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Preserving the Culture of the Old Location

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Executive Summary

Our project focuses on a story in Namibian history that is both heroic and sorrowful. The Old Location, an all black township located outside of Windhoek, Namibia, will always be remembered by its residents as a thriving community despite the hardships its people faced. Originally called the Main Location, the settlement was developed for the indigenous people in the early 1900s under German rule. However, in the mid-1950s the succeeding South African government tightened its apartheid policies by enforcing a 5km rule separating blacks from whites. The residents were outraged by the new policies and on December 10, 1959 tensions peaked when protesting residents clashed with police. Thirteen people were killed and numerous others injured on the night that, according to the first president of Namibia, Sam Nujoma, sparked the independence revolution. Over the course of the next decade, the residents of the Old Location were to be forcefully removed to the newly constructed suburbs of Katutura and Khomasdal.

Currently, most of the literature published on the Old Location focuses on the forced relocation of the citizens to Katutura, and fails to capture the culture and daily life of its residents. Keeping the memory of the Old Location alive is not only important for the former citizens, but for future generations as well. The City of Windhoek recognized the need to memorialize the Old Location and established a Historical House in the Old Location cemetery. Although the Historical House is not officially considered a museum, such an institution will allow visitors and students to understand the history and culture of the Old Location, as well as commemorate those who lost their lives on December 10, 1959.

The methods of oral history, a technique used to gather information through interviews or conversations with a person who has a story to tell, were used to answer unresolved questions and create a texture of everyday life and culture. Thus, the following objectives were carried out:

- Interviewed former residents of the Old Location and recorded their stories
- Collected artifacts pertaining to the Old Location
- Created a database of information obtained in these interviews
- Made recommendations concerning the location, use, and organization of the Historical House

In order to establish a type of museum and archive to preserve the memory of the Old Location, we collected documented material, such as videos and monographs, from the National Archive and other institutions. We also interviewed former residents about life before the forced removal and the impact it had upon them. The interviewees were asked various questions regarding family life, work, school, and everyday activities. We found that most were very willing to provide details of their daily life. We asked them to donate personal items, such as coins or photographs, from the Old Location that could be used in the future for an exhibition in the Historical House. The published works were compared to the information gathered in interviews conducted with former residents.

We used the collected oral histories to paint a portrait of what daily life was like in the Old Location. While we understand that it is not our place to rewrite Namibian history, the collected information provides a perspective that is not recorded in the published accounts or, in some cases, contradicts established works. We have found, for

example, that there are conflicting accounts of what happened on December 10, 1959. The published record states that Ms. Anna Mungunda became outraged over the death of her son and lit the mayor's car on fire. To our surprise, another man, the local dry cleaner, claimed that he was the one who lit the car on fire because he was one of the few people in town who had access to petrol. While our research indicates the need for further investigation of this and related historical events, the material we have gathered about the social and cultural life in the Old Location should not be overlooked. We have learned that even under the hardships of apartheid, the town had tennis courts and a dance hall, making the Old Location a 'normal' community.

Using the information we gathered from interviews, we generated a database that included a picture of each interviewee, a link to the digital interview, and key issues that were discussed. The database can be used in the future by the City of Windhoek to keep each interview on file and be made available to the public through the Historical House.

The current site of the Historical House is in the center of the Old Location cemetery. The placement of the building is very controversial because visiting a cemetery without the proper rituals is prohibited by many African beliefs. Thus, some former residents would not feel comfortable, because of spiritual beliefs, in visiting the Historical House. On the other hand, some feel the site is appropriate because the building is situated on the only remaining land of the Old Location. As a compromise, we recommend that the Historical House be moved outside of the cemetery gates to an area of land that is still part of the Old Location. Other recommendations for the City of Windhoek include:

- Gathering and verifying the collected data

- Set up an exhibition including any artifacts we collected
- Involve students, professors, and professionals who have an interest in the Historical House Project
- Follow up with Pan-African Centre of Namibia (PACON) to ensure the movie sets, props, and drawings from the Sam Nujoma film are donated to the Historical House for archival purposes

The importance of remembering the Old Location is not only beneficial to the residents of Windhoek, but to the building of national identity. It requires one to preserve the knowledge of what happened in the past so that history does not repeat itself. The surviving elderly of the Old Location are a wealth of knowledge of its history and have expressed to us their gratitude in knowing that someone cares about the Old Location and is finally making steps to preserve it for the future.

Abstract

The Old Location was a township established to separate the indigenous peoples from white settlers in Windhoek, Namibia. In the late 1950s, as South Africa began to enforce its apartheid policies in Namibia, the residents of the Old Location were forcefully removed and relocated to Khomasdal and Katutura. In 2002, the city of Windhoek constructed a building known as the Historical House to function as an archive and low key museum, dedicated to preserving the history of the Old Location. The purpose of our project was to obtain oral histories and artifacts relating to the Old Location. We conducted interviews with former residents to investigate what life was like before and during the forced relocation in 1959. Residents were also asked if they had any artifacts from the Old Location which they would be willing to donate for archival purposes. The personal accounts and artifacts that we collected will eventually be placed in the Historical House for use of scholars, tourists, and former residents of the Old Location.

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

Historical memory is one of the most important aspects of human life and without it, there would be no recollection of culture. "You have to begin to lose your memory, if only in bits and pieces, to realize that memory is what makes our lives. Life without memory is no life at all....Our memory is our coherence, our reason, our feeling, even our action. Without it, we are nothing..." —Luis Buñuel (Sacks, 1998). Preserving memories of shared traditions and past events is crucial for the continuation of a culture, satisfying the basic human desire to understand its ancestral and national roots. For the independent republic of Namibia, the memories of the Old Location, and the forced removal of its residents, must not be forgotten.

Museums are often used to preserve the memories and traditions of a culture. For example, the National Museum in Windhoek strives to represent Namibia's past through the display of cultural artifacts such as works of art, articles of clothing, remnants of war, and written or recorded accounts of the past. While the National Museum has aided in the preservation of Namibian history, there has been a lack of attention given to the Old Location and the forced removal of its residents. The Old Location is a symbol of the oppression faced during apartheid and its destruction has greatly affected the Namibian people. Realizing this fact, the City of Windhoek set out to establish a small scale museum dedicated to the display and preservation of historical materials pertaining to the Old Location and the removal of its residents.

The Old Location, formerly known as the Main Location, was an area on the outskirts of Windhoek specifically designated for blacks and coloreds, keeping them

separate from the white people of Windhoek. This segregation of races was already present in the early 1900s, and continued after World War I as South Africa began to force its apartheid policies on the people of Namibia. In the late 1950s, the people of the Old Location were told by the Windhoek Municipality that they must move because their land was desired for the expansion of white Windhoek. The residents were outraged and protested against the actions of the Municipality through boycotts and demonstrations. On December 10, 1959, the Municipality brought in armed forces to control the protests. As the situation escalated, the police opened fire, killing a total of thirteen residents and injuring numerous others. After this event, many residents fearfully complied with the demands of the Municipality and moved out of their homes into the newly constructed townships of Katutura and Khomasdal. The residents who refused to move would eventually be forced out when the Municipality bulldozed the houses in the Old Location.

Today, there are a variety of modern homes built where the former residents of the Old Location once lived. Unfortunately, the only portion that remains intact is the Old Location cemetery. The City of Windhoek decided that the cemetery would be an ideal place to construct a building for use as an archive and small scale museum. This building, referred to as the Historical House, was built in 2002 with the intention of providing researchers, school children, and other visitors access to all of the available information related to the Old Location.

Currently, most of the information about the Old Location can be found at the University of Namibia, the National Archives, and in the memories of its former residents. The problem is that there is no central source of information for researchers, students, and tourists to learn about the Old Location. Also, some of the former

residents are dying and have not been given the opportunity to talk about their daily lives and experiences.

Our project, as given to us by the City of Windhoek, dealt primarily with collecting oral histories from former Old Location residents. These oral accounts provide a vivid image of life in the Old Location that is lacking in the current historical documentation. Furthermore, these oral histories capture the feelings and emotions of the former residents and may prove to be useful for future exhibitions in the Historical House.

In addition to collecting oral accounts, our project also involved collecting documentation and artifacts relating to the Old Location. The collection of existing documentation facilitated the interview process by highlighting which aspects of the Old Location's history needed additional research. Upon completion of our interviews, we collected artifacts from the former residents in order to make their stories tangible for future visitors to the Historical House.

We hope this project will have many positive effects on the city of Windhoek. We believe that through our efforts, we have helped to clarify and support the published history of the Old Location as well as highlighted areas for future research. We hope that the City of Windhoek can use our project to create an awareness of the need to preserve the Old Location's history and ultimately commemorate the lives of its former residents and the trials they faced. Excellent – I moved a few words around here & there, but they were small modifications to a first rate introduction.

CHAPTER TWO: Background and Literature Review

The primary task of our project was to augment and organize the current historical material pertaining to the Old Location. This task involved documenting the amount of available information and supplementing it through the collection of oral histories and cultural artifacts. In doing so, it was important to first research the history of the Old Location, particularly the forced removal of its residents to Katutura. This event was a crucial episode in Namibian history that is said by many, including the former President Sam Nujoma, to have ignited the liberation movement.

The Forced Relocation

Long before the enactment of apartheid laws in 1948, there were policies of racial segregation in Namibia. From 1884 to 1915, the Germans had control of Namibia and had segregated those of different races, relocating the coloreds and blacks to reserves. As Ingolf Diener states in, “On Culture in Independent Namibia,” the Germans also enforced specific rules for interaction among the individual races. The rules were rigidly enforced in the more urbanized areas while those living on the fringes of Windhoek remained mostly unaffected. To ensure that these rules could be better enforced, the Windhoek Municipality regrouped those on the outskirts onto two sites, the larger being called the “Main Location.” Despite the regrouping, residential segregation was still not strictly enforced and the inhabitants were allowed purchase houses and interracial marry (Diener, 2001).

The Main Location continued to develop until 1959, when, under South African rule, the white administration of the Windhoek Municipality began to lobby to have the residents moved to another township. The Municipality claimed to be helping those being relocated by providing improved living conditions and offering the residents a new place to live. As Jafta et al. state, in “*An Investigation of the Shooting at the Old Location on 10 December 1959*,” the people of the Old Location had already been removed from their previous homes on the outskirts of Windhoek, and were not interested in being moved again. They only desired to have improvements made to their current homes (Jafta et al., 1995).

According to Wade C. Pendleton, in *Katutura: A Place where We Stay*, the community leaders of the Old Location felt that Windhoek Municipality was really concerned with enforcing apartheid laws, rather than improving the living conditions of the community (an example of such laws was the required 5 km separation between black and white areas, allegedly to protect the health of whites). In April 1956, the community leaders confirmed that the people of the Old Location refused to leave, explaining they had named the proposed township Katutura, a word meaning “we do not have a permanent habitation.” With complete disregard of the residents’ opinions, the Municipality continued to pressure the people to move to the new township. The residents then decided to boycott the municipal bus services and beer hall in order to defend their right to stay in the Old Location (Pendleton, 1994).

The tension between the Municipality and the Old Location community continued to swell until an open conflict broke out on December 10, 1959. On that day, many residents were participating in a demonstration when they were met with the force of the

armed municipal police. In an attempt to disperse those involved in the demonstration, the police opened fire, killing thirteen residents and wounding numerous others. For the next nine years, the Municipality continued to force its will upon the Old Location residents by moving them out and bulldozing their homes. While some residents fled to various reserves throughout the country, the majority were moved to either Katutura, a planned black township, or Khomasdal, a township built for coloreds.

While the tragic events of December 10th are well known, personal experiences of those events or the impact they had on the residents of the Old Location are not. As the residents were scattered by the relocation, so was their history. The cultural destruction that was brought about by the relocation has left the history of everyday life in the Old Location only in the minds of its residents and their families. Thus, there is a need to collect their stories and locate any written accounts of their lives, if such records exist, before they are forgotten.

Some additional information can be found in official documents from the Municipality and the South African Government, as well as newspaper articles from that time period. However, like all historical documentation, there is a bias present that limits the use of such documents in describing the way of life in the Old Location. One would not expect there to be much information about the residents' daily lives and traditions in the writings of their oppressors. Despite the absence of cultural descriptions, these documents show how the residents were viewed by the white establishment and are therefore valuable in describing the history of the Old Location.

The Historical House

The fact that much of the history of everyday life and popular culture in the Old Location remains scattered throughout the memories of its former residents, and that the majority of the written history is told from the viewpoint of those in power, highlights the need for an institution that is dedicated to the collection, preservation, and documentation of the history of the Old Location. Such an institution, known as the Historical House, was created in 2002 by the City of Windhoek's Sports, Arts, and Culture Division for the purpose of archiving information relating to the Old Location. The Historical House was also created to eventually become a small-scale museum that would add to Windhoek's attraction for tourists. As stated by Manfred !Gaeb, the department manager of the City of Windhoek's Tourism division, the majority of tourists who enter Windhoek are merely passing through on their way to visit more rural areas. By increasing the length of stay of the average tourist, the City of Windhoek will benefit financially and new jobs may be created for its citizens.

A picture of the Historical House can be seen in Figure 1. It is located in the cemetery, unfortunately the only standing portion of the Old Location. Because the Historical House lies so close to the gravestones (one nearly inches away from the back corner of the building), there has been much debate over whether or not to use the Historical House for its intended purpose.



Figure 1: Front and Rear Views of the Historical House

Mr. !Gaeb stated that there are many cultural traditions attached to the cemetery and that he has received a lot of criticism from those who were offended by the positioning of the Historical House. The majority of the complaints were from local Namibians who feel that it was disrespectful to have built the Historical House in such a sacred area. Mr. !Gaeb also asserts that many Namibians have superstitions about cemeteries, which would prevent them from feeling comfortable inside the Historical House. Thus, the people who may benefit most from the Historical House may never enter it.

The controversy surrounding the positioning of the Historical House has been present since its conception. When the idea for the building was initially proposed, the Sports, Arts and Culture Division was aware of the religious practices of many Namibians regarding cemeteries. However, these practices were only considered in the

rules set down for the operation of the building. The original plans stated that disturbances such as noise would not be tolerated and all vehicles must be parked outside of the cemetery in order to not disturb the dead. Also, to limit the number of people trekking through the cemetery, the Historical House would only be open to the public on specifically agreed dates.

While these rules show consideration for the cultural and traditional undertones attached to cemeteries, those in charge of the construction did not consult with the people who had relatives buried in the cemetery. Soon after the building was complete, the Municipality experienced a departmental reshuffling in which the Sports, Arts and Culture Division was divided into two parts, the Sports, Arts, and Recreation Division, and the Tourism Division. At this time, the responsibility of the Historical House was given to the new management of the Tourism Division, which inherited the controversy along with the building.

Today, the members of the Tourism Division wish to continue pursuing the original goals of the Historical House, most importantly the collection of artifacts, documentation, and oral accounts relating to the Old Location. However, for the placement of these collections, the Tourism Division is considering erecting a new building outside of the Old Location cemetery. Despite the uncertain future of the Historical House, the Tourism Division still wanted us to start the collection process because it plans on displaying the materials we gathered in a small exhibition to facilitate interest in the Historical House. In order to make appropriate recommendations for future uses of the building, it was important to first understand the role of museums and the power of the information they portray.

Functions of a Museum

A museum has many different functions within a society. At the most basic level, J. Fleming states in “African American Museums, History and the American Ideal,” the role of a museum is to assist in understanding the cultural values of a people through the collection, preservation, documentation, and interpretation of their cultural artifacts and traditions (Fleming, 1994). Additionally, Neil Harris reveals, in “Museum and Controversy: Some Introductory Reflections,” that a museum can reflect the characteristics of a society including taste, patriotism, civic loyalty, social harmony, and economic mobility. Museums can bring to light social realities that have been overlooked in the past as well as challenge previous interpretations of history (Harris, 1995). Typically, the information found in history textbooks may reflect the past as viewed from the vantage point of scholars, possibly silencing the voices of those outside elite parties of the society. Though museums can also present biased information, they can more easily portray the diversity of a society by representing history through the eyes of various cultures and other groups, creating a multifaceted view of the past.

Moreover, museums can function to promote a national ideology. They can either promote a culture of collective unity or they can defend the political ideology of a particular group or party. An example of a museum that unfortunately only served to promote a narrow political ideology was the National History Museum of Transylvania, in Cluj-Napoca, Romania. John J. Schweig describes this museum, in “Representing Romania: a Museum at the Center of Ethnic Struggle,” as a “tool of the nationalist movement and socialist government.” He also states that the museum was used by both the Romanians and Hungarians to support their claim that they were the first to settle

Transylvania. Depending on who was in power, the museum would be configured in such a way as to convince viewers that the current ruling party, either Hungarian or Romanian, was the first to settle the land (Schwieg, 2004).

In contrast, the purpose of the Historical House is not to defend a single political or ethnic ideology, but to provide an understanding of the past that will help to heal the social divisions created by apartheid. The Historical House will not only serve to commemorate the tragedy of the forced relocation but also to preserve the way of life that remains in the memories of its former residents. In doing so, it will help those who were supportive of apartheid come to terms with their past as oppressors, while giving those who were silenced an opportunity to be heard. If the Historical House truly portrays the injustices committed against the Old Location's past residents, and other parties are aware of their complicity with apartheid, there is a possibility for true national reconciliation to take place.

As it currently stands, the Historical House cannot technically be considered a museum because the building resides inside the cemetery, which itself is considered a national monument. The Historical House is therefore also considered a "national monument" by default. Despite its technical description, the Historical House can still function as a museum through the display of exhibits. Considering that most of the Old Location's history resides in the memories of its former residents, an exhibit could be most effective if it were based upon the oral accounts of those from the Old Location.

Oral Histories

A collection of oral histories would provide valuable information and insight into what life was like for former residents of the Old Location. By definition, oral history is a technique used to gather information through interviews or conversations with a person who has a story to tell. As it stands, the fabric of everyday life in the Old Location has not been preserved in written Namibian history.

When compared to written documentation, oral history can be far more useful as a primary source in understanding popular culture. As McAdoo argues, in “Oral History as a Primary Resource in Educational Research,” researchers can use oral history to understand a culture’s interpretation of the past (McAdoo, 1980). Moreover, oral history can portray the past from the perspective of multiple groups within a society, providing a balanced story of the past.

Oral histories are often used to complement and expand a given body of history. When using oral histories for this purpose, a certain level of organization needs to be applied to the information obtained from oral accounts. Without proper organization, oral accounts of history can leave any audience in a state of confusion, forcing it to draw inaccurate conclusions. In “Culture: which Culture?” Werner Hillebrecht comments on the organization of oral history projects in Namibia, stating that the collections are “entirely uncoordinated, haphazard, and undocumented.” He then tells of how the lack of organization “defeats the purpose of *orature* [*oral* and *literature*] collection” and also, “undermines the willingness of the communities to contribute” (Diener, 2001). These statements highlight the need to take extreme care in how one organizes and presents information gathered from oral histories.

CHAPTER THREE: Methodology

The purpose of this project, as laid out by the City of Windhoek, was to establish an archive that honors those who lived at and were forcibly removed from the Old Location. To accomplish this task, we obtained oral histories and personal items from former residents for inclusion in the recently built Historical House. Our goal was to present visitors with an intimate and factual account of past life in the Old Location. Such a goal required the establishment of multiple, independent sources of information. We needed to locate historical documentation in addition to the information we gathered via oral history. The oral histories and documentation were then compared for inconsistencies. This process of locating, collecting, and verifying information was done in the following order:

- Located and collected written documentation
- Conducted a preliminary interview with Michael Tjivikua, the director for the Center of Teaching and Learning at the Polytechnic of Namibia, to understand the cultural and social norms of those we would interview
- Recorded formal interviews with individuals
- Requested former residents to donate personal items of relevance to the Old Location
- Verified information from the oral histories, where possible
- Analyzed the content of the interviews

Within this chapter, our methods of data collection and analysis are explored in detail. These methods allowed us to present the Tourism Division with over 100 pages of candid

individual histories in the form of interview transcriptions (see Appendix D), as well an assortment of personal items that were given to us for use within the Historical House.

Gathering Background Information

Upon arrival in Namibia we performed research to determine what information exists on the Old Location. We utilized the National Archives and the National Museum to obtain additional sources of written information regarding the Old Location that had been unavailable to us in the United States. We also set up a meeting with the Namibia National Monuments Council to determine if any rules or regulations might come into play regarding the Historical House, and whether or not it can be considered a museum.

Gaining Familiarity with the Former Culture and Customs of the Old Location

Our principal method of gathering project data was by interviewing parties that had first-hand experiences within the Old Location. The cultural differences among the people of Namibia were considered in order for us to conduct these interviews effectively. Our first interview was with Dr. Michael Tjivikua, a former resident of the Old Location. He was chosen to be the first person we interviewed so that he could criticize and comment on the effectiveness of our interview process. His acquaintance with WPI students, coupled with his strong familiarity with both American and Namibian cultures, made him an excellent candidate for our preliminary interview.

Conducting Interviews

Although we intended to carry out open-ended interviews, it was necessary to develop a list of questions to guide the conversation (see Appendix B). The topic and wording of each question had to be consistent because our results depended heavily on what we learned in these interviews. Although each question was not always covered, the layout of all interviews followed the same general format. In order to ensure our subjects were as comfortable as possible, we always conducted the interviews in a setting of their choice.

We continued to adapt our questions based on what we had learned from previous interviews. All of the recurring topics that were relevant to the culture of the Old Location up until the relocation to Katutura were analyzed and compared. This process is described below.

Organization of the Information Obtained from Oral Accounts

Midway through the completion of our interviews we began to realize that our planned method for the evaluation of the information we have gathered would need to be reassessed. We originally planned to analyze the oral accounts using a content analysis. To analyze the data in this way, we would have to search through the oral accounts, listening for key words, phrases, or concepts that would describe aspects of life in the Old Location. Although the ultimate goal of a content analysis would be possible, key words or phrases were not observed at a frequency we had originally anticipated. In addition to this problem, many of the interviews we conducted required a translator and the exact

wording used by the interviewee almost surely changed with the translation. As a result, we concluded that finding a pattern in the commonly repeated phrases, terms, or ideas pertaining to the daily life was not possible. We decided that the best way to tell the stories of those we interviewed would instead be done by creating a portrait of what the life was like in the Old Location. Taking this approach, we devised a set of topics with which we grouped elements of our conversations with former residents. We put this categorized data together to form a narrative, which provides the reader with a vivid image of daily life in the Old Location. The following topics were chosen because we felt they describe the general characteristics that define a way of life:

- Childhood
- Education
- Employment
- Quality of Life
- Social and community activities

In addition to the above topics, we also chose to group the accounts describing the events on December 10th. This topic was chosen because of its importance in Namibian history. Utilizing the fact that there is a relatively large amount of published material on the relocation, we used the accounts to highlight any details of the relocation that we felt needed additional research.

Eventually, all applicable information within each interview was filtered into one of the above topics. It was decided that the most efficient way to facilitate this process was to first transcribe all of the interviews. The workload was divided equally, with each group member being assigned one-quarter of the interviews to be transcribed. A general

format for the transcriptions was agreed upon to maintain uniformity between the records of different group members (see Appendix D for all transcribed interviews).

Upon completion of the transcription process, a form was generated that allowed us to separate the crucial information from each interview and compare with what was extracted from the other interviews. This form can be found in Appendix A. Each transcribed interview was then read through with the form in hand, and whenever an example that fell into a key category appeared in the conversation, the interviewee's descriptions were noted under the appropriate heading. After our form was completed for each interview, everything recollected on a specific topic was put together for contrast and comparison.

Once it was possible to see the collective statements on one topic, it was feasible to begin creating our portrait of what life was like in the Old Location. Instances of interviewees being in agreement with each other, or with previous literature, were sought out as well as contradictions in individual experiences. When citing individuals directly, some preference was given to the interviews in which a translator was not necessary, since interviews conducted in English ensured that we would be using the true words of the interviewee. However, we attempted to include all applicable recollections of the past when composing the narrative, so that in the end every perspective was accounted for.


Verification of Oral Accounts

Considering the number of interviews we conducted, we had to ensure that the narrative we assembled was indeed factual. Over time, we verified the information given

to us during each interview and found that most accounts were in accord with one another. We did find however, that as the number of completed interviews increased, so did the number of differing accounts of the past. Often times these disagreements were small and inconsequential, however, we always used subsequent interviews to verify what was told to us in prior conversations. This was a relatively straightforward process as most of our interviews flowed from topic to topic in a similar manner. Nevertheless, if a certain topic failed to be touched upon during the normal progression of the interview, we would ask for the individual's assistance in clarifying the inconsistency.

Organization and Analysis of Oral Accounts

During the process of each formal interview, notes were taken on topics discussed, in addition to the conversation being electronically recorded. As mentioned earlier, each interview was also completely transcribed to facilitate analysis through the use of the form found in Appendix A. The forms from each interview were then organized in a database so that accounts about similar topics could be easily compared. Figures 2 shows an example of how this database was organized.

<input type="button" value="New Record"/> <input type="button" value="Open Record"/>		<input type="button" value="Find by Name"/>		<input type="button" value="Next Record -->"/>	
				<input type="button" value="<-- Previous Record"/>	
Subject's Name <input type="text" value="Tjama Tjivikua"/>		Photo 			
Date <input type="text"/>		Recording <input type="text"/>			
Childhood <input type="text" value="Made toy cars with porridge cans
Fought with white kids after school
Paid money by tourists to take photos of him
Attempted smoking stolen tobacco, dung, paper
Very strict upbringing, disciplined by being hit"/>		<input type="text" value="Rector of the Polytechnic"/>			
Education <input type="text" value="Sub A, Sub. B, Standard 1 in the OL
Secondary School Windhoek
OL education was leess segregated
Rhenish mission allowed tribes to mingle"/>		Other Notes			
Employment <input occupations"<br="" professional="" type="text" value="Father was a teacher
Mother was a nurse
These were the two "/> in the OL"/>		Contacts Referenced			
Quality of Life <input type="text" value="Communal water, communal latrines
No elecricity, no running water
Porridge was always dinner
Meat on Sundays"/>					
Social and Community Activities <input type="text" value="Community was very sharing, sugar, maize etc.
could always be borrowed from your neighbor"/>					
December 10 and The Relocation to Katutura <input type="text"/>					

10

Figure 2: Database displaying details of an interview

Artifacts and Alternative Documentation

In order to fill gaps in time or to confirm events discussed during interviews, it was necessary for us review various forms of documentation and obtain related artifacts.

When we conducted interviews, we scheduled a follow up meeting with whoever told us

that he/she had artifacts to donate. The personal items we collected were cataloged in an additional database, including the following information:

- Name of the person who donated the item
- The age of the item
- The significance of the item to the project
- Any other additional interesting facts about the item
- Assigned number for cataloging purposes

Figure 3 shows how the artifact database was organized for cataloging purposes.

The screenshot displays the 'Historical House Inventory' web application. At the top, there is a navigation bar with a 'View Inventory Report' link and icons for 'New', 'Delete', and 'Find'. The main content area is titled 'Calabash' and 'Household item'. It features a form with the following fields: 'Item: Calabash', 'Category: Household item', 'Location:', 'Serial #:', and 'Notes: Used to carry milk'. To the right of the form is a photograph of two calabashes. Below the form is a section titled 'Acquired Info' with fields for 'Date Acquired: 04/08/2005', 'Inventory ID: 2', 'Obtained From: Rachel Muinjo', and 'Cost:'.

Figure 3: Historical House Inventory database displaying information on a donated item

CHAPTER FOUR: Results

As originally anticipated, our interviews with former residents have brought to light many details about life in the Old Location that were previously undocumented in published history. Even more surprising, however, was the fact that the literature that documents the Old Location's major occurrences, such as the sequence of events that transpired on the night of December 10th, is not completely consistent with the accounts that we gathered.

We hope that the problem of incomplete and contradictory histories can be partially remedied by this project. The more people we spoke with, the more that certain contradictions with written history would arise, highlighting the fact that more research needs to be done. In some instances, details of events became increasingly blurry as we talked to past residents and their recollections differed. Conversely, certain pieces seemed to fall together as oral histories were collected, making us aware of interesting details that are important to the Old Location's history.

The process of exploring another way of life and investigating another culture's past is not a simple task. For this reason, we were very cautious when planning our method of analysis. We conducted a total of 16 interviews and carefully read and transcribed the oral histories we collected (see Appendix D). We then divided the information obtained from each interview into the following six categories: childhood, education, employment, quality of life, social and community activities, and the events of December 10, 1959. We felt these categories encompassed everyday life and culture in the Old Location as well as the major event that led to its destruction.

We have organized our results in the form of a database which provides a description of what each person said in regards to the topics listed above. The data base also offers a small description of the interviewee, a list of any individuals that they recommended to talk to for more information, and a list of artifacts they agreed to donate/lend to the Historical House.

The main purpose of the database was to organize our results for future use by the City of Windhoek and to compare individual accounts to highlight contradictions and agreements. The following is a collective description of the five topics regarding daily life in the Old Location. We have used the oral accounts we have gathered to create a narrative of daily life which will hopefully be used to complement and expand the current historical material pertaining to the Old Location.

Childhood

The generation of children that grew up not only in the Old Location but subsequently in Katutura recollected their experiences within the Old Location as being a lighthearted, and for the most part, a carefree childhood. On more than one occasion the community was said to be collectively responsible for the upbringing of a child. Nora Schimming, a member of Parliament and former resident, recalls that if any adult within the community told a child to do something, that request was observed because, “if you did anything that was not liked, any grownup would give you a slap and you would have to accept that.” She also explained that kids understood that during the day work was to get done, whether it was at school or around the house helping her family. Play was

always secondary, “so when we all came from work we had our separate duties in the house and the shop. After 5 o’clock we had an hour to go and play.”

Some of the activities that the children of the Old Location engaged in are similar to games children still play today. Ms. Schimming remembered how her and her friends would play house: “And you would get from your mother a piece of onion, a potato, some flour, meat and so on. And we would go there [to the sand of a river bed], they used to have fish in oval shaped tins, and we would use that as a pan and we would actually play house. Draw houses in the sand, make your bed, and make your table and chairs and all of those things. And then you would cook and play with it.” She also playfully remembered how residents of the Old Location could easily relocate their houses by picking them up from the inside and walking them to a new place within the settlement, and how children took advantage of this. Whenever a home was being relocated, people carrying the home from the inside would be guided by someone on the outside knocking on its tin walls. The knocks served as guidance, telling those inside which direction to move the home. Oftentimes Ms. Schimming would hide with her friends and throw stones at the shacks, innocently creating some confusion to those guiding and steering the shacks, causing them to move in the wrong direction.

The Rector of the Polytechnic of Namibia, Tjama Tjivikua, only experienced the Old Location after most of its residents were removed yet he still vividly remembers how the children would create toy cars out of porridge cans: “... we would take [a] rubber tube and cut a little bit, take the can, and you put the rubber over it and that was your wheel. And so on and so on, it was very nice.” The children would then drive the cars down small roads drawn on the ground. In addition, Dr. Tjivikua recalled allowing

curious white tourists to photograph him and his friends for money so he could then go to town and buy sweets. He was also one of many who told of anxiously waiting to meet the white kids who would start fights with the black children each day after school. He continued to discuss his childhood by telling of how he used to try smoking various substances such as newspaper or cow dung to feel a bit older: “we used to roll up papers and smoke; it was terrible. But then the *pumper*, the guy who would pump water for the community, he used to have a small garden, and it was there we used to steal the tobacco, but it’s gotta be a bit dry, when it’s green it’s not nice, so we used to smoke that. But when it was done, it was very strong, I mean, imagine – you put it in brown paper and smoke it so there is no filter – oh it was rough.” Dr. Tjivikua’s younger brother, Michael Tjivikua, resided at the Old Location a short time before their relocation to Katutura. He recalled the fun he had climbing trees, playing in the ephemeral riverbeds, and playing with his friends in a field that was on the outskirts of the Old Location. He also told of how he could see white kids from his house, playing rugby in a nearby field .

Not everyone’s childhood spent within the Old Location was filled with happy memories. Elfrieda Tjivikua, Michael and Tjama’s mother, remembered going to work at a hotel in the city every day after school. She said that in order to get food, she had to scrub dishes until she returned home in the evening. Rachel Muinjo, who lived in the Old Location for 19 years, had a difficult childhood because her father died when she was only ten years old. Her mother was then burdened with the task of raising six children on her own. Although some of the interviewee’s had some negative statements to offer during the discussion of their childhood, the majority of what they told us was positive.

Education

The educational system of the Old Location was the most consistently described aspect of life within our study. It was commonly stated throughout our interviews that blacks were given an inadequately funded education. Taught mostly in Afrikaans, their education, known as *Bantu education*, was of lesser quality than the education of coloreds and whites, and was restricted to a primary level. If after nine years of education (Sub A to Standard 6) a student desired to go on to secondary school, he or she would have to pursue their education outside of Namibia. Furthermore, if a student desired more than a secondary level of education, he or she would be required to leave the country to attend school in South Africa or elsewhere. Those that did so would have to first gain permission from the Municipality. Dr. Tjivikua recalled the two-year process that he endured in order to obtain a passport to continue his education. He still recalls the multiple interviews with police in which he was asked repeatedly why he wanted to be educated.

Despite the attempts to limit the education that blacks were afforded within the Old Location, their education was far from inadequate. Ms. Schimming described the genuine concern that teachers had for their students' futures. The Old Location's primary schools used, by today's standards, harsh forms of discipline in order to ensure their students knew their multiplication tables and how to properly spell words. Dr. Tjivikua recalled, "If you think you were in trouble, you used to carry a handkerchief or something and put it in your back pocket, because you know you are gonna get five hard ones." While the discipline was harsh, Ms. Schimming explained how in the long term such

sternness in the classroom led her and other children of the Old Location, who pursued higher levels of education in South Africa, to excel past their peers.

This dedication on the part of the teachers in the Old Location to teach their students was perhaps an unanticipated side effect of the Bantu education system. The manner in which blacks were treated under apartheid may have encouraged them to build solidarity, the opposite of the apartheid regime's original intent. This supposition is substantiated by the peoples' organized boycott of municipal-operated services in the late 1950s. The heightened political consciousness of the former Old Location residents, brought about by their oppression, may have appeared earlier in the school system. This seems to be evident in the manner with which teachers took on their responsibilities and ensured a quality education for children in the Old Location, despite the Municipality's intentions and the lack of funding.

Employment

The residents of the Old Location described only a small range of jobs that they or their parents held. The women were restricted to domestic work: cleaning homes, washing dishes, and doing laundry; if they were lucky they could work as nurses, a more respected occupation. It was common for the mothers in the Old Location to brew alcoholic beverages in buckets outside of their homes. Otilie Abrahams, principal of the Jacob Morengo Secondary School and former resident, described how police would go around sticking metal poles in the ground looking for such brews. This often led to women being arrested and spending time in jail. Because the brew was a good source of income, the women saw it as a means to pay for food and schooling for their children,

and many were repeat offenders. Ms. Schimming, whose father sold milk to Old Location residents, also recalled many women selling homemade brews to ensure a better life for their children.

The Tjivikua brothers recalled their father's occupation as a teacher within the Old Location as being one of the more respected jobs. Mr. Kleophas Mutjavikua, who spent a small portion of his childhood in the Old Location, spoke of his father working with Sam Nujoma for the railroad company. James Muundjua, who lived in the Old Location for nine years, commented that the income he received as a petrol attendant was quite good for the time. It was also explained by Michael Tjivikua that white-owned construction companies would have trucks come to the Old Location daily to pick up and drop off their labor forces.

Quality of Life

The quality of life in the Old Location was generally regarded as good. It was a very easygoing place and many residents enjoyed living there. Dr. Tjivikua recalls that although he had to walk about a kilometer to get water, he still considers the time in the Old Location as "real good days," following up with, "there was hardly any crime." Ms. Abrahams explained how this was true even for women: "walking home from the dance hall in the middle of the night was never a problem." Most accounts from those we interviewed supported that there was very little or no crime in the Old Location. One account in particular worth noting comes from Hannes Smith of the Windhoek Observer. When asked about the crime in the Old Location, he responded, "there was no crime, absolutely no crime."

Not everyone, however, felt that life was great before Katutura. Mrs. Tjivikua recalled that “life was terrible in the Old Location,” largely because “there was only one latrine in place... and people would throw all dirty things in there.” She also stated that “the people in the Old Location were not respectful of one another.” Jefta Goraseb, a trumpet teacher in the Old Location, and Rosina Bois, a former resident who lived there for 20 years, both reported positive feelings about Katutura. Mr. Goraseb explained that everyone within a 100-meter radius shared a communal tap in the Old Location, whereas in Katutura his family had their own water tap and the communal restrooms incorporated running water. Mr. Muundjua gave an account in which his life improved after he moved into Katutura: “life was better in Katutura....It was just because of the oppression that made it difficult.”

The housing that many of the people had in the Old Location was modest at best. The houses were small shacks, but people could own as many as they could afford. On the other hand, in Katutura, a person could only rent a house from the Municipality and could never claim the house as their own. Despite the lack of ownership, some individuals preferred the homes in Katutura to those in the Old Location. In particular, Mr. Muundjua told us, “As for the houses [in Katutura], they enjoyed it because it was brick, not like the shacks [in the Old Location]. Rain didn’t come through....”

A common grievance among all who relocated to Katutura was the Municipality’s tight control over the living conditions. In the Old Location, children of different heritages could play together or mingle in school, and adults could congregate at the beer hall. Upon relocation, the residents found themselves divided by their tribal heritage. Additionally, residents of Katutura found that they lost their personal privacy. Their new

brick homes with water taps were owned by the Municipality, and their homes could be inspected by the police at any time. As Mr. Muundjua explained, “You couldn’t have guests. Everyone who lived in the houses [was] on record and if a policeman came and saw you had relatives living there, you were taken to prison.”

Social and Community Activities

In spite of the poor treatment that the residents of the Old Location received from the Municipality, they still had many enjoyable activities within the community. Zed Ngavirue, the first Namibian social worker in the Old Location, explained that there were “beauty contests... we had soccer teams, sports, athletic competitions, interschool athletic competitions....” Ms. Abrahams recalls that everyone on the weekend would go to the local soccer field to see the Tiesels play: “that used to be the favorite game, on Saturdays you do not want to be seen dead in the Location, you are at the football field, and I can still not remember actually where that football field was. Everybody used to go there, like a religion; it was a very serious thing.” Mr. Goraseb shared, “[I] was playing soccer for a team called Limbus at the time.” In addition to soccer, tennis was also a popular sport within the Old Location. The residents would even hold tournaments within the community on local tennis courts.

There was also much discussion of the dance hall and the competitions it hosted; as Mr. Muundjua explained, “... they would have a cup for the good dancers. They would also judge how they looked and dressed.” Located next to the dance hall was a municipal-owned beer hall as well as a cinema that the residents could attend for a small fee. Ms. Schimming recalled of her trips to the cinema: “it was very strict, we would have to be accompanied by our brothers and we would have to ask before hand.”

Lastly, the beer hall was brought up in many interviews, and Ms. Abrahams recalled what the inside looked like: “there were just long tables made of cement and benches made of cement and people would just go and get their beer and sit down.” In addition, Ms. Schimming described its atmosphere as one in which “The women would drink on one side and men on another. People would go there in the drinking hours, and the bar was across from the hall where there were social activities going on so people would intermingle.”

The Events of December 10, 1959

Until this point, the personal accounts that we have obtained have been used to create a description of the various aspects of daily life in the Old Location. The majority of our interview topics arose from the idea that depicting the aspects of the local culture and life was our primary goal. We wanted to capture the positive qualities of the Old Location that are often overshadowed by the events of December 10, 1959, as well as provide accounts that can be used to support and expand the history of the Old Location.

As previously discussed, the majority of the available historical documentation describes the events of the forced relocation and life in Katutura, thus supporting our emphasis on collecting information regarding the daily lives of the residents prior to their removal. However, the relocation is one of the most important events in Namibian history and is the only aspect of the Old Location’s history that has been thoroughly discussed in formal texts. We therefore have also included the relocation as one of our interview topics because it is the only one that can be potentially verified through the accounts of all those involved.

We realize that, because of the limited time span of this project, and the large number of recorded details pertaining to the forced relocation, our results alone cannot be used to verify any documentation. They can rather be used to highlight which details of the forced relocation need additional research. Therefore, at this point, our presentation will deviate from the narrative form. Instead, we will explain the discrepancies and ambiguities found when comparing historical documentation with the accounts of those whom we have interviewed.

The majority of what is known about the forced relocation can be found in, *An Investigation of the Shooting at the Old Location on 10 December 1959*, by Milly Jafta et al. While most of our results pertaining to the forced removal were verified using this text, we have found several discrepancies and ambiguities with respect to the text's description of the following topics: how the confrontation on Dec 10 actually began; the intent of the police-whether or not they aimed and fired at the residents; and the story of Anna Mungunda, the heroine famed for setting the mayor's car ablaze.

While the events prior to December 10, 1959, were consistently described by the authors of the Jafta text and those interviewed, the details of how the shooting started were found to be at odds with the text. Jafta et al. state that there had been a growing crowd of residents between the municipal buildings and the municipal-owned beer hall. The residents had congregated there because they had heard that something was happening and found it strange that there were policemen hanging around the beer hall.

At the same time, there was a group of municipal officials, including Mayor Japie Snyman, meeting inside the municipal buildings. The officials had only spoken to the residents outside when telling them to disperse, and otherwise would send a black

policemen to communicate with the people. The authors quote an unnamed individual as saying, “The black policemen said that some of the people were complaining that we would not allow them to go and drink [at the beer hall]. We asked him how he could say that when he could see that we were only standing there and not doing anything to the people.” The accusations made by the black policemen in this quote are not spoken of elsewhere in the text. The only point that is clear from this account is that the residents gathering around the municipal buildings were unaware of what was happening at the beer hall.

At this point there are two situations being described in the text. The first was the confrontation at the beer hall, where the police were said to have encouraged residents to buy beer for reasons not explained in the text. The other situation was the confrontation outside of the municipal buildings, where the residents were getting second hand information from the black policeman which they did not understand. The details of how these two confrontations led to the shooting are not described in the text. Instead, Jafta et al. asserts, “At some stage, the group of white officials in the Municipality buildings must have panicked, feeling it unsafe to leave through the growing crowd and being unable to control the conflict developing at the beer hall.” Moreover, the only details mentioned about this conflict at the beer hall were that the police apparently tried to assault and arrest three men.

We have gathered several accounts which seem to fill in a portion of the missing details. The primary details which appear to be missing are those regarding the confrontation at the beer hall. The majority of our interviewees who discussed the relocation in detail claimed that the main issue that led to the shooting was this

confrontation. Rachel Muinjo told of how the community leaders of the Old Location were against the decision of the community members to buy alcohol from the beer hall rather than from the community. She stated that the community leaders, “refrained the community from buying from the bar.” Elfrieda Tjivikua supported this claim with her statements that the community leaders would stand in front of those who were trying to go to the bar. Langman Ve tiani, a local drycleaner in the Old Location, said that on the night of December 10th, the leaders stood in front of the beer hall and prevented two women from entering. The women then went to the police and reported the community leader’s actions. As a result, the community leaders were taken to jail and another protest was formed to have them released. Ve tiani claimed that the protest was moved to the police station and from there the municipal leaders called for reinforcements.

There are several conclusions which can be drawn from these statements. Concerning the confrontation outside of the municipal buildings, the above accounts verify the claim made by the black officer that residents were not allowing other residents to drink at the bar. These statements could also be used to explain why the police were encouraging the residents to buy beer. It is reasonable to assume that the municipal police wanted the residents to buy from the Municipality beer hall, and when the community leaders stepped in, the police probably tried to convince the residents to ignore their leaders and buy beer.

Concerning the details of the conflict at the beer hall, Ve tiani’s account of the community leaders being arrested conflicts with the text’s description. He claimed that there were two leaders who were actually arrested, whereas the text states that the police attempted to arrest three men. His statement appears to be more accurate because it ties

together both of the confrontations discussed by Jafta et al. Ve tiani mentions that the community leaders who prevented the women from drinking were arrested and that the crowd then moved to the police station. The fact that the police cell was located next to the municipal offices leads us to conclude that this is when the two crowds came together as one. At this point, it would make sense that the municipal officers felt overwhelmed and called for backup, as stated by both the text and Ve tiani.

Another ambiguity found within the text was whether or not the police intended to shoot the residents. On this matter, the text merely states that the police had been ready with heavy ammunition and arms, days before the shooting. In reference to the beginning of the shooting, the only information provided was through a quote of Mr. Hannes Smith, who said, “all hell broke loose” after the reinforcements arrived. The text also mentions a Mr. Willie Kaukuetu, who tried to negotiate with the police. Jafta et al. assert that his attempt to negotiate was doomed because “the decision to shoot had clearly already been taken,” and the police began shooting in the middle of his address.

Clearly, the above statements do not describe why the police decided to shoot or where they started firing. We have heard two accounts which state that the police fired after the residents began throwing rocks. Hannes Smith claimed that during Mr. Kaukuetu’s address, the residents started throwing rocks at the municipal offices. He recalled that within minutes there was a wall of rocks which the mayor’s armored car drove into when the officials came back with reinforcements. Langman Ve tiani describes the situation in greater detail, claiming that a disabled Nama woman threw a stone at the mayor’s car and that is when the police actually began to retaliate.

Concerning where the police started firing, we have heard several accounts which indicate that the police were not initially firing at the people. Hannes Smith specifically recalled that the police were ordered to shoot at the wall of rocks and not at the people. He claims that if it had been directed at the people, there would have been hundreds of deaths because the men fought in World War II and could handle the guns being used. Dr. Zed Ngavirue reinforced this idea with his statement that, “The police thought that if they just fired, people would be scared and start running away.” Rosina Bois’s account also seemed to support the claims that the police did not directly fire at the people. She mentioned that she was not aware that the police were shooting until she saw the bullets ricocheting off the houses and open spaces where residents were not standing.

While there are no definite conclusions to be drawn, it seems to be apparent that there was no premeditation to the shooting of the residents on December 10th. Instead, the accounts indicate that the police were initially trying to intimidate the residents in attempts to take control of the situation. The accounts we have gathered, however, do not speak about the intentions of the police as the situation escalated. We concluded that the police continued to try and intimidate the residents, since the shootings continued for two more hours and the police were trained and heavily armed. Otherwise, one would expect the casualty rate to have been much higher than recorded.

The largest discrepancy found between the text and our oral accounts was the story of Anna Mungunda, the woman famed for lighting the mayor’s car on fire. Her story can be found within the text and is part of the December 10th commemoration ceremony each year. We have interviewed a gentleman, Mr. Ve tiani, who claims that

he is the person responsible for lighting the mayor's car on fire and that Anna Mungunda was an innocent bystander.

The text mentions that Anna Mungunda was most likely responsible for setting the car on fire. The authors make this claim based on an eyewitness account that a woman was responsible for the act, and on the fact that she was the only woman killed on December 10th. However, even within the same eyewitness account, there are statements suggesting that other residents said that it was a bullet that hit the gas tank of the car and started the fire. This discrepancy within the same account suggests that the details regarding this incident are ambiguous. Also, the text mentions that the gas stations were guarded by the police prior to the events of December 10th to prevent the residents from making explosives. If this fact is true one would wonder how Anna Mungunda actually set the car on fire, since her methods were never described in the quotes from the text.

Mr. Ve tiani, on the other hand, fully described his involvement in lighting the car on fire. He was a drycleaner in the Old Location and had petrol at his store. He claims that after the shooting began, he ran to his store, grabbed the petrol, and lit the mayor's car on fire. In the process, he was also shot in the leg and claims that Anna was shot because she was near the car. We also have other supporting accounts that Anna was not responsible for the fire. Ms. Bois stated that Anna had been at the scene looking for her son, who had been shot. When she found him, she knelt to check on his condition and was shot as well. Ms. Schimming also asserts that she did not believe that Anna Mungunda was responsible for the fire because she did not have access to petrol.

While Mr. Ve tiani's claims seem to be supported by our other accounts, additional research must still be done on this topic. Mr. Ve tiani's name appears in the municipal documents listing the names of those arrested for the destruction on December 10th. This documentation not only ensures that he was involved in the confrontation but also presents a lead for other researchers to pursue. Mr. Ve tiani told us how he was arrested and later acquitted because his accuser stated that he was wearing pants when he actually was wearing shorts. He had been shot in the leg, and it was the bullet holes through his shorts that convinced the Municipality to let him go. This story has great significance because a future researcher can try to find the documents from his municipal trial and verify his statements. This evidence, if it exists, could then be used to support his other claims so that his story can be told with confidence.

From his accounts, one might wonder why Mr. Ve tiani would not have spoke up sooner, since the incident took place over 45 years ago and is commemorated every year. His step daughter, Rachel Muinjo, states that the reason he never came forward is that he was never asked. She explained that, "the stories that you read about were actually based on tales told by people that were not even there; they make up stories. It is only now that the truth is coming out on what actually happened. If you come to the Old Location Day [Human Rights Day] it is only the ministers that have something to say, only those who were privileged have something to say. The other people were left out...."

Perhaps the strongest conclusion that can be drawn from all of the aforementioned accounts is that there is a need to continue this project and collect more stories about the Old Location to ensure the truth is found. As Rachel Muinjo stated, the stories of many people are left out of the history of the Old Location. In regards to the events of

December 10th, 1959, it is crucial that all voices be heard in order for any reconciliation to take place. In this case, many believe the police had intended to kill the residents, yet the voices of the policemen were never heard. As Hannes Smith, a reporter present at the shooting, stated, “We were shocked at what happened that night; we would never have thought that our people would have disregarded all safety.... It became like a spontaneous explosion, there was no premeditation. I am very sorry to say, December 10th should have never happened, but it was never planned, calculated, conceived to kill black people.... I think white people lament and regret the event more even than black people, because it has put a negative image on the white African.” Such statements show that there are those who admit their complicity, but like former residents, simply need their voices to be heard.

Results of Documentation and Artifact Collection

Although we have recorded many oral accounts, it was also necessary to collect any written documentation or artifacts pertaining to the Old Location for use in the Historical House. These items provide a tangible aspect to the stories we have recorded. In total we have obtained 134 artifacts as a start for the Historical House collection including photographs, videos, and everyday household items. We have also collected a total of 11 historical documents, some of which have been used in this paper to present what is currently written about the Old Location.

Below is a list of the documentation and artifacts that we have collected from various institutions in the Windhoek. These items were valuable in analyzing and supplementing the accounts we gathered from our interviews.

- 3 monographs which were used as primary sources
- 8 municipal documents used for comparison between the accounts of the Municipality and the citizens
- 46 photographs depicting community life and the quality of houses in the Old Location
- 4 videos, one of which was propaganda used to glamorize the municipal houses in Katutura
- 1 past exhibition on the forced relocation created by Dr. Jeremy Silvester at the University of Namibia

We also asked each of our interviewees if they were willing to donate any personal items to the Historical House for archival purposes. In response, we received a number of additional artifacts for our collections. These items were only loaned to the Historical House and belong to the former Old Location residents and their families. The artifacts will never become property of the City of Windhoek unless specifically given on a permanent basis. Below is a list of the artifacts we collected from former residents of the Old Location.

- A bass trumpet
- Five books on topics such as education, hygiene, and music
- Nine coins and a paper note
- A purse
- Two Calabashes (container used for milk)

- A powder container (turtle shell)
- A welders can
- A plate and cup
- 52 photographs

After collecting the artifacts from former residents, we decided to create a small scale exhibit for our final presentation. The goal was to display several items that portrayed what life was like in the Old Location. These artifacts were displayed on various movie props from the film set of *Where Others Wavered* (graciously donated by the set designer, Mr. Rob Jenkinson), which included an old oil drum, table and chest. A picture board was also created with the photographs that were donated. The theme of the pictures was focused around a quote by one of our interviewees, Dr. Zed Ngavirue:

“...In spite of [the] restrictions and the humiliations, people still tried to create communities which were socially fully integrated. They would have normal wedding feasts; they would have recreational activities, like any normal functioning community.”

This quote has a very powerful meaning in that it states how “normal” life in the Old Location actually was despite the hardships that the community faced. Figure 4 shows what the exhibit looked like at our presentation on April 27, 2005 in the Polytechnic of Namibia’s Auditorium 1.



Figure 4: Small Scale Exhibit Showcasing Some of the Artifacts We Collected for the Final Presentation

We felt that the mini exhibition had quite an effect on the audience. Many people took the time to browse the artifacts and were very interested in what we collected. The exhibition was also used as a recommendation for a future exhibition in the Historical House. We decided the best way to effectively display the artifacts was to attempt to recreate the setting of the Old Location, taking the visitor back in time to a world much simpler than today.

CHAPTER FIVE: Recommendations and Future Projects

Recapturing the culture of the Old Location has proven to be valuable not only for the citizens who once lived there, but for future generations as well. The information we collected through interviews has brought to light many new stories from the former residents. We have generated a simple archive of material from the Old Location; a substantial improvement considering there are very few, if any, extensive collections of the history of the Old Location. Many people we have interviewed have expressed their gratitude to our group and the City of Windhoek for undertaking such a project because, as Dr. Michael Tjivikua has stated, “We are very much attached to that place and the vicinity.” The people from the Old Location have a lot of pride in not only being former Old Location residents but in being Namibian as well. Even though they have faced many hardships, their attitude has remained positive. According to Dr. Zed Ngavirue, “You know, we can proudly say in Namibia, the land of the brave....” In this statement, he is referring to South Africa’s surprise at the amount of resistance by the Old Location residents to the forced relocation.

We have observed that there is a great deal of controversy surrounding the current site of the Historical House. Most people we talked to did not object to the Historical House being used for educational and tourist purposes. Mr. Johannes Tjitjo, former manager of the Sports, Arts and Culture Division, explained to us the reasoning behind building the Historical House in the cemetery: “The reason for that was to give the cemetery some kind of prominence....” He later added, “We feel as though it is very important to try to recognize the people that are buried there, [who] were neglected for

many years.” Mr. Tjitjo further explained that a committee was formed to help conceptualize the idea of the Historical House. Many people were involved in the conceptualization process. However, there was never an open discussion with the citizens of Windhoek. A majority of the decision making power came from committee members who were stakeholders, including the National Monument Council and the University of Namibia. Thus, the local residents that we interviewed were not happy about the Municipality’s decision.

Several interviewees felt that the current site of the Historical House infringes on their religious beliefs and they would not visit the cemetery unless the proper rituals were carried out. Dr. Tjama Tjivikua stated, “I can go up to the house, but the traditional person will not go to that place. They are not supposed to be at a grave [yard].”

However, some residents feel as though the creation of the Historical House at its current site is appropriate because the cemetery is all that remains of the Old Location. Mr. Tjitjo stated, “[the] Old Location Cemetery has been declared a National Monument by the government. Because of that status, it is important that the building be there so that the people can visit it there. Otherwise, if we move it out, people may not be interested in coming.” He also went on to say, “I think nowadays the world is moving into a situation where the living and the dead are living together....”

Because we have observed so much debate over the location of this building, we have decided that our first and most important recommendation would be to move the Historical House outside the entrance gate of the cemetery in order to compromise with both sides of the issue. The land in front of the gate of the cemetery is still considered to be part of the Old Location. Moving the Historical House here would allow traditional

people to visit the archive without entering the cemetery, but at the same time, tourists would be able to visit the building as well as the cemetery. We recommend that the mounting of exhibits in the Historical House be delayed until a final decision is made. This decision is now the responsibility of the Tourism Division.

Although we have made some progress in collecting information on the Old Location, there is still a substantial amount of research needed. Our project was not to rewrite history, but to provide insight to the many perspectives of what life was like in the Old Location. The following list denotes possible future projects for the cultural preservation of the Old Location:

- Gather and collect additional materials and artifacts pertaining to the Old Location
- Set up an exhibition in the Historical House using collected material and artifacts
- Involve others to translate and examine the documents and photos in the National Archives and determine if they pertain to the Old Location
- Follow up with PACON to ensure that the artifacts, movie sets, and drawings used in the Sam Nujoma film are donated to the Historical House

Considering the great need for this project to continue after we leave, getting others involved is mandatory. The establishment of the archival Historical House is an enormous project that will take years to complete. However, the benefit to scholars, students, tourists, and residents is just as great. Therefore, it is important that the City of Windhoek encourages local organizations to assist in the collection of additional

materials and data on the Old Location. We have discussed our project with individuals at the National Archives and they have shown great interest in the Historical House. The Tourism Division therefore has to continue to involve those individuals and make sure their offers to help are not ignored.

Additionally, there are local educational institutions such as the University of Namibia or the Polytechnic of Namibia that have many creative minds which could potentially have much constructive input on a project like this. Engaging university level History, or Visual Arts students in this project would not only rapidly increase the number of oral histories and artifacts collected, but could provide original and imaginative methods of displaying the materials. The ability to speak the languages native to Namibia would make the students far better at interviewing the former residents than we were.

The Tourism Division should also keep in constant touch with PACON, the organization currently leading the filming of *Where Others Wavered*. PACON has devoted a large amount of time to collecting and reproducing artifacts from the Old Location. At the conclusion of the movie's filming, this extensive collection of artifacts will be available at PACON's discretion. We recommend that the Tourism Division frequently talk to PACON to ensure that the artifacts will be given to the Historical House. Thus far we have established a good relationship with the set director, Rob Jenkinson, and other members of PACON. Mr. Jenkinson has expressed his support of the Historical House project and has been a great help to us in getting information about the Old Location. In order to ensure his continued support, the Tourism Division should

keep PACON involved and update the interested individuals in the progress of the Historical House.

In an attempt to collect more data on the Old Location, the Tourism Division should more aggressively seek out additional subjects to interview. The more voices that are heard, the more complete the Historical House's portrait of the past will be. It should continue its use of radio spots and mailing of inserts to spread the word about the project and encourage others to get involved. In addition, the Tourism Division should hire local Namibians to speak directly to the residents of Katutura and Khomasdal to inform those that might not regularly listen to the radio or get mail about the project. Many of the former residents we interviewed were able to recommend others that resided in the Old Location, and informed us that the most effective method of locating individuals is by word-of-mouth. A list of all the people that we were recommended to talk to can be found in Appendix C

We are very grateful to have been a part of this project because we know it has great potential for the future. We greatly enjoyed conducting the interviews because we were given a glimpse of what life used to be like in the Old Location. We realize that what we have learned needs to be verified and shared with the Namibian people to ensure the residents' stories are not forgotten. Hopefully we will be able to one day return to Windhoek, and find the history and culture of the Old Location preserved and represented in the Historical House.

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Appendix A: Organization of interview information by topic

Name:

Childhood:

Education:

Employment:

Quality of life:

Social and community activities:

The events of December 10th 1959:

Appendix B: Projected Interview Questions

In order to make our subjects feel at ease, we did not begin the interview with emotionally difficult questions about the forced relocation. We wanted to gradually discuss painful issues by starting the interview with casual background questions and small talk. Questions to begin either the casual conversation or the formal interview include the following:

- What is your name and where do you currently live?
- Please tell me about your family. Are you married? Do you have children?
Grandchildren?
- Please tell me about your heritage (e.g. Nama, Damara, Ovambo, Herero).
- What type of education did you receive?
- What do you do for a living?
- What are your hobbies?

Questions of a casual nature helped to break the ice between the interviewer and subject.

For the formal interview, subjects were organized in groups based on their age to facilitate the final content analysis. Table 1 describes the division of groups, a description of each group, as well as a sample of questions that may have been asked.

Table: Interview question topic guide

	Age	Description	Projected Questions
Old Location Residents	Born in Katutura after 1959 (Younger than 46 years)	People who were born in Katutura after the relocation. These people have parents and family with Old Location stories.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What was it like growing up in Katutura? • Did your parents or siblings ever speak of the Old Location? • What did they tell you about the Old Location?
	Younger than 15 in 1959 (Between 47 and 61 years old)	Individuals who were younger than 15 when the events of December 10, 1959 transpired may be able to explain growing up in the Old Location, but may not have many personal anecdotes. This generation was expected to be more literate and able to share their perceived impacts of apartheid as well as elements of the Old Location present in current society. In addition, they may have been able to recount stories that were relayed to them by older family members.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What was it like growing up in the Old Location? • How did you feel when you were told that you had to move to Katutura? • Do you remember how your parents reacted when they were forced to leave the Old Location? • What was it like once you moved to Katutura? • What did you miss from the Old Location?
	16- 30 years old in 1959 (Between 62 and 76 years old)	This group of residents was able to recall intimate details of what daily life was like within the Old Location more than any other group. Personal stories, feelings, and insights are of great value as they are primarily the working class who were the most effected by the move to Katutura.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Where did you work? • How much farther did you have to travel in order to get to work once you were relocated to Katutura? • What was your initial reaction to the relocation? • How was life different in Katutura versus the Old Location? • What did you miss the most about the Old Location after you moved to Katutura? • Did you partake in the resistance against the police? • Please describe your actions, thoughts, and feelings on the night of December 10, 1959. • If you lost a close friend or family member on December 10, 1959 how do you remember them today?

	30 years or older in 1959 (77 years and older)	The number of participants in this group will be small because many may be deceased. The people in this category lived in the Old Location the longest, have the most to say but are the most difficult to communicate with.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How long did you live in the Old Location? • How did you react to the news of the relocation? • What was it like for you to live in Katutura? • What did you miss most about the Old Location once you moved to Katutura?
Other	White People who did not live in the Old Location	Whites who resided in Windhoek offer an alternative view from those that lived in the Old Location. These interviews will focus on learning what outsiders thought of how the Municipality handled the relocation.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What were your views of the city relocating the resident of the Old Location? • What was your role on December 10, 1959? • Do you still see remnants of apartheid in modern Windhoek?
Historians	Scholars who have studied the Old Location	Historians that have extensive knowledge of the apartheid era in Namibia will act as excellent sources of background information and are useful for evaluating the narratives of important events. Their prior research can assist in obtaining written documentation from the Old Location. Like all people interviewed, information obtained from scholars also needs to be verified.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Where might we find and gain access to written historical documentation of the Old Location? • Do you still see remnants of apartheid in modern Windhoek?

Appendix C: Sources Recommended During Interviews

Future sources of information

- Kloppert (call Otlie)
- Jake Freise
- Charles Carlreiser (0811281225)
- Zeck Manelli
- Ms. Chicarobe
- Velemena Arlow (contact Pastor Gabeb at the Lutheran Church)
- Jade (National Archive)
- Gunther Wegre
- Thaniseb (Education officer at the National Museum [or Monument Council])
- Dr. Justice
- SABC Africa interview with Otto Schimming
- Otto Schimming
- Sam Nujoma
- Hiskia Kaura (700-800km away—ask Elfreda Tjivikua)
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs
 - Dr. Kire Mbunde
 - Dr. Aquenja
- Mr. Hoebob (sister was 1st beauty queen)
- Beno Coetzee
- Ester Jager (in Dolumb)

Future sources of artifacts

- PACON
- Zed Nigrvue
- Michael Tjivikua
- Tjama Tjivikua
- Hannes Smith
- Langman (please bring rice and sugar when picking up artifacts)
- Mutjivikua's Mother

Appendix D: Transcribed Interviews

See Attached CD.