family, then it contributes a lot to ... I mean ... you communicate better.

R OK.

H Because usually breakfast is the ... you wake up - you have been sleeping - you tell each other what you have been dreaming and all those ...

R Really?

H ... and what you are going to do for the rest of the day. That's why I say I prefer theirs to the ...

R Other one.

H Yes.

R When you are kind of just on the go ...

[Babble].

F ...you want a roomy kitchen.

H No no. It could be as small as a toilet. As long as you spend quality time together. When you share things ...

R Anyone else want to comment on that? OK. Move on. That didn't strike any buttons. Move on.

Would you have employed Dalia as a maid? Do you know anyone like her?

A Would you have employed Dalia as a maid? Do you know anyone like her?

B Who is Dalia?

A The one ... that lady was ... quite a ... um ... you know ... a liar.

B I don't like that lady.

R Why?

B She made these two madams (mixed up).

R So you wouldn't employ her?

B No, I wouldn't.

[Babble].

G You asking for trouble. You would ignore her when she is asking for a job. You soon discover she has a problem when she tells you about the other maid.

[Babble].

G ... someone who is not good.

I Well she's not rich, and yet she's like that.

H I'd like to up and ...

B What I think, it's not good to work for two peoples at a time.

C There's nothing wrong with it. As long as it's honest. There's nothing wrong. You ...

[Babble].

H You can work for a witchdoctor, you can work for a nurse, for a teacher, for a *tsotsi* [gangster] whatever. It's none of your business what happens in that house. Just do your work, get paid and go.

B If you are not fair [...]. Because now she is talking with the other one ...

[Babble].

H Because we don't mind our business. That is why it ended up that way. Usually not ... Not to say I spied that but in reality you mind other people's business. All the time. Instead of concentrating ...

G But to my opinion this woman had .. had something in her mind. She wanted everything to end like that. Because at the end the *tsotsis* got her to both houses - and got everything there.

R So she had her own plan.

G She had her own plan. Because at the time she was talking there was a raise of salary.

[Babble].

H I would like to criticize the writer of *Suburban Bliss* on her part.

R Oh! That's interesting. Let's hear about that.

H That writer means we blacks steal all the time.

[Babble].

R You think the writers say that?

H Ja. That is a different meaning. It means usually maids steal from their madams.

R But now the black woman said about it also. You remember? Mama Moloji. She also said. Yeah.

H No no. That one didn't want a maid in the house.

R Yes.

H But the writer. When [...]. You get the conclusion.

R Oh. You mean the concept ...

H There is that trust now ...

R Oh. That's interesting. OK.

H There is the trust now.

R It's a stereotype.

H Yes. Involving the two houses.

- R So you say its like a stereotype ...
- H Yes.
- R ... blacks steal.
- H Yes.
- R Black women steal.
- H Yes.
- R OK. I would agree with you there. I think it's a very negative connotation.
- H And I would like to go back to the kitchen too.
- R Ja.
- H ... and why I say I prefer to spend the time with our kids. Our kids are like they are today, because we don't have time for them. None of us can just say they spent an hour chatting with them - about anything. Yet we don't know where they are.
- ***End of video tape*****
- H [...] no being abused is not culture. It never is. No why [...].
- [Babble].
- H As we say, it is an accepted thing. I don't **accept** it.
- I Let me tell you one thing. At night. You **have been** working all day. You have been **changing** the furniture. The whole house. Washing and ironing, trying to put the curtains on, because you can't sleep without curtains on the wall. And you go to bed and your man is already in bed. As soon as you get in bed he starts touching you. And you know that you are so exhausted. You never say no.
- [Babble].
- H Those are the type of thing we should come together and discuss. Why allow yourself to get used to such things - we should stop these things. It's not my favourite thing ...
- [Babble].
- F So when your husband chases away your parent ... his parents Huh? When you come to ...
- [Babble].
- H I don't have to live with my in-laws, I didn't marry them. I married my husband. Not them. I don't live with them.
- [Babble].
- H I respect them, but I don't expect abuse from them.
- [Babble].
- H Why do you say it's an accepted thing to stay with the in-laws?
- ? No. It was our culture that we stay with our in-laws.
- [Babble].
- H We can't stick to the extended family now. Now in the modern times we got to change
- ? Yes.
- H There should be no resistance to change. If you don't change you are frustrating yourself. And the women are the sufferers. We always just ...
- [Babble].
- H Because they don't speak up. They will always suffer because they don't speak up.
- A Yes.
- H They say 'it's wrong. He's a man'.
- [Babble].
- B ... do whatever you like to do. They say that man ...
- H That is none of their business if I do. That is none of their business.
- B Your husband is supposed to hit you even if you not like to do washing. **Once you ...?**
- [Babble].
- H Is that a normal situation? That I should be hit every day?
- [Babble].
- B We are talking about the facts here. We are not talking about what we like.
- [Babble].
- G May I tell you about what I've seen and experienced

in my family. About my mother and my granny who ... My mother is a daughter-in-law to my granny. They [...]. I cannot explain how ... I got to tell you when it was thundering storm. my mother used to sleep with my granny - her mother-in-law - in one bed under one blanket and sheets. This is

something nobody can think the way they were in love.

H They were not in love. They respected each other!

G My granny ...

H Your granny didn't abuse your mother.

G Didn't.

H That is why they were close.

G They were very close.

H Yes. Because she respected her as a *makoti*. She didn't have a daughter.

[Babble].

H When you get married. they say you are a daughter. Once you are inside you are not. You have to wear a *doek* [head scarf] and wear a hat. What about my head?

H I'm her daughter. What changes?. I'm her daughter.

[Babble].

F Thando shouldn't have a maid because the culture doesn't allow it.

[Babble].

H ... I just said for her there was no need to have a maid. Because she didn't go to work.

? Yes.

A In our ethnic mix we adopt other cultures. and we integrate them with our own cultures.

[Babble].

H Mothers-in-law should respect their *makotis* as they do to their own daughters. I shouldn't be treated differently. Just because I'm from another family. That is all we ask for. Not that we don't want to be *makotis*. Then we'll respect them ... that if they do as well ... that's what happened to my family.

[Babble].

What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to Billy? Do you know anyone like Kobie? Does her smoking worry or upset you?

A Does her smoking worry or upset you?

[Babble].

B [...] it's their culture to smoke. For a woman to smoke ...

[Babble].

B No, it's not good because smoking spoils the lungs.

R Do you know any black women who smoke?

? Yes. Now. Many.

H But I always say mind your own business. What I do in my house. as long as it doesn't hurt you - mind your own business. I do what I like in my house. If it doesn't hurt you. it's none of your business.

A And its not just not smoking ...

[Babble].

B What. what you be doing in your premises ...

H Whatever. If you see me smoking in my yard. It's none of your business. I do what I like.

? Selling drugs?

H Selling drugs is another issue. I'm speaking about habits now.

[Babble].

H I'm speaking about habits. If I ~~drink~~ it's my own business. If I smoke it's my own business. As long as it doesn't affect you. As a person.

[Babble].

H Two different issues. Now. if I am smoking is not somebody's business.

G Black ladies are not used to that.

[Babble].

G When I am smoking why do you worry me?

F My own daughter.

A If I say don't do that, she'll say 'but or neighbour is smoking'. Yes.

I There's one mistake that we do. Take your kids - and put them here. My kids - I don't like smoking in the house. But they ask me why. Aren't you ...

[Babble].

? If you want to smoke get a flat like the whites do

I No, it's not another family. You are speaking to your own kids. I don't like smoking in this house. If you want to smoke get a flat like the whites do, and then do whatever you want to do. We bring problems to ourselves because we want to keep our kids until they are forty years old. We don't release them. We don't release them because we want to keep on making rules for them even when they are old enough. In all years, ... I wonder how old you were when you got married. Maybe you're only eighteen - but they keep on ... because they want to make rules for us. That is why we have problems now. Those people are giving us problems - are people who married sixteen and upwards - she was fifteen when she got married.

[Babble].

I In this programme there is *Sotho*. There is a *Xhosa* woman. There is a *Zulu*. There is a [...]. All living in one suburb. Now I want to do my part. She wants to do hers. She wants to do hers. She wants to do her husband's, you know, everybody's building their own culture now. I used to live in Table Mountain, where my home is. And there were laws there I had to abide by. Now I come to Kwandengezi, oooh I'm so free - I can do what I like. I'm going to take the *doek* off. There's no mother-in-law here. Why should you wear *doeks* [scarves]? I'm going to argue with you. Why shouldn't you wear *doeks*? Why shouldn't you wear lipstick? Why shouldn't you smoke? Because I'm just living here, not with my in-laws. I only visit them. I can do what I please ...

H Before you go on. Who is more important? Yourself or your in-laws? Who is more important?

I As I can see it, the way blacks are brought up. They are brought up by laws.

H By laws?

I Definitions. Yes.

H So I [...] this one.

I I'm concerned in ...

H So you should speak to them.

I You know, even now, I'm sticking ...

H No no no. Not you as a person. You mean we should speak to them.

I I think - yes.

H Even if you don't like them?

? Who can ...

[Babble].

B I don't like my mother my own mother telling me what to do ...

[Babble].

I Like *zombie makulu* You seem to be a *zombie* or somebody else, because [...] you see. I'm not having cuts. I'm the *ingwalu*. You have got cuts. I can't do your tribal [things]. See. But now when you are together, I want you to change your styles because I'm having second style. I think everybody should do as they feel. You see. But there's something very cultural about women. Women are going to - where's that place? - Beijing ...

H Beijing.

I Beijing. They want freedom. But they don't know what is their freedom really.

H We do, we do.

I We ask them what we want. Like men, they want to be ...

[Babble].

H I don't want to be a man! Just want to be me. Not ...

[Babble].

I Yes. They want to go. They're not as strong ...

H Who said men are strong? Who said men are strong?

I They are always folding or fussing about this freedom.

[Babble].

I Women must go for same salaries ...

R The *Campaign Trail*.

[Babble].

H Oh. You want this one.

? Yes.

R You like that one?

H Because I like you want to get the same salary as the men. The law which says men are superior.

I You are doing the same job as the men does. We are not out in the fields now anymore - while the men is living in *Jo 'burg*

? OK.

? There is even a secretary, a woman secretary in the mines in *Jo 'burg*.

? OK.

? Then in the Banks, a teller. she is doing everything ...

[Babble].

H I like that one.

I Yes. That Beijing issue is causing a lot of chaos.

H Like what?

I Because women mostly don't know what they want.

H I do! But I know what I want.

[Babble].

H I didn't go to Beijing, but I know what I want.

[Babble].

I ... if you go in taxis you'll just hear what women are saying. They always say "*Siyalinfana manje!!! Sephelile isikhatini subandlululo*". [We are equal. time for discrimination is over.] Which is wrong.

[Babble].

H Who said men are superior to us?

[Babble].

R OK. Let's go to the next one. OK.

[Babble].

Do you think the things that happened on the show could ever really happen to anyone you know?

A Do you think the things that happened on the show could ever really happen to anyone you know?

R Let's go to the next one. Hold on?

H Let me just [...] before you go on ...

[Babble].

R I was married in 1955. So even for me things are very different. But my husband was bathing my babies - I was too frightened to bath my babies.

H Did he stop being a man? Did he stop being a man?

R No.

[Babble].

R Tonight when I get home, he will have cooked the dinner.

[Babble].

H Then we don't want our husbands to cook. What are you saying?

I I didn't say they mustn't cook. They mustn't do napkins. Because when he washes napkins. he will have to get outside and hang napkins. That's not our culture.

[Babble].

R Alright ladies. I could be here 'till ten o'clock. We have to finish. I'm sorry. We've got to do it again. You are wonderful all of you. But let's carry on with the next one. Not this ... this argument is not finished. But we must try and finish what we watched, OK? Let's go to the *Campaign Trail* and let's kind of skip through these.

[Babble].

What did you think of the way Ike treated Thando? Would you be upset if your partner treated you like this?

A What did you think of the way Ike treated Thando? Would you be upset if your partner treated you like this?

R You know he's reading the paper.

H Oh, when they are campaigning?

R Oh no! Before that.

H When he said 'keep quiet'.

R Yes. Yes.

[Babble].

H That is exactly what our mother has been doing all along. They have been doing it and they are still saying we should accept that treatment. We are not going to accept that kind of treatment. If I go out and ... and come back, it's none of his business. As long as I come back here. And cook for him as they expect me to do.

R Yes. I think we've talked about ... go to the next one.

How did you feel when Thando gave her speech to run for President of the Residents Association? Would you have voted for her had you been at the meeting? Who else would you have voted for?

A How did you feel when Thando gave her speech to run for President of the Residents Association? Would you have voted for her had you been at the meeting? Who else would you have voted for?

I I would have voted for her. Because, what she said was progressive or productive.

[Babble].

R OK.

A Question three.

How do you feel about the things those people standing for election said they wanted to fix - family values, RDP, Racial Harmony? Do you have any of these things happening in your community?

A How do you feel about the things those people standing for election said they wanted to fix - family values, RDP, Racial Harmony? Do you have any of these things happening in your community?

? No.

R No RDP?

? No.

R No, people talking, mixing, teaching you stuff about what's going on.

? No.

R OK. You don't have. OK. Let's go to the next one

What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to her husband Billy, her father, Hempies and her daughter Frankie? Would you introduce her to any of your friends or your family? What do you think of her clothes and the way she furnishes her house?

A What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to her husband Billy, her father ...

R ... Hempies.

A Hempies, and her daughter Frankie? Would you introduce her to any of your family? What do you think of her clothes and the way she furnishes her house?

R This is Kobie, the white woman now, OK. The way she speaks to her husband.

A The way she speaks to her husband Billy, her father, Hempies and her daughter Frankie?

B I would just like to applaud whites a bit when it comes to a man and a woman. The white men give their female partners ... they are superior to their men than we are. We accept being door mats. White women don't accept being door mats. That's why we differ.

I We are paid for. White ladies don't get paid for.

H [...] paid by who? Paid by who?

R What you mean *lobola* [bride price]?

? Yes.

R *Lobola*

? Yes.

R Aaah!

[Mirth.].

H Ooh. That is why we should be domestic.

[Babble].

H Let ... let me just explain why ... why *lobola* was paid in the first place. *Lobola* was paid to merge two families together. Not to buy slaves.

G Not really to buy ...

H Ja. That was not the reason to pay *lobola*. To make relationship ... bringing two families together.

[Babble].

I ... before your parents knew about it.

H Then your parents didn't know anything about your affairs.

I Why didn't you just now move into that man's house and live there?

H Because it's not accepted.

I And why is it not accepted?

H No, it's not accepted - You must know that - you must know.

I You are picking some of these things ...

H No. No. Not picking. You know as much as I do, that it's not an accepted thing.

I ... three legged pot.

H No.

[Mirth.].

H No no no no. I for one. I don't say we should do away with *lobola*. We should keep on paying

lobola. But it must not mean you are buying my daughter as a slave. You are not buying a maid ...

I ... you did when you went to your in-laws?

H Pardon?

I For the first time. I would like to know what you did when you went ...

[Babble].

R I think we'll move on here. I think we'll move on. OK. Number five. Go to number five.

What do you think of the way Thando treats her husband, Ike, and her mother-in-law, Ma Moloji? Would you introduce her to your family? What do you think of the way she dresses and furnishes her house?

A What do you think of the way Thando treats her husband, Ike, and her mother-in-law, Ma Moloji? Would you introduce her to your family? What do you think of the way she dresses and furnishes? We are through with number five.

R Ja. I think so.

A OK. Question six.

How do you feel about the way Mr Limpid behaves when he visits the Molois? Do you know anyone like him?

A How do you feel about the way Mr ...

R ... Limpid - you know, the white guy.

A ... when he visits the Molois? Do you know anyone like him? Mr Limpid. Is that ...?

R That is the one. She calls him [...] she said ...

A Oh yes. She said 'I'm so glad you people'.

[Babble].

R Yes, yes.

? Oh

R What did you think of him as a personality? As a character in the show?

A Well, it's ...

R Do you know people like that?

H Whites are like him.

R There are ...

A There are ...

R Those are the kind of whites you like.

H Ninety nine percent of them are like him.

? They've changed.

H There are only a few now who are now trying to ...

C To adjust ...

H They don't want to adjust themselves. They're pretending to adjust themselves.

[Babble].

H Huh?

I How about blacks?

H Whites are all like that man. Ninety nine percent of them are like him. It is only time that is making them change. Now.

A Of course it will be gradual.

H Ja.

A Maybe one of these people who are taking steps. in step by step - gradual change. Not the radical like that old man! We didn't want to be called kaffirs. they said we are plural.

[Babble].

H [...] names. Just because he didn't want to accept us as people.

G The white man is always good when he's going to gain. Just like a white man who is a rep. when he comes to our school. When they know they are going to gain something.

? Yes.

G They are just good as anything.

A But I think they are just people. They have got differences. characters. Different characters. Just like anybody.

H With other [...].

? But blacks are worse.

[Babble].

I This 'new' South Africa is making people to be so excited. But one day I was looking at the news. maybe, I can't remember whether it was news or what. Where I heard this particular President saying that people are now **are** doing *toyi-toyi*. that I must arrest the *boers* because they done such and such. but I was in prison for twenty something years and they didn't *toyi-toyi* for me. I've been there and I know how it is to be in prison. Nobody else was in prison like I was. But everybody now is pushing me to do laws that are not available. I think this excitement should have a place. I'm not meaning in this **meeting**. I'm just talking in general. People are so **excited**. You know even if you are **walking** in the **sideway** in the streets. You come **across** a white **man** or white woman then you **always** see some black people just going straight - maybe there is s space to go - you know, but you have to share this passages. But you will always **see** a black man always going straight to a white woman - maybe she's carrying a baby - just bashing her hair with his shoulder. And sometimes you'll say - **like** I am very talkative - I'll always say *Mfana wanu Haai!* [My boy! Hey!]. They must know this is the 'new' South Africa. She must move away from me. Can't she see that I'm coming. You know ...

[Babble].

H By 1999 there won't be this.

[Babble].

E And even the *makoti* will be used to us.

[Babble].

[Mirth.].

F ... they are not superior than the men.

? I pity you.

E They don't want to be superior.

[Babble].

R Can we just move on?

[Babble].

R Go to the next one.

What is 'low class'? What does Thando mean when she says anything is 'low class'?

A What is low class?

R What is low class.?

A What does Thando mean when she says anything is 'low class'?

? Is because it was low class.

? Low class.

R What is low class? What, ... what does it mean to you?

H When did she say this?

[Babble].

R I'll remind you. When he says she must go around to get vote for him, to go into people's houses.

A Yes.

R It's like -almost like begging. You know.

? Yes.

? But she's saying that's low class. And now she's trying to make herself ... important.

[Babble].

R So now for you. What would you understand by low class. If somebody .. or maybe in ... in the world that you live in, that's now part of your ... that you even understand what that is. You know what I'm saying. Because every culture is a little bit of different. So that's what I'm trying to understand. How would you understand by low class.

[Babble].

R As opposed to high class. What is high class? What is low class?

[Babble].

H Low class are those who are not ... educated.

[Babble].

I Not educated.

[Babble].

I Who hasn't got a profession.

[Babble].

? An uneducated one.

R Uneducated one.

[Babble].

R What about this?

H Money. Because they have no money.

[Babble].

R Would you call yourself high class?

[Babble].

R I don't understand. Is it education that makes high class? Or is it money?

[Babble].

H It's money - that's the division. It's money.

[Babble].

R All of you here are educated. I mean I've been dealing with a lot of other *Zulu* women from Umlazi. Some of them don't have any education, they really hardly can speak English.

[Babble].

F What ... what I think ... what I think ...

[Babble].

F ... is that, I regret to say those people who are still abiding with these African laws.

? No no no.

H [...] but just a low class [...] to person anything.

R So who has been in the news the last little while, who has all those degrees and money. Anyone whom you could mention in the public, that we hear, who is low class.

H Educated, but still low class.

R Yes?

[Babble].

How would you feel if your child started dating a person of a different race? Do you know anyone who socializes with a member of a different race?

A How would you feel if your child started dating a person of a different race? Do you know anyone who socializes with a member of a different race?

G Many.

A What do you do about the child ...

G They get married.

[Babble].

***** Jump in Video recording *****

Billy is a fanatic house cleaner; how do you feel about a man doing this kind of work? Would any male members of your household clean or cook without being asked to do so?

A Would any members of your household clean or cook without being asked to do so?

? Yes.

? Who's [...].

H Not when [...]. Domestic [...]. We are still door mats.

F Was he cooking lately?

[Babble].

H [Your mothers are] so superior. They never teach your son to cook. So when the wife is in, you won't have any problem.

F [What is] your son like.

H Why don't you want him to cook? When he's married.

F He will cook, but not in that way [...].

[Babble].

*****End of tape*****

[Babble].

A OK. Let's go to the next one.

Do you feel the way Thando shops is worse than Kobie's secret gambling? Do you know any women who shop a lot or gamble?

A Do you feel that the way Thando shops is worse than Kobie's secret gambling? Do you think she ... do you feel ... gambling. Do you know any women who er ... shop or gamble?

R OK. Let me just go back on that. You see you got these two women. You got the black woman who is the big shopper. That's all she does. Her mother-in-law says to her 'that's all you do is to shop shop shop'. She spends her husband's money. She doesn't work - she shops. On the other hand, the white woman, she - you don't know this because you didn't see that episode- she's gambling. And she's not allowed to gamble. Her husband has told her she's not allowed to. Right! So she's gambling. But it's like secret from her husband. She doesn't tell him. She's also smoking a lot - well we discussed the smoking, let's leave the smoking out. But now there are the two women - the one is shopping a lot - her husband has to work very hard to bring the money home so she can spend it.

B She's not working.

R And she's not working. And the other one - she's working with her husband in the business. But she's gambling. Oh! She loves to gamble. So now ... so now do you know women like that. What do you think of this. I mean how do you feel about it.

H One is gambling, the other one shops.

R Ja. Ja it -- really it happens. There are women who are not working who like to shop. But women who are not working, who are working don't really want to shop, because they know how hard it is to ...

[Babble].

B But they love gambling.

A Ja. Which is wrong. It's a waste of money.

? If you are gambling its not a waste of money ...

F You can win maybe after three months.

E Yes.

F You know [...] you don't just go and drop the money ...

[Babble].

I ... doing better going to her shopping and come back with groceries and clothes.

[Babble].

F There are many ways of gambling. You can gamble there are many ways of gambling - get lucky Even if I give you ten rand and say you bring it with twenty rand, it is still gambling.

[Babble].

R So excuse me. I have a question. So you're saying if you just put your money with the Building Society, to get interest - That's gambling? You say that?

[Babble].

R I don't know, I didn't understand what ... what she said. If she gives it to you. She gives you ten rand [...]. interest. She said the word interest.

[Babble].

? That's a *mashonisa*.

R A *mashonisa*?

? *Mashonisa*.

R What is a *mashonisa*?

[Babble].

H In English it says not work.

A It's not acceptable, the interest they are making. Let's say I gave you fifty rand and you bring me back the money to be one hundred ...

[Babble].

A ... fifty rand. Two months - one hundred rand. Three months - two hundred rand. That is not accepted. So it's not accepted in the law [...].

[Indecipherable].

R I would agree with her that that's gambling. I would. Because it can also happen to you that I

never see that money again. Like happened to some of those people.

? They do privately, it's not run by the government.

F The Government knows ...

H They know - they also do it ...

How do you feel as a woman you should try to deal with the changes in South African society today?

A The next one. How do you feel as a woman ... as a woman you should try to deal with the changes in South African society today?

A How do you feel as a woman?

R We've discussed some of those.

[Babble].

Do you think the parents did the right thing to start a court case to stop Frankie's cartoons? What would you have done if Frankie was your daughter?

A Do you think the parents did the right thing to start a court case to stop Frankie's cartoons? What would you have done if Frankie was your daughter?

? I think [...].

[Babble].

R What would you have done if your daughter did that?

[Babble].

I Solve it in the family.

R Solve it in the family? Now ... you ...

H Let's not jump to conclusions. We blacks beat our kids if they do something wrong. You don't go to court [...].

I And Europeans too don't. They also don't go to court.

H Huh? They also don't go to court. But you do.

[Babble].

I ... do go to court when a child does something wrong?

H Do you beat ... Do you beat them?

R When they were small ... yes.

H You speak to them.

R Little bit.

[Babble].

H But you speak to them.

R Ja.

H And even when they do things that are wrong, they know that they do something that is wrong.

R Ja.

H It goes back to that kitchen I told you about.

R Yes.

H If you spend you ... more time with your kids, in that type of situation, you won't find ... the situation ...

G That one we look at, just look at this ... this thing the the problem. *Days of Our Lives*. You can always see that man with daughters. He's always having a grip on his daughters. That's why one of his daughters now is doing away with her boyfriend. That chap that ...

R This is a television programme?

G Yes.

[Babble].

G That is fiction.

[Babble].

I It's the same thing we are talking about. Here. It's also a fiction.

H It's not it's a reality. We do that. They do it. They write off their kids from the will just because they married someone they don't trust ...

R That's true!

H You just hate. And it ends up there. With them.

they don't give them any money. Ja, they write them off.

R Ja, if you misbehave.

H They don't.

R My grandmother did that.

Of the women characters - Kobie, Thando, Ma Moloi and Frankie which would you like as a friend to invite to your home? Do these women remind you of any women you know?

A Of the women characters - Kobie, Thando, Ma Moloi and Frankie which would you like as a friend to invite to your home? Do these women remind you of any women you know?

F Who are they?

A There's Thando - the African.

R The black one. Ja.

A And Kobie, Ma Moloi [...] and Frankie.

? Ja. I like Ma Moloi.

H As the whole shoot. Because they'll make a lovely *Briyani*.

[Mirth].

H I like Ma Moloi because she reminds us all of our mothers. That is how they behave. Even if it's not your mother-in-law, our mothers behave like that. So we ... we get used to it. We don't hate them, because they behave like that.

[Babble].

H Mother-in-law is somebody else. I say my mother ...

Which person makes you laugh the most? Would you introduce them to your husband/partner, Mother, Mother-in-law, children, sister/brother?

A Who makes you laugh the most. Would you introduce them to your husband, partner, mother, mother-in-law, children, sister or brother?

R Which person makes you laugh the most?

- A Who makes you laugh the most? Among these characters.
- R The whole lot. The men and the women.
- A Ja. All of them.
- F The old *boer*.
- R The old *boer*! That's interesting. To me. Who else? Who else?
- H The one who puts spices in alphabetical order.
- R Oh. You like him?
- H Ja.
- R OK. Billy. OK. Is there anyone else?
- ? Rigid.
- R Rigid. Yes.
- A [...] of the area [...]. Rigid character.
- [Babble].
- R That's why you all laughed when he dropped the food on the floor.
- ? Yes.
- A ... to behave like you do when you said there's no more, then you laugh at him again ... is it?
- [Babble].
- I Thando throwing the food on the ground.
- R You didn't understand that. Well what they ... what he was trying to do was to show he was being criticized by his daughter because he was so rigid. So now he was showing that he's a normal kind of person that makes a mess. But he exaggerated his behaviour.
- [Babble].
- I ... because after they had talked, I think they said somebody must do something. Everybody must do something, and the women started to wear aprons and they started to ...
- R ...and to look like they worked in the house ...
- I Somebody was making a mess so that ...
- R ... the women could clean up. Ja.
- I And the other side too was.
- R Yes.
- I The same thing was happening. And she came with that thing. She was ...
- R ... supposed to be happy ...
- H She was exhausted - and she still had to sweep the floor the men had messed.
- R That's right!
- I I took at it that way.
- R Ja. That's fine however you took it. It's it's what comes from within your heart when you look at somebody like that. OK. Which character did you like?
- I It goes back to what she said. She said the man comes back in the afternoon. We have been working in the house hanging curtains. Then you pretend to like what he is doing, instead of stopping him.
- H Yes, she's pretended, that lady.
- I No no. I'm going back to what you said.
- [Babble].
- H Meaning you are pretending. Go back to the same situation. That man was acting the way he shouldn't be acting [...]. We always try to be people what we are not. So if I say I drink take that as normal.
- I You see now. Back to the point that we always now we are flocking to the European women that they are free. In the other words they are not free. As you saw it in the picture.
- H What do you mean they are not free?
- I She was ...
- H They've always been free ... they've always been free. Ask Dot!
- [Babble].
- ? They do whatever they like ...

R No no. I disagree with you.

?... they do whatever they like. But you sit down ...

I Do you want me to tell you a story about a friend. It's a real story. Elizabeth knows my friend. She used to come here. We met in National Council of Women and we had been going around everywhere doing nothing, talking at the events, you know, and she was, you know, as you go alone now we know one another. She was sitting next to me, she said 'do you see in this organization we are doing a lot of talking and nothing is getting done. How would it be if we could get a place which teaches women how to sew and how to do small things'. I said, fair enough, we can do that, but she didn't have a place. She was living at Kloof. And it was so far for the women from [...] to get to Kloof. So she had to come down here on Tuesdays.

*****Break in Recording*****

[Babble].

[Indecipherable].

[Mirth].

A [...] and what. How can I explain it.

R That's fine. I understand what you're saying.

A Ja. Now the way I look at myself, it looks I'm sort of aggressive.

R Did you think she looked aggressive?

? No she wasn't. She wasn't.

A How did I look like?

R You just looked like you a woman who could take charge.

A Really?

R That's OK.

A I'm not a soft person. Let me say so.

R Well what a soft [...]. You know well ... OK ... but then maybe that's who you are and you can feel good about that.

A Not a submissive person.

R OK. OK. But is that bad? Is that bad?

A No. It's not.

H Being submissive is very bad.

R OK. I'm saying that she says she's not submissive.

[Babble].

R OK. Would you like to say how you felt?

B I feel I enjoyed what I am.

R OK. That's good. You are comfortable with who you are.

B Oh yes. I'm comfortable.

R OK. If you want something, or if it means enough to you, can you speak for it, or would you rather be quiet.

B Yes. I'll try to speak for it. As time because I'm grow older, but when I was young, I was unable to express my inner feelings.

R OK. Good.

B But as it is I am trying.

R You're trying. That's good.

B Always I am trying.

R That's wonderful. That's wonderful. Will you share with us how you felt when you saw yourself? That thing who was you. You know.

C [...] because I -- [...].

R Yes.

R [...] would you know why? I mean could you say why and speak [...].

C Yes. I was shy.

R You were shy. OK. That's alright. Ja. Because you had many older women here who were speaking a lot.

[Mirth].

R And the next lady.

D [...] that's why [...] so shy.

R That's why you were so shy.

- D So shy.
- R So would you -- would you like to share more or ...
- D Yes.
- R You would ...
- D Yes.
- R Well it comes with practice you know.
- D Yes.
- R It really comes with practice. We have groups in the States where you go and you have meetings like this and you just talk and everybody has to say something. And your confidence comes as you say it. Another way to do it, and I really can recommend this is to keep a journal. Your personal journal. And whatever you see - whatever - just for yourself - just write it every night when you go to bed, just write in there, a couple of lines. Whatever comes into your head or if you felt angry about something or you felt pleased or maybe you did something good. Write it. It helps to build who you are. When I come back next time maybe you'll share those thoughts with me. It would be good. OK. Thank you for sharing that. Yes.
- F I'm happy that I've been [...] what I am. I always don't like to talk something that I'm not comfortable. If I'm not, if something that I think is not, I don't just make er ... I'm just that kind of person, if I feel something is ... is impossible. I just take it that way. Because if I say ... there are things that I ... I think these things have to be done [...]. That is why in ... in some cases I'm always behind things. Because I ... I ... I want to do things in my way. So if I think this ... this right I just speak it - right, I think I say it's right and if I don't like it I just tell a person what I think and I don't talk too much. I just collect my opinions and just tell a person that I don't like this. But I don't always talk at the same time. If a person says you are wrong then I ... I'm not any good.
- R Well it comes also with practice I think. This is the big thing. Women need to learn to speak. Thank you for sharing that with us. Next. Yes.
- G I enjoyed ...
- R Did you like seeing yourself?
- G Yes. I did.
- R That's good. That's me! You said that's me! That's me there. That's me. Uh huh.
- G I enjoyed taking part in the programme.
- R What was the best thing for you? Just one best thing.
- G One best.
- R Of the programme.
- G I did take part in the programme.
- R Good. I agree with you and the story you shared was lovely. Thank you. Thank you very much. Yes madam. Yes madam?
- [Mirth].
- H I enjoyed taking part in the programme, but I think I'm a bit too aggressive.
- R ... you're a very strong woman. You can change. But you're a strong lady. Don't, don't feel ashamed of that.
- H No, I'm not ashamed, but ...
- R Don't feel shy about it. Be proud. It's done. It's good. You come on a pathway - you've come a long way. Don't, don't go back ...
- H I hope is not bad.
- R No, I don't think anybody here is bad ...
- H ... what I am. I think she's more or less assertive.
- R Not aggressive - assertive. Absolutely, absolutely. Thank you for your contributing. Now. No we haven't heard the last one. Comments from the young ladies.
- R Please share with us how did you feel when you saw yourself there.
- I Always ... I know what I am.
- R You know what ...
- I ...and I know who I am.
- R Good for you.
- I What I say I mean.

R That's OK.

I I never say false.

R OK. What's in your heart.

I I never say something that has never happened to me, because I always feel that you ... harm the community.

R Uh huh.

I But I always go in their styles, you know. I don't get away from them. I don't mean that I don't like their styles. They can go on with their styles. But what I feel is right for me.

R Uh huh.

I I always like to show it specially to the person who is next to me. Like my husband, my children, my people who are going with in the church.

R Uh huh.

I I always ... I never want to hide what's ...

R ... what's in your heart.

I Yes.

R Well thank you very much indeed, all of you for sharing that. I say to you, for me its been a wonderful experience. My whole ... since I've embarked on doing this I have made some ...

*****End of Tape*****

SUBURBAN BLISS

Theodora Group

April 10th 1996

Episodes:

- a. Maid from Hell
- b. Campaign Trail
- c. Comic Relief

Eight Participants:-

- A = Winnie [**].
 B = Thembi (Doreen) [**].
 C = Francisca [**].
 D = Thandi [**].
 E = Victoria [**].
 F = Sandra [**].
 G = Phumzile [**].
 H = Theodora Mhlongo (Facilitator)

R = Dorothy Roome (Researcher)

A My name is Winnie. I come from [**]. I don't have a child. My boyfriend is [**].

R Are you working?

A I'm not working.

R You are not working at the moment.

A But I'm finishing my Standard 10.

R You have finished your Standard 10.

A Yes.

R Good. That sounds good. Next one, who is she? Now tell us who you are.

B My name is Thembi.

R Uh huh.

B I stay at Umlazi.

R You stay at Umlazi. Are you working?

B I am working for [**].

R Oh, that's the cleaning company.

B Yes.

R OK. And do you have any kids or husband or anything like that? Do you have kids? Do you have kids or not?

B No.

R Perfect. Let's go to the next one. OK.

C My name is Francisca. My surname is [**]. I am staying at Umlazi. I've got two kids. My boyfriend is [**]. I'm working at the Post Office.

R You're working at the Post Office. OK. Thank you, next.

D My name is Thandi [**]. I live at Umlazi, K section. I have one child. His name is [**]. He is five years old and I have a boyfriend [**]. He lives in [**].

R Thank you. And you are working?

D No. I'm not working.

R So does your boyfriend help you to survive?

D Sometimes.

R So are you living at home. Your parents are helping you. OK. Next one. Can you sit forward please. Yes.

E I am Victoria.

R Victoria. OK.

E I am staying at [**].

R OK.

E I'm working for [**].

R The same place?

E Yes.

R Do you have any kids?

E Yes.

R You do have kids? OK. And does your boyfriend help with the kids or your family help with the kids?

E Me, myself.

R Just yourself. Wow! So are you living on your own or do you live with family or what?

Pause - question not understood.

R Now, do you understand what I'm asking you? Are you living on your own or do [you] live with your family?

Discussion - answer offered by others.

? She's living on her own.

R She's living on her own.

R OK., OK. Well thank you. Thank you for sharing that with us. OK. Next one.

F Sandra [**]. I'm from Chesterville.

R Chesterville. And do you have kids or ...

F Three kids.

R Three kids. OK.

F I'm staying with my mother. My sister helps me with the children.

R Your sister helps you. So are you working?

F Not working.

R Not working. Your sister helps you with money. Do you have a boyfriend or a husband or anything?

F I have a boyfriend

R You have a boyfriend, he

R Thank you. Next one. OK. Can you sit forward a little bit, just so we can get her in the picture. Yes. OK. Ja. OK.

G My name is Phumzile [**]. I stay at Umlazi. I've got one child his name is [**]. I've got a boyfriend [**].

R So are you staying with your family, in a house with your family or do you have your own house or what?

G I stay with my family.

R You stay with your family and they help you with the child.

G I beg your pardon?

R Do they help you with the child?

G Yes.

R OK. And are you working at the moment?

G No, I'm not working.

R Not working. OK.

H I'm Theodora [**] and I live in Lamontville. I live with my parents. I'm not working. I've got one boyfriend and he loves me very well (laughter) and I love him too.

R You love him too. That sounds great. OK. Now we're talking about the first one that we watched - right. Which was *The Maid from Hell*. Remember that one with the maid from hell? Ask the first question.

There are four men in the show - Billy Dwyer, Ike Moloi, Andrew Moloi and Hempies. Which of these men do you like or dislike most? What appeals to you about them?

H There are four men in the show - Billy Dwyer, Ike Moloi, Andrew Moloi and Hempies. Which of these men do you like or dislike most? What appeals to you about them?

R There's Billy Dwyer, the white guy, OK, and Ike Moloi, the black guy, and then old Hempies, the old boer, and then Andrew, the young black guy. Which one of those do you like? You want to repeat the question? OK.

H There are four men in the show - Billy Dwyer, Ike Moloi, Andrew Moloi and Hempies. Which of these men do you like or dislike most? What appeals to you about them?

R Do you want to say that in Zulu or do you understand that?

A Yes. In Zulu.

R ... say it in Zulu.

H *Kukhona amadoda awu 4. Nhakho iyiphi oyithandile kulamadoda uBilly - white guy - old Hempies and Andrew.*

? I like Isaac Moloi, he is [...].

R Anybody else? Did nobody like them? Umm? Nobody like these men? You have nothing to say? Hau!! Come on! Speak so we can hear. And this other lady at the end here? Which one do you like?

- A Andrew.
- R You like Andrew, why?
- A 'Cause ... He makes it funny.
- R He makes it funny.
- A He does it in a funny way.
- R He does it in a funny way. OK. And the next lady. Yes. What do you think? Which one do you like?
- C I don't like Billy Dwyer, because he's got *apartheid*. He doesn't like blacks.
- R So that's Billy Dwyer. He's got the *apartheid*. OK. And the black guys. Which one do you like, of the black guys? Which one do you like? The black men, which one do you like? Or you don't like?
- C I like Isaac.
- R You like Isaac. Why?
- C Because he's a clownner. He acts nice.
- R He acts?
- C Nice.
- R Nice. To whom does he act nice?
- C Sorry?
- R Which one is he acting nice to?
- C To his wife.
- R You think he's nice to his wife.
- C Yes.
- R Really?
- C And his mother.
- R And his mother.
- C Yes.
- R Would you be happy if he was your husband?
- C Ja.
- R You would like to marry somebody like that?
- C Ja.
- R You would? OK. Alright. Who said that? And the lady in the corner there. What's your name again? I'm sorry, the lady there, yes, which one do you like? Sit forward a little so I can see you. Yes, that's better. Which one do you like?
- E [Zulu].
- R I can't hear you. Can you speak up?
- H Billy Dwyer, Ike Moloi, Andrew Moloi [...] and Hempies - H-E-M-P-I-E-S.
- R That's the *boer*.
- H Yes
- R That's the *boer*.
- H She liked the *boer*.
- R She liked the *boer*?
- H Yes.
- R OK. Now can you say why? That's interesting. I've had people say that before. Why did you like him?
- E He's a negative -positive -positive -negative [...] and Isaac.
- R Can she explain that a little bit more. I mean I think it's a good point, but I'm not quite sure I understand what she means. OK?
- ? She likes [...] because he has a negative attitude with these guys Billy Dwyer and Isaac.
- R It's a balance. Is she saying like a balance? Or what?
- ? I beg yours please.
- R Well I don't quite understand why she says he's a negative. I mean, she ... it's OK to say that but I just don't quite understand. I've had people say Hempies before, that they like Hempies the most. Because they, you know, for whatever reason. So I just wanted to know why she liked him.
- E I don't know.

- R Does she want to say it in Zulu. Say it in Zulu. If you can't speak English, say it in Zulu and then she can translate for you. Speak in Zulu.
- E [Zulu].
- R OK. So what does she say now. Please translate what she said. If you the facilitator then you must listen to what she's saying and you must translate.
- E [Zulu].
- H She says she likes Hempies ...
- R Yes.
- H ... because when they in the court, Andrew he was rude to the ...
- R to the lawyer [...] OK. Ask this lady here now. Which one do you like? Each one of you has to answer the question. And so which men did you like or not like?
- H [Zulu].
- C Isaac.
- R You liked Isaac. OK. And why?
- ? *Uhlala kahle nkosikasi wakhe uma ebheda uyakwazi ukuba ambuyisi.*
- [Mirth.]
- R It's his wife. It's his wife. Right?
- H You understand some?
- R Little bit yes. *nkosikaas* [lady of the house]. OK. OK. Next lady OK. Which one did you like?
- D I like Ike Moloji.
- R Ike Moloji. Why?
- D I think he is [...].
- R [...] you like the one with the cartoons. Oh, the small one - Andrew?
- ? Yes.
- R The young one?
- ? Yes. Andrew.
- R OK, you liked him. Why?
- G Because he [...].
- R He comes up with good ideas. And you?, which one did you like?
- H I like Billy Dwyer.
- R You like Billy Dwyer. Why?
- H The way he is. And the way he talk to Ike Moloji and the others.
- R You like the way he spoke to them. OK. Alright we can come back to that later. There are a lot more questions that we're coming to. Let's go to the next one. What's the next question?
- Thando wants a maid - why is she so keen? Do you think it is a good idea for her to have a maid?***
- H Thando wants to have a maid - why she is so keen? Do you think it is a good idea for her to have a maid?
- R Thando wants to have a maid. Do you think it's a good idea that she should have a maid?
- All No!!
- R OK. Let's hear. Now we're getting going. Ja. Let's hear. OK. What do you think here?
- A No. Because she has the ability to make things look clean on her own.
- R Yes.
- A Because she is a wife.
- R That's her job.
- A Ja.
- R That's her job.
- A She has the job to take care her own.
- R OK. She can do it herself. Alright. Next lady please. Next lady. I need to write all these names down. No! Not what she says - what you think. Come on. She was laughing a lot, this one! Let's hear. I want to hear what you're saying about Thando. Do you think she should have a maid?

- B [...] *intombezaan*. [She is also a young girl.]
- R [...] *intombezaan*, the black *intombezaan*
- R [...] the one? The tight dress.
- [Discussion in Zulu].
- R Speak up.
- [Discussion in Zulu].
- R [...] the next one.
- [Discussion in Zulu].
- H [...] because her job is to [...]. Because she's not working.
- R She's not working. She should do the work.
- C She is housewife.
- R That's her job. OK.
- R [...]. Ja! OK. Next lady in the green jersey there.
- D [...] because she didn't like to help the mother-in-law.
- R She didn't like to help her. OK.
- D She has long nails always. [...].
- R Ja. OK. So do you think she shouldn't have a maid. No. Say no.
- All No
- R OK. You think she should have?
- D No.
- R No. OK. So is there anyone who thinks why shouldn't she have a maid? Yes it's OK for her to have a maid. Is there anybody who thinks that? If she can afford it, why shouldn't she have it?
- ? Because you can't do your work properly with long nails.
- R No, you don't think it's a good idea. OK. Let's do the next question. We'll start this side now. Next question.

There are two different kitchens in Suburban Bliss, which do you prefer and why?

- H There are two different kitchens in *Suburban Bliss*, which do you prefer and why?
- H *Kunama kichen amabili iliphi enilikhethayo ngoni?*
- R This one. Which kitchen? Do you know the two kitchens? Can you remember? There was the white kitchen and there was where the black family kitchen. Do you remember?
- ? Yes.

R They sat in the kitchen and they ate food.

*****End of Tape*****

- H She say [...] because she's not fair to her employers.
- R She's not fair. OK. Alright. Did you speak? The lady in the green jersey. Did you speak? You don't want to speak. Do you want to speak? What do you think of Dahlia?
- D I don't like Dahlia. She is a bad lady!
- R She's a bad lady.
- D Yes.
- R Do you want to say why?
- [Long pause].
- D She gave wrong information.
- R Wrong information.
- D She is putting the one against the other.
- R One against the other. Ja, ja, she's bad. She's the worst kind of person. OK. Should we go to the next one please? Next question. Moving right along here.

How do you feel about the things Ma Moloi says to Thando? Have you ever heard a Mother-in-law say those sort of things?

- H How do you feel about the things Ma Moloi says to Thando? Have you ever heard a Mother-in-law say

those sort of things? How do you feel about the things Ma Moloi says to Thando? Have you ever heard a Mother-in-law say those sort of things?

R Do you know a mother-in-law like that?

E Yes.

R Someone? Let's hear about it.

F Some [...] mother-in-law they hear his child want information about you.

R OK. They make the wrong things. They may say the wrong things.

? Yes.

R What about this lady down here? What about you down here? Do you want to say something about mother-in-laws in general? What do you think about this one?

A Mother-in law- is bring wrong information to the son's wife.

R Criticize?

A Criticize my [...].

R OK. OK. Anybody else want to talk about the mother-in-law?

D She has jealous mother-in-law.

R A jealous mother-in-law?

D Yes.

R Jealous of her, for her son?

D Yes.

R OK.

D Sometimes they like other women more than you.

R More?

D Yes.

R OK. OK. Carry on [...].

What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to Billy? Do you know anyone like Kobie? Does her smoking worry or upset you?

H What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to Billy? Do you know anyone like Kobie? Does her smoking worry or upset you?

R Kobie - now the white woman, the young white woman. Do you know who we're talking about? Cigarette out the mouth here. Do you know anybody who smokes like that, first of all, and the way she speaks to her husband? Do you think that's bad or good?

H Yes, it's good.

R It's good?

? It's bad.

H Bad.

R Yes. But you said it's good. That's interesting. Why did you say that? Why did you say that?

R That's very interesting. Why did you say that?

H I didn't ... I said it was bad.

? Yes.

R Oh. Well. Why is it bad? I mean, if he's being stupid, why shouldn't she tell him? Now. You think that's bad?

C It's bad.

R Do you think that's bad? Huh? Why? Is that bad? Why?

? [...]. She must have respect for him.

R You must have respect for your husband.

A Yes.

R Why?

R Why?

A smoking.

R Do you think you should have respect for her?

F Yes. She is always smoking. His husband is not smoking.

R Oh. If her husband were smoking it would be OK?

All No!!

? He respects for his husband.

R She must have respect for her husband?

All Yes!

R OK. What do you think then that she's telling him when he's being stupid. She's not allowed to tell him? I mean sometimes he behaves like a real fool.

? It's wrong.

R Huh. It's wrong for her to tell him that?

H She said her husband is fool even to you [...].

R Why?

? You don't like someone to tell you you are ...

R [...]. Being stupid?

? Yes.

R You don't like that?

? No.

R If you are being stupid then maybe you wont be stupid again. Careful what you say. You disagree? I think she thinks that [...]. If you had a husband who was stupid like that, would you tell him?

? No.

R You wouldn't? You'd just keep quiet.

? Ja.

? It's wrong.

R It's wrong?

? Ja.

R If he's wrong you mustn't tell him?

? No.

? If your husband is wrong, you must tell him.

R Ladies. I want you to think about this.

[Babble].

? We are trying to find a suitable way to say it.

R Careful way?

R For why can't you talk straight to people? Why do you have ...? If I telling you - look ladies, I'm very happy that you came today and we're doing this thing. But if you sit here and you're not going to help me to talk nicely so that we can have some good information, I'm disappointed. Now that's talking straight, right? Now would you rather that I just kept quiet when I left here. Those women, they just didn't do anything! Or would you rather I talked straight, to say I would like you to try my way to answer my questions. Which is the better way? To keep quiet and not say anything but, but fight, or to talk straight? Come on!!

All Talk straight. [...] yes.

R In a polite way.

? Yes.

R So you think she's not polite to her husband. That's what you're worried about.

? Yes.

R Although. But it's OK to talk back to your husband?

? [...]. Yes.

? With good manners.

R With good manners.

? Yes.

R Thank you. Alright. You get 10 out of 10.

Do you think the things that happened on the show could ever really happen to anyone you know?

H Do you think the things that happened on the show could ever really happen to anyone you know? Do you think the things that happened on the show could ever really happen to anyone you know?

R Like - you know - they steal all the stuff from out of the house and all. Do you think that that could happen? Remember when they come with the van?

They go to the Police Station and then they come with the van and those bad kids come and take all the stuff. Do you think that could happen?

All No!!

R It would never happen. That's a nonsense. OK. Alright let's go to the next one.

What do you think of the way Ike treated Thando? Would you be upset if your partner treated you like this?

H What do you think of the way Ike treated Thando? Would you be upset if your partner treated you like this?

R Remember what we're talking about now. OK. Please! I want some talking now! I say please!!

H What do you think of the way Ike treated Thando? Would you be upset if your partner treated you like this?

R Do you remember the way he treated her. Remember they had the [...]. In the beginning he's reading the paper and she wants to talk to him. Then he says 'Keep quiet, keep quiet!' Then again at the very end she wants to stand to be elected and he says 'No you can't. I said you're my wife, you can't.' Now what do you think of that?

C I don't like the way he treated her because he treats her like a dog.

R Like a dog.

C Mmmm

R OK.

C Even in front of the people.

R Oh, OK. Does he think that's bad?

C Ja.

R OK. But she disobeyed him.

C The dog come inside the room when the people is there. You said get out.

R OK.

C He said to ...

R She's a dog.

R OK. But she was disobeying him.

C Yes.

R So is that OK? He said she can't stand for that election business. And she says no one's going to do it. Wasn't that wrong?

? No.

R It wasn't wrong? Aaaaw! OK. Why not? No, I mean, I'm not saying you're wrong. I'm just very interested that you said it was OK. And I want to know why you think it was OK. That what all these questions is to try and find out what's going on inside your head that you say that. I'm interested to hear that.

? She like [...].

R She what?

? She likes to be part of the election.

R She likes to be part of the election. OK. So he had no right to stop her. So if your husband says you ... You're not married - right? You have a boyfriend? - you have a husband?

? No.

R If you wanted to do something, and he said no you can't do it, would you still do it?

? Even if you are married.

R Yes, yes. Do anything that you like to do? That's OK? Even if you are married. Even if your husband says no.

D It's your right.

C Yes.

[Discussion in Zulu.]

R Yes, come on. What is she saying there? I want to hear that in English. Translate for her. Or translate for yourself. I think you know what you said in English. You can say it. I mean I think it's very interesting because I think now we're looking at it the old way and the new way. And I'm meeting this thing all the time when I'm talking to Zulu women. Since I've been here. It's like the old ways are saying you cannot disagree with your

husband or do something your husband says no. And the new ways say you can. It's your right. So now it's good to hear you, it's healthy for you to talk about that. You should hear what other women think about those things. Yes? Yes? Now she's frightened.

- B She's the right to do anything.
- R The right to do anything. Even if your husband disagrees. OK. Next Question.

How did you feel when Thando gave her speech to run for President of the Residents Association? Would you have voted for her if you had been at that meeting? Who else would you have voted for?

- H How did you feel when Thando gave her speech to run for President of the Residents Association? Would you have voted for her if you had been at that meeting? Who else would you have voted for?
- R Remember her speech when she talked about having racial harmony and stuff like that. What did you think? How did you feel when you heard what she had to say? Did you feel 'yes' or did you feel 'ugh' You're talking rubbish! How did you feel? That lady in the back there. Say something! How did you feel when she made that speech? You thought nothing. You didn't think anything. Hmm? Did you understand what she was saying? You didn't understand. OK. Was there anyone who did understand and who did have any reaction to it? You didn't understand, you didn't understand?
- ? *Abaqondi okushiwayo.* [We don't understand.]
- R OK. Go to the next question.

How do you feel about the things those people standing for election said they wanted to fix - family values, RDP, Racial Harmony. Do you have any of these things happening in your community?

- H How do you feel about the things those people standing for election said they wanted to fix - family values, RDP, Racial Harmony. Do you have any of these things happening in your community?
- R Are people doing anything to educate people in your community about RDP or you know, family values or to teach people what it's all about. Do you have anything like that happening in your community? Anybody? No? OK next question.

What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to her husband Billy, her father, Hempies and her daughter Frankie? Would you introduce her to any of your friends or your family? What do you think of her clothes and the way she furnishes her house?

- H What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to her husband Billy, her father, Hempies and her daughter Frankie? Would you introduce her to any of your friends or your family? What do you think of her clothes and the way she furnishes her house? What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to her husband Billy
- R Do you know who Kobie is? Who can tell me who Kobie is? You don't have any opinions about her at all. Hmmm?
- H [Zulu].
- R I beg your pardon?
- H They say I must explain them.
- R They want you to explain. OK. What are they having a problem with? Which one do we have? The way Kobie speaks to her husband is done. No? OK. We've already spoken about the way she speaks to her husband Billy. Shouldn't do that. Then the way she speaks to her father Hempies. You think she's disrespectful to her father. Or is it OK for her to speak to her father like that?
- B Doesn't have a respect for her father.
- R And the way she speaks to her daughter. There's no respect [...]. It's not OK for her to even speak to her daughter like that? Disagree? You disagree? It's OK to speak to her daughter? It's her mother after all. How do you speak to your children? If your children misbehave, do you tell them to stop?
- ? *U Kobieakakhuluni kahle uma ekhuluma nabo.* [Kobie doesn't speak nicely if he talks with them.]
- R So what do you think? No? She doesn't talk nicely or she does? OK. Go onto number 5.

What do you think of the way Thando treats her husband, Ike, and her mother-in-law, Ma Moloji? Would you introduce her to your family? What do you think of the way she dresses and furnishes her house?

- R What do you think of the way Thando treats her husband Ike, the way she speaks to her mother-in-law, Ma Moloi? What do you think of the way Thando talks to Ike, and the way she talks to Mrs - Mama Moloi? What do you think of that? Is she talking to her nicely or is she talking to her badly? - with disrespect - what do you think? [...].
- C I think she is naughty.
- R How do you think the way she speaks to them? You say she speaks badly. And she's going all to the husband and she's touching him and ... OK tell me ...
- C She's very bad.
- R Why?
- A She's like a small dog.
- B Like a small dog.
- R Ooh. Oh. OK. Like a dog that wants some bones? Right?
- [Mirth].
- R OK. So you think that's bad. If you met Thando, would you introduce her to your family? Would you say 'come and meet my mother.'?
- All *Hau!* No!!
- R Why? Wouldn't you like to be like Thando? To dress like that?
- C Oh yes. She dress nice!
- R To dress like a .. Dress tight. Is that bad? - or you think it's good to --- I mean, I'm asking you?
- B [...] it's bad because ...
- R Why can't you have a tight dress? ... you got nice body. You must show it. No? What do you think? You think if you got a nice body you must wear tight dresses. I'm asking you! What do you think? She's showing she's a woman.
- ? Ja.
- R She's got a tight ... Is that bad or good? She's got a nice body.
- H The way she is, she is like a lady.
- R She's a lady. Wouldn't you like to be like a lady
- F No!!
- R You wouldn't like to? Why not?
- B Because she is a wife.
- R Oh. Because she's a wife she's not allowed to be like that?
- A The woman is not allowed to wear like that.
- R You're only allowed to be like that when?
- ? She is like a 'clown catch' [prostitute].
- R Like what?
- ? Clown catch.
- [Use of Zulu expression]
- R Like what?
- ? [Repeat of expression]
- R What's that mean? [...].
- ? The woman who goes and sells her body at Point Road.
- R Bad woman.
- C [...]. Point Road [...].
- D She wears mini skirts, tights.
- C And makeup and nails.
- R And you think that's bad. You wouldn't do that?
- H No, sometimes its OK. Because she must respect ...
- ***End of Tape***
- R ... you think all men and it's OK. And the men themselves say it's OK to clean?
- G Yes.
- R So what about washing the napkins?
- All Oh no!
- R Why not?

- ? No.
- R Why not? And the cooking.
- H Ja.
- R And getting up in the night when the babies cry.
- [Mirth].
- R To give the bottle.
- C Yes.
- R It's OK?
- C Yes.
- R And washing the nappies?
- D No! No!
- R Why not?
- H Nappies is different.
- R Why?
- H For men.
- R Why? It's just a cleaning job.
- H But this is not nice.
- R Why? Do you like to wash napkins? Who've got children here? Show me your hands. Put the hands up. You wash those napkins huh?
- E Yes.
- R So the father for those children. He can't wash those napkins. But he made that baby. Why can't he wash those napkins? You see what I'm saying?
- D He must hang it, but not wash.
- R That's so interesting. I had the same thing. If he's going to all that ... now listen. I must tell you my husband would never wash nappies - never. I mean I know that. I was too frightened of the baby when it was born. So I used to wait 'til he came home from work to bath it. Because I was frightened I would drown it in the water and it would slip. I've got small hands. Why couldn't he wash napkins? Why? I mean I say this to you .. I see that .. But I am saying, why is it OK for me to wash napkins but not for him? Why?
- D In Zulu it's an embarrassment.
- R Embarrassment
- D Yes.
- R I heard this from the ladies that I went out with. You see ... everybody would laugh if he puts the napkins on the line. But we have to change that. Yes. Change. No. No. It doesn't change? Does it stay like that? In the new South Africa it will change?
- D He must never wash them.
- R He's not working and he must never wash.
- ? Never.
- R Never, never, never.
- Do you think men would watch this kind of show on TV? Do you think it shows at all what is happening in South Africa?*
- H Do you think men would watch this kind of show on TV?
- R This show that we watched. Do you think your boyfriends would watch this? Or your fathers would watch this kind of show? *Suburban Bliss*? Did they watch it?
- B Yes.
- R Did they laugh?
- B Sometimes.
- R Sometimes. So they would watch it. Would your boyfriend watch it? No? Which one? Show me your hands. Which one? Your boyfriend or your father would watch this show. I want to see. Boyfriend or father or husband or brother. Which one would watch this? Your family would watch it. And you? No? Did they watch *S'gudi*, *S'naysi*?
- C Yes.
- R Because its in Zulu? Or because they just liked the story more?
- B They liked the story.

R They liked the story. Alright let's go to the next one.

Do you think the things that happened on the show could ever really happen to anyone you know?

R Do you think that the way that the show comes is - do you think that happens in South Africa? White people are living next door to black people. Black people are mixing with white people. Do you think this is happening?

A Yes.

R You think it is happening?

? Yes. In this case from some other [...].

? Blacks have been suffering.

? Yes.

R They are.

C Whites undermine blacks.

R They are all living together?

D Yes.

C They have suffered a lot.

R Oh really. So that they all have houses next door to each other.

A Yes. Sometimes, sometimes [...].

R Well that's good to know.

Do you feel the way Thando shops is worse than Kobie's secret gambling? Do you know any women who shop a lot or gamble?

R Now. Now the next question. I want to hear from you. Now you all know the way Thando shops. She's shopping and shopping. [...]. She's got to go and spend now in the same way, Kobie's got to go and gamble. She likes to go to the races. She wants to gamble. She likes gambling. Do you think that's bad or good? To gamble and go shopping? What do you think? To gamble. You know what it is to gamble? You think it's bad or it's good? To gamble? What do you think? To gamble. You know what it is to gamble.

A Yes.

R You do play the Lotto. You think it's good? It's not good?

C According to myself, it's a wasting of money.

R It's a waste of money.

C Yes.

R I bet you she's gambling. Are you gambling? I think she's gambling! I knew it!! I knew. Who else here is gambling? Are you gambling?

C No.

R No. Are you gambling? Yes you!

B No. It's a waste of money.

R OK. What about shopping? There's your money going. Shoes

D Everything

R New skirt, shoes, new scarf, everything. Why?

D A waste of money.

R A waste of money. Do you know people that are gambling? That are spending a lot of money on this?

A Yes.

R And a lot of money on shopping? Every month its a new pair of shoes. They got 70 pairs of shoes. Six pairs of shoes in the cupboard - and they buy one more. Are you like that? Or do you just do with the gambling? No I mean, the women tell me, and the most interesting, when I saw the old women, the older women. The one says yes. I made my own money. I make jam and I make pickles and I use that money for my gambling money. I thought that was very interesting. They said and then I can do with that money whatever I want. And nobody can tell me [...]. So what do you think of this gambling thing? Do you think it's bad or it's good?

H Bad.

R Bad. What? What do you think? No tell me what's in your heart.

C Sometimes it's good, sometimes it's bad

R Go and have fun and go and play.

How do you feel as a woman you should try to deal with the changes in South African society today?

H How do you feel as a woman you should try to deal with the changes in South African society today?

R Come on! You can't let me down on this one. I want to hear from all of you. How do you feel as a woman you should try to deal with what's happening in South Africa today? Let's hear it! As a woman, what can you do in the new South Africa? What can you do? [...]. Think about this. I want to hear what you say. Yes. It's important. What should you do? What can you do as a woman? What do you think? What can you do to make it OK? So that it's all worth it. So that it's not making war and trouble.

A I want to bring together bad things to be good things

R To change...

A Yes.

R OK What can you do? What small thing can you do as a woman? As a woman?

A I like to help in society. I like to see things changing here in Durban in our society. I like to help other. like children. like street child to have place to stay.

R Street children.

A Yes.

R [...] you should help.

A I like to help those things.

R Yes. On this side?

B [...] my husband [...] because [...] because in the 'new' South Africa. when you go to the shops things are so high!

R Expensive.

B Yes.

R So you think the new South Africa is more expensive than the old South Africa?

C Yes.

R Really. I mean - I wasn't here before so I don't know. More expensive.

? Yes.

R Yes. How would you like to help as a woman in the 'new' South Africa? [...]. Do you want to? Or do you think 'well it's not my business.'?

E *Njengezalukazi esezigugile ziphethwe kahle.* [Want to see the old age people taken care of.]. Like grannies and grandmothers.

R Older people.

C [...]. She says [...].

[Mirth.].

H [...] she likes [...].

R [...]. How do you think? Alright. Next question. Let's go to this one.

Of the women characters - Kobie, Thando, Ma Moloi and Frankie which would you like as a friend to invite to your home? Do these women remind you of any women you know?

R There are four women characters - Kobie, Thando, Ma Moloi and Frankie. Which one would you like. if I said to you, you can ask one of them to your house to meet your family. Which one would you invite to your home? Kobie? Thando? Ma Moloi or Frankie? Which one would you invite? Just one of them [...]. This Saturday you inviting them to your house. Which one? Which one?

[Discussion in Zulu.] [They all like Kobie.].

R You didn't like any. You didn't like any of them?

E No.

R Which one would you invite?

E Kobie.

R Kobie?

R It's interesting. It's interesting, yes. Do you know why? Why did you like her? To invite her? [...]. She doesn't care who it is. I think that's a good

- question. Next. OK. What do you think? What do you think?
- E I don't like Thando.
- R Thando? You like Thando? You'd invite her?
- E No.
- R No!
- E Yes.
- R You didn't like any of those people.
- C Yes.
- R And you also? No one. And you.
- B I like Ma Moloji.
- R Ma Moloji?
- H Yes.
- R You like Ma Moloji?
- H Ma Moloji. she makes music.
- [Mirth].
- R She likes her music.
- ? Yes.
- [Confused discussion.]
- R Which one do you like?
- R Nobody. Do you like anybody?
- [Discussion.]
- [Mirth].
- R Do you see yourself in any of these characters? Do you see yourself ... Like me. I can also tell my husband what to do. See, I'm a little bit perhaps like Kobie, or maybe I can be like Ma Moloji. If I have a daughter-in-law I can tell her do this do that. Which of you can you see in yourself [...].
- H No-one.
- R Nobody? OK. Alright, alright. OK. Now we going to do something else here. If you had to do it again, how would you do it?
- Now you're going to tell me how you felt when you saw yourself up there.
- A It is a very strange [...] all those things to see myself there in the TV.
- R Right.
- A I'm feeling very very glad.
- R You were glad?
- A Yes.
- R Good! That's good.
- A I like to , to see them tomorrow and every day. I like to see my picture there.
- R Uh huh. Did you feel good about it?
- A Yes.
- R You felt good about it. Good. Next lady. How did you feel about seeing yourself there? Did you feel good or bad? Or how did you feel? I mean not what she says! What you think when you saw yourself there. How did you feel? Did you feel good? Did you feel 'yes, I'm glad to see myself there.'? 'I look nice.' 'I'm talking nicely.' Whatever.
- B I'm very happy.
- R You like to see yourself. Why? Why? You know that person? That person, you know that person?
- B Um um.
- R You like that person?
- B Ja.
- R Did you like it?
- B Ja. I like.
- R That's good. Alright. Next.
- C I like to see myself [...] because I never [...] myself before.
- R You like that?
- C Yes.
- R Did you know that woman well?

- C Ja. I know her.
- R Did you know what she thinks and what she likes?
- C Ja.
- R Do you think she could be better than what she was?
- C Ja.
- R In what way?
- C Next time I'm going to do [...].
- R To talk more? To show ...
- C Yes.
- R Even in life sometimes. Next lady, the lady in the green jersey.
- D Green jersey!.
- R Well, you know, just a jersey. It's a dress maybe. [...] I'm sorry. How did you feel yourself when you saw yourself?
- D I feel very happy.
- R You were happy?
- D Yes.
- R Why?
- D It is because [...].
- R Yes. So what made you happy? That's what I want to hear. You easy now, share that with us. What was there that made you feel happy about yourself?
- D To share with other people.
- R Yes. I mean. Did you think you did a good job or a bad job when you were there?
- D Good job.
- R You did a good job? So you felt good about it?
- D Yes.
- R OK. Next. Yes?
- R Can you sit back just a little bit - I want to hear. So now tell me. How did you feel when you saw yourself there? Hmmm?
- E [Zulu].
- R *Umhlanja* is now. Now tell me the rest.
- C (Translates)
- R She was happy to see herself. What did you like about yourself that you saw? What did you like? Ask her. Do you understand what I am saying to you? Do you understand? What did you like about yourself?
- R OK. The next. How did you feel when you saw yourself there?
- F I feel happy.
- R You were happy. Why?
- F Because I didn't think I would see myself on the TV.
- R Because you didn't think you'd ever see yourself on TV. So you like to see that you are alive. And you know when you're dead one day, it's still going to be there. You know that? Because with the picture it stays forever. So there you are forever, now forever. Right. So you were happy.
- F Yes.
- R If I come through to you next time, will you do more or will you do less? Or are you satisfied with what you did?
- F Yes.
- R What?
- R What? OK. The next. How did you feel when you saw yourself there?
- G I know [...] television.
- R So you've now seen yourself on television?
- G Yes.
- R Did you like that woman you saw there?
- G I like it.

R Why? Why did you like it? Not from what you saw. But if you didn't know that woman before would you like her? That one you saw?

G No [...] not good. [...] experience [...].

R So you think you would want her to try again?

G Yes.

R And what about you? Did you like what you saw?

H No.

R You didn't like what you saw. Why?

H I'm feeling ashamed.

R You're feeling ashamed? Why? Theodora! Why? You did a good job. Why did you feel ashamed? You don't like that woman there?

H It's because I never know [...]. Because I [...].

R And you don't like what you did?

H No.

R Would you do it again?

H No.

R You wouldn't do the television thing again?

H [...] sometime [...].

R Well, thank you for sharing that with me.

SUBURBAN BLISS

Leigh-Ann Group

April 16th 1996

Episodes:

- a. Maid from Hell
- b. Campaign Trail
- c. Comic Relief

Five Participants:-

- A = Leigh-Ann Petherbridge, (Facilitator)
 B = Charlotte [**].
 C = Jeanette [**].
 D = Charmaine [**].
 E = Patricia [**].
 F = Kathy [**].

R = Dorothy Roome (Researcher)

There are four men in the show - Billy Dwyer, Ike Moloï, Andrew Moloï and Hempies. Which of these men do you like or dislike the most? What appeals to you about them?

? I liked him.

? Ja I also liked him.

R You liked Hempies?

C Hempies was? Was Hempies the younger one?

A No. Was Billy the girl's father?. and then there's Ike. that is Ike was black.

C Ike?

A Ike plays the black father. Then Andrew's Ike's brother. What kills you about him ...

F The old man tends to be a real *boere* man.

[Mirth].

F Typical white ...

? And there are still a lot of them around. so he's portrayed the older men, older generation. the white older generation [...].

Thando wants to have a maid - why is she so keen? Do you think it is a good idea for her to have a maid?

A Thando wants to have a maid. Why is she so keen?

F I think the one wants to outdo the other.

D Ja. Competition.

C Jealous, jealousy. She wants the white woman to think she's as good as her and better than her, you know, and this is why she [...], she wants the better of [...].

A Do you think it's a good idea for her to have a maid?

E I don't think so. Because she's doing blow all.

D But I don't think her reasons for wanting a maid are right. Ja.

F Dead right, but I feel that if she wants a maid. what's there to stop her? If it's an open thing if you want a maid you have a maid. It's a personal thing. and I don't think there should be anything stopping her. But I don't think the real reasons are right ...

A This is your mother-in-law thing.

C Ja. she's trying like the whites have always had maids, right? With the 'new' South Africa. she's thinking that she must also just be like that [...] she must also have a maid. Trying to keep up to the same reputation as the white people [...].

There are two different kitchens in Suburban Bliss, which do you prefer and why?

A There are two kinds of kitchen in *Suburban Bliss*. Which do you prefer?

F They were both too!! ... Ja. the one was too green and the one was too bright.

[Babble].

D Ja. I liked the space. maybe the colour was a bit hairy for a kitchen. but it was very spacious and ...

F What I did tend to see, strange as it seems. the black family had a more modern kitchen and the white again had a more olden ...

[Babble].

R Which did you prefer?

F The homely.

D Ja, yes.

R What did you think?

E Also.

R You liked that? And this lady here?

[Mirth].

F She's shy.

C You know what I noticed, there's a lot of things in the kitchen, you know, everything's crowded. This is the way our mothers and our mothers-in-law had it, everything was dumped, you couldn't even move.

? Very Afrikaans too.

C And you couldn't even move and it was ...

[Babble].

C In Scotland did the same. Everything's [...] that much stuff.

R It's a very interesting point that. It kind of makes it homely too.

Would you have employed Dalia as a maid? Do you know anyone like her?

A Would you employ Dalia as a maid?

C Noooo!

[Babble].

F They employed her, but they didn't know. They couldn't see [...] what she was claiming.

[Babble].

F Ja, but when they interviewed her, there was nothing there to actually say what she was really like.

[Babble].

F And I think maybe what they should have done was give her a more thorough interview. What she really did was play one another against ...

[Babble].

[Traffic Noise].

R Now that question has actually got another level to it. It's not that you're looking at her as a maid, looking at her as a person. OK. So we're not just now saying what she did in terms of bringing in burglars and stuff like that, we're looking at the way she manipulated. Do you know anybody like that?

C Ja, she was getting everything. She was getting her bacon and eggs and everything.

R Yes, yes.

C [...] bacon and eggs. You know, be honest, who is going to provide? I've had a maid, I've had her sixteen years, I've never fed her yet. She's always looked after herself. [...]. You know, I'm [...].

R Do you know, aside from the characteristics she showed as a maid here, the way she sort of played the one group off against the other. You started to say there was something ...

[Traffic Noise].

R She is another [...]. Ja.

D She is very manipulative.

F Likes causing troubles ...

D And she also plays groups against each other.

[Babble].

R Interesting, interesting. Do you want to add to anything there or [...].

C It must cause a lot of trouble which is unnecessary. You know I get [...].

F Probably have to ...

A There's more questions. So we will ...

R Ja. We're getting to that.

How do you feel about the things Ma Moloi says to Thando? Have you ever heard a mother-in-law say those sort of things?

A How do you feel about Ma Moloi's saying to Thando? The way she speaks to her? How do you feel about it?

R If that was your mother-in-law, how would you feel?

[Babble].

R Oh! We got the mother-in-law right here. Interesting.

[Babble].

R You're obviously sisters-in-law.

? Yes.

F I actually wouldn't put up with it.

R Be honest now!

F I wouldn't. I'd probably give her a mouthful. That's me.

B I would too.

F No. I wouldn't stand for that.

C I was ...

F Sorry ...

C What I was going to say was I find that today, you in the older generation you've also got to see the young generation's point of view, if you try and be in the middle, you know for the youngsters, because you got to be able to help them. This is how I feel it was with them. And if they need help, they can come to you, they're not afraid to go to mother-in-law and ask her, because over the years [...] mothers-in-law, I know, because ...

R You have a mother-in-law like that?

C Ja, I had a mother-in-law [...] every mother-in-law, you know. I see so many people that this happens ... as you know there's the joke about the mother-in-law.

R Yes, right.

C That's always been in my mind. I've always felt that you must get that [...] away [...].

? Animosity.

C Yes, that stigma, that stigma of the bad mother-in-law, it's always bothered me and I said if I ever have daughters-in-law, I'll try and treat them like I was treated, you know, and I've always tried that, and it's working, isn't it? And it's working.

[Mirth].

F Now I just feel that it was - Thando, wasn't it? - it was her home, and the mother-in-law should have respected what - her wishes - what she wanted. You know, she was like the guest as such in the house and ...

R You know that's a very interesting point that, because, when you're looking here at, and I'm thinking actually of Jewish families that I know, where the mother has stayed, or Greek families I think. I think there tends to be ...

F I think the Indians are the same.

R ... and Indians - so it's almost like a different thing that the mother is the older woman, so she has more rights and more say in what goes on. But even now that's perhaps changing a bit - I don't know.

C It's definitely changing..

R Uh huh.

C I know if I went to stay with any of my kids, which I would never do, I would ...

R She just wants to give you a bad fright.

[Mirth].

C No. Because this is my daughter and I said to her ...

R Oh. That's the daughter there!

[Mirth].

R No. This is great. Because actually that's how these groups are supposed to work. The one tells a friend and that one brings a friend. It's all random sampling.

C Ja, and I feel it's really it's nice that they give that communication [...] generation [...] because it's

communication [...] generation [...] because it's a new generation for the younger ones, and I would never stay, for one reason, I feel that you're a spare part there because ... you there when [...].

[Traffic Noise].

C [...] because the time comes [...]. And then you'll interfere in their lives and you tell them how to bring their children up [...].

[Traffic Noise].

C [...] their role. Now I feel that the children should be able to [...] today, they should be able to bring up their families in their little home without interference from anyone. I totally feel bad, you know, and this is how I feel. Yes. So many marriages break up that's because there's so many people - mothers-in-law and fathers-in-law interfering with young people.

[Babble].

C Honestly, you know, I feel ...

R What were you going to say to that?

E It's very true.

R That that made you what?

E That the mother-in-law shouldn't interfere with ...

R What's going on.

E ...what's going on.

R Bad or good? Maybe you believe in what she thinks the way of bringing up your kids.

F I feel they shouldn't only speak when they are spoken to. I mean, that's taboo, like you ask in advance [...] you know, they should give it to you, where they butting in when they shouldn't be, that's ...

A Ja. I think it's different when you ask for advice. I mean when it's going to [...] an issue, you know. Also sometimes you feel some people they like to give you advice and they like expect you to take it ...

[Babble].

R It's a point, it's a good point, yes. Then you're hurt if they don't take your advice.

C Ja, that's a [...] always feel that, you gave them advice. If they take it, that's up to them, you know, they got to make that decision.

R Right.

C If they take it or not, and I don't think you [...].

R Did you want to say something?

D No.

R No. OK. Next.

What do you think about the things Hempies says about having a maid? Would the men you know agree with him?

A What do you think about Hempies and her having a maid? What do ...

R The way he went on about having a maid. That's like a male point of view.

F His reasoning is very ...

R You don't know men like that? Do you?

D The old man ...

F The old man that he looked he was [...].

D I think ...

R Oh that? But you don't know men like that?

[Babble].

R Your husband is like that?

[Babble].

R Yes, but that's a credit to you. Is your husband like that? Does he clean up after himself and do all that?

E Yes, you know [...].

R Very tidy and everything. Really? I'm impressed. And are you married?

D No.

R Then you don't have that. Your father, your brothers?

- F My father's the complete opposite.
- D Oh no! He does nothing for himself. He expects my mother to do ...
- R Now is your father South African?
- D Yes.
- F Yes.
- R OK.
- F Oh, we're sisters by the way.
- R Oh, you're sisters!
- [Babble].
- C You see, my son is married to ...
- R To her and to her. The way I listened. Right? So you say your father's not like that at all.
- D No.
- F My dad will get home - this is what he'll do. He'll get home. Dump his bag on the kitchen counter ...
- D Expect his food to be ...
- F 'Where's my food?'. OK. my Mom's got to bring his food to him. Bring the salt ...
- R ... what's wrong with the salt. it's not working!
- F Ja.
- [Mirth.].
- F His shoes have been kicked off and slippers on and that's it. I mean I would have divorced him a long time ago.
- R You have brothers?
- D Ja. One brother.
- R What's he like?
- F Ja. he's like that. He's like my dad.
- R It's very interesting. That you came in from Scotland.
- C Ja.
- R ... there were no servants ...
- C No.
- R Did your family have servants?
- F No. Only when I was in standard ten.
- D Ja. but she's still there. She doesn't do much.
- F She's quite old now.
- D She's quite old now.
- R So all the years before. your mother never had help?
- D No. she did everything herself.
- R Your mother did everything. Nobody to clean the floors?
- F No. I remember Mom doing that.
- D Ja. It was those wooden floors and she polished them.
- R Your mother did?
- D Yes.
- R But she still took care of your father in that way?
- D Yes.
- R That's interesting. OK. Are you married?
- B Yes.
- R And what's your husband like?
- B My dad.
- [Mirth.].
- D I think a lot of men are like that.
- B You see. they knew my husband before I knew him. Because they grew up ...
- R They grew up ...
- F Ja.
- D But Brian is like his father was. Exactly the same. Also you had to wait on him..

[Babble].

R You see why I wanted only women here tonight. Do you understand. I think the men always get upset. That you don't have this freedom of speech if the men are sitting there.

[Babble].

R So now we know why it is an all female thing. OK.

D And give you a mouthful.

R Well, they're going to know anyway, but so now you see why. He thought I was trying to throw him out, but it doesn't work if the ...

[Babble].

R I could hear when he called he wanted to be here. My husband knows too.

[Babble].

What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to Billy? Do you know anyone like Kobie? Does her smoking worry or upset you?

A What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to Billy?

D Kobie speaks to?

R To Billy.

D Oh.

[Babble].

D I don't think she's got any respect for him.

C Ja. ja. I mean, she gets so cross, you know, the obvious one [...] her husband at times you know. I would never speak to him in that way. You know if he says to me 'make a cup of tea', you know, sometimes I'm in a rush, and he always seems to do it when I ...

R So you do wait on him sometimes?

C Ja. I do. And then he says [...] a cup of tea and then obviously, I suppose so. You know.

[Babble].

C I don't really [...] very seldom I refuse. I respect him in that [...]. I won't do anything you know ...

R So when does it stop? When you said very seldom will you refuse him. And I'm going to get into some other waters here, because I'm trying to move this right along.

[Babble].

C Also feel that they got to do things for themselves. You're not a slave.

R OK. But now let's leave out that sort of waiting on him. Now we getting into other things. At what point does a woman say no about various other aspects of the relationship. Is it sometimes, no matter what they want. Say they want to have sex with you and you're tired - you say no ...

[Mirth.].

[Babble].

R ... do you say no?

F Ja. If I don't want to, I'll say no.

D I don't ...

[Babble].

R You've got a headache, you don't say no!

[Mirth.].

B I just turn around and push him away.

F I just go - 'son of a bitch! You just leave me alone!'

[Mirth.].

R What do you say? What do you say?

E I make some excuse up.

[Babble].

R You won't confront it and say 'hey!, I'm not in the mood'.

[Babble].

E He's nice about it.

R He's nice about it, he doesn't get mean?

- E Sometimes.
- R Sometimes.
- F No, I mustn't.
- A Ja, sometimes he gets angry, sometimes he doesn't, you know.
- F Kids are [...].
- [Mirth].
- [Babble].
- R That can turn you round sometimes.
- F I tell you what does OK with us. We've got a little baby. So what does affect us is that I'll bring him into the bed, to shut him up, you know, ...
- R To shut the husband up or the baby?
- F No! The baby!
- [Mirth].
- F And he doesn't like that. OK.
- R His space. It's his space. Husband's space.
- F Ja. He resents that. I know that.
- R Well you know he resents what you're also doing.
- F I do realize that, but you see he only wakes up in the morning about five. I suppose I could [...]. Five o'clock to about six. We get up at six.
- R Is he a male child or a female child?
- F He's a male.
- R Anyone else want to offer anything.
- A Does anybody else do that, by the way?
- B Well, I only do that when ... our babies are just three days different, you know. and he only comes into our bed when he's sick. That's the only time. Rest of the time he goes ...
- F See what happens, my husband gets up and goes to sleep in the other [...].
- [Babble].
- A We got [baby] in the bedroom with us, so it's very difficult sometimes you know. Especially when lovemaking now. Because ...
- R She's aware of it.
- A No you don't want to do it in front of her because she ... you feel that she's like watching you, you know.
- E Because children pick up things very quickly ...
- A When she's sleeping it's not a problem. But you know it can get a problem when she's awake and she's in the bedroom and she doesn't quite come in the bedroom. She sleeps like ...
- F I think if my baby was in the room with us [...] that would be fine, I mean, I wouldn't bring her into the bedroom to see us. The thing is ...
- [Traffic Noise].
- F ... that irritates. What am I supposed to do to ...
- R Does your husband not get up to the baby?
- F He used to when he was a bit small, but the baby doesn't like him very much, so now he's not interested. He's very much a Mommy's boy, so ...
- R None of you share this business of getting up to the babies at night.
- F He did it when he was very small. He doesn't usually ...
- B It always happens when they are very small.
- F Ja, but ...
- [Babble].
- C ... we decided to make a pact that both of us wake up each other, you know. whoever woke up with the ... you know
- [Mirth].
- C I used to lie there and wait and wait and wait.
- R Hoping he was going to wake up.
- C And then he would say are you sleeping? [...] he had ten months wait if another one came. so the dress had to go up. I must admit it was better than getting up in the night to the baby.

B [...] won't get up [...].

A Now [**], he won't get up. But some [...] but he still won't get up.

R Because he knows ...

[Babble].

F ... he would even get up and make the bottles [...] front of the microwave oven. He's very very good at that. It's just our little problem we've got that we must sort out. But otherwise he's very good with him.

[Babble].

R Let's see. Otherwise we're not going to get through. I mean this can go on for hours [...]. But I want to get through all three of them. What's the next one? Let's see if you have it?

Do you think the things that happened on the show could ever really happen to anyone you know?

A Do you think the things that happen on the show could really happen to anyone you know?

R Ja. To ask that question differently. The people in the way they behave on the show. in that particular ...

[Traffic Noise].

R ... do you think anyone could behave like this?

F Nobody slams the door in somebody's face.

D It's a bit exaggerated.

F Ja. exaggerated. Overact.

R Is that it? OK. Well. lets now. we going to ask you to go round the room. and I'm going to sit with the camera. I want each one to introduce yourself. and say what your relationship is to the others in the room. That's very interesting. OK. We'll start with Liegh-Ann. I'd like your name and what you do. you work outside the home and you have a child and you're married and so on and these are your family. So introduce yourself.

A My name's Leigh-Ann.

R Your last name too.

A Petherbridge.

R Uh huh.

A My sister-in-law. my mother-in-law, my other sister-in-law and then friends and neighbour.

R OK. And what do you do for a living?

A I'm a shampooist.

R Uh huh. Do you have any kids?

A I have one daughter.

R Uh huh.

A She's eight months.

R OK. OK. Now move onto the next one. Now you're the sister-in-law?

B Yes.

R Yes. OK. And what's your name?

B I'm Charlotte [**].

R Yes.

B This is my sister-in-law.

R Do you work outside the home?

B Yes. I'm a creche teacher.

R You're what?

B Creche teacher.

R What's that?

A Creche!

R Oh. you're at a creche. OK. OK. OK. And you have kids?

B Yes. I have three.

R You have three! Wow.

B Eight year old. a five year old and a eighteen month old.

R Wow. That's quite something. So now we have the mother-in-law. And your name is?

- C Jeanette [**].
- R Yes.
- C LeighAnn's my daughter-in-law. Charlotte's my daughter. Catherine my daughter-in-law. Charmaine [...] second child, and Leigh-Ann's neighbours. And I'm a Tupperware dealer.
- R Oh really! OK. That's great, that's fabulous. So is your husband still with you? Is still with you?
- C Yes, my husband's at home, yes.
- R Oh, that's wonderful. And do you have any of your children still at home? Or they are moved on. They've all moved on.
- C They all married.
- R They've all moved on. OK. And the next lady is? What [...].
- D I'm Charmaine [**].
- R Yes.
- D I'm divorced and I have one little girl of four.
- R Uh huh.
- D I'm a book keeper.
- R Uh huh.
- D I work in an old age home.
- R Oh really? That's interesting. And you have a baby. Your baby stays at home - do you have someone to take care of it?
- D No, she's at creche half day, and then my Mom looks after her in the afternoon.
- R So that's pretty fortunate, isn't it, that she can help?
- D Yes. I don't know what I'd do without my Mom.
- R So are you living on your own, or do you have somebody
- D No, I stay with my parents.
- R With your parents.
- D Yes.
- R OK. And the next lady. The neighbour. You are?
- E [I'm Patricia [**].
- R And you have children?
- E Two, a daughter that's at school ...
- R Yes.
- E ... and a son - nearly fifteen months.
- R Wow. And are you working outside the home?
- E No. I'm a housewife.
- R You're working in the home.
- E Ja.
- R OK. So you take care of the kids yourself then?
- E Ja.
- R OK. And your husband, is working outside the home. OK. And now we have?
- F Kathy [**]. I work for the Department of Public Works. I do works administration.
- R Uh huh.
- F And ...
- R You have one baby. You said you have a baby.
- F Yes. I have a nineteen month old baby.
- R OK. So you work full time outside the home.
- F Yes. Fulltime.
- R OK. So who takes care of your baby?
- F My mom.
- R I see. OK. OK. So that's fortunate. And you two are sisters.?
- F Yup.
- D Yes.
- R OK. OK. Well I'll just tell you who I am, once again. I'm Dorothy Roome, and I have three daughters, all of whom are married - no - not married - only one of the three is married. But all

of whom are not living in South Africa, they live overseas. And I'm here with my husband who you met earlier this evening, and I had lived in South Africa many years ago, left in seventy six, and came back here because I really was interested to see if women's rights would change with the new government. And that's what brought me back to South Africa. I wanted to see how and if things would change. And that's why I'm doing this research, to see, you know, what's happened to women over the last - since I was here in seventy six. OK. Alright, we'll ...

*****Jump in tape recording*****

What did you think of the way Ike treated Thando? Would you be upset if your partner treated you like this?

A Would you guys [...]. If your partner treated you like this?

R Now you know which one we're talking about here. This is the second one. *The Campaign Trail*.

A *The Campaign Trail*.

R Remember where it opens up - he's in the kitchen, trying to read the newspaper, and she comes through, and well he gets mad OK? Plus what happened in that whole episode - the way he speaks to her and so on. You want to talk about that stuff now?

F The way he speaks down to her.

R OK. How do you feel about that?

F That he's the boss. That's a load of bollocks!

R Does your husband speak to you like that?

E No. If he does, I think I'll give him a slap.

R You mean that?

E I would.

R What do you all feel about that?

*****End of video tape*****

R OK. We're in business. Let's go for it ladies. Next question here.

How did you feel when Thando gave her speech to run for President of the Residents Association? Would you have voted for her if you had been at the meeting? Who else would you have voted for?

A How did you feel when Thando gave the speech to run for President of the Residents Association? Would you vote for her if you had been at the meeting? Who else would you have voted for?

C I thought she was good, because at her home she was nothing. Because she's had nothing to do with herself all day but cause trouble. So now she's got something, she's found that she's got something she can do. And it's built her up. Right? So now feels that she's talented in some way that she ... I used to [...] and what's her name?

F Actually, I think she didn't give it enough thought - what she was really getting herself into. She had this vision this is how she would have liked it, but how she was going to get there, she didn't know. And I just feel she never gave it enough thought

R She didn't think it through.

F Ja.

R OK. What do you think? OK. Remember what she actually said. What was she talking about? Can you remember what her platform was?

[Babble].

[Traffic Noise].

D I think she had a point because even ... you got a black neighbour. People still talk about it - it's not completely accepted. I think she had a ...

F She had the idea, but she didn't think of how she was really going to ... I mean you can't change people's way of thinking. They've got to change - you know when a person's got something set in their mind - that's it! You can't change their opinion and she got baffled and I don't think she thought of it. I don't think she thought how she - I knew what - she knew what she wanted. She didn't think

R You think people. That last point you made was so interesting - people - you can't change people's thinking. So when she's talking about this, you don't think that that's really valid, that she can't really make those sort of things happen. The racial

harmony - you don't think that that will just happen?

F It won't just happen.

D It won't happen overnight, but possibly eventually yes.

F People will learn to accept, but I feel it's ...

A It depends on everybody. I mean you take this building for instance. Before it used to be just totally white. Now you have more Indians and you have more coloured families. But no body really worries about each other. OK. Unless somebody messes with the lift or somebody stabs somebody. But I think everybody actually keeps to themselves. They don't really try to make an effort to be friendly with the next person. You'll take to him, but you won't just [...] and be like best friends for the next ten years, you know. Although Trish is quite friendly with an Indian family and it does make an effort.

F I think things like that take time. It's not something that can be changed overnight. It does, it takes a long time.

R How did you feel about that? To become friendly with an Indian.

D Well I feel that we all humans. We must give them a chance. They're humans, we can't bar the gates because they're black or we're whites [...].

[Traffic Noise].

F ... I think you actually have to give people a chance to prove themselves.

R Prove themselves for what?

D You know I think that it's wrong to generalise. Because you think -- say for example your family - the family next door to you - are not really nice people and I think a lot of people are inclined to be put off because of that one family. They think everybody's like that.

C We've got an Indian couple just moved in across the road from us and we got [...] we don't have any problems. No we don't sit on each other's front doorstep and that sort of thing, but ...

R This is a coloured couple you say?

C It's an Indian couple across the road.

R An Indian couple, yes.

C And we got on very well with her in fact.

[Traffic Noise].

F We've got an Indian sister-in-law. My brother's married to her.

R Your brother's married to her.

F So we can [...] it.

R Ja. I mean that - you misunderstand. I mean - I say this up front - is I'm very liberal. I left South Africa in seventy six because I couldn't stand it any more. And I've come back because I really believe I have a lot of hope for this country, you know. So I'm telling you where I'm coming from now. So I do have a lot of hope for this country.

C Ja. No. I'm [...] and [...]. I've had two kids staying with me, which are blacks.

R Uh huh.

C ... one thinks the world owes her something.

[Babble].

C She thinks the world owes her something.

R Oh, you have two children living there?

? Two black children

R Living with you?

[Babble].

R Explain why you've got them living with you.

C Because the one is the girl's daughter.

F The domestic's daughter.

C The domestic's daughter.

R OK. OK.

C I've had the domestic sixteen to seventeen years. Now this kid's been a problem since she was three months old.

R OK.

C She's now seventeen.

R OK.

C She went to school at the farm. She was at the farm until she was about ten. ten - twelve. Then she came from the farm. so now I was asked if she could sleep in the house. you know. So that was the start of that , you know. So eventually I've been left to look after her. you know, because mother's always away working or something. I look after her. She thinks the world owes her something. Now I took in a boy - he's just turned eighteen. He's from the church. He was thirteen in matric. He was staying ...

[Traffic Noise].

C ... and this boy, Jimmy, totally different. he'll do anything.

[Babble].

D He got straight A's.

C He got straight A's. he passed his Matric. he's at Tech. You know. you come in at night. you start washing dishes. I can be working there. I can be lying on the floor dieing and she'll just walk through. One day I collapsed in the toilet. let me tell you - collapsed in the toilet. She won't tell you that. Of course. she couldn't get into the toilet because I'd been lying on the floor. Apparently she just walked through - never even went and told my husband. He never watched the television. You know and it's - every time there's something. I got a sore back. I got a sore tummy [...]. She's nearly seventeen years of age and she's only in standard five.

R Do you think this is because she's black or is it just that she's the way she is.

[Babble].

C I'm at the stage I'm ready to ... but I'm going to say to you. I'm ready to get a cop. you know. give her a good shake.

R Could you get rid of them? Could you say leave?

C No. I could say leave really. but I just haven't got the heart to do it.

R Well maybe you should say that. Say to her I don't like the way that you are doing it.

C I told her ...

R You actually need to say to her - if you don't improve within the next month! You know, I think you always have to give people like a warning.

F Ultimatum.

R Ja. But also just kind of let them sink in - say you know I really mean this, and you really don't pull your weight. I don't need you here. I mean if she's paying you something and you need the money then you have to think about it differently.

[Babble].

C We don't get any money.

R Well let me tell you. Are you near the university or far from the university?

D No. far.

R Umm?

D Live in Montclair.

R Is that a long way from here?

D Ja.

R No, I mean there are lots of opportunities where people will be thrilled to have. you know. you as a landlord. But if she's misbehaving you just have to say to her. And it's almost like you owe that to her ... one woman to another ... look at it that way. Can she really continue to behave like this? You know it's like one woman to another - it's got nothing to do with the colour they're now - we're talking - she's not sort of earning her keep in the world. She needs to be told - Hey! This is not the right kind of behaviour.

[Babble].

A She may be seventeen. but she's very. very mature. She still thinks ...

B Because of problem that they kept her out of school at the farm. so that's why she's ...

F She's actually on the level of Charlotte's daughter ... Charlotte's daughter is how old now?

B She's nearly nine.

F She's nine. And she thinks on that level still.

R So you say ...

[Babble].

R ... Is she not going to school?

F She is.

C Ja, she's going to school. but I gave her a note. This is how I know she's not stupid.

R OK.

C Because. I'll tell you why. I gave her a note to ... Last June. I said you better pass at the end of the year, because if you don't pass at the end of the year you going to work. I says my husband told my daughter if you don't work. you can't eat. The same applies to you ...

[Traffic Noise].

C ... can't cope with that.

R OK.

C ... and the fights I used to have with my husband. We used to have terrible fights over her. because I believe that she should be getting homework. and she never ever had any homework. Now why should she not have any homework? I said. right. I'm fed up fighting with you - we're going to the school. Went to the school. Do you know what the tale is? She'd been getting homework all the time!

R And she never told you. It's actually very interesting that there is this crossover that you're having people of a different colour, you know. in your home and that. because I've been away from South Africa for a long time so. I mean. I come across it all the time at the University. but I didn't realize that it was something that was in the community as well.

C Ja. because you know ...

B You think that she's also jealous over the older ...

[Babble].

R OK. Yes.

B But. you see like. before she was like ...

[Babble].

R OK. She was the star. She was the star. Yes. OK.

C But you know -- but I mean there's a difference. you know. I ---

R Right.

C ... and I don't know if it's difficult because she's Xhosa and he's Zulu and I don't know if that is ...

R Oh. sometimes.

C ... a fight as well. but what [**] says I couldn't ...

[Traffic Noise].

C ... as far as I'm concerned. doesn't matter. She's still at home - she's part of the family, so ...

R That's it.

C She's a person. she feels just the same as we feel. Just because she's got a different colour.

R That's not a problem.

C You know, it's not a problem for me at all. But it's a problem with the people I'm renting the house from.

R Now that's interesting.

C Yes. You know I do ...

R White people come in there and they can't accept it.

C Ja. I get [...]. Ja [...].

R What sort of people actually resent that you [have a black person staying with you?].

C Ja.

R ... mixing with people socially - black people or colour.

C Ja. you know. so I ...

R In your neighbourhood or ...

C No.

R Friends or Church people or what?

C Friends. no. I'm [part of] the Church people [...].

[Traffic Noise].

C I'm not saying ...

- R No. Well, I think here it's in confidence.
- C ... because I don't want it to go back.
- F We know!
- C You know?
- F We know.
- C Well, my son-in-law's one of them. Every time he comes to the [house] I'm like this.
- R That's his problem.
- F That is because he voiced his opinion the day he walked in and said it.
- C Ja.
- F That's why he [says it].
- C Ja.
- R Yes, but you need to confront him about it.
- D But it's also the way he [behaves].
- [Babble].
- B You can't confront him. You can't confront him - ask him [...].
- F He's a very domineering character.
- B You can't confront him you know ...
- C Look how [...] my son-in-law, don't get me wrong, I get on well ...
- F This is not her husband now, it's ...
- D ... the other daughter.
- [Babble].
- C They're real ...
- R Right wingers?
- F Racists! Racists!
- [Babble].
- C You know I'm just [...].
- D You're a bit on edge.
- C I'm on edge that he's got to say something ...
- R Yes, now why [...] to say something to that person, to one of your ...
- D No, you won't talk to him.
- [Babble].
- D He'll just pass comments that are
- C You know it's so nice, you know, when they're sitting there, you know he'll pass comments when they're sitting there. And I don't care who it is, I wouldn't do that to him, you know, you know, hurt him and, you know ...
- R And you couldn't say to him, if you are going [...].
- C No, I can't, I just can't [...].
- [Traffic Noise].
- [Babble].
- F It wouldn't bother him, you know.
- A Ja, there's that type of person that ...
- [Babble].
- R Ja, that's tough.
- C You know ...
- A [...] people are like that ...
- [Babble].
- R Are you saying people like that are not going to change in the 'new' South Africa. Are you saying that someone like that will never change?
- F You see, there are those people that you can't change their way of thinking.
- [Babble].
- F They put up this wall around them ...
- [Babble].
- E They don't want to change.
- R Oh, that was interesting, Patricia. They don't want to change.

R Oh, that was interesting, Patricia. They don't want to change.

E They don't want to change.

[Babble].

E They don't like black people, so they not going to like that person.

R Because of the colour?

E Ja.

R The old stuff.

A There's a young lady that also lives in the building. Now she has a daughter. She plays with all kinds of children.

R Yes.

[Babble].

A And now this [...] told Patricia that she's bringing the child up wrong. Because she's letting the child play with coloured children.

R Uh huh. She's a white woman?

A Yes.

R Is she English or Afrikaans?

A No no, she's English.

R Uh huh.

A But she's very anti colour.

R OK.

A But now her son has also just started school. And now he's picked up her ways. I asked him when he went to start at school, said how do you like your school?, he said there's too many Indians in the school ...

[Traffic Noise].

A ...everybody was small, and I used to [...].

[Babble].

A She taught him to go like this [demonstrates] every time a black person walked past them - meaning a monkey, you know. But today, the fact remains she

shouldn't really teach him that.

R Well not if she wants to stay in this country. If she wants to make any progress. But down the line

...

[Babble].

R Alright. Let's press on. I mean I know ... you know we could go on forever ... so interesting. You're a wonderful audience tonight. What's next?

[Babble].

R Oh yes. Let's ask them about that. Did anyone like it?

A How do you feel ...

R Oh no. Let's go straight to this one. I love that. That always gets interesting.

What is 'low class'? What does Thando mean when she says anything is 'low class'?

A What is 'low class'. What does Thando mean when she says anything is 'low class'?

R Now do you remember when this happens? When Ike asks her to go and canvass for him? To go into people's houses. She says 'Oh that's low class. I couldn't do it'. Then he says 'Well Hillary Clinton did that'. Oh! Oh yes! I can do that. Because now that's canvassing. Then you going to be the President's wife whatever. But she uses this word throughout the series, she uses the word 'low class'. Everything for her is 'low class'. Now I want to know from you what in your mind - and this is a very South African thing this 'low class' - what does it mean to you? What does low class mean? If you say ... I mean you kind of almost got there a moment ago when you said if you have neighbours perhaps, and you kind of were saying, you know, it was almost in there, you didn't say ... and I thought I don't want her to spoil it though. But now you know, pounce on you and say what exactly is it? It's actually something which is very much part of this country and of course in the UK, very much part of the UK. We have the same thing in the States, but it's very different, there's no such thing as class. You use the word class in America and it's ... forget it - you're stupid, but I mean if you got enough money you can have as much class as you like. But let's talk about what we mean about ...

A I think basically it's the way you behave.

R The way you behave? Oh. So can you give me some ideas?

C Ja ... [...] fights [...] fighting, you know, drinking the whole time and ...

R To you that's low class?

C Right. Ja. You know, they don't want ... what is the word? ... they don't have a standard.

R A standard?

C No. You know, a standard ... hold their head up, you know.

R What is low class to you? Do you know anybody who's low class?

F I'm just keeping quiet. OK. The family discussed this before, between us.

R Uh huh.

F My brother's wife.

R OK.

F She came into this marriage, ja, this marriage with two - four kids ... we don't even know!

D But they're all there.

F The way she portrays herself to us is like a person that doesn't work, therefore she doesn't look after herself. The way she speaks to her kids, looks after her kids, it's like she just couldn't care. And, and to me that is a low class. Where you can't bring yourself up just to say 'well look, this is me'. She's a low class. No money, no self esteem, nothing. She thinks she's nothing, you know.

R Is there any ...

F And that is the way she's ...

D Ja. I don't think necessarily no, no not necessarily. I think sometimes the opportunities you have, money has got a lot to do with it.

R Now money ...

D I think money is possibly ...

R You don't know any rich people who are low class?

D No, I don't.

R OK.

F I feel money buys class.

R You do?

D Maybe it's wholesome?

F Ja. It could be.

D Maybe it's wholesome.

C You don't have to have a lot of money to hold respect.

F That's it. That's it.

D Ja, I think respect is also ...

R Respect is the word. Ja.

D But you have to earn respect.

F Ja.

R So now ... Patricia ... what to you is low class?

E I think that low class is a person that ...

End of tape

C And you can see how they speak [...] the language as well.

R So somebody with an accent would not be high class?

F No, I don't think that's what she ...

R No, I'm playing Devil's Advocate -- I'm just trying to see ... Yes.

C You can tell, you can, even amongst the black kids, you can tell, just by the way they speak ...

D I think the language ...

C How they been brought up, you understand - I mean how they been brought up.

R Uh huh.

C And ... you know and what standards they have.

You can tell by the way they speak and the way they been brought up, you know [...]. You know when we[...] church [...] and call [...].

[Mirth].

C When she came to us she couldn't speak a word of English, you know [...].

R Oh, you mean your black daughter?

F Ja.

R Speaks with a Scottish accent?

[Babble].

C And they teased them at church. Now they call them Scottish and black.

R That's cute. That's cute.

C You know and, and she's not too bad now ...

[Babble].

C So --- you know, so she's learned [...].

R I have one final question before we move on to the last one. And that is - When this woman stood for, you know, a position of authority like the President of the Association. How do you feel about women standing for positions like that? I don't have it on there, but it's something that this group I thought would perhaps benefit from a thing like that.

D I think if they're capable, why shouldn't they be allowed to?

R Would any of you think of standing for a position to be voted for?

C She could! Well, these two could!

? Now these two could ...

[Babble].

F I wouldn't mind doing that, but the opportunity hasn't arisen.

R Well you have to go and look for the opportunity.

F Exactly. Ja.

R Because I think this is the time in South Africa.

Many of the black women to whom I gave spoken, have just been ordinary workers in the home, are making that effort, and I think they are looking for women to stand right now. Why has it got to be because you are an Indian woman or a black woman? I mean I know maybe you never thought of doing it before, but then you get back to that self esteem thing. Think about it! Start at a, you know, at a particular ... no matter what political affiliation you have. Just think about it. You know, because you have something to say ... in your community you might have something to say. Do something about it. Speak up. And you know what? It will build your self esteem. Just to be on a Committee, where you have rights to be there and to say something. It's a great feeling of power. OK. Right, let's go onto the next one. We can kind of skip through this because I want them to see pictures also. We have to do a couple here. Let's see what we can skip through there. Oh yes. How would you feel if your child started dating a person of a different race?

[Babble].

How would you feel if your child started dating a person of a different race? Do you know anyone who socializes with a member of a different race?

R How would you feel if your child started dating a person of a different race?

A Well no, we actually, somebody [**] used to work with, and he asked [**] that same question. He said what would you do when your child is old enough, and an African chap comes to ask you. He actually said he would accept it if that person is respectable.

R A class thing?

D Ja.

A Depends on how they act.

R If he was a Professor at the University, would that be OK?

D No.

A No, but it doesn't ...

R Come on you girls!

D I don't ...

- R I want to hear this one! This is the good stuff.
- D I don't think I could accept it.
- F Black.
- D If something were to come of that relationship and children were to come out. That child is born - doesn't belong anywhere. Not black, not white, in between.
- R This is South Africa.
- D I know, but that's something that bothers me.
- R OK.
- B And now we can start teaching them.
- ? Ja. I think ...
- C The kids suffer.
- ? ... the kids that suffer.
- F OK. Say there's no children. Say they've just decided well this is it. This is what I want.
- D Well if that is what their decision is, and if that is what makes them happy ... Well then they should be allowed to make their own choices. But it will take a lot of convincing, yes ...
- [Babble].
- D ... I really have to work around it.
- R You just said ... do you have an Indian brother-in-law or ...
- F Sister-in-law. And they actually living on my Mom and Dad's premises.
- R Uh huh.
- F Now I feel - OK - that's the life you want. Fair enough. Go and live it. But don't come and bring everyone else into it, because we've never chosen to live like that. OK?
- R Like what?
- F Mixed couple.
- R Oh. OK. Is she low class?
- F Yes. I would say she is.
- D I would say yes.
- F In our sense of how we ...
- R Of what your definition of what low class is?
- F Ja, and I feel because ... OK ... this case now - because she stayed there, she brought all her kids from - if they're all her kids - we don't even know. OK. All these kids and ... I feel it's actually affecting our kids that are there. In another way, you know.
- R You think you're lowering your status in the community?
- F We have neighbours ...
- D I think so, yes it does.
- F It does.
- D Their behaviour, it involves the next door neighbours.
- R What happened if she was a Nursing Sister?
- F She is.
- D Well she was a DNA.
- F She did do medicine.
- D I mean if her behaviour was appropriate ...
- F But she manipulates us.
- D If her behaviour was appropriate, it probably would affect us in a much different way ...
- F Is she actually trying to wake the family up here? That's how I see it. I don't know if that's how you see it. You hear what's going on.
- C Because wait! When they see your mother comes in and I'm ...
- B When Charmaine was [...].
- F And I feel now looking at my mother and her, living up there. Is that how maybe my kids are going to live one day. That's not what I want for them. Yes they might choose that.
- [Traffic Noise].
- D [...] she's black - she doesn't believe in mixed

marriages - she says that it never works. There's always problems. But I think, like with her marrying my brother - he's white and she's black -

she sees obstacles and we're not racialistic. OK. But she sees obstacles that are not there.

F She ...

D She thinks we think differently of her because she's black and that isn't true.

F She uses us as pawns against each other.

D And when they have problems in their marriage, she like involves us.

F Ja.

D Which is not true.

C What I find also is Norman is also afraid [...] at the start making the [...].

F That we wouldn't accept her.

C But also he was afraid to take her in public.

F But then he should never have married her. But that's getting away from now what [...].

R So you're basically saying, you couldn't accept that. The only thing I want to add to that is if your kids go to the university, the universities are no longer separate.

? Ja.

R OK. And let me tell you. At the university level you have young adults mixing and socialising. It's on it's way!

F Ja, you have to ...

[Babble].

F I would feel it's right now. ... this is all new to us.

R Sure.

F And if my son was eighteen ...

R Then you're going to have to grow into it.

F I would.

D You would, it would ...

F By the time he's of age ...

R You will feel more comfortable with it.

F Be more comfortable with it. But now ...

R It's hard now.

F Yes. And hard for me to accept.

R I appreciate that. I'm just trying to make you think. That's all ... But we know that goes in there. We know.

[Babble].

D But we never ever thought it would happen in our own family.

F Ja, ja, that's the thing.

R I had better press on because I want you to see the pictures ... and that husband of yours is going to come home any minute.

[Babble].

Do you feel the way Thando shops is worse than Kobie's secret gambling? Do you know any women who shop a lot or gamble?

R A very important question here. Do you feel the way Thando shops is worse than Kobie's secret gambling? And do you know any women who shop a lot or gamble? You know, Kobie's the gambler. Thando's the compulsive shopper. She's got to shop. OK. Now do you know any women who behave like that?

A Oh ja.

R And?

F Oh yes.

R Which do you think is worse?

[Babble].

D Well, if you shop, you get something for your money.

B Well, I know someone who shops and gambles.

D And if you got the money, if you got the money and you enjoy spending it, why shouldn't you?

[Babble].

F ... compulsive shoppers. And get themselves into trouble.

E Well I'd say gambling in some ways is illegal, shopping is not really.

R Gambling is illegal?

C Gambling I think is worse.

[Babble].

R But it's not illegal anymore is it? Can't you gamble everywhere? Yes? How do you feel about gambling in South Africa. Is a dirty word for you?

D No, not if you ...

R You don't mind it. It's OK?

E No, as long as it's not illegal.

R As long as it's not illegal.

F As long as gambling doesn't open [...].

[Babble].

F I play *lotto* every week.

R Oh. You do? OK. We're hearing about your vices here.

F So does my husband. He plays four rand, I play four rand. That's not compulsive gambling.

R Could you do without it one week?

F Yes. It wouldn't bother me if I never play. I mean sometimes I forget.

R Well that's good. You don't want to look forward to it like a [...].

[Babble].

C What I feel is, when gambling has [...] wages is, you know, down, the cancer's started, the wife gets beaten and there's no food in the house for the kids. That's when I ...

[Babble].

B [...] well it's one of his [...].

? Shopping spot.

B Got no money for food, but always got money to play horses or ...

[Babble].

B Mainly playing horses.

R OK ladies. The next thing is this thing of a court case to stop Frankie's cartoons.

Do you think Frankie was wrong to make fun of her family and friends in cartoons? If she was a member of your family would you be upset with what she did?

Do you think the parents did the right thing to start a court case to stop Frankie's cartoons? What would you have done if Frankie was your daughter?

R How would you feel if that was your daughter and she'd taken you down and had cartoons made. What did you think of that? The principle behind it.

[Mirth].

[Babble].

R Did you think people should be able to write anything they like about anybody? Not just kids now. Let's just take it one step further. Freedom of speech.

[Babble].

R Whatever you like you must be able to say about people.

F Umm.

D If you not hurting them. Not ...

F That is a very strong topic - very strong topic. At my work place at the moment ... this freedom of speech ...

R Uh huh.

F OK. And I believe strongly ...

R Uh huh.

F Depending on what, you know, what you're basing

your freedom of speech on. If it's ...

R Uh huh.

F ... if it's at somebody else's expense. Not to ...

D Pull ...

F ... pull somebody else down. Like the cartoons for instance, I actually think the parents overreacted a bit.

[Babble].

F She was trying to make some money. And they didn't approve of the way. They should have discussed it as a family, not just gone and issued her with this summons. I do strongly believe that freedom of speech is ...

R What does the lady over there - the mother - think?

C Ja. I feel that it's OK because even when its [...] some of that verse [...] you'll say [...].

[Babble].

C You know there's two monkeys come on. I just want to say it's my husband and his friend. but we say it to their face and ...

[Babble].

R It's a joke.

C You know, but when it comes to the stage that when it's actually really hurting a person. then you draw the line.

? That's right.

? Ja.

C You draw the line. When it starts to hurt people. Joking apart. And it's fine because we joke a lot in the family, we joke a lot with each other, you know, and tease each other. We know it's teasing but when it's coming to really hurt somebody, then ...

R Noy what happens if it's the truth? Let's talk about political figures. What happens if it's the truth? - but initially you don't know it's the truth and then it's published. Do you think that's - should be kept quiet or should that be published?

F That actually happened a few weeks ago.

R Did it?

F We were faced with that at work, and something our Director General published in the newspaper. We were highly disgusted. It was the truth, but we couldn't believe that him, running this department, would actually go to the papers with it, instead of confronting us with it. Say - 'look I know what's happening here ...

R Yes.

F ... pull yourself right or out!', but he went to the papers, and the whole country knew what was happening in the department.

R Really.

F And I [...].

[Traffic Noise].

F ... that is when freedom of speech is ...

R Which is very new to South Africa.

F Ja, it's just something we have to learn to accept.

R OK.

F Difficult but ...

R Alright.

Could you see yourself in any of the women characters?

R These four women characters. Could you see yourself in any of them [...]. Think of the four women - there's the Frankie, who's the artistic one and she's always seeing the other side of the question. There's Kobie who also sees the other side of the question, but she has her faults too. She likes to put her husband down a bit. There's Thando [...].

[Traffic Noise].

R ... in her own way she knows how to get what she wants. She uses sex. In one of the earlier episodes she talks about the 'honey pot' that she offers. And then of course there's Ma Moloji, the grandmother who's, you know, very down to earth. Do you see yourself in any of these?

[Mirth.].

R No. Do you want to go with this one?

[Babble].

C No, we are down to earth ordinary people.

R So you don't see yourself in them?

? No, I don't see.

SUBURBAN BLISS

Janet Group

April 20th 1996

Episodes:

- a. Maid from Hell
- b. Campaign Trail
- c. Comic Relief

Six Participants:-

- A = Janet Watson. (Facilitator)
 B = Jenny [**].
 C = Leanne [**].
 D = Jenny [**].
 E = Lynne [**].
 F = Sandy (Sandra) [**].

R = Dorothy Roome (Researcher)

A I'm Janet. I'm very nervous and ... I've been married to Ian for the last nineteen years. We're originally from Port Elizabeth. Then we moved to Pietermaritzburg, and a year and a half ago we moved here to Westville. I have a little business that I run from home. I work part time for Natal Newspapers and the rest of the time I spend looking after my family. I think that's about it.

R Thank you.

A I have two children.

R OK.

B I'm Jenny. I'm married and I have four children and I just work from home. I'm not employed.

R You are employed. If you work inside the home. Thank you Jenny.

C I'm Leanne. I was born in Zambia [...]. I've been married for four years. I don't have any children and [...].

R Thank you.

D I'm Jenny. I grew up in Rhodesia - what was then Rhodesia. I've been married for almost twenty two years. I have two children - two daughters. I work outside the home in a Bank. I'm controller in a bank. And that's about all.

R Thank you very much.

E I'm Lynne. And I've been married for twenty four years. I have three children. I work part time. I teach swimming. I have a small agency and at the moment I work mainly from home.

R OK.

F I'm Sandy [**]. I've been married to my husband Jeff, for twenty one years. We have two children. And I work mornings only at a medical centre.

There are four men in the show - Billy Dwyer, Ike Moloï, Andrew Moloï and Hempies. Which of these men do you like or dislike the most? What appeals to you about them?

A Right. We'll start with the first - yes, here are a couple of questions in connection with the videos. The first one - *Maid From Hell*. There are four men in the show - Billy Dwyer, Ike Moloï, Andrew Moloï and Hempies. Which of these men do you like or dislike the most? Excuse me. What appeals to you about them? Do you remember the old man - Hempies?

R Hempies is the old Afrikaner - right?

A And Andrew is the

R ... the youngest - black guy

A Yes, that's right

R Uh hum

A Ike [...] Billy was ...

R The President ... of the company

A Yes, right. So ... who would you say ...?

R Did you dislike any of them or ...?

? All of them.

R You dislike all of them?

? I think the old man.

R Well, that's good.

F Ja. But he's still from the old school.

- ? He's still from the old ...
- F Yes. Oh, definitely very - you know?
- ? Old fashioned?
- F Old fashioned and, *verkramp*, [bigoted], and ...
- C Irritating in their own way.
- ? Yes.
- ? I think we can just ...
- R Let's talk about that.
- ? So typical ...
- D If I could put it in one word. I would say it was so typical.
- C Typical of?
- D Typical of the people that you met. I can identify with people that I meet. The characters remind me of people that I've met over the years.
- R Interesting.
- D Each person was typical. I thought. Couldn't say I disliked them.
- A Oh yes - that was the question - Did you like or dislike them?
- ? I dislike them.
- E But I think it's difficult because they basically are a low Afrikaans family, which is what we are not, most of us are not exposed to Afrikaans families generally. I mean we are ...
- ? Yes.
- D [...] in Cape Town, living in Belleville, which was ... [Babble].
- D ... and the old man is really ... You'd be amazed at how many people are like that, you know.
- ? Oh no.
- E [...] we know that.
- C The one thing I liked about Billy, was in spite of [...].
- ? That's my husband.
- ? [...] must go in exactly the right order.
- C It's overdone, and it's irritating
- ? Yes, ja.
- ? Yes.
- E Everything's overdone.
- ? Yes.
- R You've got something else to say? Well say it.
- D I can see why Lynne said. I think from the acting point of view, it was overdone.
- ? Ja.
- D I think what they're getting at ...
- ? Oh ja. What they're aiming at ...
- ? Ja, ja.
- C I just find it very irritating. I must be honest.
- E I actually ...
- R No, that's very interesting - would you like to expand on that, Lynne?
- E Lynne. Yes. I just find it something that I just don't relate to. It's because it's just irritating. I don't see much humour in it. It sounds terrible, but I have got quite a good sense of humour most times.
- R For you, it's not funny.
- E It's funny for five minutes and after that actually really annoys me. It just, ...
- R Do you know why it annoys you?
- E Its trivial. I'm trying to think of why ...
- R Perhaps during the course ... try and think of that, because that ... it's a very important aspect of what we're looking for here.

- A Do you think perhaps a lot in there you despise? Do you despise a lot of the things that are going on in there? Their homes, the whole atmosphere, it's everything new.
- E I just ...
- D Do you know what I think [...] that these people are so entrenched in how you are told it has to be. They want to be friends. The old man and the old lady, they want to actually be friends. They supposedly hate each other, but because of the way they've been brought up to ...
- ? To be conditioned, and they are conditioned, that's the word, they are conditioned to hate one another. And they can't come across, so they're more comfortable hating each other. They still said it. They still said how we can go back to [...] hating each other. Meantime they actually ... you can see that they like each other.
- C It's not subtle humour, it's real sort of slapstick [...] until you figure out what's going on, like the British humour, it's very ...
- E That's right, you need to concentrate. It's boring, it's just ...
- R OK. Want to move on?

Thando wants to have a maid - why is she so keen? Do you think it is a good idea for her to have a maid?

- A Thando wants to have a maid. Why is she so keen? Do you think it is a good idea for her to have a maid?
- C She's the black wife?
- A Yes, yes.
- F Well, I think because she's perhaps living in a white area, like Parkhurst now, she wants to be like the white madam next door, and also have a maid. Meantime the white madam didn't actually even have a maid, but she wanted to be like her, and when the white madam heard that the black lady was looking for a maid, then she said to her husband, I've also got to have a maid, you know, to hang up my washing and polish and everything like that.
- E To me they've obviously got an idea of how we live.

I mean, if they came into our area, they have to try and be like us. Be what we're like. Everybody has a maid and everybody has this and everybody has that. But you know it's not always the case. They didn't realize until they're actually in that situation.

- A And that was a typical example of the preconceived value.
- E That's right.
- A She had to have a maid, because the madam next-door's got a maid. And when it comes down to the crunch, the lady next door doesn't have a maid. So that was one preconceived idea that she had moving into a white area which wasn't so.
- E That's right. That people definitely have maids.
- A Yes
- D What it boils down to I think, is an inferiority complex. I [...] Thando [...] inferiority complex ...
- [Babble].
- D She wanted to be seen to be having a maid. She didn't really need a maid. I mean she wanted to be seen to have one, to get rid of this complex that she had.
- C [...] as well by being called 'madam'.
- D Ja, ja.
- [Babble].
- C She may have had that notion when she was young, of calling somebody else madam. Maybe that's why she was so impressed with being called madam.
- D That's right.
- C It's true though, it's true. Her mom may have been, or her mother-in-law may have been a maid at one time or the other. Being of the older generation ...

There are two different kitchens in Suburban Bliss, which do you prefer and why?

- A There are two different kitchens in *Suburban Bliss*. Which do you prefer and why?

R Can you remember them?

B The black person's kitchen. I prefer that one, because it seems to be more modern. And less cluttered.

R Interesting. Yes. Yes.

C The whole house, the lounge and everything [...] cluttered and [...].

R Anybody else [...].

D What I noticed about the kitchen, what for me was very typical as well [...] but when you come from Belleville, there's that table in the middle of the room. It is ...

R In which kitchen?

D In the white's kitchen.

R The Dwyer's kitchen.

D The Dwyer's kitchen. They had this table in the middle of the room and that's very much how Afrikaans families are. I mean everything is cluttered and a mess, and everything that happens in the family is around this table. And I kept noticing the table, in the middle of the kitchen. I just noticed the table in the middle where they would have their family ...

[Babble].

Would you have employed Dalia as a maid? Do you know anyone like her?

A Would you have employed Dalia as a maid? Or do you know anyone like her?

R Yes. Now it doesn't mean to say that as a maid, do you know anybody like her, which, I realized when I set these questions like this, I mean Dalia as a personality, I mean as a maid, [...] but as a personality. Do you know anyone who does this kind of thing - whatever it is that Dalia was doing.

? ... anybody we work with?

R Not necessarily in a maid situation.

A Are we talking about a black lady in ...

R Not necessarily, but maybe, I mean either way, however - the kind of traits that are present in Dalia. Do you know other people who have those traits, whether they are maids or perhaps a woman you know or men you know. If you think back what it was that she was doing.

A It was typical of a work situation. I work in a very big company as [...] and you go to one person and you hear what they've got to say about someone else. And then you just tell them a little bit, or this is what I hear happening at work. Did you hear this about so and so? Oh really? And then they go back to the person who they heard the story about and say 'Oh, so and so says ...'

B And the story gets changed.

A Yes. And the story gets changed a little bit and that's how rumours start and, to me that's ...

[Babble].

F ... women seen in a working environment.

A That's right, yes. Because I work with so many people I used to work in a small office, so you don't get too much of that, but now working in a big open office, you know now, Leanne, you still sit in an office, you don't socialise all day, you have people coming into your office and you go out. But sitting in an open office like I do, where you've got about a hundred and twenty people - not only women, but a lot of the men are very much like women too. And that's the sort of thing that's very typical, is talking to one person about another one, and ...

E But don't you find that doesn't happen as much as ... like say for instance, women that are not that busy, I mean if you have a big work environment, and you're busy with your job and you're really involved in your work, you don't have time to listen to the gossip that's going ... I'm asking now ... I've never been in a big working situation where you're busy, busy, busy all the time. I mean I know now, all of us who work at home, we've got more time to chat to your friend - oh, did you know this? Or did you know that?, because you're not fully occupied all day and you have time to listen to all the goings on.

D What I've noticed and I work for Allied, I've been involved with Allied Bank for years and something that I've actually noticed now too, I'm permanent staff

now for the first time after eighteen years and if there's any backbiting or that type of thing that goes on, it seldom seems to be amongst the blacks. The blacks tend to sit on the fence. Really because they feel it's still part of the cultural thing. They feel less inclined to want to comment because it's whites that they are dealing with or what, but you can see that they've got things to say. There's a big thing going on at work at the moment - where everybody's involved, and the blacks just ... and it's not because they aren't intelligent, we've got some very bright, very switched on, black people, who work with us, but they evade the point. And I asked the one girl, who I'm quite friendly with, why she doesn't really say anything? I said to her 'is it because you don't have an opinion?' She said 'oh yes, I've got an opinion' but, she says 'I don't want to get involved in any nastiness. I want to be everybody's friend - I don't want to be involved in any backbiting because it's futile'. So that was her answer to me - that it's futile. And yet the white women are there hook, line and sinker. They seem to enjoy it.

E Enjoy it.

D Definitely noticed that, they really don't ...

E We've got a lot of Indians who are educated secretaries at work, and they are generally the ones that start the gossip.

D Oh really?

C ... very involved in [...]not backbiting [...]and that sort of thing. But I had one particular secretary, and she was from Jo'burg, very sophisticated, dressed beautifully, drove a BMW, the whole lot, and she came to work initially for one of the managers, but she was good underneath, because she was working for all four managers and they were out and about, so they put her under me, although I was only a grade sort of higher than her. But she came to me and asked me things that ... and she didn't like my answer if I said to her 'no, you can't do that'. She would go off and play me against one of the managers. Go behind my back, tell the manager that I'd said it was alright and then he would agree to it, and then she'd come back and tell me that the manager had said that she could do it, and therefore I couldn't tell her not to. So she played that sort of game a lot with us. It went on for about three years ...

[Babble].

C ... very much to her advantage to play people against each other.

B They quite ...

? [...] dramatically [...].

B [...] and possibly that's the reason why they play each other ... They like drama.

C They do actually.

R OK.

How do you feel about the things Ma Moloji says to Thando? Have you ever heard a mother-in-law say those sort of things?

A How do you feel about the things Ma Moloji says to Thando? Have you ever heard a mother-in-law say those sort of things?

F No, obviously the mother-in-law was with this young black family, which we - as most of us whites - we don't have our in-laws living with us.

[Babble].

D What she was saying was exaggerated too.

B I mean - possibly - yes, definitely exaggerated, but Thando obviously has a very easy going nature, where she can accept that type of thing and not get offended by it.

[Babble].

B Because nobody would stand that from their mother-in-law. I'm sure they wouldn't, not even from their own parents. I don't think so.

? No.

? No.

R Go on - [...].

What do you think about the things Hempies says about having a maid? Would the men you know agree with him?

A What do you think about the things Hempies says about having a maid? Would the men you know agree with him? Do you remember what he said - about his privacy?

[Babble].

R If he wants to walk around naked or make sure she's out of here by four thirty, and ...

[Babble].

C Oh yes. My husband doesn't want her to be around at all.

***** End of Tape *****

E I think they feel they are a bit of an intrusion on your privacy. Definitely they're a necessary evil.

A Well six out of six. There, six ladies and all six husbands feel like that.

R [...] OK. Interesting. OK.

D I find my husband - just this something ...

R Well that's fine.

D I mean, he's the world's worst when it comes to that. But yet I'm [...]. I've been meaning to tell you. I have our neighbour's child comes in on a Wednesday afternoon and helps me with washing windows, and my husband, I mean he hasn't been at work for the last couple of weeks so he's been at home and [**] has been there. And he works together with her and he helped her wash the windows. And he sees to it that she's got enough ... practically every half an hour ... 'would you like another cup of tea?' and he makes her tea and he gives her biscuits.

[Babble].

R That's interesting.

D But given the situation. They actually ... a change ...

E I couldn't imagine my husband doing a thing like that ...

[Mirth].

[Babble].

E Now he likes to know that somebody's there to tidy up after him. I think he is. But no, he would rather actually not have anybody around. [...]. Really I mean, he doesn't tolerate every ... in the evenings he gets home from work and he says 'she's always there, she's always in the way'. You know, he gets so irritated.

R OK. This is great. You're doing a wonderful job.

What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to Billy? Do you know anyone like Kobie? Does her smoking worry or upset you?

A What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to Billy? Do you know anyone like Kobie? Does her smoking worry or upset you?

D It irritates me.

? Yes.

? And that smoking!

[Babble].

E Her image is really common, it's the hair and the, you know, just everything about her. It's awful.

R Go back to the way she speaks to her husband, ja.

A The way she speaks to her husband?

C She has no respect for ...

B No respect. Absolutely no respect.

[Babble].

E She's obviously a more dominant character, so she's like, just trod all over him.

D Basically she's more intelligent than he is. She might be common, but she's actually more intelligent.

E She looks like a business woman. But that's what the problem is. That ...

F They also work together in the same office too.

E Yes.

F That she's obviously the boss.

E Oh, definitely.

C He's very immature [...].

? Ja.

C [...] all the time.

A Do you know anyone like her?

C Don't think so.

? Gosh!

[Mirth].

R That was a very knowing giggle over there.

[Babble].

E We we have a dear friend who is a very very strong personality and a very bright and intelligent woman who really goes out and makes the most of a situation. Really and truly I admire her, because she will do most anything and more to make sure and ... for everybody ... and make sure that everybody else is happy, and she could be on her deathbed and she will still get up and go and do ... stay up late, and run around people and make a success of the business and ...

? [...].

E She's the boss, she's a very strong personality.

R Does she talk to her husband like that?

E No, she has great respect for her husband. But she definitely is the boss of her house. Definitely without a doubt, and in the business situation too, definitely.

R OK.

Do you think the things that happened on the show could ever really happen to anyone you know?

A Do you think the things that happened on the show could ever really happen to anyone you know?'

R Well basically, we've already talked about that, because you brought that up, you said you did know people like that. So let's go on to the next one.

A So the next one - *Campaign Trail*.

R Great. OK.

What do you think of the way Ike treated Thando? Would you be upset if your partner treated you like this?

A What did you think of the way Ike treated Thando? Would you be upset if your partner treated you like this? We just have to get our ...

R I'll remind you. It happens on two occasions, when at breakfast he's sitting reading the paper ...

[Babble].

R Yeah. Then also at the ...

A Meeting.

R ... at the meeting. So you know. If you got that in your head, if you can think back, how you felt when you saw that.

A You're talking about Ike and Thando now?

R Yes, yes. The black people.

A Oh, right. OK.

C Just reread the question.

A What do you think of the way Ike treated Thando? Would you be upset if your partner treated you like this?

B I think it's a bit exaggerated in the way he treated her, but a lot of men do treat women like that. You speak to them and they're not interested in what you've got to say. Often they don't listen.

- E I was thinking that her behaviour wasn't so good.
- ? No.
- E The way she came in and pushed him aside and ...
- F ... and looked at the newspaper.
- E Ja.
- C Wasn't Lynne, he told her that he forbid her to run for the President and that she must sit down and shut up.
- E No, that's OK.
- [Babble].
- B Putting her down.
- C Putting her down and saying 'I'm telling you'.
- D I am the boss.
- [Babble].
- E Standing up for what she believes in.
- C Ja. It's like this women's [...].
- R OK.
- How did you feel when Thando gave her speech to run for President of the Residents Association? Would you have voted for her if you had been at that meeting? Who else would you have voted for?*
- A How do you feel when Thando gives the speech to run for President of the Residents Association? Would you have voted for her if you had been at the meeting? Who else would you have voted for?
- R Or instead of?
- A Yes.
- ? I would have voted ...
- ? I would have voted for her.
- R Any disagreement about that? I mean, don't go along with it if you disagree.
- ? Would have voted for her.
- ? Also would have voted for her.
- C I would have stayed with [Limpid].
- E I was going to say the old man was already there, was very well entrenched in his job, he seemed to be doing a reasonable job.
- B Ja. She had no idea ...
- E She didn't know what she was in for.
- ? ... budget thing [...].
- D Ja, but the thing is that when they were voting, they didn't know that.
- C Her speech was so politically correct in, [...] say something different for a change. You hear the same things over and over again.
- D The existing president was a nothing.
- E Oh yes, but he obviously accepted the job. He'd been there for a few years already, so ...
- C Twelve years.
- E See, he had been there for quite a few years.
- A Yes, she was idealistic, but ...
- E But what she said was true.
- A ... at the same time he's so entrenched. He doesn't do anything new, he just goes to the meetings, he quotes [...], he does the same thing he's been doing for the last twelve years and maybe with a bit of guidance, she could have done OK.
- D What put me off him was the way he reacted to the people as she put it. You know he came in there and he was obviously embarrassed about how to react to them and ...
- F Pretty aimless.
- D The fact that they were living in this suburb with him and he was ...

- A He was patronising.
- D He was patronising, he was very patronising. Put me clean off him. So I wouldn't want [...].
- E Sorry it's [...]good to [...]as you say the change ... if it's a woman as well, I suppose in that situation she would have been the first woman President too. So that in itself ...

[Babble].

- D And if you're going to be president, regardless of what your affiliations are, you have to be in a position where you remain neutral or ...

How do you feel about the things those people standing for election said they wanted to fix - family values, RDP, Racial Harmony. Do you have any of these things happening in your community?

- A How do you feel about the things those people standing for election said they wanted to fix? Family values, RDP, racial harmony. Do you have any of these things happening in your community?
- R Well I think really the gist of the question is more difficult when you're dealing with a white group. Because in the townships where I've been to, they have like adult education for women, what do you call it in this country - the National Organisation of Women? They belong to that ... and they learn a lot about what's going on politically and you know what RDP is involved and that sort of thing. And I just don't know if any programmes like that are available, for example, in the areas that you live in. So I mean, I know a lot of you are working outside the home - you may not have time - but you know, it's just very interesting that there are opportunities, perhaps for women to ... if you like call it Adult Education or Continuing Education is being offered in certain areas and is not perhaps available in others.
- C St. Martin's Church. Don't they offer quite a lot of courses and things for the black women in the area?
- F Sort of bridging course - sewing. The Methodist church in Durban North have sewing, in one class they have English.
- ? Literacy courses

? Literacy - lot of literacy classes.

A But are you meaning?

R No, is it available in your areas? I know it was ...

[Babble].

R ... surely if you wanted to go, you could. I mean, whatever it was. Or I don't know. Maybe you couldn't.

F I suppose anybody could go, but it's mainly for blacks.

R It's geared towards black women. OK. OK. We wanted to know what was available in your different areas. OK.

What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to her husband Billy, her father Hempies and her daughter Frankie? Would you introduce her to any of your friends or family? What do you think of her clothes and the way she furnishes her house?

- A What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to her husband Billy, her father Hempies and her daughter Frankie? Would you introduce her to any of your friends or your family? What do you think of her clothes and the way she furnishes her house?
- R Well, we discussed Billy.
- A We have discussed - we have discussed - yes
- R But let's talk about her daughter - I think that was one, and her father.
- A Frankie.
- R Ja, can you remember how she speaks to her daughter - as a mother? A lot of you are mothers here.
- A Not very typical.
- ? I'm a mother.
- R Not typical?
- A No.

D She threatened [...]she threatened to hit her a few times. But I mean, the way the daughter dressed up in armoured clothing.

? Yes.

D Needs protection.

[Babble].

R OK. Do you want to move on?

What do you think of the way Thando treats her husband, Ike, and her mother-in-law, Ma Moloji? Would you introduce her to your family? What do you think of the way she dresses and furnishes her house?

A What do you think of the way Thando treats her husband Ike and her mother-in-law Ma Moloji? Would you introduce her to your family? What do you think of the way she dresses and furnishes her house?

R Even if you just take the last two questions there.

A What do you think ... OK ... Would you introduce her to your family?

R Uh huh.

A I'd think twice - What do you think of the way she dresses and furnishes her house?

C Her furnishing doesn't seem to go with her clothes. Her house is quite nicely furnished and ...

R OK. Let's just stop here.

C [...]material and that sort of thing, but the house is quite nicely furnished. It doesn't really go with her personality. [...].

E It's almost like a contradiction in terms.

? Yes, yes.

[Babble].

E Mmm probably.

[Mirth].

E Actually I don't have a problem with her. As her character I wouldn't mind her coming into my house and introducing her to our children. Quite an interesting person.

[Babble].

E Ja, ja. I would rather have her in my home than the other one. The cigarette hanging out of her mouth and ... I would certainly introduce her to friends. I would accept her. Ja.

R Well, it's such an interesting comment. Really is. I must switch off just ...

How do you feel about the way Mr Limpid behaves when he visits the Molois? Do you know anyone like him?

A How do you feel about the way Mr Limpid behaves when he visits the Molois? Do you know anyone like him?

[Mirth].

B He's so wishy-washy.

A I was going to say this sounds very snobbish, but we're actually out of that situation now. If you think back to PE days, where there were a lot of government workers, older men who had, like Hempies, been entrenched in jobs or committees or whatever for so many years. They become so ...

E That they look like death. There's just ...

A Yes.

E ... there's - no expression

? That's right.

E No enthusiasm - just absolutely plain faced and couldn't have sold anything to anybody. I mean, really and I think ja, that's definitely typical of that type of person, that level of person I suppose.

B And also ...

C [...] first names as well [...].

R Interesting. Good responses. Yes, carry on.

What is 'low class'? What does Thando mean when she says anything is 'low class'?

A What is low class? What does Thando mean when she says anything is low class?

R Now the one example - because people always forget.

A Yes. I couldn't remember.

R Yes. Was when Ike agrees to run for the Presidency. And he says well you have to go into peoples houses and canvass. And she says 'Oh! I won't do that, that's 'low class' And it's a word that she uses throughout. And actually this is a very significant word in South Africa. And I think it's something, that I'd really appreciate if we could really get going on this. Because there's a lot of stuff that's tied in with this. But you'll need to kind of open up.

C We need time to actually think about it and you know ...

R Well just whatever comes into your head and then what other people say respond to. I mean, what does low class mean to you? If somebody said ...

E I think basically what - I'm talking for myself ...

R That's what I want.

E Yes -- I used to know. When I say low class I think we're not talking about the person's material situation. but I think we tended to ... the person who went to door to door for instance or ... and we always looked down at him and we felt as they were below you ... because ... I wouldn't like to go off and knock at peoples homes and door to door and selling or whatever. I don't know, there are the lower class when you talk about obviously in financial situations as well, but I don't think that she's talking about a financial thing there.

? No.

E I think she's talking about more below her in intelligence and situation and in where she is, they are below her in education. I would say ... I don't know.

A [...]. Thought as low class. If you talk about somebody being low class, you think they are unacceptable to you, you typically think of people who don't earn a lot of money. People who live in cluster type homes, this is just as we're talking that's how I perceive low class and always yes, lower education, - lots of children, cigarette hanging out the mouth, beer bottle in the hand, or brandy bottle. Brandy bottle in the hand, and to me that's a low class situation. But you also, you can refer to an upper class person as being low class, if they do something you don't agree with, or if somebody comes along and you have tea with them and they swear all afternoon. I could say ...

E That's right -- she could be a very affluent person, financially well off and ...

A Yes.

[Babble].

E Totally unacceptable.

A You'd call her low class.

E Sort of person you don't want to actually mix with.

[Babble].

E You can't want them in your home. You don't want to mix with them.

? No.

E Because you just don't have anything in common with them.

F The same values.

D But I think there are different types of low class.

R Expand on that. That's good. Can we come back to you. That's very good. Let's go with that.

F No, I said different values. I'd have to think about ...

R OK. Alright. You next then.

D I think that there are different types of low class. Because you get low class like what as what Lynne was talking about where an affluent person behaves

- badly, in an unacceptable way to us, which is obviously same category as low class. And then you get the low class that Janet was talking about.
- B Which is real low class.
- D Which is real low class.
- A It doesn't matter how you look at it, it's real low class.
- B But the thing is that it's a matter of opinion - low class. Maybe Lynne thinks I'm low class because ...
- A No, no. I think that in PE you should call some people she worked for low class. I mean not in PE. but in 'Maritzburg. She would say to - I'm trying to think - what's the word she used to use? She used to say - raw - my maid used to say her name for low class was raw. She worked for a lady for twenty two years and she would sometimes say to me 'Oh Mrs So - and - so is really raw'. She said I came from nothing, my parents had nothing, but we still wouldn't behave like that.
- E The values - what Sandy was saying.
- A Yes.
- E The value thing.
- A Yes. And that came from an African lady who was working in my home. Used to call a white lady raw or low class, because of things she would do, that even she wouldn't do.
- E Ja - well that's what's acceptable to you, to the way you live, The way you've been brought up. What you treasure as your values. As compared to other people's values - I mean.
- C I think that's respecting other people - if you show respect towards them by not being noisy and playing loud music to your neighbours. Because you respect that they want you as a person. Whereas you respect - you respect them. [...] a bit of privacy and they do the same back, that's the same kind of person as you. If you had someone that we call low class, that played blaring music all day, couldn't care less about whether you like it or not, tells you to get lost if they playing it and you ask them to turn it down, [...] such rough people because they not respecting
- R OK. OK.
- D But it's funny, sometimes, we could go on all afternoon because sometimes it's a case of you can't tell a book by it's cover, because ... there's a lady that comes in ... classic example, I always think of the so called low class thing. Where this woman would come into the bank, and I, the first time I saw her. I took one look at her and I thought 'Oh my good grief!' because the way she was this huge woman with dyed blond hair - picture it. This woman in 'Golden Girls' says 'picture it'. Dyed blond hair with the dark roots. Very big - which is not her fault- but then she wears these tight-tight, skin tight ski pants with the short tops and let the ...
- E *Derrière* would stick out, etcetera.
- D Rubber slops, you know, I mean really!, with a cigarette she ...
- [Babble].
- D Yes, that was my initial reaction to her. And I thought I wouldn't invite her to my home. But when you talk to her, that's another point. She is such a nice person - she's got this well rounded way of speaking. She's obviously well educated - she's such a nice person. She just has no clue how to dress. That's all. But it doesn't make her low class.
- A That's a matter of opinion.
- D That was my opinion of her was that she was low class. But she actually ...
- E Would you invite her into your home?
- D Now that I know her, yes I would.
- E Even with her ...?
- D Now that I've spoken ... yes, oh yes I would.
- [Babble].
- R She ran away when I thought I was going to get her, she ran away.
- [Babble].

A ... you don't want to say what you really feel because to me we are all skirting around the issue of low class. Because low class is low class. That's that!

[Babble].

F There's no one word for low class.

E That's right.

F Because I mean your children could be in a class situation where you think they all coming from the same sort of home as your home. Yet there are girls in my daughter's class who are low class.

D That's what I'm saying.

F But I can't actually say why they low class. they just ...

[Babble].

A Yes - you just don't want to say why.

F Because my daughter went to a Standard Nine dance last night and they, and her young friend who was in charge of her dance, at the after party - two other girls - not attacked her at this - it wasn't a club - they just went somewhere for this after party and the one girl threw water all over Alison and the other one push ed her until she fell into a dustbin.
And I just think that's actually ...

E Not acceptable.

F Not acceptable.

E That is low class.

F It's low class. But I don't know what - they could come from a very wealthy ...

[Babble].

F It's just not the way I would like my daughter or ...

C Behaviour. It's something how you look [...]when it's right.

[Babble].

R So's there a consensus here? Do you think we've got

... or are we still looking at it in diametrically opposite terms? Does money have anything to do with it?

B Not always. not always, no.

R But usually. I mean usually.

? Usually.

[Babble].

A There are more low class. low income group people than there are low ...

[Babble].

A ... upper income group.

E Janet, there are a lot of very wealthy people who drink, who are into drugs and who sleep with boy friends, girlfriends, husbands, whatever. Who behave totally unacceptable as far as I'm concerned. Doesn't mean to say because they've more money that they're not low class. For me they are low class. I'm sorry, they are low class, and I promise you, there's a helluva lot of that going on. Because the more money they seem to have, they think that it's acceptable. They have totally different values of that.

A You see, you talking from a ...

E It's very very prevalent really.

D But I know the people think, they associate certain areas of low class. It's like in PE - Algoa Park. And I mean they were cheap sort of sub-economic type homes, where one would automatically think that those people were so called low class. But a friend of mine, grew up in [**] ... remember Joan? ... remember Joan - what was her name again? Whatever. Ja, I also ... A nicer, more well brought up ...

[Babble].

A My friend always used to say it's not where you go live, it's how you live.

E That's right.

A That is so true - so what I said was - probably ...

F Behaviour, your cleanliness and um ...

A Yes, yes.

F Presentation, perhaps?

E We do tend to generalize, I mean when somebody ... straight -... initially low class.

[Babble].

R But that's what I wanted to see, because that's what most people ...

E Yes.

R ... and it's your automatic reaction to people ...

[Babble].

? Yes, oh yes.

R Just like you said.

E Definitely.

R It is.

? When you say low class, I think of ...

E You generalizing. You generalize and you say.

R You get a lot of information, stimulus we call them - coming at you - and like you look at the *derrière* and 'Ugh!' You know, that's the response. Which is how I wanted it. It's not something you can think about. It's something you must speak from your stomach, like you did. That was good. Excellent. Thank you. OK.

A *Comic Relief*. The last video.

How would you feel if your child started dating a person of a different race? Do you know anyone who socializes with a member of a different race?

A How would you feel if your child started dating a person of a different race? Do you know anyone who socializes with a member of a different race?

E I certainly would socialize with them. I haven't got a

problem with that at all. I think it would be very interesting and I don't mind socializing with them. If my daughter brought someone home, or my son brought someone home - oh, fine as a friend. I haven't got a problem with that, but that's as far as it goes. Sounds terrible, hey?

F We haven't actually been in that situation yet. So who knows?

[Babble].

A But the question is what would your reaction be?

[Babble].

[Mirth].

R This is good stuff. Now this is good stuff.

C A completely different culture that you embracing, not just a person ...

? That's right.

C Family [...] background

B We would be horrified - All of us.

? All of us.

E I mean, initially we would say 'uh! no!' and then I think ...

[Babble].

*****End of Tape*****

R [...] you didn't lose your thread [...] just keep it moving

A OK. So do all ...

D We were horrified, ja.

C The definition of the ...

A Right.

C But you know you can't as we've said earlier, we can't start making our assumptions about a person

just because we're seeing them, we've actually got to get to know them.

A Would it be preferable for them to bring home any particular type of race? Would you be more horrified if it was black or less horrified if it was an Indian? Or ...

C No. I think it's the same.

E I just think that animals don't mix. Why do we have to?

D But we ... but, but ...

E But it happens and if it's a matter of losing our child or accepting the child and her loved one into your home, I think you'll think twice about saying get out of my house. I would say - well let's try and work this thing out - I mean she's got to live with the guy. I mean must be very hard ...

[Babble].

E And I think it will be very hard for her, but I think it will be hard for us as well, but I think we have to say well look it's your choice.

F But you know they mixing socially at school now, with the opposite sex, so they going to bring a friend - whether it be a boyfriend, your son's bringing home a little black boy friend to play for the afternoon - to sleep the night - to go to his party - it has to - it's going to come eventually. That they going to fall in love with somebody of the opposite colour ...

D And they act more naturally with them ...

F Oh, they do, they do ...

D Camilla brought home a black girl, she does drama as a subject and they were doing a programme and they were working in groups. And she said that she was bringing a friend - home, that's all it was and then this friend happened to be this black girl. A really pleasant child. I mean a lovely child. In fact if you closed your eyes you would never say she was a black, because she didn't have any trace of accent or anything like that. I was watching them, they were working at home, working in the kitchen and they were sitting in the family room discussing this. And they were completely natural with each other. There wasn't a trace of any racial thing there. They were totally comfortable. this black girl was just as

comfortable being in our house as Camilla was in having her in our home. And I thought to myself I wonder what this would be like if this was a boy sitting here - not a girl ...

E I think you'd feel the same if it was a friend they ...

D Ja.

E It's a friendship thing.

B But the point is, if they are feeling comfortable with each other ... we can be as shocked as we like, but there would be, as you said, this alienation ...

C You know, I was born in Zambia, since independence ...

[Babble].

C ... and I was the only, there were two of us, the only whites in an all black class. So I grew up right from my early years at school, I was with black children all the time. At school with them and ...

? Have you got a black husband now?

[Mirth].

C I'm not expecting the black girl - Thuma her name is and her mother was a nurse and her father was a doctor. And they were very well off and they lived in a nice house. And I often spent nights at their place and that's it. I went to school with black boys, but I never found the black boys attractive. At times the white guys. the ones that were there, you know, I quite fancied one or two, but I never even looked at the black boys. That just didn't enter my mind. Although most of my friends were black girls, sort of thing. We got on very well and that sort of thing. It was just a physical - almost a physical attraction there.

? [...] interest [...] everything.

C Just [...].

A But did you appeal to them, do you think? That's why I'm asking.

C And they were ... I went to London for three years and [...] was hounded by black people.

B Especially the implants.

- C Ja.
- R Yeah. I think that's true. Think that's true.
- C Ja.
- B Whereabouts in Zambia did you live?
- C In Kitwe.
- B Oh really.
- R Where?
- C In Kitwe.
- R In Kitwe - I taught at Kitwe Girls High ...
- ***Break in Recording*****
- E ... I mean. They are a little bit older - our generation. What I'm saying is not that the younger ...
- R The younger ones.
- E The ones that have grown up with them at school and so ...
- ? It happens. but I mean ...
- ? Oh yes.
- A Yes, but what I'm saying everybody's regarded as equals. So it was so much easier. It wasn't this discrimination.
- E It's still a part of ... families that have got together and mixed races and even with our *apartheid* and all that. It was just a small trickle and so was more acceptable.
- D It's the stigma ...
- E I don't know ...
- D Stigma attached. And also I mean, the thought of a black marrying a white. But at the end of the day, you going to end up with a coloured child.
- B That's right.
- ? But it's not going to matter.
- D You're not going to have a white child.
- A It's not going to matter anymore.
- D No, it's not going to matter for the wife or husband, but where will the child be?
- A No. But there'll be lots of those children. That's what I'm saying.
- E But it's not going to make any difference because the coloureds and the whites and the blacks are all one now. So does it really matter? We had this thing about coloured, because coloureds were that, I mean, my sister-in-law had a wonderful name - *halfgenaaide*, which is an Afrikaans expression for the coloured children. *Halfgenaaide*. Means half and half. I mean it's just ...
- R Oh yes it's and what a lovely ...
- E It's such a lovely expression and ...
- R They didn't do it full, they just did it half
- E Yes.
- [Mirth].
- R That is cute. I've never heard that before.
- E I always think about that expression when I think about little coloured children, you know, I think we as our generation find it, that there's still there's still little pockets of race groups and a coloured didn't have much say. I mean the Africans have more say than the coloureds will ever have.
- C They were ostracised, ostracised by the blacks.
- E That's right - they are, they really ... ja.
- F But I think in the art sort of community - theatre and art and that - there's a lot of intimate thing, you know what I mean? In the theatre and that.
- A In many more places. As I say we are [...] now. It's incredible - I work with so many different people and I come home and tell my family this happened or this happened. Then I'll talk about people and Ian would say 'Oh, is that a European person?', I'd say 'no I don't actually know', because also religion has so much to do with it. I work with what I think is a coloured girl, actually a Malay, her parents are Cape Malays, but she calls herself an Indian because she's a Muslim. But if you look at her, she's not what we ... when you say Muslim, you think an Indian person.

But she's not. I think she's racewise ... you see they talk about race and religion. And racewise I think she's what we call a coloured. But if you ask her what she is, she says she's a Muslim. Now Muslim is a religion. That's how I always see it. And I find that at work too - we've got the training officer at work - is a white lady - she's from England and her surname is Ramada, so of course when she first started working there - a group of us were training, and with a surname like Ramada, you must be Indian and somebody said, - plucked up the courage and said to her, oh, I can't remember how they phrased it, who are you married to? And she said a Muslim. And I thought that was such a strange thing to say. Why didn't she say an Indian? We never asked what religion he was. I mean he could be a Christian, but he's still an Indian. And I work with so many people, getting back to what you were saying ...

D It's not necessarily, Janet. Because look at that - what's that singer ...?

A Kat Stevens.

D Kat Stevens.

A He changed his name.

D He's actually got a Muslim name that's white.

A Yes, but I'm not asking his religion. What is he? Is he a European? OK. If I said to you what are you married to? I expect you to say a European, not a Bhuddist or ...

[Babble].

A But when we ask this lady at work, her surname is Ramada, who she was married to, she said a Muslim.

D Oh, I see.

A Why didn't she say an Indian? Did she not want to say Indian?

C So that [...] she was the one [...] married to an Indian [...] Tamil-Hindi. I was talking to the Indian girls on Friday and they were saying, the one that's just got married to a guy and he's Hindi, because his father's Hindi, but the mother is a Tamil and she won't talk to her mother-in-law, because she just doesn't accept her ...

A But what I'm saying is, if you talking about race they all Hindis, Tamils. But they're Indians.

C Ja.

R But maybe they don't see themselves as Indians.

[Babble].

R But that's actually changing now.

A Yes.

R I think this is what is so interesting. Because I have a lot of students who are as you say, Tamils and others are Muslims, and Fatima Meer of course is Muslim, which always amazes me because I had her granddaughter last year as one of my students. And the most interesting thing is that even though they call themselves Muslims, it's not necessary that they - well we actually got into the discussion part of how, you know, how Muslims perceive women. You know, And that - no, it's not like that, we, according to this young woman, we are Muslims because it is our religion, but we have as much freedom as we like. Because that could be that they come from educated Muslims. You know what I'm saying, is that they don't see themselves as Indian, they see themselves as Muslim. So I can say that.

A OK.

R OK. Shall we go on? Thank you for that, it was interesting.

Billy is a fanatic house cleaner, how do you feel about a man doing this kind of work? Would any male members of your household clean or cook without being asked to do so?

A Billy is a fanatic house cleaner. How do you feel about a man doing this kind of work? Would any male members of your household clean or cook without being asked to do so?

D Mine does.

? Yes.

? Mine does.

F Mine does nothing like that.

- E Clean and cook! Phew!
- F He might make the bed on a Sunday and ...
- [Babble].
- F I don't think my husband would ever cook.
- E He says why do we have to make the bed? We just get back into it tonight. We don't have to make the bed. Mind you, I mean, if I was there he'd moan and say why is the bed not made?
- [Babble].
- A Not that he wouldn't do it, but he doesn't see me ...
- [Babble].
- ? Why should I?
- A Waste of time.
- R But now this is actually a very interesting question. What you just said. Your response. Now if you did not do it. would he do it? In other words if you just ...
- E No.
- R If you just.
- E No.
- R ... said no - to hell with it. I'm not doing anything more.
- E No. he wouldn't do it.
- R He wouldn't. He'd just leave it be ?
- E He would just leave it.
- F My husband would make the bed ...
- E Or he would get the maid to do it.
- F He wouldn't make ...
- R Yes, but if there was no maid now. We're not saying there was a maid here.
- E No.
- R There's just you.
- E He wouldn't make it.
- C What ...
- F To make the bed?
- C No - food.
- F Food? Then he would go and get take-away.
- F Jeff would never cook. In the kitchen? Never.
- C Charles will cook if necessary.
- [Babble].
- E And I know now I'll be doing everything.
- R Interesting. Interesting. You've not said anything about that.
- ? I did.
- [Babble].
- R I'm sorry.
- B At least my husband would help.
- R He would. He does that. OK.
- B And yours?
- C Mine does everything - he does the washing. I don't even have to turn on the washing machine. I don't know how it works.
- ? Oooh!
- C He does all the dishes.
- E But don't you think that ... I mean ... I remember when we first got married, we were both working. Charles used to help me wash the dishes, he used to help put them away. He used to ... Never made the bed though.
- [Mirth].
- F But he certainly helped me if I asked him to do other things he certainly helped. Now he ...
- [Babble].

B No, Anthony was thoroughly spoiled as a child. Thoroughly. His mother did everything for him. And the day we got married, he started behaving as if I were his mother, and I said let's get one thing straight

R Good for you.

B ... I'm not your mother. And I will never ever pick up after you. No one's picked up after me and that's it. And within two weeks he was doing everything like he does today.

R Interesting.

F I think they will.

R Comment! Comment!

F No, I can't complain about my husband, he's very tidy and he's meticulous and he's actually a perfectionist. But he won't do any domestic chores. No domestic ...

R So he picks up after himself and ...

F Oh ja. No, and he wants the house to be tidy when he comes in, he doesn't want to see dirty glasses left next to the TV. Anything like that. Everything must be tidy.

R If it was, would he pick it up and take it?

F Yes, but he would moan. He would moan. but he would go and wash them.

R OK. It's that fairy cleaner in the kitchen. The fairy cleaner. OK. Thank you.

Do you think men would watch this kind of show on TV? Do you think it shows at all what is happening in South Africa?

A Do you think men would watch this kind of show on TV? Do you think it shows at all what is happening in South Africa?

C My husband watched it and he thought it was hilarious.

R Interesting. And the other - well you ladies said earlier said ...

E I did not watch it.

R OK.

F We've watched a few of the programmes. But I can't remember whether my husband was there at the time.

R Uh huh.

F Meetings at ten on a Monday night. I don't know what. I think it came on a Monday night ...

R Yes it is. At seven, seven on a Monday night.

[Babble].

E It certainly does depict some things that happen in a typical South African situation. I think.

D It does. It is something.

C Don't you think so?

E Yes, there definitely is - I mean ...

C But now any ...

*****Break in Recording*****

F Somebody once told us that about the Zulus.

R Uh huh. That's true. Because I took Zulu for a year.

F That they must always be lower than wherever their boss is.

Do you feel the way Thando shops is worse than Kobie's secret gambling? Do you know any women who shop a lot or gamble?

A Do you feel the way Thando shops is worse than Kobie's secret gambling? Do you know any women who shop or gamble a lot.?

[Mirth].

R Good stuff this. Good stuff. Let's have it. Let's have it. Well?

F I know a couple of people who love shopping.

E Her husband!

C I know a lady who loves shopping and gambling.

[Mirth].

- A I love shopping and I love gambling. But I don't. I love it and I enjoy it. If I go to a casino, there's no way I can leave without putting some money in the machine. So yes, but that's what I'm saying, the way the question is worded it sounds as if - do you know any women who shop a lot ...
- R Excessively
- A It sounds as if it's excessive.
- R Yes.
- A Umm.
- R And there's no response to that? You don't know women who shop or gamble excessively?
- E No, I think a lot of women just ...
- R Excessively.
- E ... shop. As Janet says, we shopping. I love walking around the shops and looking and looking and ...
- R But not necessarily spending.
- E But not necessarily spending. But there are women definitely that go out every day to buy things.
- C My step-sister is like that, but ...
- R She likes her shopping.
- C ... children too. Her little son had been in a pushchair with her every single day to the Pavilion and he knew where every single shop was on his return.
- E Ja, there are a lot of people like that.
- C [...] does she buys and buys and buys and buys. It's not just window shopping really.
- R They say it's like an addiction.
- ? Ja, it is.
- E And casinos too. I mean there are people that have a problem and there other people that go regularly or even go to ... I mean I heard of a man that we were with a few weeks ago, he goes down to ...

SUBURBAN BLISS

Freda Group

April 21st 1997

- a. Maid from Hell
- b. Campaign Trail
- c. Comic Relief

Five Participants:-

- A = Linda [**].
- B = Bess [**].
- C = Hanneltjie (Johanna) [**].
- D = Suzette [**].
- E = Freda van Rensburg (Facilitator)

- R = Dorothy Roome (Researcher)

A I'm Linda [**], I've got two children. I'm a secretary at the Old Mutual.

R Thank you.

E I'm Freda van Rensburg. I'm married. I've got three kids and I'm an Occupational Therapist.

R Thank you.

B My name is Bess [**]. I'm divorced. I've got three children. I work at the SABC.

R Thank you.

C I'm Hanneltjie [**], I'm divorced. I'm a [...] Primary School teacher at [**].

R Thank you.

D I'm Suzette [**]. I'm also divorced. I've got one son and I'm also a Primary School teacher.

R Thank you very much. OK. Over to you.

E In English?

R However you want. And you know sometimes I've found with my Zulu ladies were asked the question in English. but when it was a point that was a very emotional one. evidently they would speak. However you want to do it - really.

There are four men in the show - Billy Dwyer, Ike Moloji, Andrew Moloji and Hempies. Which of these men do you like or dislike most? What appeals to you about them?

E OK. the first question is:- There are four men in the show - Billy Dwyer, Ike Moloji, Andrew Moloji and Hempies. Now which of these men do you like or dislike most? And what [...] if you like or dislike them, to say why.

R Can you remember who they were. 'cause a lot of people forget that.
(Miscellaneous discussion on who's who.)

E Shall we first say who we dislike most.

A I don't like Billy. I can't stand him.

B The white husband. ja. He is overbearing. ja, he's a bit overbearing. But I think the old man is the best. Ja. I mean he is really is the [...] boer! He's brought off that character beautifully.

A And he's very honest as well. yes. He says what he wants to say and that is it. He doesn't beat around the bush. He's very good. excellent!

E I also like Ike

B Ike is what you call the new type of South African. He's sort of trying to adapt to both the old and new. but he doesn't know really where he fits in.

E Ja.

B He sort of tries very hard. Ja.

A I don't exactly like that black guy. but he's like smarter. The white guy looks so sloppy sometimes. He's messy at work and he's lying behind his desk and the black guy looks like this. and I get annoyed that they portray the white guy looking like that and a black guy looking like that.

R This is great stuff this!

B That is why I'm saying he's trying to be like a white guy. but actually the white guy isn't like that.

E That's ... Ja

B The white men aren't like that. but the black. if you look at any of the blacks today. they think they're like

that they not really. They try and adopt a different voice. but really they can't really do it, they really can't. It's very difficult

- E It's the same like the two houses as well.
- C The black guy is acting the role. You know its not his ...
- B ... his natural self. Ja, ja. And like you say, the homes.
- E Ja
- B And it's overdone, and the one is really just like South Africans would live in that type of class.
- E Ja.
- B Where the blacks are now really trying to up where the whites won't really change that because of the blacks...
- B Ja.
- E Every time they bring it on they show the two houses. I always think - why do they choose the blacks to go into this nice modern house and the whites in this crummy place which really looks so dilapidated.
- B And if you think of it, they moved there - if you saw all the previous ones - they moved from Soweto there, and the others also bought a house there but unfortunately, next to each other. So you see it shows you that the blacks can own something. When they moved there they had to have the best because they had to better themselves. But the whites, when they moved from ... I can't remember where they were originally from ... when they moved there, they moved whatever they had, they didn't buy anything new, though they were moving to Parkhurst.
- E Wasn't it - they were working together all the time hey?, and then the one said they were moving and then the other said well ...
- B They were also going to though ...
- E There was always this competition.
- B Ja, there's always been competition, ja, ja.
- B Ja, ja. See because the black guy's working in the Furniture Factory, then they gave him a share in it.

- R Well he was going to leave
- B Ja.
- R He kind of highjacked them into giving him ...
- B So they gave him a share. So he was partners in the firm. And then all of a sudden decide it's not good enough that I'm in staying in Soweto, because now they partners in a firm and that's how they decided they were going to move. And they both moved, but didn't realize that they moved - bought houses next to each other - and that's when the big thing started.
- C Thanks.
- B Very interesting if you watch it from the start.
- C Ja.
- E And this competition is always there ...

Thando wants to have a maid - why is she so keen? Do you think it is a good idea for her to have a maid?

- E OK. Now this one with the maid. Thando wants a maid. Why do you think she's so keen?
- B Well in the first place, it was probably because she has to show the white person that she now lives in the ... She's like her - she has to have a maid although she's black herself.
- A Ja, she tries to be like the whites.
- B Ja.
- E Then do you think it's a good idea for her to have a maid?
- R It's really the principle of a maid here.
- B No, I wouldn't say she shouldn't have one. I mean if you look at some of these very up and coming black families now, they do have maids now, they do have live in maids. I mean a person mustn't now go and say alright, you know I am, I don't want to say that I'm not... but I mean ... I think that they ... mother and father's working, they got exactly the same, if they can afford a maid let them go for it. I mean why must mother or the black woman come home and find that she has to do the maid's work.

- When us as white women don't want to do it. We want to have a maid.
- E But Thando's not working.
- B No, she's not working. But she's now moved into the upper class. But she's a hairdresser - it's beneath her now - it's common, like she says.
- A Because Ma Moloi is doing everything anyway.
- B Ma Moloi is anyway doing everything. On the other side, now again, on the white side [...]. Just shows you where the difference comes in.
- D Just in today's *Lifestyle*, they ... , if the blacks do move up, because, in my work situation we get such a lot of this, there are people that live in your area. in Umhlanga, and if they do lift themselves, that are like that black man, there's a father that used to come in last year, and he would come in in the middle of summer and he actually - because they then do smell - he smells like very passable, because he always has this fresh, fresh soapy perfumed smell and clean. And the kids are like that.
- C And they have servants.
- D And they have servants.
- C The servant brings the kids to school.
- D Yes they do have servants. And they are actually, some of them are very, very highly educated, they are much more educated than I am. And they really are the better blacks. I think they have a better life than I do!
- E I'm sure that some of them do.
- D When they better themselves, they really make a good job of it, they really do. Because they actually come from right from the bottom.
- B Ja.
- D But they actually, they really had to work for what they got.
- D And I feel if they had, like in our area here, if they can afford to buy this house for R250.000, then they are welcome to come and stay here as long as they don't make it look like a hut after a year.
- B Now that is what we're scared of.
- D Ja.
- B Is when people move in, since they've now taken over and the Indian people, you think ooh!, you know, are they going to hang up flags outside now?
- D I think that's ...
- B It's very different for us ...
- D But I think that those that do have so much pride in them, that they don't want to now go back that, because they've moved out of that area.
- C They want to better themselves.
- D They want to better themselves. Ja.
- E I knew a tea girl in Johannesburg and she became good friends with my maid at that stage. She, Maria looked after Duarte at work, and she came home with her once, and then didn't want to go back to Soweto, because she said it was so quiet in our suburb.
- C Ja.
- [Indecipherable].
- C ... realize they're scared to live in Soweto or ...
- B Oh yes.
- C ... KwaMashu or wherever, they live in fear, and we don't have that.
- B Although we do! Believe me again!
- C Yes we do.
- B [...] into our districts.
- C But you know, some of them don't even sleep at night.
- B No, but we shouldn't be like that, because they actually, like they say, they've also got fears but we don't realize it, but we, we think what's going to happen now? But actually they are moving into that in all ... the other is going to come in after them you see. Are they going to harass him wherever they are now?

- ? Ja, ja.
- B Because they trying to better themselves.
- D We tend to generalise and say because he's black he's like that.
- B Ja.
- D And it's not always like that.
- E We've got blacks living just down the road and we never knew. I mean didn't even know they were there until one night they had this party, and the music was so loud that we had to shut all our windows and doors and still we couldn't stop the noise.
- C But as somebody said the other day, she has teenagers, and they play the music just as loud and how do they hear it. They on the other side there. It's like ...

There are two different kitchens in Suburban Bliss, which do you prefer and why?

- E OK. Um. There are two different kitchens in *Suburban Bliss*.
- R Ja. this is good you picked that one there. That was good.
- E You want [...].
- R No, no.

Would you have employed Dalia as a maid? Do you know anyone like her?

- E OK. Would you have employed Dalia as a maid? And do you know anyone like her?
- A But without knowing what she's like. When you just looked at her, she looked quite respectable and ...
- E And she said she could cook and clean and iron, and she was willing to do everything.
- B I wouldn't employ a young girl like that anyway. Because they anyway can't work!

[Indecipherable].

- E The old man said that they steal.
- B No, but it's true. A potato every day and an onion, and eventually you think where's all this going to, and it's all of a sudden it's this potato and it's ...
- [Babble].
- D I've never employed a maid, so I don't know.
- B I can't do without my maid. I have a maid twice a week. I can't do without her, definitely not!

What do you think about the things Hempties says about having a maid? Would the men you know agree with him?

- E Alright. What do you think about the things Hempties says ... says about having a maid? And would the men you know agree with him?
- R Remember what he said - oh man they got to be out of here by 4:30. They mustn't come in 'til 8:00 o'clock. And I don't want them when I'm at home.
- B Ja. I've a maid myself
- A Oh, I don't know. I have a meeting. I don't want a maid around ...
- B I'm like you also.
- A I want her to come in when I let her in, and when I come home I definitely don't want her.
- B Yes, yes. I like you also. She must be there. But if I'm ill [...].
- A She can rather be away.
- B I rather be working ill than be there when the maid's there.
- A Yes, I agree.
- B No, you can't do anything, because everywhere ...
- C But my maid is very quiet.
- B It doesn't matter they're very quiet. It's just that they are there.

C And she sings all the time. I asked her one day 'why you singing?'. *Sy sê* [She says] 'when I sing I don't think'.

A She doesn't think.

C *Sy sê* [She says] 'I've got a lot of things to think about. Now I'm worried'. I said 'why are you worried?' She said her husband is having another woman and she's upset.

A Is she old?

C I think she's just a little bit younger than I am.

[Indecipherable].

C She's so quiet. I don't even never see her.

E I must say when I had a maid, those afternoons when I was with her. I sometimes looked forward to it. She was outside, there in the laundry ironing all that, just that she was there. I really felt comfortable.

A I feel guilty. I feel if my maid could see me lying on the bed and she was busy cleaning all the time, and I'm thinking you know I could rather be doing these things. I don't want to be at home, sitting around reading a book or something and she's cleaning up.

B I'm off when she comes. Then rather I'll start making the beds and do extra things. Actually, I'm paying her to do that, but cause I'm there, I'm doing it now, so I can get rid of her quickly so she can go.

[Mirth].

B I do.

C I feel that having her as a servant. I'm doing her a service because she needs to work.

? She needs the money.

B Oh yes, she needs the money. But I mean, I'd rather her do work when I'm not there. I couldn't have a maid every day. Sit around and do nothing! That would kill me.

E But it's true, what they say, because I'm also off in the afternoon and I sit here with the kids and I watch TV. And poor [**]'s up and down. She must think I'm the laziest woman in the world. I rather go and do sewing or something just to ...

D So I had one when Louis was very very small, to do the ironing. I couldn't catch up on the ironing and he wouldn't allow me to put the gadget thing on. He was petrified of it. So I couldn't vacuum. So I got a maid in on a Saturday morning and it was basically hell because I don't want to leave the house and go to Checkers, so it was wait for her to finish and she wants to finish everything, so by the time she's finished, Checkers is closed. So it's a vicious circle. So I prefer to rather then get my Mother or somebody to look after him for five minutes while I quickly do the vacuuming. Right now I don't like leaving my house to her and leaving. Not that I don't trust her, she might be very good, but the thing is I have a lot of silver in my house. My main thing is if I work in this house and I'm employed here and somebody comes to the door and forces me to open it, I feel responsible and I cannot expect somebody else to put their life on the line for my belongings. So I don't do that. I lock up my house and what I don't get done I don't get done. And if I have to iron before I go to work in the morning, then I iron before I go to work. I don't employ anybody.

E My maid was just terrified. When I left she locked all the doors and sometimes she would be at the back of the laundry or something and she wouldn't go and she wouldn't even answer the bell. She was too scared to.

B You actually can't blame her.

E Even if I'm here and somebody's at the gate and they call for her, she wants to know who it is, what is it about, is it a man or a woman?

? Shame.

B I think they are all in constant in fear. Ja, I think they're like that.

E On a Saturday, as I say on a Saturday I want to get in my car, go and buy material and go and do this and go and do that. I don't want to think I must get home, the maid must go. I've just got enough stress in my life.

What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to Billy? Do you know anyone like Kobie? Does her smoking worry or upset you?

E OK. What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to Billy?

A Billy's the [...].

B Well she dominates him altogether. Because he's so used to doing everything, cleaning the house and things like that, she just takes it for granted. She obviously dominates him totally.

[Babble].

E Because she sides with Ike about things against him. Do you know anyone like Kobie?

End of Tape

C The way she talks and I don't know if she smokes, but she gives the impression she's smoking.

E The next question. Does her smoking upset or worry you?

[Babble].

? Disgusting! I hate it.

[Babble].

Do you think the things that happened on the show could ever really happen to anyone you know?

E Do you think the things that happened on the show could ever really happen to anyone you know?

? Yes.

B I mean I can remember when I was a child. I was already working, and my Mom in our home town - She used to be a Clinic Sister. She's retired now many many years, and there was an old Jewish lady in our home town and this Jewish lady had a stroke and her husband died - the Siedls - very well known in Odendaalsrus. Israel Siedl and old Mamma Siedl, well, we knew them very well, for my Mother was a very prominent person in town. And I went when I finished my nursing, I went and I did evening shift with the old lady, because she was in a wheel chair and she couldn't walk properly and they employed a coloured girl from the Cape - a coloured Sister from the Cape. Now in those years, this was many years back - this was like twenty to twenty five years back, my Mother used to bring the coloured Sister into our house to have tea. This was the talk of the town. That Sister Kruger can bring this coloured woman into her house and give her tea out of her teacups!

E Specially in the Free State!

B Yes! This was terrible.

C They're still like that.

B Ja. They're still like that. It was terrible. She used to take Mamma and Nisa to the Drive-in. That was terrible - you just didn't do that. But because my mother could do anything in town, and people never questioned her. But they do do that. I mean. I got sisters there now at the moment, a sister that's very much part of the *Broederbond* [Brotherhood - a secret organisation] - whatever you call it - she wears a uniform and they go out in trucks and drive around the streets. It happens still. It's still like that.

C They are very very aggressive in the Free State

B They are very aggressive in the Free State

C You can feel it when you walk in the street.

B Yes! Very aggressive. My sister will come to Durban on holiday - that's my other sister, and she will go into a shop and she will buy material. She will say to the guy '*Ek wil drie meter materiaal hê asseblief*'" *Ek sê 'Wat maak jy? Die vrou verstaan jou nie' 'Wat is daar om te verstaan? Ek praat Afrikaans'.* [I would like three metres of material, please'. I say 'What are you doing? The woman does not understand you. What is there to understand? I am speaking Afrikaans.'] That's what she's like, you must understand me, you must speak my language. She will not speak English. We only speak English to my Mother at home and Afrikaans to my father. My Mother's a Welsh lady. We still do it. She will not degrade herself to speak English and up until today, she's how old? And she will not do it. You can forget about her.

R What sort of age group is she?
I mean in the fifties ...

B No ... She's about deep in her fifties - most probably fifty five or fifty six.

R Are the young ones like that too in the Free State?

C Yes.

B Yes. They grow up like that

- C Yes. They grow up in this *manier*. [manner]. And if you walk in the streets - I've been there three times in a row in December - I thought to myself - I don't understand it - what's going on? Then I realized it's aggression. When they go into the streets, not only the whites against the blacks, the blacks against the whites - and I thought it was my imagination. And my children came and my son, lying on the bed one day and he says to me 'Mom, what's wrong with this place?', I said 'Why, what is it?'. He said 'They're so aggressive!'
- E We've also got family in Virginia, and my husband gets very upset whenever we visit them and we come back here. [...]. How they even [...].
- B But you know, you think its funny you grow out of it, you try and grow out of it. But I think you don't really lose part of that background, it still stays there. I'm like that at work too. I know Charles gets very annoyed with me, when I say '*kaffers maak my mal!*' [Kaffers make me angry!]. And that's what I feel like, because they do. And he will say '*ag Bessie, moet nou nie so sê nie*'. *Ek sê 'ag! Los my uit!*'. *Dis hoe dit is. Hy kan my nie verander nie. Ek kan nie verander nie.* [Oh, Bessy, don't say that. I say 'Oh! Leave me alone. That's how it is. He can't change me. I can't change.] I'm trying to adapt. Look, but I say it. Play our troubles at work. I say it all the time, and I get myself into trouble every time and I do it. But it's not that I've got anything against them - it's just in me. I'm brought up like that you see? My father's still like that.
- C It's a Free State habit.
- B Yes. I'll always have it in me. I can't get rid of it.
- B Yes! We do, we do. They talk like that at home
- C [...] when they talk. Then they open the paper. Look at this! You wouldn't believe it.
- A My father says '*Wat maak jy daar by die DP. Kyk wat gaan hier aan*'. [What are you doing at the DP. Look at what's going on here.]
- ? That's the way they talk.
- B It's true! It's true, you know you people don't realize it, but it's true! He's just like Hempies. Like you see Hempies. That's like my father is. He's just like that. He'll not pay his TV now because there's no Afrikaans on TV.
- C My brother in law's the same.
- B [...] *broer* [brother] in Johannesburg. My brother is an Advocate in Johannesburg. He mixes with a lot of ... He will not pay his TV now because there is no Afrikaans on TV for his children. That's what it's all about. People don't realize what they're doing. They can't cut off cultures and try to bring up more cultures. That is wrong! But that's what's happening.
- R How do you find in your background? I'm sorry, I was just so interested to hear you say that. Have you found ... or is yours very different to what Bessie says reference background in your family and so on. And the sort of anger and the you know ... as she describes herself.
- A My Dad doesn't actually speak about the blacks. He just ignores them. To him they almost don't exist. They just like they used to be in the old days. My Mom accepts them. She doesn't mind if someone comes into her house. she'll give him tea. she's very civil and behaves just like we are.
- R You are saying your sister never made the transition?
- B No.
- R So it's not a male-female thing. That's what I'm trying to get at - it's not.
- ? My sister's just as smart as my [...] in law.
- E My Dad, he accepts them more than my Mother does. My Mother is the one who will make the racial comments and things. But my dad ...
- R That's so interesting.
- E ... he might feel it but he doesn't come out with it.
- B My Mother now, my Mother is very open minded. Because she's grown ... Ja, ja.
- A I don't mind them. I accept anyone's got a right to do what they have to do. But deep down inside me, I'm still like years ago. It annoys me and I don't always speak about it, but it really upsets me.
- B But you see that's the thing - you should. You want it. It's wrong - you tell them that. That's what I do. and ... and they appreciate it. No, they appreciate it for you. If I don't like something, I tell them.

- A If someone resigns, if a white person resigns - one of the Clerks at the office. they have to be replaced by a black, not an Indian or Coloured, a black person. And to me that's terrible, that's discrimination to me. You must take someone that's qualified and that suits the position. And that really upsets me. But there's nothing I can do about it.
- B There's nothing you can do about it, but you can tell them you don't like it. I tell them every day I don't like it and if they don't like it, that's their problem.
- D About the language question. My sister in law grew up in the Transvaal I think and then in Durban. and she speaks Afrikaans and she refuses, if she's in her conversation. she wont speak English. She can speak it fluently. she studied languages and everything at 'Varsity and she just won't. *Ek is Afrikaans. Ek verstaan jou. D's jou probleem. En as jy nie verstaan nie, dis jou saak.* [I am Afrikaans. I understand you. It's your problem. And if you do not understand, it's your affair.] She's changed a bit, but this is like ten years back when she was in her late twenties, and it's strange. And I just couldn't believe it. And we are a bilingual family. We've got English cousins and Afrikaans cousins and if Malcolm wants to say something in Afrikaans and he doesn't manage properly, we all laugh about it and we carry on like that. Then we speak Afrikaans then English. To her we speak Afrikaans. She came into the house and I said to her the Hi-Fi's on. *'Dis nie 'n Hi-Fi, dis 'n hoër trou stel'* [It's not a Hi-Fi it's a high fidelity set.] And I said to her *'Dis een keer wat jy gesê hoër trou stel, een keer ek gesê Hi-Fi. Dit maak nie saak nie - sit hom aan.'* [It's once that you said high fidelity set. and once that I said Hi-Fi. It makes no difference - switch it on.] We don't get along from day one and that's it and its finished. Now she also says Hi-Fi.
- C ... we find because we are church. It's very open too. Because we belong to the DRC. English DRC.
- R Really? I didn't know there was such a thing.
- C Yes. DRC, and so we're very open and the way we teach too, and of course in our work situation - but I also grew up ...
- D My mother always used to say 'when these [went] for a walk on the beach as kids, we grew up in Durban and the black man and the white man fight. Does it matter whether you are pink with purple stripes and the other one's orange. if you're wrong you're wrong. That's the way I was brought up
- R And your Mother worked like that?
- D And she's still like that. If you're wrong you're wrong, no matter what colour you are, no matter what language you speak, if you are wrong you are wrong. If you're black and you're right, then you're right. Doesn't mean because you're white you're right. And that's why I don't think I really had a problem. I've got a problem with this thing also about the jobs and that. And the thing that upsets me in the schools now is that the black children are coming into the schools - I've no problem with that - but they cannot speak the language. Now we're educating them, but now they are going home and who is doing homework with them? Now because of them, their backlog, the white children are getting a backlog. That's why I basically at this stage insist on sending my child to an Afrikaans School, because we, doing homework with the kids. we can see how much more advanced the Afrikaans children are above the English ones, and that's why I insist on sending my child to an Afrikaans School. He's totally bilingual. He's been bilingual since birth because Afrikaans and English. as I say our family's English, most of our friends are English. most of his friends are English, I mean, we hardly - we have an Afrikaans woman that he goes and plays with.
- D What?
- C That the Afrikaans groups are more advanced.
- D Yes. I did homework. I haven't done this year. but beginning last year. and before that we did homework with him [...] the English kids. There's Duarte now. he comes home. he has forty pages of reading there the other day. because they don't get the reading at school.
- E He's got three books for the weekend.
- D Now an Afrikaans child comes home Hanneljie, he's got three pages to read. words to read. That child stays there. he is so tired. he's done all his reading. he's just come in from school. he's done all his writing. he has to read forty pages and he has to come home and read it again at home. Plus a fun reader. Then homework. It's like this. and its not because ...
- R I'm saying I've lost you. The English or Afrikaans child comes home with all this homework?
- D The English child.

R Ah. Oh.

D The Afrikaans one - there's so much input at school that they don't. And their classes, we've got twenty children in a class where Louis's going next year. They've got forty in the English schools.

R So the individual attention is there?

D The individual attention is there and everything. Ja. The maths are more advanced. I've got nothing against the black children, but why not just put them in a school or in a group where they can slowly get into this. But now they're putting a child there that if you say 'Good Morning' to him he goes (demonstrates a slack jaw). Because he doesn't know whether you are telling him to get out of the classroom or whether you are telling him to do something good. He doesn't understand a word. It's the same in the pre-school. We get them the last term. Please he comes to school to learn English. 'Take off your shoes please.' You must basically go and show a six year old to take his shoes off, because he doesn't know what you are saying. They run out and they wee in the garden, because they don't know what a toilet is. And that I've experienced last year with a six year old child. You go to the toilet, he stands there and looks at the urinal, he looks at the toilets. You go upstairs for juice time. He can't wait 'til you're finished, he runs back and he wees in the corner of the garden. After you've taken him to the toilet ten minutes before. Or the girls just walk along, they open their legs, they have a wee, they close their legs and they walk on. And they just drip dry for the rest of the day.

I've had two kids like that, coming straight from the rural area. And then I actually spoke to the parents. And they just do it in their pants - they've got no problem with it, and they don't go and change after it, they just walk like that for the rest of the day.

A But then you should say that child's not ready to go to school

D But he's ready to go, he is. But the thing is we are not allowed to, that's discrimination.

A But they have to be tested - they have to - they not just allowed to go to school.

[Babble].

A ... at our nursery school all the kids are tested and the teacher has to write a report and says your child's ready or your child's not ready.

D But if the child is six, he must go to school the following year, because his age ...

A No you don't

D Yes. Its a Government rule. Its a Government rule. The year your child turns seven he must go. If you test that child in Zulu, I'm telling you he will be ready. It's just because he cannot speak the language. If you tell him now 'please go to the back and get me the spoon that's got the blue back, the blue handle,' he won't know what to do. But now tell him: 'Hamba ikitchen, tata ispoon - blue one'. [Go to the kitchen, get the spoon - blue one.] He'll come back with the spoon.

A Yes but then you must say to his mother or his father that the child will not be right to go to an English school.

D That's discriminating. That is the point.

[Babble].

D ... but now the parents come back - they cannot speak it either. So they got an interpreter and they actually feel that you discriminate. Maybe its a different area. We get them straight from the location.

C No, no, we are different.

D Ja. You see we get them straight from the location. They come in with a Taxi. I sometimes never see a child's parents, a black child's parents. They go through my hands - they go straight to school. I don't see them. Never.

E That's actually unfair. For the children as well. They also suffer.

D And it's unfair for the other children that are ... that are ready to learn, because they are keeping them back. I have black children in my class this year that are doing fine, but there's one child, and his mother can't speak it, and I'm struggling - I had his brother with me too, and I just cannot communicate. And my Zulu, really, it's the minimum and I try and speak to them. You tell them 'take the blue square' - he looks at you. Now tell him 'tata iblue square' [take the blue square] - he goes and picks it up.

- E It sounds almost the same.
- D But 'tata' - he didn't know what take means. So tata means take. Say 'tata iblue square' - he goes and he fetches it.
- E Everyday something else. I knew two kids - one in grade one this year in the Transvaal, and their parents say they haven't done a thing yet. They can't read or write or anything yet - all they've done in school was play and I don't know what they do. And our kids from day one they were in grade one they came home with homework. And by the time it was the first holiday they could read a few sentences.

[Babble].

- C [...]. Afrikaans words. And she told me that parents from the Transvaal brought up at their meeting the other night that they just want to thank their school. They can't believe that they are so advanced.
- A That's true.
- [Babble].
- D We are getting the pre-schoolers from the Transvaal too.
- ? *Soos ek gesê het.* [As I said]. Because they are white and from Pretoria they are right.
- R What's the next one?
- E *The Campaign Trail.*

What did you think of the way Ike treated Thando? Would you be upset if your partner treated you like this?

- E What do you think of the way Ike Moloai treated Thando? And would you be upset if your partner treated you like this?
- A Now how did he treat her?
- B Well, when she said that she was going to stand, he said 'no, you're not going to stand'. Is that what they were insinuating against?
- E Because I don't like Thando, I ...

- B No, well, you see why he did that because in their culture a woman is not supposed to do that.

[Babble].

- B *Dis waarom hy dit gedoen het.* [That's why he did it.]

*****End Tape*****

- R I mean, would white women go - would you need to go? Do you know what I'm saying? I mean, how did she know about it? Would your ...
- ? We are involved in teaching the [...].
- R OK.
- C There are a lot of women involved in the teaching ...
- D [...] teaching them how to read.
- R Adult education.
- D Ja, and sewing and things like that.
- C And cooking.
- D We go there to educate them and we start a relationship with them.
- R Oh, that's interesting. So that's a positive way to do it.
- C We [...]. Them on ourselves, we have [...] in our Church.
- R OK. So the Churches are generous. It's not coming then ... it's not imposed from the top. It seems to be what I call more grass roots where communities ... which going to work better. I think if it's coming from the top, you've got nothing to show, but you would get involved because it's your church.

What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to her husband Billy, her father Hempies and her daughter Frankie? Would you introduce her to any of your friends or your family? What do you think of her clothes and the way she furnishes her house?

- E OK. What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to her husband Billy?

- R We've talked about that.
- F To her father, Hempies.
- B You see, they are trying to adapt to the new ways and he is not. He's really very difficult. Ja, he's very difficult ...
- E And to Frankie, her daughter?
- A I think she's kind of a 'no' child ...
- ? Ja.
- B I don't like that lady anyway.
- ? Who, Frankie?
- B No, the white lady.
- R Kobie, Kobie.
- B Yes, Kobie.
- A She's always like untidy and sloppy and dirty and ... In one episode she was like flirting with that black guy ...
- B That's right, ja.
- A And that really irritated me.

What do you think of the way Thando treats her husband, Ike, and her mother-in-law, Ma Moloji? Would you introduce her to your family? What do you think of the way she dresses and furnishes her house?

- E OK. What do you think of the way Thando treats her husband?
- A I think she tries to ...
- E And he falls for it. He must love her very much
- B Ja.
- E I don't know ...
- R She's his second wife, you know, his first wife ran away with a boxer. In the bio ... she's actually his ...

- B Ja.
- E And then the way Thando speaks to her mother-in-law?
- B Well you see in the black culture, they can speak likethat ... but we'd never speak like that to our mother-in-laws.
- R No - not according to the blacks I've spoken to.
- B Oh, really?
- R No way! To speak to your mother-in-law like that? They think it's terrible.
- B ... she's educated, she's now a white black.

[Mirth].

- B But its true. That's because she's living in a white area - now this is how white people speak to their people. And she's misinformed - I don't know.
- C As far as I know, they have to pay a lot of respect to their in-laws.
- B Yes they do! Ja.
- C They have to bow down to them and they ...
- B Well, because like I say, now she's moved into Parkhurst.
- R But you know, I spoke to one of the old women that I saw way out in a very poor area, in KwaMashu, and she said 'that woman ... I know that woman! My mother-in-law was just ... she gave my life a Hell. My life was hell with her, she made' You know, it was so interesting because she related to her one hundred percent. She sat on her and would make her bad in front of her husband and all that. So ... Anyway, OK, shall we press on? What's the next one?

How do you feel about the way Mr. Limpid behaves when he visits the Molois? Do you know anyone like him?

- R Oh. This Mr Limpid - what do you think about Mr Limpid?

- E How do you feel about the way Mr. Limpid behaves when he visits the Molois?
- B *Hy's so swak ... nee. Hy's 'n swak karakter* [He's so weak ... no. He's a weak character].
- C I'm not really mad about him. So I'm prejudiced.
- B ... a bad impression of an Afrikaans person.
- C I'm prejudiced..
- E Ja, but I think some of them do react like that. But even an English speaking person.
- R Oh yes. I don't think it's an Afrikaans - English thing. I think it's a white ... [...].
- E [...] upper class blacks
- B Ja, ja, it was bad, really very bad impression.
- E And I think Ma Molois handled it well when she said what colour is an orange?
- [Mirth].
- R Now the next one you've got to give your all, because this is the one that really and truly kind of brings the whole thing together.
- What is 'low class'? What does Thando mean when she says anything is 'low class'?**
- E What is 'low class'? And what does Thando mean when she when she says anything is 'low class'?
- R Remember when she said that?
- E Ja.
- B She say it very um ... lots of the programme
- R Ja. OK. Ummm.
- E I think she thinks she sees low class as the life they had in Soweto. Do you think that is not the case?
- B Ja, ja. Also .. she also thinks that the white people are low class because of the way they live. The way they ... the environment around them and because Hempties is like that.
- A She's looking at Kobie and the way she dresses ...
- B Yes.
- A ... and the way she talks and that's low class to her.
- B Yes. Ja.
- A And the way her house looks inside too.
- B That's low class!
- E Now to me you're not low class if you're not properly manicured all the time. To me Kobie is low class.
- B Common!
- E Ja - that's the word.
- B Plain common! That's what she is, she is common.
- ? That smoking and ...
- B The way she dresses and her hair! I mean, you ... you move into an area. But the people moved next to me a few months ago [...] when they walked in I said God! we've got some common people next door to us now - and they hadn't even uttered a word. I hadn't even met them yet and I just looked at him and I just knew it! And what? It wasn't two weeks ago and I said what I tell you? Common hey? And that's exactly what they are.
- R Yes. But what would they do? You see this is what we are getting at.
- B We've had the police there about six times already He beats her and she beats him.
- E And they drink.
- B And they drink - I can go on ...
- D And you'd say I'm common too.
- [Babble].
- B You know, he's got to ... This woman is not really ... She looks like ... he said she's ... she says she's his

fiancé, but then she comes there and she's got these ... she's common - there's no word for it.

C It's way they talk, and the way ...

B And the way they dress

C And the way they act.

D Often you find that Afrikaans people can be more common.

C Yes! yes!

[Babble].

B ... you see these ladies - people going to shop at Pick 'n Pay, and immediately you see them - they work on the Railways or ...

[Babble].

B You know, those are the people who are low class people. Not that I'm any better myself.

D The jersey under her sun dress, that's the problem.

[Babble].

B ... with bare feet going to shop at Pick 'n Pay, you just don't do that - it's common! I mean, that's it.

[Babble].

B This is what it's all about. You're quite right.

D My Mom and them came to Durban. My Mom and them had to go and look for a house [...] go and look at the Railway houses on The Bluff, and my Mom said they stopped and as they stopped, everybody went huh! And she said to my Dad, don't even get out, just let's go. I'm not living amongst all these Railway people. So we ...

B It's very sad that we have to classify people like that. But I think we've come a long way. I think people should have adapted by now and changed with the world as it's gone on. But lots of people. 'Cause they just haven't got the class to change.

D Point Road is now common.

B Yes.

D ... the people at Point Road.

B The Bluff has also lots of common people staying on the Bluff. That's why I wouldn't now stay on the Bluff ...

[Babble].

D I'm teaching there.

B That doesn't matter. Teaching there's different.

D In the Point they bring their kids to school - no shoes, no teeth, nothing! That's common.

E You know what is the right way [...] and the common people are those who know what's the right way, but they just couldn't be bothered. They've given up on life and they just don't care anymore.

? Why must I go and pay somewhere else when I can only pay ten rand for this house?

B That's right. I mean you must put the miners away, it's very common too in the Free State. I mean [...] was a miner many years. I was, I mean, I lived in ... all my life and if I go back there now and I think look at this person. I say it's really bad here now. I want to go back to Durban ...

[Mirth].

E Funny. I've never thought of blacks being common.

B No. Because it's

R Now why?

B No, because you got ...

R It's so interesting.

B No, because you see they ...

E I don't feel threatened by them. I suppose.

C I think we're in different cultures.

B They walk bare feet and they feed the baby in the street or wherever [...] their culture. But let a white

woman take her tit and feed a baby there in the church
- then that's common. That's low class.

[Mirth].

? That's unfair, hey?

B Yes. Because you should know better. Your parents should have taught you. You go somewhere else and do it. But you don't do it. That's low class.

How would you feel if your child started dating a person of a different race? Do you know anyone who socializes with a member of a different race?

E OK. How would you feel if your child started dating a person of a different race? I'd freak out!

? We'd all freak out.

A I'd die!

C I think it's a very very difficult situation. A few years ago [...] she's a lady, she came to me and she was terribly upset.. It was before this situation we are in now. And she came to me and said 'Hannetjie, I'm in a terrible fix.' I said 'What?' She said 'You know what? My son got married to a coloured girl.'

Jump in recording

D *Die oupa se hare.* [Hair of the grandfather (old man)]

[Mirth].

[Babble].

Jump in recording

B [...] on Friday [...] introducing it, although he's been to the SABC quite a few times I thought, you can marry and that and have children.

D What did he marry? An Indian?

B Yes.

D Now I worked with an Australian, just for sake of interest, she comes from New Zealand. I could call them white. now the brother's black with curly hair

and you call him black and if he's black with straight hair?

B See then he's coloured. He's *bruin, hy is 'n bruin kind.* [brown (coloured), he is a brown child.]

E Very sad for the children.

A That's why the ID book, they only have South African now. You're not black or white or anything else.

E And you must think that the children are accepting the situation?

? No, they're not.

[Babble].

B ... it's not heard of. You just don't do that kind of thing and you wouldn't find --- I think that it wouldn't be that an Afrikaans girl would even think of doing something like that.

[Babble].

B Not years ago.

C Not years ago, but today it's different.

R Vey different.

B Very different.

? [...] we know someone [...].

E I also know a black lady, who's married [...] she's married [...].

End of Tape

SUBURBAN BLISS

Susan Group

May 1st 1996

Episodes:

- a. Maid from Hell
- b. Campaign Trail
- c. Comic Relief

Six Participants:-

- A = Susan Govender, (Facilitator)
 B = Mano [**].
 C = Pat [**].
 D = Kubeshni [**].
 E = Puni [**].
 F = Rookmuni [**].

R = Dorothy Roome (Researcher)

A I'm Susan Govender. I work for the University of Natal I'm a Senior Admin Assistant.

R OK.

B Mano [**], educator. I teach art at a secondary school.

R Do you have any children.

B Two children.

R OK. And what sex are they?

B Male and female.

R OK. Thank you.

C Pat [**]. I work for [**] Company as a development Chemist.

R OK. Are you married or ...?

C I'm married.

R OK. Do you have any children?

C No children.

R No children. OK.

D I'm Kubeshni [**]. I [...] I'm not married. I don't have any children

R Thank you. Right.

E Puni [**]. Financial Assistant [**] Company. One Son.

R OK.

F Rookmuni [**]. I'm a housewife. Have a husband and five daughters. I'm married? That's all. ... And six grandchildren.

R Doing OK! Doing OK. Thank you. OK. Can we start the questions?

A Must I ask them? Dot.

R Just ask the questions ja. Just ask the questions. Basically the first question relates to the men who were in the show. Do you want this to sit on? Will that be easier for you? You alright there?

A No, this is fine.

R OK.

There are four men in the show - Billy Dwyer, Ike Molo, Andrew Molo and Hempies. Which of these men do you like or dislike the most? What appeals to you about them?

A There are four men in the show - Billy Dwyer, Ike Molo, Andrew Molo and Hempies. Which of these men do you like or dislike the most? What appeals to you about them?

R So we got the four men. Lets go through them again. There's the black guy, Ike ...

A Ike's son Andrew ...

R ... and his son Andrew.

B Billy and his father-in-law - Hempies.

R Right. OK. So. What do you think of these guys? Do you know anybody like this?

E I can identify, I think, with three of the characters.

R Yeah?

- E My father-in-law, if you working with people that are Afrikaners of the old ... you know. that age group, they definitely think why if you're black you got to drink your tea out of the enamel cup. You're not supposed to have tea from, you know the mugs that we have, because being black, they're *mense*. they got to have their own cups.
- R Really? So this is still going on?
- E Ja. That age group.
- R OK.
- E He could be easy sixty, seventy. So you talking about the 'old' South Africa.
- R OK.
- E Ike Moloi is a typical 'new' South African educated black who's trying to get into the world, but trying to be white, you know. Trying to get more white than black. And in the same way is trying to lose a bit of his culture. Do you know? The ...
- R His African culture?
- E His African culture. Because now he wants to move to Parkhurst or Sandtou or something, and live like the guy next door ...
- R OK.
- C Now I don't agree with it. I think ...
- R You don't agree - good. This is great.
- C He's keeping his culture. I think his wife is the onewho wants [...].
- R You think his wife?
- C He still kept his mother and his mother-in-law. And she still got a *shebeen* in the back yard. I actually like his mother for it. She likes both of the husbands.
- [Mirth.].
- E I wish my husband would clean the house like that.
- E Generally in comparing our world, let's compare my husband more than my sisters. Generally, the Indian men, they don't really do housework. And if they do, their parents get into a frenzy because they sweeping the house or they ----
- R Because if the man's sweeping the house ...
- E ... because it's not a man's job, irrespective whether the wife's working and the husband's working. It's something that you grew up with, the men not supposed to do anything.
- R OK.
- F That is if the parents are living with them.
- R Oh. OK.
- F A husband and wife living on their own. ...
- R Yes.
- F ...the wife makes the husband do what she wants himto do. He's got to hop, skip and jump!
- R Oh. The husband has to listen?
- F Has to hop, skip and jump!, for the wife. That is if they living at their home. But if it is a communal living, and they living in the family, then the mother doesn't like her son to do anything. It's the wife's job.
- R It's the wife's job?
- F It's the wife's job.
- R OK.
- F But if she's working or not working, it's the wife's job.
- E Irrespective if she's got a full eight to five job. The mother expects the daughter ... the daughter-in-law to the work herself. The son ...
- R On top of the other job outside. OK. OK.
- F Where the son is more precious to her than the daughter-in-law is.
- R OK. Alright.

- B The incident with the sofa, where Billy walked in and the two kids were having popcorn ...
- R Yes.
- B ... Reminded me of what happened at home this morning. I was sleeping ...
- R Yes.
- B ... and the kids wanted something to eat. So my husband I think gave them fish and mash. And the sofa was messed. My son ...
- R So you could relate to that.
- B ... my son had spilled all the fish and the mash all over the sofa. Father was hysterical because it had to be cleaned before I woke up.
- R Oh. So did he clean it? Father did it?
- B The three of them cleaned it.
- R Yeah! that's great, yeah. So you think things are moving right along here. Yes. What did you think, Kubeshni? About the men. Do you know men like them at all? Any of them? What about Andrew? Do you know men like Andrew. He doesn't have a lot to say. You haven't seen episodes where ... you seen lots of them, but there are little bits that come out ... threads of his character that come out.
- A I think a lot of his adverse character [...] all the black guys in the series.
- R Yeah, you can see that.
- A The guys from *Zim* [Zimbabwe]. Very much like him.
- R In what way? I mean I think it's a good point, but I appreciate it if you could just go on a bit about that.
- F Do you want to date white women?
- R OK. OK.
- A Why not date a black woman?
- R OK. OK. What do you think?
- D Can say I enjoyed Ike.
- R You liked Ike. Why?
- D First I think he acted very well in relation to the others. I find the coupling of the two younger ones a bit weak.
- R OK.
- D It's like they trying to get somewhere and they not, not quite getting ...
- R Not making it then. Uh huh.
- D I understand what they're trying to get at in the character of Andrew. You know they are trying to put into him all the township lingo and the township beat. You know, while being him so cool, this 'new' South Africa context, but I don't quite think he [...] it. The grandfather, he's an old dog, a professional. He's very good and he does his role well and everything else. The father, I think falls slightly short, because I find in the role they cut out for him, what I think they're trying to do very much is take established stereotypes and turn them on their head, you know. So that is what they're to achieve with this, you know. So instead of the white *kugel*, you got the black *kugel*. And instead of the mother being the smoother of the path and worry about the debt, you've got the father doing that. And some of the characters hack it and some of the characters don't. I think that Ike sort of manages to do it. I think the grandfather manages to do it, but I don't think the father does.
- R OK. Anything else? OK. Next question
- Thando wants to have a maid - why is she so keen? Do you think it is a good idea for her to have a maid?***
- A OK. Thando wants a maid - why is she so keen? Do you think it is a good idea for her to have a maid?
- R Well, and particularly here, it's the concept of having a maid. Well, there are two parts to that question. Ja. Ja.
- B More competition with the lady next door. And the lady being white also! She wants to be on a par with the lady next door.

- R OK. Comment?
- C I think something wrong with that, I mean.
- B But there's nothing wrong with it.
- C There's nothing wrong with having a maid. She can afford to pay her, but she should be paid.
- R But, I mean, does she work? Does she work?
- E Yes, she doesn't work. I'm at home. OK. If I'm at home. Like Thando, and a mother-in-law who does the bulk of the work, I definitely won't have a maid. OK. But now I know. I just moved out from my mother, where all the luxuries - home cooked meal and things like that. Now I'm up at seven o'clock and I'm working till nine in the night. So, that time you may have a maid, but you know. But that is if you can afford it. But I'm not going to compete with the lady next to her because she's got a maid I need to have a maid if I can afford it. But they are expensive today. The maid in that movie shows they are back today. If there's no *miesies* in the house they have the bacon and egg and they finish the freezer and the fridge. OK. Unlike if you at home, like with my Mom, she's at home and she's watching the maid to clean behind the curtains or something. Now [...] if you take [**] she's got a maid and she's working. Her maid skips behind the curtains unless she watches. You see?
- B I would love to manage without a maid. I can. It's just that my back doesn't allow it. I feel you do it the way you want it done. You don't have to go back and do it and undo what the maid has already done.
- R OK. So does it matter if there's dirt behind the curtains?
- B Yes. It does.
- [Babble].
- R Is it important to have a clean house?
- ? Yes.
- F Health reasons, hygienic reasons and all this. it's good to have a clean house, right?
- R OK.
- F And if I had all the characters, one doing my cooking and one sweeping, you know, I would do without a maid.
- R OK.
- F That is better that everybody claps hands together.
- R Right.
- F When you got nobody and you got grandchildren, you want a maid to run around also.
- R OK.
- F But if I prefer having a maid - if one at all ...
- R OK.
- F Not like my daughters ... going to work and having a maid. That maid having messed up everything.
- R OK. OK.
- F ... and they then still squealing that the maid hasn't done the job.
- B My problem is my maid can't see very well without her glasses.
- R OK.
- B So she doesn't see all the bits of dirt that I can pick up.
- R OK.
- [Mirth.].
- B That drives me potty.
- R OK. So what you're saying is it's important to you this thing of cleanness. Cleanness is important. Do you feel bad about that if you see the dirt? Does it make you feel bad?
- B I think maybe because it makes me mad in the sense that on a Saturday when I want to laze around, because after having a hard week, I can't do that because I still got to go and clean my fridge and my stove the way I want it done. Especially the sides.

- R OK.
- B Which she omits to wipe.
- R OK. OK. So we're into this clean thing in a big way. OK. Comment? Any other comments?
- D [...] because in our home we had a maid once. Who [...].
- R Yes.
- D And we found it very taxing on everybody, because you know, I don't know, we've never had like a maid before and we were like going overboard to try and accommodate this woman everywhere possible. Eventually it was easier actually not having the maid at all. Because in our home my dad sort of works from home - so you know it becomes difficult.
- R Ah now! This is the Hempies thing. I don't want them under my feet sort of thing. OK.
- D No, not actually that it's just that what happens is that my father is very difficult he actually [...] in that respect. And I think in the whole course of the situation, and maybe in certain social structure when you trying very hard to try turn that social structure around - to actually have somebody who's from that thing, you know, it's probable. So actually we battle it out at home without a maid and ...
- [Confusion].
- R Interesting. That's very interesting. That's why I asked that.
- B The maid sometimes when you want to sleep late - like on a Saturday if we not going to work. You can't lie in late because she's there at seven. So you got to be up because she must do her work to leave by twelve. Sometimes ...
- R Why have her on a Saturday?
- B I have because of my son actually. I have ...
- R OK.
- B Especially for the washing. I can't really squeeze and things like that.

- R OK. It's just I'm trying to sort of play Devil's Advocate here. So ...
- C Oh, we don't have a maid during the week. Our maid only comes in on a Saturday.
- R Oh, OK.
- C We don't have a maid during the week.
- B I find it very distracting. Like when I'm on leave and things like that and I mean ...
- F Like you got to be up and about.
- R You've got to be available for the maid to do the job.
- F Ja.
- R OK. Well I think we'll press on, and this is always interesting and I'll tell you afterwards what the Zulu ladies said and what everybody else - it's very interesting. OK.

There are two different kitchens in Suburban Bliss, which do you prefer and why?

- A There are two different kitchens in *Suburban Bliss*, which do you prefer and why?
- R Yes!, yes!, yes! Let's hear what you have to say about this one.
- [Babble].
- R There are two different kitchens in there and the one has got the table in the middle, and the other one is more modern. Now which did you prefer? Now, you know, however you feel about it, you must say. Because people usually disagree about this. Well? Mrs [**]? Which kitchen did you prefer. Now you're the one I know that really is good at this cooking business. Which one did you prefer?
- F I like a nice modern kitchen. With all the equipment in the right places.
- R So you liked the fact that it was immaculate ...
- F Immaculate.

- R ... and clean, and tidy and ...
- E And the spice bottles are exactly ..., the salt supposed to be. It's funny, at home we got the the spice, like the salt and the *masala* on one side and the sugar and the tea on the other side so don't mix it ...
- R Don't mix it up.
- E Ja. So ...
- R Organised, clean, everything in place.
- E Yes.
- R Oh, so you prefer the black one.
- F She says I take ... must go back to that. It's not somewhere else.
- R Not just all over the place.
- F Where the condiments and where the [...] goes. therice goes into a certain place, it should be there. Where the dishes are washed, it's got holes to drain the ...
- R So it's very nice. OK. Marvellous.
- F For cooking [...] also that is cooked by me. the maid's food is cooked by me. I ...
- R You even do the maid's cooking? So you do the ...
- F The maid doesn't cook.
- R Hold it. Hold that thought.
- F My maid doesn't cook.
- R Oh. So she just cleans ...
- F My maid cleans my vegetables and the washing of the floors. the ironing, cleaning of the house, tending sometimes to my grandson. That sort of thing.
- R Oh. She does help with the food?
- F Ja. When it comes to kitchen food and all. it's done by me because ...
- R You control it.
- F I'm at home full time, I have to do something, but when you start cleaning the floors and the lounge we work together.
- R Pat - you may say something.
- C [...]. Because [...].
- [Babble].
- R You like to be tidy.
- E I think the upbringing is definitely being the feminist part of it. Because of the upbringing.
- R OK. OK.
- E Being fanatical about it. Even my husband tell me - OK. Leave Prashant to play with his toys. You know how I expect him to put it back into the toy box where he found it. But he can leave it where he wants to. He [...]. His family.
- R Susan! What about the maid thing? How do you feelthat? Do you find that the maid is an intrusion or you ...
- [Babble].
- C You touched on the right topic. Susan would love her. Really she ...
- B The day Susan has to ...
- [Babble].
- A My day off!
- B Saturday I came here and Susan. or was it a Sunday?. Susan had to be washing the bathroom and toilet. I couldn't even get a greeting out from her. because she was mad. The maid didn't pitch up on the Saturday.
- E Susan don't like a maid. I mean what Susan would really like and I wish ...
- [Babble].
- E ... She doesn't want a maid. she wants like more a *maitre d'*. who'll do the cooking, the ironing, the sewing and stand by the table.

End of Tape

R ... I'll be here 'til ten o'clock.

A Yes.

R What's the next question, please?

How do you feel about the things Ma Moloi says to Thando? Have you ever heard a mother-in-law say those sort of things?

A How do you feel about the things Ma Moloi says to Thando? Have you ever heard a mother-in-law say those sort of things?

? Yes.

R A mother-in-law?

[Babble].

R In the house?

C Not so much about cleaning the house because it's another problem. Things like put on some jewellery. put lipstick on. She ...

[Babble].

E But here I think Thando's mom was more against what it was [...]. I don't think Pat has that problem. What we can identify with their problems within the family, (OK mom is difficult for us because there are no brothers. Basically.

R OK.

E OK. So we haven't got that daughter-in-law relationship in this house. but ... We can identify with the family ...

R OK.

F Like a mother-in-law sometimes.

E But my mother. if she had a daughter-in-law. it would be very difficult for that girl to adapt because she's a perfectionist. basically. You know what I mean. Everything must be in its place. And today young girls. when they get married they want to ... Ten

o'clock they still want to be in their gowns and one o'clock they will have a bath. But in our house. before you come to the kitchen, your nightdress will be out. So you can't come in and have breakfast with your nightgown on. Do you know what I mean?

R Yes.

E That's daughter-in-laws ... because is in all families ... we have the ...

? Actually my mother had that problem ...

F This is the modern generation. Right? I got married at the age of sixteen. I wasn't sixteen. I was going to be sixteen that year and I got married in January. The mother-in-law that I had, before you put your foot into the kitchen, you must have your bath, do your prayers, you dress first, because you living in a communal family. That there's no such thing as nightdress and gown.

R OK. That will make sense because you're in an extended family ...

F Ja. Right. So if you are out of your bedroom you are all dressed in your *sari*, you are ready dressed you are not allowed. You come out with your *sari*. You go wash. There's no such thing as bathroom inside the house. now it was outside there. You washed your face, you come back, you put your *dot*, you got to have this. Some of my daughters who are married now.

[Babble].

F All me telling them, right. You got to have that before you give your ...

R What's that called?

F A *dot*. We call it *kungum*. We've got to have that before you give a cup of tea to your husband. It's traditional.

R He doesn't make you the tea?

[Babble].

F Not when we got married. We made them the tea. The breakfast and all. They were businessmen. I had the house in the back, the shop in the front. Right. So

they used to have a bath, wash and they went off to shop. I was one of the lucky girls. when I got married. I had somebody making the tea and taking it to the shop.

R Oh. OK.

F I had a sister-in-law that died lately.

R Oh. OK.

F We had quite a lot of servants because we had a very big place and a very big family.

R OK. So in other words it's not the onus on one person to achieve everything. It's like a spread responsibility.

F Each do something. So my sister-in-law used to go and make the tea with the boy and send a big jug of tea to the shop [...] the shop, the baker man and the travellers all came there for a cup of tea in the morning. I don't think their the wives made the tea. so they used to come and have tea in the shop.

R And today? How is it changed today? You only have one child at home now. How is it changed? Do you still? Are you? I mean. Do you follow that same pattern?

F Well. not the same pattern. because I've got [...].

R OK.

F Quiet! (To noisy child) It's changed from when I got married, right. And when they died it was a bit different because [...]. So we carried our life as the children grew. I lived in a big family. For nineteen years. I've led a very good life. We all worked together. we clapped hands together. We did everything together. When visitors came we cooked and dished and ...

R Everybody did their share.

F Everybody did their share. But my sister-in-law was the cook. She never allowed us in the kitchen to cook. But we had the job to dish out, entertain the visitors. you know. wash. clean and all that kind of a thing. Only thing ...

R But you had your mother-in-law stay with you?

? Yes.

[Babble].

F My father-in-law died when Mana was seven months. My mother-in-law died before ... I expect three months before she can be born.

R So you were accustomed to that extended family concept.

? But we lived with an extended family ...

R OK. OK.

F With my husband's brother and his family. my nieces and nephews all grew up together as one big family. We lived for nineteen years. The children - I think Pat was just a baby when we came up here.

R So now these ladies are looking at the clock. Let's just quickly hear. So would you say that your life is relatively easy? I mean you're not in the situation. Do have a mother. do you have your mother's mother or your father's mother living in the house or have you never experienced that? So that's not a problem that you have. OK.

A But she can tell you about what she may think it's going to be like.

R The man that you plan to marry. Will his mother live with you?

D I think where the thing comes in is when a mother brings her son up with such expectations of what life should be like for ...

R Oh yeah. The ideal.

D The ideal. And that's where a lot of trouble starts. When the son is brought up with the expectation that he is going to have his breakfast made every morning [...]. So every Sunday this is going to happen. He can sleep only for so long that you know when he gets up. That he's going to want ... I mean it's not his fault really. He's grown up with that. I mean. I would grow up to expect that if, you know, if there were expectations I was brought up with.

R So you just hope that the man you marry doesn't have those kind of expectations.

- D Yeah.
- F Or training or moulding.
- R Or training. My mother-in-law said first day training. I mean I didn't. So you know.
- F As Pat says, she's got the mother-in-law who's alsomodern. Not like when we got married.
- R Your mother-in-law's modern?
- E Ja. She's ...
- F Quite modern. Right?
- E I don't have a problem. She's [...]. She's very independent. She's actually a business woman.
- R OK. So that there's not ...
- [Babble].
- R Not the traditional kind of ...
- C No, she is very traditional still. I mean, she still has the situation where her son shouldn't wash dishes ...
- R Oh really? Oh really? OK.
- C She is still very traditional.
- R So she expects you to do that?
- C Certain things, ja. Well there was a time ...
- F ... the son being the last ...
- C But then she does it herself. Because she [...].
- R OK. OK. So it's maybe a bit like Ma Moloi, but not going on at you the way Ma Moloi does.
- [Mirth].
- [Babble].
- R Let's get to the next question here.

What do you think about the things Hempies says about having a maid? Would the men you know agree with him?

- R OK. So what do you think about the things Hempies says about having a maid? Do you want to quickly comment on that? You know the things he said. I want to be out of the house. I don't want to be here when the maid's there. Have you ever known a man who says things like that? The men in your lives kind of feel they ... Somehow there's got to be this magic person who comes in and cleans or they don't want to be aware that they're there.
- ? No no ...
- [Babble].
- F It's, well, as I say, it's all our time you know. The older people [...] qualified to. The old, the older generation.
- R OK.
- F Who didn't like somebody coming and doing something, you know, they preferred ...
- R But the younger men are ...
- F [...] each one can do that work. You do your husband's washing, she does her husband's washing. If you got children, you wash your own children [...].
- R OK.
- F All cut back to do the work you see. Now that every family lives on its own and they go to work and they ... it's a bit hard. They all need a maid. So not then, they ... thing is maid was not there at that time.
- R OK. Ask about the Kobie question. Now there was a question there ...

What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to Billy? Do you know anyone like Kobie? Does her smoking worry or upset you?

- A What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to Billy? Do you know anyone like Kobie? Does her smoking worry or upset you?

R You know Kobie?

? Ja.

R What do you think of her? Come on, you young ones there. What do you think of Kobie?

C I don't know, she comes across like ...

F I've seen some other episodes also ...

R Yes.

C And she comes across like having no respect for her husband.

R Do you think that's bad?

C When two people are married, even if there's no love, you should respect the other individual. To me respect is very important.

R OK.

C I think she actually [...] sometimes [...] that's all. Actually I think she's quite cool.

R You think she's like that?

[Mirth].

[Babble].

R You like that. Is that good?

E Sometimes it is good because everything is cool. I've got girls that work in the office. They don't let the bosses upset them - they just smoke that cigarette. And she always got a cigarette in her hand.

R Uh huh.

E Even when she's in the office or when she walks into the office with a cigarette in her hand. She say I'm a cool person.

R Oh. OK. Cigarette says you're cool. OK. Well what about the way she - what was the rest of that question there. The way she speaks.

A The way she speaks to Billy.

R We had that ja. OK. What's the next question?

Do you think the things that happened on the show could ever really happen to anyone you know?

A Do you think the things that happen on the show could ever really ever happen to anyone you know?

R Ja. Any of the things that we saw, like, you know, with the maid situation. Do you think that would happen? [...] and the maid ripping them off. Do you think that could happen?

? Yes, yes.

[Babble].

? Very very often.

R So that still doesn't mean you wouldn't have a maid.

C That's why we don't have a maid.

E I don't have a maid, period, because I'm working. I just want to get my things the way I want.

R Alright. Let's start the next one. We're like pushing hard here.

What did you think of the way Ike treated Thando? Would you be upset if your partner treated you like this?

A What do you think of the way Ike treated Thando when [...]?

R *The Campaign Trail* now. It's the second episode. Right? Right. The second episode. The way ...

A ... Ike treated Thando ...

R ...Ike treated Thando. Do you remember that?

? Is this at the meeting?

? Ja.

R Well, even before. Think when it opened. He was reading the paper. Right?

- ? When she ...
- R ... have you ever been there? That ever happen to you?
- C [...] paper.
- R Yeah - have you been there? Does it sound familiar?
- C Sounds familiar ...
- [Babble].
- R OK. OK.
- E No, but then men do that, you know, when they read the paper ...
- C That's my father, actually.
- E That's my father.
- R It's your father? That's what he does?
- [Babble].
- C [...] he reads the paper [...] still reading the paper.
- A And you must leave it in the same order you find the paper.
- R Oh really? Folded up ...
- [Babble].
- B No no, his order. His order.
- R Oh, his order.
- B Page twenty two right on top.
- R OK.
- F He reads the paper you know ...
- B That's why the family love him.
- R So what do you think the way Ike spoke to Thando in ...
- [Babble].
- B Typical I think in a black community where the woman is not ... The men don't really give women that same equal status in the marriage.
- R OK.
- B You always ...
- R Now in the Indian community how is it? You have equal status?
- B No! No!
- B OK. Probably in the modern, the younger generation maybe you're equal. But in the older generation or some 'backward' men still think the wives have to be heard or seen ...
- R [...]. See no evil, speak no evil.
- ? Ja, that kind of thing.
- R That's interesting. Would you agree with that statement?
- B But my father is different.
- F My husband is different because when we had the in-laws, it was different. When they died it was different, so ...
- R So you never had that your husband told you to keep quiet?
- F Never had that problem.
- B And we never had that problem with my father. I suppose we being five girls. And ...
- R He couldn't stand up to you.
- [Babble].
- F [...] close. Very close this family, because the three big ones ...
- [Babble].
- R OK. So you were more --- it was a horizontal kind of ...
- [Babble].

- E The three big girls always went towards my dad. The two younger ones ... actually my mother said the other day. The two younger ones like me and the big ones like you. So you can have the three big girls and the I'll have the two small ones.
- R Oh. So now I see a bit of favouritism goes on. But I won't comment ...
- E See, we were always with my dad in his business and things like that. And the two, when Pat and Susan were young, and then they were always with mommy, you see?
- R What about you? How do you feel about this?
- D In my home, the situation's very different. My dad brought me up because I think in the way that things worked, my dad being [...] worked from home, so I had my formative years with my dad, and he cooked, and he cleaned and he ...
- R So he's not the traditional ...
- D No no.
- R I must just turn this off. OK.
- D And I came to appreciate that my father to a very large extent. You know, I only realised how much so when I went into a relationship myself, and then the prospect of the qualities that I watched my dad, I again wanted for my, you know.
- R Future husband.
- D Future husband. To help bring up his children. And that's basic. And that's still very very important to me. You know, I think a very different system [...] my home. Because my dad ...
- R Press on. I mean, I'm moving right along because I want us to finish off ...
- How did you feel when Thando gave her speech to run for President of the Residents Association? Would you have voted for her if you had been at the meeting? Who else would you have voted for?***
- A How did you feel when Thando gave a speech to run for President of the Resident's Association?
- Would you have voted for her had you been at the meeting? Who else would you have voted for?
- R Remember she spoke of certain things. How did you feel about that? Did you like it or did it turn you off? I mean, say what you feel inside.
- B Very very typical of a person that's in the 'new' South Africa. Living in a mixed community. And trying to upgrade that community and not downgrade.
- R OK.
- B Which like excessive *shebeens* would have done.
- R OK.
- E And certain excitement of meeting the top people ...
- [Babble].
- B You are a socialite!
- E A socialite.
- R She picked up on that. OK. OK. OK.
- E I ... you get the ...
- A I don't think she thought about the duties that came with the work ...
- [Babble].
- R What was she doing here? What was she actually doing with this job?
- B She was looking for the fun. And I think ...
- ? Social aspect.
- ? Platform.
- B The climbing of the social ladder. Who am I going to meet? And things like that. What are the duties that it attend?
- R OK.
- E She said top something ... top? Meet the top ...

R Yes. I couldn't catch that either. Every time I listen to it, I try and catch it and remember it.

B And one thing that she said in trying to make Parkhurst to be a place where other people would want to come and live. Insofar as upgrading the ...

R Oh. Make property values ...

B Ja.

R ... so that it becomes a desirable place to ...

B to live in.

R OK.

D I think I'd be very suspicious as to what the producers of *Suburban Bliss* are trying to achieve overall. Because, you know, I think there must be places [...] trying to achieve humour. We've never actually had a South African sitcom that embraces - I mean you have very successful Afrikaans ones - very - and, you know, the one ...

[Babble].

D The Afrikaans productions are, compared to Englishwork, outstanding. Really the script writing and stuff. Here like they aren't, you have - look at [**] then and say like with this character Thando. They set her up like for this speech and then at the end, they toss on the head, because they say - OK you know what this actually work now. Thando ... They not actually saying things. Because whatever they say they sort of go back and nullify at the end [...]. A very curious technique. I wonder if you know they are actually aware of what they're doing.

R You don't want to lose anybody in the process. That's what it is. You don't want to lose 'em. Suck them all up. OK. Next question

How do you feel about the things those people standing for election said they wanted to fix - family values, RDP, Racial Harmony. Do you have any of these things happening in your community?

A How do you feel about the things the people standing for election said [...].

R Well that I think we kind of just covered in what she said there. Next one.

What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to her husband Billy, her father, Hempies and her daughter Frankie? Would you introduce her to any of your friends or your family? What do you think of her clothes and the way she furnishes her house?

A What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to her husband Billy, her father Hempies and her daughter Frankie?

R I think we kind of covered that earlier. We didn't talk about how she speaks to her daughter, though.

A Would you introduce her to any of your family?

R Oh yes.

A What do you think of her clothes and the way she furnishes her home?

R Yes. Kobie. How do you think of the way she furnishes her home?

C I'm not a judgemental person. I introduce everybody to my home. Sometimes just to see a reaction [...] I would introduce her ...

R You don't have a problem with that?

B She is herself. And she's decorated her house and it reflects her.

R OK. So that's what [...]. Don't have to [...] value.taste thing.

E If you like [...]. What's her name, Susan?

A Beschara

E Beschara. I mean you can meet her without shoes. You know that's the girl without the shoes. You can identify them. We have a friend like that. You say is that the one with the cigarette. You know ...

R Yeah right. Almost like a talisman.

[Babble].

A ... she's not afraid to show it. You take her as she is. or you don't like her.

? Her house respects who she is, somehow.

R OK. Untidy. I mean ...

? Kitsch!

R OK. Next question. Then I must change this.

What do you think of the way Thando treats her husband, Ike, her mother-in-law Ma Moloji? Would you introduce her to your family? What do you think of the way she dresses and the way she furnishes her house?

A What do you think of the way Thando treats her husband Ike and her mother-in-law. Ma Moloji?

R I think we kind of covered that. Next question.

How do you feel about the way Mr Limpid behaves when he visits the Molois? Do you know anyone like him?

A How do you feel about the way Mr Limpid behaved when he was ...

R Oh yes. What did you think of him? Let me just change this.

[Babble].

? [...]. Mr Limpid.

R Ja. What did you think of him? Ja. let's talk just ...

E Typical connection. Want to be ...

R Oh yeah.

E He promises the world. We were living with my sister in Johannesburg, and one of the guys that was standing for local election day come to my sister in Johannesburg, who was looking to move from a flat into a house. And you know, you got to bribe the guy there to get it, because the list is endless.

R Right.

E The waiting list And he says vote for me in the election and I guarantee you, you'll get a house. So we all go and vote for the guy - and she never got the house!

R Never got the house! Oh God! Offer you the world and not come through for you.

E Ja. It's typical. They promise you the world and never come through. He was just that, ja.

R The next very important question for you. The one that I really want you to give your best shot, because I've had such wonderful results with my other ladies. Thando talks about 'low class'. And for her there's the one example they have where she's asked to help her husband get elected. He says well you've got to go around the neighbourhood, she says 'so low class'. So then, you know, this is like a real theme throughout. I mean we heard how some people think what 'low class' is etc.. etc. I want to know what you people - each one of you. What to you is the meaning of the words 'low class?', and how would you describe 'low class'? Who would you describe as 'low class'? And I think I've now got to change this. So I want you to think about that for a minute. A very short one. They've got to be changed all the time. So please think about that ... you can start talking about it. What do you think is 'low class'. Susan? How would you describe 'low class'?

End Tape

B ... in today's Indian society.

F Doesn't happen today, but ...

B It doesn't happen, but it does. Like my mother's sister, the eldest one, she is very conscious of where you should marry and especially grandsons and granddaughters. Who's acceptable and who's not. You know that so called ...

R The class thing.

B Yes. Yes. The *caste* thing.

? It's a class and a *caste* thing.

B But for me ...

- R You don't think that ...
- B To me somebody that comes from the lowest *caste* and class could have so much of class.
- R OK.
- B ... that somebody coming from top of the shelf, with all the money ...
- R Yeah.
- B ... would never reach there. You know, even in that person from the lowest caste can have all the class it's in the ...
- R What do you mean by class? You see that's what I'm trying to get to her. What is meant by class? Do you think I can work that rigid stratification, but everybody seems to have this other idea. Well, there's this other thing as to what they think is class. And that's what I'm trying to get at. Because I think it's very prevalent in South Africa. And that's why I'm asking you. Because I think it's vital. And I think in getting out of how women see it, you know, I think women are much more perceptive of this kind of thing. We are conscious of, you know. I mean what is it that gives you class?
- [Babble].
- A [...] the way you treat other people.
- ? Your treating of other people.
- A The way you come across. The way you would want ...
- B Respect for other people, and just relating, you mustn't think that there are people now. I'm referring to particular people that I can. I'm ...
- R That you know.
- [Babble].
- B ... feel that now that they doing their masters, they are actually better than the others.
- [Babble].
- B Kubeshni - not you. Kubeshni was a perfect example actually, where [...] now feels that since she's got a masters, like her nose is in the air. That if she has to pick up - her nose up a little bit more, she'll drown in the rain. You know that kind of attitude ...
- R I like----
- [Mirth].
- [Babble].
- B You know that superciliousness that comes from *nadi* - nothing!
- R So you say that's low class.
- B Because to me she comes from a background that is nothing to shout about.
- R So if she came from a background that was a lot to shout about ...
- [Babble].
- B She comes from a very simple, humble background. But now that she's got these degrees behind her name, she feels she's now attained class.
- R Oh, OK.
- B ... and by wearing Daniel Hector clothes and ...
- R Ah! Now we're getting into another thing ...
- B Yes.
- R ...now we're getting symbolism.
- B Yes.
- R ... to take it along with this.
- B Now that. The clothing now. You know it's Truworths clothing and Woolworths clothing. You've now gone reached there ...
- R OK. Made it.
- B Yes. Made it now.
- R And the type of car you drive. Would that enter into it too?

- E Yes, definitely.
- B At the moment the car is still an old Mini ...
- [Babble].
- B To me, that somebody, that you can see somebody that oozes class, by their demeanour.
- R OK.
- B Not necessarily the way they dress. They can be scruffy as Beschara doesn't have shoes. But the way you come across to people, your personality.
- R Personality.
- ? Caring.
- R Caring. OK.
- B That to me is more than wearing Daniel Hector clothes or driving a BMW with a NUR registration.
- [Mirth.].
- E [...]. I swear to you, today's young girls, especially in this field I'm at the moment. OK. The young girls today, I mean those are symbols they would look out those look out to to get a guy. His car, his ...
- [Babble].
- E ... his Gucci chain, you know the gold chain and his Daniel whatever you call these watches that they wear, I don't even know, I can't afford one ...
- R The what watches?
- B I can't afford it. So I don't know those names. But they do look at men ...
- R In that light, It's an evaluation. What about the old sexual attractiveness? - That's not a factor?
- [Babble].
- F I think today, very few young girls look for all that.
- [Babble].
- R They look for tangible signs of that. And that's class. So class is your watch, your symbols. These are your symbols.
- B It's not the kind of person that you are.
- R What were you going to say, Honey? Before we close this.
- D I just want to say we are caught in between this thing of love and of an economic assessment of a class is versus other things. Now, traditionally we come from that way of [...] is this and [...] is this and everybody else. And I always find my mothers attitude very interesting because she's got this very confused notion of - I mean - I would just say I don't. I wouldn't begin to assess what a class is, what a class isn't. But she, you know, has a personality style. OK. And the person being professional. And it always comes out like Beschara is a [...] but she would. But Beschara is the furthest thing from a class thing for her, you know, she, like for her it's ...
- R He is class or isn't?
- D Isn't.
- R He's not.
- F Because he's a [**], let's put it [...] the jewel maker. Now a cobbler is shoemaker and what we call it a *dhobi* - is a woman that wash your clothes.
- [Babble].
- F So the older people like, say Ma-in-laws and all, they now, if that say is that a certain *caste* is a low *caste*, and now we, like we never used to eat beef and all those things. But today they do right. If they having that, they don't give them in the same plates. You don't give in your plate and your cup the food. You have a different dish when they come to dish **them up**. You don't make them sit on the table, **because** they have beef and the pork and all that, that we don't eat. You see that's what the low *caste* they used to call it. Who they wouldn't want their children to marry that *caste*.
- R We must move on. OK. Alright. OK. OK.
- F Well doesn't matter today.

R OK.

F At India too now they doing away with that in India too. [...] but they trying to do away with it.

R Thank you. That was wonderful. You did great as we say in the States. You did great.

How would you feel if your child started dating a person of a different race? Do you know anyone who socializes with a member of a different race?

A How do you feel about if your child started dating a person from a different race? Do you know anyone who socialises with a member of ...

R Ja. I mean it comes out of the fact that you have the boy and the girl in the last episode.

E I think with our upbringing socialising will acceptable basically. Once you start saying ... my son come home and say Mom, I'm dating a black woman. I say what will *Partti* say. Do you know I won't worry maybe what I say, but what will my mother say. Do you know ...

R But what about marrying a white person. Now I'm making a deliberate ...

E Doesn't matter - black or white.

[Babble].

E I'm telling black, because, OK, my son goes to a Indian School, where there's black kids now. Maybe I can identify with a white, because her daughter goes to a private school where there's white kids ...

R White kids. OK.

E And she may grow up to like a white guy ...

R How would you feel about that? How would you feel about that? A white Jew. Let's take it all the way. A white Jew.

B To me it isn't a white jew [...].

[Mirth:].

B It doesn't really matter, because as long as my child can be happy.

R Yes.

B For me that is very important.

R OK.

B But personally. Like the religion is very important because for Jewish families it is, and coming from a traditional Indian family it is. And it's quite a mix and personally I can't see it working.

R But you know, maybe [...] become Presbyterians.

B But to me is not a [...] issue because half of my husband's family is Christian. Exactly half, and the other half is Hindu.

R OK. What about you? How do you feel Susan? About the mixing. If you had ...

A I would not. I mean I've got every kind of friend. I just haven't got a BA. You didn't ask ...

[Babble].

R Alright. Next. Oh, we didn't ask Mommy, oh, we didn't ask ...

? Kubeshni.

R We didn't ask Kubeshni.

R Would you date somebody from a different ethnic background? Would you date somebody?

D I would date anybody who had the same viewpoint as me.

R So it's not a problem for you?

D If we were in sync.

[Unintelligible - Kids shouting]

R OK. But you might have to lose that.

D I have an idea that if this isn't going to be a problem in marriage - then it's OK. But if it is going to come

- into conflict with something else. like maybe Christianity and the Jewish family, I'd be reticent.
- R OK. And Mrs Govender. How would you feel if one of your daughters today came to you and (who is still left?) ...
- B She would be in Entabeni ...
- R No no. Don't speak for your mother. she has her own mind. Just tell me ...
- [Babble].
- F They do bring friends home [...]. But Susan has brought them all ...
- R All kinds.
- F ... to my house. I take them as her friend. But I wouldn't want my daughter to settle with one of them. because of the tradition. But the way I have brought her up because - we would never be able to mix.
- R It will be hard.
- F It'll be hard to mix because they two might - the couple might hit it off. what happen now the offsprings that come? Would they be calling me *Partti*, for *partti* means Granny. Would they be calling me Granny or would they be calling me ... what's that now?
- B Grandma.
- F Grandma or the ...
- ? *Ouma*.
- F ... or that kind of thing? They torn between the two religions.
- R Ja.
- F So we have brought our children. taught them ...
- R To stay within ...
- F ... stay within your culture and religion.

- R Alright. Next - they're getting restless here so that's why I'm moving - I don't mean to be rude Mrs Govender, but I'm just trying to get finished here. Right? What's our next question?

Do you think Frankie was wrong to make fun of her family and friends in cartoons? If she was a member of your family would you be upset with what she did?

- R Ja. I wonder how ...

[Babble].

- A [...] involved [...] your family - would you be upset with her?

- R You know she made those cartoons - and she found the weakness in each of the people in the family to make the joke about the cartoon. You know, whether you found it that funny or not, it's the principle that I'm asking about. How would you feel about that? You know what your father's ideosynchrasies are, or your mother's. Would you feel that you could do that? Make a joke about it?

- A No no.

[Babble].

- B Maybe in the family context, but not publicly.

- R How do you feel about that?

- C Me?

- R Yes. Come on. you're the younger generation. How would you feel?

- C Oh. I'd probably do it like that. I thought it was hysterical.

- R You thought it was hysterical. OK.

- B I didn't like.

- R It's very interesting ...

[Babble].

- B I think my father will actually ...

E ... enjoy it.

B ... just as funny.

E Ja. He will encourage you, because there is a financial gain there.

B He's got a sense of humour.

R OK.

B But not my mother. My mother doesn't have a sense of humour.

E You bettering yourself ...

[Babble].

B My mother is not one for being criticized.

R Most mothers aren't

B My dad wouldn't mind that, that I know.

E My dad is very open. I think he would accept that as betterment, more as betterment than an insult.

R That you can improve yourself.

B Ja.

R OK. What's our last question there? What are we? What do you want to ask? It's up to you.

[Unintelligible - Kids shouting].

R [...] what you want to ask?

[Unintelligible - Kids shouting].

R I think we kind of talked about that, ja. Ja. Anything else that we should cover there?

Do you think men would watch this kind of show on TV? Do you think it shows at all what is happening in South Africa?

A Do you think men would watch this kind of show on TV? Do you think that [...]. What is happening in South Africa? Ja. What do you think about that? And

I think we can almost wrap that up now. What do you think? Do you think men would watch this show?

[Babble].

B The couple of times that I did have it on my husband did watch it.

R Your husband did?

B He watched it.

R And what did he think of it?

B [...]. He did laugh at some of the jokes ...

R He did laugh at some of the jokes?

B And then identified with some of them.

R Oh now that is a very interesting point. That you can identify ...

B You can identify some of the things you work with. Some of your relatives ...

[Unintelligible - Kids shouting].

B ... bits of the characters.

R So you could see yourself perhaps in each one of those women? No? Not at all?

[Unintelligible - Kids shouting].

D My dad [...] he's reading it from a completely different perspective.

R OK.

[Unintelligible - Kids shouting].

C He's just watching it as a bit of [...]. Relaxation, you know.

R Since that's what it's meant to be.

[Babble].

R No well it's not meant obviously to come across as amoralistic thing, but it's meant to have ... to make you suddenly aware of what's going on.

- B I watched a few episodes and I didn't really like it ...
- R But I think ...
- B ...because we are laughing at basically ourselves ...
- R OK. OK.
- B ... in a way. And I don't really like that.
- R OK. I want to know how you felt about seeing yourself on television. What was your subjectivity [...] This is ethnographic stuff, as you know, so that's why I'm asking you to do it first because I think will help to set the standard of what everybody [...]. How did you feel? Who was that image that you saw on the television? Who was that? Did you know that image?
- D Yes. I've seen myself before on TV.
- R So how did you feel about that?
- D Fine.
- R You felt OK about it?
- D I felt OK. I do realize I have very big eyes. I need to blink more often. also that I'm tired. Got black under my eyes. You know I mean. to a very large extent. it will probably take me at least two hours to get [...]
- [Unintelligible - Kids shouting].
- R [...] superficial.
- D [...] judgements of what. Looking at myself on TV ...
- R So you had a positive reaction to that [...]. Is there anything you would change? When you said the eyes ... but I mean ...
- D Sit up straight.
- R OK. OK. Alright. Let's ask the next person now - Puni? Would you just stop for a minute and tell me how you saw a bit of yourself on TV.
- E I've seen myself on that ... on TV ...
- R OK. Well how do you feel?
- E At weddings and that ...
- R So OK. How did you feel when you saw that? Did you feel ... I mean ... I know that person?
- E Ja. I somehow want to laugh at some of the things. You know, you're not perfect, you do things [...].
- [Unintelligible - Kids shouting].
- R You kind of exaggerate it.
- E Ja. Everything is there. it's there to see. You know ...
- [Unintelligible - Kids shouting].
- E ... on that camera you miss out things. but on a videoyou see all the little details.
- R You can't position yourself for it.
- E Yes, ja.
- R OK. Pat. How did you feel about yourself on television?
- C I need to go on a diet.
- [Mirth].
- R Why?
- [Babble].
- R You felt terrible about yourself?
- C Not really.
- R No.
- C I was fine actually.
- R I thought you looked lovely. Yes. I thought what you had to say was interesting. Did you like that person on television? That person you saw there?
- C Yes.
- R Ja. and you would like to be friends with her?
- C Yes.

R OK. OK. And now, Susan, I'm sorry I've forgotten your name.

B Mano.

R Mano. How did you feel about what you saw of yourself?

B ... I need to go on a diet.

R Uh huh. Is that the most important thing that you cansay about yourself? Is diet?

B Ja, because I realize what my mother said is true. I have got very fat.

R Oh, is that what your mother said? But I mean, how did you feel about it?

[Unintelligible - Kids shouting].

B ... also. Feel that I ... especially aware my face.

R So you feel that's something that you need to take care of.

B Ja.

R Will it be any different for you then as a woman? Will you feel differently about yourself?

B Self-image, self - esteem.

R OK. Getting into that stuff. OK. OK. But you're not going to change. But you're not going to change in any way. You're still the same person.

B No. Still the same person, just smaller! [...].

R You won't take up so much space. OK. Susan?

B Actually for me also it's a problem, because he (pointing to her son) keeps pointing out that I'm fat. He gets on the bed in the morning ...

R Oh!

B ... every morning -mama you're fat, you're fat - he keeps reminding me.

R Well the other thing is what they say, I mean they tell me this too, but I don't care because I got fat

problems and you really should not have to carry extra weight when you have fat problems. I mean that was

not what I wanted to get at. I was trying to establish how you feel about [...].

[Unintelligible - Kids shouting].

R Alright - Susan. How did you feel about seeing yourself on TV?

A Fine - I also have to go to the gym.

R Have to go to the gym.

A Yes.

R So everybody's looking at this in terms of physical things. The personality - would you know that person? You know what I say. Do you know that person that was projected out of that image. This is what I feel about women. You know that person. And as you spoke, that's how you speak and think. That's really the person that you are.

A Yes.

D I think. Dot, I think quite differently from a lot of, maybe, the other folks who sit ... most of the people here have already seen themselves on video.

[Babble].

R OK. Well listen, thanks very much. That ...

*** End of Tape***

SUBURBAN BLISS

Leigh Group

April 5th 1996

Episodes:

- a. Maid from Hell
- b. Campaign Trail
- c. Comic Relief

Eight Participants:-

- A = Glen [**].
 B = Catherine [**].
 C = Karen [**].
 D = Mercia [**].
 E = [No name or questionnaire returned].
 F = Leigh Phipson (Facilitator)
 G = Jill [No name or questionnaire returned.]
 H = Pamela [No name or questionnaire returned.]
- R = Dorothy Roome (Researcher)

F Right. Everyone knows each other. But we'll just introduce ourselves to the camera. I'm Lee. I live with Jill. and my son. David and Geoffrey. I am a teacher and these are all my friends.

R Ja?

F Shall we go round this way?

R Ja. that'll be fine.

F Well what do you do?

R Well what do you do for a living?

E I'm a professional person. And I'm fifty years of age as of a week ago.

R Congratulations.

E I occasionally get hot flushes and [...] into the menopause [...]. And [...] interesting age[...].

[Mirth].

R OK.

D I'm Mercia. and I'm a research [...]. and I don't know what else to say about myself.

R OK. That's fine.

C I'm Karen. I'm a political analyst with [...] and I live with Misha.

R OK. Catherine.

B I'm Catherine in purple and I'm divorced with two children, twenty one and sixteen. Two girls and I don't [...] and I work in a big corporation doing training and adult interest.

R OK.

A Hi. I'm Glen and I'm a townplanning technician. presently uninvolved. Just come out of a relationship. Just bought a flat and I'm very happy at the place I'm at now.

R OK. Over there

G I'm Jill. thirty five, urban manager. involved.

R OK.

[Babble].

R Right.

H I'm Pamela. I'm a teacher and I am involved with Jill. We've got two dogs and three cats. That's it.

R OK. Right. On with the questions now.

F Dot. I think we should just start with our general responses to the three episodes we watched. You might want to say [...]. Did you enjoy it - not enjoy it?

C I think I was irritated a lot by the patriarchal setup. The way they depicted women throughout all three episodes. The reason why I don't [...].

D It's not just that. I think. the stupid way they depicted [...].

? It's not on.

R It's OK. we've got it on that. It's no problem. Could we just say what irritated you. What sort of ...

C What irritated me was [...] the way they depicted South African women in all three episodes ...

- D I said well, the way they're portraying people - incredibly stupid. OK it's one way to [...] a stereotype by overemphasizing. So anyway, I can understand that, that some of the stereotypes they actually overemphasized, like black people stealing or so, which I suppose could be blamed on my sense of humour, but I'm sure it was funny, but then there were some stereotypes that I think they didn't try to portray ... it's just the ... they saw this quite natural for women to just lounge around the house all day, cigarette in the mouth, or shopping and that's the way they are, while men are at work with nice ties and obviously more intelligent than most of the women in the portrayal.
- C They didn't try to break down the stereotypes. They built on the stereotypes. For example, the *Sangoma*, (it's the witchdoctor), I mean, that's the wrong stereotype to project, I mean killing people [...] witchdoctor. I mean that's just one example what they do ...
- B I think they've picked that, because they are stereotypes. They are the way we look at each other, that white people in the country look at blacks and black people look at whites you know the heroin, the people who are in crime because they dealing with heroin on the one side, and on the other side - what was the comparison?
- A The witchdoctor.
- B The witchdoctor - the hiding of children's bones. It is definitely the heroin is the western society in it's totality, and the witchdoctor is very much in the third world and tied down to the ancestors, and I think that's why they picked on those subjects, and to highlight them and make them funny. I find that relevant. I'm not saying that didn't make any value judgements on them, in the sense that it's supposed to be funny, but I can understand why they did it.
- H Ja. It might not appeal to you. It's not your sense of humour, but it's a typically South African. I think the one thing is the way they like to portray the South African way of life. Although, for us, I don't know if it is typical, not even remotely.
- F Some things were typical, like the Ratepayers Association. That's a topical issue. But it was, I thought it was quite American. The humour and plan, and the generation gaps. They were being bitchy and that's supposed to be funny, to each other. And the nuclear family situation. It's like those American comedies.
- E For me, a *precis* of the parts would be that they could have made more of the satire, following after what we were saying. The political issues that do exist in the 'new' South Africa, and unfortunately, we are getting it rammed down our throat, and that [...] say something that's a bit over the top. But you can take that and use it to the best advantage. I felt they did the reverse. They didn't opportunistise one [...] the opposite, so the satire was there. There was very good satire from the beginning. Whereby you can take the maid situation - it does exist - it has changed, and it's changing and it's very very funny. And we could have made far more or content like that which is brilliant material to use. And it's quite interesting that it's got to be a maid. You can't have a man.
- D Everybody will knock on your door!
- [Babble].
- E And that is quite interesting because, I do know in the 'new' South Africa, of some men who are housekeepers.
- H But I think for a man to be a housekeeper is almost a better job than a woman to be a housekeeper.
- E Yes.
- G You know it's almost more. It's better to have a man housekeeper than it is to have a woman housekeeper.
- E Yes.
- B Ja, because there's something unusual about the man housekeeper, whereas there's everything degrading about the woman.
- D Ja, ja.
- E It is degrading. But that is one aspect of the content of the start for me of this particular idea of a twenty minute programme where you want to captivate your audience. So you got to have a framing structure. So I think the idea is good to use a satirical situation, whereby you can take the maid. And many a people would laugh at various people talking about that maid. Either my maid's this and my maid's that, my maid's

- this and my maid's that. A wonderful concept - those kind of people just - I don't think necessarily have to be focussed at maids or women. It's a [...] of concept. The same if they repeated that formula throughout ... are things like ... in England you have 'Surf' washing powder - I would not ... I wouldn't swap my packet of surf for the Crown Jewels [...]. If you take [...]. No. I will not swap my surf. My maid has been with me for twenty years. She's like part of the family, and she has a great rhythm and she can dance and sing. You know, I don't think that has to be degrading - I think that's what could have been very very funny, captivative and it could've exploited - platform to make video South African marketable. Not only in this country, but other countries because it could have been very funny, very political. corectly. And I think they found a venue there. And then that's the first point - that type of thing. The idea was good, the middle was like a seven year old trying to write a pulp fiction. It was so messy. So many things were going on at once. They tried to do ten things, when they should have stuck to one plot, kept it simple, you could've enjoyed it far [...] away the first message. They could've got that right.
- R Are you talking about the second episode
- F I'm talking about the three parts of one episode. I divided it into three.
- R OK.
- F The concept, then the way the plot developed.
- R OK.
- F From your ideas.
- R OK.
- F Ideas - story line - and what they did with the story line. [...] what I said already. But it got my ... this seven year old of Enid Blyton *Secret Seven* trying to do a whole pulpfiction. And it got so messy - [...] to this one and that one and then there's too many things are happening at once, that you couldn't really enjoy the main stream. So that was why ...
- [Babble].
- [Noise].
- E And each episode had a moral at the end.
- H But I think that's a target audience that they try to aim at. By producing that, they've got a definite target audience. And the target audience is that person who responds to a moral at the end to tie up and put it very neatly now - it's finished - there it is.
- E Yes.
- [Babble].
- F OK. In the beginning I think they tried to expose thestereotype thing and that was quite funny because ...
- [Traffic Noise].
- [Babble].
- F I felt quite sorry for the maid, that she was like used like that. But then at the same time ... But she was using them. I felt sorry for her. But then she was using them and that was stupid.
- [Babble].
- B But then everyone was shown as being stupid. So it's quite a sad ...
- [Babble].
- R What about the mere fact of having a maid. You know that's something which has been under discussion for this country, where for a long time the disparity between blacks and blacks when traditionally always whites had maids. You sort of think of black people - the people of colour having maids.
- ? But they do.
- R I like you.
- ? But they do.
- R But I'd like you to talk about that.
- H I think people are ...
- R That became a major issue with my other groups. This thing of the maid is a major issue. So the

question we have there is actually quite relevant to discuss further.

Thando wants a maid - why is she so keen? Do you think it is a good idea for her to have a maid?

R Thando wants to have a maid. Why is she so keen?. And that's, you know, regardless of what you think of the plot. It opens up other little fissures in there. And do you think it's a good idea basically for women to have a maid?

F Well, she's tried to [...] housewife.

[Babble].

[Traffic Noise].

C When you look at this whole issue of the maid. first of all, women are supposed to run the household and make the decisions. Really to get a maid first of all. Secondly the way they depicted women - the blacks. the mothers painting their nails and sitting and [...] I mean another issue which irritates me is the whole ... one day they firing the maid and the next, I mean what about all this labour?

[Babble].

C I mean it's just what's going to happen in South Africa. the way [...] agenda. the way the domestic [...] I mean. Always being ignored and they depicting South African life like the old South Africa got stuck there and didn't move forward with the changes. It's not showing the changes or moving along [...] really made something of it. That was very strange.

H But I don't think that was their purpose. I don't think that their purpose was that. To depict the change in South Africa.

A Do you not think that we're taking this whole thing a little bit too seriously?

[Babble].

A ... major sociological thing. It's to be laughed at.

[Babble].

A I don't think that the two women - Thando and Kobie - are all that stupid. because they've got their men right there boy! Thando's got what's his face?

R Ike

A Ike. Ike right there pal. And you must have picked that up. I picked it up.

D It's the old stereotype of women. Like behind every successful man there's a strong woman. Why the hell must she be behind him?

? But they weren't successful.

[Babble].

D It's an example. It's an example but I'm just saying that women can't be up front equal to their man. It must always be some kind of ... at least they've got them there, but we're not allowed to see it. It's like in these devious ways that they have with manipulating their men. And that to me is ...

[Babble].

C I hear what you're saying about [...] to discuss but that's something serious. I think it's important if anyone [...].

[Babble].

H I don't think that's typical at all. I think that's totally false. I don't believe that that is a typical ...

F ... portray South African life.

H I don't believe that typical ... not what I've been brought up in.

F No.

[Babble].

H None of that is typical to what I've been brought up in. In what I would consider to be a normal South African middle class environment. None of that is typical.

F To what I've been brought ...

R When you say none of it is typical, are we talking now about the relationship of the women to the menfolk or the maid? I'm not quite sure when you say ...

H Any of that - I mean I've had a maid all my life.

R OK.

H And our family being a normal middle class South African. The relationship between the maid and my family and the males in my family - none of that is ...

R There's no resentment in your family by the males, or there was ...

H I think I as a female, successful in my field, I'm admired by the males in my family. None of them have any ... they've encouraged me as I've encouraged the males in my family. I find that very atypical of my family. And I'm only talking for my family.

R So you don't relate to that?

H I can't, I can't relate to it at all.

[Babble].

H Who's making that? You know that I can't understand where that's coming from.

B I've seen it though. Working, in a big corporation. I see it from the black point of view. I see lots of youngsters coming out of university, that we hire as graduate trainees and go into management ...

*** Break in recording ***

D You have to read the newspapers at it ...

[Babble].

[Mirth].

A Yes. I mean are we allowed to say that on tape?

R What? Say what you like. Say what you like.

[Babble].

A I think Thando's a real black *kugel*. And that's why I can giggle. I ...

[Babble].

R I can share that with you. She's meant to be a black *kugel*

A I think she's hilarious.

[Babble].

R What about the next? If we don't talk about anything else, the most important question is number seven. So that is, you know, the bottom line

F You mentioned [...].

R But there's more, there's much more.

What is low class? What does Thando mean when she says anything is 'low class'?

F What does it mean when she says anything is 'low class'?

R Well you may or may not remember the low class that was mentioned. It happens where she persuades like to run for election, and he says well then you have to help me by going around - by canvassing different houses. So she says No, No, I couldn't do that. That would be low class. Well, you know the context in which she uses it. I want you to think about that. And what action in your mind low class might mean.

F She means it was hard work and was communicating with the people, and she was above it.

R She was above that?

G Are you asking us or agreeing with her?

R Yes, yes, yes.

[Babble].

R Well in terms of what she thinks and then how you respond back and what you feel about it.

? So what ...?

F ... she thought of was getting her hands all dirty [...]. She wants to isolate herself above that.

- R OK.
- F So she wasn't really interested in the parties or the people who enable the parties. And she was interested, you know, for what she could ... what?
- H Status
- F Ja, status.
- [Babble].
- E She wants to be important. She didn't actually want to [...].
- [Babble].
- F ... servant of the people.
- ? Yes.
- F Doesn't have that class distinction
- A She should have [...] this Hillary Rodham Clinton, remember she [...] her.
- ? Yes.
- F And once Hillary Clinton was doing house to house, she was [...].
- ? Yes.
- H There's nothing wrong with that, because it's supposed to be a comedy.
- ? Ja.
- H But it didn't make us laugh. So it didn't work.
- R When you hear this term 'low class', what does it mean to you?
- D It means you're coarse.
- ? Ja.
- ? I mean class
- [Mirth],,
- D I mean --- perhaps I mean this is perhaps [...].

philosophical background, but I think in South Africa, it's a very interesting concept. Because you have white and black and you have the white low class and the black low class. And your black low class lives in Cato Manor in shacks, your white low class lives in smaller houses ...

*** End of Tape ***

- R OK. Can I just interrupt here. I didn't - there is a Bio for the family. And he's made good. Neither of them have matriculation. OK. Whereas the black girl has got the matric, Thando. We're really not talking to University graduates here - not at all. So your point about class does come in. Class in terms of - well I guess - earning power - excepting that to have education does not necessarily give you earning power ...
- H Where are they on the continuum of class. Are they ...
- R Well that's for you to decide - we're coming to that soon.
- [Babble].
- [Bad sound recording]
- R But then to go back to my question - Thando. As Thando is presented there she's not in the position of, ... she doesn't even work within the home. She had Ma Moloi, and I think this is like the point, because there are a whole lot of ideological concepts hidden within that, and that's what I'm ...
- H So the maid is like a status symbol
- [Babble].
- F So you do need a maid, but in that family ...
- H In both families.
- F The men all were involved in the housework, which is fantasy ...
- ? Ja.
- ? Ja.

- F And all the maid was there for was to provide scandal and to be [...].
- ? Yes.
- H And to be a status symbol.
- ? Um.
- F Whereas ...
- [Babble].
- B It's her own [...]. Manipulation. I mean that's the whole point of it. Is that she's not just the maid, she's the manipulator who actually wins the whole thing.
- F Ja, um.
- A And wants their blood!
- E But in real life, I think the issue would be transition from the old extended family to the new family whereby they may be African, and may have a similar need for a maid properly as opposed to [...]. There wasn't a need in this. Whereas extended families [...] in a culture [...]. Extended families provided the facility that a maid would provide for a white ...
- R Yeah. The practical ...
- E But now when it's changing ...
- F That's why her [...]. Is so upset.
- R Right.
- E That's right, and that is changing now whereas as equality occurs and black people are going out to work ...
- R Getting more towards a nuclear type family ...
- E Yes, yes, it's changing and therefore outside this particular movie, then it probably will equalise that. Black families will have a need for a person to caretake. I would say mainly children - you can actually survive economically if you don't have kids, without a servant. A lot of people have to, whereas if you have children, you have to do an audit ...
- R Yeah.
- E ... with your money as to whether it's better to employ somebody to look after your children or not. And that's purely financial.
- B I also think they don't touch on the real culture issues. They don't touch on the millions of people who form the rural population - who are the biggest group in the country versus the sort of farmer areas the soaps like *Suburban Bliss* like, where people are trying to get together and become similar, but in reality in the rural areas is that there's a vast gap between your rural white farmer and the rural black [...]. And I think that's a big miss. You know if the ---
- R Excepting you see, those people don't have - watch television.
- B Sure.
- R Your black can't afford it, and the footprint for television in South Africa, and I'm getting technical now, does not extend to a lot of the areas. So do need a marketing thing here as well. I agree with you but I think there is that element there. OK. I think we should move on. I really have that question about the kitchens. If you could ask that question. It actually quite ...
- There are two different kitchens in Suburban Bliss, which do you prefer and why?*
- F Which kitchen did you prefer? Did you notice ...
- [Babble].
- H I only thought of it because I had seen the question. I think the white family's kitchen was more sort of homely.
- R They sat in the kitchen.
- H They used it. Yes.
- F And the other one was more like ...
- [Babble].
- R I mean, did you feel OK about that? I mean did you think that was fair to have it like that?

- ? Ja.
- H I think it's a fair reflection that the black family are aspiring to what they imagine ...
- F What? They want to have dinner at the dining room table by 'Morkels'?
- H Yes.
- F The sort of [...].
- [Mirth].
- H Cancel out that word. I think it's a fair reflection. I mean, whether we're comfortable with it or not, I don't know, but ...
- E I hated both areas, so to me it's a bit of a flop.
- R OK.
- E I thought it was a complete *gemors*. [mess]. A mess and I'm an obsessive compulsive and I hated the whole ...
- [Mirth].
- R Oh, you mean both kitchens you hated?
- E Yes. I couldn't stand either of them.
- H You know, like a freeze frame [...].
- [Babble].
- R Well, that's interesting, we can talk about that at the end. OK. And then the other thing was the way Kobie speaks to Billy, which has been quite an issue ...
- H Is that her husband - Billy?
- R Ja.
- B But she puts him down [...].
- H Kobie is the wife.
- [Babble].
- H The white wife.

? Kobie is [...] Isn't she?

? Yes.

[Babble].

R It's question number seven, if you'd like to look at that. I'm sorry to guide you thus, but I want to get some of the responses ...

What do you think of the way Kobie speaks to Billy? Do you know anyone like Kobie? Does her smoking worry or upset you?

F What do you think about the way Kobie speaks to Billy? Do you know anyone like Kobie? Does her smoking worry or upset you?

D I can just say coming from an Afrikaans family, and I was raised Afrikaans where the language which is Afrikaans. The stereotype of the common Afrikaans woman is red dyed hair, like Kobie's hair, like that, cigarette in the mouth, and she talks like a bloody fishwife.

[Mirth].

D Stereotypical of an Afrikaans woman. And if they showed her, she'd have slippers and very sexy too tight clothes and ...

? [...]. Fingernails.

D ... appropriate to the stereotype of her age. So it's absolutely the typical Afrikaans woman.

? How do you feel about that?

D I think it's a bit common, but I'm sure they had some kind of plan of what they wanted to accomplish with that. I don't really feel they have accomplished anything with that. I think it goes back to just women being put down throughout the show. Not necessarily directly, but in a very subtle way. The man being dressed sensibly with a tie and the suit and so on. Not really stereotypical of what somebody who, if he passed you on the street you would look at the person and say [...].

[Mirth].

- D And the way she spoke to him was also, I think, more common ...
- E Don't you think that the whole thing was aggressive, wasn't it [...].
- D I agree with that.
- C [...] example of [...] there's a black family [...].
- H I found it was very jarring [...].
- E I think if people are going to watch the programme. A lot of people watch the soaps ...
- ? [...]. Different kind of soaps.
- ? South African soaps.
- E [...]. You come home from work, you've had a stressful day, all you want to do is sit down and relax. This was not particularly peaceful [...].
- F I think the 'new' South Africa really [...].
- E And but loudly, very loudly and aggressively. And not peacefully.
- H I found it very ... and I agree with that ...
- [Babble].
- H The aggression. It was very aggressive.
- E Yes.
- H The whole way that it was done.
- E Yes.
- H The way it was done - it wasn't pleasant.
- E Yes.
- D [...] stereotype.
- E Yes.
- H But is it South African stereotype, or is it worldwide?
- E No, it isn't, it isn't.
- H I don't think it's a South African. I don't think it's unique to South Africa.
- E I think it's a lower class ...
- H Yes - I think - if you're looking class here ...
- E Why are we as South African women portrayed according to a low class stereotype?
- ? Yes.
- E True.
- C [...] Afrikaans families, [...]. Portray them in a certain way.
- E Yes, but then you have your obvious lazy, aggressive [...]. Whereas your higher class will be reading the newspaper - calm, controlled ...
- ? Collected.
- [Babble].
- E ... communication as a family.
- G So are we looking at a typical South African or are we looking at class? I think you have to make a distinction between that...
- E What I wanted to ask, I've been verging on and I usually do. [...] asking the point, and I haven't read this, the questions. We are looking at the programme called *Suburban Bliss*. What are we actually? What is the aim? I'd like to know the aim?
- R It's how women make meaning of visual images, that's basically the thrust of my investigation. That's why I go across cultures.
- E Yes.
- R And so these were visual images.
- E Yes.
- R They were intentionality from the original production crew and team. And we'll talk about that afterwards - what they had to say about what they were doing. So as you see it ...

E Yes.

R ... and your subjectivity ...

E Yes.

R ... and your interpretation is why I find it so interesting. And that's why I'm going back to the questions. Because across all the people, all the groups I've asked, these questions will help me do my categorization the way women responded to it.

E So just give me a [...]. The aim is?

R Interpretation

E Of?

R Interpretation of what the programme is about. And individuals in that programme. I mean like the other question I'd like you to ask, was number five. ...

How do you feel about the things Ma Moloji says to Thando? Have you ever heard a mother-in-law say those sort of things?

F How do you feel about the things Ma Moloji says to Thando? Have you ever heard a mother-in-law saying those sort of things?

H We're looking at the mother-in-law, daughter-in-law ...

R The black mother-in-law.

H Relationship.

R It's really woman's relationship and older woman's relationship with the power thing, the power structure in an extended family - not even an extended family.

E You see, this should exemplify what I said in the beginning about satire. The funniest things in life are the real things. And the greatest qualifications of a script writer, is somebody who can take a real life, take a cameo and make it funny. And you see every commedienne will send up her mother-in-law. It's the mother-in-law joke.

H But that's very true, because I don't have a mother-in-law *per se*. but I like her, but my mother and my sister-in-law, if I look at the relationship between my mother and my sister-in-law, I hate to say - but that's it - that's it! They are. You have to sort of ... who's dominant in the family? Is it the mother-in-law or is it the wife? And they do have a constant power struggle - for supremacy ... you know just that power struggle.

E Anybody who lives with their parents got to be off their bloody trolley. They must be. You should have your space, because you are going to abuse one another and yourself ultimately.

H But even if you don't live with your parents, it can happen. My sister-in-law is in New Zealand, my mum is here in South Africa and she gets a letter from my sister-in-law and she opens it with fear and trepidation. And it's like how many thousands of kilometres away and I think it's a typical ... my mum and my sister-in-law.

R It's like almost you don't have to look at space or time, because if you've never resolved these relationships, when they die, you're going to carry on with that. So that the time and space things become condensed. Because it's really this power thing that you had not resolved.

H Yes. It's a power struggle. It is a power struggle.

E It's an absolute platform for undermining.

R Sure.

H Yes, and that is ...

E And you took my little boy or my little girl away.

F That is quite interesting, that [...].

E The main thing is that when [...].

R Look, I'll talk about that afterwards. Very interesting hearing from the different groups - which one they liked of the three and why.

[Babble].

R Can we go on to the *Campaign Trail*. Just to see some of the things there.

F The second one?

R Ja. That's fine.

*What do you think of the way Ike treated Thando?
Would you be upset if your partner treated you like
this?*

F What do you think of the way Ike treated Thando?
Would you be upset if your partner treated you like
this?

? Is that [...].

F What I think is also interesting is [...] does
anyonewatch the programme normally [...].

[Babble].

H I would change channels. I would rather not watch it.
But that's not to say there are a lot of South African
productions, and there are many South African
productions that I wouldn't watch. Simply because I
don't think they have the style and whatever of an
overseas production. Was I prejudiced? No. I don't
think I'm prejudiced.

B Especially with an actor brother who does so well.

H That's why I don't think I'm prejudiced.

A We are getting better. We are getting better.

B We're getting jolly good!

A We are getting better.

D No, we aren't, because the election campaign, we
found that, well Ike just took it for granted that he
could get that permission whether to stand or not. And
nobody asked him. He just said 'no, no'. And what
I noticed is after she's been elected, they thought well
now we got to tell her how much work she has to do,
and she won't like that. As if, I mean, woman, she
doesn't like to work anyway, it will meddle in with
her nail polishing and so on. So they were very
pleased now, even though the producers gave her the
success of winning the election ...

[Babble].

[Traffic Noise].

C A man [...]. election campaign. You can't tell
himwhat to say - he won't discuss it, if he's won [...]

but also the other old [...]. Immediately runs to the
husband to tell him his wife's been discussing [...].

C She's going to be ...

[Unintelligible].

E That was my theme again, you see. That's how she
got elected. [...] all the fairy story - Enid Blyton.

End of Tape

[Traffic Noise].

H You either look at it according to morals or
accordingto economics. And I think that it's a very
big thing we need to distinguish on talking. Low class
according to morals or according to economics.

R Uh huh.

H But they're very different.

D And perhaps they used the economic ...

H Or the morals.

D I mean, everything that we've been talking about
we've been criticizing the moral issue all the time so
[...].

H To me [...] class of morals. It's not economics at all.
I can cross any economic divide or barrier or
whatever if morals -- I battle to cross. I can't do that.

[Babble].

[Traffic Noise].

H Not economically at all. Morally yes, but I will ...

? Not economically

H Not economically, but morally yes.

? Morals ...

H ... I mean, low class to me is morals. If you have class you have morals. [...] standards.

[Traffic Noise].

[Babble].

E Where I was born, in [**] Park in London. I had an outside toilet - never had an inside bath. We used to bath in the sink. I was lower class and that's what low class means to me.

H But what are your morals. OK. Maybe we should ...

[Babble].

F Upper class people don't behave in those ways.

[Babble].

D I'm saying racists and sexist people, heterosexist people. I don't have any economic issue with them. They might be very rich, but I would rather mix with racists ...

F Because of their standards ...

D I will tolerate them. I will not be friends with any racists.

B Yes, but that doesn't necessarily mean to say they are low class.

H But ja ...

[Babble].

H What is class?

B For instance in Mauritius, where I come from, you have such a thing as ...

? Class is this English thing.

[Babble].

B It's almost like a caste. Because you have people who have no money because they don't have brains and they grow up, but they belong to families. And their families have traditionally been middle class or upper class families. And therefore they are considered, whether they have money or not, they are considered

amongst the Lower Middle Class or Upper Class people. And you have the other way around, where people, and I think this is general, where people have acquired money, but, who, for some reason or another, because they have acquired money somewhere along the line, they kept on being, they keep on being pushed down as not being of the right class. So like ...? The *nouveau riche* ...

B Sorry ...

R And then we have glittering things all over the place just to show their power in whatever it is. And that is not considered. So it's very ... the issue of class is more than an issue of caste, I think.

E You are right. Should we not go back to the point of why this particular lady ... what she had to do [...].

A I think maybe it took her back to the townships where she was desperately trying to get out of.

[Babble].

A Ja, which is a very [...] thing which does happen in the townships [...]. Maybe she just didn't think that that was so *lekker* [nice] any more.

R Actually you're absolutely right, because she came from terribly poor ...

A She was dying to get out of the township.

R Right. Marry Ike. I mean in the bio's of the characters ...

A 'Homemade' furniture.'

R She made it. She was making it [...]. And I think in that sense, the stereotype is true. I think there are women who have used marriage as a means, you know, not necessarily relying on themselves, but using marriage as a means to rise out of their class. Now she was ... you know it doesn't always happen in the reverse way though, that if a woman who has a high class position and then marries someone from a low class ... it's a different perception in a ...

A ... and the woman tends to get dragged down. Hey?

R Well, that's the perception.

F Do you think the people in South Africa think about class or talk about class?

A No, because South Africa does not have a class situation.

[Babble].

C Go into a low income neighbourhood. You can get two of these - what's that called?

D These connecting houses?

? Semis.

? Semidetached

C What is the old word?

R Semis.

C The old type though. This is the new fancy word. In the old South Africa they used to call it *skakelhuise*.

[Babble].

C Imagine now two women standing outside. You got one with a cigarette and the curlers in her hair and the slippers. Immediately, in the house next door, this other one also the lower economy class. I will drive past and look at a low class person. [...] the one with the curlers and cigarette and that.

E I can tell you something

B And I think that's why she walks around like [...].

E Those people were happy. They are a lot happier than people today that [...] that fence to talk across.

C Ja.

E I talk about [...] because when my family was housed, they didn't have that fence. They didn't have that bond. They had a cultural shock.

D Can you see ...

[Babble].

E ... on the movie, but in real life they weren't. I don't know about what you're talking about, but ...

[Babble].

E ... and I tell you every family in the row, and they all did exactly what you're doing. But they had a communal bond and they were friends and something to say and they were poor and they were lower class and their lower class held them together.

[Babble].

B Imagine if some West Indians had come and planted themselves in your road at the time.

E That's racism though.

B No no no. No, imagine.

[Babble].

[Mirth].

[Unintelligible]

[Mirth].

E It was a great feeling that was. Because it was a house. It was a street where you had a house, a house, a bombsite. It used to be a family that was wiped out by Hitler's bomb. You know, and it was real, it was ...

*** Break in Recording ***

[Mirth].

R Oh, that's hilarious. OK. OK.

B I have no problem. Seeing as I have two girls. But I know that the family around me would have such huge problems.

R Are we talking now about the race issue or the gender issue?

B I'm talking about both. Both. I'm not sure about the race issue which is probably bigger than the gender issue.

? I don't know.

[Babble].

- B I have a brother who has lived with a coloured woman for eleven years or fifteen years ... I think.
- R And your family accepts that - there's no problem about that?
- B No. They don't.
- R They don't accept it?
- B They don't accept it.
- A This in Mauritius?
- B It is a problem. No, it's in London.
- A In?
- R OK.
- [Babble].
- B And it is a major, major problem. It's a major family ...
- R Embarrassment?
- B Embarrassment - on the part of my parents who accept my brother still and like the woman. But are aware of what people might say.
- R That's the class thing.
- B The source of enagement and furor from my sister who has married a very racist man.
- R Is he successful? - this racist man.
- B Oh yes, he's a local sugar farmer. Quite successful.
- R You see. Back to the class part.
- B Well back to the farming ...
- R OK. Alright. OK.
- B That I mentioned before. Therefore if one of my children was to befriend someone of 'bloop', it would perpetuate what my brother started and it would probably be put down to the genes or put down to something else.
- R Something else - Oh I see. Anyone else want to comment on that?
- D I have no problem with that.
- R If you don't like it.
- C I have no problem personally.
- D When I try to talk in terms of my sister [...]. My family would probably gossip. But I think they're very openminded [...]. I mean they accepted me and I think ... An embarrassment for them having a gay daughter ...
- R So that's great. Then you're out of the closet. As far as your family's concerned.
- D Ja, they know. And they won't say anything and they probably gossip [...].
- R And they just accept you for who you are. Next one.
- E I think ...
- R OK. Do you want to say something? Well [...].
- [Babble].
- [Mirth].
- E It's a very cruel thing to say, but I think it's the best [...]. I don't care whether they do agree or whether they [...].
- R Right.
- E As long as I love the person and that person loves my son, then I don't care what colour they are.
- B Or gender.
- E I have to be honest about that. I have thought about that for a long time. And I struggle a bit with that, and it's so very [...] not quite knowing I haven't answered my own questions about that. I would prefer David to be involved with a woman and [...] I'm sure that simple answers like I [...].
- B It's easier for David ...
- ? It's easier ...

? Of course it's easier.

Like [...]. And AIDS and all that kind of thing, you know. So that's the answer to that one. And if he were happy with a man also, and I had some degree of control, I would hate to have lack of control.

[Babble].

[Mirth].

E I would like to be able to sit down to both of them and say look ...

[Babble].

[Mirth].

R That was great ... I liked that. That was super.

A If you [...] can relate to that. I'm not a mother, but I can actually see what Jill's talking about. You do want some ... to see maybe what my ... prevent the pitfalls. You know that [...]. Such shit in their lives [...] our children to ...

R You always try to protect ...

A To protect them.

R It's like if they just go down those steps, you don't want them to go down head first and end up breaking all their teeth. You know ...

[Babble].

R ... go down nicely, ja.

Do you think Frankie was wrong to make fun of her family and friends in cartoons? If she was a member of your family would you be upset with what she did?

R You know like the freedom of speech thing ...

[Babble].

B Yes, I think they're a family worth making fun of.

F I was going to say the same.

[Babble].

R Would you use your own family though? I mean, think about it.

D I think one should learn to laugh at yourself. I can't see why on earth they reacted in such a terrible way.

F I wouldn't do it to my own family. I wouldn't hurt my own family.

B But I don't think she was deliberately hurting them.

H I don't think so. I think as you say, you are laughing, you are able to laugh at yourself and not take umbrage or whatever ...

[Babble].

B What's interesting about it is also - both the black man - boy, and the white girl saw it in equal terms.

[Babble].

B But they saw the funniness of the family, and they're prepared to be friends and to go ahead with it. I think that's healthy.

E It's [...] like [...] in the real life, are the funniest things. And they're there. I mean, you just got to take them and they're there for the grabbing.

H But I think also often we talk about our families and we do laugh at our families. But not with hatred or bitterness or anything. But we do laugh at the funny things that our families do.

R So in other words, you think it would be wrong or do you think it would be OK, those funny things if you saw ...

H I think it's alright.

R ... if you saw a way to make a few ... I mean like a lot of bucks, I don't know, everything's relative, say ten thousand bucks, to take your family, you know, open it up like she did.

H I wouldn't do that, I wouldn't ...

R Oh, you wouldn't?

H I wouldn't do it for financial gain.

[Babble].

H If it was only for financial gain - I would never do that, but just talking amongst friends - to laugh at my family - there's nothing wrong with it.

R But now for ...

[Babble].

B Which she's really doing. I mean her parents and his parents would have done exactly the same thing in terms of financial gain. So she was just following what she'd been encultured to do. And him too.

C Why did she do it? She was entering the competition.

B But she was also entering the competition. That's what I like about it

H Yes, it wasn't really the financial ...

B Fresh eyes that were looking at it.

H There was more than the money side of it I think.

C No, but if you look at any writer, at any artist, what do you draw from? When you ... it's from your ... your ... you get inspired ... environment.

? Ja, ja.

C I mean you must be able to laugh at ...

H Because this you can actually do it best as it comes from within.

D Ja, ... ask Karen, she laughs at herself all the time. I write about it.

E But that's how the [...] programme [...].

[Babble].

R Oh!, that one's finished. OK.

D Oh, ja.

*** Camera reset ***

R When you say the film, you're talking about ...

H Well, the whole *Suburban Bliss* issue.

R OK.

H We're talking about very conventional stereotypes.

R OK [...].

H [...]. And I think that [...]. Great conventionality.

[Noise].

R OK.

B [...] not very conventional [...]. Societal model.

R And when you saw yourself on the film, how did you see yourself? That I ...

B Fat.

R Why is it in every group I come across this is the big thing?

[Mirth].

R It's got nothing to do with who you are. The size is a social construction. Size is a social construction, you know. Are you leaving?

B We have to. Jill's made arrangements to see her sister.

R Oh!, that's disgusting.

B Sorry.

R Will you please tell me how you saw yourself on the screen.

H Well, I'm not going to echo Catherine's sentiments, but I'm quite comfortable with myself.

R You're comfortable.

H But, besides what Catherine said, about size and everything, at least I'm comfortable with my beliefs and what I ... Ja.

R That's great.

B Thank you.

R Thank you.

- G Bye-bye.
- R Sorry you're leaving.
- G Thank you very much.
- R Thank you very much. Hope I see you again. OK. How do you feel about that?
- E As long as there's something to say, I wish I felt less relaxed about the way that I said it. A little bit intense [...]. Because it was, having lived fifty years, I do have something to say experientially, to some degree an intellect. I feel a little bit uncomfortable physiologically, and I don't enjoy that. The rest of it I enjoyed because if I take the time to think, then I think I can contribute something *per se*. And I think I have the ability to listen, which I think is something that should be mentioned. However, talking, I think people should be able to listen and then contribute within the group. So that's what I would like to open myself personally and not feel so intense about saying something which isn't an exam.
- R OK.
- F I would have liked to have seen myself more clearly.
- [Mirth].
- R I'm sorry, did we miss out. There's more. I mean I can show you more. I ...
- F It's best that I was in the dark, with all these nervous twitches ...
- R Well because [...].
- F No, I think the main thing is lots of us are friends here, not just another group doing well. And I think [...].
- R That's it? You did a great job. I liked the questions. I thought that really kind of opened it up and didn't put it into categories, you know. None of the other facilitators did that and it was very great. OK Mercia?
- D I'm very familiar with this exercise because I've been trained as a psychologist. We did it again and again and again and over and over and over. And I distinctly remember one video that I watched of myself talking with people and I was talking - it was going fine - the correct body language and then suddenly I leant back and went like this and they crucified me - the class - for doing this and for closing up completely. And the bit that I saw of myself - I thought - oh, that's fine I seemed relaxed and opened up and not closed as I did the previous time.
- R That's great.
- D A bit of general embarrassment, I think as we all felt. [...].
- R Pam. Thank you. Pam
- C I generally feel at ease with myself now. Life is a learning process no doubt. The older you get the more you know about yourself, and I'm pretty much, very comfortable with where I am now. The only thing which bothers me at this stage of my life, looking at the video, was if you got to a certain image of yourself and you want to project it, there's a lot of stuff you've got to look at. One of the things what's striking me is my voice projection especially sometimes verbalising with the English, it's very frustrating, especially if you're in a male dominated environment and the men speak with stronger louder voices, also amplified voices.
- R Like the volume. Ja.
- C It's just something which I envy and I should work on, because it is something I can work on, that projection [...]. Feel strongly about it [...].
- R You don't think it helps, the fact that women normally have more treble like voices. It doesn't carry ... what they call the voice of God [...]. That we do have voices that are usually much higher pitched, and if you meet a woman with a deep base voice, the general conception is that she has more authority, it's ...
- *** End of Tape ***

APPENDIX E

GOING UP

Jubilee Group

Nov 2nd 1996

Episodes:

- a TheCase of the Historically Advantaged Pale Males.
- b Flexible Asian Models

Six Participants:-

- A = Nora [**].
- B = Jubilee Shimaliya (Facilitator)
- C = Maureen [**].
- D = Ajuna [**].
- E = Agnes [**].
- F = Aisha [**].

- R = Dorothy Roome (Researcher)

Note:

This Group did not introduce themselves to the camera

- C [...] in the new government to get jobs, get tenders for construction and all. That's why they change their name.
- B [...] now it is a black government.
- D Government.
- C Just because it's a democratic government now things are going to change. People are going to be in one level.
- D Because why? In a previous government - I can say like this - previous government. Right. my name it's Ajuna. Right! But now sometimes they say application forms. I'm going to do my application at home ...
- C Is this ...
- D Excuse me , please. My application everything, right I post it. Now they will reply me that to say, right, I must go in. for interview. But once I reach over there ...
- E ... you got short hair.
- D I got short hair. Now this is the people when they are dealing the office ...
- C ... they don't accept ...
- D They'll never accept me now because why they going to see me with my short hair. They going to say something [...] I'm an Indian. I'm Ajuna.

And the way I spoke on the phone, I was speaking very very nice. They couldn't say I'm a Coloured or Indian. But once I come over there, I can't get no job, no money. You know what, what I'm going to tell you girls you got a Standard Ten Certificate? -Yes I got my Standard Ten Certificate. Or now go home. We'll give you a call. You gonna wait for the call until ... You don't get no call, and then what you going to do? I'll phone again. You see now I'm still waiting. No vacancies. The answer. That's it.

C Ja. They told, that's what ...

D Now this was now ...

[Babble].

D ... whites, I can say that whites, that whites now, they do applications to the offices. They put him down. You see. When they go over there they can't get the jobs. Now they changing their names. To be Jabulani, Sibiya or what. And they get the job. Now they getting a job. Because they been changing [names].

[Babble].

C What happens if they want to see them personal?

[Babble].

? They can't change the colour of their skins. Now that's why the tender was there.

R How would you make the program better? What was missing from that program?

B What was missing?

R Yes. What do you think should have been there?

A *Asikakagedi*. [Not finished yet.]

E I don't see no Indians on that program.

R There were Indians missing. OK. Well what ...

C Ja. There were videos about Asiatic something. Isn't?

E But they never showed.

D They never showed. Ja.

C Now that lady there with the gentleman. They were talking about Asiatic something something.

In contract of this - which they want to claim from the lawyer because they misinterpreted their video cassettes. It was about Asiatics who [...] then, that's why I like the mistakes, because they never showed them. That's how you going to put it now.

R Well whatever. Whatever you think.

C Well whatever ...

R Everybody ...

[Babble].

R That's great. Did you write?

B No.

R Does somebody else want to use this [...] Are you going to write?

[Mirth].

B You must write.

R Do you want to write?

? No.

[Mirth].

R Well let's get on with the questions now.

[Babble].

R Put it here afterwards.

B We are paid.

R Yeah. We must finish.

B It doesn't make it a profit.

R OK.

B She needs the answers of us all.

D Who?

B Oh yes. She.

? Ja.

B And our papers, reading in black and white. We must all write.

R Well we'll do it afterwards.

B Yes.

What do you think of this episode in the "Going Up" programme?

R What do you think of this episode? - Well they kind of answered that in this last one. I'd like to go to question number two, Jubilee.

B Alright.

What did you think about the music with the song and dancing?

B What did you think about the music - with song and dancing?

R Did you like it?

? Yes.

R Would you listen to that?

? Yes

B But what did you think of it?

D It makes me to remember olden days. Because my mother they used to dance for those.

R Olden days.

D Yes. From fifties.

? Ja.

? Oh.

D I used to see them dancing - ding, ding, ding, ding, - just like - you know. So now each and every time when he plays ... when I hear specially that song, even the dance, how they dance. From the fifties.

R So ...

D What ...

R Wouldn't you like to listen to it today? No?

D I would be very happy. I like that kind of music.

R You like it.

B Because even my youngsters likes to dance their own ways. And old people have got their own way.

[Babble].

[Mirth].

C That Norman. [Piet Gouws].

R Yes.

C He is too democratic. And too constructive to the society with whom he is living. He is active in music. he's active at work. he is active in, even in acting there as a client by the lawyers. He's just a ...

R The white guy with the white hair?

C No, not the old man. That small boy, who's at security ...

R Oh. ...

C Who is a dancer. He's too democratic.

R You don't like him?

C I like him so much. he was doing excellent.

R Oh, you like him.

C The way he was acting.

R That's interesting.

C It's Norman.

R OK.

C The one who was handcuffed for being blamed for selling the Cocaine and all. I liked him. He acted excellent.

R You liked him?

B Me. I liked Joe Mafela.

R OK. You liked Joe Mafela. OK.

B Jabu Cebekhulu.

R Why?

B He's too active and he makes things, you know ...

? Lively.

R Makes things lively?

? Yes.

B Can we answer these ...

R Yes we can go on to the next one.

B Next one

What is the message in the programme?

R Ja. What is the message in the programme?

B What is the message that we learnt from that programme? In the first instance, the message there well, they are in a *shebeen*, like enjoying. Everybody there irrespective of colour or creed. I think this one. There one that's in that and I like that. And secondly the way Joe Mafela is talking to the client there, by the lawyer's office. I like his styles of talking. He can partake in everybody's culture. He is too democratic and I like his style. And the lawyer, the way he's taking up cases from the client and the way they are working hand in hand together. I liked it.

D And another thing I see, you see that Joe Mafela, right?. Well the clients that were there. Those clients are talking what? Afrikaans. The lawyer in ...

B Sotho. Sotho.

D Right, but whatever ... Joe Mafela talks Sotho.

C Lawyer.

D The lawyer. What is explaining that side with hundred words is something he didn't say.

C In Afrikaans.

[Mirth].

D ... because I like it. I really like it because he had more things what a lawyer didn't say.

[Babble].

C [...] even had no time for interpreting for the lawyer. Now he was busy talking with those three gentlemen. And those gentlemen - what was amazing - those three gentlemen they understood

all the languages. But they seemed when they came into the office, they seemed as if they don't understand anything. They understand Sotho, Xhosa and Eng ...

? Zulu

? Zulu and English

[Babble].

C And secondly they acted as if they didn't know about those ...

D Other languages.

C Those gay people, who came with the gentleman in a wheelchair. Just because they wanted to make things right for them in the affirmative action. Just to get that contract sheet straight. Now when those people come, they didn't know if they would ... they said they were looking for [*Unintelligible names*] who - who.

D [...] they change their names.

C Now that was van der Merwe and so and so. Now when they come to the office they were asking for three men in khaki shorts. They said no there are three men. [...] so and so. Afrikaans people. They said no we are not looking for those people. But when they met they were laughing.

D Knew each other.

C They knew each other ... they even explained it - 'so we were looking for these people because you said we must set up a project, and gave us a good lesson'.

As a woman, how do you feel about Mrs Jakobs?

B As a woman, how do you feel about Mrs Jakobs?

[Babble].

R You going to answer that question?

B As a woman, how do you feel about Mrs Jakobs? About her?

R What do you feel?

? *Uyahlanya lowo.* [That one is mad.]

[Babble] - [Zulu].

B As a woman how do you feel?

R Well, do you think she's - If you were a young girl and you were watching her. Would you feel that she was someone you want to be like that or you ...

E No no

A You see first like ...

? Mrs Jakobs ...

D First of all, she is not trustworthy.

B One must talk at a time!

D You know she's one - specially when the client come or anyone come, she can't take a person politely, you know you must talk in a manner way. When she talks. No. You can't understand some of the things ...

A She's talking like a ... on and off.

? She says, ... she says ...

A On and off.

[Mirth].

R She's talking it on and off!

D Not even me. Because I don't like it [...] to be a class. I must be, you know like Mrs Jakobs. Because I got clients here now the way I act - even my clients they can't respect me because now because now of the way of my talking, you know.

R OK. Next. Jubilee, next one.

B Number five.

R Ja.

Do you know anyone like her?

B Do you know anyone like her?

? No.

R You don't?

- [Babble] - [Zulu].
- R No! In your life.
- B In your life.
- A Oh. Then there's many.
- R There's many.
- C Many people like that. We can't mention people's names.
- B [...] you say yes. Only yes if there's anyone you know like her. Is it yes or no?
- [Babble] - [Zulu].
- R [...] a lot of women like Mrs Jakobs?
- C Yes.
- R Women? Or is it men also?
- E Women!
- D Specially women.
- R Why?
- D Pressure. Sometimes from home. Pressure from home. Now when she's going to work ...
- [Babble].
- E [...] some people when they're supervisors ...
- F There are supervisors like that. You can't even understand them.
- E You see some people when they got problems at home, when they go to work they still got that feeling.
- F Supervisors.
- E They can't take care of the clients. It happens like that sometimes.
- R So that men are not like that?
- E Some men.
- [Babble].
- E Some men are like that.
- R So it's not just a woman thing?
- ? No.
- E I think the men are worse than women again.
- R Oh? Are they?
- E Yes.
- R Ooh! OK. OK.
- B But only [...]. You call her a mad person or what - Mrs Jakobs.
- E You know like he has got so much of problems at home.
- D Yeah.
- ? You see ...
- D But she never mentioned anything ...
- B But some people can't mention, but it's in ...
- F Inside the heart.
- D It's something what you can't share with people. You see?
- E [...] got no husband. I fight with my children. Then I come and fight with you. Yes. For nothing.
- F But does she fight with ...
- E Because I still got ...
- F But the people I don't see if ...
- [Babble].
- R OK. OK.
- B Right. Number six then.
- What do you think of the way Squeeza, the shebeen owner, behaves?***
- B What do you think of the way Squeeza, the shebeen owner, behaves?
- E Oooh! She behaves so nice! Blushing. And she, you know, the way she acts. I like it! I like it!

[Babble.]

B Alright. She's nice.

E Squeeza!

B Seven now

How do you feel about the way the white men take on a new identity? (Klein Piet and the men in the construction business)

R I think we talked about seven already. About the white men?

B Did we?

R I don't know. Well ask them. What they want to say somebody else.

B Alright. How do you feel about the way the white men take on a new identity? Klein Piet OK. - the construction. Ja. we talked about it.

? Yes.

[Babble] - [Zulu].

D But they can't change the colour of their skin. That's what we said.

B But now they saying, how do you feel about it? How do you feel about that?

R Ja. What do you think? It's a good thing, a bad thing?

D A bad thing

[Babble.]

D It's a bad thing because why? If you are white you are white. If you white, you can't change. I'm black - I'm black, I can't change. I can go to town to go and buy by those what at station, I can do all kind of hairstyle. But I look as a black woman. So let me be proud of what I am, I'm a black. I [am proud][Babble] of what I am.

[Babble].

C The only thing is that you do is to change the inner part of yourself. If you were cruel in the old regime government, you must be kind and mix up with people. In the standard way of living. That's what you better do.

B You not have to change, you ...

[Babble].

D You must be proud of what you are. If you black you black.

C You must adjust yourself.

D But be proud of what you are because you all ...

[Babble.]

D [...] it's only two - You know to be one as we are - *Simunye*[we are one]. We all got children. You can be black or white or what or what colour, but are all one! So now there's no sense in me-- I must change up to say I want to be white. But I know myself to say I'm black I can't change.

[Babble].

R OK.

[Babble].

E Some people want to change their names, because they got book of lifes which ...

? Ja.

E [...] so and so van der Merwe. Its not just [...] or anything. Now when they go there to the office, they will find then that they are liars.

[Babble].

D Even then we can just take that book of life. We put it one side. Your big book of life - it's here in your heart. Because your heart tells you to say I'm white - I'm white - I will never be black. And I'm black - I'm black - I can't be white.

[Babble].

B What is to be changed. Beside changing your surname and colour ...

D You must change your heart.

? Your heart only.

[Babble].

C Fully democratic. Not just democratic by the mouth. Just to tell the people you must change your ways of life. Like people, the love must come

right the depths of your heart. Deep down your heart. You mustn't just say by the mouth 'I'm democratic, this is the new government'. That is wrong.

[Babble].

C In the meantime you still calling people other names. Irrespective of colour or creed.

[Babble.]

B Alright.

C Because even with us here. There are people who we used to carry and this [...]

R OK.

C ... book of life. No this book of life. Those people who are rated and other Asiatics and they've got that instinct still inside them.

End of Tape

C [...] government. if you were graded. they, they were in grades. There were grade A, which were whites. grade B, which were Coloureds. grade 3, which were Indians and other Asians. We blacks - which are called Africans - we were called Africans at that time - we were black. We were graded the last grade, that is D grade - grade 4. Whenever a job appeared or this thing, advertised in the paper. They used to say for Europeans only. Or for Indians and Coloureds. We passed standard 8, standard 10, matric, we had to stay home and do washing. We even decided to go and get married and go to other peoples houses to go and be *makotis* there. Why? Because of the *apartheid*. These people with a book of life, they were take as the highest grade, who, if the job existed, they were the first one to be taken. And this is now a Democratic government, affirmative action is ... must still work on top of them because they were getting privileges which we blacks didn't get. We now ending up being housewives, we've got no ...

R ... trades.

C -- no trades, nothing. We never got any chance of training. We used to get children at home when you get an illegitimate child, you had to stop schooling and go to work for your child. From scratch 1, until the child finishes school. You maybe were unlucky to get married to someone else. You have to work until you die. Then other Asiatics and these Indians, Coloured and Whites,

they were granted money from the government free. They were given to support their children, money which we blacks were deprived of. That was their right - their privilege. Even today they are still getting that grant. Some of them say that their husbands are lost, while they are there. Some of them, their husbands lost and dead, deceased - they are there. Some of them get married and come back home to stay in their mother's houses. Before that they can go and go and they and collect that grant money from the welfare offices. We blacks are still crying tears, even though its a democratic country now, we want the government to look at that. We are worried because my one is twenty, my one is twenty one years now. Twenty one years old. My first born. I'm supporting him myself - I'm not working. I didn't get the privilege to get a better job. Why? Because of the oppression. Because of the old regime government.

B Alright. Alright. Question eight.

What can you say about the way the construction men include women, handicapped people and gays on their board?

R Well can we move on. Nine is very good.

B Uh huh.

R Well nine. Look at number nine.

What do you think of Mrs Jakobs' remark 'that in the new South Africa, democratic people are colour blind'?

B What does you think of Mrs Jakobs' remark 'that in the 'new' South Africa, democratic people are colour blind'?

R We kind of answered that earlier. I think, unless you want to add something to that?

B No.

F *Bonke abangenayo bayaba* highjacker. [Everybody that walks in, they highjack them.]

E Jabu always make Mr Cluver a fool ...

B Cluver doesn't understand Zulu.

E [...]. Jabu, what they are saying in Zulu, Jabu changes in English the other way round.

[Mirth].

[Babble].

E That's why it's so important, to learn other peoples languages. You mustn't know only your language.

B Sometimes he even try to steal the business from them then.

[Babble].

C And Jabu comes to conclusion himself with the clients. The lawyer is still waiting for him to interpret to him what the client has said. He's already over with the problem.

B He solved the problem himself in Afrikaans.

[Mirth].

? Before the lawyer have to say something. Jabu already say it over more.

C Just like those three men. He solved the problem himself in Afrikaans.

[Babble].

B Question two.

R Better go straight to question three because we talked about that.

B Alright.

R Go to question three.

B Straight to question three.

Mrs Kipling is the woman who finds the pornographic videotapes among her husband's possessions and wants a divorce. What do you think of the way she behaves in the programme?

B Mrs Kipling is the woman who finds the pornographic videotapes among her husband's possessions and wants a divorce. What do you think of the way she behaves in the programme?

C Oh! She behaved very badly. The way she approached Mr Cluver.

B Gross!.

C She was. Even the way she untied the door at the

receptionist office. She had no manners whatsoever.

R No manners?

C No manners. She was rude.

? Ja. She was rude.

C The way she apologised, it was not acceptable. Even there with the... and furthermore when she was talking to Mr Cluver. She even hesitated to Mr Cluver himself.

[Babble].

R But now she was very upset.

B She was upset ...

R Do you think she was wrong to be upset?

D No. No.

C She was upset, but the way she taking her upset and this thing delivering over to another person is wrong. You must always keep your upset within yourself. When I'm upset I meet you Mrs Dorothy on the way. I must just greet you politely, ask you in a correct manner. Not to show you that I'm from my house and I got upset from my house, then I must show you that I'm upset now. I must now narrate that to you verbally.

R Just nicely.

C Not to show it out that I'm upset.

R Oh. OK. That's interesting. Is that the way it is in Zulu culture? Is that what you are saying? That you would not show all this? ...

C Jaa. You must always be polite. Even though were fighting with your husband, just in your bedroom, when you come out to your mother-in-law you mustn't take out that to your mother-in-law. You must be calm, cool and collected. Sit down - 'Mommy, I've got a problem now. Your son is saying this' and in a polite manner. Just because you are fighting with her son now you coming to hit her. That is wrong.

E Now people are not the same. Their temper is not the same. We must know that. Some peoples when they fight with somebody, they want to fight with everybody.

- B But it's wrong.
- E It's wrong, it's wrong. But some people are not the same.
- C But in our culture it's wrong. Totally wrong ...
- E Any culture it's wrong. To anybody it's wrong. But you must bear one thing. People are not the same.
- R OK.
- B What question now? ...
- E So if you fight with your own husband, there's no need to fight with everybody.
- D Everybody.
- E Even with your children.
- B Yes.

[Babble].

- D Never fight at home, you mustn't go at work, to go and fight with other people now which don't know nothing about that. Ja. You mustn't include ...

[Babble].

- C That's why they grow up like that and they can't change themselves. They started up in their own mother's houses and they carry on with it. The person to be blamed is the mother who grow that particular somebody up.
- E It's like the other mothers. When there's fighting with her husband, he takes the fight to the children, and gives the children all the time. Because why? She's fighting with her husband. The children they don't know anything, but he's going to take it on the children.
- C Just like when one is having a baby - a child. I mean two years old, three years old, up to five years. Then you been fighting with her [...]. Then she'll just pick up her own child, slap the child, smother the child. That is wrong. She's fighting with you all through that baby.

[Babble].

How is Brenda Armstrong, the video maker, presented as a professional woman?

- B How is Brenda Armstrong, the video maker, presented as a professional woman?
- R You know the black video woman? What do you think of her? What do you think of her? .
- B How is Brenda Armstrong, the video maker, presented as a professional woman?
- C How is she presented as a professional woman?
- R Well, I mean. Let's put it this way. How do you like her? How do you see her ...
- R ... a stupid woman, you know ...
- B ... being a professional woman ...
- ? No. She's nice, very nice woman.
- C She's shown up, she's giving us hope that most of our black women, in the near future are going to be like what she is now. She's given us hope that 'new' South Africa as it is going to ...
- D ... progress ...
- C Is going to give out good fruits to our young growing women.
- R OK.

What do you think about Mrs Jakobs secretly watching the pornographic video?

- B Question five. What do you think about Mrs Jakobs secretly watching the pornographic video?
- R Remember Mrs Jakobs watches the porn ...
- B What do you think about Mrs Jakobs secretly watching the pornographic video?

[Mirth].

- R What do you think about that? Would you do it?
- ? No!
- R You wouldn't do it?
- ? No.
- C She nearly fainted. Her heart began to ... it wanted to stop. Heart beating.

R Well alright. Let's go onto the next question. Maybe we'll get a better answer on this one. Go to number six.

There were a number of characters who seemed to want to watch the pornographic videos. What do you believe is in the videos, that makes people want to watch them?

B There were a number of characters who seemed to want to watch the pornographic videos. What do you believe is in the videos, that makes people want to watch them?

R What's in the videos? Why do people want to watch them?

B Because there were a number of them wanted to watch it.

R Why?

B What do you think what's in them (laughs) that pornographic video?

R What? I hear the word there!

[Mirth].

R Yes. That's OK. We're all women together.

B They all want to watch it but then no one says 'I want it'. They want to watch it secretly. Why?

B Sex!

C Sex. Because those pornographic videos makes people to be sex maniacs.

D I think so. When they are watching. I don't know.

B Sex is not something that is watched by many couples.

B Now for you. Do you watch those people doing sex things?

[Babble].

C It stimulates those people who are watching that particular pornographic film. I think. I think like that.

E I think that sex is for the bedroom not for public.

D Not for public. Yes.

B It's for two people only. Take it then - now you are in a bedroom and someone - other people are watching you sexing ...

D No no no!

[Babble].

F They like to see those ...

B Why? Why?

E Because that is a secret for the ...

? Secret - ja.

E ... for a wife and a husband.

[Babble].

E I don't think its right to show ...

D Yes, it's very very ...

? It's rude to show ...

D Specially you know. I can say, like this, it's very very rude that to say you can watch sex on the TV. Specially nowadays we got children. They sit down and watch. Now after that feeling is finish. The children will sit, you saw that the oh was holding that other lady's bum. They were doing sex - sex. Now small children they talking about sex. Right? Right. We know [...] but now they will learn about it. they talk about sex and they see [...] How things are doing, two people are what they doing, when they doing sex. That is very, very rude. It teaches children the very bad ...

R Go to the next question quickly

B (Laughs)

R Then we can carry on.

Do you see taking away censorship of pornography as bad or good for the new South Africa?

B OK. Do you see taking away censorship of pornography as bad or good for the new South Africa?

R Do you see taking away censorship?

B Do you see taking away censorship of pornography as bad or good for the new South Africa?

R Do you think it's good or bad to have pornography in South Africa?

? It's bad!

R But it's free. Like if you can do it ...

[Babble].

C It must be limited in certain people ...

R --but then that's like the old South Africa. Then some people are limited.

C No. I mean. In the new South Africa we must look for good things to be watched by all the people of all ages. And you must look for the bad things which are to be restricted to old people. Because I understand even in this TV programmes, these films which are played daily on the TV in the TV set, they are some which are half pornographical to children. Which are not supposed to be seen. If you can just see your own child watching, then you feel ashamed when you see what all happens there. Because most of our children in our culture, they are not taught about the sexual things and all. At the youngest age, now, when they going to play outside they'll want to practice what they been watching in the TV set.

R Shame!

E And another thing. As old as I am, when I'm sitting with my children and I'm watching the ...

? TV.

E The TV. When it's sexy then I feel shame. Because I'm old and these are my children and my daughter-in-law. It's the shame. It's the shame.

R Alright ...

B Question eight.

R ... next one.

In what ways do you think Edward Tsaba is a weak or strong character in the series?

B In what ways do you think Edward Tsaba is a weak or strong character in the series.

R The whole series. Ja.

[Babble].

? Very weak

R Weak?

A Very weak.

R Why? How? How's he weak? Why do you say he's weak?

C But I think he is not that weak. His problem is the language. Communication - point number one. Point number two - he doesn't want to see somebody else being embarrassed by something which does not sound good to his ears. For example when those ladies came for the video film. The first one for developing and on. That African lady came there, that Mrs Jakobs had already watched those films as she usually does steal films and watch films. When the lawyer says to her 'look after these cassettes or just watch the films and see if its boring'. She was actually sleeping. But when she was talking to those people, she lied. She said those films are not that bad, not that good. She had tried to cut off Mrs Jakobs by saying 'No, you failing now to carry on with your speech. Just let us go'. She was trying to avoid getting those two clients embarrassed and Mrs Jakobs to be embarrassed as well.

R So now do you? anybody

C I think ...

R ... think she was strong. Does anybody think that he was strong?

E Me, I think he's weak. because ...

R You think he's weak.

E He looks like he's got no power for his job.

R No power for his job.

B Yes.

R What do you think? Was he weak or strong? Ja.

B Ja, he's overpowered by Jabu.

? By Jabulani.

[Babble].

R Number ten. You got to come back because you got to fill the forms in. OK. She's gone to the

bathroom. OK. What about number ten? Go straight to number ten.

Richard Cluver says "it's a male thing". What does this mean to you?

- B Richard Cluver says 'it's a male thing'. What does this mean?
- R If somebody says 'it's a male thing', now what does that mean to you? 'It's a male thing'.
- B Male thing
- R What does that mean to you?
- C To me. It seem like it's the thing is ... how can I put it?
- B Only for men.
- C No! I want to put it this way. Mr Cluver was trying to be on the one side of the agenda, on the main side of the agenda. Just like the old regime, whereby men were above women. No it is the new

government. We are all in one level, irrespective of whether you are a male or a female.

- B It's a male thing.
- C Now I think Mr Cluver was wrong. Because we've got our rights. We've got powers - even in the parliament we got powers as women. We even have got our own league. Only we've got to take our own decisions as women. We no longer wait for men to come and decide for us. Even in the constitution, even in life in general, even in the place for a woman in the kitchen - that time has long gone! We are all in one. Here it says ...
- B Richard Cluver says 'its a male thing'. Then what does this mean to you?
- E Like that development of the cassette Those days are over.
- [Babble].
- E Women are for the kitchen only. Today the kitchen is for everybody. Everybody yes!

GOING UP

Elizabeth Group

Oct 26th 1996

Episodes:

- a The Case of the Historically Advantaged Pale Males.
- b Flexible Asian Models

Nine Participants:-

- A = Elizabeth Mncadi. (Facilitator)
- B = Kate [**].
- C = Eunice [**].
- D = Mary [**].
- E = Phyllis [**].
- F = Constance [**].
- G = Juvenia [**].
- H = Winnie [**].
- I = Hermenia [**].

R = Dorothy Roome. (Researcher)

A I'm Elizabeth Mncadi. I'm a mother of six. I'm a working woman. I'm working at St Mary's Hospital as a Sister in the Maternity Department. I met Dot when we had gone for a research project to the University of Natal, and then we started working together.

R OK. Next. Kate, want to go? -- say who you are?

B I'm Kate, I'm married, I was [...] when I was working in *Jo'burg*, then I came back to Natal. They told me is a sea in natal. I didn't see the sea before! Was the first time when I was coming down to see the sea. And when I come down there, they go with me to Swaziland and pay everything that my father and mother made, and then we get married. Then we in Natal.

R So are you working in the house or you ...

B I was working ...

R ... outside the house?

B I was working in the house.

R OK. But you now, are you ... are you working?

B Now I'm not working.

R And you have children?

B Then I have children. I got four children.

R Four children. OK. Thank you. OK. Next.

C I'm Eunice. I'm not working. I got six children.

R Six children.

C Yes. And one boy.

R One boy.

C And working myself for a hawker. We selling for vegetables. We working for the road for a hawker.

R Oh really? Ja great. OK. Next.

D I'm Mary [**] I'm the mother of five children. I'm working in a clothing factory as a machinist.

R So do you do clothes, or what do you make?

D I make clothes - pants.

R OK. You have children?

D Yes, I got five children.

R Boys?, girls?

D All boys.

R All boys! That's right - you're the one who has all boys. That's right. Wow! That's hard. I think it's hard for ...

[Mirth].

E OK. I'm Phyllis. I'm the mother of five children. I was working before. but now I'm at home. I'm a housewife.

R Are you working in the house, not outside the house?

E No.

R OK. And we'll come this side.

F I'm Constance [**]. I have two children - a boy and a girl. I'm working for Sanlam Insurance Company as an underwriter. I've been studying at Technikon for four years. I've got a Diploma in Computer and Centre Management.

R You have kids?

F Yes, I got two kids.

R That's right. You said that.

F A boy and a girl.

R OK. Thank you. Next.

G I'm Juvenia [**]. I'm working at the Pinetown Public Library. I'm the mother of two children. So I'm a mother, I'm a father [...] the children. That's all.

R Thank you. Next.

H I'm Mrs Winnie [**]. I have four children. Two pairs. Two boys and a two girls. I work as a teacher [...] school. That's all I can say.

R Thank You. Next

I I'm Hermenia [**]. And I got two children. Two girls. And I'm not working. I am a hawker.

R A hawker?

I Yes.

R OK. Good. Well that's working.

I No. But the problem is the money.

What did you think of this episode in the "Going Up" programme?

Break in recording

A ... like . of the *Going Up* programme? Who can answer that question? The first Episode - *Going Up* programme. We're talking about the **Historically Advantaged Pale Males**. They are trying to respect the word 'pale'.

*** Jump in Video Tape.***

F Show us that you mustn't try to change ourselves as we are in the 'new' South Africa. We are still the same. Doesn't mean that if the government is the black now, so we have to try and change ourself, especially the whites. They mustn't think that they appear objective if we are in the new South Africa and the government is a black.

D [...] I can't think that as we are Africans, we mustn't think that we are not just like other people. We all the same. And what we trying to do on our life, we must do it as well as we can do it.

R OK. Thank you. Anybody ...

H I didn't watch the first episode, but I think to be multiracial is now a matter of [right]. That means that we should contribute our customs, beliefs, but in our norms and [beliefs] we shouldn't change that. Although we mix wherever we go with the whites and blacks they should [...] mix, but they should not change their background. Should not forget about Africa. So that's all I can say.

R Thank you. Get on with the thing now. I'm trying to make it work. Have to keep changing it and moving it around.

A The way it was phrased ...

R Ja.

A ... at Mr Cluver's office. It was phrased as equal. A person can not get anything if she ... if he is not white, he is not gay, is not ...

[Babble].

R A woman.

A Not a woman. Yes. Not a woman. Because women are sort of advantaged in this government. So to remain what we are ... you see. And we also should strive for standing for the truth. Not that because it is said are not white, you are not a black, you are not going to get that ... then you go up and talk yourself you black. That is impossible. You should be just what you are. We should all mix and just be people. Not people differentiated with colours, or sort of disabilities or abilities.

R Great! Anyone else? Anyone disagree with that?

What did you think about the music with the song and dancing?

A The song and dancing. You saw the type of music. Sort of 'Rap', mixed music. How ...

R Do you people know that kind of music - tell me ... I don't know what sort of music you listen to. I mean, older people like yourselves. You're not old, but I mean, you know, as opposed to the kids. Do you listen to that sort of music. The sound that they were doing - or is that really for the kids? I mean, did you not like it or like it? That's really what I want to know. What did you think of the music? Did you dislike it? Did you not? Did you like it?

F I think as old people we don't like the kind of music. It's very good for the youngsters. Because we can't stand up and dance as it they do in the ...

R Oh you can't!

F No. I can't.

R Well, we'll get onto that in a minute. Because I want to know why. Why can't you get up and dance?

F Now we're so old now. We can't do it.

R Ja?

G And that music's not nice for the children.

R It's not nice?

G For the children.

R Oh.

G Because that music come from the wrong place. for the *shebeen* place. [...].

R OK.

G When the most of the papa and mama. they do that things badly.

R OK. Oh well this is great. You know you saying how you feel. that's what. Does anybody else agree with her?

A This is the sort of rap - that's the modern music of American music.

R Uh huh.

A It is mixed with the olden music of Soweto. you know when it was still called Sophiatownship?

R Yes.

A When we were still not allowed to have any type of entertainment. So they had backyard *shebeens* - that's where they entertained themselves. That's why they had that type of a dance. You know - the *shebeen* queens used to dance that type of a dance. That was a real entertainment for the blacks at the time.

R OK.

A Yes.

H OK. Now to me it sounds as if that dance cannot be people to do the dance. it does. That's what I danced by the person who's not under the influence of liquor. The influence of liquor does stimulate the understand from the from the talks I've had.

R OK. This side.

E That sound is nice only for *shebeen*. Not anywhere else. Only what you see

R In other words, you wouldn't have it in your house.

E No no no!

R No.

*** At this point Kate departed, stating 'I'm not fitting here.'***

E But not in front of the childrens.

R But would you let the children play that?

E No!

A So that is the cheap type of entertainment the blacks had. Because we didn't have any other place to go for entertainment. That's how they used to entertain themselves.

R What did you think?

[Mirth].

R Did you like it or you didn't like it? Alright. Shall we have the next question?

What is the message in the programme?

A Yes. What message do you get in the programme?

R What do you think they're trying to say to you? Really when they make programmes like this? What are they trying to tell you?

H The first part or the second part of the programme?

R Take the two separately. You actually started to say something earlier. In when you said about that programme, you said something which was very interesting. Remember what you said?

A Any question again?

R Start again.

A What was the message in the programme?

F Well the message is that it don't mean that if we are in the new South Africa, we must think that we are the best nation than the others. We are still all the same although the government is the black now.

R OK. And then the other programme. Anything about that or suppose we can come to that in a minute. Anybody want to add to that?

A Bearing in mind that the head of the government is a black guy ...

F But the government itself is multiracial.

A The government is multiracial. Everybody's got an equal standing to the government. It's democratic.

R It's democratic.

A We don't try to change ourselves and make ourselves another colour. We are still acceptable the colour we are. With the colour we have, we are just like butterflies with different colours, but skin butterflies.

R Oh! That's lovely!

[Babble].

R That's wonderful.

[Babble].

As a woman, how do you feel about Mrs Jakobs?

R Mrs Jakobs. What do you think about her?

[Babble].

F No. She's not organized. I don't like her. She's not an organized secretary. If you are a secretary you must be organized.

R Anyone else?

G Mrs Jakobs she will be frightened if they have something bad to them. Cassette. Or if they come with the cassette [...]. What now [...] but now they frightening.

R They frightening her.

R OK. OK. Anyone else. Want to say something here? OK. Let's go to the next one.

Do you know anyone like her?

A Do you know anyone like her? Do you know anyone like Mrs Jakobs?

[Babble].

H Yes. There are people like Mrs Jakobs. Because Mrs Jakobs is just normal. It's only how she behaved the other way, that's why you got something on the road, you got something in shops, you got something like Mrs Jakobs.

R Men and women?

H Pardon?

R Both men and women?

H Yes. Both men and women. They are. Black or white. They are. It's natural to be like Mrs Jakobs. Because everybody is unique.

R So what do you think about what she's just said? It's natural to be like Mrs Jakobs.

A She's somebody jumping ideas. She's not stable. She jump from an idea to another idea. She's a person who's not pretending to be herself. Sometimes she hides many things and she pretends not to be something when she's actually doing, you know.

H Yes. She's not logical. She hasn't got a logic[al] mind. She doesn't plan.

H I can say that.

R You think a lot of women are like that or a lot of men are like that? What do you think? Do you think it's more men are like that or more women are like that?

A You know, it's more of women who are like that. Because women have been oppressed for a long time so they got jumping ideas. They never stable. They looking at your face. If you say 'yes', they say 'oh yes'. If you say 'no', they say 'oh no'. Because that is in them. They've got to go it out.

R You want to say something? Yes? Come on what were you going to say? Just say what you think. Do you know somebody like Mrs Jakobs?

E No. I don't like Mrs Jakobs.

R You don't like her.

E No. Whatever she takes - she took cassettes for other ones, she gave for other ones. [...].

R She's like dishonest?

E Yes.

R OK. Anyone else? Anything else?

A I would like to talk to such a panicking person all the time. You don't know what's in the mind. All the time she's shaking, she's panicking they not the kind of [...] you can rely on. She's not stable. Her personality ...

F She's not sure.

H Ja.

F Ja.

A You know ...

R What do you want to say?

F No. I said she's not sure of what she is doing.

R OK. Want to do the next question?

What do you think of the way Squeeza, the shebeen owner, behaves?

A What do you think of the way Squeeza, the shebeen owner, behaves? Do you like Squeeza?

R See the way she danced - Well what do you think? Would you like to have her as a friend?

B No.

C No. We don't like Squeeza.

R You don't like her?

C Squeeza!

B Yes!

R Yes! That's the one. You don't like her?

B No. The boy was very nice, that one was dancing.

R Aaah, now that's interesting. She says the boy was very nice. Now are we talking about the one with the blond hair or the other one?

B Ja, that one with the blond ...

R Oh, you liked that. OK. OK. You liked that. But you didn't like Squeeza.

B No.

A But Squeeza can mix with every person.

B Right.

A You know she can mix with everybody. That [...] can mix with everybody.

R Somebody was saying something here. What was it?

[Babble].

R Did you know who Squeeza was. She was the shebeen queen.

? Yes.

G She organize all the what you can call all the mens to come and buy the [liquor], waste the money to the shebeen. To buy beer, gin, Smirnoff [vodka]. The mothers or the women of those men, they cry!

*****End of Tape*****

G [...] serve to take the money for the husband [...] the husband to come and make - the what you call this spot?, shebeen, shebeen, so the Mam, the wife for those men, they cry because they haven't got money to support the children. Then some of the men they go back at home to go and fight with Mam - their wives. Then they spend less on food, they eat it, they haven't got money to go to school, haven't got the money to get bread or what, eat or what?

H It's supposed to be pleasant and try to be lovely and friendly as much as she can. In order to accept people to come, because to her, to have a

shebeen is how she earns money, is how she earns a living. She has to do that. Is only the people come and drink, they should think for themselves, they must not drink their all money - not support their families.

R Good point.

E The *shebeen* must be active. Mustn't fight for another one. Must be happy for anyone. You see. Person must be active, she's not for [...] because now that's the way [...].

How do you feel about the way the white men take on a new identity? (Klein Piet and the Men in the construction business).

Jump in Tape

A ...Klein Piet and the Men in the construction business.

R They take on a new identity. They change who they are. What do you think about that?

A They change their names because they couldn't be accepted in the 'new' South Africa to run their contract. So they change their names into Zulu names, so that they could be accepted and changed their contracts names. So that they can get an opportunity of running the contract in the 'new' South Africa. Did they really have to change themselves? No. Somebody?

R Come on.

G So that men [...] That men they change their names ... because [...]. Allowed to [...] in South Africa. Then they found out it was not easy to have the job here. Must change their name to call them [**] I don't know what a name for what. Instead of [**]. Well now they think that it's better to change their surname because it's easier to have a job in the new South Africa.

R Do you think that's a good thing or a bad thing? Would you do that? If you thought you could get a job would you change your name?

G Ja. This is for a job. But they can't open the contract with their names for [...].

R So do you think it's a bad or a good thing?

G ... Kwa-Zulu. But they come from different countries.

R So you think that's bad or it's good that they did that?

G No, it's alright.

H That's before [the election] *apartheid* was too much.

R Right.

H The black people are not allowed to go to the bottle store. At least they had to send the coloured people to buy for him. I've had people who have the whites surnames because they wanted to be treated as whites. Yes they do, it's time. Those people that got the... they call that 'zimtiti'. Yes, because they wanted to be treated as whites. Now it's the time now the whites want to be treated as blacks. [Mirth]. And now it's the visa-versa. [Mirth].

A And now those people now [...] again they are treated like [...] their surnames to be Zulu. Just like girl Miss South Africa.

R Khumalo.

A Miss Khumalo.

R Sue Khumalo.

? Ja, Khumalo has another English surname. Now that South Africa is the 'new' South Africa now.

[Babble].

D That always happened, like myself. Before I was Mary [**] because of my I.D. I was not born in Durban. Now I came from the farm. If I was here the government say no I must go back to Ixopo to find a job. Now I organize one for my friend who was [...] don't know. He take me to Coloured affairs and take the Book of Life. Now they call me Mary [**] after so long I got a problem. Afterwards now I was married. Now I don't know what to do now. I must change my I.D. too, and my friend, she was taking me to our union organization. Now they make a big issue. They say I must go to the lawyer and make a case and go just like a case, to change now again to my mother's surname, then I go back to marriage. That was happened. Because of the *apartheid*.

- F *Apartheid*.
- R Very interesting.
- R Say that again, say that again.
- A They play coloured, it was said 'I'm playing coloured because I want to earn a better South Africa'.
- R You mean blacks played coloured?
- ? Yes.
- A So they changed themselves into Coloured surnames adopted by coloureds. You see. That way changed ...
- [Babble].
- A ... and one had to bribe with money to get your I.D. changed into a Coloured. Like me as a nurse at the Cape. There were no nurses employed in the hospitals in the Cape. All the nurses were trained in other hospitals what something else - even if you're black and belong to Cape Town, you not supposed to work in Cape Town because it was a coloured place and a white place. So you had to play coloured to be employed, and change all your certificates and everything.
- R So were you ... did you play coloured?
- A No.
- R You didn't.
- A No. I know people who played coloured.
- R OK.
- A Mmmm.
- R Anyone else want to say something about that? No.

What can you say about the way the construction men include women, handicapped people and gays on their board?

Gap in Tape

- A ... the construction men include women, handicapped people and gays on their board? You remember when they went back to Mr Cluver they had gay people and the disabled - the handicapped.

because they knew the handicapped in South Africa are more advantaged and the gays are advantaged and the women are advantaged, so they wanted to be among the advantaged people. They changed their surnames to be Zulu surnames, so that they should have the black surnames and be among the advantaged. How do you feel about that? Did they really have to do that?

What do you think of Mrs Jakobs' remark 'that in the new South Africa democratic people are colour blind'?

Gap in Tape

- A are colour blind'.
- R Democratic people are colour blind?
- A Yes.
- R What do you think about it? Think it's true?
- A Yes it is. If a person is not democratic, he's usually racist.
- R Thank you.
- A If you are not a racist, you don't see colour, you see a person and not a colour of person. That's what you see. You know, I always feel very irritated when a person tells me 'Umlungo uthe'. [the white man said], I say [Zulu]. [You know leave all those ideas of *apartheid*.] Always don't specify the colour, don't specify the race of the person all the time. When you talk. This is a person. You know it's so irritating.
- F The company's being run by the Afrikaans people not ...
- R Oh, by Afrikaans people.
- F Afrikaans people. Sanlam is the Afrikaans people.
- R Oh, you're with Sanlam.
- F Yes, Sanlam.
- R OK, OK.
- F And there is still *apartheid* there. You can see as you working there is still *apartheid*. Especially for the whites who are coming from Cape Town, or the whites that, living in Durban are very much

- better than the whites who are coming from Cape Town. Ja.
- R Why? What do you mean by that?
- F I just mean maybe the people who are living in Durban are now understanding democracy [more] than the people who are living in Cape town.
- R So you mean that people from Cape Town will treat you differently because you are black?
- F Yes. Yes they do.
- A You know the intensity of *apartheid*. In Natal you even feel much more of *apartheid*. Even during the olden days. But in Jo'burg, Free State, the Cape, there was *apartheid* there. In Natal there wasn't much of it. There wasn't much of it in Natal. And ...
- R Tell me more!
- A Yes. We discriminate each other. Yes. You say this one is a Xhosa, this one is a Sotho, this one is a Zulu. You know I once picked it up in the labour ward in the Northern States. It was very busy and the lady, who looked quite traditional - she looked like she was a Xhosa. And I had a Xhosa nurse and a Zulu nurse here working. I didn't like to look when they were talking together. The Zulu nurse said 'hey, I'm sick and tired of those Xhosas coming to fill up this place here'. And the Zulu nurse[...] the Xhosa nurse said 'hey! You racist. Stop it'. If you can ask this person who she is, can tell you that she's *Mashongani* ... *Mashongani* is the proper Zulu name. [Mirth]. I intended it to be a joke. [Mirth]. I laughed. I said

Tape stopped

How does the mix of languages help or stand in the way of the characters understanding each other?

Gap in Tape

- A --mix of languages help or stand in the way of the characters understanding each other?
- R Do they use a lot of English and Afrikaans?
- A Afrikaans.
- R And is it Zulu that he's speaking?

- A Yes.
- R Kwa-Zulu. What do you think? To have a show like that, that's all mixing the languages. What do you think? Do you think they'...? Did you understand everything?
- ? Yes.
- A Ja. Did you like the mixing of the languages? Afrikaans, Zulu, English.
- G Yes.
- R You liked that.
- A You liked the mix before.
- G Before was *apartheid*. The Afrikaner government did not like the Zulu language at school. Zulus learn English and the Zulu language. At school. So now, the English now they leave in the Zulu. . But they leaving the African children at school. Together.
- R Uh huh. OK.
- ? Ja. It's nice because ...
- [Babble].
- A So at least when you hear it on TV. At least you are able to identify a few words when you go out of this room to another Province. It's not like, you know, you are from another island, getting to another island.
- R OK. Next
- A **Flexible Asian Models.**
- R Ja, that's the next programme.
- What do you think of the way Reginald Cluver behaves toward all the different characters in the programme?*
- A Yes. What do you think of the way Reginald Cluver behaves toward all the different characters in the programme?
- R Do you know the white lawyer?
- A The lawyer.
- R What do you think of him?

- A How think of him. He can mix with all this people. And he solves the problem. The way he solves them.
- R Because the black guy has to come and talk for him.
- C Yes.
- R But how do you like him as a person? Do you like him or you think he's a fool?
- A He's clever.
- R You think he's clever.
- A Jaaa. He can attack all the problems. He mix with everybody.
- R Can mix with everybody.
- A Yes. He mixes with everybody. And the way he solves problems. He solves the any problem which anybody could not solve. He's not frightened of his position. But the other one, the black one - Mr Tsaba, he's always threatened by the position, because not handling matters well. But Mr. Cluver - oh yes, very easy. He can just handle anything.
- R Mr Cluver.
- F Yes.
- R Why?
- F Although he can't speak Afrikaans. But he can handle all the problems in the company. Does not like in our company for example, if our boss in Cape Town can 'phone and have a query for us, they just talking Afrikaans and then if you say I'm a black - I can't talk to you in Afrikaans they just say 'why were you employed in Sanlam if you can't speak Afrikaans?' You are not supposed to be employed in Sanlam if you can't speak Afrikaans. And it's still a very big issue of languages in our company.
- ***Tape shut down.*****
- A ... type of the people. All the types of people. Mr Cluver can handle. Then they the wrong.
- R Why?
- A Need to be handled ...
- R Why? Why is he like that?
- A I think it is because he mixed with other people. He mixed. He never isolated himself, even before. During the *apartheid* time. So he knows all the people. What do you think about this?
- R Jabu.
- Jabu always seems to get things mixed up in the story. What do you think about this?*
- A Jabu. He's always mixed up.
- R All things get mixed up.
- A Why is he mixing up things [...].
- R Well.
- G Is a naughty man.
- R Naughty?
- G Oooh he's naughty.
- R Why is he naughty?
- G I don't know why he's naughty. But I know they like to pass the jokes.
- R Oh, he's ...
- G [...] pass the jokes.
- R You like that?
- G I love that.
- R Do you all like that?
- C Ja.
- R You like that. Who's your favourite character in the show?
- C All like Jabulani.
- R You like Jabulani - he makes you laugh?
- A I like Mr Cluver.
- R You like Mr Cluver.
- A Because he just sit there and be quiet when people are being terrible. And he will just stares. Even if

he doesn't want to listen to you. He will just ... do like this and pretend to be listening and 'Mr Cluver! Do you hear?'. 'Oh yes. I hear'.

[Mirth].

H Jabulani likes to please everybody. He doesn't want to disappoint anybody, he wants to be seen good to all of the office colleagues. He wants to be seen good. He wants to please everybody. That's why rushes to satisfy this one and then he rushes to satisfy the other one. As if he's mixed up with his mind.

R Isn't that a little bit like Mrs Jakobs.

? Uh-uh, it's different.

R No.

A Mrs Jakobs. Jakobs is not pleasing people in fact. He don't know herself. He wants to please herself. He wants to see herself stable. but he cannot make it.

R Can't do it.

A She cannot make it. Jabulani is a crook. When he sees things are going bad, he tries by all means to find the quick solution. In the programme. Is that [...] He saw with the sex tapes.

Mrs Kipling is the woman who finds the pornographic videotapes among her husband's possessions and wants a divorce. What do you think of the way she behaves in the programme?

R That young white woman ... found her husband ...

A With his sex tapes.

R ...tapes.

A With the sex tapes.

R What do you think of the way she behaved

? Mrs who?

R Kipling. The young white woman. Who talked a lot.

A Who said 'all the time I trusted my husband but now when I find him ... with these tapes ...'.

F [...] says what did he want.

A Yes.

F I think she acts very bad because one wasn't sure that maybe the husband was still going to show her the cassettes. Maybe then was going to play the cassettes on their bedroom that night.

[Mirth].

F She was supposed to wait and see what was the husband going to do with the cassettes and then after ...

G But now they bring to the lawyer. They want to divorce. So the lawyer wanted to cool her down. But he was angry. But they [...] thing [...], Mr Cluver they [...] this lady she's [...] Mr Cluver. But Mr Cluver they didn't take any notice about that. They [...] sometimes to [...].

R What do you think about that? Will you ask the next question now? What was the next question?

How is Brenda Armstrong, the video maker, presented as a professional woman?

A How is Brenda Armstrong, the video maker, presented as a professional woman? You know the video maker, Brenda Armstrong ...

*****End of Tape*****

A I think she knew what was in the cassettes and she wanted the use of the people. She was just telling it to everybody to feel how people feel about programmes.

R Well, did you like her as a woman? When you say you know her, because she's a presenter.

? Yes.

R See I didn't realize that. I knew her face was familiar, but I didn't know why. So she is a presenter. OK.

? Yes.

R I mean. Did you feel nice seeing her there? I mean ...

? Yes, yes.

R OK. Alright go on.

What do you think about Mrs Jakobs secretly watching the pornographic video?

- A What do you think about Mrs Jakobs secretly watching the pornographic video? Do you still remember her? She says she doesn't like to hear anything about pornography. And then she sits alone and then she sweats, she panics and she swears that she does not like it, but watches it alone ...
- ? Until they let her down.
- A Ja. Then she plays them and watch them alone, and when a person come she switch it off. What you think about such type of a person? Because it doesn't mean that she doesn't like them. She wants to watch them when she's not seen. But in the public she pretends not to. That is a very bad thing - I won't watch that - it's rubbish. But alone she watches it [...].
- F Yes.
- A She even transfers it to somebody else to watch.
- E That woman.
- A That woman yes. Do you like her character?
- ? No, no.
- R Nobody likes her. Next question.

There were a number of characters who seemed to want to watch the pornographic videos. What do you believe is in the videos, that makes people want to watch them?

- A There were a number of characters who seemed to want to watch the pornographic videos. What do you believe is in the videos, that makes people want to watch them? Everybody was curious. Everybody wanted to watch the videos. What you think is nice in the videos to watch? The sex videos. Are they nice to watch? That's what they asking. What's interesting in them?

[Mirth].

R Come on.

- F Sometimes it is nice to watch the sex videos, especially if you are with your husband in your bedroom. It's very enjoyable to watch those

cassettes. You can't just watch it to the dining room with your kids here. Something private.

- E Must be not in front of the childrens.
- R It's OK to do it?
- E It's OK with your husband, but not in front of the childrens.
- R OK.
- A But be careful. Your children should not steal them one day.

[Mirth].

[Babble].

- F You know what happened to my sister-in-law and they just put the cassettes in the video and they fell asleep. In the morning their son came and then he switch on the video cassette. All what they hear is what that noise *uhhuh uhhuh*.

[Mirth].

- F They just wake up and say 'go out. What you watching?'

A You mustn't forget that those kids are so curious they would take them and play them.

? Ja. I ...

- E I made that mistake. One of my friends, she lent me the cassette. I put on the tape while I was cooking in my kitchen while watching my TV. Now my son the way he was laughing - I say why you happy like that. When I saw what kind of a [...] machine [...] one day Oh God! Make mad now. Was just switching the TV on, taking the cassette out, but the TV cassette I was carrying like that. Like a small baby. Because now I don't want anybody to just take that cassette now.

R Anybody else want to share their experiences?

? This is a [...]

Do you see taking away censorship of pornography as bad or good for the new South Africa?

Gap in Tape

A ... good for the new South Africa? Is it good to watch sex films - pornographic - in the new South Africa?

? Yes, it was very good before the new South Africa.

[Babble].

? Yes.

R Why?

H You know sometimes people ... they lose their interest. Sometimes stimulates. I can say that. Yes. For stimulation. You must get the stimulated before you break your marriage.

A But then you should remember those who are the traditional women across the river there. They're typical women ... I don't think the men can agree to that. It's not our culture.

R It's interesting. What do you think about it?

A The men they can't even see their bodies - those women. Everything is done in the dark.

F They don't even share the bed.

A They don't share the bed. Ja.

F If the men just needs the wife they can throw the shoes. The shoes there they coming up.
[A husband usually sleeps on the other side of the room. When he needs his wife, he will throw a shoe or a stick onto the wife to make her aware of the situation.]

[Babble].

R With a stick?

? Ja.

[Babble].

G Then she go to her husband.

[Babble].

R But it's changed now? It's not like that anymore?

? No!!!

[Babble].

F In some places it's still like that.

A Just across the river there.

[Babble].

R How interesting. You ladies helping me so much.

[Mirth].

R But none of you have that? None of you have that experience?

A But we know about it. It happens. It still happens.

? From our mothers. Ja.

G Sometimes they show their respect. I can tell you that a certain mother, who's a Roman Catholic mother, her son was a priest and his daughter is a ...

R Nun.

G ...is a nun. And my mother asked her - tell me what is your secret? Why do you produce such cream children? You have a priest, you have a nun. And she said 'you know my husband doesn't know my body, till I die'. She said so.

? That's the thing they were doing.

G He doesn't know her body. Never seen it.

R Wow!

G She thought it was her secret. It was that she took that as her respect. Not showing her husband her body.

R And this is recently you heard this story. Or it's an old story.

G It's an old story.

In what ways do you think Edward Tsaba is a weak or strong character in the series?

A Mr Tsaba - that lawyer. The black lawyer ...

R Think he's weak or strong?

A .Ai! He's weak.

C Mr Tsaba is weak.

- R He's weak. Let's hear what you have to say. Why do you say that?
- C Mr Tsaba is weak. He's not a strong ...
- R Why? Tell me why you say that? I think that's good to hear that. Why? What makes you feel that way? What does he do that makes you say that?
- B [Zulu].
- [Babble].
- R What's she say? My Zulu isn't that good.
- A He does not mix with other people. All types of people. And he does not know all the languages. Everything he does is translated. He doesn't even know his own language.
- R Let me ...
- A Yes? He doesn't even know ...
- R He's not ... he's a Sotho.
- A He's a Sotho. Brought up overseas. He doesn't even know his own language. He doesn't even know Afrikaans. He only knows English. So Jabu is playing around with him.
- [Mirth].
- A He translates the wrong message to the people and he's too Westernised. He doesn't know his culture. He doesn't know his culture at all. He knows more of the European culture. He knows nothing about his culture. And his people. He can't handle that.
- R That's very interesting ... thank you.
- A Just like this people who grew up overseas. They know nothing. You know I had my sister-in-law here, Thandi, you remember her?. She grew up in London and everything. Came to South Africa. Her mother was a politician. She was a doctor. She was never satisfied with whatever she had. You know. She thought she was white. when she's actually black. We stayed with her here in the house and she was not acting like us. She was so Westernised, she know nothing about her black culture. she got so frustrated when we went to the farm -- we got a farm here at High Flats. And she couldn't understand all those cultural things and she got so frustrated. You know at the end, she committed suicide.
- ? God!
- A Yes.
- [Babble].
- A She would not see herself black and try to cultivate our cultures were so diverse.
- ? So different.
- A Different - she couldn't understand me I tried tounderstand her. I tried to talk ...
- R She's your own family.
- A My own family.
- R But she gave up.
- ? Your husband's family.
- A Yes. my husband's family. You see then - my husband's father is a brother to Thandi's father.
- [Babble].
- A Yes. Same blood.
- ? Yes. Same blood.
- A Same family.
- ? Same family.
- A They know her. She used to live here. She had a surgery at Umlazi. And she was doing very well in that stage. People liked her. But she couldn't manage to be here in Africa living like an African. She couldn't.
- R That was so interesting.
- A She couldn't. In the morning she would wake up with high heels and make up on, standing there already.
- [Babble].
- A Not even that [...] know a housewife a model. Sort of a person who couldn't do the washing when. Nothing at all.
- G So you were working for her. You were ...
- A Ja. I used to have people to work for her. And she could even, couldn't even cook. Everything

frustrated her. And she would just smoke in public like this. And it was not acceptable, you know, for such a young girl to be smoking like that - in the African culture. You know she said 'Africans are too curious about other people's matters, you know. I don't like to stay here'. You see.

G But she married with a white one huh?

A It was a black CDC, who also grew up overseas.

G Overseas.

A He was also a black white.

G Now she's spoilt.

A She's spoilt.

F Only now talking about the food that we eat.

A The food?

F Ja.

[Babble].

A We had to have English menu. Because she couldn't eat the *putu*.

[Babble].

A She was such a hazard you know. [...] my neighbour- you know her. She was a problem.

[Mirth].

A I used to ask her 'Thandi what's wrong with you? You are a doctor, you are pretty, you got money, what's wrong with you? What's wrong with you?' She was unhappy.

H She wasn't ...

[Babble].

H Having money, having [...]. Child, the child died.

Richard Cluver says "it's a male thing". What does this mean to you?

*****Gap in Tape*****

A this mean to you? The Male. Male.

R The male thing.

A Um gender - male thing.

R Yes. What men do. Well it's male.

A The male thing.

R Men do.

A It doesn't have to be done by women - it's a male thing. Just like we cannot fix cars, we cannot do electricity, we cannot do plumbing, we cannot build up houses because we are females. Is that so?

[Babble].

F We've all got hands, we've all got brains, we got everything that the men have got.

A Yes.

F We've got it. And we can do everything that the men are doing. We all the same.

[Babble].

F I don't know whether it is working in our marriages or not. But it surely saying fifty-fifty now, although our husband doesn't like it.

F They don't like it to say it's fifty-fifty.

[Mirth].

[Babble].

F My husband can't do that. And I always cut the grass. And my husband can't do that. And then you will find me doing everything that the man can do. I do it myself in my house.

H A question - does your husband cook. Does he cook for you?

F Sometimes.

H Sometimes.

F Ja, sometimes. If I will come home at work late, especially if it is the month end, and I usually come by eight o'clock ...

H OK.

F ... then he cooks.

H Oh! He's better than mine.

[Mirth].

[Babble].

H Oh! He's better than mine. My husband doesn't cook, doesn't take out weeds, does nothing.

A Nothing.

H He's just up and down the street. And talk nicely to people. He is very clever. He can give you so many views when he can not separate.

[Babble].

H OK. About the male - this is male thing. Ok. I just disagree with that. Because a woman of the same capabilities can do the same.

R Yes. Would you say something Hermania?

I Yes. About the male - I don't talk about those lazy people. But you know, the men and women can do the same thing. I can do the garden.

Sometimes my husband turns with the garden. So sometimes they are lazy. To do the job. Some of them they don't want to go to work.

? Ja.

I And the women can go to work and come back with the money, feed the children. So that's fifty-fifty?

R OK.

E Who need a man [...]. That morning I told him he has to clean the yard before he leave my house. Say no no I can't do that. You are here with the children, you have to clean the yard and everything. I can't clean my yard, cook and clean the house. No he say you can do anything, because now if I die, who gonna do that thing?

[Mirth].

R That's very clever ...

[Babble].

D Some of the ladies love, they love to make their bricks. Some of them they do a house ...

? Like plumbers.

D ... like they are plumbers, like some of them they are electricity. Who's ... was doing by the yaer before ... now we all doing that. We all the same now.

GOING UP

Janet Group

Sept 2nd. 1997

Episodes:

- a The Case of the Historically Advantaged Pale Males.
- b Flexible Asian Models

Seven Participants:-

- A = Janet Watson (Facilitator)
- B = Sally [**].
- C = Jenny [**].
- D = Marie[**].
- E = Wanda [**].
- F = Jennifer [**].
- G = Sylvia [**].

R = Dorothy Roome. (Researcher.)

A I'm Janet. I'm married. I have two daughters, both at Westville Girls' High School. I work in the home, I work out of the home and I work around the home. When I'm out of the home, I'm at Natal Newspapers three mornings a week, in the home I'm chief cook and bottle wash, and I run a little small label printing business.

R OK. Next.

B I'm Sally. I've got two daughters, one of fifteen and one of eleven. I'm a housewife. I've got a husband who does most of the cooking, so I'm basically the cleaner upper. I think that's about it really.

R OK. Thank you.

C I'm Jenny. I've got two daughters as well - seems to be a common problem - I work period. I work full time. My children go to Kloof High. One in standard seven and one in standard nine.

R OK.

D I'm Marie, I have one daughter and two grandchildren, and I don't work any more - gardening, sewing, because I do have home help three days a week.

R OK.

E I'm Wanda. I've got six children.

R Wow!

E Not all at once. I've got two left at school, one in

matric, one in standard seven. Husband's just retired. And I've sort of been a housewife most of my life, but always been interested in education on the sidelines. I've been involved with, very very sidelinish sort of helping here and there. Just doing a bit of literacy this year and teaching maths [...] Street kids, on laboratory basis.

R OK. Next.

F I'm Jennifer, have been at home for thirty five years. I gave up work when my son was born and that was it! Have three children - all married. And we've got five grandchildren, and I'm basically a gardener and a homemaker.

R OK.

G I'm Sylvia [**], I'm married and have two daughters and a son. I'm a nursing sister at Westville Hospital, and I work in the Psychiatric Department.

R OK. Thank you.

*****Break in recording. ********What did you think of this episode in the Going Up programme?***

G I thought that was fun ...

D I must say I prefer the second one. I thought the first one was a bit ...

E Over the top?

D Ja, ja.

A Oh no! I thought the second one was more over the top than the first one.

G I thought they were being quite factual on what goes on in our country and the likelihood of what goes on in our country. So from that point of view ...

F Typical sort of a farce situation.

? Ja.

F OK. That's what I thought. Rex Garner, he acts in those kind of things [...].

E And I'm sure he had a hand in writing the script as well.

C I thought it was too obvious in some [...] too much of a point they're trying to make.

[Babble].

C They should have just exercised more subtlety and we would have sat up and listened.

E Ja, it's just local.

[Babble].

C It was, but it was too obvious. What do you think?

D Especially the second one.

C Not. Maybe obvious isn't the word but ...

D You know, it's subtle, though in the second one, with the mix up with the porno, the videos, there's no subtlety in it. You know what's going to happen before it started.

F But how do you like the situations afterwards?

R What did you think?

B I enjoyed it, actually both of them, they were quite [...] diverse in some respects. [...] first one is typical of what is going on. You know if you're ... say OK, in a farce sort of, but I mean the implication is there as far as ...

R I want you to feel free to say anything you like ...

[Babble].

R I mean, I began to feel it was not so good to have a white skin when I was there they let me have it! So I want you to just let it all come out. I mean, that's why we're here. OK.

E What did those Zulu women think of that?

R No. We're talking about you now. I'll tell you afterwards.

E OK. It'll be interesting to hear.

What did you think about the music with the song and dancing?

A And the music and the dancing. What did you think of that in context with what we have said?

F Just like we always hear on the radio all the time.

? That's right.

E I just feel 'oh!, you've got energy'. I haven't got that.

[Mirth].

E The music, it's actually too much, you know [...] they can enjoy it [...] but I think of the energy.

D This radio station that we have, you find the same kind of music being played more and more on the radio.

E Sure. But the one thought that came, if you wander off. That muddle of the tapes, I thought is that what happened to the matric exams?

[Mirth].

? Probably.

F No. Somebody was after that ...

[Babble].

E But that's what's happening everywhere. You say it's that obvious, but is it mistakes that are made are that obvious?

C I don't think it happens only in the 'new' South Africa. I think that sort of thing happens period. And everybody's using the democratic South Africa to blame.

G How do you find it being [...] leads to matric papers in the previous government as the problem?

[Babble].

G The only ones we ever heard from ... the first ones ... were the Indian schools. When our children were in school still, the Indian schools had occasionally, - there was a big thing, ... you cannot have a paper leak without it coming out with the public.

[Babble].

What is the message in the programme?

A In relation to the programme, what do you think that the programme is trying to tell us, about South Africa?

F We got a long way to go.

[Mirth].

[Babble].

G And we got to sit back and laugh a bit. Because if you don't laugh you cry. [...] some of the time.

F That's right.

A So what do you think that the programme's trying to tell us? That we must change?

D We have to change, regardless. There no way that you can live in South Africa and not change. Thing that I thought about, especially in the last few years is 'how did we live in this country and not really do something about it? Because we all knew what was going on, and now that things have changed, we must try, especially if you're a Christian, you must try and prod this on a little bit, maybe overlook some of the things they do that you don't like, or they're not up to standard ...

G No, but should we lower our standards to meet them?

D No.

G Because they're not up at our standard.

D No, not lower our standards, but keep your standards so that they can ... but forgive them if they ... I'm speaking as a non-working person. I don't work with them every day.

G And just like people were saying, that with ... getting back to the matric papers, people who matriculated after nineteen ninety five, they going to say -- ah, what matric have you got? What is the importance of what we're doing, don't have any standing anywhere else in the world if our children want to go overseas.

R Alright.

C The problem is also to say that [...] that everybody's too busy walking on eggs. We're all

walking on eggs and we're too scared to say what we actually feel and ... it's like in the working world ... you know I work in a Bank and there's such fraud that's going on that we all know about. That we actually know about ... we know and they know ... who the perpetrators of the fraud are, and yet they cannot do anything about it because there's no tangible proof, and if you say anything to them, or if you insinuate and you suspect them, the repercussions are unbelievable. And they say 'oh, but you know you say that only because I'm black. You wouldn't be saying that to Janet, because Janet's white.'

[Babble].

C So everybody skirts around the issue, walks on eggs and ...

G It's very much a reversed *apartheid*, in a lot of ways. You cannot take up an issue with a black person without it being thrown back at you and you've actually got to reiterate it's not a racial issue, this is an issue regarding something you've done, but no, the race issue gets brought into it and you've actually got to kick it out all the time.

C My sister is a nursing sister at Red Cross Children's Hospital, and she's actually leaving them because of the same thing. So you're right.

G It's better in the private sector than the Government sector where the girls are just pouring out, and unfortunately, nursing is going to end up a black profession. And everybody has said that white girls that can get out are getting out. And that's very sad.

[Babble].

D ... a few women in the teaching profession the other day - exactly the same thing. Two of them have got children short of Matric and they said there is no way they will encourage their children to go into teaching, because it's also going that way. And the standards are so low - it's forty odd children in a class. You can't possibly keep up any standard of education.

As a woman, how do you feel about Mrs Jakobs?

A What did you think about Mrs Jakobs?

[Babble].

B She's very good.

[Babble].

G But how often do we get confused by ... some black people tend to get overboard with all the explanations of this 'new' up and coming South Africa. When they try and get so fancy and you have to say get back down and tell me what you want to say. You just have to put the TV on and listen to some of the politicians talking. You know it's frightening what we have regurgitated back to us in the TV.

R What did you think of her?

G Of who?

F Of her? I thought she was a disaster.

[Mirth].

A Not your cup of tea?

F No.

E That sort of person working in an office must be just terrible.

? Terrible.

E Not really enough education.

F But that's not her job.

D That wasn't her real thing. You know in the context of what this was, you know, in the farce - thing. That's how Cape Coloureds ... I've walked streets ... blocks behind them just to listen to the end of their stories.

B No. I enjoyed her. I thought she was very good.

C Trying, wasn't she?

B Jaaa, jaaa.

E She was a very ... only one that was really humanist per se, and she reacted to everybody

? The way she felt

E The way she felt. Whereas the others were trying to be more ...

R How did you feel about her as a woman? How did she come across to you as a woman?

? Naive.

[Mirth]

? Repressed.

R She couldn't take any responsibility ...

[Babble].

? [...] called on to Jabu [...] for help.

D [Didn't have the] self confidence to say no this isn't right or ... we'll do it that way.

G She showed a bit of oomph watching the movie [...]

[Mirth].

Do you know anyone like her?

A Do you know anyone like her?

G I think someone like ...

F In the work situation?

G No, not in the work situation ... my father's second wife.

[Mirth].

[Babble].

G She's no longer my father's second wife.

E She comes across as a very genuine person. I felt ...

[Babble].

? Naive.

? Is it that bad to be naive?

? Ja.

? Is it?

A Perhaps in that situation on the programme. It was bad to be naive, but if anybody watches *Egoli*, Lena on *Egoli* is very much like that. She's just herself in any situation. She doesn't try to be something she can't if she gets into a situation.

She just always herself. And perhaps in the situation that she's working in, that situation is beyond what she really is, but she doesn't try to pretend, she's just herself. And I think perhaps that's how you view her - as not being able to cope with what's happening around her.

- D Yes, but the part she plays, being naive like that it adds to the funniness of her.
- R Do you think that's a good idea that women should be shown in that light?
- D Oh no. Oh no. But if they're actresses, and that's their job, that's what you play - naive, not in real life.
- G In real life there are people ...
- F There are people like that.
- C There are people that are much stronger than she is. That's a fact. But I don't think that just came across as her part. I don't see it as a [...] portraying women ...
- D They want a job to be like that. In that particular situation.

What do you think of the way Squeeza, the Shebeen owner, behaves?

- A What do you think of the way Squeeza, the shebeen owner behaves?

[Babble].

- R Upstairs in the shebeen.
- E She had a green dress on.
- C Actually I think she's a real shebeen owner. They interviewed somebody on M-Net last night, and I'm sure it was her.
- ? Oh?
- C She's actually a shebeen owner.
- D She owns this shebeen in Houghton. Or somewhere like that in Johannesburg. She bought a big house, if it's the same person, because I heard most of that interview. And she has a shebeen.

[Babble].

- D The Gautengers absolutely adore her. It's like the English pub scene, where everybody comes in, and they have a drink and they sit around the table, and they're friendly and ...

How do you feel about the way the white men take on a new identity? (Klein Piet and the men in the construction business).

- A And what do you think about the way the white men take on a new identity?
- F I can't see Afrikaners doing that.

[Babble].

- E I think that is very far-fetched.
- C If that had been English people I could have ...
- E Coming from an Afrikaner background ...

[Babble].

- F Dyed in the wool Afrikaners. Dressed in Khaki!

[Mirth].

- D They should have had, what are those little Safari suits?
- E Safari Suits on.
- A I think Safari suits have gone up on the khakis.
- D Oh no - the khaki is very fashionable at the moment again.
- A Yes. So they wore fashionable khakis.

[Mirth].

[Babble].

- A What did you think, Sally?
- B Oh no, it was ...
- A Do you think it's realistic?
- B Oh no.

[Babble].

D They wouldn't go to that extreme. no. They'll go in there and fight and they'll stand their ground. But they certainly wouldn't change their identity now.

[Babble].

What can you say about the way the construction men include women, handicapped people and gays on their board?

F They're so against gays.

[Babble].

D Maybe the Afrikaners you know. In our situation, there's no way that the women stand back for the men.

A Even in business? In a construction ...

D A construction company? Construction company -yes. If that's what it needs. My sister-in-law - my brother's wife - she farms as hard as he does. They sit down and make decisions together, because that's their ... She goes out with him when he does something, or she goes on her own. So it's quite equal.

R OK.

D Look. I'm not saying all Afrikaners are like that.

F Isn't your brother dead off anything to do with gays for instance?

D Oh yes.

F I mean that is just not on. as far as Afrikaners go.

G Most males - they feel that way.

F Particularly Afrikaners. I think.

[Babble].

A Black people? You think that's something that's raising it's head now?

[Babble].

G It's uncomfortable to have around. People do feel uncomfortable.

[Babble].

G I have a sister who's handicapped and when we go out with the wheelchair, people often just walk away when they see us coming, because they feel uncomfortable.

F Eye contact.

What do you think of Mrs Jakobs' remark 'that in the new South Africa democratic people are colour blind'?

A Then how do you feel about Mrs Jakobs' remark that in the 'new' South Africa, democratic people are colour blind.

F I think that's coming, don't you? Don't think you're so much aware of ... Oh it was a black guy who said this to me, or was it an Indian? It was just a person. I think we are ... and especially ...

[Babble].

G My daughter, pre primary, heard that she can differentiate between black and white, because she's got curly hair. Little friend with her has got the curly hair, but she doesn't differentiate between white and Indians. The girl is the same, the only differentiate is the curly hair.

How does the mix of languages help or stand in the way of the characters understanding each other?

A And how do the mixed languages help characters understand each other?

R They have English, Afrikaans actually Sotho apparently ...

G Well her introduction was delightful. I think ...

[Babble].

A What sort of response are you expecting?

E Well I just thought that having the translator for the Afrikaans English, and, I mean, this guy just did things around the whole time, so actually doesn't help communication.

G It's like the old Schusler story ... As a South African, it's actually quite comforting when you hear all this slang put together. Because we are part of the culture, whether we like it or not. And sometime my brother in Canada said he was in a

pub somewhere and someone was talking and he heard some Afrikaans slang being put into something. His head swung around so quickly. He said 'Hell! Another African around here'. So it can be a comfort as well as being part of that nation. We all are there. We all use slang and other people don't know about ...

A And it's quite interesting when you say about the man coming in to translate from Afrikaans to English, when normally you would expect a translator to translate from the black language to English.

? Yes.

A But here he was actually translating from Afrikaans into English. So I wonder if that's telling us something?

[Babble].

G My kids can't wait to drop Afrikaans at school.

E But it also doesn't help communication.

A That's right.

R What?

A She's not for dropping Afrikaans, and that's from a young persons point of view, because she said we still have Afrikaans on TV, the sign, you know, maps, books, signposts, there's still so much Afrikaans, that she [...]. If they drop Afrikaans ... because people aren't going to know what's going on. And I think it's impractical to think you're going to drop Afrikaans and everybody's going to stop speaking it.

? [...] the most widely spoken ...

F There's sixty percent of people talk Afrikaans ...sixty percent!

G As Natalians, like my daughter says, she would rather learn Zulu because ...

[Babble].

C But I actually think, the language thing also depends on who the black people are ... the old school or not. Because I find that the people are coming into the bank, for instance you get the old people that will say that ... we've got this chap Mr Nkobo, comes in, he's got a hang of a sense of humour, and he always comes in and he insists on

greeting us in Zulu and just joking, you know, and he trying to teach us how to respond to him in Zulu, because to him it's very important - he says 'I've learned your language, so therefore you should learn my language'. It's fair enough. But then you get the other extreme that come in and they try to speak like we do, you know, they refuse to speak in Zulu, and they speak amongst themselves. This morning somebody, - and they were speaking - a family that came in and they were actually talking English to each other. They weren't even talking Zulu to each other at all, and she actually blasted the one girl at the bank - this person - and because of something that was done incorrectly, and she was very articulate in English and she ... I couldn't actually see her ...

[Babble].

A You may find that they were a family exiled and they just come back. They may not have been born and they may not have been living in the country for the past twenty years or something like that.

[Babble].

F ... much further than Zulu. Only Zulu. If they are going to move out of this country.

[Babble].

E This was my experience with street kids, when I was teaching. And I thought we better teach them to read. And we tried to introduce Zulu books- no they don't want Zulu books - they want to learn English.

? Oh really?

? [...] and that's as far as I go.

A Do you want to carry on with the next programme?

R Well, do you want to have a break?

[Babble]

What did you think about the music with the song and dancing?

A What did you think of the music and dancing?

E Actually that made a big impression on me.

Because I maybe want to change to be with the 'new' South Africa. But the music irritates me no end. And I just feel though I want to be a 'new' South African, I won't be able to because of certain things, ja ...

A What is it about the music that irritates you?

E The noise. The noise. And this boom boom boom boom.

[Babble].

A You know it just isn't the African music

E No it's not just the African ... It's the noise level and that beat. But to me it's all the same ... can't see the difference. And maybe it's my age, it's my culture, but I don't know if I can make that step and get into the swing of this.

D To accept people you actually have to accept their music.

E No, but it's that music ... it seems to be [...] that vitality, the whole ... it's not just the music ...-

D [...] the record, but I love that rhythm. I wish that I had a little bit of that there rhythm.

G They dance so beautifully.

E Oh, and by the time they start walking, you know, they already have this ...

F It's nice to watch it, but I wouldn't be [...]

? You mean you couldn't go *toyi -toying* down the road.

[Mirth].

R We now going on to the next episode here. OK.

What do you think of the way Reginald Cluver behaves towards all the different characters in the programme?

A What do you think of Reginald Cluver's behaviour towards all the different characters in the programme?

G Cluver. Now was he the white guy?

B Yes, white hair.

F Was he Rex Garner?

End of Tape

R Did you like it?

C Ja.

F We would like a lot of things, but ...

R Did you relate?

[Babble].

R OK.

Jabu always seems to get things mixed up in the story. What do you think about this?

A What did you think of the way Jabu always seems to get things mixed up in the story?

[Babble].

E He was the translator.

[Babble].

B He seemed to keep the whole office going and mixing everything up.

A And what? Mixing everything up?

C Ja.

[Babble].

G Just basically, that second one, I mean with the tapes he was ... instrumentally.

E I think he was the only one who actually knew what was going on.

[Mirth].

A He was actually organising all of this and laughing behind their backs.

[Babble].

D There again, it's part of the plot. You know if it's ...

? Always happens ...

D If he was very organised and the little secretary was very organised, can you imagine what a boring programme that would be?

? Ja.

D You know, because there's no story to it ... not one that would actually grip you. Ja, but make a TV programme.

G He was a likeable character.

D Yes.

[Babble].

D I look at him as the old 'chicken lickin' ...

[Mirth].

[Babble].

A And get into depths about it because ...

[Babble].

Mrs Kipling is the woman who finds the pornographic videotapes among her husband's possessions and wants a divorce. What do you think of the way she behaves in the programme?

A Mrs Kipling is the lady who found the pornographic video tapes in her husband's cupboard, and wants a divorce. What do you think of the way she behaves in the programme?

D She was stupid.

[Mirth].

[Babble].

A In what way?

G Well she couldn't really make any decisions for herself. She wanted somebody to come along and make the decisions for her.

A Wanda, what did you think about her?

E I thought she was a bit of a flippity jibbity youth.

[Babble].

[Mirth].

A Would you have watched it, Sally?

B Well my husband actually brought one home, oh, this was a few years ago, ...

A He got it from someone at work?

B ... and he started showing this and he said 'oh, I thought you would have liked to have seen it'.

[Mirth].

B But the little bit I saw was quite enough.

A The next question ... **Would we act like that?**

? No.

? No.

F [...] as in hell, what the blazes have you done? What's this? You wouldn't go running to a lawyer.

G She could of at least got round to confronting him.

A Do you think most people would confront their husbands?

? Yes.

[Babble].

C I'm not sure that I may not stew over it for a while.

G Oh no ways. I'd confront ...

F Oh really?

A Yes, I heard those words, I'm not saying that's the right thing to do but ...

[Babble].

A ... give some thought to it and wonder why ... what they're doing there and why he should have them and why his ...

[Babble].

A ... yes I know, but by confronting them, getting into a confrontal ...

[Babble].

[Mirth].

G I just pointed out ... I watched them all afternoon.

[Babble].

How is Brenda Armstrong, the videomaker, presented as a professional woman?

A OK. Alright. I don't believe that half of you are telling the truth. But anyway, how is Brenda Armstrong, the video maker presented as a professional woman?

F Not a very good image of the new black South Africa.

? No.

? Very poor.

G That didn't put herself, and black women in a very good light. From what the videos that she was making.

C Yes. She was nicely dressed ...

D Yes. She wore a very ...

[Babble].

D Very nicely dressed. But then what she did was obviously not up to standard. They were delighted [...].

[Babble].

C She came across as a dumb blonde.

D Ja.

[Mirth].

B I wonder what she would think if you called her a dumb blonde?

[Babble].

[Mirth].

What do you think about Mrs Jakobs secretly watching the pornographic video?

A What did Mrs Jakobs secretly watching the pornographic video remind you of?

E A request, a request.

D She didn't like what she was seeing, but she couldn't tear ...

B Curiosity.

? Ja.

[Babble].

A But first of all, she's obviously somebody who's never seen one before.

[Babble].

A But is that a generalization that most South African women have never seen a porno bio?

E I don't think so. I think we don't see them, we never have, we don't want to.

D Look, I don't know about teachers, but I grew up in such a narrow sort of community that ... I'm sure my friends don't sit and watch it ... pornographic ...

A No no, I'm not suggesting ...

G But then to say in our group. How many of you here have watched a pornographic movie?

R Me.

F I have.

E No.

G I have, so then now there's two of us ...

R We two out of ...

G You have? So there's three of us.

E Did you enjoy it?

R OK. I went with my husband. When we arrived in Houston, we had this thing, we had to go, and it was *Deep Throat*.

[Mirth].

R I'll never forget, what was so terrible was that we had to search for the place, we had a car, and we didn't know it of course, we were new, it was the sleaziest part of town, it was just ...

[Babble].

R We didn't realize that. So I was embarrassed to be there. I didn't feel comfortable, and they had a double feature, and I realised afterwards, the other one we saw was *The Devil in Miss Jones*, I think it was called, or something like that, which apparently is a famous porno ... I've not seen any others, but I know that a lot of the women that I spoke to ... and amongst younger women, they watch with their partners on a regular basis. They use as a foreplay. I've heard people ...

G He was more embarrassed than I was ...

[Babble].

G ...than any of them.

D You know, depends, I think, on your upbringing. My sort of Calvinistic background - I imaginesitting through a whole film like that. I don't even know what I think ...

[Mirth].

D I think some of the books ... You have these naked ...

[Babble].

[Mirth].

D I honestly feel, why don't these authors leave a little bit to your imagination. Do they have to absolutely write it down? I don't even believe that people behave like that.

[Mirth].

[Babble].

[Mirth].

There were a number of characters who seemed to want to watch the pornographic videwos. What do you believe is in the videos, that makes people want to watch them?

A OK. There were a number of characters who seemed to want to watch the pornographic videos. I think we've covered this ... What is in Porno videos that make people want to watch them? Well, no one here wants to watch them, so shall we go onto the next question?

R Unless somebody else wants to add anything.

G I think we have to ask the old school South African very much to do something that we should be doing because we had this very powerful government telling us what we could do and what we couldn't ...

A What do you think is wrong with watching as a consenting adult, with or without a partner? What do you think is wrong with watching?

[Babble].

A I don't think all porno movies are perfect ...

D Ja, you see I never watched one, so I can't make a distinction, but for somebody else ... everybody. I feel that these porn magazines, if you want them ... you know, prescribe to them or ... is that the right word? ...

? Subscribe.

D ... and let them subscribe. Get them through the post ... don't put them on the shelves where children can get hold of them.

A But they're quite strict on that now. I mean they don't ...

A Yes, there's some shops don't sell them, and others have them in plastic on the top shelves.

[Babble].

A Ian and I were saying that the other day. We used to have these friends, people went overseas, they would bring these magazines back ... even when I was at school, there were *Playboy* being handed around, and funnily enough, since they've been legalised here, I've never ever bought one.

[Babble].

[Mirth].

A What is upsetting apparently, as I was reading, that what was upsetting is that *Playboy* is not a pornographic magazine as such. It's not like *Hustler* or those ones that are really supposed to be bad. It's very similar to what *Scope* used to be. Because *Scope* went out as well. *Scope's* gone. Now *Playboy's* gone.

G I had a friend who's husband used to buy these magazines and she used to have them openly in her house. And it instilled such an anger in me at her, that she was always allowing him to have these

magazines openly. And I said to her 'isn't it an insult to you that he's got these magazines in front of your nose'. And everywhere you go - the toilet - or anywhere, and she ended up divorcing him a year later because he was a real bum anyway. But I decided that I can never be more angry with her for actually allowing him to get away with it.

Do you see taking away censorship of pornography as bad or good for the new South Africa?

- A Did you see taking away censorship of pornography as bad or good for the 'new' South Africa?
- G It's hard to put it. I would say good ... because again we're consenting adults and I think if someone wants to see it, they have a right to see it. And so long as South Africans we've being treated as children and our parents' generation were treated with a degree of ...
- D Ja, that's me. I'm possibly one of your parents' generation.
- G So, I mean, so from that aspect, I think it's good.
- E Oh no, I think it's good that there is somebody who ...
- ? Censorship?
- A Teenage daughters. What do you think of taking away of censorship?
- C It all comes back to upbringing. As you said, if you want to watch something like that, then you must be entitled to watch it. You must have the privilege of being able - that's not necessarily the right word, but you know what I want to say - to watch it. And with my children as teenagers, I don't think they would even want to watch it. So for me, it would never be an issue.
- A Not even from curiosity?
- C No, I honestly, I get embarrassed with that sort of thing. I wouldn't go and see *Basic Instinct*, because I'd be embarrassed. That type of thing and ...
- B It's on M-Net next month - watch it!
- C And I won't watch it!
- F It's boring, and it just goes on and on and on.
- C What? *Basic Instinct*?
- [Babble].
- F Yes, I didn't enjoy that at all. I ...
- B It's been on M-Net already.
- A And you? What do you think about this? Also having daughters, because I believe the boys et hold of it anyway. That's why I say ...
- B Jaa-a-a. It does worry me a little bit, excuse me. Just going back to that group ... the age restriction. There was one particular film ... I think it was [**] with Madonna in it. And it had a nought to thirteen age restriction. It was shocking. Well my younger one could have just switched on and watched it, you know, it's ... There has to be ... I don't know.
- C My children walk out. They know it --- they walk out.
- [Babble].
- B She would sit and just not accept that --- that's not acceptable.
- ? But, Jenny ...
- ? For example ...
- D But don't you think that these things are around, and better that they sit in your house and watch it ...
- [Babble].
- D Do you know that's not that when my children were young - there were things like that around that they could see. But you know, we discuss things like that and it's important that they see what is out there ... But as long as you ...
- G If you can teach your children a lot what is good.
- D Yes.
- C Wonder though. You know about all these things, but you wonder what does actually influence your children, because sometimes the general consensus is that TV influences children, or peer pressure or what. Just what goes on generally, or is it upbringing? It's just, the [name] child. This child, she's seventeen, she comes from a very nice

home, she goes to the same class as my daughter, she's just a normal teenager, and does ballet like my daughter does, goes to ballet three or four times a week [...] schoolwork. Now she's got this young boyfriend. They came to our house. We threw a dinner. My daughter had a dinner for her birthday party, and they came and there were boys and girls at this party and this boyfriend of [**] was there and I couldn't get over the behaviour of those two. Because these two were groping each other ...

D Oh no!

C ... can't believe it. They couldn't get enough of each other, and she was on his lap, and then he was on her lap and they just Everywhere they go they are sort of ...

B I can't stand it.

C ...and to me it's so surprising. Because it's not like her at all. Now I keep wondering what is it? Because it certainly isn't her parents, because they ...

F How are they coping with the situation? Aren't they [...] at home?

C I mean, she's just had her communion, what do the Catholics say?

? It's Confirmation.

C Confirmation. It was such a big thing in her life. All that and she had - not last Sunday - but the previous Sunday, she had her Confirmation. And last Sunday her mother spent the whole day in tears because she went to a *braai* with her parents and she got plastered at the *braai*.

E Oh, she must be on drugs!

C No, no, she's not. She was with her parents. Her parents were there and she was drinking with them and she started vomiting. And then her parents realized that she was And her mother cried the whole of Sunday. Well I must say!

[Babble].

C She comes from a very nice home. And her parents are conservative. They're very sporty. What's influenced that child?

[Babble].

D Also, what could have happened, her parents might have talked to her about this boyfriend.

[Babble].

G You know, the teenage children we're getting in on the Psychiatric Ward are violent. Psychiatrists say they always prick up their ears when they hear that this has been a perfect child. We've never had any problem. This has been my child, it's never given me any problems. And the ears go up. Because these are the children that end up with problems later. Why? Because they've been put on a pedestal.

[Babble].

G ... the expectations put on them as well. Have they actually ever been themselves? Up until that moment. Maybe she was at last coming into her own.

[Babble].

C I mean, after all, three kids, birthdays on the same day! Two of them are twins. But the twins are very good at what they're doing, and they play tennis and they're going all over South Africa. Play tennis all over. She tells me ...

[Babble].

C It makes you wonder.

In what ways do you think Edward Tsaba is a weak or strong character in the series?

A In what ways do you think Edward Tsaba is a weak or strong character in the series?

[Babble].

C I'd rather have him as my lawyer than Rex Garner.

G In fact, Jabu did more.

[Babble].

E Oh, he was weak, he was weak, but he was also the one [...]

C But he was, he came across as being pleasant.

G The Yuppie.

? Yes.

[Babble].

[Mirth].

E I thought he was sort of outshone by Jabu. Didn't really get to know the guy at all.

[Babble].

D I mean, he was too busy playing Yup.

E He was not convincing as a lawyer. Was he?

? He wasn't ...

? No.

B I don't think he came across as a very strong lawyer. No. He lacked that Oomph.

D Do you know, one has to look at all these characters in this farce situation that they're in. What could he have done? Because Jabu had to come in and translate, otherwise the scene wouldn't have worked.

G Jabu did all the suggesting that they go up and do all the name changing and bring in the bloude, the woman and the ...

[Babble].

C What did they call the guy in the wheelchair? Hopalong wasn't it?

[Mirth].

Richard Cluver says "it's a male thing". What does this mean to you?

A Richard Cluver says 'it's a male thing'. What does that mean to you?

[Babble].

A Well, I know I say at home. I say to him - oh, don't worry, I'll do that, it's a woman's thing that. Or I'll say to him - you must take the rubbish bags out, come on that's a male thing. It's just perhaps a joke at home, so it means more to us, but then you often hear people saying these days 'Oh, it's a male thing'. Oh, don't worry about that, Jenny, it's a male thing. If it's going into a pub or maybe

pornographic movies or *Hustler* and that are male things.

D Well, that's what he was talking about, wasn't it?

[Babble].

[Mirth].

[Babble].

R That's it? No more on the male thing?

D Oh, we could go on and on.

R Well please do. I mean, our Zulu women let me have it on that one. I think we're done.

C We don't react to that. If they think it's a male thing fine. Let them get on with it.

A What do you think of your relationship

C I mean, in my house, I don't have any separate things. Sometimes I do take out the rubbish. At other times John does what I ... No, there isn't a degree of [...]

[Babble].

D If I'm busy in the afternoon, he'll cook the dinner for me. He hasn't always done it. But since he's discovered Woolies, he cooks for me on a regular basis.

[Mirth].

D Henry supports Woolies.

A What were you saying, Wanda, in your home?

E In my home, this is my department and that is not my department.

R Really?

E And I'm beginning to hurl back, 'if it's not your department, it's not mine either. It just doesn't get done'. There are a lot of things I'm beginning to rebel against.

F I think that our daughters, for instance, they don't act like that at all. Their husbands and themselves are on the same footing.

[Babble].

- G And I think especially with the children. I think our children get so much more from their father than of my parents. Where very much father did this and mother did that. Father didn't go and wash the dishes or wash the children. With them that wasn't done. But when you see fathers from a young age changing nappies, looking after the children, while mother goes off on night duty ... which my husband did. Their relationship with the father is as close as their relationship with me. Whereas father often used to be a distant person ... that is to go to work and come home.
- D A slave.
- F In the [...] they did that quite a lot.
- D Now that we have grandchildren, my husband often says I missed out on all this. Because he used to go for a drink with the boys after work. He never came home until the children were either in bed or they were just ready to go to bed. He says I've missed out on my own children. So now we're trying to make up on our grandchildren.
- F You should hear how Isabelle moans ... that father of mine wrecks the kids!
- R But you know, the interesting thing for me, hearing you speak, is that the group that I saw last Saturday, they got very excited about this man, they actually got very upset, and they said no, no, we have laws now which protect us. And nobody in this room has talked about protection. We have laws which protect us. We will not let our husbands say they can do things that we can't do. But we can do everything, we can earn the same living.
- F Is this the black women?
- R This is our black women. So that's why it's so interesting. Nobody in this room brought up the legal aspect. That in fact is the law now, you are equals, whereas until nineteen ninety four you were not equals.
- [Babble].

GOING UP

Freda Group

Jan 16th 1997

Episodes:

- a The Case of the Historically Advantaged Pale Males.
- b Flexible Asian Models

Six Participants:-

- A = Estralita [**].
- B = Carin [**].
- C = Margerie [**].
- D = Helene [**].
- E = Joliena [**].
- F = Freda van Rensburg (Facilitator)

- R = Dorothy Roome. (Researcher)

A My name is Estrilita[**], and I live in Durban North. I'm married. I've been married for twenty two years. I've got two teenage boys. I'm a student councillor at our Lady of Fatima Convent. I love it there. because I love working with young people. I don't threaten them so they tell me everything, which is quite a revelation. I got involved with Street Thought at the University of Natal, which I think is very important for young women to empower themselves, to know this about testaments, wills, marital rights, that kind of thing. I'm very excited that more and more girls are going into so called male occupations. I really love my job. *Wat vir my baie belangrik is, is dat ek heel terloops in die werk gekry het, het begin weer 'n uur en 'n half 'n dag skool te hou en ek het geen geld gekry nie, maar ek is mal oor die werk. [In] my tweede bied hulle my 'n voltydse pos aan. Ek is baie lief vir sport. Ek speel sport, en ek hoop dat ek word nooit oud nie want dit is nie te lekker nie om met kinders elkedag, of hulle in standaard ses is of Martiek is, om hulle te orienteer. En hulle hou jou reg.* [What is very important to me is that I became involved in the job quite accidentally. I had started to teach for an hour and a half a day without pay, but I loved the work. After my second year they offered me s fulltime post. I an very fond of sport. I play sport. And I hope never to get old as it not nice in that state to be with the children for orientation, whether they are in standard six or matric. They keep you on your toes.]

R *Dankie, en nou, wie praat nou?* [Thank you, and who is on now?]

B *Ek is Carin, ek het nou net Durban to getrek van die Kaap af, wou pas begin werk na vier jaar se studeer in arbeids terapie. Ek is ongetroud en ek het twee jonger sisters as ek. Die een is nou in Standaard Agt, en die ander in Standaard Drie. My ouers is op die oomblik in Kempton Park in die Transvaal en my verloofde is in die Kaap. Op die oomblik is dit vir my 'n aanpassing [...] te wees, maar dit gaan elke dag beter. [I am Carin, I have recently moved to Durban from the Cape, about to start work after four years of study in Occupational Therapy. I am not married and I have two younger sisters. One is in standard eight and the other in standard three. My parents are at the moment in Kempton Park in the Transvaal, and my fiancé is in the Cape. At the moment it is still an adjustment (to be here), but it is getting better every day.]*

R *Dankie - en die volgende is?* [Thank you, and the next is?]

C *Ek is Margerie [**]. Ek gaan na Matriek toe, sien baie daarna, en ek hou van sport, gaan stap en ek hou van my hond en ek weet nie eintlik wat om te sê nie. [I am Margerie [**]. I am in matric and I see a lot beyond that. I am fond of sport. I walk and I like my dog, and I don't know exactly what to say.]*

R *Nou dis goed. Dankie.* [That's good. Thank you.]

D *Ek is Helene [**]. Ek is nou so ses maande in Durban. Ek het eintlik 'n vreeslike boring life. Ek is 'n Vrystaater, het eers in Bloemfontein gewerk en toe het die boere my rêrig plat gemaak, en toe is ek 'n bietjie Amerika toe, n jaar en 'n half daar gewerk as 'n arbeidsterapeut, en toe het ek hier gekom ... in Durban hier kom werk. Ek is ongetroud. Ek het nie 'n kat nie. Ek het nie 'n parakiet nie, maar ek het darem 'n sin vir humor. So verder geniet ek my werk. Ja, en dis dit. [I am Helene [**]. I have been in Durban for six months. I actually have a very boring life. I am a Freestater and first worked in Bloemfontein, but the farmers truly flattened me. Then I went to America for a while - worked there for a year and a half as an Occupational Therapist and then came to Durban to work. I am unmarried. I don't have a cat. I don't have a parrot, but I do have a sense of humour. I enjoy my work and that's it.]*

R *Dankie. Jolina? Is dit korek?* [Thank you, Joliena? Is that correct?]

E *Ja. Ek is Jolina [**]. Ek is 'n huisvrou op die oomblik, vir twee van die afgelope twee jaar. En*

ek het vier kinders. Twee groot dogters, twee seuns, en op die oomblik het ek nie 'n vreeslike interessante lewe nie, maar ek geniet dit in Durban op die oomblik. Ek het moeilik aangepas maar dit gaan al beter. Ons kom ook van die Transvaal, of Gauteng. En dis al. [Yes. I am Joliena [**]. I am a housewife at the moment and have been for the past two years. I have four children. Two grown up daughters and two sons and at the moment I don't have a very interesting life, but I am enjoying it in Durban at the moment. I adapted badly, but it's going better. We also came from the Transvaal or Gauteng, and that's all.]

R *Dankie.* [Thank you] And do you want to tell us who you are? Yes.

F *Ek is Freda van Rensburg. Ek is ook 'n arbeidsterapeut. Ek geniet my werk baie. Ek het drie kinders. Ook getroud. Ons is nou al vier jaar in Durban en dis die enigste plek om te bly. Dis al.* [I am Freda van Rensburg. I am also an Occupational Therapist. I enjoy my work very much. I have three children. Also married. We have been in Durban four years and it is the only place to be. That's all.]

What did you think of this episode in the "Going Up" programme?

D *Dis net die kleredrag is baie stereotiep. Daar is mense wat so lyk, maar dis omdat hulle so maar werk, dis nie dat hulle so lyk nie, of so wil lyk nie, en ook die individualiteit wat nie deur kom nie. Hulle het so mekaar nodig om ietsie te sê. En hulle is 'duh'* [It is just that the clothing is so stereotypical. There are people who look like that, because it's their workclothes. It's not that they are like that, or want to appear so, and also the individuality that shows through. They have the collective need to exoress something. And they are 'duh']

F *Afrikaners kan nie op hulle uie voete staan nie, en hulle moet mekaar steun om uit te kom.* [Afrikaners cannot stand on their own feet, and they need to support each other to survive.]

A *Daar'die ouens het eintlik 'n identiteits krisis.* [Those people have actually got an identity crisis.]

D *Hulle het 'n idetiteits krisis en hulle kan maklik hulle identiteit verander word.* [They have an identity crisis and they can easily change their identity.]

A *In plaas van jou identiteit te verander, verander dan ek jou houding, jou attitude. Maar jy hoef nie jouself te verander.* [Instead of changing your identity, change your attitude. But you don't have to change yourself.]

D *Glad nie jouself te verander nie.* [Not change yourself at all.]

C *Ek wil net sê omdat die Afrikaners so uitgebeeld word, - dis hoekom ons nie Afrikaners wil wees nie, ons wil Engels wees. Ons wil hê die Engelse moet dink ons is Engels. Verstaan u? Al die kinders wil Engels wees, ons wil nie Afrikaans wees nie.* [I just want to say that because the Afrikaner is so portrayed, that is why we don't want to be Afrikaners, we want to be English. We want the English to think that we are English. Do you understand? All the children want to be English, we don't want to be Afrikaans.]

F *Afrikaans [...] dis baie interessant.* [Afrikaans [...] it's very interesting.]

D *Dis sad.* [It's sad.]

E *Dis sad.* [It's sad.]

D *Dis sad vir my.* [It's sad for me.]

R *Are you saying - can I probe here a little bit? - I'm sorry. I can't really speak to you in Afrikaans, I can't get my thoughts across. But are you saying that at school that children, - the young people don't want to be perceived as Afrikaans, they prefer to be perceived as English? This is not at school. I mean, do you speak English or Afrikaans at school?*

C *Afrikaans, but, you don't want to be Afrikaans. I don't know, because maybe they see that English people [are] more cool ...*

B *Afrikaans is verkramp deesdae.* [Thesedays Afrikaans is so narrow minded.]

D *[...] Afrikaans is so verkramp.* [[...] Afrikaans is so narrow minded.]

R *Afrikaans is verkramp?* [narrow minded?]

[Babble].

E *Jy moet net na die Karoo gaan en jy sal sien hoe Afrikaans is nie verkramp nie.* [You just need to

go to the Karoo and you will see that Afrikaans is not narrow minded.]

D It's OK to be Afrikaans in the Karoo. but not when you live in Durban

A *Maar ek weier om dit te voel [...].* [But I refuse to feel [...]] You know the kids call me *mevrou* [madam]. And I mean, I teach them - guidance in English, but they call me *mevrou* [madam] - that's like my title. And they love hearing what my opinion is of things. Particularly when it comes to disciplining of your family, and mother and father as role models to young people. They love hearing that. They perceive Afrikaans men as being strong [...].

E *Dis Engelse kinders?* [English children?]

A *Ja, Engelse kinders. Hulle sê altyd, 'Mevrou, my dad's such an old slap thing, he always gets onto my mom. Dis hoe hulle praat.* [Yes, English children. They say all the time, 'Madam, my dad's such a limp old thing, he always gets onto my mom. That's the way they speak.]

R And they think Afrikaans men are stronger?

A *Ja.* [Yes]

R More male?

A No, just that their word is law, kind of thing.

R They admire that?

A [Yes]. They admire that. They want someone strong. Young girls don't want to be pushed around. And now - when they're sixteen, and not when they get married. They want someone that they can look up to. And English speaking teachers love having Afrikaans kids in their class, because they say they have manners ...

[Babble].

What did you think about the music with the song and dancing?

F *Wat het julle gedink van die musiek en dans in [die] eerste eene?* [What did you think of the music and dancing in the first one?]

B *Dit het 'n bietjie belaglik gelyk en geklink. Dits is [...] ek weet nie, hy moet iewer sy eie ding*

probeer doen, sy eie identiteit ontgin of as wat hy probeer wees, soos iemand anders wees. [It looked and sounded a little laughable. It is [...] I don't know, he must however try to do his own thing, develop his identity into what he is trying to be, like someone else.]

R Can you translate that for me?

B It's not as if he tried to be someone else. He didn't explore his own identity. He now became the snowman instead of just being Piet Gouws.

R OK. It's the identity thing you say didn't come off.

B *Ja.* And actually he's sitting in the middle. [...]

R Did you enjoy it?

C No, not me, it's not my taste.

R You don't like that?

C No, it's not my taste.

As a woman how do you feel about Mrs Jakobs?

F OK. *Hoe voel julle oor Mrs Jakobs?* [How do you feel about Mrs Jakobs?]

R You know anybody like her?

A I think there are quite a few people like that.

R People? Women? Men?

A I think both, but particularly women. She pretends to actually be something that she's not. I think she's totally lost identity and she's trying to please the new boss. She heavily leans on Jabu. Whenever she's got a crisis she calls him, and she actually sees him, I think, as her little saviour to solve her problems.

D She flips around ... this way and that way ... but actually, I enjoyed it. Just calm down!

R You enjoyed her performance or enjoyed the stereotype?

D Her performance.

R Then there's a sort of difference.

D There's a little bit of overacting there, I think. I think everyone overacts a little bit. They try to make the point through whatever, ...

[...]

Note

Two questions (#4 and #5) combined above.

What do you think of the way Squeeza, the shebeen owner, behaves?

F What did you think of the way Squeeza, the shebeen owner behaves?

R Do you remember the dancer?

A She wants everyone to be happy and relaxed. I think that's important to her that her clients are happy, and I think her main thrust is entertainment.

R Why?

A Because I think life is so tough and so stressful, that this is a little place that they can all go to and get rid of all their frustration and their hangups ...

R It's very interesting. Just quickly I want to ...

A Because they feel safe there, and you got in the residential areas, you got shebeens now, in Houghton and Sandton, and people go there and they just park their cars and they just socialise. Say you're relatively new here. If you new there, you go to the shebeen and you, have your events. Women can't go to the pub, because it gives a bad perception. So they go to the shebeen and they go as ... either they go as women or they go as men, and they just relax.

D And like for instance, [**] is in a class we went to the Tekweni Junction one evening, the whole class. And it was more or less, when I saw that scene from the shebeen ... it was like being transferred back to the Tekweni Junction, because that's actually how it is. The music plays and everyone just stands and moves and dances.

F And you don't have to go to the dance floor to dance, you just do it where you are.

D No - just stand, you just do whatever you want.

F And going to that shebeen in ... I was terrified before we got there. Actually felt like running away. Before we walked into the door I wanted to turn around and run away. Leave this place. And it's lovely.

D I expect I expected something worse.

F I also didn't expect that.

D I expected dark alleys, had to park your cars and then crawl in the door. And here was this lovely parking space, with a guard outside and we walked up inside and actually there were about eleven black people and they watched us like hawks. It's supposed to be the other way around, you know. It's supposed to be blacks going to white places now. Twelve white pale faces! And ja, and we just mingled, I mean ...

[Babble].

B It was so good.

R Next question.

How do you feel about the way the white men take on a new identity? (Klein Piet and the Men in the construction business).

F How do you feel about the way the white men take on a new identity?

D It was interesting to see that they didn't just take a name and a surname. They each had two names and a surname. Like Benjamin whatever Khumalo.

F Maybe that comes from their Afrikaans background. You have a string of names.

[Babble].

What can you say about the way the construction men include women, handicapped people and gays on their board?

F What can you say about the way the construction men included women, handicapped people and gays on their board?

D I enjoyed that. I know it's not realistic, but ...

F Part of the new constitution ... rights for everyone. Now ...

R Why did you enjoy it? That's my question to you.

F Because gays have come out of the cupboard for the first time in the history of South Africa. I mean, I've just discovered that, I won't mention, but a very close relative, their son has been gay now for like thirty years, and now he feels free. His parents feel comfortable about it and I don't feel differently about him. And he's the same person that I know. It's just now he can pursue his own identity.

R Any other comments on that? Because I'm very interested in that whole concept about people. Because it's a taboo subject still in our society to talk about how you feel about this. Because there was a big send up in this thing. I mean, I know gays, I don't know that by behaviour like that ...

[Babble].

D You also get your certain types, you get your queens and your whatever's, and those two were definitely queens.

R Ja, that's what they call a Nellie, as they say in the States. It's a Nellie.

D But I must say, I enjoyed them.

R You enjoyed them. OK. We know where you're coming from.

D I'm a Freestater.

C There's lots of them that I like. I still don't approve.

R You don't approve?

C I don't approve, but I laughed at them, but I don't approve of them. I know it might seem a ... their ideas, but I don't approve.

R You don't approve of that?

C Ja.

R OK. Well that's interesting.

[Babble].

B *Dis fine om nie saam te stem, maar moet mense gemeentheid gee. Ek ken baie, ek ken baie mense,*

ek ken gay mense, en hulle is nice ... maar ek moet sê ek sal nie gemaklik voel saam met gay vrouens nie. [It's fine to disagree, but one must give them community. I know many, I know gay people, and they are nice ... but I must say I would not feel comfortable with gay women.]

E *Ek stem met jou saam. Ek dink mans is die grootste fun om met saam te wees omdat jy gemaklik kon wees, maar vrouens is 'n ander ding nou. [I agree with you. I think men are the greatest fun to be with because you can be at ease, but women are another thing.]*

F *Ons [...] gehad oor seksualisme toelaat [...]. [We [...] had over allowing sexuality.] Shall I speak English for your sake?*

R Well I don't know. It's just how you're comfortable to say it. Ja, I can understand it. It's just sometimes I get stuck.

F *[...] twee lesbians op die paneel gehad. [...] dis 'n [...] en ek was woedend toe, ek wil uitloop. Die een, as iemand iets gesê het oor God, het sy gesê noem jy hom 'hy' [...] En so dis so te sê. Ek sal [...]. En daar was ook mense in die gehoor wat haar bietjie aangepak het daaroor. Ek gaan lieve saam met die gay men as saam met die lesbians. Dis vir my meer aanvaarbaar. Maar ek ken nie baie nie, net daardie twee wat baie aggressief was. Dit was ... [[...] two lesbians on the committee [...] it's a [...] and I was furious, I wanted to walk out. The one, whenever anyone said anything about God, stated you called God 'him' [...]. And that's the way it was. [...]. And there were people within earshot that took her to task over that. I would rather be with gay men than with lesbians. It is more acceptable to me. But I do not know many, just those two that were so aggressive. It was ...]*

R You know I did a lesbian group for the *Suburban Bliss*.

F That must have been interesting?

R Very interesting. Because they saw all the sort of patriarchal aspects of what was going on in ... But the most interesting thing for me ... these women who had been through identity

break in recording

A We went to the premiere of **Philadelphia**, and the evening was in aid of a Hospice started for gay

HIV positive patients. I went with a lady. I went with her to [...] line and ninety percent of the people were gay men or gay women. And I think of myself as being quite enlightened, but I must be honest with you. when they served the food, the first thought that crossed my mind was 'gee! I wonder who prepared this'. Being enlightened is ... until I thought to myself, now don't be ridiculous in the ... oh, then they had a guest speaker from the University who is the Dean of the Faculty ... who I happen to know ... came up and said 'I'm also gay'. And I think I cried more than anyone else in the audience, because there was so much pathos and so much empathy with this guy. Um ... but to me it was quite frightening to think that I could have thought 'Wie het hierdie kos gaar gemaak? Was hulle hande gewas? Het hulle [handskoene] aangehad?'. [Who cooked this food? Did they wash their hands? Did they wear gloves?] Just shows you how hypocritical you can be.

What do you think of Mrs Jakobs' remark 'that in the new South Africa democratic people are colour blind'?

- F [...] Mrs Jakobs' remark. Mrs Jakobs' remark that in the 'new' South Africa democratic people are colour blind.
- E That's ironic. but not true.
- D Ja. they should be.
- F It's just a cover.
- B It's not ideal. I think ...
- D It's supposed to be a rainbow nation. But on the other hand when you get a letter from the University of Natal. you open the newspaper. it says 'affirmative ...'
- C Affirmative action
- D So they are in fact ...
- C Affirmative action is ...
- D ∴ not colour blind.
- F Nor are many things.

How does the mix of languages help or stand in the way of the characters understanding each other?

- F With all the mixed languages - how do the characters understand each other.
- A That's very good.
- D We have eleven official languages now, so we ...
- R I want input here. because you have people here who speak two languages well. So it's very interesting for me to see how you felt.
- F I can just say oh! rather than having the English translations on the screen. reading that ...
- [Babble].
- R So I mean, do you think it's good or bad to really have this mix of languages in a play like that?
- A I think you've got to have the words at the bottom.
- R The subtitles.
- A So many of my parents can't speak a word of Afrikaans. And these kids - and they've been in the country for a long time. really, - these students say but my mom can't help me. she can't speak a word. So although we take for granted we understand it. not everybody does.
- R No. Certain ladies couldn't speak Afrikaans at home so they couldn't understand. In the earlier production of *Going Up*. the didn't used to translate the Afrikaans. They would just leave it. and they said they didn't understand what was going on. they couldn't follow the story. So that's interesting.
- A Beause Jabu was a star. I mean he was like jumping from one hat ... he had three hats that he was wearing. You like him. He was such a likable person.
- C Ja. It's good experience.
- F Ja. I didn't like him in that [chicken ad]. He was this greasy guy to me and I haven't really watched the whole programme on this before. But I changed my mind about him. He was a very good actor. You had enough?

- R Ja, I mean, you know, how do you feel about this language ...
- E *Ek kan sê my broer het vir sy werkers op die plaas, het hy televisie gekry, en hulle het gekla omdat alles Engels is, hulle kan dit nie verstaan nie. Hulle verstaan Afrikaans, hulle praat Engels, hulle is tweetaal Afrikaans, en die meeste dink hulle praat 'n ander taal op televisie. Hulle praat Afrikaans en hulle verstaan Afrikaans. [I can say my brother got a television for his workers on the farm, and they complained that everything was in English, they couldn't understand it. They understand Afrikaans, they speak English, they are bilingual, and the majority think that another language is spoken on the television. They speak Afrikaans and they understand Afrikaans.]*
- D [*...] en in Namibia, daardie Hereros en Uvambos praat net Afrikaans ...* [[*...] and in Namibia, those Hereros and Uvambos speak only Afrikaans.]*
- E *... praat Afrikaans en hulle het gekla omdat hulle kinders nou gaan Engelse skole toe, so Afrikaans kan hy nog nie afskryf nie. Daar's nog 'n groot persentasie wat Afrikaans praat. [... speak Afrikaans and they complained that their children are now going to English schools, so that they will be unable to write Afrikaans. There's still a large percentage that speak Afrikaans.]*
- R And how do you feel? Did any of you watch that programme on Afrikaans a few weeks ago. A documentary.
- R Yes yes. What did you think about that?
- D Oh to be honest. I think I watched about ten minutes.
- R You were bored?
- D And then I switched it off.
- F What was it about?
- D It was about the history, or the behind the scenes of the development of Afrikaans. How Afrikaans actually developed and *ek het nie daarvan gehou nie, want dis nie die idee wat ek gehad het van hoe Afrikaans ontwikkel het nie. Dit was as soos een episode wys. [...] die kleurlinge [...] mekaar net in die kooi gespring in, ensovoorts, ensovoorts. Ek meen, ek dink dis nasty. [I did not like it, because it was not the idea that I had of*
- how Afrikaans developed. It was as one episode showed it [*...] the coloureds [...] together jumped into bed, etcetera, etcetera. I mean I think it's nasty.*
- D *Nee, dit was vir my die moet nou erense ... ek weet nie 'n negatiewiteit om eintlik vir ons te wys, maar kyk hoe was julle Afrikaans nou eintlik gewees. [No, for me it must be somewhere ... I don't know, to actually show a negativity to us, but look how your Afrikaans was originally.]*
- [Babble].
- D *But ek meen ons is nie engeltjies nie. [I mean we are not angels.]*
- ? *Rêrig waar. [Really true.]*
- D *Maar dis nie nodig om iets op daardie manier aan te pak nie. Dit was vir my totaal [...]. [But it is not necessary to parcel something up in that manner. It was for me totally [...]]*
- F [*...] dink ook as die Afrikaans word so uitgebeeld. Daar's baie min goeie Afrikaans. Goeie Afrikaans word so opgebeeld op televisie. [[...] think also if the Afrikaans is so portrayed. There's very little good Afrikaans. Afrikaans is portrayed like that on television.]*
- D *Dit is vir my soos ons Afrikaners wat hierdie Calvinistiese siening van Afrikaans, hoe Afrikaans gekom get. Hoe ons geveg het vir Afrikaans en mense [...] wêreld [...]. [It seems to me that our Afrikaners, that had this Calvinistic approach as to how Afrikaans came about. How we fought for Afrikaans as people [...] world [...]]*
- ***End of Tape***
- D *... in die tronk gesit het as gevolg van die groepsgediede wet. En omdat hy's getroud met 'n Libanees. In daardie tyd was dit totaal en al teen alles wat [...] dit was onder andere ook en oor sy uitgesprokenheid teen 'n regering. Maar ek dink nie baie van dit het verander by hom, ek dink net ons het verander. [... sat in jail as a result of the Group Areas Act. And because he married a Lebanese. In those days it was totally against all that [...] it was amongst other things also about his outspokenness against the government. But I don't think this changed him much. I think that we have changed.]*

- A *Ons sien nie alles meer as 'n rooi gevaar nie.* [We don't see everything now as the red peril.]
- D *Ons sien nie meer alles as 'n rooi gevaar nie, ek meen en ...* [We don't see everything now as the red peril. I mean and ...]
- A *Ons was baie ge-indoktrineer.* [We were indoctrinated a lot.]
- D *As ek dink aan toe ek groot geword het. Ek meen, Breyten Breytenbach het ons nie sommer gelees nie. As jy 'n boek van hom kan kry. En 'Dry White Season' het jy op maar so onder neer gelees. 'Cry the Beloved Country', teen die anderkant so gelees. En ons het nie rêrig oor daardie issues gepraat nie. En ek het van die platteland kekom, waar ons nie oor daardie issues gepraat nie. Het dit nie aanvaar. En hoe ouer jy word ...* [If I think about the time I grew up. I mean we just did not read Breyten Breytenbach. If you could get one of his books. And *Dry White Season* was read surreptitiously. *Cry the Beloved Country* also. And we actually never discussed those issues. Did not accept. And the older you became ...]
- F *Ek het in Johannesburg groot geword, en ons het ook nie daarvoor gepraat nie. Die regering [...] In die negenties het ons begin hoor wat die regering eintlik aangevang het. Dis vir my 'n groot skok. Ons was onbewus van al die gemors wat eintlik aangegaan het, nie daarvoor gepraat nie. Die Pers mag nie dit eers uitgelaat het nie. Dit moet stilgehou gewees het.* [I grew up in Johannesburg, and we also did not discuss that. The government [...]. In the nineties we began to hear what the government actually did, but never talked about it. For me it is a tremendous shock. We were not aware of all the mess that was going on - did not talk about it. The press was not allowed to publish it. It had to be suppressed.]
- A *In negentien sewentig was ek in matriek, en ons was in 'n parallel medium skool in Paarl. En gewoonlik kies hulle so een prefek was nou soort van 'n Engelse klas is. Ek toe is nou die prefek [...] ek mag nie na die [**] se leier kamp gaan want ek was so genaam in Engels. En ek het verskriklik gerebeleer daarteen. Ek het vir my pa gesê 'maar hoe kan ek nie na daardie kamp toe gaan nie'. Ek verantwoord in Afrikaans. Ek doen Afrikaans en Engels, eerste taal. Hoe kan hulle vir my sê ek is te Engels? [...]. So selfs binne die Afrikaans gemeenskap in daardie dae.* [In nineteen seventy I was in Matric, and we were in a parallel medium school in Paarl. Usually they chose one prefect that was from the sort of 'English' class. I was the prefect [...] and I was not allowed to attend the (**) leadership camp, because I was so fluent in English. I rebelled against that. I said to my father 'but why can't I go to that camp?' I am Afrikaans. I do Afrikaans and English as a first language. How can they tell me I am too English? [...]. So also within the Afrikaans community in those days.]
- R That's very interesting, because it's an identity thing that. It's closing boundaries.
- A *Ek gaan julle iets baie intiem vertel. Dit het my pa so geraak, dat my pa uit die Afrikaans kerk is. En ek is toe aangeneem in Kroonstad. Ek was baie gelukkig in die Methodist Church. omdat dit was nie an issue watter taal ek gepraat het nie. [I am going to tell you something intimate. It so affected my father that he withdrew from the Afrikaans church. And I was accepted in Kroonstad. I was very happy in the Methodist Church, because it was not an issue what language I spoke.]*
- F *Snaaks dat jy dit sê, want een van die rede waarom ons uit die NG kerk is, is omdat my kinders op 'n Engelse skool is. Die Afrikaanse kinders in die NG kerk het teen my kinders gediskrimineer. [...] en dan het hy gehuil en wou nie Sondagskool toe gaan nie. So dis nog steeds so.* [Strange that you should say that, because one of the reasons why we left the NG church was because my children were at an English school. The Afrikaans children in the NG church discriminated against my children. [...] and then he cried and would not go to Sunday school. And it is still that way.]
- R So what you're saying is your children in the Afrikaans church, were discriminated against, because they spoke ... Oh, because they went to an English school - I kind of missed that.
- F And he could only read English at that stage. Because he was in grade one. So he couldn't read a little bit out of the Bible or out of their books or whatever.
- R OK. It's interesting. It's this identity thing - it's to do with closing boundaries. When you think about it, it makes a lot of sense. The way you keep an identity is to close the boundary. And that way you set up those artificial boundaries so you will know you belong there. But actually those

boundaries don't really exist. It's just that people place those boundaries there. And that's why in this 'new' South Africa those boundaries are open and it's more your generation that will make that move whatever those boundaries are.

D *Maar ek dink dat [...] is presies wat gebeur het met homelots, toe die Engelse [...] vroer burgher oorlog. [But I think that [...] is exactly what happened with homelots, when the English [...] earlier Boer war.]*

? *Toe ons deur die Engelse onderdruk is om Engels te praat in skole, ons oupas en oumas het gerevoleer deur net Afrikaans begin te praat. En dis waar begin dit 'n eksklusiewe Afrikaanerdom op te bou. En presies dieselfde [...] Engelse [...] nie blankes, moes inval by ons en ons het die Afrikaanerdom opgebou. En nou gebeur presies dieselfde ding heeltemaal weer oor. Die [...] hulle wil nie meer wees soos dit nou is nie. Hulle wil anders wees. [...] [When we were forced by the English to speak English in the schools, our grandparents revolted by starting to speak Afrikaans only. And it was here that an exclusive Afrikaanerdom was built up. And precisely the same [...] English [...] non whites had to join us and we built up the Afrikaanerdom. And now precisely the same thing is happening all over again.]*

[...]

R It's so interesting, isn't it? It's just ... it's just a means of communication, but you're not saying all the things that go with that and who you are. Like you said you didn't like stereotyping - being stereotyped. That's very interesting. Great stuff tonight. OK.

What do you think of the way Reginald Cluver behaves towards all the different characters in the programme?

F What do you think of Reginald Cluver's behaviour towards all the different characters in the programme?

A He never takes a stand. He never takes a stand. Well whatever they say he says 'Oh, well, yes, if you feel like it.' and 'whatever you say ... never takes a stand. He's sitting on the fence.

R Do you think that's typical of an English speaker? English speaker of that ... of that identity. I'm

being controversial now. I just want to ...

D No, I don't really think so.

A No, I don't see [...] language. I see it typical being a male lawyer, keeping a client happy.

[Babble].

R So would you say if you were an Afrikaans lawyer, you'd behave in the same way?

A I think we would - yes.

R So you think it's the legal profession that makes things like that?

A It's like in America - the client is always right. I mean you don't argue with a client. When she said her husband was a skunk, he said ja, if you want to abuse him verbally. And then she came back and said something else, but that was also fine, so ...

R He was behaving like a lawyer.

A If you think of it, that other guy Thabo, the other lawyer, he also didn't really take a stand. He didn't even know the proper facts, he didn't avail himself with the proper facts. He watched the tape, but he didn't even offer. He said a warning earlier.

? No.

F Got to see it myself.

Jabu always seems to get things mixed up in the story. What do you think about this?

F What do you think of the way Jabu always seems to get things mixed up in the story?

D Jabu?

R The black guy.

D Ja.

R The interpreter.

D Ja. Actually I felt that he was the guy who sorted everything out! He was only sort of [...] just put in the cnpboard.

F Do you think he was the most open-minded - I mean he knew the most about all the different ...

D He said he was the associate there.

[Babble.]

B The senior translator/associate.

? Of course yes.

R What do you think of him as a black man?

A Not efficient.

? I think it fits him.

R OK. But the character?

A Maybe he's got more potential than just being the translator.

D He's got the gift of the gab, ja.

R Executive Services - as he called himself. not the tea boy.

? No.

R Executive Services.

D Ja.

R So.

D He's actually the guy who accomplished more than the two attorneys and the secretary.

F He's the guy who keeps everything going in there.

R What did you think of him. Margerie?

C Jabu?

R Yes.

C I think he was more open. He was open - ja sort of open. He sort knew everything. *Hy het alles geweet van alles maar hy was een wat hy is minder ernstig, hy is ...* [He knew everything about everything but he was one who was less serious. he is ...]

D *Tong in die kies.* [Tongue in cheek.]

C *Ja, hy het nie geweet hy was die oplossing van die store nie, maar hy het dit gedoen. Ja, en hy het Piet se bas gered. Hy was bereid om homself te verbind.* [Yes, he did not realise that he was the solution of the store. but he did it. Yes, and he saved Piet's hide. He was prepared to comit himself.]

? *Het erken hy ken hierdie ou.* [Acknowledged that he knew this person.]

F *En as jy ook so daaraan dink, hy was, die enigste een wat nie 'n identiteids krisis gehad het nie.* [And if you think about it he was the only one who did not have an identity crisis.]

[Babble.]

R That's a very interesting point. Because he could change languages like changing shoes. So that he kept his inner core.

F He was still the same person.

R That's a very good point! So he kept like an inner stability. It was there and yet he could be ...

F He was at ease with himself.

R Ja.

F You know I missed all of this!

R Do you know anybody like that? I'm not saying Jabu - black Jabu wearing the jacket. but that sort of core of a person, who's very comfortable. can move in different identities.

F Know anyone like that?

R Your husband? That's true - he is like that.

Mrs Kipling is the woman who finds the pornographic videotapes among her husbands possessions and wants a divorce. What do you think of the way she behaves in the programme?

F Mrs Kipling is the woman who finds the pornography amongst her husband's possessions and wants a divorce. What do you think of the way she behaves in the programme?

D Oh yes. Ja. OK. Impulsive.

F And she was not being unloyal towards her husband and she got very poor communications.

A OK. I think that she doesn't claim any justice by almost bringing him in bad favour. and you know. just by jumping to conclusions.

F She was English speaking.

A And she was very worried about what Daddy would think. Was at the Country Club - it cost thousands of rands. Her English was very important. not the inner core as you say. She was a very superficial kind of character.

*****Break in video recording*****

F *Jou liggaam is veronderstel om 'n tempel vir God te wees en Porno maak dit heeltemaal tot niet. En omdat ek 'n Ma is met klein kinders ... Hier is 'n winkel hierbo wat Porno verkoop. En ons het hom geboikot. Ons gaan glad nie daarna toe. Ons gaan nie daar koop nie. Want ek wil nie hê my kinders moet aan sulke goed nou al blootgestel word nie. Ek kan sê baie mense het hulle geboikot, want hulle het nou 'n sticker op hulle venster wat sê hulle is 'porn free'. [Your body is supposed to be a temple for God. and Porn reduces it to nothing. And because I'm a mother with small children There is a shop above us here that sells porn. We boycotted him. We never go near there. We will not buy there. Because I do not want my children to be exposed to such stuff. I can say a lot of people boycotted them. because they now have a notice in their window that says they are 'porn free'.]*

R OK. Alright then.

F I'm sorry, I just want to say one more thing.

R Yes. please do.

F I don't know whether I'm very uninformed maybe. but we never see naked males in a magazine. it's always the women who are targeted.

R Well it's because there aren't enough of those here. but there's lots in the States.

F You've ever saw them?

R Shame!

[Mirth].

R So you're not telling. OK. Well if you can't be freely spoken. what can I say? OK.

E *Toe ek klein was kon ons nie eers 'Kyk' geles nie. Dit was verbied. Ons moet dit wegsteek as u dit wil lees. Was nie eers pornografie nie. Maar vandag se pornografie! Ek wil nie graag hê my seuns moet na dit kyk of lees of iets nie. Ek het al van dit gesien en daar is nie eintlik swart vrouens wat hul gebruik nie. Dis net van wit damens. Nou wonder 'n mens maar net daaroor. Ek dink dat nou dat dit oop is - enige iemand kan dit inlees - dis nie meer - wat is die woord? [When we were little we couldn't even read 'Kyk'. It was forbidden. We had to hide it if we wanted to read it. Wasn't even pornographic. But today's pornography! I do not want my sons to look at or read it. I have seen them and they do not use black women. It's just white ladies. Now a person wonders about that. I think that now that it is above the counter - anyone can read it - it is no longer - what is the word?]*

R Like forbidden - ja.

E *Ek dink hulle gaan dit miskien nou openlik lees en daarvan vergeet. Dit gaan dit wees. Dis nie meer verbode terrein nie. [I think they will read it openly now and then forget about it. It will be so. It is no longer forbidden territory.]*

E *Dat hulle gaan gou gewoonnd daaraan. en daar is dit verby. Solank dit nog verbode was, wou almal dit lees en dis onder die tafel geles. Jy kon nie daaroor iets sê nie. Nou is dit oop. Nou kan jy daaroor praat. Jy kan hulle verbied om dit te lees. Ek het daarvan gesien en ek was nogal geskok om te sien. So ek hoop maar nie. [That they get accustomed to it very quickly and then it's past. As long as it was forbidden. everybody wanted to read it and it was done so under the table. You could say nothing. Now it's in the open. Now you can talk about it. You can forbid them to read it. I have seen them and am still shocked. So I hope not.]*

R Are you talking about books or videos?

E *Boeke. Dit is vir my nie aanvaarbaar. Ek kan nie aanvaar nie. So ek hoop maar net dit verdwyn op 'n stadium. [Books. It is not acceptable to me. I cannot accept. So I can only hope that it will disappear at a stage.]*

R Are you saying you regard it as a choice or are you saying that because it's there you think people

- won't --- I'm not quite sure if I understand what you're saying. Because it's there people won't investigate it - because it's freely available.
- E *Ja. Wat is die ou in die program? - het gesê, hy raak gewoon daaraan. Dit kan nie erger word nie.* [Yes. Who was the person in the programme - he said he becomes accustomed to it. It cannot get any worse.]
- ? It becomes boring.
- E It becomes boring. *So ek hoop dit gebeur, want ...* [So I hope it happens, because ...]
- D *Ek stem nou saam met Frieda. Die fliëk wat ek dink was die naaste aan was 'Basic Instinct'. Want ek het dit byna nie oorleef nie. En die is vir my baie erg gewees. Om alleen daar - en ek was alleen in die fliëk gewees. En dis vir my nog als erg gewees, ek sou beter kon hanteer as ek dit alleen gekyk het. Maar wat beëke en dinge aanbetref ek het seker my lewe al 'n Playboy of Hustler of iets gesien. En ek stel nie belang daarin. Dis vir my, dis my erg om te dink dat 'n vrou se ligaam so gebruik moet word. Is my erg om te dink dat daar vrouens kan wees wat toelaat dat hulle so afgeneem word. Dit is net vir my ...* [I agree with Freda. The movie that I thought was the nearest was 'Basic Instinct'. I nearly didn't survive it. It was for me very bad. To be alone there - and I was alone in the cinema. And it was still bad, I could have handled it better if I had watched it entirely alone. But what rills and things concerned, I have surely in my life seen a *Playboy* or a *Hustler*. And I have no interest in them. For me it's my vexation to think that a woman's body is used in such a manner. It is my vexation to think that there are women that allow themselves to be taken down like this. It is to me ...]
- E *Ek dink net hulle moet onder dwelms wees of iets. Ek dink nie jy kan positief wees nie om so ...* [I think they must be on drugs or something. I do not think you can be positive to ...]
- D *Wat doen jy as jou kind eendag daardie boeke in die hande kry en hy staar sy moeder in die oë? In America sê mens dat is die winkels ongelooflik. In Philadelphia is ek voor hierdie winkel afgeneem : peep show, whatever, en ons het nooit in een ingegaan nie. Ons kon nie. Ek meen, ek is so groot gemaak. Ek kan nie. Ek is liberaal tot op 'n punt en dan is ek vreeslik koekig. Ek kon nie, ek kon nie daar ingaan nie.* [What do you do one day when your child gets his hands on those books and looks his mother in the eye? In America people say the shops are unbelievable. In Philadelphia I was in front of one of these shops : peep show, whatever, and we never went inside one. We could not. I am liberal up to a point and after that I am very flakey. I could not, I could not go in.]
- R *Ek vra vir jou. Maar as jy dit in jou huis kon bring?* [I ask you. But if you could have it in your home?]
- D *Ek dink as ek groot geword het daarmee ...* [I think if I had grown up with it ...]
- R But if you could bring it to your home ...
- D Uh huh.
- R ... would you do it?
- D No. I don't think so. I don't want it in my home.
- R OK. Let's hear from the young - the very young - the future. Let's hear from the future here. What did you think?
- C I think ...
- R [...]
- C OK. I read in a magazine that a woman was asked if she would pose, naked and she said it depends on whether it is stylish [...] how she poses. But I think it's cheap - but I also think that we are the first generation that grows up with TV, so I think that when we are older - or our kids, they might not feel such resentment or [...] so against it because they grew up with it.
- R You say it's like moving away from what was ... tighter kind of morality into a more open society ...
- C Ja. I think, they more used to it and they don't actually know that it's wrong.
- R OK. OK.
- C But I think there still is a lot of kids that could not accept it. It depends on the home they grow up in.
- R OK.
- B *Ek stem saam met Frieda. Vir my is dit heeltemaal onaanvaarlik ek sal ook nie eendag in my huis wil hê, of wil hê my kinders of man moet*

daarna kyk nie. Anderkant dit is die aspirasie dat ek myself het maak tot 'n mate voel ek - jy kan eenkeer daarna kyk om te sien waaroor dit gaan en dan besluit dit is onaanvaarbaar en dan is dit goed so maar ek dink [...] mate, of dit is maar eintlik siek dat mense so uitgebring word veral vrouens en ek kan nie eintlik verstaan hoekom nie. Dis vir my... ek weet nie. [I agree with Freda. To me it is totally unacceptable and I will not want it in my home, or want my children or husband to look at it. On the flip side is the aspiration that I myself have - to a degree I feel - you can look at it once to see what it's all about and then decide that it is not acceptable and then that is good. But I think [...] if it is actually sick that a person is so exposed, especially women. and I can't actually understand why.]

R OK. Estrelita?

A I believe that anything that is exploited . whether it's an animal or ivory. or whether it's a person for cheap labour. or whether it's a woman for her body. as being unacceptable. It's totally unacceptable. I do also believe that it's not the Government's job to legalise or not legalise this kind of thing. The fact that it is available shouldn't be a go ahead for me to go and buy it. My morals should be so strong that I would say to myself that I'm not interested in this. My biggest fear is I've got two boys. Now I would be totally embarrassed if I had to watch a movie that was four to eighteen and my kids had to sit there and I've got this impulse to jump up and to switch it off because so many boys have asked me *maar Tannie, wanneer mag jy sondig?* [But Auntie, when can one sin?] What do you mean -when can you start sinning? They perceive when you are eighteen. if you can go to all those over eighteen clothes and can go and read all these magazines and you can watch any movie you want to. And these aren't my children - these are children that I give Catechism to. So I strongly believe in that. I would say to my children - these books are available - I wanted to see what it was all about. I had one look and I decided this is smut. I don't want to be associated with it. It's not me. It's not good taste. It's not that I am being a prude. and I don't want it in my house. But I'm not going to say - all children are inquisitive - as soon as you say *jy mag nie*. [you may not] you make them determined to just have a little peep.

E *Ja. dis wat ek ook bedoel.* [Yes, that's what I also mean.]

C *Nou kan jy daaroor praat.* [Now you can talk about it.]

A *Jy kan daaroor praat. En weet jy dat ons ... maar vir my as 'n ma, is dit moeilik om met seuns, daaroor te praat, want ek kan nie voorhou dat ek pedanties is.* I don't want to sound as if I'm preaching and it's a whole big sermon and ... [You can talk about it. And do you know that we ... but for me as a mother, it is difficult to talk to sons about it. because I cannot hold myself up as being pedantic.]

A *As jy met die meisie uitgaan. [...]. Ek voel 'n pa moet daaroor gesels. Maar nie my kind ons gaan daaroor gesels nie. Dit moet in 'n ligte luim wees en in hulle idiom.* [If you go out with a girl [...] I think a father should discuss that. But not- my child we are going to discuss that. It must be in a light vein and in their idiom.]

[Babble.]

A *So dat hulle kan sien - ja - my pa het ook op die vliegtuig na 'n Penthouse gekyk. OK. Maar dis nie 'n big deal nie. Want ek wil tog nie met so 'n vrou trou wat lyk of sy op harmoen behandeling is of wat ook al. Dit is nie hoe ek die [...]. Ek dink ons moet ons die kinders vertrou in die opvoeding wat ons hulle gee. Ek sit op my kwaai masker. Behoor my!* [So that they can see - yes. my father also looked at a *Penthouse* on the aircraft. OK. But that's not a big deal. Because I do not want to marry a woman that looks as if she has been on hormone treatment. It is not how I [...] I think we should trust our children in the upbringing that we give them. I am putting on my ferocious mask. Listen to me!]

[Mirth].

A *Ek dink nie dis die regering se plig.* [I don't think it's the governments duty.]

F *Jy moet hulle so opvoed dat hulle morele waardes ...* [You must bring them up so that their moral values ...]

A Ja.

F *Maar jy moet maar besluit. Ek meen dit is hoe jy hulle leer.* [But you must decide. I mean that is how you teach them.]

R Thank you. That was very interesting because ...

A At the end of the day you're learning about life.

R You're learning about yourself too.

A And about yourself - ja.

R Helps you to understand, because I know when I got married, you know the whole virginity thing was - well that's the way it was. You didn't have any sort of contraceptive that you could have premarital sex. I mean you just didn't. And it was like you get into a marriage situation, you really don't know what the hell's going on. And people don't really talk to you about it. So in a sense what you're saying is - in this day and age you need to educate children so that when they get out in the world ...

A It's a lifestyle.

R Absolutely.

A Because you know the nuns at our school, they would approach it from the moral point of view. So they will say what we say to our matrics. And they're very open. We say how do you feel about living together? Isn't marriage just another institution? Why get married? And it's wonderful how open they actually are. But because the nun presents it, perhaps, some of them will not totally be quite honest. In counselling they will be very honest, like we do abortion in our school and we do all things like that. And, I'm not saying gee. I'm pro this or pro that or anti this. I'm giving them the facts. I'm saying to them look at this figure I'm showing you. Russia ... ninety percent of all pregnancies are aborted. Do you know that? Oh really! You're giving them the facts and figures. And we normally don't talk about that, we try and shield our children, but we actually dissappoint, because then they can never make up their own minds. Life Skills, I think, is a course that we need to offer at school.

R Yes. I think the point about never exposing children to the realities is perhaps when you're no longer there to help them. There's a support system and they're faced with this and they don't know how to cope with it. In other words if you bring this honesty into your relationship, you actually are helping them. I always say when I'm dead - at any stage one can die - what have I left my daughters to cope with in life. Because they can't pick up the phone and say I'm having a problem. What are the skills that you've given them - your male or female children, to carry on when you're not there? So you know for the level

of their development what - I think you have to match that knowledge. Say for your fourteen or twelve or whatever. But so that at least they've got the basis. I think your point about Life Skills as well. Thank you. Thank you. That was very worthwhile.

F I just want to say something I been thinking a lot about now. The only contact I've ever had with pornography was when - I think it was *Playboy*. They sent Charlie one, because he played golf in a golf day and he brought it home, or it was in the post so ... took the envelope and said oh, this must be the *Playboy* - you can have it - so he gave it to me. And I paged through it and it was just naked women lying on a table that was set for supper and stuff like that. OK. But if I think about it now, my kids - Oh! [**] was eight - he won't think it's anything, because he sees me naked when I bath. I mean I might not have a figure they have, but that won't be funny for him, maybe only later.

? That's a thing I never thought of before.

A No. But later, you know, they become very private. These children become private. I would never go into my son's room without knocking and I mean I'm dieing to ask him how often do you shave, but he tells me that's private. But whereas the other son would share everything. He'll say gee! Look here! You know.

[Mirth].

A That kind of thing. It just depends on the child's personality. But as you say, if your children grow up with that, it won't be such a big issue. But when they ...

C When they?

A ... when they get to about forty. *ek het [...] want. Dan word hulle baie privaat. Maar as daardie [...].* [I had [...] because. Then they become very private. But if that [...]]

E *Kyk, my seun is ook so. Ek mag nie ingaan as hulle aantrek. Daar kom iets oor.* [Look, my son is the same. I may not go in when they are dressing. Something covers up.]

R They don't watch it then - your boys?

E No.

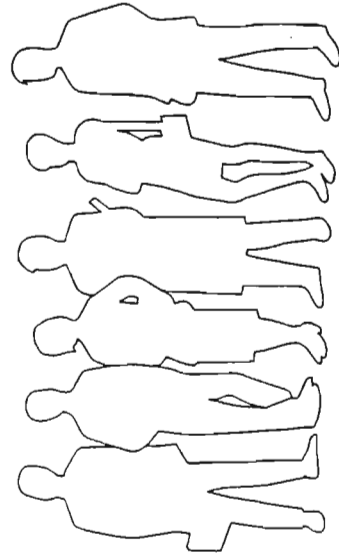
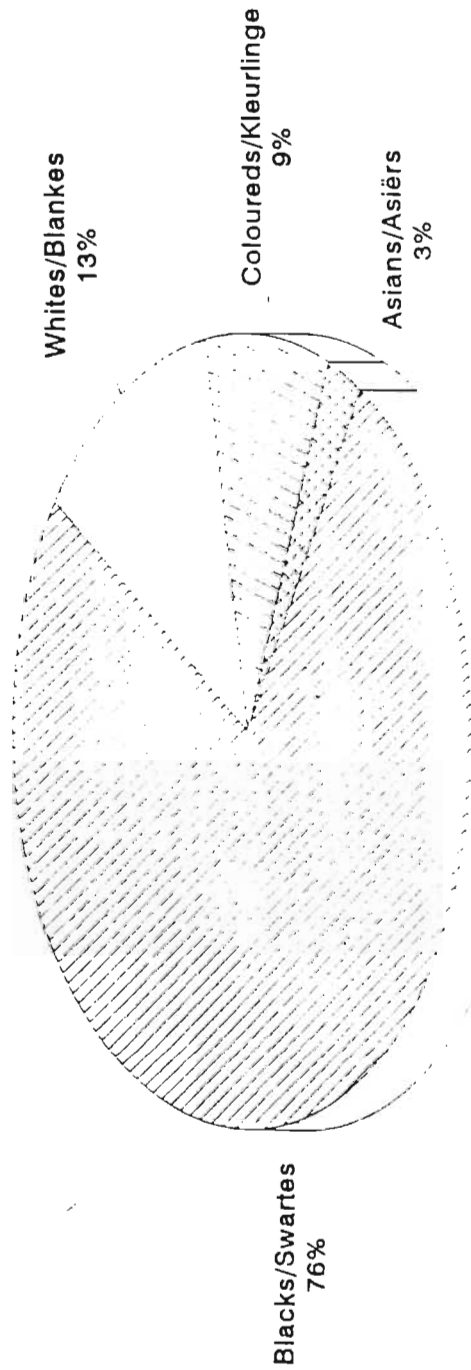
R They want their privacy.

APPENDIX F

Bevolkingsgetalle
(middeajaarraminge)

1995

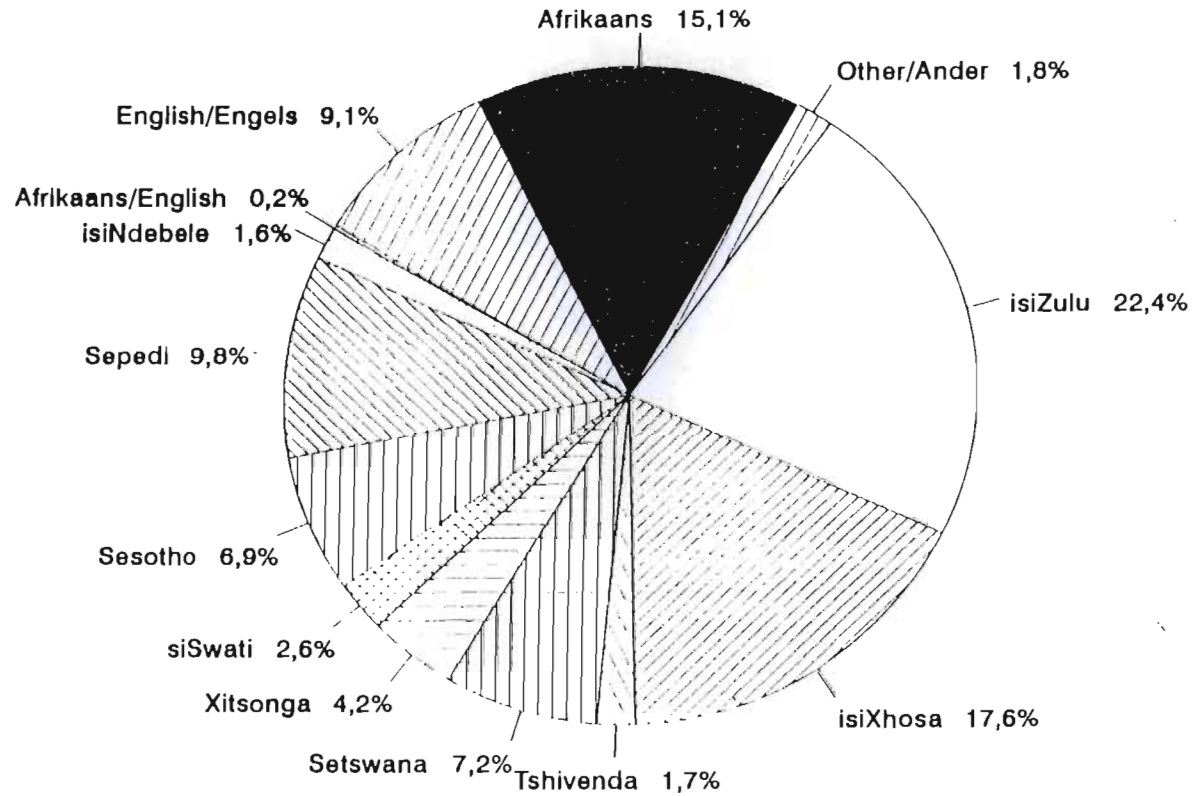
Population figures
(mid-year estimates)



Total/Totaal: 41 244 000

Percentage distribution of home language
RSA

Persentasieververspreiding van huistaal
RSA



Source/Bron: Population Census 1991 Bevolkingsensus

Demographics of Female Focus Groups for Suburban Bliss

	SB1 (4)	SB2 (6)	SB3 (8)	SB4 (8)	SB5 (6)	SB6 (6)	SB7 (5)	SB8 (6)	SB9 (5)	Tot (54)	%
Age: 21 - 24	1			3	1			1		6	11.11
25- 34	1	1	1	5	4	1	2	2	3	20	37.04
35 - 49		2	6			5	1	2	2	18	33.33
over 50	2	3	1		1		2	1		10	18.52
Educ: St 2 or less				1						1	1.85
St 3 - S Lv	2	5	1	5	4	1		1		19	35.19
Mat Exem.	2		7	2	2	5	2	1	1	12	40.74
Univ.		1					3	4	4	12	22.22
No in Hse - aver.	7.00	4.00	7.38	9.38	3.83	4.33	2.00	3.33	2.40	4.85	
Part Res. Yes	2	5	7	1	5	6	3	4	3	36	
No	2	1	1	7	1		2	2	2	18	
Rel Dutch Ref							2			2	
Catholic	2	4	4	3		2			1	16	
Baptist						1				1	
Anglican	1								1	2	
Apostolic				2						2	
Lutheran	1		3							4	
Zion				2						2	
Jehovas Wit		1								1	
Presbyter.				1		1				2	
Muslim		1								1	
Hindu								6		6	
Other			1		5	1	1		3	11	
Lang Zulu	4		7	8						19	
English		6			6	6	1	5	2	26	
Zulu/Eng			1							1	
Afr/Eng							1		1	2	
Afrikaans							3		1	4	
Tamil								1		1	
French									1	1	

Demographic Table SB 1.3a

Consumption of Print Media by Female Focus Groups for Suburban Bliss

	SB.1 Eun 4	SB.2 Joa 6	SB.3 Eliz 8	SB.4 Theo 8	SB.5 L-A 6	SB.6 Jan 6	SB.7 Fred 5	SB.8 Sus 6	SB.9 Leig 5	Total 54
Books Read None		1		2	3		1			7
1	4		1	3	2	2		3	2	17
2 - 4		5	7	3	1	4	4	3	3	30
Newspapers City Press			1	2						3
Sunday Times		2		2	2		1	1	2	10
Die Burger										0
The Mercury	1		4	1	2	3	1	2	2	16
Daily News	2	4	2	2	2	3	3	5	4	27
Sun. Tribune	1	3		2		4	1	2	2	15
Highway Mail										0
Sat Paper										
UmAfrika			3	2						5
Sowetan	1	1	2							4
Cape Times										
Beeld										
ANC News										
None named			1		1		1			3
Ilanga	3		3	6						12
Mail & Guard								2	3	5

Demographic Table SB 1.3b

Consumption of Radio by Female Focus Groups for Suburban Bliss

	SB.1 Eun 4	SB.2 Joa 6	SB.3 Eliz 8	SB.4 Theo 8	SB.5 L-A 6	SB.6 Jan 6	SB.7 Fred 5	SB.8 Sus 6	SB.9 Leig 5	Total 54
Radio Time 0 hrs		1			2	1			2	6
1 - 4 hrs	1	3	5	5	3	4	5	5	3	34
5 - 6 hrs	2	1	2	1		1		1		8
Over 6	1	1	1	2	2					6
Fav Stn Radio Pulpit						1				1
East Coast					2	4	3	4	1	14
SAFM (5)		2			3	4	3	1		13
Radio Zulu	4		6	8						18
Radio Metro	2	3	4	5				1		15
Radio Khosi			1	4						5
Africa Stereo							2			2
RPN		2				1				3
Lotus								5		5
None		1			2				3	6
Radio 702			1					1		2
Rad Tswana				1						1
Radio 2000						1				1
Radio PMB				1						1
Fav Prog Woman's Wld			2					1		3
News	4	3	7	5	2		1	3	3	28
Morning Show								1		1
Build & Reconst			1							1
Music	1	2		4	1	1	1	2	1	13
None		2		1	2		2		2	9
Drama	1			3						4
Talk		1				1				2
Mind your Lang		1								1
Education			2	2			1	1	1	7
G S Cons			1							1
Gospel				1				1		2
Sinlele Netsha				1						1
30 Seconds					1	1				2
Tony Blewett						1				1
U Eie Keuse							1			1

Demographic Table SB 1.3c

Consumption of TV Programmes by Female Focus Groups for Suburban Bliss

	SB.1 Eun 4	SB.2 Joa 6	SB.3 Eliz 8	SB.4 Theo 8	SB.5 L-A 6	SB.6 Jan 6	SB.7 Fred 5	SB.8 Sus 6	SB.9 Leg 5	Total 54
Fav. Progs. Oprah Winfrey		1								1
Felicia M-S			1							1
Movies		1	2			1		1	1	6
News	3	1	4	4		1	2	3	4	22
Sports		1				1				2
Egoli		2			3	1	1			7
Carte Blanche									1	1
Days of Lives	1		1	3	3					8
Bold & Beautiful	1	1	2	1	2			1	1	9
Jan Alley			1							1
None						1		1	2	4
Kideo	1									1
Drama	1		1	2				1		5
Agenda									1	1
Martin		1								1
Small Talk		2								2
Black Adder		1								1
Sub Bliss		1								1
Mind your Lang		1	1							2
Ezodumo			1							1
GMSA		1								1
Amer Funniest			1							1
Ubambolwami				4						4
S'dumo				1						1
Loving					2					2
Neighbours					1					1
Hanging in					1					1
The Governor					1					1
Jag						1		1		2
Top Billing						1				1
Party of Five						1				1
E R						1				1
Frontline						1				1
Murder she Wr						1				1
Meeulanders							3			3
Noot vir Noot							2			2
Rosanne			1							1

Demographic Table SB 1.3d

Consumption of TV by Female Focus Groups for Suburban Bliss

	SB.1 Eun 4	SB.2 Joa 6	SB.3 Eliz 8	SB.4 Theo 8	SB.5 L-A 6	SB.6 Jan 6	SB.7 Fred 5	SB.8 Sus 6	SB.9 Leig 5	Total 54
TV Time None										0
1 - 2 hours	1	1	3	2	1	5	3	2	3	21
2 - 4 hours	2	3	4	6	3	1	2	4	2	27
5 - 6 hours	1	2	1		2					6
Fav. Stns. M - Net		3	1		5	3	1	5	3	21
T V 1	3	3	6	8	2			1	1	24
T V 2	1	1	3	4	1	1	1	1		13
T V 3		3	5	4		3	4	4	1	24
NNTV										0
CCV	1								2	3
Digital										0
None						1			1	2

Demographic Table SB 51.3e

Context of Watching TV Media by Female Focus Groups for Suburban Bliss

	SB.1 Eun 4	SB.2 Joa 6	SB.3 Eliz 8	SB.4 Theo 8	SB.5 L-A 6	SB.6 Jan 6	SB.7 Fred 5	SB.8 Sus 6	SB.9 Leig 5	Total 54
Watch TV with: Alone		1		2			2		2	7
Another	1	2	3	4	5	2	2	6	3	28
Several	3	3	5	2	1	4	1			19
No comm									1	1
Watch with: Same		4	3	7	4	5	3	6	3	35
Whoever		1	3		1	1				6
Different	3	1	2	2	1		2			11
No comm	1						2		2	5
Relationship: Family	3	6	7	6	6	6	4	6	3	47
Friend	1		2	1						4
Visitor				1						1
Neighbour	1			1	1					3
No comm				1			1		2	4

Demographic Table SB 1.3f

Consumption of Magazines by Female Focus Groups for Suburban Bliss

	SB.1 Eun 4	SB.2 Joa 6	SB.3 Eliz 8	SB.4 Theo 8	SB.5 L-A 6	SB.6 Jan 6	SB.7 Fred 5	SB.8 Sus 6	SB.9 Leig 5	Total 54
Fav. Mags. Essential						3	1	2		6
Readers Digest		1					2			3
de Kat									1	1
Sarie							1			1
Fair Lady	1	2	1			4				8
Femina								1		1
You		3			4	1	1	1		10
Personality		1								1
Cosmopolitan						2		2		4
Garden and Home						1				1
Your Family		2			1		1	4		8
Getaway						1			1	2
Bona	2		3	7						12
Pace			2	1						3
Drum	2		2	2						6
Thandi			1	1						2
None						1				1
No Comment	1		4	1			1		1	8
Conversation		1								1
Awake		1								1
Watchtower		1								1
Tribute			1							1
Runners World							1			1
Up Beat									1	1
Impresions								1		1
Writers Digest									1	1
Style								1		1
Time									1	1
Insight									1	1
Agenda									1	1
Pract Photog.									1	1
Last Read: 1 - 30 days		4	1	6	4	6	4	5	4	34
1 - 2 months	2	1	1	1	1				1	7
Over 3 mths	2		2		1		1	1		7
No comment			4	1						5

Demographic Table SB 1.3g

Demographics of Female Focus Groups for Going Up III

Group	GU.1 Janet (7)	GU.2 Elizabeth (8)	GU.3 Jubilee (5)	GU.4 Freda (6)	Total (26)	%	
Language	English	Afrik.	Zulu	Afrik.			
Age	21 - 24			2	2	7.69	
	25 - 34	1	1	1	3	11.54	
	35 - 49	4	5	3	15	57.69	
	50 and over	3	2	1	6	23.08	
Education	Std 2 or less		2		2	7.69	
	Std 3 to sch. lvng	3	2	1	6	23.08	
	Matr ex to Univ	5	4	1	11	42.31	
	University	2	1	4	7	26.92	
No people in hse. (Per unit)	3.71	6.25	6.20	4.00	5.40		
Partner living in	Yes	7	4	3	4	18	69.23
	No		4	2	2	8	30.77
Religion	Methodist	4			1	5	
	Presbyterian	1				1	
	Catholic	2	6			8	
	Apostolic		1			1	
	Muslim			5		5	
	Dutch Ref.				5	5	
	Other		1			1	
Language	English	7		1		8	
	Zulu		6	3		9	
	Zulu/Engl.		2			2	
	Eng/Afrik				1	1	
	Afrikaans				5	5	
	Xhosa/Engl.			1		1	

Note: Income details omitted since answers unreliable.

Demographic Table GU 1.4a

Consumption of Print Media by Female Focus Group for Going Up III

	GU.1 Janet (7)	GU.2 Elizabeth (8)	GU.3 Jubilee (5)	GU.4 Freda (6)	Total (26)
Books Read					
None		3	2		5
1	1	1	2	1	5
2 - 4	6	4	1	5	16
Newspapers - City Press			1		1
Sunday Times			2	3	5
Die Burger				2	2
The Mercury	1	1		2	4
Daily News	4	2	1	5	12
Sunday Trib.	3				3
Highway Mail	1				1
Sat. Paper	1				1
umAfrika		3	1		4
Sowetan		2	2		4
Cape Times				1	1
Beeld				3	3
ANC News			1		1
None named		3	1		4
Ilanga		1	1		2

Demographic Table GU 1.4b

Consumption of Radio by Female Focus Group for Going Up III

	GU.1 Janet (7)	GU.2 Elizabeth (8)	GU.3 Jubilee (5)	GU.4 Freda (6)	Total (26)
Radio Time 1 - 4 hrs	5	7	1	4	17
5 - 6 hrs	1		1		2
over 6		1	3	2	6
Favourite Stn - RSG				1	1
Radio Pulpit				1	1
East Coast	4			6	10
Radio 5	1			1	2
SAFM	4	1		1	6
Radio Zulu		4			4
Radio Metro		2	1		3
Radio Khosi		3	5		8
Mhlobo		1			1
Africa Stereo				1	1
Fav. Prog. Count Down				1	1
Rad. Sonder Gr.	1				1
Woman's World	1				1
News		1	1	1	3
Morning Show				1	1
Health Talk	1				1
Monitor on Afr.				1	1
Xhosa Prog.		1			1
Build & Reconst			1		1
Top 40				1	1
Mandla Malak.			1		1
Music				2	2
None	3	6	1		

Demographic Table GU 1.4c

Consumption of TV by Female Focus Group for Going Up III

		GU.1 Janet (7)	GU.2 Elizabeth (8)	GU.3 Jubilee (5)	GU.4 Freda (6)	Total (26)
TV Time	No comment		1			1
	None		1			1
	1 -2 hrs	5	3	1	5	14
	2 - 4 hrs	1	3	1	1	6
	5 - 6 hrs			2		2
Fav. Stns	M - Net	5			5	10
	TV 1		3	3		6
	TV 2		4	2		6
	TV 3	1		1	5	7
	NNTV			1		1
	CCV		1			1
	Digital				1	1

Demographic Table GU 1.4d

Consumption of TV Programmes by Female Focus Group for Going Up III

	GU.1 Janet (7)	GU.2 Elizabeth (8)	GU.3 Jubilee (5)	GU.4 Freda (6)	Total (26)
Fav. Progs Oprah Winfrey	1			1	2
Felicia M -S	1	1			2
Movies	1				1
News		2	2	1	5
Burke's Luck				1	1
Sports			1		1
The Client				1	1
Egoli				1	1
Beverly Hills				1	1
Tchd by Angel				1	1
Naked Truth				1	1
Carte Blanche				2	2
Wild Life Pgms				1	1
Friends				1	1
Fresh Prince.				2	2
50/50	1			1	2
Vicar of Dibley	1				1
Going Up		1			1
Constitution.			1		1
Days of Lives		2	1	1	4
S'gud s`niyse		1			1
Generations		1			1
Bold & Beaut.		2	1		3
Zama - Zama		1	1		2
Jam Alley		1			1
None	3				3

Demographic Table 1.4e

Consumption of Magazines by Female Focus Group for Going Up III

	GU.1 Janet (7)	GU.2 Elizabeth (8)	GU.3 Jubilee (5)	GU.4 Freda (6)	Total (26)
Fav. Mags Essential	1			1	2
Woman's Value				1	1
Readers Digest				1	1
de Kat				3	3
Sarie				5	5
Fair Lady				2	2
Fortune				1	1
Femina	1			2	3
Blush				1	1
You	1	1	1		3
Personality	1				1
Cosmopolitan	1			2	3
Garden and Hse	2			1	3
Your Family	1				1
Country Life	1				1
Getaway	1				1
Pathwy to Hlth	1				1
Bona		3	1		4
Pace		3			3
Drum		2	3		5
Next		1			1
Thandi		1			1
None	1		1		2
Last Read 1 - 30 days	5	6	2	6	19
1 - 2 mths		1	1		2
over 3 mths	1	1	1		3
No comment			1		1

Demographic Table GU 1.4f

Context of Watching TV Media by Female Focus Group for Going Up III

	GU.1 Janet (7)	GU.2 Elizabeth (8)	GU.3 Jubilee (5)	GU.4 Freda (6)	Total (26)
Watch TV with: Alone		2		4	6
Another	5	4	1	2	12
Several		2	4	1	7
No cmmnt		1			1
Watch with: Same	5	5	2	5	17
Whoever	1	1	1	1	4
Different		2	1		3
No cmmnt		1	1		2
Relationship: Family	6	6	2	5	19
Friend		1		1	2
Visitor			1		1
Neighbour		1	1		2
No cmmnt		1	2		3

Demographic Table 1.4g

APPENDIX G

Source: South African Advertising Research
Sloan Park
Gauteng

LSM measures up

Although a relatively new tool, the Living Standards Measure (LSM) has already gained credibility and is being widely used. Planners and researchers agree it has added a new dimension to market segmentation.

The LSM places individuals into different categories based on level of sophistication. It combines several factors to provide not only a stronger segmentation tool than the commonly applied demographics, but is also a lot simpler to use.

The LSM scale consists of eight groups, each with different living standards. Descriptions of the groups were published as a supplement to the AMPS Technical Report.

Further analysis revealed a clustering of the eight groups into three LSM Super Groups, which have recently been defined:

- * LSM Super Group A: The Established Achievers
- * LSM Super Group B: The Emergent Market
- * LSM Super Group C: The Less Privileged.

The groups are described in detail on the attached sheets. As you will see, each represents a very different market in terms of media and product use.

In future, descriptions of the LSM Super Groups will be published together with those of the individual LSM groups.

We are sure you'll find these LSM Super Groups useful. If you would like more details, please call SAARF at (011) 463-5340.

AMPS LSM SUPER GROUP A - THE ESTABLISHED ACHIEVERS (30%)

- DEMOGRAPHICS** This is the most urbanised group predominantly residing in zones A and G. The majority are married white adults, 35 + years old, who live in houses, town houses or flats which they own. This group employs the most domestic servants. These literate adults tend to have university or post matric qualifications and the group has an above average incidence of Afrikaans speakers. This most affluent group has significantly more full-time white collar workers than the other groups and has an average household income of R4 251 per month.
- PRODUCTS** Consumption of most products is significantly higher than that of the total universe - highlighting this sector as a high profile target group. Diet products (diet sweeteners, diet cold drinks) are preferred as well as health-related products such as pure fruit juices, rooibos tea, tonics and multivitamins. This group is a prime target market for buying pet food. Beer, brandy, rum, table wine and whisky have above average usage.
- FINANCE** They make extensive use of all financial products. The more sophisticated investment activities (such as investments on the stock exchange and credit cards) are also evident. They also believe in providing for the future by way of insurance.
- LARGE APPLIANCES** Ownership of all large appliances (with the exception of gas/coal stoves) is significantly higher than the universe - particularly for products such as microwaves, deep freezers, tumble dryers and VCR's where they comprise over 90% of the market.
- MEDIA** This group has above average exposure to all mass media, with the exception of non-white publications.
- SHOPPING HABITS** Whilst predominantly bulk shoppers, they also have a high incidence of non-bulk shopping. The Pick 'n Pay and Checkers groups are the most patronised. Fruit and vegetables are bought equally at greengrocers and supermarkets.
- This group most actively buys clothing, shoes and alcoholic beverages, favouring specialist retail outlets.
- LIFESTYLE** The majority of households own a motor vehicle. There is a high ownership of luxury appliances such as cameras (both video and other), as well as FC's and clock radios. This group has the highest incidence of air travellers (1 in 10 have travelled outside SA in the past 12 months), holidaymakers and timeshare owners. Due to their increased affluence, they enjoy eating out at restaurants, buying records and CD's, and hiring home videos. They are conscious of their health and participate in exercising, dieting and gardening. They have more resources to spend on home improvements, and their ownership of electric drills, use of paint and woodcare products as well as home servicing of cars pinpoint them as candidates for the DIY market.

AMPS LSM SUPER GROUP B - THE EMERGENT MARKET (38%)

- DEMOGRAPHICS** This group is - as for Super Group A - urban, predominantly metropolitan, with an above average incidence in Zones A and C. Whilst the majority of the group are black, there is an above average incidence of coloureds. They are mainly single, male and 16 - 49 years old. The majority live in houses which they do not own and which in the main have a water supply but not always electricity. There is also an above average incidence of hostel/compound dwellers and occupants of rooms in backyards. This group is mainly literate, with almost half having at least some high school education. Employment, principally in the blue collar sector, is in line with the universe and the average household income is R1 010 per month.
- PRODUCTS** There is an above average incidence of the usage of personal gratification products such as cigarettes, chewing gum, chocolate coated bars and cold drinks including fruit juices. Take-away foods have an above average following. The usage of basic personal care products is above average i.e. toothpaste, laxatives, roll-on deodorants and headache powders. The low access to electricity increases their usage of products such as condensed and powdered milk and their reliance on batteries.
- FINANCE** The use of financial services is still at a low level with two thirds not having any financial accounts. The incidence of funeral insurance and credit for the purchase of durables is in line with the universe.
- LARGE APPLIANCES** Ownership of electric hotplates, manual sewing machines, TV sets, radio sets and gas cylinders is in line with the universe. They own significantly more gas/coal stoves than electric stoves.
- MEDIA** Contact can be made with three out of four of this group via the mass media measured by AMPS. They have an above average incidence of readership of non-white newspapers and magazines as well as viewership of CCV TV. While radio listening is in line with the universe, support of SABC Nguni/Sotho stations and Radio Metro is above average.
- SHOPPING HABITS** This group prefers to do grocery shopping on a weekly or fortnightly basis. The OK Bazaars is their preferred supermarket followed by township supermarkets and Spar. Fresh meat is bought through a butcher while hawkers are chosen to an above average degree for fresh fruit and vegetables.
- Clothing is mainly bought through smaller outlets. Buying of shoes is in line with the universe while purchase of alcoholic beverages, with the exception of beer, is below average.
- LIFESTYLE** Vehicle ownership is low. There is also a low incidence of travelling on holiday in South Africa and those who do tend to stay with relatives. While below average, almost a third of those in the target group for eating out at restaurants, exercising and gardening are found in this group. Ownership of a second home is significantly higher than that of the total - possibly indicating the link of these urban dwellers with rural abodes.

AMPS LSM SUPER GROUP C - THE LESS PRIVILEGED (32%)

DEMOGRAPHICS

This group is predominantly rural with an above average incidence in Zones B & H. They are either young black single adults, 16 - 24 years old or older black adults over 50 years of age. There is a high proportion of divorced/widowed females looking after children under 16. The majority own the huts in which they live which have no water or electricity supplies. They have the lowest level of literacy with only 1 out of 3 either never having been at school or only having some primary school education. The majority are either unemployed or retired and the group has the lowest household income (R519 on average per month).

PRODUCTS

They have a relatively low incidence of consumption of most products except perceived essentials such as mealie meal, chicken, sugar, tea, headache powder, washing powder and batteries. They have the highest consumption of Sorghum Beer. In spite of their below average consumption, they are a market which cannot be ignored due to the large proportion of the population which they represent.

FINANCE

The only financial products used to any extent are savings accounts (with savings linking to ATM cards) and funeral policies.

LARGE APPLIANCES

Ownership of the majority of large appliances is minimal or non-existent. Although at a lower level than that of the universe, the majority of households own a radio. Gas/coal stoves and manual sewing machines are the only appliances found in more than 7% of households.

MEDIA

Only half of this group can be contacted via the mass media currently measured by AMPS, principally by means of radio. While radio usage in total is below average, listening to SAEC Nguni/Sotho stations is above average.

SHOPPING HABITS

They are bulk shoppers patronising smaller outlets. Fresh meat is bought through informal outlets and fruit and vegetables at farm stalls to a greater extent than the universe. There is a below average incidence of buying clothes, shoes and liquor.

LIFESTYLE

Due to limited resources, this group does not indulge in any non-essential products or activities.

SOURCE : AMP

DEMOGRAPHICS : This group comes from rural areas with an above average incidence in Zones B, D and H. They are mainly Black females, housewives, with children under 13. There are the most widowed and separated people in this group, they tend to be older and live in huts which they own. They are mainly illiterate with either no or some primary education. They are either unemployed or retired and have the lowest household income (R337 on average per month).

PRODUCTS : They have a low incidence of consumption of all products except basics such as matches, batteries, washing powder, tea, ground bean coffee, mealie meal and sugar. They have the highest incidence of consumption of sorghum beer.

They are not in the market for any luxury items such as records/tapes/CD's or watches.

ENTERTAINMENT : They don't eat in restaurants, hire videos or buy take aways.

FINANCE : The only financial product made use of is a savings account and this is at a low incidence.

LARGE APPLIANCES : Ownership of durables is non-existent except for a low incidence of stoves. This is understandable with the lack of electricity.

MEDIA : This group can be reached by no measured media except radio. Although at a lower incidence than the universe, 43.6% do listen to the radio.

OTHER : This group does not own any vehicles. At their basic subsistence level they are unable to allocate funds to either home or self-improvement.

DEMOGRAPHICS : This group is also predominantly rural and comes mainly from Zones B and D. They are Black, have an above average incidence of singles and have the highest proportion of 16-24 year olds. There is also higher incidence of women with babies. Most are unemployed and in households earning less than R700 per month (average monthly household income is R498). Whilst better educated than group 1, there is still an above average incidence of illiteracy and lack of high school education.

PRODUCTS : Whilst consumption is also mainly focussed on basic products, this group does indulge themselves to the same extent as the universe on self-gratification products like cigarettes, cold drinks, chewing gum, watches, etc. Within the household there is average usage of convenience products such as soups, stock tablets, condensed milk, coffee creamers and yellow margarine.

ENTERTAINMENT : This group does not eat in restaurants, hire videos or buy take aways.

FINANCE : Savings is at a slightly higher level than group 1. No other financial service is used to any extent.

LARGE APPLIANCES : Ownership of the majority of large appliances is minimal with the exception of stoves, sewing machines and hi-fi's (possibly older sets).

MEDIA : These are radio listeners and readers of Black magazines.

OTHER : There is a low frequency of vehicle ownership in the household. Again, this group does not attend to either home or self-improvement.

DEMOGRAPHICS : This is a non-metro group with an above average incidence in small urban areas and Zones B, C and F. They are mainly Black men, 16-34 years old, unmarried. This is the first group to have an incidence of Coloureds in line with the universe.

Almost half of the hostel & compound dwellers are in this group and there is an above average incidence of rooms in the backyard.

More of this group has some education but this does not yet extend to completing high school. Household incomes have also risen with the majority earning up to R1200 (Average is R619). As would be expected from the complement of hostel/compound dwellers, this group has an above average incidence of employment.

PRODUCTS : This group is below average for many household products, e.g. household cleaning products. They have average incidence for a range of food products which are either personal, e.g. potato crisps, or convenience, e.g. condensed milk, or would form part of canteen type meals, e.g. rice, red meat. This group has the highest usage of cigarettes and beer and are prime candidates for impulse snack products such as sweets, cold drinks.

ENTERTAINMENT : They don't eat at restaurants or hire videos.

FINANCE : Although low for most other financial services, this group comes close to the average for savings accounts, and is starting to use hire purchase.

LARGE APPLIANCES : There is some incidence of owning large appliances but this is still at a low level with the exception of stoves and hi-fi's. This group also has higher access to TV than the previous groups.

MEDIA : There is average radio listening but TV viewing is at a lower frequency. Readership of Black publications is above average. The inclusion of print in a media plan could increase radio coverage by 24% [from 58% to 71%].

OTHER : Vehicle ownership in the household is low. These people are also below average for mental and physical improvement.

LSM 4 - URBANISED SINGLES

- DEMOGRAPHICS :** This is the first predominantly metro group with incidence also in other urban areas. The racial composition remains overwhelmingly Black with Coloureds in line with the universe. There is again an above average incidence of males, singles and younger people. While still containing a large component of single person households, these tend to be more in backyard rooms. Home ownership is lowest for this group. They are mainly literate with educational levels up to some high. There is high employment and household incomes are up to R1200 (R746 is the average).
- PRODUCTS :** A wide variety of foodstuffs, household cleaners and personal care products are used in these households, but this does not extend to sophisticated products such as diet cold drinks, hair conditioners, pet foods.
- ENTERTAINMENT :** The lifestyle is no longer tied to home cooking, being in line with the universe on eating in restaurants and above average for take-aways. Hiring of videos, however is still below average.
- FINANCE :** Incidence of savings is growing and HF is used to the same extent as the universe. There is still minimal evidence of other financial activity.
- LARGE APPLIANCES :** Incidence is below average but there are large appliances in these households, principally stoves and TV sets.
- MEDIA :** Radio listenership is high, but they don't watch much TV. This group reads the Sowetan, Black weekly newspapers and Black magazines. Introducing print into the media schedule increases the reach of Radio only by approximately one fifth [from 64% to 78%].
- OTHER :** Vehicle ownership in the household is low - similar to group 2.

LSM 5 - THE YOUNG ASPIRERS

- DEMOGRAPHICS :** This group has a similar area profile to group 4 (urban, mainly metropolitan). Whilst the group has a high Black profile, there is an above average incidence of Coloureds and Asians. Again single, this group, however, lives in established houses and there is an above average incidence of students and younger people. They are mainly literate with either primary education completed or some high school education. Those who are not students tend to be employed and the household income is up to R2000 with an average of R1 080. Education has risen to completion of high school with the emergence of some Post-Matric qualifications.
- PRODUCTS :** The majority of products are used either to the same degree, or to a higher extent than the universe.
- ENTERTAINMENT :** As with group 4, restaurants and take-away outlets are patronized, but videos are not hired.
- FINANCE :** Savings are above average with little use of other investment services. However, this group emerges as a credit group with high usage of HF.
- LARGE APPLIANCES :** They own stoves, refrigerators, TV sets and hi-fi's to an above average degree.
- MEDIA :** This group is very media contactable except through Afrikaans publications.
- OTHER :** There is again a low frequency of vehicle ownership in the household. However, there is some evidence of mental [part-time education] and physical [started exercising] aspiration on the part of group 5.

LSM 6 - EMERGING MARKET

DEMOGRAPHICS : This group, as the two previous and the 2 later ones, is predominantly Metro and located in Zones A and G. It is in this group that for the first time the incidence of Whites is significantly higher than that of the universe and the converse applies for the Blacks. Coloureds and Asians are also present to a significantly greater degree.

They follow the total population with regard to sex and age but the incidence of Afrikaans speakers is now significantly higher than the average.

Their level of education is higher - moving into post matriculation - and they have an above average incidence of full-time employment resulting in more affluent household incomes (average R1 786) and an increasing incidence of home ownership - [predominantly houses] - although not yet higher than the universe.

PRODUCTS : Consumption or purchase of all but 10% of the listed FMC products on AMPS is either equal or has increased to a significantly higher degree than that of the total universe - highlighting the emergence of a high profile target group. Again this is manifested by their purchase of watches, jewellery and tapes, CDs etc.

ENTERTAINMENT : This group's improved financial position is again demonstrated by their above average incidence of eating out at restaurants, buying take-aways and hiring video tapes [first above average emergence].

FINANCE : There is high usage of all financial services, not only savings accounts.

LARGE APPLIANCES : Extensive ownership of large appliances is evident in this group - being below average on only the sophisticated or luxury items such as Microwaves, FCs, etc.

MEDIA : This group has above average contact with all mass media. Use of print would increase those reached by radio by approximately one third [from 68% to 91%].

OTHER : Household vehicle ownership is twice that of the total market. Home and

LSM 7 - ESTABLISHED AFFLUENTS

- DEMOGRAPHICS :** This group is characterized from the previous groups by its predominance of Whites, Afrikaans speakers and the 35+ age group. Their education and income levels are significantly higher (average household income is at R3 543). Seven out of ten are married, most are in full-time employment and two-thirds [above average] own their own dwelling - mainly houses. There is a lower incidence of children in these households and they tend to be of school going age.
- PRODUCTS :** This group's usage and purchase is similar to that of group 6 but with a higher incidence. The age profile of the group does influence use of products such as Shampoo, Acne preparations, etc and possibly, for health reasons, products such as cold drinks and cigarettes.
- ENTERTAINMENT :** Use of restaurants, take-aways and video tapes is significant amongst this group.
- FINANCE :** The more sophisticated investment services figure highly in this group whilst HP tails off, having reached its peak in Group 6.
- LARGE APPLIANCES :** Ownership of all large appliances is significantly higher than the universe but there is still room for growth amongst certain sophisticated products, such as microwaves, PCs.
- MEDIA :** With the exception of the Sowetan and non-White weeklies, this group can be contacted via any other mass medium. Print coverage in addition to radio would increase coverage by about one-third [from 75% to 97%].
- OTHER :** Household vehicle ownership is virtually at saturation point [95%]. Self and home improvements are significant and this group is health conscious, wanting to lose weight and exercising [\pm 30%]. Servicing of cars at home is highest for these people.

LSM 8 - PROGRESSIVE AFFLUENTS

- DEMOGRAPHICS :** This is the most urbanized of all the groups - with 9 out of 10 being Whites. It is in addition, the most educated and affluent of all the groups reflected in its high employment figure [56%] and home ownership [80%]. Average household income reaches R5 044 per month. Females [housewives] and Afrikaans speakers are in the majority which is contrary to the universe. In this group there is the highest incidence of married people and children at home - mainly at the school or post school age.
- PRODUCTS :** This group's purchase and usage of products, apart from staple products, makes it the prime target group. A further characteristic of this group is its high usage of sophisticated personal products such as table wine, whisky, chocolates, hair conditioners, etc. Purchase of luxury items such as watches, jewellery and LPs/CD/tapes is also highest for this group.
- ENTERTAINMENT :** Over two-thirds of this group eat in restaurants in an average 4 week period, and over a third have hired a video tape. Take-aways are also most popular amongst this group.
- FINANCE :** This group is the most sophisticated with regard to their financial activities but does not need HF to the same degree as other groups.
- LARGE APPLIANCES :** The majority of large appliances have reached saturation point in this group. Growth is still possible in a few of the sophisticated items, such as dishwashers and PCs.
- MEDIA :** This group has the highest exposure to all mass media with the exception of non-White publications. Radio and print would give total coverage.
- OTHER :** Every household has a motor vehicle and almost all adult members personally own or drive one.
- Personal appearance and health is a priority amongst this group. Eight out of ten women use at least one beauty product. The high usage of products such as diet cold drinks and Multivitamins coupled with the attempts to lose weight and start exercising also highlight this characteristic.
- In addition to having high home ownership, half make improvements to these homes.

Day	Date	From	To	Stn	Title	All Adults U:11472 S:2283 AR	All Adults Minimum estimated viewers	English Adults U:2652 S:442 AR	English Adults Minimum estimated viewers	Afrikaans Adults U:3664 S:510 AR	Afrikaans Adults Minimum estimated viewers
Sat	11/09/96	17:30	17:55	S2	T/Sport: World of Endurance	18.3	2099376	9.5	251940	9.1	333424
Sat	11/09/96	17:00	17:27	S2	File O' Facts	17.9	2043488	9.6	254592	9.2	337088
Sat	11/23/96	18:29	20:29	S1	Miss World	14.7	1686384	12.0	318240	8.6	315104
Sat	11/23/96	18:29	20:29	S1	Miss World	14.7	1686384	12.0	318240	8.6	315104
Sat	11/23/96	18:29	20:29	S1	Miss World	14.7	1686384	12.0	318240	8.6	315104
Sat	11/23/96	18:29	20:29	S1	Miss World	14.7	1686384	12.0	318240	8.6	315104
Wed	11/13/96	20:01	20:32	S1	Going Up	14.6	1674912	3.9	103428	2.6	95264
Tue	11/26/96	20:01	20:31	S1	Ifyala Lamawele	14.6	1674912	3.2	84864	4.1	150224
Tue	11/12/96	19:59	20:26	S1	Ifyala Lamawele	14.5	1663440	3.9	103428	2.1	76944
Tue	11/19/96	20:00	20:30	S1	Ifyala Lamawele	14.1	1617552	3.0	79560	2.6	95264
Wed	11/27/96	20:02	20:32	S1	Going Up	13.7	1571664	4.2	111384	1.0	36640
Mon	11/18/96	19:58	20:27	S2	Suburban Bliss	13.4	1537428	5.3	140556	8.7	318768
Mon	11/11/96	20:00	20:29	S2	Suburban Bliss	13.2	1514304	6.0	159120	10.5	384720
Wed	11/20/96	20:01	20:30	S1	Going Up	13.0	1491360	3.6	95472	4.5	164880
Mon	11/25/96	19:58	20:28	S2	Suburban Bliss	12.9	1479888	6.9	182988	9.3	340752
Thur	11/14/96	19:00	19:31	S2	Vicious Circle	12.9	1479888	3.2	84864	2.9	106256
Sat	11/09/96	14:50	16:58	S2	T/Sport: Soccer	12.7	1456944	6.4	169728	5.9	216176
Wed	11/09/96	20:03	20:32	S1	Going Up	12.6	1445472	3.7	98124	2.6	95264
Sat	11/02/96	14:47	16:55	S2	T/Sport: Soccer	12.6	1445472	4.4	116688	4.7	172208
Thur	11/14/96	20:03	21:00	S1	Generations	12.6	1445472	3.2	84864	2.2	80608

Day	Date	From	To	Stn	Title	Nguni Adults U:2869 S:792 AR	Nguni Adults Minimum estimated viewers	Sotho Adults U:2287 S:602 AR	Sotho Adults Minimum estimated viewers	Zulu Adults U:1850 S:468 AR	Zulu Adults Minimum estimated viewers	White Adults U:3609 S:558 AR
Sat	11/09/96	17:30	17:55	S2	T/Sport: World of Endurance	27.9	800451	31.1	711257	28.4	525400	7.4
Sat	11/09/96	17:00	17:27	S2	File O' Facts	26.7	766023	30.6	699822	27.3	505050	7.4
Sat	11/23/96	18:29	20:29	S1	Miss World	20.8	596752	19.6	448252	23.0	425500	9.6
Sat	11/23/96	18:29	20:29	S1	Miss World	20.8	596752	19.6	448252	23.0	425500	9.6
Sat	11/23/96	18:29	20:29	S1	Miss World	20.8	596752	19.6	448252	23.0	425500	9.6
Sat	11/23/96	18:29	20:29	S1	Miss World	20.8	596752	19.6	448252	23.0	425500	9.6
Wed	11/13/96	20:01	20:32	S1	Going Up	29.1	834879	28.0	640360	28.9	534650	2.6
Tue	11/26/96	20:01	20:31	S1	Ifyala Lamawele	28.5	817665	27.4	626638	29.0	536500	3.2
Tue	11/12/96	19:59	20:26	S1	Ifyala Lamawele	32.0	918080	24.7	564889	30.4	562400	3.2
Tue	11/19/96	20:00	20:30	S1	Ifyala Lamawele	30.2	866438	25.1	574037	33.0	610500	3.1
Wed	11/27/96	20:02	20:32	S1	Going Up	26.6	763154	28.8	658656	29.2	540200	2.0
Mon	11/18/96	19:58	20:27	S2	Suburban Bliss	14.5	416005	29.1	665517	14.6	270100	7.9
Mon	11/11/96	20:00	20:29	S2	Suburban Bliss	11.5	329935	28.0	640360	10.7	197950	7.3
Wed	11/20/96	20:01	20:30	S1	Going Up	23.7	679953	24.3	555741	24.5	453250	4.2
Mon	11/25/96	19:58	20:28	S2	Suburban Bliss	11.5	329935	27.3	624351	11.3	209050	7.8
Thur	11/14/96	19:00	19:31	S2	Vicious Circle	19.3	553717	32.1	734127	19.0	351500	3.3
Sat	11/09/96	14:50	16:58	S2	T/Sport: Soccer	18.4	527896	23.7	542019	18.8	347800	5.1
Wed	11/09/96	20:03	20:32	S1	Going Up	23.8	682822	25.0	571750	25.3	468050	2.9
Sat	11/02/96	14:47	16:55	S2	T/Sport: Soccer	21.9	628311	23.4	535158	22.0	407000	4.9
Thur	11/14/96	20:03	21:00	S1	Generations	27.4	786106	21.4	489418	23.7	438450	2.6

Day	Date	From	To	Stn	Title	White Adults Minimum estimated viewers	Coloured Adults U:1655 S:232 AR	Coloured Adults Minimum estimated viewers	Indian Adults U:1052 S:162 AR	Indian Adults Minimum estimated viewers	Black Adults U:5156 S1331 AR
Sat	11/09/96	17:30	17:55	S2	T/Sport: World of Endurance	267066	14.4	238320	7.7	81004	29.3
Sat	11/09/96	17:00	17:27	S2	File O' Facts	267066	14.5	239975	8.2	86264	28.4
Sat	11/23/96	18:29	20:29	S1	Miss World	346464	7.4	122470	15.9	167268	20.3
Sat	11/23/96	18:29	20:29	S1	Miss World	346464	7.4	122470	15.9	167268	20.3
Sat	11/23/96	18:29	20:29	S1	Miss World	346464	7.4	122470	15.9	167268	20.3
Sat	11/23/96	18:29	20:29	S1	Miss World	346464	7.4	122470	15.9	167268	20.3
Wed	11/13/96	20:01	20:32	S1	Going Up	93834	4.9	81095	2.4	25248	28.6
Tue	11/26/96	20:01	20:31	S1	Ifyala Lamawele	115488	5.4	89370	2.7	28404	28.0
Tue	11/12/96	19:59	20:26	S1	Ifyala Lamawele	115488	3.3	54615	0.8	8416	28.8
Tue	11/19/96	20:00	20:30	S1	Ifyala Lamawele	111879	3.3	54615	1.0	10520	27.9
Wed	11/27/96	20:02	20:32	S1	Going Up	72180	1.4	23170	5.1	53652	27.6
Mon	11/18/96	19:58	20:27	S2	Suburban Bliss	285111	8.1	134055	4.0	42080	21.0
Mon	11/11/96	20:00	20:29	S2	Suburban Bliss	263457	13.2	218460	5.9	62068	18.8
Wed	11/20/96	20:01	20:30	S1	Going Up	151578	5.0	82750	2.6	27352	24.0
Mon	11/25/96	19:58	20:28	S2	Suburban Bliss	281502	13.0	215150	2.1	22092	18.5
Thur	11/14/96	19:00	19:31	S2	Vicious Circle	119097	4.4	72820	0.1	1052	24.9
Sat	11/09/96	14:50	16:58	S2	T/Sport: Soccer	184059	8.7	143985	5.5	57860	20.7
Wed	11/09/96	20:03	20:32	S1	Going Up	104661	3.0	49650	3.5	36820	24.3
Sat	11/02/96	14:47	16:55	S2	T/Sport: Soccer	176841	3.6	59580	4.6	48392	22.5
Thur	11/14/96	20:03	21:00	S1	Generations	93834	2.9	47995	2.3	24196	24.7

APPENDIX H

Structural Mode of Representation in SUBURBAN BLISS

MOLOI FAMILY

DWYER FAMILY

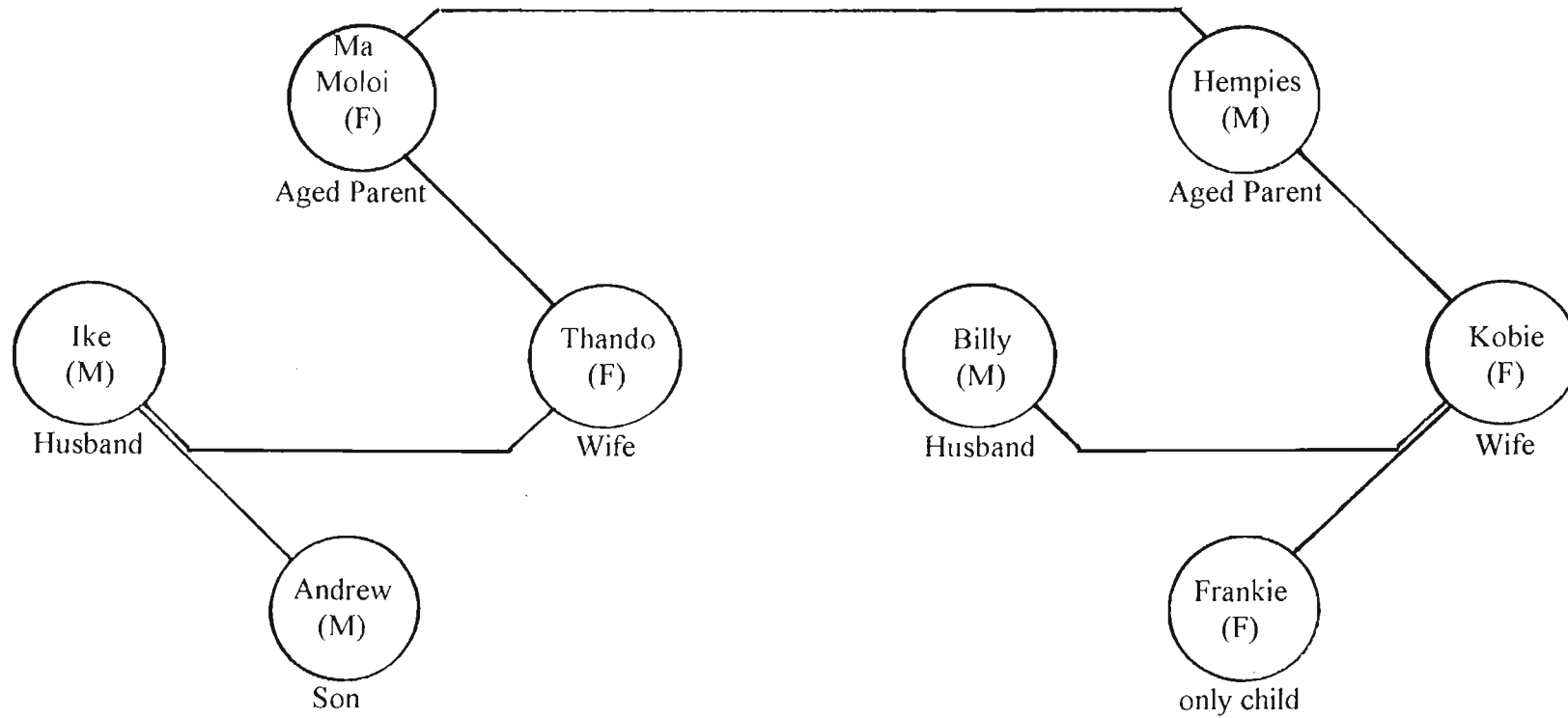


Diagram 3.1

- Who pairs up in arguments?
Also: sometimes along *gender* lines.

Structural Mode of Representation in SUBURBAN BLISS

MOLOI FAMILY

DWYER FAMILY

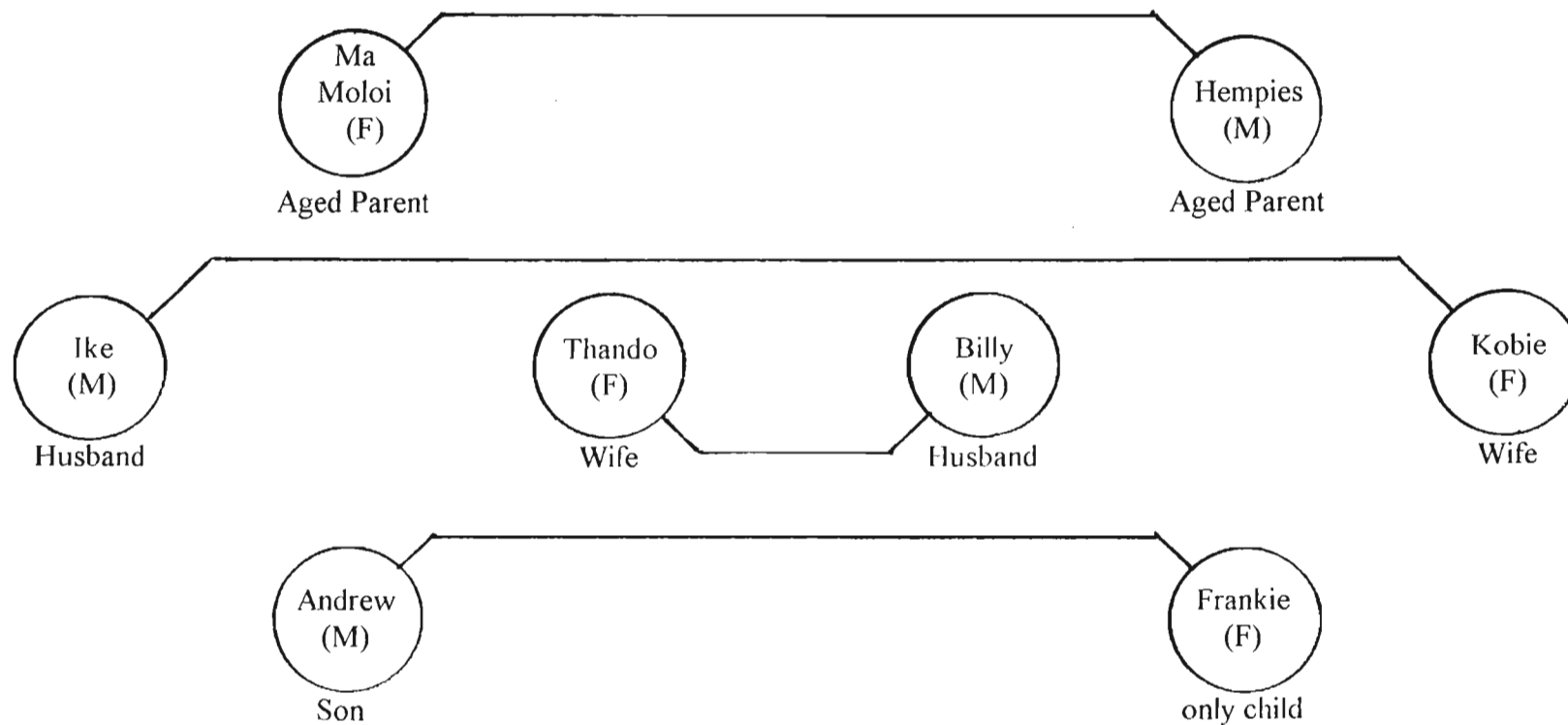


Diagram 3.2

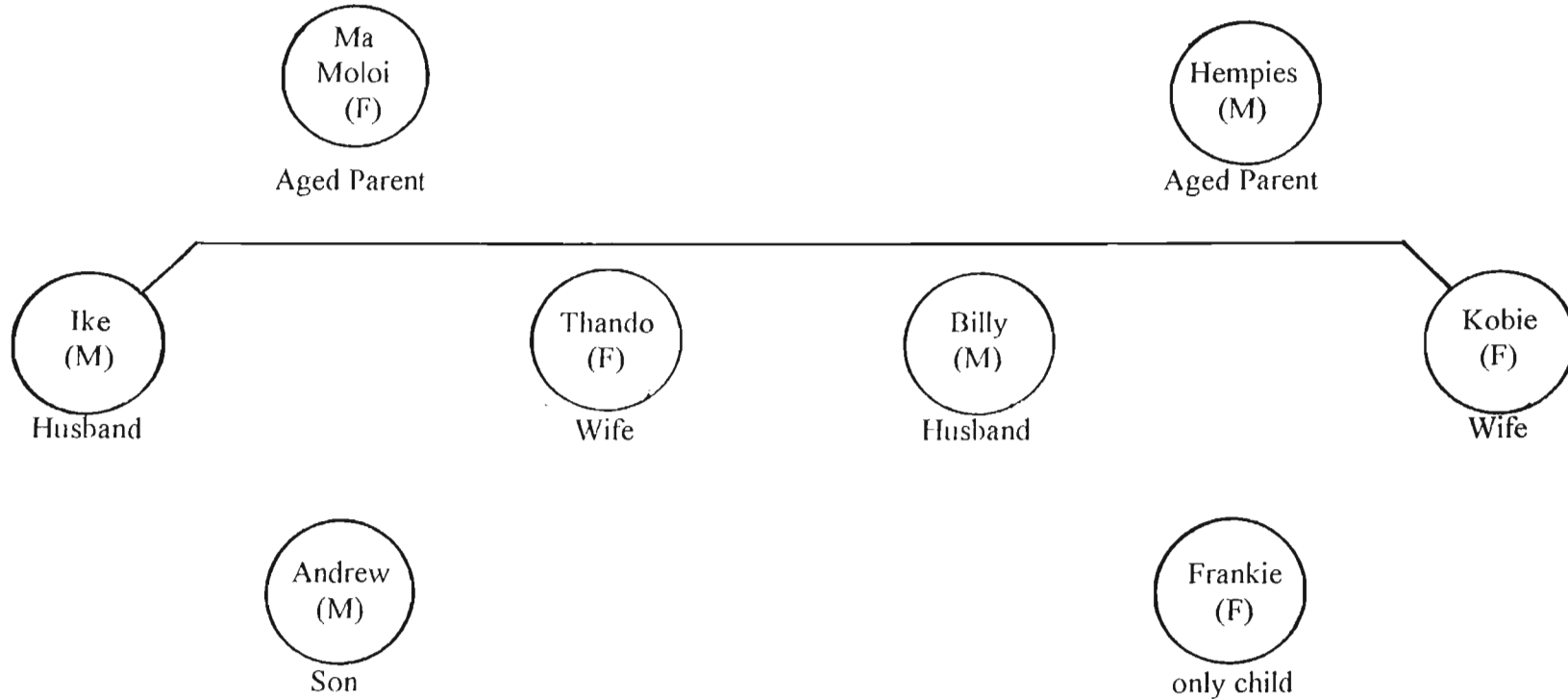
- Gender
 - a. Cancels out within the two families.
 - b. Complementary across families.

Structural Mode of Representation in SUBURBAN BLISS

MOLOI FAMILY

DWYER FAMILY

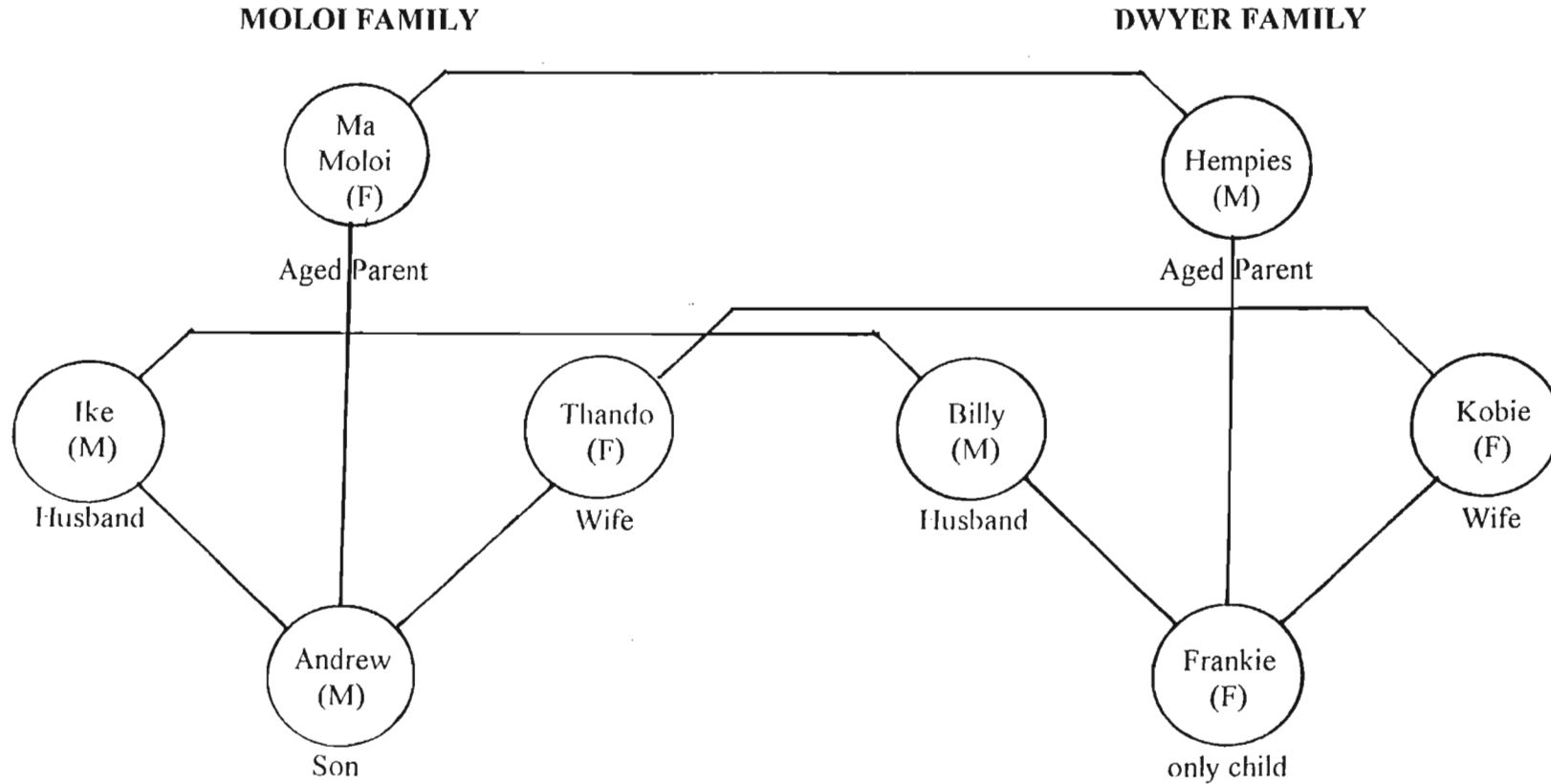
Diagram 3.3



- Powerful personalities : (i.e. who leads in family/business).:
Note *gender balance*.

Structural Mode of Representation in SUBURBAN BLISS

Diagram 3.4



- Antagonisms:
 - Opposites pairing : Ma Moloji and Hempies, Kobie and Thando
 - Also contradictory pairing together of *aged parents*- This is unusual and incongruous, therefore humorous.

APPENDIX I

Maid from Hell	SB1 Eun	SB2 Joh	SB3 Eliz	SB4 Tho	SB5 LAn	SB6 Jan	SB7 Fre	SB8 Sus	SB9 Lei	Tot
Wanting a maid		2			1					3
Thando acting re dishwasher							1	1	1	3
Ma Moloi's expression 'Mthlo'							2			2
Ma Moloi states 'maids steal'							2		1	3
Ma Moloi's expression 'nkosiyami'							1			1
Ma Moloi : taking what you want		2						2		4
Hempies : They're allergic to soap									1	1
Hempies states 'maids steal'							2			2
Hempies' expression 'kaal'					4		1	3		8
Hempies' expression 'poedel'					2			3		5
Kobie re spice bottles									1	1
Maid interviews		2			4					6
Question to maid re 'praat Afrikaans'							2			2
Question to maid re 'deutsch'					2			2	1	5
Maid at door with bottle		3			2		2	3	1	11
Ma Moloi re ashtray	2						3		2	7
Ma Moloi's 'aha!' re ashtray		2	3				3	2	2	12
Thando: 'Madam' she called me		2						2		4
Maid at door with kids								2	2	4
Asking questions		2			3					5
Ma Moloi : she's too young								2		2
Scene re grandmother and excuses		1				2	2	1	3	9
Ma Moloi re Dalia's eyes			3	3			2		2	10
Ma Moloi to Thando re nails					3					3
Ma Moloi re Isaac		2			3					5
Maid re swapping days						2				2
Maid re madam next door					4					4
Maid's 'leave' story		2			3					5
Thando's comment 'sies'		1					2	1	1	5
Dalia re 'sangoma'		1				3			1	5
Ma Moloi and the 'bones'					2					2
Maid refers to Ike					3					3
Maid :Thando's nails and furn polish					3		3		1	7
Maid to Thando re 'black' and 'pay'		1			3	2	4	1	1	12
Thando to maid re 'sisters in blood'					1					1
Maid to Thando re working hours					3				1	4

Dalia re Kobie beating Billy							3	1		4
Thando re cup of tea	3	2				2	2	2		11
Dalia says Thando hit her							2			2
Dalia : White - give only bread and jam					4		1		1	6
Performance : Kobie with bread	3		2	2	4					11
Kobie re bacon and eggs			4	4			2	2		12
Hempies : Clean before she gets here.		1						2		3
Hempies comment re steak	3		3		3		2		1	12
Maid takes out bacon and eggs	3				3		3			9
Dalia: 'she drinks'						2			2	4
Dalia re 'not my madam'					2					2
Kobie tells Dalia to sit down						2				2
Kobie : Madam will make you brkfast							1		1	2
Billy to lke re AA notice					4	3	3			10
Billy hugs lke - get thru this together		2				3		2		7
Ma Moloi says all whites drink		1			4					5
Ma Moloi - whites have big stomachs		2				2	2	1	1	8
Performanse : Kobie - re note from lke					3		3			6
Kobie's reply to note						2				2
Ma Moloi: Thando's 'men'					3	2	2	2	2	11
Thando re Dwyers and 'drugs'					2	2	1	1	2	9
Performance : Dalia in apple scene	2		3	4						9
Thando calls the police						2				2
Kobie calls the police						1				1
Hempies' comment 'skande'									1	1
Police: Arrest you.		2			2			2		6
Blacks in police 'bakkie', whites in car							2			2
Policeman shouts Quiet!	3	2	3	4						12
Hempies says 'Rive'						3				3
Truck arrives to steal furniture						2		4		6
Ma Moloi - Hempies - drugs, goofy		2			3	2	2	1	1	11
Hempies to Ma Moloi re 'klap'		2			3	2	2	1		10
Hempies re cooking breakfast						2			1	3
Ike re defamation		2			4	1		2	2	10
Hempies : broom								2		2
Kobie : sacrificing children							3			3
All get robbed					2				1	3

Laughter Table SB 5.1

Campaign Trail	SB1 Eun	SB2 Joh	SB3 Eliz	SB4 Tho	SB5 LAn	SB6 Jan	SB7 Fre	SB8 Sus	SB9 Lei	Tot
Ma Moloi: print a new one every week	2	1			1	2	2			8
Thando : let's go window shopping	2					2	2	1		7
Ike : 'bitch, bitch, bitch'								2	2	4
Limpid : Sakbona, dumela		1			2	2	2	1	1	9
Limpid : shellfish						2				2
Limpid : clear, transparent	2			2						4
Ma Moloi: see through you		2				2		2		6
Ma Moloi: like an elastic band					2	1		2	1	6
Performance : Limpid sitting down						2			1	3
Limpid : an election's coming up									1	1
Limpid : 'non white people'						1	2			3
Limpid : anyone else								1		1
Ma Moloi: blue people	3	2		2	4		2	2	1	16
Thando : just people								1		1
Ma Moloi: values white or blue								2		2
Thando : 'amatop socialites'							2			2
Limpid : 'Mr Sexwale'		3		3		2	2	2	1	13
Thando : honour and privilege							2			2
Limpid : Vote for me									2	2
Thando : Oh, please Ike						1				1
Thando : First Lady							1			1
Thando : low class		2					2			4
Ma Moloi : racist boer									1	1
Andrew : stop crime - emigrate		2		3	5	3		2	2	17
Thando : Hilary Clinton						2				2
Ma Moloi : no more shopping days			1			1			1	5
Ike puts hand on Andrew's shoulder							1			1
Billy : I can't remember					3					3
Billy for President					2					2
Hempies : no blacks						2		2		4
Frankie : Brilliant								2		2
Frankie : re apartheid			2							2
Kobie : Weskoppies to take Billy							1		1	2
Kobie : I'd rather give up smoking					1	1			2	4
Kobie : less painful					1	1			2	4

Campaign Trail - cont'd	SB1 Eun	SB2 Joh	SB3 Eliz	SB4 Tho	SB5 LAn	SB6 Jan	SB7 Fre	SB8 Sus	SB9 Lei	Tot
Hempies : 'sabotage'					1		3	2	2	8
Hempies : politicians lie and cheat									1	1
Hempies : country great								2		2
Billy : Bayete nkosi!	3	3	2			2		2		12
Performance: Ike - doing very well			3							3
Billy : too cocky		2						3		5
Performance : Ike - get him			1							1
Ma Moloi: 'dondering Thando'		3			2	2	2	3		12
Performance : toyi-toyi	3	3		3	3			3		15
Ike : support informal sector				3	2	1				6
Ike and Ma Moloi : Viva la RDP		3						3		6
Billy : pickle it	1	1		3				2		6
Billy ; bankroll the casino							2			2
Hempies : I feel like a penguin							2			2
Kobie : handgrenade		2		3	1		2	2		10
Billy ; Sol Kerzner and losings		1						1		2
Kobie : Sol Kerzner and shebeen						2				2
Kobie : 'make a killing'		2	3							5
Kobie holds money to her mouth		1				2				3
Anka offers Chinese voters							3		1	4
Billy shouts into phone his wife is deaf							1			1
Hempies : reverse charges					1					1
Hempies : you dumb cow					1	2			1	4
Hempies : useless like yourself					1	2		1		4
Anka : Cute backward sort of way	3			3						6
Hempies : 'glitterkouse'								2		2
Hempies : taxi rank			3			2	1	2	1	9
Hempies : muti					3	2		2		7
Hempies : vetkoek	2			2	3		1	2		10
Ma Moloi : racist baboon		2			1			2	2	7
Billy : can't second - you're my wife		2				3		2		7
Kobie : don't remind me		1						1		2
Ike : You can't stand, you are my wife			3							3
Ma Moloi : doesn't have a brain either					3		1			4
Kobie : that's an improvement						1	2			3

Campaign Trail - cont'd	SB1 Eun	SB2 Joh	SB3 Eliz	SB4 Tho	SB5 LAn	SB6 Jan	SB7 Fre	SB8 Sus	SB9 Lei	Tot
Hempies : then move away		2				2	2	2	1	9
Thando : I've got the flu								1		1
Thando : I say yes								1		1
Kobie : I changed my mind		1						1	1	3
Limpid : Anymore nominations?									2	2
Billy's drunk friend votes	3	2		2	1	3				11
Performance : Ike - Thando's winning		1						2		3
Billy : like what?		1						1		2

Laughter Table SB 5.2

Comic Relief	SB1 Eun	SB2 Joh	SB3 Eliz	SB4 Tho	SB5 LAn	SB6 Jan	SB7 Fre	SB8 Sus	SB9 Lei	Tot
Andrew : Panties	2	2	3	2		1		2	2	14
Billy : marks on the table		1						2		3
Billy : Pigsty	2		2		1					5
Billy : sofa messed up		1				2		2		5
Billy : sees cartoon on fridge door		1			2			2		5
Cartoon : gun						2				2
Billy : where ideas from?						1	1		2	4
Billy : anyone we know?		2						2	1	5
Cartoons by Moloi and Dwyer						2				2
Performance : Billy - is this me?		1			2					3
Kobie : To Billy - can't you take a joke							1			1
Billy : I just washed this shirt								1		1
Frankie : I need protection		2			4		2			8
Kobie : I'm getting a bad feeling								1		1
Cartoon of Kobie					2		1	1		4
Kobie : Hilarious, Frankie!								2		2
Kobie : 18 hours and stretch marks	2	3	3	1	3	3	2	2		19
Kobie : whose idea was this?						2		1		3
Billy : 'Cartons of cigs'						1	2			3
Kobie : you skating thin									3	3
Ike : hot tip at Turffontein		3			3	2	1	2	3	14
Performances : Gift voucher to Salon		2			3	2	2	1		10
Kobie : 'do one about Thando'		1			3		1	2		7
Kobie : nasty and abusive					3		1			4
Cartoon : Hempies and Ma Moloi	2	2	3	2	4	3	1		3	20
Performance : Ma Moloi beats Andrew								2		2
Hempies : Pariah/traitor					4		2			6
Cartoon : Handmade furniture					3					3
Billy : Retractor								2		2
Kobie : Thando under shoes					2	3				4
Cartoon : Billy vacuums dog						2				2
Kobie : must be perfect					2					2
Thando offers tea to Ma Moloi							3	2		5
Ma Moloi : wonderful daughter-in-law		1			3				2	6
Ike : 'Rive' when Thando's pregnant			1				2		2	5

Thando : Ike, you are the boss		1					2		3	
Thando : just your slave		2	2		2		1		7	
Performance : Billy - popcorn in carpet		2	2	1	2	2	2		2	13
Hempies : Chin chin ma Wetu		3	1	2	3	2	5	2	3	21
Ma Moloi : you look so constipated		1				2	3	2		8
Hempies and Moloi : put in ice							1			1
Ma Moloi : the new SA - hate legally	2	2		3	3	3		2	2	17
Messenger : thanks for the coolie		1			2				2	5
Dwyers : do this to your parents?							2			2
SABC announcement re case		1			2		2			5
Newspaper employs legal team					2					2
Legals free of charge		1			2					3
Call the hot 'Bliss' line							3		3	6
Kobie : that backfired		2			3					5
Kobie : move to another country		1			1	3		1		6
Kobie : re Billy's friend - fishing					2					2
Billy : the hiding of her life					2					2
Numerous lawyers appear		1			2		2	1	2	8
Ma Moloi : advert for men's suits								2		2
Kobie : sue parents								2		2
Frankie : pretty funny		2			4		2	2		10
Lawyer : money for each									2	2
Frankie : 'cool'		1			3					4
Lawyer : spices in alphabetical order?	1									1

Laughter Table SB 5.3

Key:

SB1 (Eun) : Eunice - Zulu

SB2 (Joh) : Joanne - Coloured

SB3 (Eliz) : Elizabeth - Zulu

SB4 (Tho) : Theodora - Zulu

SB5 (LAn) : LeighAnn - White - English speaking

SB6 (Jan) : Janet - White - English speaking

SB7 (Fre) : Freda - White - Afrikaans speaking

SB8 (Sus) : Hundu - English speaking

SB9 (Lei) : White - English speaking

Flexible Asian Models	Jubilee	Elizab	Janet	Freda	Total
Mrs J : Falling asleep	2				2
“Maintaining fish tank”			2		2
Tsaba : A little lie down			2		2
Kipling : Ring in liquidiser			1	3	4
Kipling : Bumpy patch			2		2
Cluver : Major incident	2	1			3
Kipling : Erica - underclothes	3				3
Kipling : Grease monkey			1	1	2
Kipling : Slugs			3		3
Kipling : Divorce			2		2
Kipling : Bastard	4	1	2	2	9
Kipling : Humiliating			2		2
Kipling : Money - wedding			1		1
Kipling : Cousins singing			2		2
Video : Models of service			3		3
Tsaba : Lost for words			2	1	3
Look after tapes				1	1
Performance - Mrs J : Reacts to tapes	3	1	3		7
Brenda : Spielberg			2		2
Billy : Fell asleep			1		1
Performance - Mrs J : Watching tapes	5				5
Jabu : enters foyer			3		3
Jabu : Heard sounds	3	2	1		6
Jabu : Playing music				1	1
Mrs J : Moving Piano			2		2
Mrs J : the new South Africa	3		2		5
Jabu : sweating		1			1
Jabu ; paper upside down		1	4	1	6
Jabu : Hard core	3			1	4
Piet : Air hostesses			2		2
Jabu : Cowboy movies			2	1	3
Mrs J : Poor, poor, girfie			4	4	8
Mrs J : Splash water	4				4
Mrs J : Oh!, they're bad		2			2
Mrs J : I knew someone			2		2
Mrs J : Porn video			2		2

Flexible Asian Models Cont'd	Jubilee	Elizab	Janet	Freda	Total
Kipling : basket snatched			3	4	7
Piet : just passing	2		4	2	8
Piet : those videos, ja				1	1
Jabu : boring			1		1
Piet : it's my duty			2	2	4
Jabu : you too			3		3
Brenda : Public Works			4	3	7
Jabu : Part of RDP			3		3
Brenda : Transformation				1	1
Jabu : too much transformation				1	1
Jabu : Exhausting			2		2
Jabu : up to Squeeza	1		1		2
Piet : most boring film	3	1	3	3	10
Jabu : That thing they do	2	1			3
Piet : off with the clothes etc		2			2
Piet : Batman			2	2	4
Jabu : put this back	3				3
Piet : 'blou films!'		3	3	3	9
Kipling : surprise you			3		3
Kipling : not normal				4	4
'Use in development'			3		3
Billy : maintenance department			1	3	4
Billy : they loved it	2	2	4	3	11
Billy : no one fell asleep				3	3
Billy : Asian models	2		2	3	7
Billy : Swedish way			2		2
Billy : fifty copies			4		4

Laughter Table GU 6.1

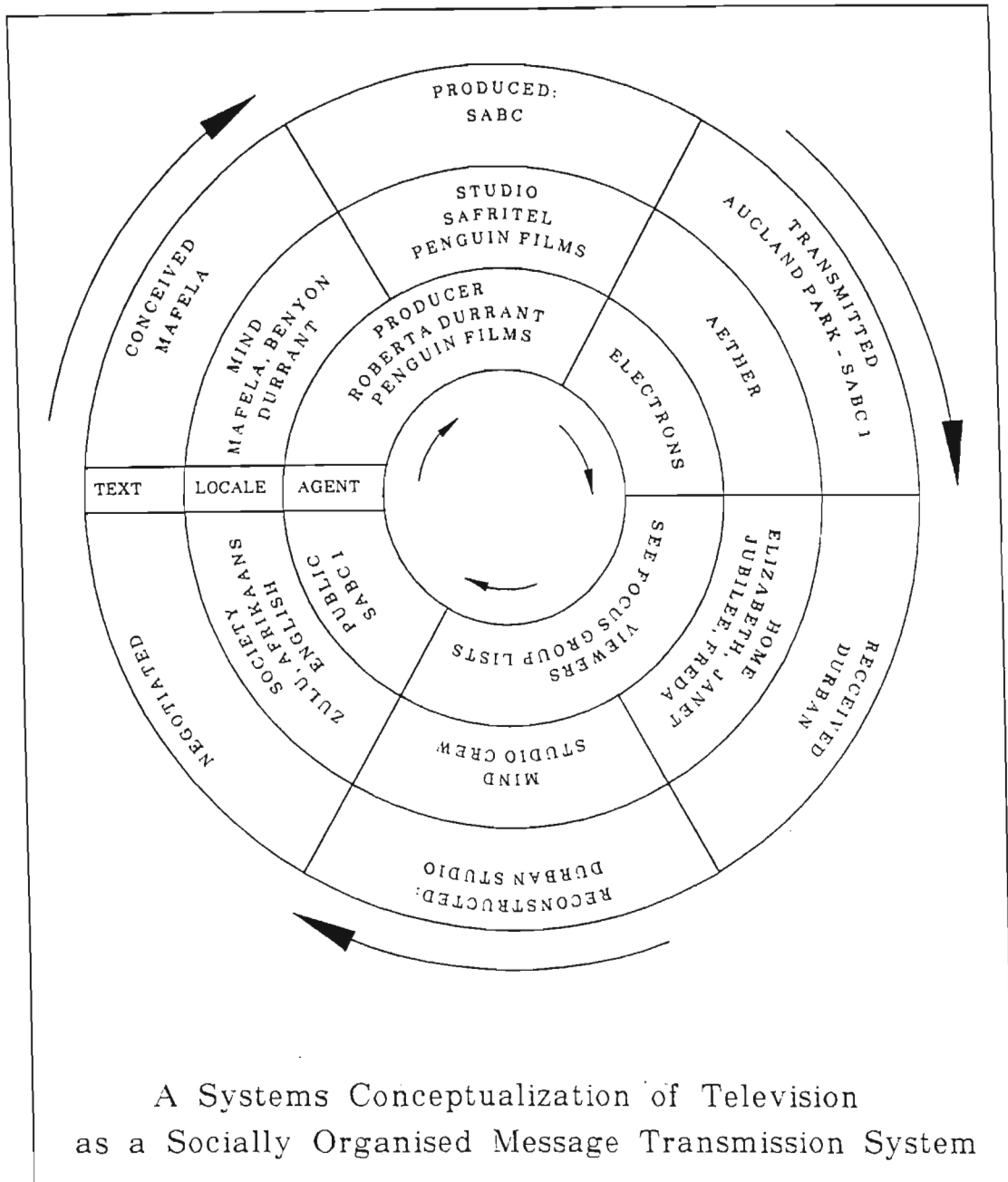
H. A. P. M. S.		Jubilee	Elizab	Janet	Freda	Total
In shebeen	ref to have a drink		1			1
Comparison of Piet to	Michael Jackson	1	1	2	2	6
Names for Piet	Deep Freeze			2		2
	Ice Cream				2	2
	Snowman			2		2
Mrs Jakobs	HAPMS			2		2
	Colour Blind			3		3
Afrikaans Busin. Men	KK			3	3	6
	Swart van der Merwe	4	4			8
	use of "snaaks"			3	2	5
	Verskriklik snaaks				2	2
	Tsaba - stupid?			3		3
	G'n werk- No work			4		4
	Names/skin colour			4		4
	Ref - gays - Moflies	4		3	1	8
	likes name Sithole	1		5		6
	ref to fem directors			2		2
	ref disabled's name	2		3	1	6
	greeting on return			3		3
	want names back			2		2
	pink hard hats			3		3
	new African names	2	1		2	5
	new co. name		1		3	4
	'I don't travel'				3	3
Jabu to Const. Men	incl fem on board	2				2
Piet in Shebeen	Toyitoyi song	4				4
Police looking for:	Drug dealer				2	2
	The Nigerian nose				1	1
Gay's comments	man's thighs	3		3		6
	man's a 'schmuck'			3		3
	ref to organs			3	1	4
	panties in a twist			3		3

	calls Piet a bitch	2		1	1	4
	ref to derrière			4	1	5
	ref to lisp in speech			4		4
	says '– piek intrek'	2		2	4	8
	is 'very alternative'			3		3
	blows a kiss			3		3
Piet Gouws	exclaims 'sies'	4	1	4	2	11
Tsaba dictating to Mrs.J	'- that should do it'	3	1	3	2	9
Tsaba ref to Jabu	for translation		1			1
Tsaba to Jabu re Cons.	'– over the moon'				2	2
Mrs Jakobs	multiling greeting	3		6		9
	Says Jabu sorts out			3		3
Performance	Gays' acting	3	1	3		7
Performance - Jabu	Mimics gays	5	2	3	2	12
Discomfort - Tsaba	When gays touch	2	1			3

Laughter Table GU 6.2

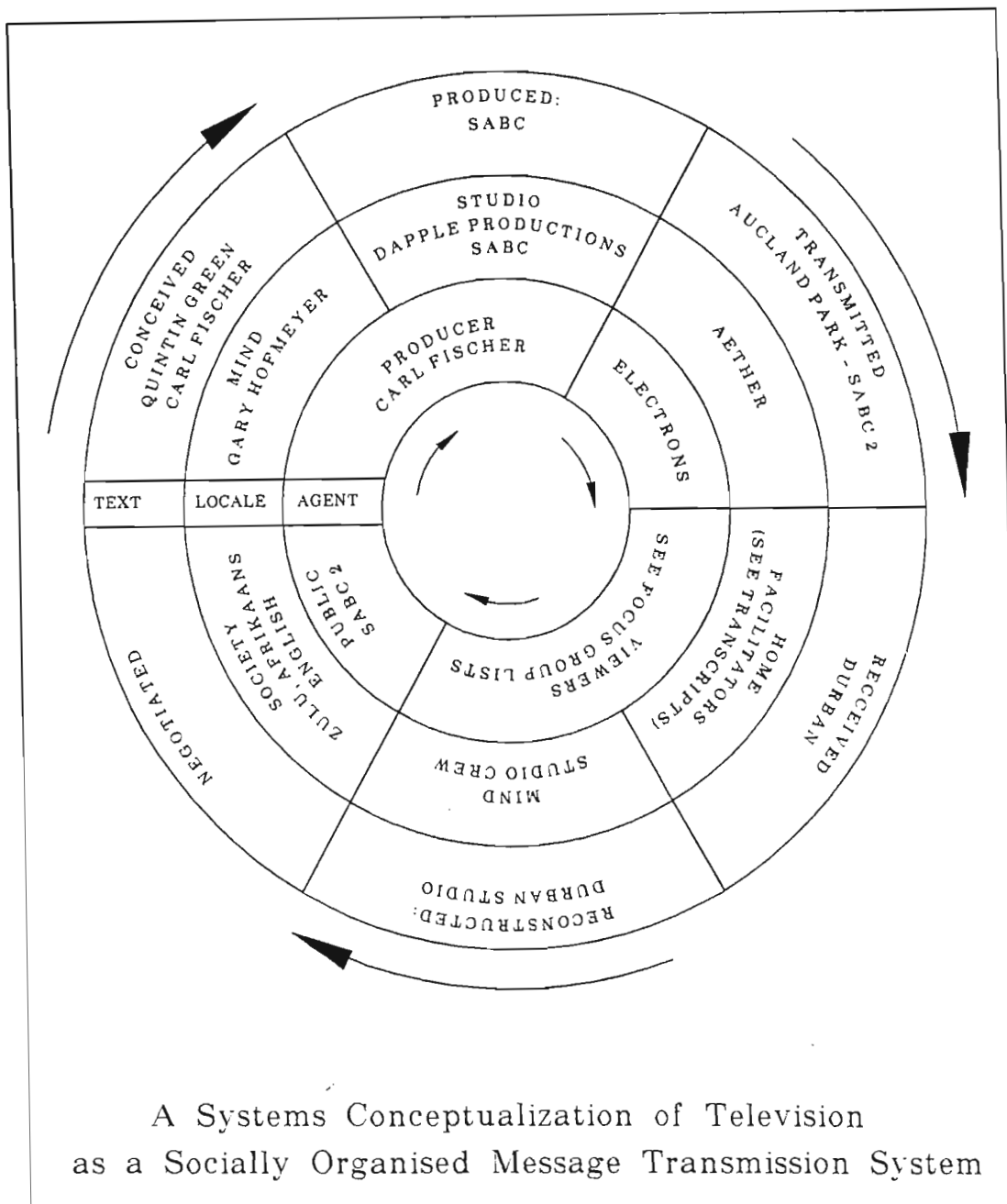
APPENDIX J

Eric Michael's Model of Teleported Text with reference to GOING UP III



Preliminary Formulation of Television's 'Hermeneutic Circle'

Eric Michael's Model of Teleported Text with reference to **SUBURBAN BLISS**



Preliminary Formulation of Television's 'Hermeneutic Circle'