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Marikana Youth: (re)telling stories of ourselves and our place.

By

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Supervised by Professor Jill Bradbury

This is a research report submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in Diversity Studies, in the faculty of humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Declaration

I declare that this is my own unaided work, and all the sources cited have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references. The academic work is submitted for the Degree of Master of Arts (Diversity Studies) at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at any other university.

_____

Eliot Moleba

March 2016

Acknowledgements

"Every story I create, creates me. I write to create myself."

– Octavia E. Butler

I set out on this journey to learn and write about other people's stories and lives, but what I discovered about them was just as true to them, as it was to me. Ironically, what stands now in front of you says more about me than those I wanted to write about. Creating this story has been a long journey filled with new and old discoveries, marred with great obstacles. Everything that could go wrong, went wrong. Yet, against all these odds, here it is. I would like to thank people who were most dear to me during this turmoil:

My participants and the Marikana community, for allowing me the rare privilege not just into your stories but lives.

My supervisor, Prof. Jill Bradbury, for your mentorship, support and allowing to stray and come back to this. I am indebted to your patience.

My friends and colleagues, your quiet prayers to the Flying Spaghetti Monster have not gone unheard.

My family, especially my parents, James and Pascaline Moleba, I would thank you for everything from the bottom of my heart but there is no place deep enough.

To you all, I give a lot of heart!

And finally, to you, dear reader, I may not know you, I may never meet you or discuss this paper with you, but I want you to know that you are fucking awesome. That's all!

As you were.

Abstract

Prior to and immediately following 1994, South African youth literature has largely focused on atypical groups, especially young people's participation in political protest and violence (Marks 2001; Ntsebeza 1993; Seekings 1993; Straker 1992; Van Kessel 2000). The challenge for new research is to grapple more broadly with the question of how young people construct ordinary lives and identities amid the changing and transforming socio-cultural, economic and political landscape. As such, this study aimed to focus on the ordinary, quotidian narratives of youth in an extraordinary place of Marikana, where the massacre of striking mineworkers took place in 2012.

Face-to-face, individual interviews were conducted with 8 participants (aged between 19 and 31 years) living in Marikana, including people who were born in or had migrated to Marikana. Both structural and thematic analyses were used to analyse the transcribed texts. The structural analysis was used to examine how poverty plays a role in the form of stories told. The thematic analysis focused on the content of the narratives, drawing linkages across participants' stories to understand how they make meaning of events and experiences in their lives. The themes identified were organised as follows: Marikana (nostalgia about the place of Marikana, and belonging to the place of Marikana), childhood in Marikana and elsewhere (growing up in Marikana, and growing up elsewhere), families and their structure (single-parent headed and transnational families, (grand)mothers as pillars of family, and (inter)generational absence/presence of fathers), education (lack of funds for schooling), and possibilities for the future (dreams and futures deferred, and fantasies of escape).

The findings indicate that the trauma and violence of the Marikana Massacre was remarkably marginal in their narratives. Instead, participants stressed poverty as a systemic problem that is far more pervasive in how they (re)produce(d) their stories. This core finding reveals poverty as a perpetual structural violence, a repeated state of trauma that is inflicted on their lives and reflected in their stories. Further findings show that many biological fathers are absent in the lives of their children, mostly due to migration or death. Consequently, sons follow in their fathers' footsteps, leaving their new families behind (some becoming transnational parents). This produces a prevalent intergenerational absence of fathers in Marikana. As a result, mothers and grandmothers are the main breadwinners and emotional pillars of the family.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Context and Rationale: Marikana and the Marikana strike

Marikana, also known as Rooikoppies, is a small town within the Rustenburg Local Municipality, Bojanala Platinum District Municipality district in the North West province of South Africa. The town of Rustenburg was built in the 1870s, the focal point of a group of villages that depended on farming, mainly cattle ranching, for their livehood. By the mid-1900s, farming had increased and grew into the main economic activity of the region. However, in the 1970s, mining was introduced, and within a short period of time, it had surpassed farming. Like many mining communities, this saw an influx of migrant labourers in search of work. However, during apartheid, pass laws were used to limit and monitor mobility of black people in the country. As a result, it was very difficult for people to freely migrate around the country. As such, it was only in the late 80s when pass laws were formally abolished, and especially after 1994, that mining communities received a much greater influx of migrant workers because now they could move freely within the country in search of better opportunities. Rustenburg has a total population of 549 575 people; the Marikana district has over 350 000 people living on and around the mine lease areas extending over 30 kilometres (Statistics South Africa, 2011). Just over 100 000 live within mine licence areas held by Lonmin, a London-based company, in villages adjoining mines, hostels, high and low density suburbs and informal settlements (Chinguno, 2013).

Over the past 4 decades, mines in the Marikana region have created a significant number of job opportunities, which were expected to benefit its residents. Yet, most members of the local communities remain poor, unemployed and without many basic services. For instance, Lonmin, the third biggest platinum producer in the world, employs over 28 000 fulltime workers, and although 83 percent of them are from South Africa, only 18 percent are from local communities identified as the Greater Lonmin community (Lonmin, 2010). In August 2011, the Bapo villagers organised protests against the discrimination by Lonmin in job recruitment because it gave preference to migrants from other parts of the country and beyond (Chinguno, 2013). This is a continuation of the apartheid legacy, in which migrant labour force was employed and exploited as cheap labour at the expense of local

communities. As Wolpe argues, “The migrant labour system was designed to preserve the economic and political function of the Bantustan to ensure continuity for the supply of cheap labour to mining and manufacturing industries” (1972, p. 432). As a result, workers are paid low wages, and poverty and unemployment are on the rise. Rock drillers, semi-skilled labourers, earned between R3, 000 and R6, 000 per month in 2011 (Chinguno, 2013). This income does not meet the basic monthly expenditure of most people, especially with today’s fast-rising food, fuel and electricity prices. National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) claims that its typical member is male, aged in his 30s, and has eight dependants (Stoddard and Oluka, 2013). Furthermore, these miners do not qualify for housing loans, so they can’t provide decent houses for their families, and many of them have two families, one in their rural home area and another at their place of work. Struggling to maintain both families, they end up living in informal settlements under squalid conditions. This outlines the socio-economic factors that are based on cheap, exploitative labour of workers, which underlie the everyday life in Marikana, and highlights how they preserve and perpetuate legacies of the past.

It is in this context that we need to *situate* the historic strike which took place in August 2012, where more than 3, 000 rock drill operators in Lonmin withdrew their labour force as a protest to demand salary increase to R12, 500 per month. Since NUM and AMCU (Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union), competing mining unions, have denied responsibility for the strike, it is reported that the strike was organised and coordinated by workers, outside of collective bargaining and without any representation from their union. NUM, an ANC-led government aligned union, has viewed their demands as unreasonable, whereas AMCU, a breakaway union from NUM, endorsed their demands. Chinguno (2013) argued that this internal political rivalry between the unions is one of the key factors which escalated a peaceful protest into a violent one.

In the media, the protest received little coverage but was declared and inaccurately reported as ‘illegal’. In South Africa, the act of striking is enshrined and protected by the constitution. Within a legal framework, an unregistered strike is “unprotected”, not illegal. Thus, this incorrect depiction *criminalised* the miners and invoked the mythologi[es] of apartheid and its iconic image of black men as ‘dangerous, wild animals running out of control’. By

implication, such a wild "animal" out of control has to be put down, which is ultimately what happened in Marikana. In fact, the strike only received national and international coverage on the 16th August when the police opened a hail of live ammunition on mineworkers and in a chilling 14 seconds, 34 were dead and 78 injured. These wild "animals" were the ordinary fathers, sons, brothers, and uncles of people in the communities.

This shooting marked the single most deadly use of lethal force by South African Police Service against civilians in the so-called post-apartheid South Africa. Today, the massacre is described as reminiscent of the Sharpeville Massacre (which occurred on 21st March 1960). Predictably, this unnecessary, colossal loss of human life has been called a 'tragedy', as framed by ANC-led government, and has since been dubbed the "Marikana Massacre" by the local and international press. This thesis rejects the naming and perpetuation of this event as "Marikana Massacre" because it is not a massacre that was committed by the people of Marikana, it was committed against them. So, it cannot be the victims who must carry the name of atrocities that happened in Marikana, it must be the perpetrator. Therefore, it seems more befitting to name it Lonmin's Massacre of the people of Marikana, in collaboration with the ANC government and South African Police Service. Henceforth, it will be referred to as the "Lonmin Massacre".

The Marikana strike and the brutal response of the company and the government has exposed how this strike shattered the prima facie illusions of our socio-economic transformation in South Africa. The strike highlighted Marikana as a site where different legacies of the past coincided and intersected to reveal their continuation in the so-called post-apartheid South Africa. As a political moment, the strike was a turning point in South Africa (Legassick, 2012; Pityana, 2012). According to Alexander (2013, p. 605):

> The massacre was a rupture that led to a sequence of further occurrences, notably a massive wave of strikes [in other mines], which are changing structures that shape people's lives. We have not yet reached the end of this chain of occurrences, and the scale of the turning point remains uncertain. In common with other events, Marikana has revealed structures unseen in normal times, providing an exceptional vantage

point, allowing space for collective creativity, and enabling actors to envisage alternative futures.

It is at this turning point that the strike in Marikana exposed the unresolved legacies of apartheid, but also revealed a 'new force', an emerging shift of social actors coming together, independently self-organising and coordinating themselves to bargain as a collective by (re)evaluating and asserting the value of their own labour, outside of union representation. Ironically, it was Lonmin's efforts, backed up by government, to destroy this unity of workers, which ultimately, installed this moment or event (and the place of Marikana) as a site and symbol of post-apartheid political resistance.

1.2 Research Interest

Marikana is an extraordinary place, one that is full of contradictions. On one hand, it is rich with precious minerals, but on the other hand, it is plagued by high unemployment, inequalities, and youth illiteracy. As a symbol of political resistance, Marikana has exposed these contradictions which exist parallel to each other. This came at the price of bloodshed, a violent, traumatic event, which has disrupted many family lives, especially the children. Yet, this might also be read as a 'new' sign of *hope* captured by the recent creative actions of social actors coming together to collectively bargain for change. It is in this extraordinary place, that as a researcher, I am interested in questions of how young people construct a sense of themselves. As a result, this study aimed to focus on the ordinary narratives of young people in Marikana, especially the impact of the Lonmin Massacre as a violent and traumatic event on their lives. The purpose of this research was to use the narratives of ordinary young people in Marikana to understand ways in which they make sense of who they are, particularly in the context of this "spectacular" traumatic event.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

This chapter will argue for the conceptualization of identity *as narrative.* In other words, who we are in the world may be thought of as the stories we tell of the events and experiences of our lives and *how* we tell or account for ourselves. As such, the chapter will contextualise and define the key concepts to outline a theoretical framework for thinking about the identities narrated by young people in Marikana. The narration of the individual life happens within a historical context, this will look at the racial segregation of the past and how it impacts on the present, and affects ways in which young people grow up and negotiate their identities in South Africa's young democracy. Hence, we need to consider how apartheid allowed or denied certain individuals and/or groups equality, dignity, respect and economic resources that shape(d) or influence(d) ways people frame, understand and construct their own histories and subjectivities in their narratives. This must be juxtaposed with the current democratic landscape of South Africa to look at how far we have (or have not) gone to (re)dress legacies of apartheid, outlining *old* and *new* challenges and opportunities facing today's generation and the interaction between the past and present in the construction of new identities, especially of young people.

2.1 Defining Youth

In general, the term 'youth' (sometimes interchangeably referred to as "adolescence") is understood, at least in its common-sense application, as the state of being young, particularly the phase of life between childhood and adulthood (Spence, 2005). It became widely used in the 1950s in industrialised countries, like the USA, as the experience of growing up responded to changing economic and political processes (White and Wyn, 1997). Given the dramatic social, cultural, political, and economic changes and/or developments on a global scale, the persistent challenge confronting researchers has been defining who the youth are, or what is meant by 'youth'. Much of our understanding about the youth, or young people, borrows from developmental psychology, especially notions of universal stages of development, identity formation, normative behaviour and the relationship between social and physical maturation (White and Wyn, 1997). As a result, standardised age-specific

developmental stages have influenced popular discourse and introduced a common tendency to use age to determine the youth category (Sommers, 2006).

For instance, "Youth, according to the UN definition, are people between 15 and 24 years of age" (UNESCO, 2011d). Taking this definition at face value, as a signpost of an international standard, this demonstrates that youth definition(s) use the common age-based definitions to distinguish between a child and an adult (Sommers, 2006). This simplistic definition is problematic because it seems to rest on the assumption that age is an absolute universal measure of development, and gives insufficient weight to individual and cultural differences, process and change. Thus, it "…ignores the significant role of institutions and of changing economic and political circumstances and their impact on youth … [and consequently becomes] a static approach … [which] overlooks the continuities linking past, present and future" (White and Wyn, 1997, p. 13). As a result, White and Wyn (1997) argue that very little work has been done to clarify the theoretical basis of this categorisation based on age.

This, however, is not a new concern. Allen (1968) argued that the concept of youth needed to be re-examined. She pointed out that it is not the relations between ages that create change or stability in society, but change in society which explains relations between different ages. Later picking up on this reasoning, Wallace and Kovacheva (1995) argued further that the experience of youth is being de-constructed, because the significant transitions in life are less and less age related. That is, unlike the 18th birthday as a 'rite of passage' into adulthood, they argue that transitions are no longer associated with any specific age. This, as Jones (1988) points out, shows that the sociology of youth has yet to develop a conceptual framework for understanding both the transitions through which young people pass as they become adult and the different experiences of young people from different social groups. In the late 80s, she argued that it is "misleading to emphasise the qualities or otherwise of youth, per se, since the young are neither a homogeneous group nor a static one" (1988, p. 707).

In this sense, it is useful to understand youth as a relational concept because it exists and has meaning largely in relation to the concepts of both childhood and adulthood. The concept of youth, as idealised and institutionalised, supposes an eventual arrival at the status of

adulthood (White and Wyn, 1997). That is to say, if youth is a state of becoming, then adulthood is the destination. As a result, White and Wyn (1997), Allen (1968), and Jones (1988) argue that the concept of youth is most useful seen as a relational concept. In other words, "Youth, as a period of transition to adulthood, has meaning only in relation to the specific circumstances of social, political and economic conditions" (White and Wyn, 1997, p. 15). Once this is understood, it is then possible to bring social conditions to the fore and examine the significant differences between groups of young people as they engage with the processes which will take them closer to adult life.

In the last several decades, South Africa is one of the few countries that has understood this notion of youth as a relational concept. As Allen (1968), Jones (1988), and White and Wyn (1997) advise, South Africa has taken its social, political and economic conditions into consideration in the definition of who qualifies as youth. Unlike the 18-24 global standardised age range, the South African National Youth Policy 2009-2014 refers to young people as those falling within the age group of 14 to 35 years. This logic is based on the pervasive impact that apartheid had on postponing the transition to adulthood of many young South Africans. As Mathoho and Ranchod (2006) argue, due to the high levels of unrest in the 80s and early 90s and the subsequent rise of unemployment, it has been difficult for youth to become financially independent, or establish their own families and enter into adulthood. It may seem strange to classify a 34-year-old as "youth", but given its unique social and economic hindrances, South Africa has extended the age boundary of "youth" by a decade in recognition that most people are restrained from entering into adulthood.

Thus, it is for this reason that 18 to 35 years will be employed to demarcate what is referred to as youth or young people within this research. The social, cultural, and economic politics of belonging to a particular group in a particular place will be taken into consideration, in terms of how that has framed how/who young people understand themselves to be and the accounts/stories of themselves that they produce. These are people who are seen to be old enough to engage with a sense of who they are/might be in the world, or rather, "life stories" as understood by McAdams (1985, 1993, 1996) where "identity itself takes the form of a story, complete with setting, scenes, character, plot, and theme" (McAdams, 2001, p. 101).

2.2.1 Defining Identity as Narrative

It is widely agreed that identity is a contested concept (see Buckingham 2008; Kaptani and Yuval-Davis 2008; Yuval-Davis 2010; Brubaker and Cooper 2000; Anthias 2002), especially given its broad use to mean different things, for many different purposes and in different contexts (everyday use and academic disciplines). Due to this *overuse*, especially in recent years, Buckingham (2008) argues that it has become an "ambiguous" and a "slippery" concept. The term can say too much or too little: "it can signify non-instrumental modes of social and political action; collective groups or categories; core aspects of the self; the developmental, processual and interactive, of collective self-understanding; or the evanescent products of multiple and competing discourses of self" (Yuval-Davis, 2010, p. 262). Some might argue that it is best to do away with it and discontinue the use of the concept. However, Yuval-Davis (2010) opposes this view and argues that identity is "an important and useful concept if it is kept within the boundary of a very clear and specific definition" (p. 262).

In this project, I have kept the term "identity" as useful, however, I will also provide a clear definition to specify its boundaries and application. "Identities", in this context, "are conceived as narratives, stories that people tell themselves and others about who they are, and who they are not, as well as who and how they would like to/should be" (Martin, 1995). Our life events never manifest as stories. Everything that is experienced by humans, what Polkinghorne (1988) calls the 'activiti[es]', which happens through 'time' and 'sequence', must be interpreted, understood and then assigned meaning through narratives. In this way, we use narration[1] to process the 'activiti[es]', and most importantly, assign them 'order of meaning' (Polkinghorne, 1988). But given that the 'time' and 'sequence' of these 'activiti[es] is always moving forwards, our understanding or sense of self is inexplicably caught in the link between temporality and identity.

As such, at each temporal moment when we attempt to understand the world around us, ourselves and our identities, we impose an 'order of meaning' on the 'activiti[es]' to author or construct a 'narrative' or 'story' that explains who we are. This 'order of meaning' in effect

[1] This is because a narrative is more than just a literary genre or form of human discourse but a basic property of the human mind (Riessman, 1993).

introduces a kind of a 'narrative structure' for our story (Carr, 1986; MacIntyre, 1981). According to Sarbin (1986b), it is important to think of this as a 'narratory principle' or what Bettelheim (1976) calls the 'narrative order' which, essentially, functions restrospectively as an organising principle to give one's narrative a sense of direction, and thus meaning. In other words, it works inversely like a navigation system (GPS) which provides a direction on a map of how to get from point A to point B (Kerby, 1991). Of course, a GPS will always suggest the route out of a myriad of possibilities but as long as one arrives at the intended 'destination', there is really no right or wrong route to get there but perhaps some preferences, e.g taking a route that avoid tolls, traffic, a shorter or longer route, etc. Since every journey one takes is different, it would also be expected for these preferences to change to accommodate the needs of the new destination i.e. we would adjust them to generate the best possible route that is most suitable for that journey. If we take these 'preferences' to work in the same way as a 'narrative order' or 'narratory principle' then we can see that the way we use narration to construct our identities is a selective process that is undertaken (within a myriad of possibilities) to create a story of ourselves that fits the need(s) of the given context. Unlike a GPS, we do this in retrospect. That is, we are not moving from point A to B, but tracing our route backwards from B to A.

As Gergen and Gergen (1988, p. 29) argue, "The self-narrator is free in principle to use any narrative template to account for his/her life. Since life events must themselves be rendered meaningful through narrative, and one must inevitably be selective as to which events are included in a given narrative, one's life experiences do not in themselves dictate the selection of the life story". In other words, we can use our vast everyday experiences to tell a 'version' of our lives, a particular story we want to present about ourselves. "It should be apparent that narrative forms are in no way to be construed as objective [accounts] of one's personal life. The individual should be able to use virtually any form to account for his or her life history" (Gergen and Gergen, 1983, p. 260-1). Sarbin (1986b) argues that this reveals how narrative functions as an 'organising principle of human action'.

> A story is a symbolised account of actions of human beings that has a temporal dimension. The story has a beginning, middle, and an ending … The story is held

> together by recognisable patterns of events called plots. Central to the plot structure are human predicaments and attempted resolutions. (Sarbin, 1986b, p. 3).

Sarbin's argument here is to demonstrate how we use narration to impose this 'narratory principle' or structure on the flow of experience, or Polkinghorne's notion of 'activiti[es]', in order to author meaning. As such, the storyteller's role is to construct a plot from what are generally disorganised and unconnected experiences, making them appear as a cohesive unit, but one which is neither natural nor a true representation of the reality. According to Bamberg and McCabe (1998, p. iii), "With narrative, people strive to configure space and time, deploy cohesive devices, reveal identity of actors and relatedness of actions across scenes. They create themes, plots, and drama. In so doing, narrators make sense of themselves, social situations, and history". Thus, one's capacity to make meaning from such 'activiti[es]', both past and present, is reliant upon one's capability to construct a story or narrative, with a sense of future. According to Polkinghorne (1988), people construct their lives as evolving life stories integrating the reconstructed past and anticipated future in order to provide coherence and meaning to their events/activities and their lives. From these narratives meaning is manufactured, which allow us to grasp these 'activiti[es]' despite the underlying truths not being fully known (Adams et al., 2006; Hiles and Čermak, 2008; Jaworski and Coupland, 1999; Picca and Feagin, 2007; Riessman, 1993; Thomas, 2001).

In this way, it is through these stories that we, as both individuals and groups, are able to produce, sustain, change and share identities as we desire or see fit. This is because plots, or the ordering of 'activiti[es]', are always sourced from the storyteller's cultural context; this stresses that individuals and groups work collectively to co-create narratives (Camic, Rhodes and Yardley, 2003; Coombes, 2003; Curthoys, 2006; Elliott, 2007; Hiles and Čermak, 2008; Holloway, 2005; Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber, 1998; Olick and Levy, 1997; Olick and Robbins, 1998; Riessman, 1993; Rubin, 1999; Steyn, 2001; Thomas, 2001; Zerubavel, 1996). In this process, we tell stories of ourselves to author a meaningful sense of who we are through which we negotiate or construct our identities. Therefore, these stories or narratives offer us the possibility to study not only the social world but also identity (Brockmeier and Carbaugh, 2001). Taking this approach, the focus of this research project is on the stories that young people in Marikana tell (themselves and) others about who they are.

2.2.2 Identity and Place

It is important to recognise that these narratives are always constructed and negotiated within a particular *time* and *place*, with its own unique social, economic, cultural, and political context (Mathoho and Ranchod, 2006). In particular, Sundstrom argues that this *place* involves both geographic location and social station; in fact, 'places' are particular social spaces, and are infused with social use and meaning. "This is the space of our everyday experience and action, and it is what we, in many senses, move through in our everyday lives... [and thus becomes] an integral aspect of the production of [our] identities" (Sundstrom, 2003, p. 84). That is, if who we are is bound up with place, then not only do the participants inhabit Marikana, Marikana 'inhabits' them. Sundstrom (2003) concludes that, as places are produced, so are people. As Golledge and Stimson (1997, p. 46) similarly observe, place is an intimate part of who we are:

> …place implies a location and an integration of society, culture, and nature. It generates strong psychological and emotional links between people and places. These links are dependent on the range of experience that people have with places. Strong arguments have been put forward that people develop and respond to a sense of place, and it is this sense of place that identifies the felt coherence of features in a setting, as well as the feelings and emotions that the place generates. The sense of place incorporates not only the concepts of location and pattern but feelings of belonging, invasion, mystery, beauty, and fear.

This shows that identity and place are inseparable. Who we are has much to do with the place(s) we inhabit. Thus, as Godlewska (2004, p. 175) argues, "If we wish to understand identity, then we must struggle to understand that complex network that is place. If we wish to understand place, we must struggle to understand identity in all its complexity". Places do not merely inform who we are, but make us, and vice versa. Moreover, just as we can't separate a sense of ourselves from place, Erikson (1968, p. 23) argues further that "we cannot separate personal growth and communal change, nor can we separate [...] the identity crisis in individual life and contemporary crises in historical development because the two help to define each other and are truly relative to each other". In other words, the individual and

his/her social context cannot be separated and must be understood in relation to each other. Dixon and Durrheim (2000) argue that "who we are is where we are". This shows how fundamental the integration of identity and place is to our sense of *self*.

However, as we identify ourselves in relation to these external factors, which are continuously changing, the stories we author about ourselves are never fixed nor is coherence fully achieved. As Hall (2000, p. 4) argues, "identification [is always] a construction, a process never completed, always 'in process' … [and since we can't] stabilise, fix or guarantee an unchanging 'oneness' … [as such] identities are never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions". In this process, "to identify" – the active verb – is deemed much more important than 'identity' – the noun, and signified a process of action and choice" (Bechhofer and McCrone, 2009, p. 9). As such, this research is interested in the 'active verb', to identify or the process of identification, to understand how young people in Marikana use their narratives to define or construct who they are and the place in which they live.

2.3 The impact of the past on the present

2.3.1 The psychological and material scars of the past

> *People have scars in all sorts of unexpected places. Like secret road maps of their personal histories, diagrams of all of their old wounds. Most of our old wounds heal, leaving nothing behind but a scar. But some of them, don't.*
>
> *Some wounds, we carry with us everywhere… and though the cut is long gone, the pain still lingers.*
>
> – Grey's Anatomy, medical TV series.

To *define* is always a political act. It always involves power; power to name things and order meaning(s) in/of a particular world. During apartheid, Africans were forced to learn their

coloniser's particular 'order' of meaning, which imposed or enforced their "cultural capital" (Bourdieu, 1989) on others. In this process, people's identities are defined in relation to the values of the dominant group. From colonialism, our society was explicitly structured along the axis of *race*,[2] which defined people's identities according to race (Adhikari, 2006). Notably, race became the dominant form of identity. This was later institutionalised into the apartheid policy that was enforced by the National Party (NP) South African government between 1948 and 1994. According to Dougard et al (1992, p. 142),

> Race laws touched every aspect of social life, including a prohibition of marriage between non-whites and whites, and the sanctioning of "white-only" jobs. In 1950, the Population Registration Act required that all South Africans be racially classified into one of three categories: white, black (African), or coloured (of mixed decent). The coloured category included major subgroups of Indians and Asians. Classification into these categories was based on appearance, social acceptance, and descent.

Using these racialised classifications, apartheid instrumentally defined and underwrote social positions of whites as dominant and blacks as inferior; whiteness was identified as civilised, educated, and superior, and blackness as uneducated and associated with manual/hard labour, low-paid, and poor. This entrenched social asymmetry and inequality to make certain that whites were privileged over blacks who were kept at the bottom of the social ladder (Franchi, 2003b; Wale & Foster, 2007). Evidently, race also became a form of social stratification. It is important to note the difference produced by these definitions and how such a construction restricted an entire group of people into a positionality of servitude. Nonetheless, these classifications are not natural or given, but socially constructed categories that have been produced by a legacy of colonial oppression and its later specific articulation in the apartheid system (Stevens et al., 2006).

Overtime, as they are transmuted from one generation to another, Johnson (2001) argues that eventually these social constructions become normalised, and accepted as 'reality'. As Fanon

[2] I have italised *race* to acknowledge that while many have problematised the validity of the term, it still continues to have a profound impact on our social relations (Stevens et al., 2006).

stressed, "the colonised man is enslaved by his feeling of inferiority because of the colonisation of his psyche and the transplantation of ideas and images into it, which impresses on him that he is inferior to the white colonialist" (as cited by Azu-Okeke, 2003). This highlights how oppression is internalised by the colonised who adopt the dominant view of their culture, language and way of being as 'objectively' inferior (Johnson, 2001). As such, we inherit the language to speak about our racialised differences as natural categories; we (re)produce them until they are internalised and, eventually, "forget the social process that created it and start treating it as "real" in and of itself" (Johnson, 2001, p. 22).

To entrench the social position of blacks as inferior, apartheid's social stratification restricted their access to education, mobility, human rights and job opportunities, etc etc. This structural treatment of black people did not *recognise* them as equal human beings (to whites), if even human at all. According to Taylor's "politics of recognition", the specific importance of recognition lies in its relationship to identity, which he argues defines "…a person's understanding of who they are, of their fundamental characteristics as a human being" (1994, p. 25). Thus, when these fundamental characteristics of one as a human being are denied, *mis-recognition* takes place. To appropriate Taylor (1994), once this mis-identification marker (i.e. of black as inferior) is believed, we 'mis-recognise' that someone has similar qualities to us, or dissimilar ones, and create an inferior social categories and grouping that we use to define 'them' as someone who is 'unlike us'.

This *mis-recognition* was used to limit or constrain ways black people could define themselves; to strip then off their humanity, value, pride, dignity, and respect, the things we take to be fundamental to how we understand or define who we are. This translated into very dehumanising and brutal imbalanced social relation(s) between black and white people's relationship(s), and how their interactions were used as a *site* to subjugate the black body and image; by marking and (re)producing the *mis-recognition* of its inferiority in the everyday, lived experiences. These are the scars apartheid inflicted on black people and their sense of individual and collective identity.

These scars are maintained and perpetuated through unequal property relations we have inherited from apartheid in which the 'haves' (the coloniser, white) transfer resources to successive generations, and the 'have nots' (the colonised, black) transfer nothing, or very little, to successive generations. According to Elizabeth Cooper (2010, p. 2): "In many Sub-Saharan African societies [although not peculiar to African societies], inheritance is one of the most common means by which physical property is transferred from one generation to another". Cooper (2010, p. 2) conceptualises inheritance as "broadly to attend to intergenerational transfers of property that occur at different moments in lifecycles, including birth, death, marriage and retirement from work". In this relationship, if the parents are poor, the children inherit that poverty, which makes them likely to pass it to the next generation, breeding intergenerational structural poverty. That is, without physical assets, many young people lack the necessary foundation to secure or build a future. As Cooper (2010, p. 5) argues;

> Physical assets, including land, livestock, and other productive assets (e.g. farm equipment, sewing machines) are fundamental to individuals' and households' survival (e.g. shelter) as well as their economic livelihoods (e.g. food production and employment tools). It is argued that the economic, psychological and social benefits of an increased asset base provide the circumstances under which poverty can be interrupted and both individuals and households are able to plan for the future, laying a more secure foundation for subsequent generations.

This reality is starkly evident in Marikana. Despite its rich mineral deposits, just under the shadows of the large tall chambers which breathe pollution into the sky, a few meters away protrudes a community of old rusty shacks. As you enter into the community, you travel on a well-maintained tar road which stands in complete contrast amidst the squalid cluster of shacks crammed together on either side of the road. This is where the people who dig those minerals live with their children, some of whom are participants in this research project. They are members of what Hoffman (2004) calls the "hinge generation", which is the generation born before the end of apartheid and the so-called "born-free" generation, even though most of them have inherited the scars of apartheid's legacy of structural poverty that continues into their present lives. They are part of the first generation grappling with the impact of apartheid

legacy. According to Hoffman (2004: xv), this legacy and its *scars* are received and transmuted not only into history but also transferred to the "hinge generation" as 'personal knowledge' that is learned, (re)produced or (re)enacted inter-generationally through social relations that constitute our lived and everyday life experiences. This 'personal knowledge' (or scars) passes, predominantly, through the family i.e. what is said and not said (Hoffman, 2004; Jansen, 2009). According to Hoffman (2004), the unsaid often creates 'a cocoon of silence', in which a "prohibition on open disclosure" (p. 67) is placed on certain things, and "family members may come to know (through silent, emotional, and indirect channels) of the parents' distress and thus avoid engaging or raising difficult matters, offering a kind of protection against further distress" (Frankish and Bradbury, 2012, p. 3).

In the transference of this 'personal knowledge', the hinge generation inherits more than just the material or physical scars of the past (i.e. lack of assets), but also psychological legacies (i.e. the painful memories of the wounds), especially experiences of trauma, which move or pass between the generations (Hoffman, 2004; Jansen, 2009 and Weingarten, 2004). In other words, when this 'personal knowledge' is passed down, the psychology of the second generation receives the inter-generational transmission of trauma (and traumatic memory) between these two generations (Danieli, 1998). This trauma (and traumatic memory) is part of the family histories, in which speech and silence within families are used to carry the 'personal knowledge' forward into the present and future, and constitute identities of the hinge generation in their ongoing lived, everyday experiences (Frankish and Bradbury, 2012).

Furthermore, Freeman (2002) argues that the 'personal knowledge' is always passed down within a given context in which cultural texts and textures are woven into the fabric of memory, resulting in what he has coined the "narrative unconscious". On one hand, there is knowledge that is spoken and, on the other hand, there is another which is not spoken, but transmuted through silence. However, Freeman (2002) argues that there is also cultural knowledge of which we may not be consciously unaware, resulting in aspects of one's history which have not yet been integrated into his or her story. In this sense, "narrative unconscious" implies less that which has been dynamically repressed as that which has been lived but which remains *unthought* and hence untold (Freeman, 2002). For the hinge generation, which lives within a post-apartheid South Africa, this knowledge of the past can

only be transmitted indirectly, which highlights the "implicit" role families and communities play in this process (Jansen, 2009).

2.3.2 The impact on families and family structure

> *What's worse? New wounds, which are so horribly painful, or old wounds, which should have healed years ago, and never did? Maybe our old wounds teach us something. They remind us where we've been, and what we've overcome. They teach us lessons about what to avoid in the future. That's what we like to think.*
>
> *But that's not the way it is, is it? Some things we just have to learn over and over and over… again.*
>
> – Grey's Anatomy, medical TV series.

Over 20 years later, it is apparent that apartheid did not end in 1994; its legacy continues to permeate our so-called democratic society. Even though apartheid based on race is outlawed now, the systemic inequality of wealth distribution has been etched and engrained in the fibre of our society; its cruelty and injustice are underwritten by an economic apartheid in which black people are still little more than cheap expendable labour, especially in the mining industry. This is an industry that has built itself and profits by conscripting black men from rural areas into mines, and taking them away from their families. This broke the unity of the black (extended) family structure. Given that in legal framework families are mainly considered as nuclear; a mother, father and children living together often under roof, and bounded by this geographic proximity, Mazzucato and Schans (2011) argue that stressing geographical proximity as essential for interaction and exchange within families ignores the migrant workers' family ties that cross national borders. Therefore, family practices across borders are ignored or assumed to be unfeasible (Baldassar and Baldock, 1999; Mazzucato and Schans, 2008). Phoenix (2009) calls them "transnational families". Landolt and Da (2005) and Phoenix (2009) argue that they are treated as a temporary phenomenon.

For some families, this is true. However, for a majority of families in South Africa, usually from a low-economic status, this *temporary* state soon becomes a cemented reality. This opens the families to alternative formations, often single parent-headed households (usually a mother or grandmother) or child-headed households (Desmond et al., 2003), which are both caused by the absence of biological parent(s) due to the apartheid's persistent legacy of migrant labour system (Jones, 1993). With an absent parent (often fathers), childcare became the sole duty of women, which perpetuates these skewed "gendered inequalities" when it comes to childcare (Craig, 2005). By 'absent fathers' I refer to biological fathers who "usually do not reside with their children or are away for long periods of time, including fathers who are divorced, separated, incarcerated, in the military, travel regularly for business and are absent in the home more than they are present" (Mancini, 2010, p. 4-5). But, given the biological fathers' prevalent absence, it is important to note that many children grow up with a "social father" (Clowes et al. 2013; Langa, 2010; Nduna and Jewkes, 2011b; Phaswana, 2003; Swartz, 2009). Clowes et al (2013) argue that, in the absence of biological fathers, other men such as maternal or paternal uncles, grandfathers, neighbours, and teachers often serve as social fathers. South African research suggests that to be a father within black communities is not exclusive to biological fathers, but extends to other male family members (Clowes, Ratele, and Shefer, 2013; Morrell, 2006). However, without a 'social father', mothers were constructed as predominantly responsible for childcare and for their children's development (Azar, 2008; Barrett, 2006; Miller, 2005). In cases where fathers fail to provide financial support, something that has traditionally been seen as a man's job (Makinwa-adebusoye, 2001), women, especially the grandmothers, also become breadwinners for their families.

Historically, in the African context, the role of the 'mother' extends beyond the biological mother, usually to include the grandmother as well. Contrary to the practices of contemporary 'Western' culture where the grandmother is often kept in an old-age home and excluded from the family, in traditional African family structures, the grandmother remains at home and takes on an important role, especially in childcare and children's development. Her role is to pass on wisdom and lessons of the past, usually alongside the mother. A significant shift away from this, especially in South Africa, began during apartheid when women subverted the system of influx control to migrate to the city in order to seek better opportunities (Wilson and Ramphele, 1989; Jones, 1993; Ramphele, 1993), which forced them to leave their

children in the care of grandparents or relatives in rural areas (Bray, Gooskens, Kahn, Moses, and Seekings, 2000). This was a time when black women were not allowed to migrate, even in the limited sense that black men were allowed to. This migration was primary due to unemployment and the strenuous economic realities that faced these women and their families in the rural areas.

As a result, the grandmother was left alone at home, often as a primary caregiver, to raise the children. Given the turmoil of the times, this would later expand to include children who failed to move out of their parents' homes well into adulthood and often even became parents themselves, establishing their own families within the main family (Bray at al, 2000). In some cases, young people fall pregnant while they are still in schools (and usually cannot afford a nanny when they return to school) or (young) single mothers who are unemployed, or work as stay-in maids, etc. The responsibility for looking after these children fell on grandmothers who were left behind. It was now up to them nurture and instil good values in the children, often in the parents' absence. All these factors have re-centered the grandmother as a pivotal part of the extended family.

2.3.3 The impact on childhood

As the previous section established, without a father (and financial support), many children in these families face great difficulties in their childhoods. In 1989, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which defines childhood as;

> …the time for children to be in school and at play, to grow strong and confident with the love and encouragement of their family and an extended community of caring adults. It is a precious time in which children should live free from fear, safe from violence and protected from abuse and exploitation.

Burman (1994; 2008) points out that this definition presupposes that childhood is a period of development in which the child has particular "needs" for stimulation and education. For

instance, the need to be educated, be loved, to be protected, and most especially, it is a time for them to be "irresponsib[le], indulgence and play" (Burman, 2008, p. 11). In this sense, the child is theorised as innocent and dependent on the family, especially the mother who is responsibility for the child and providing care; she must give the child physical, emotional, psychological, and educational support. But, according to Walker et al (2004), not all children, especially of migrant parents (Jones, 1993), have the luxury to be play like other 'normal' children because due to absent parent(s) they often have to look after themselves and their younger siblings (also see Jones, 1993; Ramphele, 2002; Reynolds, 1990; Richter et al., 2005; Haley and Bradbury, 2014). In a child-headed household, it means that children do not have the space to play. In such cases, the children have to grow up before their time. They do not enjoy their childhood for long. "The idealised conception of children and childhoods disallows association with poverty, [abuse] and deprivation" (Burman, 2008, p. 96). As a result, these children and their childhoods are not considered 'normal', or the proper way to be a child. This disassociation functions not only to set the standard of what is then a 'proper' child, but also to pathologise children who grow up without parents.

It must be noted that the pathology of an 'improper' child also functions to pathologise the child's parents, especially those who are absent due to migrant work, as not being "proper" parents. But this pathology ignores that, even though these narratives are common in black families, it is primarily due to the strenuous economic circumstances which forced and still continue to force, many parents to leave their children in order to migrate to cities or to the mines to look for work. This is the legacy of apartheid that is now embedded in many black families because many parents are working class migrant workers.

This illustrates that the absence of black fathers (and mothers) at home due to migrant labour (Jones, 2003), among other factors, is one of the leading reasons why many children grow up without parental presence, particularly of biological fathers. Instead, many young people are raised by what has been termed a "social father" such as maternal or paternal uncles, grandfathers, neighbours, and teachers (Clowes et al. 2013; Langa, 2010; Nduna and Jewkes, 2011b; Phaswana, 2003; Swartz, 2009). These are the wounds of the past which have been inflicted on black people by the systemic oppressive apparatus of colonialism and the apartheid government, keeping them at the bottom of the economic ladder. Phoenix (2009)

argues that this is the context in which we need to understand parents' absence, otherwise we risk pathologising them as not "proper" parents. In the same way, we need to reconceptualise our understanding of their children's childhoods so that we may recognise the complex relationship between migrant labour and its material effects on children growing up without parents so that we may not pathologise them as not "proper" children, or childhoods, too.

2.4 Growing up in post-apartheid South Africa

Prior to 1994, Bray et al (2010) argue that literature on young black South Africans focused on promblematic or atypical groups (conducted against the backdrop of the measurement of 'normal' childhoods), especially young people who were reactive to the volatile political climate. From the 80s into the early 90s, the research focus of such scholarship was young people's participation in political protest and violence (Marks, 2001; Ntsebeza, 1993; Seekings, 1993; Straker, 1992; Van Kessel, 2000). Under apartheid rule, young people's identities were characterised by the spirit of defiance against racial segregation; youth played an active role during the liberation struggle in South Africa. In a repressive political context where other forms of mobilization were restricted, schools became sites of struggle and recruiting grounds for political organizations (Bundy, 1987). For example, the youth uprising of 1976 marked and exemplified this spirit and etched it into our national memory. During the struggle, youth participated in demonstrations, rallies, protests, and political organizations such as Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), where they were given special military training in order to fight the apartheid's long oppressive arm against black South Africans. As a result, many young people were shot, detained and killed. This generation of South African youth can be described using Mannheim's (1952) notion of a 'social generation'. "They did not merely coexist in the same time and space, but developed a sense of common or group identity" (Bosch, 2007, p. 280). This scholarship was interested in documenting young people's role in the struggle, but paid very little attention to theorising their identities, outside of their political mobilisation and activity.

This has created a gap in the scholarship and national discourse on how youth navigate or negotiate new identity construction(s) in the post-apartheid South Africa. Very little has been done to understand who young people are outside of political activities, yet we've put them at

the forefront of our transformation (and transitional) agenda. In 1994, South Africa had just formally abolished apartheid and was at the turning point of re-defining a vision for a new society. This political rhetoric was evident from the onset of our democratic landscape, and it was embodied by the leadership of Nelson Mandela:

> As we set about building a new South Africa, one of our highest priorities must therefore be our children. The vision of a new society that guides us should already be manifest in steps we take to address the wrong done to our youth and to prepare for their future. (Mandela, 1995).

At the time of this speech, Nelson Mandela was the first black president of the 'new' South Africa. Despite the lack of scholarship studying the range of issues affecting the ordinary, everyday lives of young people in South Africa, the heart of Mandela's speech stresses that young people must play a crucial role in the transformation. According to Mandela (2000), this is because young people have a "… remarkable spirit, [an] ability to heal not only themselves but their societies as well". This centralisation of the national transformation agenda on young people returned the focus of research to youth studies in South Africa. As a result, the end of apartheid meant that new space(s) opened up for scholars to study the challenges facing young people, especially those living in poor conditions in the rural areas and townships (see e.g. Dawes and Donald's (1994) *Childhood and Adversity: Psychological Perspectives from South African Research*).

In particular, we saw this specific focus of scholarship from Ramphele (2002) and Henderson (1999), who worked extensively with teenagers from New Crossroads, especially Ramphele's *Steering by the stars: Being young in South Africa* (2002), which gave "a searing account of teenagers struggling to achieve their ambitions in the face of parental neglect, material hardship, dire schooling" (Ramphele, 2002, p. 28). The young people's lives seem to be entangled in structural poverty. To escape this poverty, schooling is typically presented as a way out or hope to better their penurious lives. However, the idea that education is an escape route for everyone is a myth. I will use Bourdieu's term of 'unequal selectedness' (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990, p. 72) to substantiate this claim. According to Bourdieu and Passeron

(1990), “the educational system and its modern nobility only contribute to disguise, and thus legitimize, in a subtler way the arbitrariness of the distribution of powers and privileges” (p. x). That is, education is always taught using a particular ‘cultural capital’, usually of the ruling class whose children will always has a greater advantage than children of the working class, which promotes educational inequality. It is clear that this makes it very difficult for lower-class pupils to succeed in the education system.

> But despite the fact that lower-class pupils are seriously disadvantaged in the competition for educational credentials, the results of this competition are seen as meritocratic and therefore as legitimate. In addition, Bourdieu claims that social inequalities are legitimated by the educational credentials held by those in dominant positions. This means that the education system has a key role in maintaining the status quo. (Sullivan, 2002, p. 145).

Education as an escape route out of poverty for township youth thus remains largely a myth because our schooling system is entrenched in a historical racial inequality, which is central to the unequal structuring of education in South Africa. In fact, it is a means of perpetuating social and structural inequality. That is, when they fail their lives remain stuck in limbo, often with no qualification and no job. Therefore, as Ramphele notes (2002), such narrative accounts highlight lives of young people which are either ‘stuck’, or as Brockmeier (2000) argues, in a kind of “stasis” (not going anywhere), or which are “regressive”, marked by a downward trend, telling a story of a life that is getting worse and worse (Gergen and Gergen, 1984).

Only at the turn of the new millennium, however, we see a more explicit shift from “atypical sub-sample of activist youth” research, with studies conducted by researchers such as Dlamini (2005) who started to “explore how many young people tried to construct ordinary lives and identities amid the widespread violence and heightened politicisation”. As a result, scholarship is gradually shifting to include old and new challenges that young people are facing as they navigate their “way through the uncertain and complex post-apartheid landscape”; their *inheritance* of overriding legacies of our troubled history and its entrenched

racism, inequality and poverty, but also a 'mix possibilities and disappointments' offered by the *democratic* South Africa (Bray et al, 2010, p. 22), as well as new opportunities to envisage new identities and futures for themselves (see e.g. Barbarin and Richter, 2001).

In the past decade, research on youth identity is slowly gaining traction and the developing scholarship is interested in a wide-range of issues affecting young people's identities. This is reflected in the work of many researchers, including for example, Bradbury and Clark (2012) who "explor[ed] how past and future are articulated in the construction of youth identities in the context of South Africa, with a particular focus on the possibilities for change in discourses of nationality and gender", and the work of Masilela (2014) who explored how "young black postgraduate men: construct[ed] and renegotiate[ed] their identities as first generation students in relation to their families", to the work of Alberts (2013) who looks at "Afrikaner adolescents' identity struggles in post-apartheid South Africa", etc. This diverse range of emerging literature offers an insight into how young people have been dealing with the shifting socio-cultural and political landscape since 1994.

Given the challenges of our racially segregated past, young people today are the first generation to have the opportunity to engage across racial lines to envisage new identities and forge alternative futures. Therefore, the challenge of how they negotiate new identities within a post-apartheid South Africa has become the subject and attention of new research on youth studies, especially among narrative researchers, who are usually interested in young people's everyday lived experiences. Building on the foundations of established scholars such as Reynolds, Ramphele (2002) and Henderson (1999), Bray et al. (2010) conducted a study of the everyday lives of ordinary young people by talking and spending time with them to see what they do in their everyday routines, as an attempt to understand what young people face on a daily basis and how they navigate and negotiate the world around them. In particular, they focused on what the possibilities are for more equal relations and individual opportunities for their social mobility. However, Mayer et al (2011, p. 6) argues that this "new [or hinge] generation of young South Africans are facing the same future that young people faced at the end of the apartheid era, but this time without the hope that a new political dispensation and policy environment will bring about change". Despite this, Bray et al (2010, p. 22) claim that "stories of most South African children and adolescents are not stories of

‘failure’ or a descent’ into marginality. To the contrary, they are the opposite: stories of creativity and at least partial success in tackling old and new challenges alike” (Bray et al, 2010, p. 22).

By extending the scope of youth studies beyond their political mobilisation to look more holistically at their everyday, ordinary lives, the study revealed that despite the challenges of the past, not all stories told by young people are ‘stuck’ or ‘regressive’. In fact, many young people tell stories of lives which are getting better and going somewhere, or what Gergen and Gergen (1984) call “a progressive narrative” that represents a kind of a “panglossian account of life, ever better in every way” (Gergen, 1998, p. 5). As Bradbury and Clark (2012) remark, “Young people are quite evidently actively engaged in crafting their own fluid and hybrid identities, suggesting imaginative new ways to be in the world, energising us and provoking an orientation towards future possibilities” (p. 176). This shows how resilient young people are, in taking charge of changing their own narratives, even in the face of structural adversities.

Still, the authors also recognise that we cannot escape the past, especially in South Africa where despite the global image of our ‘peaceful’ transition as a “miracle” (Waldmeir 1997; Kaufman 2011), questions of identity remain inextricably linked to and rooted in the legacies of our racial discourse, and the divide between the poor and rich is still stark. Accordingly, Bradbury and Clark (2012) confront these stark realities, as young people themselves must, by working with them to explore how past and future are articulated in the construction of youth identities in the context of South Africa.

This literature highlights the challenges faced by young people who are growing up in the transitioning South Africa. It outlines how narrative theories of identity link the past and the present, specifically in an attempt to construct articulations of *post*-Apartheid trauma in the intersection(s) between race and class. In a similar vein, this research is interested in how young people, specifically in Marikana, are confronting these legacies of the past, especially the impact of class, race and post-apartheid trauma, on how they negotiate a sense of who they are in the ‘new’ South Africa.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Research Questions

The study investigated three key questions:

- What narratives do young people in Marikana tell (themselves and) others about where they come from and who they are or not?
- What impact, if any, did the Lonmin Massacre as a traumatic event have on them?
- What "alternative [or possible] futures" do they envisage for themselves?

3.2 Narrative method

The starting point of the narrative method is a story, and I am interested in how people create meaning of themselves through the stories they tell. As Bamberg (2006, p. 3) argues, "When narrators tell a story, they give 'narrative form' to experience. They position characters in space and time and, in a very broad sense, give order to and make sense of what happened – or what is imagined to have happened". According to May (2012), narratives are the fundamental way in which we make sense of the world and what is happening around us, or as Polkinghorne puts it, they are "the primary form by which human experience is made meaningful" (1988, p. 1). In other words, we construct a sense of (our)selves or identities through the stories we tell. In this way, we use story to articulate who we are to ourselves and others. Hence, as Riessman (1993) says, we lead 'storied lives'. We could even argue that we are the stories we tell of ourselves (McAdams, 1993; Randall, 1995).

"Narrative inquiry", as a methodology then, "attempts to collaboratively access participants' life experiences and engage in a process of storying and restorying in order to reveal multidimensional meanings and present an authentic and compelling rendering of the data" (Leavy, 2009, p. 27). In other words, this inquiry allows the participant (and researcher) a reflective space or moment to construct order of meaning through their lived-experiences in order to (re)story a sense of who they are (in that particular moment). In this process, narration is used as an access point into lived-experiences to explore how the participants

make sense of who they are; to identify how the past and specifically the massacre as a significant traumatic event has affected, or continues to affect, how they understand themselves and their stories; and to see how they use narratives to envisage "alternative [or possible] futures" for themselves.

In order to achieve this, the research will focus on both event narrative and experience-centred work. Event narrative, as classically defined by Labov, refers to "the spoken recounting of particular past *events* that happened to the narrator, the person telling the story" (Squire, Andrews, and Tamboukou, 2008, p. 5). This approach allows the participants to share or tell their own stories, or personal anecdotes of their lives, in any way or order they choose, with the researcher as an audience. However, experience-centred work recognises that not only personal events or happenings are important in our stories but also general or imagined phenomena, distant matters they have only heard about (Squire et al, 2008). In particular, this study was interested to explore the 'before' and 'after' trauma stories resulting from the disruption or impact of the massacre, as a violent and traumatic event, on their individual and communal lives.

3.3 Co-constructed narratives

Narratives always involve an exchange between a narrator and an audience (Riessman, 2008). The narrator's role is to deliver a story in a way that it is intelligible to her or his audience. Depending on who the audience is, the narrator will produce a version of themselves which seems intelligible for that particular audience. In the interview, the 'facilitating' interviewer and the 'respondent' jointly produce meaning (Gubrium and Holstein, 2002). In this situation, it is important to understand that narratives which are recorded during interviews are not one directional, but in fact involve a two-way interaction between the storyteller [interviewee] and listener [researcher]. Whether the researcher is a part of the group he is researching or not, it is generally acknowledged in the human sciences that the researcher does not find narratives but instead participates in their creation (Riessman, 2008; Squire et al, 2008). The responses of the listener influence the telling of the story. In fact, storytelling emerges from this *participation* between the teller and audience. The listener becomes, therefore, a co-creator of the story as experienced. In other words, the narrator and listener or interviewer,

collaboratively, produce and make meaning of events and experiences that the narrator reports (Mishler, 1986). This reveals a dialectic relationship in which the researcher can be both an insider and outsider in the creation or telling of the narratives.

Gloria Anzaldua offers a concept that frames this dialectic position of the researcher. In her theorisation of the insider and outsider, Anzaldua (1999) explores the intersection(s) between them by showing how as two separate entities, the two are still an interconnected part of a whole. To achieve this, she uses the Spanish word 'nosotras', which means 'us' or 'we', to represent a collective. However, she writes the word with a slash in between (nos-otras), which then implies nos (us) and otras (others), to reveal an "othering" that happens even within the 'collective' (us/we). Suddenly, what emerges is an intricate and complex relationship between us and them. As a theoretical resource, this idea will be used to look at how as a black person interviewing other black people I can pass as 'one of them' or an insider (nos). Yet, as an educated black graduate interviewing black people who did not have the opportunity to finish their schooling, it is clear that there are ways in which I am not quite 'one of them', but the 'other' (otras). This outlines an awareness or understanding in which I can pass as both an insider (nos) and outsider (otras) in Marikana. In the co-construction of narratives, it is imperative to understand these shifts and their impact within the interview.

Additionally, in an interview situation, the listener or researcher's role goes further than this; she or he not only participates in the telling but also selects the storyteller and sets up the context and questions which frame the entire interaction or story being told. As a result, it is imperative for a researcher to analyse the manner in which life narratives are co-constructed in the interview situation in order to understand in which way(s) their presence is enabling a particular story to be told and limiting other possible way(s) in which that story can be told (in a different context).

3.4 Participants

A group of eight participants between the age of 19 and 31 years, male and female were selected to participate in the research. The group consisted of participants of varying gender,

age, nationality, language, and education background. Despite their varying background details, most of them are not employed. The table below present a profile of the participants.

Table 1: Profile of participants

Name	**Age**	**Origin**	**Education**	**Employment**	**Family in the mine**
Jennet (F)	27	Lesotho	No matric	Unemployed	Father
Mda (M)	19	Mozambique	No matric	Part time	None
Mzi (M)	28	Mozambique	No matric	Part time	None
Ditsego (M)	24	Wonderkop	Matric	Unemployed	Relatives
Thandi (F)	19	Wonderkop	Matric	Unemployed	Father
Winnie (F)	22	Wonderkop	2nd year UJ	Own/runs NGO	Relatives
Elisa (F)	31	Wonderkop	Matric	Employed	Siblings
Phinda (F)	23	Wonderkop	NSC	Unemployed	Relatives

*Pseudonyms have been provided in line with ethical considerations for anonymity.

This group was selected through snow-balling convenience sampling. Available connections with the Marikana community structures were initially employed in an attempt to identify the participants. Some of the participants were referred by participants who had already been identified and agreed to participate. Given the occasionally unreliable nature of community structures, the initial attempts to recruit participants through established links with the community leaders failed. The researcher went on the streets where he advertised the project through word of mouth to attract potential participants. This effort yielded a few participants. Fortunately, one of the community structures which proved useful was a local high school in

Marikana. In fact, many of the participants were recruited through the advice and recommendations of the principal and teachers from the high school.

3.5 Data Collection

This study used narrative interviews. The narrative interview is classified as a qualitative research method (Lamnek, 1989; Hatch and Wisniewski, 1995; Riessman, 1993; Flick, 1998). According to Jovchelovitch and Bauer (2000), a narrative interview is considered a form of unstructured, in-depth interview with specific features. They argue that "The narrative interview envisages a setting that encourages and stimulates an interviewee to tell a story about some significant event in their life and social context" (Jovchelovitch and Bauer, 2000, p. 3). This is so that we can reconstruct social events from the perspective of narrator as subjectively and directly as possible (Schütze, 1977), in order to see the world through the eyes of the narrator. This, according to Weiss (1994, p. 1),

> …can inform us about the nature of social life. We can learn about the work of occupations and how people fashion careers, about cultures and the values they sponsor, and about the challenges people confront as they live their lives. We can learn also, through interviewing about people's interior experiences.… We can learn the meanings to them of their relationships, their families their work, and their selves. We can learn about all the experiences, from joy through grief, that together constitute the human condition.

In this research, each participant was asked a narrative question which they were given the freedom to interpret as broadly or narrowly as they wished. In this manner, the research "discovers and explores the meanings that underpin people's lives" (Arksey and Knight, 1999, p. 32). However, in the fieldwork the researcher found that participants, for a host of reasons, struggled to speak comprehensively about their own lives; many of them felt like they had not achieved much to talk about. In this situation, the interviewer was invited by the participants to ask questions to help them know what to talk about. This changed the interview set up from narrative to a semi-structured framework. "The primary advantage of

in-depth interviews is that they provide much more detailed information than what is available through other data collection methods" (Woods, 2011, p. 2). The participants were asked a narrative question, but in situations where they needed to be prompted by the researcher (upon invitation) to ask clarifying questions, then the interviewer took on a more active role and inevitably provided direction. However, the researcher continued to use open-ended questions, which gave the interviewees a direction but still allowed them room to control their narratives (Whiting, 2008). This adaptation of narrative techniques highlights the co-construction of the narratives and provides a focus for analysis.

The interviews were conducted at locations or places convenient to the participants, such as their homes, both indoors and outdoors. Given limited privacy, some of the participants chose to have interviews in outside areas. Even though we were within contained isolated areas (like someone's backyard), the spaces were still public and likely to contain some incidental disturbances. The interviews were arranged according to the participants' schedules.

3.6 Language and Translation

As a community of South African and African migrant workers, Marikana is a melting point of linguistic variety. Despite being multilingual as a researcher, it was expected that some of the participants would speak a different language to me. All the interviewees were given the option to speak in any language that was most comfortable for them (which matched the languages that the researcher could either understand or speak, or both), with the exception of two participants from Mozambique, which is a Portuguese-speaking country. This was the primary language barrier in the data collection because it complicated and limited the multiple layers of what could be told (and what remained untold) as well as what could be understood in the interview process (Frankish and Bradbury, 2012).

Aware of the limitations that this could pose in the interview process, these two participants were asked if they were comfortable to use any alternative South African languages. One

participant spoke some rudimentary form of Fanagalo,[3] which involved code switching mainly between Zulu, Xhosa, Sepedi, Tswana and English. Whereas South Africans often code switched to capture or express a particular colloquialism, the other participants did it out of necessity to be understood. As a result, they made attempts to find alternative ways to communicate effective by looking for equivalent expressions or borrowing from other South African languages. As Van Nes et al (2010, pp. 313/4) argues, "Qualitative research seeks to study meanings in subjective experiences. The relation between subjective experience and language is a two-way process; language is used to express meaning, but the other way round, language influences how meaning is constructed". It was clear that not being able to express himself in his first language restricted him and his ability to share information, which might have resulted in narrative breaks. The other participant, from Mozambique, spoke fluent Pedi (mixed with some Tswana), which is my mother tongue. He worked in Limpopo and Pretoria for several years. Even though we were not using his mother tongue, his fluency in Sepedi in this context did not hinder the communication process. In fact, it proved to connect us across our national boundaries or borders.

In terms of the data analysis, to avoid potential limitations, the researcher analysed the data in their original languages. As Van Nes et al (2010) argues, using the interviews in their original language (or mixed languages during code switching) to run the analysis minimises misinterpretations. It was only much later, after the analysis, that extracts of data were translated into English. However, to discuss the data and findings with my supervisor who did not have direct access to the different languages spoken by the interviewees, a loose translation was provided, taking note to avoid using fixed, or one word, translations (Van Nes et al, 2010). This was key primarily to capture and reflect the inherent problems of interpretation in the translation process but also to explore the fluid or broad range of available meaning(s). A record of these discussions was later useful "…to make the development of the interpretations transparent when in later phases the translations need to be adapted" (Van Nes et al, 2010, p. 314). In the end, only the extracts which were used in the thesis were then back translated for verification and to minimise loss of meaning in translation (Van Nes et al, 2010).

[3] Fanagalo is a pidgin (simplified language) based primarily on Zulu, with English and a small Afrikaans input. It is used as a lingua franca, mainly in the gold, diamond, coal and copper mining industries in South Africa (Omniglot).

3.7 Data Analysis

3.7.1.1 Structural Analysis

Structural analysis was used to analyse each individual interview focusing on how participants use narration to create a story and presentation of the 'self'or 'identity' as a narrative. As Squire et al (2008) argue, by focusing on narrative, I investigated how the participants structure their stories and the *means* they use to describe, understand and even explain important aspects of themselves and the world around them. The focus in this phase of analysis is on the form and process of the telling (*how* it is told). Focusing on form revealed that young people's lives do not 'flow in a narrative', they are disjointed, fragmented, discontinues, they stop and start, and aimless, seemingly unable to tell a coherent story of a life, which reflects poverty as the main cause for the pervasive structural disruptions.

3.7.1.2 Co-construction of narratives

This section of structural analysis will focus on the ways in which life narratives are co-constructed in the interview situation. Given that the research process is partly about those who are researched and partly about the researcher, what happens in an interview is directly affected by both. The truth is that, our presence as researchers, is itself an *intrusion* (with our questions and comments, however minimal), an intrusion which makes hearing certain stories possible and, others, impossible. It is this intrusive element, necessary as it is, that makes us co-constructors in the narratives we are told, the manner in which they are told to us, and the meaning we attached to them. In this interaction, it is important to analyse and reflect on how the role(s) and expectation(s) of the teller and listener (interviewee and researcher) influenced how, why and when the participants spoke about the Lonmin Massacre (as a traumatic event) and what that could tell us about its impact in their lives.

3.7.2 Thematic Analysis

The second phase of analysis utilised thematic analysis to draw connections or disconnections between the participants in terms of common threads in their experiences of what it means to young in Marikana. According to Rubin and Rubin (1995), this analysis enables the

researcher to "discover themes and concepts embedded throughout [their] interviews" (p. 226). "Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes your data set in (rich) detail. However, it also often goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic" (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun and Clarke, 2006). In this context, a theme is anything that captures something significant about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

This mode of analysis focused on themes that characterise the experience of what it is like to grow up in Marikana as a young person. This analysis enabled the exploration of similarities and differences between social factors such as family background, education, class, etc., specifically looking at the ways individuals make meaning of their experience, and, in turn, the ways the broader social context impinges on those meanings, while retaining focus on the material and other limits of 'reality' (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The themes that emerged were: Marikana (nostalgia about the place of Marikana, and belonging to the place of Marikana), childhood in Marikana and elsewhere (growing up in Marikana, and growing up elsewhere), families and their structure (single-parent headed and transnational families, (grand)mothers as pillars of family, and (inter)generational absence/presence of fathers), education (lack of funds for schooling), and possibilities for the future (dreams and futures deferred, and fantasies as a form of escapism).

3.8 Ethics

This research project adhered to all ethical concerns. All the participants were given an information sheet (Appendix A, p. 144), which explained the project, their involvement and what would be required in the process. Those who took part in the research, signed a consent form (see Appendix B, p. 146), which also guaranteed participants' confidentiality. Fictitious name or pseudonyms were used in order to ensure anonymity and protect the identities of participants. The thesis does not include any identifiable information. The purpose of this research was explained to each participant, together with any benefits or risks of the study. The participants were informed that they had the right to withdraw at any time from the study without consequence, as participation was voluntary and they did not have to answer any question(s) if they did not feel comfortable. The participants were met at a neutral place of

convenience. The audio recording of the interviews were kept in my personal computer that has a protection login password. The participants were informed that they may contact me should they have any questions and concerns about the research project.

3.9 Reflexivity

I am part of the South African youth in transition, trying to figure out the impact of the past, and in the same breath, forge a sense of a future; a direction forward. As an academic researcher and theatre-maker, I am interested in understanding how young people, like myself, negotiate and construct new identities of themselves in our contemporary socio-political and economic landscape of South Africa. My work stems from this deep rooted need to addresses relevant, contemporary political issues which shape or influence young people's lives. I see making 'theatre' as an opportunity to interrogate who we were in order to grapple who we are, and re-imagine who we could be.

In 2012, in the wake of the massacre in Marikana, a nation watched as mine workers were mauled down by the police, people who are meant to protect them. It gripped and sickened many of us, as it looked like a scene from Sharpville. In the aftermath, we heard the victims of a massacre vilified as criminals who deserved this brutal fate and end to their lives. I was puzzled by how so little of the national reporting came from miners themselves or people of Marikana. We knew so little about these men and women, and I was curious to know who they were and what led them to this moment that would redefine our political landscape, especially the now famous 'man in the green blanket'.[4] In the media, these people were often depicted as criminals, but I wanted to know the people behind these faces.

At the time, I was also angry at the artistic community for showing poor solidary with the community of Marikana. Even today, there has only been a handful of artists who have critically responded to it. I don't know how something like a massacre happens and a society continues like its business as usual. There was nothing usual about this massacre in a

[4] The real name of the man in the green blanket is Mgcineni Noki, a 30-year-old Lonmin rock drill operator from Thwalikhulu in Mqanduli, Eastern Cape, who was one of the key identified miners leading the negotiations of the strike in 2012. He was shot and killed on the 16th August 2012, along with 33 other miners. After the shooting, his death became the symbol and face of the Lonmin Massacre.

democratic country. I did not know it then, but this frustration would eventually lead to the creation of my theatre production, *The Man In The Green Jacket* (2013), which examined the life of an average miner in Marikana as an attempt to give a human face to the miners and dramatise why these men would protest, and the impact of the loss of their lives on the families left behind. On the opening night of the play, more than 20 family members of those who lost their loved ones on the 16th August 2012 came to watch it.

After the showcase, it was clear that the pain was still too raw to even attempt to engage with any of the family members. However, as the protagonist was a young man, this opened up a conversation about how this traumatic event might be affecting young people in Marikana. Given the lack of stories that were reported by the people of Marikana, I took this as an opportunity to create a platform to train and equip young people with media skills that would enable them report their own stories, and as part of that process, also create a play to deal with how the massacre was, and still is, affecting the everyday lives of the young people in Marikana. More than any event in the past, Marikana strike had exposed the double standards of our democracy, and the myth of its apparent economic transformation. And I wanted to understand the impact or effect of this emerging narrative first-hand from young people who lived at the heart of it, especially since I already had established links with the community structures.

Given the extensive network I had established, I assumed access issues were not a problem and was assured to that effect. It was an easy plan, we were going to gather 10 young people, train them media skills, self-produce "a story of a life in Marikana" (during this phase we would also conduct interviews for this particular research) and then support the group to continue telling their own stories. To my surprise, nothing went quite as expected. Everything that could go wrong seemed to wrong. My established networks failed to yield the promised number of participants needed to take part in the research. Eventually, using the network of the available participants, we managed to secure other participants to begin the project. After we finalised the participants, I returned to Marikana to finalise a venue we needed to run the workshops. For several weeks I had been in contact with a man who ran an adult education centre in Wonderkop and he had granted us permission to use one of their classrooms. But upon arrival, this man was not there and no one could vouch for who I was, despite proof of

emails exchanged between him and myself, I was refused entry. I suspect the suspicion of my character was influenced by the union rivalry which had claimed the life of a shop steward that week. Instead, I was made to run around Marikana to locate this man who could verify my story, and eventually when I did, this earned me a temporary pass (which would later be revoked).

However, before we were supposed to begin the process, many of the participants, as children of migrant parents, went home for holidays. When they returned, many of them never attended the workshops and some just disappeared. Desperate and now running out of time, this forced me into the streets of Marikana where I directly went to talk to young people, told them about the project and recruited them. This yielded quite unsatisfactory results. My last resort was a visit to local schools, and the teachers, especially the principals, made recommendations of young people which proved to be invaluable. Within days of talking to one of the principals in the area, I had secured enough participants needed to finish the research. By now it was too late to run the project in its entirety, so we focused only on individual interviews and narratives of the youth.

These difficulties, frustrating as they were, highlighted Marikana as a volatile space, a community that is gripped by a political atmosphere that is precarious. Given the rife union rivalry and competing political interests, the community lives in fear of 'spies'. It was clear that not many people trust easily, you are guilty or foe until proven innocent or friendly. Coming in as an outsider, I could feel the intrusion I was making into the community. As a place full of migrants, some worked hard to make me feel welcomed, and others held me with the highest level of suspicion. It is only when you understand these complex safety hazards and risks associated with talking to an "outsider" that you realise how challenging it must have been for these individuals to open up and share their lives, and stories with me. Had I been some spy for one of the competing organisation in the region, this would have put their lives in grave danger. This is something that is given very little explicit attention in the thesis, but I am sincerely humbled by the seemingly small, yet truly magnanimous courage of these young people.

Chapter 4: Structural Analysis

This chapter presents a structural analysis of the narratives of young people in Marikana that will be divided into two sections; 1) the fragmented narratives of poverty, which will look at poverty as a systemic issue that is pervasive in the lives of the participants and how this is reflected in the structure of their stories, and 2) co-construction of narratives, which will explore how my role as an interviewer may have influenced the ways in which the participants told their stories).

4.1 The fragmented narratives of poverty

Given the rife inherited and intergenerational poverty in Marikana, all the participants reported it as a main pervasive theme in their narratives. This section will provide a structural analysis of how poverty shapes and (re)produces particular kinds of lives, and how this is reflected in the structure of stories of young people in Marikana. Their narratives cannot be analysed without taking into account the effects of the growing interconnectedness and interaction within, and between, their lives and the structural poverty, which has enveloped their stories and lives. We recognise that the Lonmin Massacre in Marikana may be a big traumatic event in their lives, which was, and still is, majorly disruptive. Yet, the structure of stories of the participants show that structural poverty is a continuous state of trauma in their lives, something that seems to be a repeated daily structural violence. However, this kind of trauma, the trauma of repeated stresses of living a life that is entangled or locked into structural poverty is much less recognised. This conceals, or makes invisible, the pervasive and perpetual structural violence and its effects on their stories and lives.

The stories, and analyses of them, show that to fully understand their narratives and lives, we need to first recognise this permanent repeated cycle of trauma(s), and to look at how the systemic effects of apartheid, racism and structural poverty not only affect but produce the lives of young people in Marikana. Understood in this way, the way their stories are told reflects that poverty is a critical issue that affects the way young people make sense of, and

talk about, their lives. This means that the poverty is embedded in their lives. This is revealed below in how Thandi describes how her older sister grew up without her mother around:

Thandi So yes, I have my older sister and then she is also the kind of person who never went to school because mama o ne a se mothoko ga gagwe. O gotse ka tshokolo and everything.

Directly translated this means that "mother was not by her side. She grew up with poverty (and everything)". This seems like a simple statement, however, if we analyse Thandi's choice of words in their original language more closely, they express greater and more troubling nuances of how deep-rooted poverty is in her life. To (re)capture what is lost in (the direct) translation, I will use the metaphor of a rhino's horn. A rhino "grows up" with the horn attached to its head, and that becomes a part of how it sees the world. In its vision, the horn is naturalised and accepted as part of what is *normal*, and thus *invisible*. If the horn is part of how the rhino sees the world, then it can never be divorced from what is considered a 'normal view'; thus, the horn is *inseparable* from its basic awareness of its own sight. In this sense, the implication is that Thandi's sister and poverty are intertwined in the same *inseparable* way. In other words, it is something that is interlocked with her life, it is embedded within, or a part of, her. Furthermore, there is a sense in which it is also personified, as a living thing, as if poverty was someone who raised her (given that the "mother was not there").

This reflects the systemic poverty and the perpetuation of the legacy of apartheid in the 'new' South Africa. Evidently, this exposes how such an omnipresent legacy is entrenched in their everyday lived-experiences that it is impossible to speak of oneself, or even construct a sense of the 'self', outside of the pervasive grip of structural poverty. Inevitably, the "new [or hinge] generation of young South Africans are facing the same future that young people faced at the end of the apartheid era, but this time without the hope that a new political dispensation and policy environment will bring about change" (Mayer et al, 2011, p. 6). Alarmingly, it is young people between the ages of 14-35 that accounted for 72% of the unemployed in 2010. Accordingly, the unemployment crisis must be understood as a youth unemployment crisis in

particular (Mayer et al, 2011, p. 6). In alignment with these general stats, seven participants reported that they were unemployed, and three were employed, but only one of the three has a permanent post. The other two are unofficially contracted on a part time basis, which they reported does not pay them enough. Living far below the poverty line, their lives are still entangled in structural poverty, which is a defining feature of their stories and lives. This is demonstrated by Jennet below:

Jennet Ke nna Jennet, ke na le 27 years. Ke tswa ko naheng ya… a e, e re ke seke ka bolela mo ke tswang teng. Ke Mosotho. Ke tswa lelapeng le poor.

Jennet *I'm Jennet, I am 27 years old. I come from… no, let me not say where I come from. I am a Mosotho. I come from a poor family.*

Like Thandi, Jennet's story is entangled in poverty. Jennet starts her story by saying that she comes from a poor family. To mention this as part of her introduction demonstrates how structurally she perceives poverty as meaningful or a defining marker of who she is. According to McAdams (2001) and Polkinghorne (1988), when an individual tells a story about herself, she selects or chooses from the past information that she perceives to be an important aspect of who she is in that context. For Jennet, an important part of who she is, as with all the participants, is that she comes from a poor family and as such grew up under impoverished circumstances. In the interview, this is repeated as the story of her life.

Interviewer Mpotse ka story sa bophelo ba gago?

Jennet Ke le ngwana wa Mosotho, ke tswa mo lelapeng le futsaheileng akere… le poor.

Interviewer *Tell me about the story of the life that is yours?*

Jennet *As am a child of Mosotho, I come from a family that is struggling you know… that is poor.*

Jennet's implied national identity seems to receive as much emphasis as her poverty status. At first glance, this emphasis in both extracts may seem trivial. However, in reiterating that she is allegedly from Lesotho, a country that is associated with low-economic status (and also happens to be one of the poorest countries in Africa), it is conceivable that Jennet's repetition was less about claiming her national identity but to emphasise that she comes from poverty. In hindsight, my failure to recognise this implicit suggestion may have prompted Jennet to reiterate (or assert), as she did, even more directly.

Jennet No, ena ha ke batle o e lebale, ha ka holela lapeng le rich. Ke batla ho bua ka yona thata. Ke hotse lapeng le… le… le poor.

Jennet *No, this I don't want you to forget, I didn't grow up in a rich family. I want to talk about it hard. I grew up in a family that is… that is… that is poor.*

Looking at the structure of her narrative, this direct, repetitive emphasis, to use her own translated word, reflects how "hard" it is for her to tell her life story outside the grip of the pervasive structural poverty (despite the several efforts that were made). In the whole interview, Jennet repeats that she comes from a poor family four times. She stops and starts at least eight times, but her story makes no progression. Her narrative is told in fragments, or rather a loop, because it continuously keeps rewinding itself back to the same beginning but never moves forward. She was unable to give a coherent story of her life, yet in all these fragments every time she (re)starts or (re)tells her story, her family's poverty is always emphasised. In this broken story, what remains as a narrative thread is her perpetual poverty. Structurally, the story seems to pivot on her poverty, and everything else appears to be organised around it.

In this way, Jennet's story shows that she perceives 'poverty' as the defining feature of who she is, in order to explain why she is the way that she is. There are two important things happening here; 1) Jennet cannot talk about her life without speaking about poverty because it is inescapable, and 2) she is also using it to explain why her life is the way that it is. According to Kerby (1991), when we tell our story we have a beginning (point A) and an end

goal (point B), and then select events or experiences to link these or show how we have moved between from point A to B. However, some people, like Jennet, do not have a sense of direction in her life; it seems to have stopped '*progressing'* (Gergen and Gergen, 1984) because of limited financial resources. She recognises this and that in some way(s) her life is now 'stuck' with no clear sense of future.

According to Polkinghorne (1988) and McAdams (2001), telling stories is a selective process, in which stories that we feel define who we are now, are recollected from the past to explain our present. Therefore, Jennet's narrative focuses on poverty to account for who she is 1) possibly to herself, and 2) to us, by highlighting the reasons which clarify what is *inhibiting* her from reaching point B, especially to show why and how this 'stuckness' is not her fault. In this case, lack of financial stability (being born into a poor family), is (perhaps intentionally) foregrounded as the reason. Thus, instead of a story that is 'going nowhere', she tells a story of why poverty won't let her life go *somewhere*. The narrative itself enacts this *stuckness*. Everything she says about herself comes back to the same point, that of poverty. That is why, every time she offers multiple viewpoints or entry points into her life or narrating herself, she always mentions her family's financial status. As if to say it is important, for us, to understand that this is why she is here, where she is and to assert that had she been born in a different world (what is implied, sometimes explicitly, as a 'white world') then she would be a different person, a *successful* person. As she states:

Jennet Ke tsene dikolo tsa batho ba bantsho, nkile wa bona, mara nna thato ya ka ene e le ho tsena dikolo tsa batho ba… tsa makgowa cause ke bone gona le difference dipakeng tsa dikolo tsa batho ba bantso le dikolo tsa bana ba makgowa.

Jennet *I entered the schools of black people, you see, but a wish of mine was to enter the schools of people… of white people because I saw there was a difference between conditions of schools of black people and schools of white people's children.*

Jennet's narrative expressly demonstrates whiteness as associated with being well-off, which in South Africa, due to our colonial and apartheid past, is largely true. More importantly, her story astutely exposes structural poverty as an intergenerational problem in South Africa, particularly for black people. In this sense, being worse-off and better-off is intractably linked to blackness and whiteness, respectively. As such, our transition, as is implied by Jennet, is about class and race coming together. The only way to break this intergenerational pervasive legacy and escape structural poverty it is to be from or be a part of the 'white world', which she recognizes as an economic elite group. As a result, Jennet's story is claiming, by extension, that if she was part of the 'white world', where schools are better resourced, she may have been able to overcome her financial woes and make herself into a different person, a *successful* person.

Jennet's story reveals that intergenerational poverty directly intersects and shapes a sense of who she is. This issue of poverty undercuts all of the participants' narratives. For example, talking about her experience of growing up in Marikana, Winnie says, "It was really good even though, you know, the poverty in this place really affected us a lot. But at the end of the day, you know, a family is everything". Like Jennet, Winnie was born into a poor family which struggled to make ends meet. And, like Winnie and Jennet, Phinda was also brought up in a poor family and now, today, she has dropped out of school and stays at home (with her own child to look after). It is apparent to see that all these narratives reported the prevalent effects of structural poverty in the lives of these young people, both during their childhoods and adulthoods. It is something they experience from an early age, and given that seven of the participants in the research are unemployed perhaps show that it is also something that continues into their present early adulthoods. It may even be something they will experience in the future, although they don't talk about it in that way. Some who are already young parents, like Phinda, may even pass it onto their children (just as it has been passed onto her). This captures how their poverty is inherited and transmitted between generations.

These narratives show that young people inherit the poverty of their parents and are most likely to also pass it on to the next generation. As a result of this intergenerational transmission or transfer of poverty, many of these young people are forced to turn to a wider network of immediate and extended relatives for financial help. It is important to note that

these networks themselves have usually not escaped poverty, they are all in the same situation and yet the little that they have is expected to carry others too. It becomes a stretching of limited resources for particular individuals who may not have escaped poverty but are slightly better off than the next person. As a result, although their financial position does not make them better-off, they still have to carry the weight of this systemic poverty. In the end, poor people are running to other poor people for help, and it is ironic that that is the only place they can go. It is in this paradox that we must frame and understand the full weight of the inter-generational poverty and its impact on the lives and stories of young people in Marikana. For instance, after the death of his father, Ditsego expresses how he and his unemployed mother had to move to go live with an aunt:

Ditsego I live here in Wonderkop but I was born in a different part of the community, we moved here when my father died. It is very small as you can see but we cope. It's better than the shack we stayed in, you know, it is ok. There, there was not enough space, but here it is ok.

In this case, the young man and his mother were displaced and left stranded after his father died because they lived in a shack while he was alive. In which case, it is quite likely that he did not have any valuable physical assets or investments (life cover, insurance, etc.) to guarantee that his family would be looked after when he was gone. Therefore, the family loses everything, falls on hard times, including having to start from scratch and is then likely pushed to find a family relative who can replace the father's role as a breadwinner. Thus, they become an extra burden on the one family member who has work.

Ditsego So we live with my aunt here, but me and my mother don't work. My aunt is the one that works, she supports us. I'm still looking for a job but it is not so easy. Things take a long time to happen.

Predictably, the family is now dependent on the aunt who assumes primary responsibility as their breadwinner. In most cases, it is often grandmothers who take on this responsibility;

they support the families with their pension allowance, especially when biological fathers are not present, missing or unreliable.

Thandi Ne re thuswa ke koko *[we are helped by our grandmother]* because my granny naa… was receiving a pension. So like… ke ena na re-provider ka dilo tse dintsi go reka grocery mo ntlung, go re rekela unifomo.

Thandi *So like… she was the one who provided many things for us in the house; to buy us groceries in the house, to buy us school uniform.*

Winnie One thing about this place that I have been observing all my life is that… OK, poverty affects young people a lot in life, especially, you know, kids babadulang *[who stay]* like really far, not like… go na le di-areas tsebareng ke Nkamola and what not *[there are areas like Nkamola and what not]*, some of them are… the parents are single parents. You know, their fathers are working in the mines and they were killed in the massacre. So, it's… it's… for… (She stops). What I have noticed again is that there is a high rate of teenage pregnancy in this place. Why? Poverty. You know, they just want to see themselves provide for their family, if only they can get food for the night that's enough. That's where child grants come in.

We live in a country where social grants are reportedly the government's most effective anti-poverty intervention (Bhorat and Kanbur, 2005). As a result, it has become the main income for many families use to sustain themselves. In some cases, as Winnie argues, it may be the young people themselves who have babies so that they can get access to social grants in order to support their own families. That young people would take such an absurd measure to secure an 'income' should be indicative of how badly poverty has gripped their young lives. For example, Elisa has looked after her children using child grants, especially as a single mother who has no other means of income:

Elisa Go ba a single parent go thata, go bokete, but nako e nngwe nna ke fela ke re ke mohau wa modimo, o kile wa bona, because bana ba ka ke ba godisitse ke sa humane maintenance. En'e ke thomile go bereka like ka 2011. Ke ba kwadisitse di-grant.

Elisa *To be a single parent is hard, it is heavy, but sometimes I think it is the grace of God, you know, because my children I raised them without receiving any maintenance. And I only started to work like 2011. I registered grants for the [children].*

It is evident that due to these financial difficulties, young people like Elisa, as Bozalek (1999) argues, are forced to play an active role to help their families survive. In this situation, grants, often as the only source of income in the household, are used to sustain families. Thus, without an employed member(s) in the households, the grant receivers become 'breadwinners' (Duflo, 2003). An old age pension grant, which pays the highest amount, even if it offers much needed financial relief, is still not enough to sustain one person, as it falls far below the poverty line. Furthermore, old age grants are not a stable means of financial security as grandparents receive it at a very late age. Thus, when they pass away, the family loses their breadwinner as well and falls on hard times. Most of the participants (especially young women) reported that their families were dependent on a grandmother's pension or child grant. As a result, this *dependency* can frustrate young people as it often inhibits them from taking ownership of their own lives. According to Mathoho and Ranchod (2006), this financial dependency makes it hard for young people to build their lives, or establish their own families and enter into adulthood. As Ditsego's story expressively demonstrates:

Ditsego I want to have a life but it's hard when you can't support yourself because you know for everything I want I have to ask my aunt for some money. So I can only ask for money for certain things.

Ditsego's narrative reflects the limitations of relying on extended family members for financial support, which is sometimes not even enough to cover the basics. This renders certain choices unavailable to him. This shows that the lack of financial mobility not only limits young people's activities but also their ability to start or build their own adult lives (Mathoho and Ranchod, 2006). According to Burman (2008), this dependence on support, which makes them "children" as they are unable to take control of their lives in the same way we expect "adults" to do. Therefore, they remain children because they cannot transition into adulthood and establish their own families.

In conclusion, these narratives reflect that the construction of the "hinge generation" (Hoffman, 2008) as uneducated, unemployed and dependent either on the welfare system or extended family members must be understood as a consequence of the intergenerational poverty that has enveloped the lives and stories of young people in Marikana. As a result, we can see that the structure of their stories are fragmented and interrupted, reflecting the way in which their own lives are also disrupted. This demonstrates how the structure of their narrative and structural poverty are inextricably linked.

4.2 Co-construction of narratives

This section analyses how life narratives are co-constructed in the interview in order to unpack ways in which as a researcher I may have shaped the stories I was told (and how they were told). I will focus on the form or structure of their narratives, what they said and did not say, their silences, the hesitations, contradictions, the impossibility of speaking about the massacre (which could relate to trauma), and then the researcher's role in how the massacre specifically is or is not spoken about, what the connections are between this new generation and that event. In this section I will focus on, 1) Narrative structure or form, 2) False starts, stop and start, 3) Silence, hesitations, and switch topics, 4) Contradictions, and 5) Call and response.

4.2.1 Narrative structure or form

It is conventional for a story to start from when we are born, and trace our progressive development as we grow old. This chronological way of structuring our stories is generally owed to the way we are educated. That is, education, in part, teaches us to think and structure our lives, and stories, as something that develops in stages, which is typified by school grades. One has to pass different levels in order to advance, and the more levels we attain, we get a sense that we are building a 'progressive' life that is "going somewhere" (Gergen and Gergen, 1984). In this plot, we follow an archetypal sequence, of beginning, middle and end: it often starts with our birth, how we were raised, schooling background (primary school, high school and university), the transition into our adulthood and professional lives, and ends at death. This linear structure of ordering our lived-experience(s) can clearly be seen in the way many of the participants presented life chronologies. For example, let's consider Elisa's story below:

Elisa Leina la ka ke Elisa... Ke ngwana wa bo ifour from mama'ka le papa'ka… Then ke raisitswe ke both my parents. At the age of six or seven, then e be ele gore ke sala le mamaka. Then ka godiswa ke mama'ka. But… ka starter skolo ko Maruatona Primary at the age of seven. Ka completer ko Maruatona, after ke completer ko Maruatona ka tla mo middle school. After middle school I went ko Mothutlung ko dula le nkgono wa ka. Ka tsena skolo ko Mothutlung High. Then when ke etsa grade 11, ke passe-ditse for grade 12 kok'waka a hlokofala […] So ko gae ba decider gore ke bowe.

Elisa *My name is Elisa… I'm the fourth child from my mother and father... then I was raised by both my parents. At the age of six or seven, then it happened that I was left with my mother. Then I was raised by my mother. But… I started school at Maruatona at the age of seven. I completed at Maruatona… after I completed at Maruatona I came here, it's a middle school. After middle school I went at Mothutlung to stay with my grandmother. And then I went to school at Mothutlung High. When I was doing grade 11, after passing for grade 12, my grandmother passed away [...] So at home they decided that I should come back.*

From birth to finishing school, Elisa is telling 'a story' that is emerging through successive stages by positioning the life events in this particular order or "unfolding process" (de Waele and Harre, 1976), precisely to establish coherent connections among them. The result is a picture of someone who is *progressing* in life, even in the case of Elisa who faced great loses and difficulties along the way. Instead of seeing one's life as 'a flow of experiences' or 'activiti[es]' (Polkinghorne, 1988), Elisa attempts to understand her life events as systemically related. For instance, by telling us that she finished primary and high school, especially the emphasis on 'passing grade 12' (which is a gateway into higher learning institutions), Elisa is doing something very important. Structurally, she is telling us that she is not only intelligent, but also demonstrates that her life is on the route to high professional status. As Bettelheim (1976) indicated, this 'narrative order' or 'narratory principle' (Sarbin, 1986b) is essential in giving one's life a sense of direction, to impose and thus author a specific 'order of meaning' (Polkinghorne, 1988). In this way, Elisa is constructing a 'progressive narrative' (Gergen and Gergen, 1984), a sense that she is deliberately going somewhere and is getting better and better, that her life is on track. This seems to be a recurring pattern that runs through many of the participants' stories, in which they set up the narratives of their lives on a 'progressive' trajectory. This is reflected in Thandi's narrative, too.

Thandi My name is Thandi. I was born here in Wonderkop… uhm… I was raised by my both parents, my dad and my mother. Then I started school at Maruatuna Primary School, that's where I taught myself how to take care of yourself or how to look… after yourself. So e rile hantse ke hola ke hola ke hola ntse ke le ngwana, errr… bophelo ntse bo se monate ko gae like… cause my dad o neng e le motho o la o leng gore okare a zanke a amogela gore o tlisitse bana mo lefatsheng like we suffered a lot. Ne re thusa ke koko because my granny naa… was receiving a pension […] Ok then… I continued with my schooling from grade one up to grade seven but because Maruatona finished at grade seven then I went to another school and that's where I did my schooling until matric. Ka completa matric waka, ke completile last year ka 2014.

So when I was growing up, growing and growing and growing as a child life was not good at home. My dad is like a person who has never accepted that he

brought children into this world […] we suffered a lot. We were looked after by our grandmother because my granny… was receiving a pension […] Ok then… I continued with my schooling from grade one up to grade seven but because Maruatona finished at grade seven then I went to another school and that's where I did my schooling until matric. I completed my matric, I completed last year in 2014.

Despite coming from an impoverished family and having an abusive father who never took much interest in her well-being or schooling, Thandi chose to tell a story of someone who is overcoming life obstacles, or at least taking them on. In this narrative, she is someone who is working hard (to finish school) in order to 'set herself' on a path that will take her somewhere in life. It would seem, if education teaches us to structure our stories in this particular chronology, then education itself can be used to make one appear to be on a kind of progress line going up, going through these different levels to emerge at a certain point. As a result, by finishing her matric, there is a great sense of pride in her achievement. Yet, this achievement is much more than just about passing matric itself, but to say that my story and life is on track and going somewhere positive. As the only way out of poverty, education is reflected as a progressive (grand) narrative. This is also reflected in Winnie's narrative. Like Thandi, despite coming from a poor family, Winnie has managed to make it to university.

Winnie My name is Winnie, I'm 22 years of age and I'm second year Marketing student at the University of Johannesburg.

As a young university student, even though Winnie is not done with her studies, there is a particular way in which her life now is emerging, against all odds, she is getting better and better or, getting on "track", a progressive narrative. The implicit understanding is that she is making progress in the world because she reached a university level and is now even running her own "modelling and confidence school", although she is not making any money from it yet. Overall, the educational success suggests that Thandi and Winnie are going somewhere in life, and the milestone serves to validate their 'progress'.

Both these participants seem to be drawing on the shared dominant discourse of education as progress to interpret different experiences, from multiple perspectives, to tell a story with a similar trajectory. As Gergen and Gergen (1988) indicated, a narrator is free to use any narrative template to tell a 'version' of our lives. It is vital to note that all the participants attempted to use the educational background to frame how their lives are *progressive*, going somewhere. However, suddenly, all these progressive stories jump or rewind to a big hurdle or obstacle in their lives that stops everything. As a writer myself, this is a common device used to construct a sense of equilibrium or normal state of life for my characters before I introduce a major obstacle that will interrupt their narratives such that life must and will never be the same again. This is reflected below where the participants seem to be doing well until the state of equilibrium is interrupted.

Ditsego I was a serious student. I even have my matric certificate. I passed well, but you know, there was no money to go to college or university so you stay here like everybody.

Phinda At college, I did NCS but could not finish because of finance related problems. [Now…] we are struggling we do take our CVs everywhere and we try whatever nje to get a job but it's very difficult out there. You only get jobs if you know someone who works there that's when you get jobs ya bo' *[you see]*, especially at the mines. Everyone gives a job to their own relatives. So the rest of us just wait and nothing comes. We just wait. That's all you do. All day, every day. Waiting nje.

As Ditsego and Phinda expressively highlight, due to financial problems, they cannot continue schooling. Suddenly, the progressive narrative comes to a complete standstill. Structurally, their narratives lose progression and they remain in this limbo. At this point, their lives, and stories, are interrupted, an interruption which forcefully inserts itself into their lives and takes them "off the track". Once they hit this point, their lives go nowhere, they

seem to stop progressing. The progressive narratives stops, and either a regressive or static narrative takes over. It is critical to note that the participants construct lack of education as a major disruptive source of how their lives went wrong. To understand why these young people tell similar stories, it is important to look at the critical thing that the interviewees have in common. In addition to their shared place of Marikana, the interviewer is the common denominator, who may have influenced the participants to talk about their lives in this particular way.

4.2.2 The role of the interviewer

As a narrative project, the methodological approach was to ask all the interviewees a single question and allow them to answer it any way they chose. In this way, my presence would still be intrusive, but the intrusion would be kept as minimal as possible. However, in the actual interviews, my role became more active than planned. This section will analyse the impact of my presence as a black post-graduate student, and how it may have influenced the narratives of the participants to be told in this particular way.

It is essential to acknowledge that I, as a researcher, am not just a faceless or powerless figure who bears no significance to the way the interview is shaped. That is, who I am as a person, or who I am perceived to be (particularly as a black university graduate) matters significantly, especially when one is interviewing young black people who have mostly never had the 'privilege' to finish their education. In some ways, I could do this research because I'm an insider; I'm a young black, South African and I can either speak or at least understand the South African languages that most of the participants speak. However, in every other possible way, I'm very different to the participants and it is this difference that needs to be accounted for, and its potential influence in the interviews. This produces a sense for the participants that I'm not like them because I would be able to tell a life story that would look very different to theirs. I found myself in a precarious position where I was both an insider and outsider.

As strangers, when we began our conversations our salient African characteristics allowed us a singular point of familiarity. The fact that "we" [or to follow Anzaldúa's (1999) idea of nosotras] were all black people was our first point of connection. However, as we warmed up and got to know each other, it would be naïve of me to think that my education background did not play a significant role in what the participants thought I expected to hear from them. Given that most of them did not go to university (nos) but I did (otras), and I suddenly became unlike "them" (nos/otras), particularly since I relied on the reputation of my university to gain credibility and access both to their lives and stories. This marked me as the 'privileged' one, and them as the "other". And it was this awareness that they were talking to a Wits post-graduate student, which became one of the focal lens through which many of them told their lives. Reciprocally, it was from the same lens that I participated in their telling. Of course, not only did I select them, but also used my training from Wits to scrutinise their lives and narratives. It is important to account for this gap and its potential influence in how the participants told me their stories.

As a black post-graduate student, I represent the potential that education could have as an escape route out of poverty. I validate the argument of meritocracy that, if they work hard in school, they can make it. I am, quite literally, the exception (that made it 'out'), which is then 'exhibited' to show how this could have happened to them, except that it did not. And because as a black person I was able to do it, their failture 'to be like me' is framed as their fault, a frame which ignores the structural inequality. They did not work as hard as I did, so they don't deserve the same level of success as I have achieved. It is against this backdrop, that all of their narratives whether consciously or not, are attempts, by the narrators, to explain to me, the audience, why they never made it to the same level as me. Despite the explicit framework provided, that they could tell their stories any way they wanted, I, as a researcher, underestimated the importance of my educational status in society, especially in a poor black community. To redeem themselves or at least explain why their lives were the way they are, the participants' narratives focused on events which interrupted their education, or moments where things went wrong at school, for me to know that they also wanted better, desired to be better than what I now see in them. Even though it was to a varying degree, it is clear that only a particular kind of narrative was possible in these interviews. This was my blind-spot as a researcher. Therefore, it is fair to assume that the participants could read this

from me, as their audience, and merely responded to what they thought was expected of them.

This blind-spot added another layer of complication. In hindsight, as an educated person who seems to be "going somewhere" in life, much like the participants, I am also someone who can tell a story of a life that, despite all odds, is continuing to get better and better (Gergen and Gergen, 1984). Of course, the difference between 'them' and 'I' is that I am perceived to be succeeding. My narrative or progress line is still on the incline. Understanding my own narrative in this '*progressive' way* (Gergen and Gergen, 1984), underpins certain assumptions that I made in the interviews. Below is a question I asked Jennet, which anticipates a progressive narrative and imposes the expectation to talk about a life that is also "going somewhere" in life, or progressing from point A to B.

Interviewer E fela ke ipotsa ka bophelo ba gago gore o mang. So, go tloga ka 1987 ka di 22 o tswetswe go fihla mmamohla ka tsatsi le o phela, ke batla go tseba ka bophelo bowe? Ge nka re story sa bona ke eng, motho o we o tla mo hlalosa bjang?

Interviewer *But I'm still wondering about your life to say who are you. So, to begin from the 1987 on the 22nd when you were born to this day, you were 'living', and I want to know about that life. If I asked what the story of that life is, how would you describe it?*

As an interviewer, this demonstrate the way in which my own narrative is structured in a progressive way, particularly owing to my education as the "thing" that enables me to talk about my life as something that moved from 'point A to B' (Kerby, 1991). As a graduate, I'm able to say my education is progressing, which helps me to understand that the "dream job" that is not attained yet is coming because I'm actively working towards it by staying in school. It is important to note how this way in which I understand and construct my own narrative as something that is progressing, underpins the manner in which I asked the question. The question assumes that others are also able to tell their narratives in this

particular way because this way of asking requires them to consider their life in a chronological or progressive sense (Gergen and Gergen, 1984), a typical convention or structure that they may not have necessarily followed, or in fact, some of the participants may not even be experiencing life in this particular way. A case in point is Jennet, who was asked the question above.

Jennet Bophelo ba Lesotho ne bo le bothata. Wa tseba nna ebile hee, jwale ke ho jwetsa hore ke tswa ko lapeng le poor… bo ne bo le thata cause ntate wa ka o ne a sabetsa, neng neng e be ha a sebetse. Mme o tla hloka mosebetse, neng o tla thola mosebsetse, neng mosebetse o a fela, so ntho tse jwalo dilo di ya changer akere; neng neng bo ba bontle, neng neng haa hoo be bontle.

Jennet *Life in Lesotho was very difficult. You know, as I was telling you that I'm from a poor family... it was hard because my father had a job and then next time the work is finished. Then he doesn't have work, next time he finds work, next time the work is finished, so things like that make life change you know; one day it is nice and then the next day it is not nice.*

This shows that Jennet's life has been characterised by *instability*, which is perhaps why the narrative she tells is itself unstable and seems to just stop and start. Figuratively speaking, it seems like when her father lost a job, their lives "stopped" too, and only when he found a new job did their lives "start" again. When Jennet was 13 years, her father found a job in Lonmin, South Africa, and she followed him to finish high school. However, due to financial hurdles she never managed to finish. Without education or job, today her life is stuck. Again, this reiterates the pervasive and continuous disruptions of structural poverty in her life and narrative. This is perhaps why her narrative is fragmented, to reflect how her own life has repeatedly been broken by structural poverty.

4.2.3 Pause, it's a false start

It is no accident, then, that the *stuckness* experienced in their stories is also reflected in the way many of the participants false started their narratives. In the interviews, many of the participants struggled to start their narratives, and when they did, then battled to present a

coherent flow. The extracts below demonstrate how Mzi and Phinda false started their interviews:

Phinda	My name is Phinda. I was born and bred here. Is that how you say it?
Interviewer	Yes.
Phinda	Ok. Thanks. Ja, so I have lived here my whole life. Life here is hard but we manage. Wait, sorry, can I start again?
Interviewer	Sure.

Mzi	Ke nna Mzi, ke tshwa ko Mozambique.
	Pause.
Mzi	Nka no thoma gape?
Interviewer	E.
Mzi	*I'm Mzi, and I'm from Mozambique.*
	Pause.
Mzi	*Can I start over?*
Interviewer	*Yes.*

On a simple level, an argument can be made that this 'stop' or 'pause' and request to start again marks a false start. According to Tree (1995), a false start typically happens when a speaker starts to say something, but suddenly decides to abort their utterances and begin again. In a conversation, false starts are very common, and so it is not a surprising phenomenon to see, especially in spontaneous speech. But here the false starts imply that Mzi and Phinda are self-analytical and mulling over their past in order to create a sense of a self, with a future (for me as the researcher and audience). As Brockmeier (2000, p.53) argues, the "self" is a recollection constructed in a narrative and identity is the recollection of the self out

of the past, with an integrative story, in anticipation of a future in which the self will exist. Thus, our sense of "future", that which is yet to be, is an integral part of how we construct our identities in the moment.

As indicated by Polkinghorne (1988), we construct our stories as 'evolving' or 'progressing' (Gergen and Gergen, 1984) towards a particular future in order to provide coherence and meaning to events and their lives. However, given the bleak futures that these young people face, without a clear sense of future, it becomes difficult to negotiate or give meaning to events that happened in the past, tying them together into a story that they use to explain their lives now. As such, any attempt to speak about the self is affected by the uncertainty of the future, which makes it difficult to talk about the self in the present. This could help us understand why they stop and restart their stories multiple times because they "struggle to reconcile who [they] imagine [they] were, are and might be in [their] heads and bodies with who [they] were, are and might be in the social contexts of family, community…" (McAdams, 2008, p. 243). In this reflexive process, the participants struggle to make sense of previous experience(s) in order to author or construct a sense of who they are, now and in the future and, start again, repeatedly seeking a *fresh start*.

Mzi	Ok. Lebitso la ka ke Mzi. Ke na le 28 years old and ke tlhaga ko Mozambique. I…
	Pause.
Mzi	Sorry.
Interviewer	A se bothata, tsheya nako ya gago. O ka no thoma nako ye wena o e ratang.
	Pause.
Mzi	Ke nna Mzi, ke tlhaga ko Mozambique. Ke berekela business ya Ma-China. Ke thomile go bereka mo ka 2013. Ke bereka sharp mo, a ke na mathata. Ke a bereka because…
	Pause.

Mzi *Ok. My name is Mzi. I'm 28 years old and I'm from Mozambique. I…*

Pause.

Mzi *Sorry.*

Interviewer *It's not a problem, take your time. You can continue any time you are ready.*

Pause.

Mzi *I'm Mzi, and I'm from Mozambique. I work for a Chinese business, I started working here in 2013. I work well here, I don't have problems. I work because…*

Pause.

It is clear that one of the main problems here is the direction of the story; it seems like Mzi is struggling to move his story forward. If, as scholars argue, the telling of a story is a recollective, yet the interpretive process is understood by looking back at the past and being directed at the future (Crites, 1986; Freeman, 2010; Polkinghorne, 1988), then, I suggest that more than just a pause and a narrative break (or a false start), we need to understand these 'disfluencies' as the Mzi's inability to construct not only an entry point to talk about himself or his narrative but failure to "direct" his narrative at a particular future, hence the hindrance to construct a unified sense of the self. This was a recurring pattern in many of the narratives. Jennet's story is also a very good example of this:

Jennet Ke nna Jennet, ke na le 27 years. Ke tswa ko naheng ya… a e, e re ke seke ka bolela mo ketswang teng. Ke Mosotho. Ke tswa lelapeng le poor… ne. So, le batswadi ba ka ba, ba, ba tataisitseng tseleng ye… ya… [long pause]. Ke kopa re-start[e]. Ntse ke hopola tse dingwe ke hona di tlang ho mme di ferekana tsela tse dingwe.

[After a short pause]

Ke nna Jennet. Ke na le 26 years, ke dula mo Rustenburg. Ke na le… ok ha borena re ifour… errr… ntse di nyamela ke ho jwetse. Ok, e re ke thome mathomong hape.

I'm Jennet, I am 27 years old. I come from the land of… no, let me not say where I come from. I am a Mosotho. I come from a poor family… ne. So, my parents are people who, who, who… [long pause]. Can we start from the beginning? I'm remembering new things and they are mixing up with other things.

[After a short pause]

I am Jennet, I am 26 years old, I live in Rustenburg. I have… Ok, in my family we are four… errr… my thoughts are disappearing I tell you. Ok, let me start from the beginning again.

On both attempts, Jennet's story can barely cover an introduction of herself, at which point it either pauses or goes back to the beginning again. Literally, like a story that cannot move forward, her thoughts, too, "disappear" when she speaks, forcing her to start again. Her story is stuck, she is unable to tell a story of herself that is progressing or regressing; it is just a continuous loop of stops and starts. And this reflects her sense of her life as stuck. This indicates that some of the young people may be experiencing static narratives where basically nothing happens. Brockmeier (2000) also discusses this idea of narrative "stasis", but more specifically in relation to trauma where things get hooked or fixed on a particular traumatic event. In the same way, Jennet's life is 'stuck' in this 'stasis'. If we recognise structural and intergenerational poverty as a permanent state of repeated trauma in the lives of these young people, which inflicts structural violence, we can understand how her life is hooked, looped or fixed on this 'stasis' and cannot escape this permanent stumbling block. Jennet's story reflects the impact of the systemic repeated trauma and its effect on how young people understand their lives and their narratives.

This demonstrates their inability to "direct" the narrative forward, which is why it always goes backwards. These stories reflect the pervasive impact of structural poverty that restrains

their lives and futures; there is nothing much to direct it forwards. As indicated by Bamberg and McCabe (1998), there is a clear sense in which Mzi and Jennet are struggling to 'deploy' narrative devices to author a cohesive sense of who they are. As a result of this difficulty, many of the participants also requested that we stop the interview and start over again almost after we had just started. They narrate their lives like an old LP record with a bad scratch that is stuck on a loop, every time it is on, it begins with a sweet melody and just as you are about to enjoy the music, it suddenly breaks and then jumps or loops back to the beginning, again and again and again. But, unlike the record, these young people's lives have very little *sweetness* in them.

4.2.4 Call and response

It was interesting to note how a common point of connection between the interviewer and the participants involved a popular convention in storytelling; call and response. This is a basic, everyday cue we use to indicate when we want to speak or ensure that the audience is following our story. In the interviews, two gestures that were frequently said throughout the participants' narratives was "ja" or "you know". These fillers appeared on various occasions, but most notably, they were used during moments when participants either wanted to end a conversation ("ja" marking the end) or "you know" used to solicit the researcher's immediate response. Given their extensive use, the researcher slowly picked up or recognised the conventional use of these cues even though they may have initially not been established as socially or collectively shared signs.

In the interview, Winnie uses the expression "you know" 82 times in less than 60 minutes. In most of its everyday use "you know" is a place marker, allowing the speaker to continue while s/he thinks of the next block of language; what is called a filler. It cannot be denied that for young people, fillers such as "like" (and "you know what I mean" are part of their language skills used to signal to the audience that the speaker has paused to think but has not yet finished speaking. However, Winnie's overuse of the expression deserves a critical, close look as it might also tell us something important. For example,

Winnie I grew up here and for me, **you know**, life has been so great… having all my family around, supporting me, doing everything together with my brothers... **You know** when I went to… when I finished my matric, I went to varsity and being there I realised, **you know**… I have to come back to this place… and make a difference because this place actually made me who I am. The fact that… the fact that, **you know**, I went through anything that… **you know**, any child could go through, I still hold on… I still held on to my dreams and my passion and I, **you know**… I didn't give up on that.

Prior to offering any analytic reading, it is important to note that in our pre-interview conversation, Winnie and I had a brief introduction in which I told her that I was also from a small village with young people who still remain largely underdeveloped. This allowed a favourable view of her as a source of inspiration, especially given her generous kindness to return home to help those less fortunate. However, it must also be highlighted that Winnie grew up in a poor family, where life was not always so great. After finishing matric, she went to university where she later dropped out and was potentially forced to return home. Even though this is not to negate that Winnie may be content with her life story, it is to expose how carefully she has chosen to depict it as a happy, fulfilling life. For this narrative to "sell" (to me) as an audience, I need to "buy" it. As a strategic communication tool, it seems likely that Winnie employed this specific filler to constantly check whether I was following her story and to tacitly seek consent (some kind of "approval" to continue or make sure that the interviewer agreed with what was said).

Structurally, this might explain why after every use of this filler, the next sentence is punctuated with an ellipsis. Two main things appear to be happening here; 1) the ellipsis indicates that there is either a break in thought or/and she is simply buying time to think about what to say next in order to justify her story, or/and 2) she is simultaneously providing a pause or silent moment for me to offer an immediate respond. Even if this was not a verbal response, it is certain that my body language would have offered Winnie some form of physical reaction, something she can use to gauge whether I am "buying" the story or not. In the process, this invited complicity required me to subtly affirm that I believed her, and more specifically, that I approved or was sympathetic to her life choices (especially as someone

who shares a similar life journey to me). This perhaps explains why I felt compelled to nod most of the time in the interview. This was intended as a persuasive strategy to "buy" me over to her side. Notably, the nod can also be conceived as an unintended strategic tool for the researcher too, whom, by simply nodding, realised that he could enable or encourage the interviewee to keep talking so that she could share more details of her life story. This points to the multifaceted nature in which stories are always co-constructed between the teller and the listener.

In general, Winnie's strategy demonstrates that every storyteller requires the complete trust of their audience. Even though she was subtle in her approach, some of the participants sought my response more directly, to support that the attitude they hold is not only understandable, but possibly correct. For example, Ditsego, a young man who lives with his unemployed mother and an aunt who works at Lonmin as a receptionist, says that believing in oneself is an essential part of inviting others to also believe in you. As a young man who is unemployed, and not in a hopeful situation, he hangs on the hope that one day he will be lucky enough to find a job.

Ditsego So I think if you believe in yourself, that's good because we need that and for other people to also believe in you because as for me I can't come to you and say I believe in you whereas you don't believe in yourself, so it has to start with you first. That's why I believe in myself and that I will also make it. You know what I mean?

Pause.

Interviewer Yes.

Although this filler is usually a rhetorical question, the pause or silence that follows it creates an impression that the audience must provide a direct response. Unlike an ellipsis which is open-ended, this rhetorical question is close-ended, it gives explicit options for the listener to select from, which was either to agree or disagree (even though disagreement was not a 'real'

option). As an interviewer, by affirmatively answering this rhetorical question means that the story is not just being told to me, it is also being told with my approval.

These fillers are critical to understand as they demonstrate how the participants both directly and indirectly conscripted me into the telling of their narratives. In particular, they used the fillers as invitations that provided an entry point for me to play an active part in the co-construction of these young people's stories. For instance, in many cases "ja" was used to punctuate the end of a thought, which was typically followed by a pause or silence to give me an opportunity as the interviewer. This *particular* pattern of cues was used to suggest that the participants no longer knew what to say and as the interviewer I should ask a question or give a commentary while they think of what to say next. Using Winnie's narrative, this point is illustrated below:

Winnie But you know I trust God, I mean looking at my life and growing up here and the person that I am now, I believe God brought me back to this place to make a difference. I'm not saying that one day ge re tsoga *[when we wake up]* everything is going to be so perfect and all the troubles will be gone but step by step. You know, I'm trusting God for a change. Ja.

Pause.

Interviewer Wouldn't that be nice.

Winnie It would. It would. It will one day. I'm praying for these young people. And ja.

Pause.

Structurally, Winnie's use of "ja" to punctuate her sentences meant that she had finished a conversation on a particular topic. Throughout the interviews, "ja" came to accrue this particular meaning. It seemed to be a shared code used across various participants. This could indicate a crossover of a particular cultural or linguistic meaning or identity that is shared by young people in Marikana. Instead of switching to a new topic, they usually punctuated the conversation with "ja", especially when they had nothing else to say. For example, Elisa states:

Elisa [Ke dira] counselling for bana bao, wa bona, so sometimes ba'tla ba bangwe but sometimes ga batle. Nkele wa bona. Motho o tla gese a na le like maybe ga problem e se e godile. O kile wa bona. But I like working with batho and ke rata go bereka le baswa. Ja. Wa bona.

Pause.

Elisa *[I do] counseling for those children, you see, so sometimes some of them come but sometimes they don't come you know. A person comes when like the problem is bigger now you know. But I love working with people, and I love working with the youth. Ja, you know.*

Pause.

Elisa's use of "ja" reinforces the same pattern which demonstrates how this filler is used to show that the interviewee has come to the end of her point. Structurally, what is important here is not the filler itself, but the implication of the pause or silence that followed it because it is in the silence that I am always implicitly offered an opportunity to respond, to suggest something new that could move the conversation forward. That is, this moment gave me the utmost control to (re)direct the narratives at whim by asking clarifying questions (even though I indicated that this was not necessary), or to shift the direction of the interview. It is in these silent moments where as a researcher I felt uneasy being stuck with these fairly long awkward pauses, especially after a negative experience was recollected. To avoid them, I would eventually propose a diversion, often as a new topic of discussion to help the participants move on. However, according to Brems (2001), this divergence is the result of my avoidance and discomfort of facing the negativity. In the 'counter-transference' process, Brems (2001) argues that when I changed the topic to deflect the discomfort, I was primarily relieving my own discomfort or sense of helplessness, rather than that of the participants.

In addition, my uneasiness related to the fact I may have used some of these moments to direct the interview towards what I wanted to hear rather than what the participants would have necessarily wanted to tell. It is in these silences that as a researcher, I was most visible as a co-constructor of their narratives, given that I played an active role in not just deciding

the direction of the interview, but also, and more critically, what was told of their lives to me, or excluded.

However, in some interviews I tried to shy away from filling the silent gaps, leaving the participants with an evident lack of options to move their own narratives forward, which left the silences unfilled. Notably, in these instances, some of the participants directly or openly insisted that I ask them something. In these cases, the moments were punctuated by a long pause, which if ignored, would result in a vocalised request to ask something. This dynamic in the interviews is explicitly demonstrated by Phinda below.

Phinda Phinda is a 23-year-old lady who is currently unemployed by her definition, she does not consider her sporadic job in which she gets called for once or twice a month and sometimes never called as a job in that most of the day she is doing nothing and so this could well be considered more permanent occupation. And here at the mines it is very difficult to get a job as a woman because it is very hard labour that is suitable mostly for men. It's very hard to get a desk job there. You have to know someone. And it's not like we are all uneducated, but jobs are hard to find. Ja.

Long pause.

Phinda I don't know what to say. Please ask me something.

This pause, as I have indicated, is a signal for the end of her turn to speak and an invitation for me to reply. In this particular situation, I ignored the "ja" as an implicit suggestion that I should respond to see how the interviewee would respond to my counter-offer. Interestingly, she passed the responsibility back to me, to ask a question. This demonstrates that Brems's (2001) notion of divergence, also happens to the participants. As research in this field has indicated that pauses may play several communicative functions, such as "signal anxiety" (Bernestein, 1962; Goldman-Eisler, 1968; Abram and Bever, 1969; Kowal et al., 1975; Green, 1977; O'Connel and Kowal, 1983), which is perhaps why Phinda asked me to ask her

something, to divert the anxieties. The same uneasiness and anxiety that I felt, is also shared by the interviewees.

In conclusion, I have provided this analysis of the fillers to demonstrate how critical they were in the interview process, especially towards activating the researcher's scope of involvement in the co-construction of the narratives of young people in Marikana, and even shifted the format of the interview structure. In particular, it is clear to see that the most significant role I played in the interview situation, was due to invitations by the participants. The invitation by participants for me to ask them questions means, in essence, that I could control, and at will, decide which parts of their life narratives would be told. This was the most pervasive form of intrusion my presence inflicted on their narratives, and largely directed the stories towards what I wanted to hear, rather than what would have been said. Even though my questions were attempts to enable them to talk about who they are, inevitably, it only enabled parts of them which I was interested in to be told and those I was not interested in to be silenced. This was significant in shaping their stories towards what I wanted to hear, rather than listening to the stories that the participants would have told. As a co-constructor, this gave me privilege to allow certain stories to be aired, but equally, it closed off other possible stories.

4.2.5 Silence, hesitations and topics switches

The focus on Marikana as a place was deliberate, particularly because part of the research interest was to understand the impact of the massacre on the young people living within the community. Thus, the research began with a set of assumptions about the way in which the massacre impacted the individual lives of young people and the community as a whole. Understood as a traumatic event (an event of violence and death, of family members and partners), the massacre was assumed to have produced radical change in the young people's lives. Framed as our post-democratic Sharpeville moment, the Lonmin Massacre gripped the national attention and has arguably became the most telling moment of our lack of transformation and meaningful change in South Africa. It exposed contradictory legacies of our past that coexist with our democracy, and has stained our democratic values. Our political discourse has been (re)shaped and shifted by the implications of this bloodshed moment,

which now stands as a symbol of political (and economic) resistance. Although we are forging a way forward from this bloodshed moment as a country, and some normality is returning to Marikana, there is still a clear sense that life will never be the same again.

Given this national significance, the research interest assumed that the massacre would also be an important historical moment in these young people's lives. The massacre has, in one way or another, deeply affected the lives of many people, most of all, those who both live and/or have families working at Lonmin. It was against this backdrop, that in my interviews with young people I was interested to understand how this had affected them. This section looks at the ways in which participants spoke about the massacre and its impact (or lack thereof), which could relate to trauma.

To my surprise, it was astonishing to record that most of the participants did not talk about the massacre at all. There was an assumption that this is a massive landmark traumatic event that utterly changed people's lives and would become a recognisable organising principle for their narratives. However, this did not happen. There is no sense of life before, during and after the massacre. The young people's narratives are not structured in this way. For an event of its magnitude and impact, which shattered lives of people and families, it was challenging to understand why and how the narratives of these young people would remain silent on such a traumatic event. As the "hinge generation" (Hoffman, 2008), the silence or absence of its mention raised two central questions, which may or may not be related; are they using silence as a protective response (because the event is still too traumatic to speak about) or is it because the event was not significant in their personal lives?

Given that the participants live and even have families in the mine, it would be strange if the massacre had no impact on their lives at all, either directly or indirectly. In terms of what might have produced this prevalent silence, I will look at three factors; 1) trauma as something that cannot be spoken about, 2) the role of the researcher as a stranger or an outsider who cannot be trusted, and 3) persistent traumas.

As a stranger or an outsider to the Marikana community, this might have had far-reaching implications in the interview process than anticipated or initially realised. For example, let's consider Jennet's father who has been working as a rock driller at Lonmin for over a decade. It is clear that her father would have been affected by the strike, whether as an active striking member or not. As Elisa explains the situation; all rock drillers were 'forced' to participate in the strike and not report for duty. Those who participated in the strike were in danger of clashes with NUM, Lonmin or police security forces, and Elisa alleges that those who did not participate (or wanted to report for duty) were threatened with violence by striking workers. In some cases, miners were even collected to ensure their participation, and those who did not show up (like Elisa's brothers on certain occasions), had to hide to avoid clashing with striking workers, which often resulted in hostile confrontations.

Although Jennet's father was one of the miners stuck in this dilemma, which would have triggered safety concerns within the family, she does not suggest any impact or distress of the situation on the family. On the contrary, Jennet's narrative is silent on the massacre's impact in general, suggesting or treating it as a distant event. Actually, she does not even mention it in the interview. This means that either, 1) this event had no impact on her, which goes contrary to the established family ties, or 2) she 'chose' to specifically not speak about it. Firstly, as her father was part of the strike, it is difficult to see how she would not have been in some way affected by the strike. However, this might also indicate that her parents, especially father, may not have spoken about, or may have repressed conversations about the dangers or impact of the strike at home. As Frankish and Bradbury (2012) suggest, it is possible for traumatic memory to be transmitted through what is left unsaid within families (also see Hoffman, 2004; Jansen, 2009). If this silence was produced and communicated to her at home, then it is not strange why Jennet does not mention its impact. As indicated by Hoffman (2004), this could have created 'a cocoon of silence', in which case, Jennet might have merely (re)produced the 'silence' that was tacitly suggested to her.

Secondly, this may suggest that there was something else happening (or not happening) in the interview, in the interactions between the interviewee and interviewer, that did not allow her to talk about it. The mining sector, as an industry that is still dominated by a migrant labour force, is a space in which the continuing legacies of apartheid are very present. Hence,

mining communities such as Marikana are still characterised by a significant population of foreign nationals and migrants from all over South Africa, who provide labour and often establish their own (new) families. This is so for Jennet's family, which is from Lesotho. In the beginning of my interview with Jennet, she hesitated to say something that seemed small at the time but now, in hindsight, could offer us great insights to recognise how our interaction might have produced her silence, or this impossibility to address an issue that must have in some way(s) affected her.

Jennet Ke nna Jennet, ke na le 27 years. Ke tswa ko naheng ya… a e, e re ke seke ka bolela mo ketswang teng. Ke Mosotho.

Jennet *I'm Jennet, I am 27 years old. I come from the land of... no, let me not say where I come from. I am a Sotho.*

It is critical to notice that Jennet hesitates to say from where she comes. The hesitation indicates very clearly that Jennet does not want to label or "other" herself as a foreigner; someone who comes from Lesotho or Mosotho, but rather her language and ethnicity (as Mosotho) which implies that she could still be a South African citizen (although later she gives her Lesotho nationality away). This illustrates a conscious effort, in this moment, to hide the fact that she is an 'outsider'. It is important to reveal that Jennet knows that I'm a Pedi (Northern Sotho, which closest to the Southern Sotho). Therefore, by only labelling herself by her ethnicity and language group, she becomes someone who is "like me" and highlights or creates a sense of (our) *sameness*.

As Hall (1996b) understood, 'sameness' is a construction, not a given, which holds only temporarily through the process of identification. In Taylor's "politics of recognition" (1994, p. 15), he argues that once the identification marker of our "sameness" is recognised, we create social categories and grouping that allow the "self" to define 'other' as someone "like me". In this sense, the "identification" marker that Jennet sets forward of herself as a "Sotho" is recognised as a point of connection with the interviewer, momentarily establishing the construction of familiarity or "sameness". By positioning herself in this way, our shared

ethnic identity functions to bond or connect the participant and the interviewer. We became members of what Anderson (1991) calls an "imagined community", which serves to infuse our interaction with a sense of belonging between us, as strangers. However, this also reveals that, in our interaction, Jennet was grappling with a question of belonging or not belonging in terms of national identity, wanting to pass as *belonging*, something which my presence as an "insider" could expose, and thus pose a threat to her identity.

To position why this is crucial we need to consider two factors. Firstly, as a foreigner living in South Africa, Jennet would be aware of the xenophobic tensions which threaten the safety and security of foreign nationals in the country, especially since the 2008 xenophobic attacks in which African foreign nationals were targeted by locals; tortured, beaten, displaced and even burned alive. It left wounds and exposed symptoms from which we have since not recovered. This is reinforced by the recent wave of xenophobic attacks in 2015 which have re-surfaced, and threatened another national outbreak. This violent outbreak is due to the public perception that "kwerekweres", which is a derogatory word for foreign nationals, more specifically of African descendent, are in South Africa to 'steals' jobs of locals. This is inaccurate, but is seen by many as one of the leading factors contributing to the high unemployment among South Africans, especially the youth.

These xenophobic attacks have left a scar on African foreign nationals and forces them to be wary of publically identifying as 'foreign'. Thus, we can see that there is a danger in being associated with a foreign national status, which "others" one as not-belonging, a status that carries a material, physical and verbal threat of violence. As a black South African young man (which is the dominant demographic at the helm of these xenophobic attacks), interviewing her, it is possible that Jennet simply did not trust me enough to disclose her nationality. What's more, as an 'outsider', it is possible that she may not have wanted me to know how much distress my country has caused her family, at least not to risk appearing as 'ungrateful' in fear of any potential retaliation.

In addition, this fear may be heightened by the paranoia and violence that happened at the mines due to union rivalry. In 2012, a new union, AMCU (Association of Mineworkers and

Construction Union), emerged as a rival of NUM (National Union of Mineworkers) and, since then, workers and the community have been split. As Ditsego describes the situation:

Ditsego You know now there are too many politics, we are divided into smaller-nyana *[small-ish]* groups in the community, and these groups belong to different political parties and they fight on everything. They can't agree on anything. When this group says let's do that, the other ones say no we want that and it never stops. What hurts me is that it is young people who get hurt by this. We are losing opportunities because of it. For example, many workers supported last year's strike, they all wanted the R12, 500 but because it was AMCU that started it – other unions distanced themselves from it and didn't want their members to join. You have these politic parties fighting but no one takes care of the workers. They want money so that they can take care of their families but no one cares for them because they are fighting. Another problem is that this does not just happen at the mines, they take the fighting back into the community. Now you have people fighting at home and killing each other because for these parties. They all want to win. I had friends who are no longer talking to each other because their parents are no longer on the same union. So they are also no longer friends.

As Ditsego argues, this union conflict or rivalry has gripped and divided the community of Marikana. When the fighting goes home, families and members of the community aligned to a specific faction are drawn into the rivalry. The conflict has created a volatile atmosphere that is characterised by mistrust and terror. This was clear on my first visit to Marikana. As an 'outsider' coming into the community to do the interviews, there could have been fears that I might be a spy from one union, sent to infiltrate and report on the activities of the other union. This was particularly evident when I requested access to use an adult education centre, which also houses one of the unions. To gain entry into the centre (which is supposed to be open to everyone), I had to prove that I was a student and my request had been approved by a senior official in the office. Upon providing proof of email exchanges between a senior official and myself in which such permission was granted, the emails were rejected as not "credible" enough. Instead, I was sent back and forth to 'fetch' the person who authorised my

request to use the space. After a fieldtrip through Marikana and getting lost, I finally located the person. When I got back to the centre, I was told that I had "passed" the security test, and was allowed onto the premises. This political climate of distrust is the paranoia that has gripped the streets of Marikana and its people. No one speaks freely, you have to constantly be aware of what you say, especially when one is talking about mine-related issues.

If this 'fear' is real, tangible and violent, then it is fair to assume that as a South African who is an 'outsider' in the community, I may have posed a serious threat, especially to Jennet who is a woman, a member of the community, and a foreigner. In which case, it makes sense why she would want to present herself as a local, to claim a sense of commonality with me and also of belonging to the place. As a researcher, this may have made hearing certain aspects of Jennet's life and narrative possible and others impossible. This highlights how and why these dynamics in the interview could have produced Jennet's silence on the topic of the massacre and its impact on her life and family.

Thirdly, it is clear that Jennet's life is continuously subjected to a persistent structural violence that she constantly has to both guard against and still live with, perhaps even during our interview process. Evident in her narrative, this structural violence, especially of poverty, is inflicted on her every day, and as a result, Jennet's daily experiences are characterised by these systemic repeated trauma(s), which, ultimately, may have come to be understood in many ways as ordinary. Therefore, when the massacre is placed alongside all these other multiple traumas, it is not at all as defining as we might have expected. As such, Jennet's silence could also be as a result of perceiving the event as one of the many everyday trials she faces. To understand how deep-seated or persistent this structural violence is, I will return to this idea later when I discuss Winnie's case. However, Jennet's silence could be due to any of, and likely, a combination of these three factors outlined.

It was as a result of this lack of spontaneous mention of the massacre and its effects that, as a researcher, I made some deliberate interventions to ask the participants directly about it. It is noteworthy that this changed the dynamics of the interviews from leading with one question and allowing the participants to interpret it as broadly or narrowly, and moved it more

towards an unstructured interview in which the interviewees were given space to speak freely but with the researcher guiding. As a collaborator in the co-construction of their stories, my active involvement stretched the participants' narratives and probed them to elaborate on specific aspects (in particular, the impact of the massacre in their lives).

The unstructured nature of the interview allowed our interactions to remain largely conversational. This resulted in what Mishler (1986) calls "discursive accomplishment" in which "the standardized protocol (where question order is invariant) gives way to conversation where interviewees can develop narrative accounts; speaker and listener [or] questioner render events and experiences meaningful, collaboratively" (p. 23). In this sense, the "facilitator" (who asks questions) and a "respondent" (who gives answers) both shape the narrative and meaning (Gubrium and Holstein, 2002). According to Mishler (1986), the conversation turned into a discourse between speakers in which rules of everyday conversation must apply: turn-taking, relevance, and entrance and exit talk (where a speaker transitions into, and returns from, the past time story world).

In this improvised process, I came to realise that it was only participants who were not born in Marikana who did not mention the massacre, even when explicitly asked about it. The general consensus indicates that they were not affected by it despite having some relatives and family working in the mines. However, the participants born in Marikana seemed to be able to talk about some ways in which it has affected them. But it is important to look at *how* they talk about it. In general, it needs to be reiterated that they do not speak about it until prompted, but after the prompt they usually only to express the inability to expressly come to terms with it or even talk about it. Their stories begin to explicitly reflect a trauma narrative, which exposes both a direct and an indirect inability to speak about the trauma of their loss. This is reflected in Winnie's narrative below:

Winnie For me, you know, I still can't come to terms with it. You know, a lot of lives were lost in that massacre and I keep asking myself was it really necessary? And… I… I don't know… I really can't put it into words… describe how I feel about it. It was a bad experience for this place and our families, and it will

never be forgotten. I think it is history written into people's lives what happened that day. As long as they live, that history will live with them and in them and in this place. No one will forget. This place will never forget.

On one hand, Winnie is expressly aware that she is unable to speak about the impact of the massacre. Her direct address and acknowledgement shows that the traumatic event is incomprehensible to her. On the other hand, Winnie's indirect address reveals the impact of a deep-seated psychological trauma. Structurally, the use of ellipsis in this extract literally shows that something is broken and left out, which captures Winnie's inability to put into words, the weight of this traumatic experience. Whether this is a hesitation or omission, it denotes the Winnie's lack of ability to articulate the impact of the loss and the trauma inflicted. The hesitation, reiterated by Winnie herself, shows that the trauma is inarticulate-able. In fact, we can clearly see on another occasion, where Winnie was confronted with the trauma of its impact, and she switched the topic to something else, something that appears much less personal:

Winnie One thing about this place that I have been observing all my life is that… OK, poverty affects young people a lot in life, especially, you know, kids ba ba dulang *[who stay]* like really far, not like… go na le di-areas tse bareng ke *[there are areas like]* Nkamola and what not some of them are… the parents are single parents. You know, their fathers are working in the mines and they were killed in the **massacre**. So, it's… it's… for… (She stops). What I have noticed again is that there is a high rate of **teenage pregnancy** in this place. Why? **Poverty**.

Notably, after uttering the words of the massacre, Winnie stops, and then she cannot speak. To be exact, she hesitates three times and then stops. Without completing the point, Winnie's narrative jumps to another point indicating that she has failed to finish the thought. Even though she did not lose her own parent, this captures her utter lack of ability to express the impact of this loss. Evidently, looking at the place(s) where Winnie stops herself, we can see a shift or change in topics. It makes sense then why she just jumps forward to a different topic in order to avoid finishing the point. At the same time as it is meant to sidestep the

point, Winnie's jump also does something interesting; it mashes the history of migrancy, single mothers, a massacre and teenage pregnancy into one paragraph as if these issues, which seem very different and disassociated, were somehow connected.

To understand how they might be connected from Winnie's perspective, we need to re-consider the third factor I discussed previously of how these features of life in Marikana function as perpetual stresses. At face value, they seem disconnected, but a closer look reveals that the massacre, teenage pregnancies and poverty are all aspects of the persistent structural violence that characterise everyday life for many in Marikana. And it is precisely because they are connected in this particular way, which allows us to see that Winnie's topic switches are not about sidestepping the issue, but largely to show how this seemingly inarticulate-able pain and loss goes beyond the scope of a single traumatic event. Unlike a typical trauma narrative, life was not 'perfect' in Marikana until the massacre came and ruined it for everyone. Before the massacre there were already these other problems, which, in fact, do not even show signs that they were getting any better. To the contrary, it seems to be getting increasingly worse. To them, there seems to be very little difference between a picture of 'before' and 'after' the massacre. Ironically, Winnie is placing the massacre in context of how traumatic the landscape of Marikana is, which reveals that the effects of the massacre are just one of the multiple pervasive traumas of 'normal' life within the community.

As a presumption of the research, it is worth noting that for the researcher, as an outsider looking in, the massacre and its aftermath have disrupted the way we understand 'our' national narrative. Many of us can talk about a South Africa 'before' and 'after' the massacre to capture how this traumatic event has fundamentally transformed the way(s) we understand our democracy. Nevertheless, this narrative is not self-evident to Winnie and her story. Even for the participants who spoke about their loss and pain more openly, and in expressive terms to reveal the horror inflicted on the family members left behind, they talk about the past and the future (or dreams), but fail to talk about the present.

Phinda He [uncle] was killed during the Marikana strike in… 2012. It was a very difficult time for our family because even though he didn't stay with us, he supported us and his family. He wanted all of us to be educated so that we don't end up in the mine like him. It is not a safe place to work in. He wanted better things for us.

Pause.

Phinda During the strike he used to sometimes come sleep here because it was not safe at his house. I saw him the day before he was killed. We didn't say a lot to each other. He greeted me, we laughed about something and then he left. He said he will come back later and then he didn't.

Stops with teary eyes.

Phinda He didn't make it. He was…

Long pause.

While Phinda opened up about her uncle and what he meant to them, understandably it may have been difficult to confront this trauma, which is why she spoke about the situation around the loss but unable to articulate or capture the loss directly. If, as according to Bettelheim (1976), narrative order is essential in giving one's life a sense of meaning and direction, then this extract of Phinda's story represents a disrupted narrative in which Phinda's inability to speak fails not to *feel* but to give meaning to that *feeling*. This reflects her pain and grief as something that operates outside of words, outside of a narrative ordering.

Overall, the fact that all these participants wait until they are prompted to even attempt to talk about the impact of this trauma on their lives suggests that they are acutely aware of their inability to articulate the pain and grief, and thus, deploy silence as a protective measure by avoiding the topic in their narratives. This silence seems to be a deliberate act, suggesting that this is a big traumatic event which has disrupted their lives. However, beyond their inability to articulate the trauma, it is important to look at what the participants stress, even in their

grief. All the participants talk about the massacre as just one of the many symptoms of structural poverty. As Phinda states,

Phinda Now life is hard, we try without him but life is hard. My other uncle is helping but it is not enough, now I can't even finish school.

This shows that Phinda (and her family) are not just dealing with the pain of losing a loved one but also how that experience is intertwined with micro-financial problems as a result of their perpetual structural poverty. Life was hard with their uncle financially supporting them, and now without him, life is going to get even harder. In the midst of such a big traumatic event, Phinda seems to be more worried about how she is going to finish her schooling, which was perhaps likely never going to happen anyway. For instance, Phinda's reported plan to go back to school was unrealistic because she has a baby and very little financial resources to support herself, raise the child, and pay for school fees. This reveals that the massacre did not interrupt a "perfect life", but simply added another layer of severe trauma and financial instability to lives that are already unstable.

4.2.6 The Paradox or Contradictory (Im)possibilities of Education

There is one critical contradiction that runs through most of the participants' narratives. In their lives, it is clear that education has been premised as a way to break the shackles of intergenerational poverty. However, while they assert this narrative, the participants also seem to be aware that education does not always provide the way out. Their first and second hand experience has taught them that education is not always a rosy path to a great future. As Ditsego and Phinda admit,

Ditsego I think there are many issues regarding education, young people might not really view qualification to be chased, because lately holding a matric certificate counts little like in my case you know I… you can still go and

sweep streets, while a graduate with a university degree you can still work where your role is to clean-up street and dustbin (thrash bin).

Phinda But then from what I have experienced you might have education, you can *get* diplomas but most of the times you can't find a job. We are struggling we do take our CVs everywhere and we try whatever nje (we can) to get a job but it's very difficult out there.

Ditsego Yes it is important for us to school and study; but the question would still be what then? Now that we are done, but without money, what then? After you have completed that thing, that's a very big challenge being certain after matric…what then?

These narratives reflect that young people are acutely aware that the poverty they experience is not just a problem of lack of education but rather that it is much more pervasive. With access to some form of education, they have come to realise that the narrative of education as an escape route is not always feasible because even though it might be helpful, it does not take away other structural issues, like access to expensive tertiary education.[5] This means that the working class, and the unemployed poor, can only afford to study through loans or scholarships. As young people growing up within a post-apartheid era, these narratives offer us a glimpse to see how access to education, or lack thereof, has worked to maintain systemic poverty rather than to provide an escape route out of it.

Even worse, quite a few of the participants learn that even with some form of education they may still do not make it out of poverty. Despite their best efforts, their own narratives are proof that education is failing them as an escape route. However, it is interesting that despite this visible and acute awareness, they all fundamentally still insist that they need education to

[5] In 2015, this resonated with the #FeesMustFall movement which developed into a national protest against many South African universities that wanted to increase fees. The movement called for a zero increment. This is a signal that tertiary education was never affordable for the working class, and is fast becoming unaffordable for the middle class.

succeed. There seems to be a glaring contradiction because the participants appear to be buying into the same narrative of meritocracy that they reject.

Ditsego I would consider to go and study for something at college or university of which that is one thing that I would love to do because then I can look for a job.

Phinda The only way for me to [work and make money] is to go back to school. It's gonna help me and for now I don't have way of raising that money to go back to school. But I hope one of the good days I get that money then I can go back to school. Yah that can be the only solution that can be for real for me, yah. Because I miss school.

All the participants note that to escape poverty, they need education. To get education, they need money. To get money, they need education. Their lives revolve in this continuous double bind. Ironically, although they are aware that education does not always provide an escape route, they still prescribe it as a way out. And this reflects the depth of their hopeless situation because the only hope they can cling to (that is itself hardly likely) is something that they know probably won't even help. One has to be really desparate to hold onto a false hope. This reflects how deep-seated this myth of meritocracy pervades both the lives and imagination of the youth. They are stuck in an impossible catch 22: their lives revolve around something that they recognise as false but still fail to change or even challenge it.[6]

This demonstrates that both the students and research participants are failing to make a critical distinction between equality and equity. The former imposes equal access that is based both on academic merit and economic value, irrespective of the students' financial

[6] This contradiction reveals a logical deficit that is also reflected in the #FeesMustFall movement. The national student protest was mainly supported by those who cannot afford tertiary education in its current form. The call for no-increment of fees would keep tertiary education more or less affordable to those who could already afford it, but it would still remain unaffordable to them. It is ironic that the movement was not asking for equal access (i.e. free education for all) but affordable access (albeit for many protesters who cannot afford it as it is). This shows how deep the myth of meritocracy is entrenched in our national student politics. While they understand that something is wrong with the education system, this indicates that the students do not fully realise that the problem is not just the high price but the system as a whole (which is premised on equality, giving equal access to all but as long as they can afford it). As a result, we end up with many students without money asking for a discount on a commodity they already cannot afford, as such whether that discount is given or not is irrelevant.

backgrounds, which, by default, limits access of the poor but academically deserving students. However, the latter is premised on equal access to everyone who is academically deserving, with or without money (i.e. free education). Assuming that everyone has access to the same quality of education, this is the only way to remove economic barriers and ensure that everyone who is 'academically deserving' (which still reinforces the myth of meritocracy), irrespective of their financial status, is guaranteed both equal access and opportunity to study. Only in such a scenario can education be cited as a tangible escape route out of poverty, and one of the real solutions South Africa can employ to counter the injustice(s) of the past.

In conclusion, it is evident to note that my role as a researcher, particularly my presence as a black post-graduate student from a prominent university, which pressumably highlighted education as an important subject to me, affected the kinds of narratives produced in the interviews. As if to mainly explain why they are not like me, their stories focused on events that disrupted their education (i.e. often lack of money or employment opportunities) and how lack of formal schooling has perpetually destabilised their once progressive lives. This reveals how pervasive structural poverty has undercut their narratives, which reflects how broken their lives and futures are. Therefore, my role played a critical part in the ways that the participants (co)narrated their life stories.

Chapter 5: Thematic Analysis

This chapter presents a thematic analysis focused on the content of the narratives, drawing connections or/and disconnections across participants' stories to understand how they make meaning of events and lived-experiences in their lives. The chapter is organised according to identified themes, which are: Marikana (nostalgia about the place of Marikana, and belonging to the place of Marikana), childhood in Marikana and elsewhere (growing up in Marikana, and growing up elsewhere), families and their structure (single-parent headed and transnational families, (grand)mothers as pillars of family, and (inter)generational absence/presence of fathers), education (lack of funds for schooling), and possibilities for the future (dreams and futures deferred, and fantasies as a form of escapism).

5.1 Marikana

5.1.1 Nostalgia about the place of Marikana

In recent annals, the name and place of Marikana has been fiercely etched into our time, memory and history by the sheer brutality, blood and massacre of miners, especially on the fateful day of the 16th August 2012. Now it is hard, if not impossible, to mention the name of, or talk about the physical place of, Marikana without invoking the trauma that has befallen both the community of Marikana and the nation as a whole. It stands among many historical brutal events, like the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, which have not only brought us to where we are but define who we are. For many, Marikana marks a time and place of paralyzing despair and utter dismay. According to this view, we have fallen into the dark days. Yet for others, the massacre's sobering nature marks a reawakening of the country, to realise how little we have transformed as a society. There is a sense of a new hope that is born from this tragedy and darkness in galvanising the next phase of political action. In this sense, it is possible to talk about a South Africa "before" and "after" the Lonmin Massacre because we have a clear sense that something has shifted or broken in our political landscape.

Even though the participants do not explicitly frame it this way, their depiction of Marikana alludes to a "before" and "after" construction of the key traumatic event of the massacre. For

them, Marikana as a physical landscape is both ‘dangerous’ and ‘good’. The former relates to violence of crimes and the unstable political atmosphere, especially the rivalry between the competing unions in the mining turf which have bred divisions within the community. The latter relates to the ‘timeless’ or ahistorical childhood and nostalgic memories of the place, which, despite the reported ‘danger’, still attempts to portray Marikana as a livable landscape. Nevertheless, this divisive line is reflected by the opposing views of the participants. For instance, some talk about Marikana as a place of ‘safety’ and others as a place of ‘danger’. This dichotomy is captured by Elisa and Thandi. I will start with Thandi:

Thandi Go monate go golela mo Wonderkop. Go monate. Nna go golela gaka mo Wonderkop ke enjoyile too much. Even le nou ke sampane ke enjoyer go golela mo Wonderkop.

It is nice growing up in Wonderkop. It is good. For me to grow up in Wonderkop I enjoyed it too much. Even now I still enjoy growing up in Wonderkop.

Although Thandi is aware of the tensions of growing up in Marikana, these seem to be erased or silenced in the way that she talks to me about it. Instead, Thandi recollects a nostalgic experience of Marikana as a good and safe place to grow up, but this sentiment goes beyond the past and extends into the present to cast a picture of Marikana as still an “enjoyable” (alias livable) place to spend one’s life. This erasure of the tensions, even the trauma of the massacre, seems to be a deliberate act. According to Legg (2004):

> Trauma and nostalgia are theoretically and practically linked. While nostalgia denotes a positive attachment to a past real or imaginary home, trauma denotes the negative inability to deal effectively with a past event. While both conditions represent problematic engagements with the past, nostalgia often focuses on a time and place before or beyond a traumatic incident (p. 103).

Legg (2004) helps us understand why Thandi chooses to talk about her life experiences as positive in this particular way. It is important to note that to do this, she completely ignores the massacre and focuses on her life experiences before and after. This points out that in her avoidance to speak about the massacre as a big traumatic event that has come to characterise Marikana, Thandi focused on the nostalgic memories of the place. This was not unusual from other participants. If we take the colonial and problematic history of South Africa, especially within the mining landscape, and place it in this context, we would have to confront centuries of racial segration and exploitation of black cheap labour, dehuminisation of blacks, poor education, etc. Thus, it is ironic that they remember and speak about this part of their lives from our troubling 'past' nostalgically, better than the present. However, even though Elisa shares Thandi's nostalgic view, in her own analysis, she argues that Marikana has changed since those 'good old' days, and now it has come to represent danger. According to Elisa:

> I love to take young people and then teach them about life because now our place is dangerous. Wonderkop is not safe because now when a child starts growing up it is a mining place and money speaks, when a man sees a child at the age of 9 or 10 or 11 he sees a woman.

Elisa challenges the nostalgic view by constructing the present dangers in gendered terms, with no direct reference to the political tensions or the massacre but young girls' safety. It is possibly that Elisa has conceived this as an individualised and moral than political issue, making the issue 'easier' to engage. Nonetheless, even though Elisa doesn't talk about it explicitly in this way, her assessment is also a critique of patriarchy of the mining landscape as a male dominated arena. The argument is that a place that cannot protect its children is unsafe to live in. Ironically, Elisa is aware that these underage girls are vulnerable because they often come from poor families and fall victim to sexual abuse and violence in the mining community which is a landscape that is dominated by men who (often use their access to economic and other forms of capital to) take advantage of them. As a health practitioner who treats girls who are sexually abused, Elisa is exposed to the ugly side of Marikana. According to Ditsego, this is due to the fact that Marikana has lost a sense of itself as a "community". People are no longer united or form close ties. For Elisa and Ditsego, the lack of unity or close ties has resulted in the dangers that now face girls.

Ditsego The community used to be united, when we moved here, the community was okay because we were all new, everyone was new coming from different areas, so there was that sense of support and solidarity in the community cliques had not developed but in the progress of time things changed, politics in fact a lot of things, everyone began to look after themselves, every man for themselves […] It was different.

Elisa Before ne go le sharp, ne go le monate because ne go sa tlala like di-outsiders gagolo so. Le like skwatha se ne se se se segolo so. Ne ele ko motseng o kile wa bona. Ne go le sharp, go le safe and secured. Because ne ele ka nako yela ya Mangope[7] na sa batle like mehlobo hlobo. So ne re fila safe.

Before [they arrived Marikana] was good because it was not so full of outsiders too much. And even like this squatter-camp was not so big. It was a community, you know, it was sharp / nice. It was safe and secured. Because it was that time of Mangope, he didn't want people of different types of people [foreigners]. So we were feeling safe.

Ditsego and Elisa share a strong nostalgic view that Marikana was once a safe place because it was a united community until 'something' broke that unity. To Elisa, Marikana was a "good" place until the "foreigners" arrived, not the massacre. It is clear that, according to Elisa's argument, it was the "foreigner" who "ruined" Marikana (or the nostalgia) and that is why now it is no longer a safe place to live in. Before "they" came, the area used to be safe, but now they have changed it. The foreign "other" is pathologised as the "bad" influence that has introduced crime and is responsible for breaking the unity of the community. This argument blames "them" for the ills that happen in the area.

This is the same troubling logic that has been employed to justify xenophobic attacks against "foreigners" within many South African communities, especially characterised by low-economic status. The locals see foreign migrant workers as the "other" who came to South

[7] Kgosi Lucas Manyane Mangope is the former leader of the Bantustan of Bophuthatswana and founder and former leader of the United Christian Democratic Party, a minor political party based in the North West province of South Africa (Wikipedia, 2016).

Africa to steal "their" jobs. Paradoxically, mining communities have always been made of migrant workers, so their presence is not a new phenomenon that can be used to carry the blamed for what is happening now. Even in Elisa's own thinking there is no sense of why foreign nationals are suddenly now the 'problem' although they have always been present in the community and not considered problematic in the past. The most likely reason for this problem could be found when we look at how the quality of their "community" has been altered by the advancing capitalism. By this I mean that things are becoming commodified and people are competing for everything, especially jobs. Whether they are accurate or not about foreigners is not really the issue, the issue is that whether they have a view that in the past people were trying to help one another, but what they fail to recognise is that now this disintegration of community might largely be due to competitiveness and isolation as the effect of increased capitalist process, which is also the underlying structural cause of the gross inequality that resulted in the strike and the massacre.

When we engage with the fact that this is the problematic way in which they talk about the issue, we can see that Elisa is struggling to theorise about the effects of the increasing capitalism, to understand and then produce a version of these events in order to explain both for herself and for me why her nostalgic memories of Marikana are no longer reflected in the place today. For her, it is clear that Marikana is no longer the same place it used to be. Interestingly, Elisa wants to talk about the 'before' and 'after' of the changing political landscape, which played a significant role leading up to the massacre but just as Winnie also demonstrated, this narrative of the 'before' and 'after' and Marikana strike as a historical turning point in South Africa is not self-evident in the way these young people in Marikana tell their stories, except for Thandi who despite avoiding directly talking about the impact of the massacre, is aware that the massacre has changed the landscape in Marikana. She states that:

Thandi Most of people since that taba yela ya [the Lonmin Massacre], ba tshaba go tla mo Wonderkop. I remember le chommi ya ka o nnang ko Majakaneng then ga ke mmotsa gore a tle mo Wonderkop a re iyo mo Wonderkop nka setle. Ke gore o a e tshaba, ka mmotsa ka re Wonderkop it's a… it's a quiet place. Ke place ye e leng gore you can find peace mo teng despite gore what happened

ko Lonmin. Dilo tse be di etsega ko Lonmin if wena ha ne o se part ya Lonmin then there is nothing ye etlo etsagala mo go wena.

Most of people since that issue of [the Lonmin Massacre], they are scared of coming to Wonderkop. I remember even my friend from Majakaneng then when I asked him to come to Wonderkop, he said, yoo in Wonderkop I won't come. He is afraid of coming here. I told him that Wonderkop it's a… it's a quiet place. It is a place where you can find peace despite what happened in Lonmin. Those things were happening in Lonmin, if you're not a part of Lonmin then there is nothing that will happen to you.

Even though Thandi speaks of and acknowledges the massacre, she treats it as a 'distant' event. It is as if there was a 'bubble' of safety that the massacre cannot touch. This *distancing* or 'bubble' achieves a kind of 'othering' as if Lonmin was a far removed place. And given that Marikana is one of the main communities in the region that supplies Lonmin with cheap labourers, in effect, nothing happens in Lonmin that does not make its way back into the families and community. Therefore, it would be impossible to think of the massacre as something that is 'distant' from the community that lost loved ones due to it, and resulting in union rivalry that still continues to polarise the community as well. As such, it is possible that Thandi's *distancing* or 'bubble' could be an attempt to isolate herself from it, so that she does not have to recognise or confront the pervasive effects of the massacre on the community. It is important to understand why this 'distancing' is used in this particular manner, because it provides a way for her to talk about the massacre without talking about the massacre. This reiterates how difficult it is for them to speak about the trauma of its impact. Instead, she continues, with hesitation, to paint a picture of Marikana as anything but *unsafe* (especially in her 'bubble' it is a 'quiet' place). Evidently, the hesitation reveals that Thandi is aware of the present dangers in the community, but carefully chooses to ignore them in favour of the peace and quiet, showing again, as Legg (2004) suggests, that her nostalgia focuses on a time and place beyond a traumatic event.

5.1.2 Marikana as a place of belonging

Our stories of who we are, are always constructed and negotiated within a particular *place* (and time), with their own unique social, economic, cultural, and political context (Mathoho and Ranchod, 2006). The place forms an integral part of who we are. This place, according to Sundstrom (2003, p. 84) "is the space of our everyday experience and action, and it is what we, in many senses, move through in our everyday lives... [and thus becomes] an integral aspect of the production of [our] identities". In this sense, we talk about ourselves as *belonging* to a particular place as a way of marking the space(s) that contributed to the production who we are. Despite its social, economic and political challenges, many of the participants tell positive stories about coming from, or belonging to, the place of Marikana. This sense of belonging to, or being a part of, a place is expressively demonstrated by Winnie: "I was born in this area. I grew up in this area. I'm a part of this place".

As this extract demonstrates, Winnie talks about the physical place of Marikana as something that is bound up with who she is (and vice versa). It is important to note that her sense of belonging cannot be separated from this place. In essence, Marikana is an integral part of who she is. It is critical to unpack how Winnie identifies with this particular place. Firstly, she was "born" in it. Secondly, she "grew up" in it. The underlying assumption and argument of these two points understood specifically in this order is that our birth into a particular place roots one in it, and provides the anchorage one needs to "grow up" in it. To invite an analogy, if we think of a Winnie as a tree that is planted on a particular soil (Marikana), the soil roots it and enables it to grow. It is in this sense, that Winnie is "part" of the place of Marikana. In the words below, she describes this more powerfully.

Winnie I grew up here and for me, you know, life has been so great… having all my family around, supporting me, doing everything together with my brothers. You know when I went to… when I finished my matric, I went to varsity and being there I realised, you know, I have to come back to this place and make a difference because this place actually made me who I am. The fact that… the fact that, you know, I went through anything that, you know, any child could go through, I still hold on, I still held on to my dreams and my passion and I,

you know, I didn't give up on that. Basically, this place actually motivates me each and every day to become a better person and the love I have for this place is just so amazing like I just can't get away from it. Yeah.

Winnie reveals a vital facet of our relationship(s) to the places we inhabit, that these places are not neutral, and that they affect us just as much as we affect them. The relationship is not one directional, but goes both ways. According to Godlewska (2004, p. 175), "If place is integral to identity so is identity integral to place". The argument here is that we do not only inhabit a place, but the place also inhabits us. As Sundstrom (2003) argues, just as places are produced, so are people (and vice versa). In this sense, Winnie is not only a part of the place of Marikana but the place of Marikana also a part of who she is. And this could be why Winnie and others cannot reject it as a place of unfathomable evil or terrible insurmountable trauma.

5.2 Childhood in Marikana and elsewhere

This section will look at how these young people, born into poverty, experienced their childhoods (as proper or/and improper), located in this physical place of Marikana and elsewhere. This is about childhood as a place, or a landscape, from which we travel.

5.2.1 Growing up in Marikana

Typically, as Burman (1994; 2008) highlights, childhood is commonly understood as a time for children to 'play'. This dominant view is entrenched in the way(s) young people attempted to construct their childhoods in Marikana. Elisa's narrative below demonstrates how central this idea was for her growing up as a child.

Elisa Be re kena skolo and after school we go to dlala netball, le ya ko di-debate, le dlala like bo di-tini. Nkile wa bona, ga letsatsi le wela then we go home. Kaosane o tseya dibuka tsa gago o ya s'kolong, wa bona, and then after school, ke mosebetsi gape.

We were in school and after school you go and play netball, you go to debates, you play "The tin" [a children's game]. You know, when the sun sets then you go home. Tomorrow you take your books and go to school, you know, and after school you start all over again.

Growing up as a child in Marikana, Elisa recollects her experiences as characterized by play. These experiences, like many others, present childhood as a positive, nostalgic landscape, even one that is tied to this particular place of Marikana. In this way, Marikana embodies the physical landscape of their childhood, it was a home which offered them a space to play, etc. It is important to note that the notion of play, in particular, is critical in the way Elisa reproduces the popular discourse of childhood to talk about her own childhood, and arguably, what she understands it means to be a child. According to her, childhood is a period of one's development that is largely characterised by play. Thus, whether consciously or not, the notion and use of "play" is an important part of not just her childhood, but also being a child. As Burman (2008) argues, the discourse underlying Elisa's understanding functions to legitimise what is a normal child(hood) and pathologises alternative ways of being a child(hood). In this way, it is *unchild-like* not to play when you are young. As a result, Elisa laments that now children no longer have the activities that she had growing up as a child.

Elisa Then di-weekend o etsa se o se etsang again la tsamaya ge le ruta setso, le ya ko setsong lo jiva setso. Nou dikhathilwe dilo tsewe.

Then on weekends you do what you like, again if you're taught traditional dance, you go to dance. Now they have cut some of these things.

The idea that children now do not have "these things", i.e. play in the childhood and induction into cultural rituals, means that they have lost something that is intrinsic to the act and process of growing up, or childhood. Without these activities or games, the space for children in Marikana to develop as "normal" children has been "cut" from their lives. This visceral language indicates a loss of something significant that is taken away from children,

which they "need" in order to experience a normal childhood. In this sense, a 'good' childhood as an imagined history, or landscape, is no longer possible in Marikana.

If we buy Elisa's argument then it makes sense, for her to conclude, that children now in Marikana do not experience a 'proper' childhood. Therefore, children are not growing up (and being brought up) in the right way. As she demonstrates in her own words:

Elisa Gonanong like bana… eish… bana ga ba gole monate. Rena be re tshameka, bana ha ba sa dlala. Ke gore ba phela… ke gore ngwana… ne re dlala dipopo, ne. ne re dlala maiphihlana, diketo, eng eng, now bana ga ba sa di dlala.

Elisa *Now like children… eish… children are not growing up in a nice way. We used to play, but the children now don't play as much as we did. They… they live like… a child, we used to play with dolls, di-tini, maiphihlana, diketo, etc but now children don't play them anymore.*

According to Elisa, one "needs" to play in order to be an appropriate child. The pathology underlying this is that without this *play*, the child(hood) is not a proper child(hood). Moss and Petrie (2002) warn us that this discourse of "needs" here reflects a model of children and childhood as passive, to be serviced, protected and provided for, rather than to be engaged with as active participants. 'Play' and 'safety' are used to frame the child as innocent, something that requires protection (Burman, 1994; 2008). Although children obviously require attention and care from their parents from birth until they are old enough, it is important to note that this discourse only works on the assumption that all parents must or are able to afford to provide this 'safe space' for their children to play, which is not always true, especially for the people in Marikana with lives entangled in poverty. As indicated by Burman (2008, p. 86), "Th[is] idealised conception of children and childhoods disallows association with poverty, [abuse] and deprivation", and fails to give us an account to understand alternative kinds of childhoods that children not born in well-off families and communities are experiencing, especially in a country like South Africa where child abuse, structural poverty and unemployment is rife. If we do not consider these structural factors and

the pivotal role they play, then we cannot fully understand childhood in Marikana. In fact, we as researchers, like some of the participants, risk pathologising their experiences of childhood as the deviant "other".

Elisa Imagine ngwana ka the age of 11 o imile. Wa bona, gonanong go bereka tšhelete like ene ke gore ha ko lona le sena tshelete ne, o na le chommi… peer pressure. Wa bona, o etsa dilo gore tšhelete ye ola a nang le yona then le wena o kgone go e fihlelela.

Elisa *Imagine a child at the age of 11 is pregnant. You see, now money speaks (only money works). And if at home you don't have money and you have a friend… peer pressure. You know, you're going to do things to make sure that you also have money.*

This extract demonstrates that even though Elisa pathologises alternative experiences of childhoods as deviant "other" or "unchild-like", she is also aware of the impact of structural factors like systemic poverty and how it affects the way children grow up in Marikana. In her own analysis, it is explicit that children, especially girls, have sexual relationships or 'transactional sex' (Walker et al., 2004) with older men in order to "have money". This foregrounds the agency of men who use money in 'exchange for sexual favours' (Walker et al., 2004) to sleep with young girls. Without breadwinners at home, these young girls remain trapped in a structural cycle and narrative of possible sexual abuse that says for them to survive is to sleep with these men to "have [their] money". According to Walker et al. (2004), this is why transactional sex with older men is a commonplace practice in impoverished communities such as Marikana, which makes the girls 'highly vulnerable to sexual abuse and gender-based violence' (Haley and Bradbury, 2014). Given this emphasis on money, it is likely that these relationships are not based on love but valued for the specific purpose of their beneficial economic exchange. As Burman (2008) would argue, these alternative childhoods are characterised by children who usually come from families of generational poverty, who are unable to provide financial security and a "safe space" for them to "play". As a result, some have to resort to alternative means to earn some living, which puts their childhood experiences very far from the typical playing fields. In some sense, Elisa is aware

that not all children receive the safe and protected environment for them to play and explore the world (like she recalls her childhood), particularly around older men.

It is thus worth acknowledging that the theme of sexuality and gender is deeply embedded in the way that childhoods are experienced in Marikana. While this is an independent theme, it has proven impossible to divorce it from this analysis and to treat entirely as separate (especially given the limited data available). This is primarily because developmental psychology has largely influenced us to generally think of childhood, adolescences and adulthood as separate, progressive stages of a person's development. We recognise that children have to develop through various physical stages, before they can be seen as sexual subjects. In this way, we understand quite distinctly that as a child there is a time to play and then a time to explore sexuality. In this transition, a society's role, particularly the mother, is to protect the child until they develop their physical sexuality, and are thus deemed ready to participate in sexual conduct. However, the image of an 11-year-old pregnant girl makes it evident that these stages or transitions are not as separate or clearly marked in Marikana, since no individual can be a child and a mother at the same time. It is for this reason that sexuality and gender politics are underwritten early into the young lives and bodies of children in Marikana, long before they are really old enough to become adults. In this context, we can either pathologise their childhood(s) as "other" (in which case these girls are likely to be seen as 'whores' and not 'proper' children (Haley and Bradbury, 2014) or come to understand that due to these systemic economic factors and early sexual abuse by *some* men (not withstanding other systemic issues which affect these men to act in this particular manner), children in Marikana have to negotiate alternative ways of being a child, outside of the dominant developmental psychology discourse.

As a staff member of the local clinic, Elisa has seen first-hand that teenage pregnancy is less about misinformation about sex but the consequences of generational poverty on the lives of these young girls. This falls in line with Phoenix (1991)'s study which discovered that no mothers had become pregnant due to ignorance about sex and contraception, confirming a long line of empirical studies. In Marikana, being born into poor families and inheriting their parents' poverty makes them vulnerable to older working men, who use their access to economic capital to take advantage of young girls. Perhaps this might explain why most of

the female participants, including Elisa and Phinda, had their own babies at an early age or have friends who are young mothers. As Winnie says:

> Everyone I used to know growing up have kids, some of them they didn't finish matric and they are staying at home.

Winnie's analysis points to how this issue is systemic and deep-rooted in the lives and childhoods of young people in Marikana. It is important to note that this does not only disrupt their childhoods, but also futures. Most of the people she is referring to who did not finish school are largely without jobs and sitting at home with nothing to do. It is in this context that we need to understand why and how young people in Marikana have children while they are still children. Furthermore, Winnie argues that the dangers which young people face in Marikana are not just sexual. There are also what she calls 'bad influences' for boys and girls to do drugs and drink alcohol at a young age. In her analysis of the social problems in her community, she argues that;

> We've got problems with alcohol, you know, young people, they don't have extra activities like soccer or… any activity that can keep them busy. Usually you can find them drinking somewhere. Now imagine what one person can do when they get drunk, they can get into a fight, they can get killed or go into unprotected sex or whatever.

According to Haley and Bradbury (2014), this reflects the view that 'unsupervised' young people pose some kind of a potential threat. The implicit argument is that due to lack of social activities to keep the young people active (i.e. off the streets), or what Elisa has characterised as "play", they end up falling into bad social habits like substance abuse as an escape from the boredom, (re)producing *dangers* which are gendered. Notably, girls are constructed as 'whores' while boys are constructed as unsafe and likely to participate in risky behaviour(s) like alcohol and drug abuse (Walker et al., 2004). This championing of 'social morality' discourse tacitly pathologises 'individual morality' as a problem, without tackling the

underlying problem of structural poverty. Even though substance abuse has no single cause, it is not uncommon for low-economic regions like Marikana with a soaring unemployment rate, to be plagued by high levels of substance abuse, sexual diseases and teen pregnancies. As coping mechanisms, substance abuse and sex could also be seen as a way to ease the trauma and pain of these repeated stresses in their daily lives.

Furthermore, participants claim that peer pressure plays an important role, especially among girls. Thandi expresses this sentiment very clearly when she talks about her friends who have tried to mislead her into 'wrongdoings':

Thandi So, nna ke motho o e leng gore ke itlhokometse. A ke motho o e leng gore o believer mo di peer pressure *[So, I take care or look after of myself. I'm not the person who believes in peer pressure]*. I do have friends ba e leng gore le bona *[who]* try go'ng misleader ba nkentshe mo tseleng *[try to mislead me]* but I tell myself gore *[that]* who are they ba batl'o nketsisa selo se e leng gore nna ga ke se batle *[who are they to make me do things that I don't want to do]*.

Thandi's experience indicate that this is a widespread problem which young people encounter not just within the public space and interactions, but also private space and personal relationships. The fact that it is her own friends who are pressuring her into these activities, which she resists, reveals how pervasively this issue affects the lives of young people in Marikana. It is against this background that we can understand why young girls like Thandi consider it some kind of an "achievement" just to finish school without falling pregnant (something that should not have to be even a concern at that early age). This reflects how children are forced to mature early and make decisions that are typically for adults. In this context, the young people experience childhood and adulthood as somewhat a single, inseparable landscape. Even worse, the young people in Marikana have to contend with a harsh, physical landscape and a place that is not safe.

Winnie Wonderkop as a whole is really not safe. You walk around at 2am and you either get killed or get mugged or whatever. So, it is really not a safe place. Like I said, poverty is the main thing so people are still…so people still mug other people so that they can make money and stuff like that. So ja, it's not safe.

According to Winnie's analysis, due to low-economic status, people resort to crime in order to make some kind of a living, and this places (especially young) people who cannot defend themselves in great danger. In actual fact, for Winnie, Elisa and Ditsego, it is not just young people who are not safe, but families and the whole community is "no longer" safe. This is somewhat ironic considering that mining in itself is an unsafe occupation. As a result, children grow up to be adult-like earlier in life and robbed off their "innocence". However, Burman (2008) contends that such a discourse neglects or ignores the wider socio-economic factors, like structural poverty and abuse, under which most children live (as if resources were distributed evenly in our society). According to Wolfe (1981), "it is now increasingly recognised that the identification of children's needs is a matter of resources rather than flowing from anything intrinsic to the child or family…" Thus, we have to recognise that these situations are not entirely the choosing of children or parents but stems from the historical continuities of structural and material inequality that not only influence but produce different forms and realities of childhood(s) for children and families without economic privilege.

5.2.2 Growing up elsewhere

Given that all the foreign participants within the data set come from within the South African Development Community (SADC), this section will look at childhood outside of Marikana and within the SADC region as a wider context. As an orgination that strives for regional integration, SADC is broadly characterised by poverty as well. It is in this context that the migration moves towards South Africa, and in this particular case Marikana, which reflects a colonial history where mine work is construed as "opportunity".

Interviewer And how was life like in Mozambique? Can you tell me about your childhood?

Mzi Life… in the beginning when we were young life was fine. I stayed with my mother and my father and my father passed away, and then my mother too. That's when I left school and started doing 'piece jobs' just to survive you see. Life was hard. That life was hard. I was not a child for a very long time because after my parents died I had to go and look for a job to take care of myself.

For Mzi, childhood is remembered as a painful experience, characterized by great loss, especially the hardships after the death of his parents. Even from this truncated version of his childhood experience, there is a sense that life was not easy for Mzi. This is stressed in his repetition that not only was life hard but that particularly life growing up (without parents) was hard. Losing his parents at such an early age, as he acknowledges himself, means that he was not a child for a long time. Mzi is aware that he did not have or enjoy a "normal" sense of what might be considered typical childhood. In essence, his childhood was cut drastically short when he had to look for a job in order to take care of himself (and siblings).

As a recurring motif, childhood was also reported as a difficult phase for Jennet because of poverty. Like Mzi, Jennet's father was a breadwinner who worked 'piece jobs' (short term employment), which made it hard for him to provide a stable financial support for the family. It is expected that Jennet would also find such a life unbearable. In both these stories, childhoods elsewhere seem to be burdened by poverty. Again, we can see how their childhood experience(s) are reported as interrupted by the permanent grip of poverty. In fact, it was the need to escape this grip of poverty which frames the common narrative of why they move from their respective countries to look for a better life in Marikana. As Mda says:

Mda At home [Mozambique] I stay with my father and my mother. My father works at home but I saw that he was struggling and I was old enough to work

> so I told them to give me money so that I go to Egoli to look for work. They gave me money and I came here.

Mda's story reveals that this grip of poverty which characterised early life for these young people from outside the borders, especially young men, is also what pushes them into early adulthood and migration to the mine in desperate hope. By entering the (migrant) labour force early in order to help support their families, they are forced to take on an "adult-like" role of being a breadwinner. Due to their unfortunate circumstances, there was very little space, if any at all, for them to be "normal" children. This means that people like Mda had to find alternative way(s) of being a child. Overall, this shows the pervasive impact of structural poverty not just locally but within our regional borders and how they shape young people's childhood(s).

5.3 Families and their structure

5.3.1 Single-parent headed and transnational families

Typically, the model of the nuclear family is "composed of a man and woman plus children [typically living together under one roof], with the man as breadwinner working outside the home and the woman responsible for housework and childcare, is itself a family form which came to prominence in Europe in the late nineteenth century" (Burman, 2008, 107). With the West's expansion into other territories and colonial presence around the world, especially in Africa, this conceptualisation of 'family' has come to be one of the many *norms* that has resulted, and thus treated, as universal, conventional and unchanging structure (that has gone unchallenged) without any critical reference to its "cultural or historical specificity" (Burman, 2008, 107). For example, Thandi explicitly speaks about her family in terms of this "universal" notion of family as nuclear:

> My name is Thandi. I was born here in Wonderkop… uhm… I was raised by my both parents, my dad and my mother.

Firstly, like Thandi, many participants reported that they were raised from an early age by both their father and mother, suggesting a nuclear family structure, especially when they were very young. However, many did not live within this family structure for very long, usually due to the death or absence of one parent, typically the father. As participants reported, it is often the loss of fathers which seems to be the leading cause that interrupts the form of nuclear families and opens them to either being a single parent or child-headed household.

Elisa Ke reisitswe ke both my parents. At the age of six or seven, then e be e le gore ke sala le mama'ka. Then ka godiswa ke mama'ka.

Elisa *I was raised by both my parents. At the age of six or seven… [my father died] then … I was left with my mother.*

Evidently, even though Elisa was born into a nuclear family, it quickly disintegrated. As a result, she was not "raised" in it. Thus, while Elisa has a recollection of a mother and father in her childhood, she was raised by a single parent. That is, indicates that Elisa like many of the other participants and South African children of their generation, was merely born into this nuclear structure, but really only raised outside of it, usually by the (grand)mother. This means fathers have played a less critical, if any, active role in the upbringing of their children.

Secondly, it is not always death that interrupts the nuclear family. Some of the participants reported that because of poverty, young men or fathers have to migrate and look for work in order to provide for their families. Mda and Mzi, who are both from Mozambique, reported that they are now pursuing long distant relationships with their partners because they had to migrate in order to look for better opportunities elsewhere.

Mzi Ke nna Mzi, ke hlaga ko Mozambique. Ke berekela business ya Ma-China. Ke thomile go bereka mo ka 2013.

Mzi *I'm Mzi, and I'm from Mozambique. I work for a Chinese business, I started working here in 2013.*

Mda I came here so that I can work and my girlfriend can get something to eat, something to wear and so forth. I also want to figure out what to do with my life because in Moz even if you study or not there is no work. There is a shortage of jobs. That's why I came here. At home I have two sisters and 6 brothers and my girlfriend, so… ja.

It is clear that lack of opportunities at home has torn them away from their loved ones. This makes them "transnational families" (Phoenix, 2009). The distance makes it very difficult for them to create and maintain their own family structures. As Mzi reports:

Mzi I spend 6 months here and then I go home to Mozambique, and then another 6 months and then another one. I visit every 6 months because it's very expensive to travel so I have to save first before I go home. But next year I want to bring my wife here because to work 6 months and then go home and then work another 6 months and go home is a problem. I don't spend enough time with my family.

Mzi's story reveals an intergenerational absence of the father in the family. Mzi himself lost both his parents at an early age. He was forced to quit school and start doing "piece jobs" so that he could help his siblings survive. At the moment as a young father himself, he is *forced* into the migrant labour system that is depriving his own child of his father, which is what the death of his parents did to him. As a result, this makes Mzi and Mda transnational fathers, referring to the physical and temporal separation between migrant parents and their children (Phoenix, 2009). They have become absent fathers, like their own fathers, who now live without their families.

Lastly, as a result of these disruptions, many of the participants reported that they ended up being raised, at some point in their lives, by their (grand)mothers. For example, Elisa spent several years living with her traditional extended family, grandparents, who looked after her in the same way that her parents would.

Elisa After middle school I went ko Mothutlung ko dula le nkgono wa ka. Ka tsena s'kolo ko Mothutlung High. Then when ke etsa grade 11, ke passe-ditse for grade 12, kok' wa ka a hlokofala […] So ko gae ba decider gore ke boye.

Elisa *After middle school I went to Mothutlung to stay with my grandmother. And then I went to school at Mothutlung High. When I was doing grade 11, after passing for grade 12, my grandmother passed away… So at home they decided that I should come back.*

In this case, we see grandparents take on the role of a primary caregiver(s) for their grandchildren, especially when parents are not available or able to. However, it should be noted that grandparents are traditionally part of the extended families in black communities in which it is considered "normal" for them to provide caregiving role. Given that many participants did not come from families which are nuclear in structure, which is only comprised of the mother, father and children, then, if we use the discourse of a nuclear structure, as a standard marker of a "normal" family is, not only will it limit but also fail to tell us something useful about these possible family structures found in Marikana and SADC as a whole. To understand them, we need to broaden the definition of what a family could be and its multiple formations, including traditional extended families, which are not nuclear in structure.

Furthermore, within the African context even when people are living with a mother and father, very often that is not understood as the boundaries of family at all. That is why many African families feature an archetypal grandparent role, which is evident in the narratives of young people in Marikana. That is, there is a much broader conceptualization of a family. If we value one family structure over others, we risk pathologising the alternative family

structures as deviant (e.g. the *bastardisation* of children born out of wedlock even though they are a common feature of our contemporary society).

5.3.2 (Grand)mothers as pillars of family

Traditionally, a mother is seen as the glue that holds a family unit together. According to Makinwa-adebusoye (2001), in most sub-Saharan societies this is because a wife's duty is to stay at home, clean the house, and cook for the family, etc. Conventionally, her responsibility is to bear children and provide them with a loving home, care and the support they need. As Bowlby (1951) would argue, the child is *attached* to the mother and she is the primary caregiver of the children in the family unit. This dominant discourse of motherhood was experienced by some of the participants. Winnie and her mother's relationship demonstrates this *intimacy* between a child and mother fully.

Winnie My relationship with my mother is good … You know I have been through a lot with my mother. Basically I have been through a lot with my mother and she is one person who understands me more than anyone. She knows gore *[that]* Winnie is this kind of a person, she loves this, she does that. She knows everything about me. Ja, and I'm very grateful to have her.

Winnie's strong connection with her mother demonstrates how involved she has been in her life. This sense of intimacy and reliance on the mother is in line with the traditional roles that women, especially mothers, are expected to play in their children's lives. It demonstrates the fundamental role of her mother as the primary caregiver whose responsibility was, and still is, to look after the children (psychologically and physically). It is this gendered construction of motherhood that seems to be passed down to young women in Mozambique as well. Mzi, a young man who has left his girlfriend at home in Mozambique to come to South Africa to look for work. At home, the girlfriend looks after his family by performing these *wifely* traditional responsibilities:

Mzi She helps, you know, I have 6 siblings and my father, so she cooks for them, she bathes them and looks after them.

Even though she is not the mother in the household, Mzi's girlfriend still fulfills the duties that are traditionally defined for a woman, or rather, a wife. In this sense, by performing these duties she is, effectively, the *mother* of the house. In fact, many female respondents reported to perform the same traditional gendered roles. As Makinwa-adebusoye (2001) argues, this seems to indicate that Marikana, and the greater Sub-Saharan region, is largely a very conservative society when it comes to gender roles. However, more than a typical stay-home mother or wife, some of the women in Marikana have to also provide financial support for their children, something that has traditionally been seen as a man's job (Makinwa-adebusoye, 2001). For example, in Thandi's narrative she constructs the role of her father as absent or neglectful and mother as present and attentive to her needs:

Thandi Papa since ke mo leletse nna a zanke a ntirela ntho e pila. Le diaparo ko gae ke di kereya once a year ka December, e be go fedile.

Pause.

Gore dilo tse dingwe re di kereye go sokola mama.

Thandi *My father since I have known him, he has never did something nice for me. Even clothes at home we get them once a year in December and that's it!*

Pause.

For us to get other things, my mother is the one who struggles to get them for us.

For Thandi, her mother provides more than just nurturing and emotional support but also for their financial needs. This shows that women's gendered roles, even though still largely defined and operating within a patriarchal system, are starting to push the boundaries. Notably, this comes out of necessity rather than as a matter of liberating choice. According to

Burman (2008), this reveals a kind of a 'gender asymmetry'. In all these reported cases, it seems like women are expected to be able to care for children and provide financial support, especially when fathers are absent. However, men do not seem to be expected to, or usually even travel in the opposite direction as easily. In this context, I would like to coin this 'asymmetric movement' *gender tourism*, which means that women are expected to perform functions that are traditionally for men, but not really vice versa. In effect, we see mothers not only replace the absent father, but become both a father and mother to their children. As a result, these women also become role models for these young people, even for young men who, traditionally, would aspire to be more like their fathers than mothers. Ditsego points to his mother as his role model:

Ditsego For me […] I can say my mother, she is a single mom and sometimes to raise a boy child being a woman could be bit of a challenge but for me a lot of things I learnt from her, to say yes life is tough in life but patience is important, you need to be patient and know exactly what do you want, yes my mentor in this case would be my mother. Ja.

For Ditsego, his mother has been the pillar of support, especially since his father passed away. It is evident in all the cases that these mothers are very attentive and play major supporting roles in their children's positive development despite, usually, the financial troubles the families face. However, mothers are also blamed when they fail to achieve this *gender tourism*. That is, when a single mother is unable to provide financial support for her children or if she herself is absent in the life of her child(ren) and things go wrong in their lives, her absence is identified as the direct cause of the adversity that befalls the children. In the *gender tourism*, women are expected to fulfil both their motherly role and compensate for the missing father. Yet, when a mother is the one missing, she is still blamed for absence. As one of the female participants reported:

Thandi I have my older sister and then she is also the kind of person who never went to school because mama o ne a se mothoko ga gagwe *[mother was not by her side or around]*.

The idea that the sister's failure to get education is the sole fault of the mother explicitly demonstrates how the responsibility for childcare and upbringing is gender differentiated, so that mothers, and not fathers, continue to do the major "work" of childcare (Daniel et al, 2005). In this case, it makes sense why children (like Thandi), as well as society, are therefore more likely to hold mothers, rather than fathers, accountable for children's wellbeing (Phoenix, 2009). That is why, in Thandi's own analysis, the mother's *absence* is the reason her sister did not go to school or do well in life. The underlying implication is that, she was not there to do her proper "work" as a mother. In such cases, Phoenix (2009) argues that their absence is used to pathologise them as "improper" mothers. That is to say, if a "proper" mother's role is to be present and take care of her children, it is not surprising then that Thandi attributes her own educational success to the critical role that her supportive mother's *presence* played in her life. To be precise, Thandi is implying that in her case, the mother was actually *present* to do her "proper" work as a mother. Accordingly, for her to be a "proper mother" she must be the primary caregiver, a discourse inscribed by the patriarchal system, to nurture and guide her, so that she may succeed (in her schooling), as Thandi illustrates below:

> So motho o e leng gore o kgonne go ya sekolong ke nna because be ke nna mo thoko ga mama'ka. Mama'ka a mpontsha bohlokwa ba education gore ke eng. Then ka mo utlwel'la although le nna be kena le go nna stubborn. Today I'm proud to say mo mama'ka ke a leboga because today ke completile sekolo.
>
> *So the person who was able to go to school is me because I was living with my mother who showed me the importance of education, and then I listened even though I can be stubborn. Today I'm proud to say to my mother thank you because today I've completed school.*

In Thandi's own analysis, mothers continue to be constructed as primarily responsible for childcare and for their children's development (Azar, 2008; Barrett, 2006; Miller, 2005). It is it clear that she holds her mother responsible for their behaviour and development (Gillies, 2007), but not her father. On one hand, due to her absence, Thandi's mother is blamed for her

older daughter's lack of progress, and on the other hand, she is celebrated for her presence in Thandi's life. Yet, the father is not blamed for his lack of presence in their lives. To refer back to the gender tourism paradigm, it is clear that her mother is expected to travel in both directions, whereas the father is not. Thandi's case stands quite distinctly as a major site for the intensification of these "gendered inequalities" (Craig, 2005). It reveals how ingrained this discourse of mothers as the primary caregivers is in Marikana. Furthermore, it also shows how unforgiving our society is to absent mothers, yet men's absence seems to be taken for granted or even socially acceptable.

In cases of a missing or absent parent(s), it is often the grandmothers who take on the role of the primary caregiver. Many participants who did not grow up with either one parent or both, all reported being brought up by their grandparents, who were responsible for their upbringing. This is emphasised by Winnie:

> You know, I grew up with my grandparents and they taught me how to be this young woman of high standards, honour and integrity and all that. To respect myself and other people. So I'm a very open person, I'm not a judgmental person…

This demonstrates the pivotal role grandmothers play in the development of the children and the positive influence(s) they instil in them. Evidently, Winnie defines her own identity and values in relation to her grandmother. She connects the values she was taught with who she is to show us how she defines who she is, because of who her grandmother was. Furthermore, as Thandi (below) demonstrates, they don't just nurture children but also provide financial support when parents are unable to.

Thandi Ne re thusa ke koko *[we are helped by our grandmother]* because my granny naa… was receiving a pension. So like… ke ena na re-provider ka dilo tse dintsi go reka grocery mo ntlung, go re rekela unifomo.

Thandi *So like… she was the one who provided many things for us in the house; to buy us groceries in the house, to buy us school uniform.*

Like Thandi's grandmother, many grandparents use their old-age pensions (often as the only source of income), to provide not just childcare but financial support too, with many children physically separated from their parents. This is one of the common patterns of family structure and life which resulted from the legacies of colonialism and apartheid. As the story of Elisa, who had to relocate and live with her grandparents when her mother found employment as a domestic servant highlights, this is a pervasive legacy, which continues into our democratic landscape.

This was because Elisa's mother worked as a stay-in maid at Manor (local Suburb), so when she was growing up, she could not live with her. As a result, Elisa's mother was separated from her children due to migration. To appropriate Phoenix (2009), this may not be "transnational mothering" but perhaps 'intra-national mothering', which, essentially, still refers to the physical and temporal separation between the women and their children. In Marikana, as a region dominated by migrant labour, transnational families are "intersectional commonplaces" (Phoenix, 2009). That is, on one hand, they are commonplace because they are part of the social landscape, and on the other hand, they are intersectional because we can only understand them if we understand histories of colonialism, racialization, and the place of gender and social class operating within the place of Marikana, and the SADC region as a whole. Only if we do this can we fully understand that mothers in such circumstances are 'absent' during childhood because they sought carework in the towns or cities in order to provide the very necessary economic support for their families at home. In such cases, the grandparents become primary caregivers.

Overall, given these historical roots, grandparents have occupied a central feature of family in black communities, as an attempt to re-construct certain anomalies of its historical dispossession into a functional, liveable reality. As Elisa's story demonstrates, being raised by a grandmother is a common part of the fabric of the African society, and I would argue that it is even accepted as a 'normal' part of the family structure. This insight challenges the definition of a family as just consisting of a man and woman ("plus children"). This is primarily because grandmothers in most cases are not just a 'substitute' mother but are

actually part of the family structure. In fact, sometimes the grandparents are the only central figures who play this role of providing childcare and support to their grandchildren (whose mother may be dead or work far away, often as domestic help in the 'kitchens' of middle class (white) families like Elisa's mother).

5.3.3 (Inter)generational absence/presence of fathers

Typically, the father has been defined as the "head" of the family unit. Unlike the mother, he usually goes out of the 'home' to work so that he can provide financial security for his family. Given the contribution fathers bring to the lives of their children, it is evident that children need fathers, just as they need mothers, to love them, to be interested in them and to respond to their needs, making them feel valued and understood (see Popenoe, 1996a; Horn, 2002). In South Africa, however, "there is a strong policy-based perception that family life is under pressure and the dominant view is that fathers are not playing their role" (Clowes et al, 2013, p. 553). According to the SAIRR, 40% of South African children grow up without a father. These children experience father absence in different ways, influenced by their contexts and reasons for absence (Richter and Morrell, 2006).

Accordingly, this seems to be a prevalent tendency among the participants in the research. To understand why, I will look at participants' narratives to demonstrate way(s) in which fathers are 'absent', or not playing their role, in the lives of young people in Marikana. Here, I present three cases we can use to understand this phenomenon in Marikana. In the first case, we have non-resident fathers (a father who does not live with his children). Often, they are absent physically, emotionally, and financially during their child's early life. Winnie's father is a case in point.

Winnie I was still confused hey, cause you know I grew up with my mum and this guy comes along and you know we were… I was like, Oh, Ok I have a dad. Ok cool.

By Winnie's own admission, fathers are quite literally strangers. As research suggests, this could be because non-resident fathers invest less time and money in their children than resident fathers (King et al, 2004). In effect, even though he may be a biological father, it is clear in Winnie's report, he has invested very little, if anything at all, in her upbringing. King et al (2004) argue that the higher the level of fathers' education and income, the more likely they were to be involved with their non-resident children. However, even though his re-appearance seems to suggest a possible opportunity to make up for it, Winnie's father seems to have never taken very little active interest in the life of his child. As a non-resident father, he is simply 'absent' from his Winnie's life and, as she reports, that is why they never had a relationship.

Winnie But we never have that father and daughter relationship. Never. Like I don't know like… the only thing I think that I know about my dad is his birthday and the kind of a person that I see when I observe, not the person that I know intimately as a father.

It is clear that growing up without her father present in the family, their daughter and father relationship has been disrupted. In fact, her report to know so little about him may suggest that Winnie continues to see her father as a 'stranger', which implies that she still thinks that he has no role to play in her life. We get a sense that if there was a time when Winnie needed a father, it is not now. However, before we pathologise the father, it is important to put into context that given the fact that Winnie comes from poor family, it is possible that her father was, and probably is still, unemployed. Living in a community where a man's identity is defined by his ability to provide for his family, it is likely that he was not part of Winnie's life because he couldn't provide for them. If this man is poor and cannot deliver what is expected of him, which is to be the "head" of a family and he then felt inadequate as a man and father, that may well be a reason for him to run away. In which case, his return could either mean that he has a job or realises the value, however late, of being a part of his daughter's and family life.

In the second case, we are dealing with a resident father, who is present in the home but negligent. This extract from Thandi illustrates how the father is physical present but emotional absent, and captures the psychological strain of growing up without a father who is emotionally available.

Thandi Ke gore ka mo gare ka mo ke sharp fela ke le ngwana, ga ke ntse ke le one ke ya nagana gore why my dad a e tsa ntho e a etsang mo go nna cause I'm his only child o e leng gore ke feditse matric. O tshwanetse a nne proud ka nna. Ke gore… I don't know… le gore ke feditse matric, ga a aware gore ke feditse matric. Ha ke tlhaloganye, ha ke itsi. Le today ka birthday ya ka, ga a aware gore ke birthday ya ka because he doesn't care gore nna ke fila bjang. Ene ntho eng hurter too much because nna ke fila o kare papa ka ga a nrate.

Thandi *Physically I'm ok as a child, but when I'm alone I think about why does my dad do what he is doing to me because I'm his only child that finished matric. He must be proud of me. It's like… I don't know… even the fact that I finished matric, he is not aware that I finished matric. I don't understand. I don't know. Even today with my birthday he is not aware that it's my birthday because he doesn't care about how I feel. And that thing hurts me too much because I feel like my father doesn't love me.*

In Thandi's own analysis of her father, she expresses quite emphatically that he does not care for or love her. This is reflected by the fact that he appears *unaware* of her achievements or special moments, which is a clear sign that he doesn't take active interest in her life. In other words, Thandi seems invisible to him, despite Thandi's feelings of wanting validation from him, as a father. This demonstrates how little time he invests in his relationship with Thandi. As a result, his physical presence is overshadowed by his emotional unavailability, and confirms a perceived lack of interest or love from him. While he is physically present, the withdrawal of his affection or affirmation marks him *absent* as a father (Phoenix, 2009). In fact, it is possible to imagine that if this *particular father* was not around, Thandi might be better off. Ironically, as the extract below demonstrates, the only reported moments of the

father's emotional presence are marked by aggression and hostility towards Thandi, which only serve to perpetuate the problem.

Thandi Sometimes ha ke itsi… ke gore ha ke itsi… ko gae ga ke phele sharp, especially ge papa'ka a le teng. Ge a tsena fela ka gate ka tshoga fela gore kajeko ko ba ke omanyetswa eng kajeko or kajeko ke tla be ke editseng. Ke gore mabane ke be ke nagana dilo tse di ntsi, ke gore ke bona gore nna ga kena purpose ya gore why ke phela mo lefaseng. Le today ga ke e bone gore why nna ke phela. Cause ha ke sheba di-families tse dintsi di na le tsona di-fight mara go a tla gore ba etse peace. Nna ko gae peace gae teng. A zanke kae bona peace nna ko gae.

Thandi *Sometimes I don't know… I don't know… at home I don't live a comfortable life, especially when my father is around. When he enters through the gate I just become fearful or frightful, because I don't know (or I think to myself) what today I will be reprimanded for or what have I done wrong today. Yesterday I was thinking about a lot of things, I could see that I don't have purpose to live in this world. And even today I don't see why I (should) live. Cause when I look at it, many families have fights but there comes a time or point when they make peace. (For) Me, at home, there is no peace. I have never seen peace at home.*

To account for why Thandi's father might be treating her this way we can draw on literature. Elder et al. (1984, 1985) established that there is a link between low socio-economic circumstances, fathering and child outcomes. That is, they found that economic hardship was associated with fathers' increased irritability, depression, and explosive, inconsistent, behaviour. Fathers experiencing hardship tended to be harsh and arbitrary in their disciplinary practices and their children showed increased behavioural and socio-emotional problems. Instead of simply pathologising these men, it is important to foreground the impact of socio-economic factors and their role in the interactions which (re)produce these problems to understand more fully their dynamics. As a Rock-driller operator who works underground in poor working conditions as a cheap labourer, it is plausible that Thandi's father feels invisible

and emasculated at work. As such, when he returns home, he uses his position as the 'head of the house' to (re)assert his control and, by extension, a sense of masculinity or dominance by taking out his frustrations on the family. This might be demonstrated by Thandi's relationship with her father, which is marred by a controlling authoritative and instructional tone, much to her hurt.

Thandi Papa'ka a tsena mo kamoreng, ne ke ile go tshentsha dipijama. A mpotsa gore ga e le gore ke mama'go o o go fang matla a gore wena o boye bosigo nna a kena sepe gore mo go wena go ka etsagalang. Nna I don't care le ge go ka tlhaga kotsi ba go otlile nna ga kena sepe. Ene mantswe ao a ntutse botlhoko mo pelong because motho o o buang mantswe a is my own dad. O e leng gore e ke be ele yena a m-protecthang like wena wa nromela gore dilo tse di-bad di diragale fo (go)nna.

Thandi *My father walked into my room while I was changing into my PJs and told me that if it is my mother who is giving me the support / strength to come home late, then I don't or won't care what happens to you. Even if something happened, or you were beat up, I won't care. These words sat very heavily / hurtfully on my heart because the person speaking these words is my own father. He is the one who is supposed to protect me but he is wishing me bad luck (or bad things to happen to me).*

From Thandi's perspective, it seems like her father has resigned himself from caring about Thandi, her security and wellbeing. Studies indicate the importance of fathers' involvement for positive childhood and adulthood social, psychological, psychiatric and behavioural outcomes (see Boyce et al., 2006; Bronte-Tinkew, Moore, Capps and Zaff, 2006). However, this kind of emotional detachment from him as a father seems to be playing a far more damaging role. It is no wonder then that these participants articulate a sense of loss when they talk about their present fathers. Phoenix (2009) would argue that their presence, in fact, seems to reinscribe absence or emptiness for these children.

However, this authoritarian voice could be coming from an overprotective father, especially given how unsafe the participants reported the Marikana community to be. Thandi's father may very well be acting this way out of fear, fear for her because Marikana is dangerous. This can help us understand why *this* father could employ an authoritarian voice as it is better that he is harsh with her, so that she does not fall into much graver danger in the streets. However, even such an analysis would still fail to tell us why he is emotionally unavailable. That is, there really is a way in which he seems to take very little interest in Thandi's life, and as such, remains an 'absent' father despite being physically present.

In the third case, many respondents reported 'absent fathers' due to death, especially while they are still very young age. In actual fact, this seems to be the most pervasive absence in the narratives.

Ditsego I live here in Wonderkop but I was born in a different part of the community, we moved here when my father died. It is very small as you can see but we cope. It's better than the shack we stayed in, you know, it is ok. There, there was not enough space, but here it is ok.

Ditsego, like Elisa, have lost their fathers due to illnesses or accidents while they were working in the mines. There seems to be a silent issue around how the mines, as an industry which provides opportunities for the working class, is also killing, in particular, black men. Yet, these very people still wait in long queues for the chance to work in the mines. This demonstrates how the severe lack of opportunities has not only desensitised this community but also devalued their lives. We can see quite starkly how structural poverty has stripped them off their sense of self-worth. These men and fathers are almost *worthless*, only visible as cheap labour, a labour that is buried under the belly of earth, which means that their work is invisible and when the earth swallows them, their deaths remain invisible. As such, at which point do they become visible as men, and even then, as fathers? This is why, even when they are alive, unemployment, poverty, and migration mean that biological fathers frequently reportedly play a relatively limited role in raising their children (Holborn and Eddy, 2011; StatsSA, 2010). This pattern is also evident in the respondents who are young

fathers themselves. For example, this is demonstrated by Mzi, who is a migrant labourer who lost a father at an early age and understands how difficult it is to be without a father, and he reflects on his own stress of being an absent father himself:

> Ke feel-er botlhoko… a ke feely sharp… e botlhoko… because nako yeng ngwe ba re ngwana wa lwala, nna a ke mmone… ha ke bone gore o lwala bjang… and ka nako yeng ngwe o lwala thata and nna ha ke mmone or maybe ha a lwale thata and nna ha ke mmone so ke nagana gore o lwala thata. So ya, ha e ntshware sharp.
>
> *I feel painful… I don't feel nice… it is painful… because sometimes they say the baby is sick, I can't see the baby… I can't see how sick she is… and sometimes the baby is very sick and still I can't see her or maybe she is not very sick, I can't see her and I think that the baby is very sick because. So ja, it doesn't make [me feel] good.*

Mzi's story reveals the emotional stress of being a "transnational father". The recurring emphasis of not being able to see the child makes it clear that the distance wears heavy on Mzi as a father. The geographic or physical separation further indicates that it is hard for him to be involved in or play an active part in the child's life, especially when she is ill. This captures how his longing to protect his child is displaced by the distance because he can never really know what is happening at all times. As a father who wants to be there for his child, Mzi's reflection and emphasis on the pain captures how difficult it is not to be available. Mzi's struggle reveals a fragile emotional psyche of men and their constant fears of living away from home.

Furthermore, Mzi's story exposes an intergenerational absence of father(s)hood; his father was not present when he was young and now he is also absent in his own child's life. This seems to be a common problem rooted in migrant labour, especially in the mining community like Marikana. There is a historical narrative of men, both in South Africa and Africa as a whole, leaving rural spaces and families behind to go work in the mines, disconnected and

absent from their children and family life. They work their whole lives and when they die or are too old, they return home and send their sons to replace them. The son leaves his new family behind, to take on the role of his father and the cycle continues. This historical narrative offers us an immense resource so that we can begin to frame and understand how and why this intergenerational absence of fathers in (black) communities is pervasive and (re)inscribed by the given structural factors.

This historical narrative is important if we want to resist a pathologising account of black men's absence in their children and family life. It is clear that men like Mzi want to be part of their families, however, they cannot be a part of the family and still provide for the family due to lack of employment in rural spaces and the lack of real opportunities in the places of migration which would allow families to migrate as a unit. Consequently, the men (and sometimes women) are forced by the structural circumstances to migrate from their homes and families in order to look after them. In such cases, the children grow up with a 'social fathers' like family relatives or stepfather (Clowes et al. 2013; Langa, 2010; Nduna and Jewkes, 2011b; Phaswana, 2003; Swartz, 2009). This interchangeability of the biological father and other father figures was also evident in the narratives both within South Africa and the greater SADC region. At different stages of their lives, due to differing circumstances, participants spoke about different men in their lives who played a significant 'fathering' role, highlighting the fluidity of father-hood and foregrounding the strengths of a social or extended father figure rather than the dependence on one biological father. Elisa's stepfather is a case in point:

Elisa Re ne re na le stepfather, o na re like… nna ko gonna ne ke sa mmone as stepfather cause like ne ele ntate, e ne e le papa'ka. Wa bona. Ke gore le ge a sego a hlokofetse now ke sour ka yena.

We had a stepfather, he treated us like… for me, I didn't see him as a stepfather because like he was a father, he was my father. You see. Even now when he is gone (passed away), I'm "sour" over him.

Directly translated, the last line says, "she is 'sour' over him". To be 'sour', is to have or denote an acidic, sharp or tangy taste (Online dictionary, 2015). As a sign for someone's emotional state it offers us a rich emotional texture to understand not just how Elisa feels about the passing of her stepfather, but is also suggestive of what life was like with him present. Metaphorically, Elisa's use of the word implies that while life was 'sweet' or 'pleasant' when he was present, his absence, departure or passing, is marked by a sharp 'sour' taste, to suggest that it was a 'bitter' experience for her. Given its specific use, this is the gripping power of this unconventional use of the word because it allows us access into a *particular* nuanced meaning that would otherwise not be possible.

This shows that we also need to recognise that some fathers, against all odds, given the economic constraints and cultural pressures to conform to hegemonic masculinity, have played positive and constructive roles in relation to children in their families and communities. In psrticular, it is important to note that that social fathers play an essential role in the fathering of South African youth. Nonetheless, the statistics gathered on the increase of female-headed households and lack of biological fathers living with their children, has served to (re)produce a pathology of men, in particular, poor black men, as either not fulfilling their expected roles as fathers, and/or performing these 'badly'.

5.4 Education

This section looks at how growing up in such impoverished ways, these young people see schooling as a solution, a way out. According to The National Youth Policy 2009–2014, "Education remains a key to unlocking the future of South African youth". It is very clear that even our national policy has premised education as the way out of the poverty, the escape route. However, there is a trap for the participants: they can't complete their education because they don't have money and they don't have money because they have not completed their education. All of the participants have been to school, but only three completed matric and one continued on to university but dropped out. At some point in their educational endeavours, they drop out of school because of money-related problems. However, they need this money to continue their education. This demonstrates why movements like Fees Must

Fall[8] are so pivotal to the underprivileged South African youth trying to escape the grip of structural poverty. Without such a mass student movement to break the economic barriers of access into high education, they are stuck in this perpetual cycle that is putting their lives on hold. This is a pervasive issue which dominates the narratives below.

5.4.1 Lack of funds for Schooling

Phinda I started high school in 2006 with accounting. Then in high school I started to do subjects like Agriculture, Math, Economics and Accounting. In 2007 I was doing my Grade 11 and from my Grade 11, I failed my Grade 11. So I decided because my marks qualified me to do NSC at college … so I thought I might as well go to college and so that's when I went to college. At college I did NCS but could not finish because of finance related problems.

Mzi Ke tsene sekolo, ke fihle grade seven ka problem-nyana ya tšhelete wa bona ke thomile go bereka ke rekisa matamaties mo s'trateng, nou ka kgona go saver ka tla mo-South Africa.

Mzi *I went to school until grade seven and because of money problems, you see, I started working selling tomatoes in the streets, then I saved and came to South Africa.*

Mda Ai, nna ke batla mosebetsi cause wa bona life ke mosebetsi. Ha ke kereya mosebetsi… ko Mozambique ha ka fedisa ho funda skolo, ge ke nyaka gore ke bereke ba re tlisha tšhelete, nna tshelete ha kena yona. So if mo ke berekanyana, ke kereye tšhelete, ke ye Mozambique, ke tlo kgona gore ke tlishe tšhelete yela ke ye mmerekong straight.

Mda *No, I just want a job because you see life is work. If I get a job… in Mozambique I didn't finish school… and then when I wanted to work they said bring the money and I didn't have the money. So if I work here, I get money*

[8] Fees Must Fall is a student movement that started as a protest against high increment of fees at various universities. After spreading to many university institutions nationwide, the movement began campaigning for free education in South Africa.

and then I go to Mozambique I will be able to give them that money [to study] and go straight to work.

All the stories follow the same pattern, across gender and nationalities; all of the respondents reported that they went through some form of schooling but their education was abruptly disrupted by financial problems. As a result, their (schooling) lives are interrupted and cut short, making it very difficult for them to continue. Even the only participant who completed school and entered tertiary studies, failed to escape the grip of this financial hurdle. As Winnie reports:

Winnie I am a second year Marketing student at the University of Johannesburg. This year I've recently taken a gap year, a break, to focus on my organization … modelling and confidence school, which is basically for young people in Wonderkop.

Of all the participants, Winnie is the only one who has been to university. But she didn't complete her degree. Even though Winnie frames the disruption as "a gap year", this is due to the fact that they all did not have financial support to continue with their education. It is clear that money, as argued earlier, has played a critical role in curbing the lives of these young people. In order to prevent another generation from growing up with the same intergeneration barriers as their parents, education is usually offered as an alternative way to uplift the lives of young people. As alluded to earlier, the idea that education is an escape route for all seems to be a myth.

I will use Bourdieu's term of 'unequal selectedness' (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990, p. 72) to substantiate this claim. In this context, 'unequal selectedness' in education works like a pyramid structure in that the number of students who go in at the bottom and those who come out on top is significantly reduced. Thus, the myth of education is that meritocracy will allow everyone to escape the clutches of systemic poverty, when, in actual fact, only a 'select' few will. Unfortunately, in this particular case none of the participants have made it to the top. In

the end, what we really confront is that education is not an escape route out of poverty, but a means of perpetuating social and structural inequality. Unfortunately, this educational myth is embedded in the social imagination of the poor to an extent that young people see very little, if any, future or life outside of it. Without it, one is seen as useless. As Phinda reports:

Phinda In this country I feel like without education you are useless as a young person. Yaaz yini elaefini *[you know what, in life]* education is needed, education is key to your success I don't want to lie and say uzo ba ngumntu ongcono *[you will be a better person]* you know except if you are lucky it happens kwa banye *[to some]* to make it without education so I can't say you will not make it. So without education awu ngomntu *[you are not a person]*. Shame.

For Phinda, education is not just about learning but something that defines us as "useful" human beings. In her logic, to be a human being, you need to be educated. Therefore, it makes sense then, that if this is what young people associate not having education with, that they would strive against all odds, to achieve it because we all want to be somebody. What is striking is that this educational myth has been so well told that it has even attracted people from outside the South African borders to come and try their luck here.

Jennet Ke kene sekolo ko Lesotho, ka tsenela ka kwano ho tlo tsweletsa dithuto tsa ka pele. So, ha ke le ka mona ka kgahlwa ke boemo bo ba ka mo. Ka kgahlwa ke boemo ba teng. Se se nkgahlileng ha holo ka mona ke thuto ya teng. Menyetla e mengata hore motho a ka iphumana a tsweletse mo bophelong.

Jennet *I went to school in Lesotho, then I jumped to here [came to SA] to continue my schooling. So, when I got here I was impressed with the status of [education system] here. I was impressed by that. What impressed me the most was the education system. Opportunities are many for a person to further their lives [or succeed in life].*

However, for young people who are lucky enough to go to school and finish grade 12, the narrative that education is a way out is likely to betray their hope because although they were told that education was a way out, once they finish grade 12, they realise that it doesn't unlock as many, if any, opportunities as they thought it would.

Ditsego I was a serious student. I even have my matric certificate. I passed well, but you know, there was no money to go to college or university so you stay here like everybody […] Yes it is important for us to school and study; but the question would still be what then? Now that we are done but without money, what then? After you have completed that thing, that's a very big challenge being certain after matric…what then?

Ditsego's story is similar to Winnie's, who also finished school, managed to get into college and dropped out. As Ditsego asks, "what [happens] then?" Even though Ditsego might not have a concept for what he is experiencing and questioning, what he is intuitively pointing out education's myth of meritocracy as a route out of poverty. What this myth excludes from the popular narrative is that not everyone can escape poverty through education. Even more insidiously, there is another hidden clause, which doesn't state that this escape route is also subject to the quality of education one receives. Without doubt, even though they do not produce a broad structural analysis of meritocracy, which is the underlying problem within the education system, the young people realise that there are concrete structural (race and class) differences between 'black' and 'white' schools, and the former are usually under-resourced and overcrowded, making it very difficult for them to learn in a space an environment that is not conducive.

Jennet Ke tsene dikolo tsa batho ba bantsho, nkile wa bona, mara nna thato ya ka ene e le go tsena dikolo tsa batho ba… tsa makgowa cause ke bone go na le difference dipakeng tsa dikolo tsa batho ba bantsho le dikolo tsa bana ba makgowa.

Jennet *I entered the schools of black people, you see, but a wish of mine was to enter the schools of people… of white people because I saw there was a difference between conditions of schools of black people and schools of white people's children.*

Ditsego Another thing that irritates me, is when you compare the gap between township and 'whites' schools you will find the gap is very huge. If you can check in our schools here, we don't have specific programmes to promote sports, arts to say you can focus in sports and sports could take you somewhere in terms of education, through sports, some could access bursary. I observed that in 'whites' schools they have included these programmes those syllabuses. They start from an early age to battle with them, hence it is much simpler to see kids from such school getting bursary through sports than those who may be equally talented but limited by attending our schools here. All we know is soccer, soccer, soccer, soccer… soccer this, soccer that and that's that, I mean it doesn't make sense. Parents are expected to fill this gap, it may not be easy for an active 10 year old to learn about sport from an inactive grandparent. There isn't much that the child will gain from that. There are only so many things I can learn from my mother, you know, and she didn't go to school as well.

The participants instinctively recognise that the difference between black and white schools is about racialised class inequalities. The underlying structural logic is that the poor (blacks) cannot afford to send their children to well-resourced schools for the rich (whites). It is interesting how Ditsego speaks about this in relation to sport, and not in relation to resources like teachers, computers, etc. This is mostly likely because in addition to this idea that education is the way out (for black people), so too is 'soccer', which is linked to the celebrity fantasy of being rich and famous as an escape route out of poverty (to be discussed further in the next section). Whereas the white child's opportunities are open-ended, the black child seems to have two ways to escape poverty; education or the soccer field.

For those with some education, due to the high unemployment, especially in such poor areas, the participants realise that they need more than a matric certificate and often even a diploma to be employable or to compete for the scarce opportunities that are available. The consequences of this myth are real, despite having attained some level of education, their lives are still unable to progress or escape poverty.

Phinda But then from what I have experienced you might have education, you can get diplomas but most of the times you can't find a job. We are struggling we do take our CVs everywhere and we try whatever nje to get a job but it's very difficult out there […] So the rest of us just wait and nothing comes. We just wait. That's all you do. All day, every day. Waiting nje.

As a result, they remain at home and idle, or begin to look within family networks to see how else they can continue their lives. But, given the structural poverty, their wider "cultural capital" (Bourdieu, 1986) is limited and also poor. It is at this point, when the young people have exhausted all other possibilities and everything has failed, that they are forced to resort to the mines (like their parents before them), where they are willing to sell their labour as cheaply as they possibly can, just to feed themselves and their families. Historically, this is why mining companies have refused to pay their uneducated employers a reasonable salary because they have an influx of these young people on their door, ready to work any handouts they receive from the mining companies. Our education, as much as it is touted as an alternative escape route, is really one of the tools at the heart of these structural apparatuses, which are used to maintain and perpetuate this apartheid legacy.

5.5 Possibilities for the future

Without an escape route out of the systemic poverty, young people in Marikana face bleak futures. This section will look at how they talk about their futures as a kind of a deferred dream or project. It will also highlight how in the absence of realisable goals, they fill up this void will fantasies of 'making it', which, I will argue, serve as strategies of escaping their harsh lived experiences.

5.5.1 Dreams and futures deferred

The lack of opportunities and high unemployment play a critical role in deferring the dreams of the young people. According to Morrow et al (2005), there are two main identified causes for this; 1) continuous reliance on poor households, and 2) unemployment. With a bleak future ahead, there is a great sense that their lives have been put on hold due to the lack of financial support to (re)build themselves and families. As a result, their futures and a sense of who they want to be remain in some kind of limbo, desired yet seemingly unattainable. As these extracts below show:

Mzi Ja, le nna one day ke nyaka go bereka ko mining. So nou ke organizer passport ya ka wa bona gore ke kgone go kereya dipampiri ke markete. Maybe tsatsi le lengwe nka kereya mmereko.

Interviewer Ko mining o nyaka go dira mmereko wa eng?

Mzi A ke tsebe gore ba dira mmereko o mo bjang. *[Laughs]* Ba tla nthuta gona kwa. Mara as long as ke humana mmereko o mo sharp. Ke tlo ba sharp. Nna ke nyaka mmereko o mongwe le o mongwe. Ba tla nthuta ona.

Mzi *Yes, one day I want to work in the mines. So right now I'm organizing my passport, you see, so that I can get papers and then 'market' [look for a job]. Maybe one day I will also get a job there. I came here for a job.*

Interviewer *What kind of a job do you want at the mines?*

Mzi *I don't know how people in the mines work. [Laughs]. They will teach me there. Me I just want any job. They will teach me the job.*

Ditsego I want a job, so maybe my aunt will help me get in [the mine]. My lucky day is coming you know, I must just wait.

Without any opportunities, it is clear that young people in Marikana wait in idle with nothing better to do with their lives but pour cheap excess labour into the mine. Ironically, Ditsego

says with a sense of optimism, "I must wait". Despite his optimism, "waiting" is something he must passively do, there is nothing he can actively do to take control of his life. With thousands of others also waiting to find work in the mine(s), that luck could very well never come. It is ironic that providing cheap labour to mines which have historically profited from their continued exploitation of black labour is their only best luck.

5.5.2 Fantasies of escape

It is against this backdrop that we must understand why many of the participants report their hopes for the future as what sound like fantasies rather than substantial plans. It is the only thing that keeps them going or gives them hope. The chance that one day it will be them, and their "lucky day". With nothing else to do, they dream about what else their lives could be, fantasies to escape, beyond what is not possible.

Jennet Ke rata bo-rich. Ha holo. If nka ho botsa ka Jennet ntho e ngwe hape ka yena, o rata go ba… go displayer fashion mo TV, Magazine, wa bona. Mokgwa wa gage o rata go displayer. Ke go rata thata. Mara e tla ba part-time akere. Ke rata go displayer le go ba famous. Nka rata go ba famous.

Interviewer And o dira'ng gore o be famous?

Jennet Jennet o nagana gore go ba famous, ga golo golo ge a ka ya s'kolong sa modelling school, ge o ile modelling school o kgona gore o displayer fashion and o tla end up o hlahile mo di-TV, o advertiser mo magazining, o mongwe le o mongwe o tla tseba gore "o ke Jennet", "o ke Jennet", "o ke Jennet", wa bona.

Jennet *I also want to be rich. A lot. If I can tell you something else about Jennet, she would like to display fashion on TV, Magazine, you see. She love to display. I love it a lot. But that is part time. I want to be famous. I'd like to be famous.*

Interviewer *And what is she doing to be famous?*

Jennet *Jennet thinks that to be famous, especially if she can go to a modelling school, if you go there then you can display fashion and you can end up being on TV*

and advertising on Magazines and everyone will know; "that is Jennet", "that is Jennet", "that is Jennet", you see.

Jennet wants to be *recognised*. Lack of achievements seem to have swallowed her sense of self-esteem. Thus, the wish to be famous expresses a longing to be 'recognised' (Taylor, 1994), we need to know "That is Jennet". Structurally, the repetition of this line is key as it stresses a desire beyond just recognition but also the need to be affirmed as *significant*, a very particular sense of significance. It is evident how Jennet's need for recognition is influenced by the romanticised notion of pop culture where fame and riches are equated to *significance*. This global celebrity culture fixation says I am *significant*. In a sense, she does not just want to be visible, but she wants to be a character that is larger than life. She wants to be like any typical Hollywood star who is famous, rich and interestingly, philanthropic.

Jennet ke motho o ratang bana e bile ke motho o ratang go thusa, ga ntle ntle o rata go thusa. Jennet ge nkabe e le motho o a nang le bokgoni, e le motho o a nang le tšhelete o ne a ka ya mo dikolong a thusa bana ba hlokang ga ngata, o tla fumana e le gore bana ba bangwe ga ba na di-uniform. Ge a bona dilo tsena tsohle, pelo ya gage e ba bohloko, o utlwa o kare nkebe a na le bokgoni.

Jennet is someone who loves children and she is a person who loves to help. She really loves to help [others]. If Jennet had a way, if she was a person who had money, she would go to schools and help needy children because a lot of times you will find that there are kids who do not have school uniforms. When she sees all of this, her heart becomes painful and she wishes she had means [to help them].

Jennet dreams beyond what is attainable in her real life. She has to imagine creative possibilities of herself as someone who has everything in life; fame, success, money, love, and therefore the capacity to be generous. Ironically, she has a strong sense of who she could be, if money was available, but not much sense of who she is without it or even how to get there. In general, the participants' lives appear to be intractably linked to the idea of what

money would allow them to be and do, a sense of a future self that is rooted in fantasy, or the imagined 'perfect' self (who has everything) and can therefore also generously 'share' their success with others less fortunate.

Deprived of these possibilities in their everyday lives, they imagine themselves in the future in order to escape who and where they are now. For example, Mzi works part time in a local store where he probably earns below poverty line but he is also trying to get into the mine pending his working permit papers. In the meantime, he aspires to be a successful businessman. As he reports;

> Ke nyaka tsatsi le lengwe ke be le business, wa bona. Ke be businessman wa bona. Ke nyaka go owner shop yaka, mohlomongwe ya go tshwana le ye. Phela phela nna ke na le business plan mara ha ke na batho ba ba ka ngbooster. Ke blind ka salon. Go cutter mosese ke blind thata. Mara ha kena tšhelete ya go thoma business because wa bona go thoma salon go nyaka tšhelete… ha ke na tshelete ya gore ke thome.
>
> *I want one day to have my own business you see. I want to be a businessman, you see. I want to own my own shop, maybe a shop like this one. I actually have a business plan but I just don't have people who can support me to get started. I'm very good at salon* (cutting people's hair). I'm very good at cutting hair. But I don't have money to start up the business because, you see, to start a salon requires a lot of money… I don't have that money to start it.*

Mzi has a plan, he has imagined way(s) in which his future could be better. Despite the reported 'business plan', there is very little, if any, suggestion that he has committed to any realistic planning in which he can move from 'point A to B' to pursue his dream (Kerby, 1991). Likewise, even those who want to go back to school seem to be confused about what to study. Apart from lack of basic understanding about what the courses they want to study entail, there is also very little evidence of any personal experience or background interest in the subject matter. It is very difficult for them to communicate the plans they are making for

their own future careers. In a sense, this returns us to the initial idea of 'plans' more as fantasies rather than real life goals. This is because there is no evidence of any serious effort to suggest that the participants in many cases had thought about what needs to go into the career choices they were either considering or had already chosen.

Mda	Ke nyaka go ya s'gela ko fetsa di-studies so ke tla bereka. Mara ke tshwanetse ke fetse s'gela first.
Interviewer	O nyaka go studi-sha eng? O nyaka go ba eng?
Mda	Ke nyaka go ba lephodisa.
Interviewer	Why?
Mda	Ke nyaka gore ke controlle Mozambique. Ke ya bona gore mmereko wa bo-police o sharp. Le malome wa ka ke police le yena. Then nna ke nyaka go copier malome wa ka. Akere ke ya bona gore bophelo ba gage bo sharp.
Mda	*I want to go back and finish my studies so that I can work. But I must finish school first.*
Interviewer	*What do you want to study? What do you want to be?*
Mda	*I want to be a police.*
Interviewer	*Why?*
Mda	*Because I want to control Mozambique. I can see that this police work is good. Even my uncle is a policeman. And I can see that his life is good. Then I want to copy my uncle because I can see that his life is good.*
Interviewer	What do you want to be?
Phinda	Marketing and sales… I want to start my own business. So I need to do a lot of things but marketing and sales like I said are important, they are important if you wanna run a business. That's my dream actually … But I need to finish school first. Eish, but there is no money.

It is clear that these are only fantasies, which captures desires of how they want to be something in life. However, even in their own analysis, that they need education first, which they cannot receive without money. Hence, their lives are stuck. This reiterates how structural poverty has restrained their aspirations to sound like naïve wishful thinking. However, some of the participants, like Winnie, have a concept of the world 'outside' of Marikana. For example, she is currently running her own "modelling and confidence school" in the area. She has identified that young people in Wonderkop do not have a sense of confidence so she is trying to use her wider "social and cultural capital" (Bourdieu, 1986) that she has a sense of from her university studies or networks that she has established to open spaces where other young people can imagine alternative futures. In this sense, she understands herself as empowering young girls so that they can take their lives into their own hands and see how they can make a difference. Below, Winnie explains her project in detail:

Winnie Right now I'm doing a programme for young girls and I have a group of girls around 40 that I'm talking to… and my plan is to basically create a forum for young girls to come together. You know, not me coming as a girl who has just graduated from UJ and all that, but being myself and talk about poverty that is affecting us and find solutions on how we can, you know, make this place a better place. I think one way that we can break the cycle is creating platforms where young people can engage in. I have seen a lot of people here, especially girls they love modelling a lot and it's something that I'm also passionate about, so if I can create that platform for them, they will definitely stay away from things like, you know, things that disturbs their lives and so forth. In terms of families and parents, you know, some of them don't have parents, some of them only have a mother or a father. In terms of that, you know, it needs to start with the teachers at school because kids they spend most of their time here at school than at home. So if the teachers are motivated enough, they can, you know, reach out to other parents out there, so I think building a relationship is also important and, ja.

This forward thinking by Winnie shows that despite the challenges young people face, they "…are [still] quite evidently actively engaged in crafting their own fluid and hybrid identities,

suggesting imaginative new ways to be in the world, energising us and provoking an orientation towards future possibilities" (Bradbury and Clark, 2012, p. 176). Remarkably, "stories of most South African children and adolescents are not stories of 'failure' or a descent' into marginality. They are the opposite: stories of creativity and at least partial success in tackling old and new challenges alike" (Bray et al, 2010, p. 22).

These young people were born into this structural poverty and their stories reflect that their lives were hard from birth. The obstacles they are facing now means that they will endure a difficult life, one riddled with an abundance of hardships and very little, if any, hope of success at all. And it does not help that they live in a system that was never designed for them to flourish in life. So, with no money, no education, and few opportunities to (re)build themselves, their lives were, in some *real* sense, *destined* to fail, and they have to confront the material and psychological violence of this reality daily. Of course, with perseverance and bit of luck we can argue that some of them, as unlikely as it seems, may one day escape poverty.

It is against this backdrop that we must understand how important their fantasies. Despite living in a world with bleak futures, these young people still dare to dream, and to imagine a different life. It is in this imagination, or fantasies if you will, that we can see and must recognise their ability or strong spirit to carry on with life even under the relentless violence of structural poverty, is itself resistance. They may neither understand nor talk about their lives in this particular way, but for us, it is important to note that though these fantasies may seem little more than just distant dreams, they are also small acts of protest that demonstrate a will of young people who are attempting to live through their despair and gloom.

In conclusion, this chapter reveals the everyday, lived struggles of the young people in Marikana. Fundamentally, these themes show that it is the small, everyday lived effects of structural poverty that affect them the most because they shape and define their quotidian experiences. This further reveals that it would be quite difficult to understand the narratives of such lives without looking more closely at how they intersect with the perpetual structural poverty to produce an understanding of themselves. The key themes that have emerged in this chapter were; nostalgia about the place of Marikana, belonging to the place of Marikana, the

effect of growing up in a single-parent headed or transnational families, and how this leaves (grand)mothers as the pillars of family, which perpetuates the (inter)generational absence/presence of fathers. Moreover, the lack of funds for schooling curtailed young people's possibilities for the future, resulting in dreams and futures deferred, and fantasies emerge in their narratives as a form of escapism.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This research project set out to explore the narratives of young people in Marikana. In particular, the study aimed to focus on the ordinary, quotidian narratives of youth in an extraordinary place of Marikana, especially the impact of the Lonmin Massacre as a traumatic event on the lives of young people. Given the collective and personal importance of the massacre, the study presumed that the aftermath of this big traumatic event would provide a recognisable entry point, or rather act as a kind of an organising or ordering principle for the narratives of these young people's lives. Surprisingly, the study found that most of the participants did not talk about their lives in relation to the trauma of the massacre in this way. Instead, the study stressed structural poverty as a systemic problem that is far more pervasive in their everyday lives and stories than the massacre, which is just one of the multiple persistent traumas that characterise ordinary life in Marikana. Therefore, the core finding highlights poverty (rather than the massacre) as a perpetual structural violence, a repeated state of trauma that is inflicted on their daily lives and, thus narratives.

The structural analysis, which focused on how poverty plays a pervasive role in the lives of youth and deeply affects the form of stories told, showed that their stories are fragmented or/and broken. Without formal qualifications amidst the rising unemployment, it is difficult for the young people to build or secure financial independence, which would enable them to break the intergenerational or inherited poverty and direct their lives forwards. Instead, they idle at home with very little, if anything, to do. This reveals how these underlying constraints prevent young people from establishing their own lives or families and entering into adulthood. As a result of this systemic violence on their daily lived experiences, they tell stories of young people with disrupted narratives, which reflects their broken lives and futures that are going nowhere. This particular way in which their stories are structured mirrors the way in which their own lives are also structured. This exposed how the structure of their narrative and structural poverty are inextricably linked. To deepen this picture, the thematic analysis, which focused on the content of the narratives, drawing connections or/and disconnections across participants' stories to understand how they made meaning of events and experiences in their lives, indicated that the participants stressed structural poverty as a problem that characterises their everyday lived experiences in Marikana.

Collectively, the structural and thematic analyses present a gloomy picture: they reveal that the identity of young people in Marikana is influenced and (re)produced by multiple layers, which all seem to come down to one critical issue, poverty as a pervasive legacy of the past. Coming from poor families, mostly raised by an unemployed and uneducated single parent who is usually the grandmother, living on a grandparent's old age pension grant, from low-economic, rural communities, attending poorly equipped schools, these young people's lives are riddled with economic challenges. The lack of financial resources, especially towards their education, creates very few, if any, opportunities for these young people to escape the structural poverty and make different choices that can move their lives forward. Yet, despite these challenges, some of the young people's lived-experiences offer counter-narratives of success or at least dreams of possibilities, but even the best of their efforts are still undercut by lack of financial support, often setting the young people back to square one.

In the end, when one looks at the stories of young people in Marikana, one picture seems clear; they are stories of grief, of plans gone wrong, of hopes never realised, of dreams never achieved, of targets never met. The narratives reveal a life of pain, of suffering, of hardship. Outside of a nostalgic childhood experience, they rarely ever spoke about any tenderness, about happiness, about joy, being free, being wild, being young, and being explorative, many of the emblematic characteristics we associate with youth. They are caged, caged in a structural and economic struggle. Their desire to break free, to have this or to have that, is palpable. As a result, in the grand scheme of their lived-experience(s), they are defined not by what they have, but that which they do not have, that which they cannot attain, that which they cannot break free from, poverty.

This unmasks poverty as the structure under which these young people have to construct a sense of who they are and a sense of belonging not just to a particular place, but a particular struggle story. It is this story "of the lack of", always told in struggle and defined by that struggle. If we are to understand these stories from this perspective, then we can begin to grapple with how difficult it must be for them to even begin to talk about who they are without being burdened by the trauma and violence of structural poverty. It is as a result of this systemic, permanent grip of poverty that young people have very limited ways in which they can (re)negotiate who they are and how far they can develop themselves. In this regard,

the narratives of the young people place a great deal of trust in education as a tool for social mobility. They still believe that if they can achieve higher qualifications, this will enable them to find decent work, and they can then uproot themselves and their families away from this pervasive poverty, which is damaging their futures. Educational success is directly linked with attaining financial success. But they have failed to attain this education, and thus, these future "selves" or "identities" are mirages.

It is in this context that we see how education, often cited as an escape route out of poverty, is in itself also inaccessible to the young people it is supposed to uplift due to financial difficulties. This forces young people out of schools and into the streets, which stalls their progress and entrenches them further into poverty. The myth of meritocracy within the education system is used to maintain social and economic inequality in society, and keep young people poor and desperate, especially within a mining community like Marikana, which is historically built on excessive cheap black labour where the young people, like their parents, are fed into an influx of this cheap labour practice. It is evident that this system serves both a perpetuation of the apartheid legacy as well as a security for capitalist exploitative structures.

Most certainly, what is clear is that it is difficult, if not near impossible, to envisage alternative identities, when one is stuck in such dire circumstances. For this reason, participates in this study envisage alternatives which are entrenched in fantasy, a form of escapism. Still, these fantasies must not be taken lightly, because, even though they reveal how unrealistic their plans are, they also do something very important; they capture and expose a longing, a desire by these young people to want to be something, to make something of their lives. It is in these fantasies that these young people tell us about a future in which they want to (re)build their lives, establish stable careers, support their families, and even give back to their communities. These desires appear to be linked to mobility and acquiring a new social status in order to move up the social ladder. But in reality, life is far from this utopia, and it offers them very little opportunity, if any at all, to create these lives, and as such, their (future) lives and dreams alike remain, at least for the time being, just fantasies. There seems to be a clash between the dreams that a democratic South Africa promised (especially when it comes to decent education and jobs) and the disasters of our post-

apartheid life that are very real in terms of the experiences of these young people in Marikana.

As a result, the structural and thematic analyses reveal that young people's lives are entangled in systemic poverty, which is curtailing their lives. As a result, they fantasise about having different lives to escape their hardships, something that has set their lives back. Structurally, there is a clear sense that they wish and want to tell a different story about who they are, which is demonstrated in the way they fantasise about what tomorrow could look like, often if they had money. In the wider context, this shows how systemic poverty plays a critical role in defining or curtailing the lives of young people, and their ambitions or aspirations for a better future. Their lives are scarred by poverty such that that becomes the only reality they know, and they seem to have this inability to see past these heavy scars they carry, which they inherited from their parents. It is clear that they are aware of how poverty has robbed them of a sense of who they could be, someone with a better education, someone with a better job and possibly a better life (in a successful sense).

In closing, the initial aim of the project to explore the quotidian and everyday experiences of *post*-apartheid youth rather than focusing on more 'spectacular' notions of trauma, has been realised. Surprisingly, as the key finding indicates, it was these narratives of young people's everyday lived-experience that reveals a picture that is deeply troubling about how disruptive structural poverty is their lives. In particular, the narratives demonstrate how being young in the particular place of Marikana intersects with the legacies of apartheid, especially how mining has remained a violent landscape even within our so-called post-apartheid society. This violence is a persistent condition and they have to endure its repeated stresses and trauma on a daily basis. If we framed the events that took place on the 16th August 2012 in this context, it is clear to see that the violence inflicted on workers, their families (ultimately these young people), and Marikana (as a community) is one of the many systemic pain(s) that many experience every day. This core finding highlights poverty as a perpetual structural violence, a repeated state of trauma that is inflicted on young people's daily lives. This is reflected in the narratives that young people in Marikana tell as evident in the fragmentary. This highlights a key significant link between the form of narratives and the life-worlds of the

participants, which brings to light the analytically contribution of the research conducted and how it enabled a unique and counterintuitive set of findings.

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Appendix A

Title of Project:

"Marikana Youth: (re)telling stories of ourselves and our place"

Dear potential participant,

This **information sheet** provides you with a short breakdown of the study. Please carefully read the information to understand what you are about to undertake.

Purpose of the Study. As part of the requirements for Masters at University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), I have to carry out a research study. The study is exploring narrative accounts of the young people in Marikana; what does it mean to be young as a black person living in Marikana today?

What will the study involve? The study will involve workshops in which the participants will be taught creative skills and expected to participate in proposed tasks; you will have to participate in interviews, discussions, filmmaking, and the creation of a new play. You will be expected to also perform in the final output; any special agreements to not participate will have to be agreed with the researcher beforehand. It will be an intensive period and time consuming process. In total, the study will take 6 months and we'll meet at least twice every week.

Why have you been asked to take part? You have been asked because you're a young black person between the ages of 12-24, currently not in school and unemployed. This is important because we don't want the research to interfere with your studies or occupation.

Do you have to take part? No, participation in the study is voluntary. By signing the consent form (Appendix B), you will be agreeing to participate in the research. But, as a participant, you still have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, without any repercussions.

Will your participation in the study be kept confidential and anonymous? Even though the final written report (the script) and the information obtained via interviews will be kept anonymous by the use of pseudonyms. Otherwise, confidentiality and anonymity will be protected.

What will happen to the information which you give? The data will be kept confidential for the duration of the study. On completion of the thesis, the original data will be destroyed.

What will happen to the results? The results will be presented in the thesis. The data will be seen by my supervisor, a second marker and the external examiner. The 'thesis' may be read by future students on the course. The study may be published in a research journal.

What are the possible disadvantages of taking part? I don't envisage any negative consequences for you in taking part. It is possible that talking about your experiences in this way may cause some distress. Please note: as a participant you have the right to decide which information you share with me can or can't go into the final thesis.

What are the possible benefits of taking part? Even though you shall not receive a formal accreditation, this study will teach you a new set of skills that could enable one to broaden their interests and open up new ways of thinking about possibilities.

What if there is a problem? At the end of every workshop, I will discuss with you how you found the experience and how you are feeling. If someone feels distressed, we will contact the Marikana clinic and transport will be provided to take them to the clinic.

Any further queries?

If you need any more information, please contact Eliot Moleba: 078 357 7769; info@eliotmoleba.com

Alternatively, you can contact my supervisor, Prof. Jill Bradbury: jill.bradbury@wits.ac.za



Appendix B

Title of Project:

"Marikana Youth: (re)telling stories of ourselves and our place"

Consent Form

Dear potential participant,

Please carefully read and sign this consent form.

		Initial Box
1.	I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet and have had the opportunity to ask questions.	☐
2.	I agree to take part in the above study.	☐
	I understand that my participation is voluntary. However, I reserve the right to withdraw from the study, without repercussions, at any time, whether before it starts or while I am participating.	☐
3.	I agree to the interview and further give permission to be audio recorded, and for the information to be used as data in final thesis.	☐

Name of Participant	Date	Signature

Any further queries?

If you need any more information, please contact Eliot Moleba: 078 357 7769; info@eliotmoleba.com