

The ‘born-free generation’: Narrating past, present and future in post-apartheid South Africa.

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A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'L. Kish', is positioned above a horizontal line.

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GLOSSARY of TERMS:

ANC – African National Congress

ANCYL – African National Congress Youth League

Apartheid – a system of enforced and legal separation between the different races in South Africa. Instituted by the National Party (NP) in 1948, apartheid was abolished as a legal system in 1994

Bantu – May refer to the bantu people or language, drawn from the isiZulu word ‘abantu’ meaning people. Often used in a derogatory way

Bantustans – (also referred to as ‘Bantu homeland’, ‘black homeland’ or ‘homeland’), used to refer to areas demarcated for ‘black’ South Africans and whose roots can be traced to the 1913 Land Act in South African politics

Comrades – A term for politically aligned members of the struggle, reflective of the ANC’s relationship with the South African Communist Party [SACP]

DA – Democratic Alliance

DSM – Diagnostic and Statistical Manual. The standard diagnostic manual for psychological theory and practice

EFF – Economic Freedom Fighters

FNB – First National Bank

IFP – Inkatha Freedom Party

Immorality act - (*Act* No. 5 of 1927) a Parliament act of South Africa that prohibited extramarital sex between the white people and people of other race groups

KZN – KwaZulu-Natal

Necklacing - a method of brutally killing 'traitors' during the height of the apartheid struggle by placing tires around an individual's neck and setting it alight

NP – National Party

NWU – North-West University

Rainbow Nation – A concept that encapsulates a dream for a multi-racial South Africa that values diversity from across the race spectrum.

SAA – South African Airways

SANDF – South African National Defence Force

Telkom – a parastatal communications company

Township – a peri-urban community designated for black occupation under apartheid and which have retained salient features of race and class after the transition to democracy

TRC – Truth and Reconciliation Commission

UFS – University of the Free State

Wits – University of the Witwatersrand

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PREFACE: A brief AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

On the 27th of April 2013, one of the participants of the project that follows contacted me and asked me 'what do you remember about this day?'¹. Her question reminded me that the themes of this project resonate very personally with my own story. A story which inspired and directed my work in big and small ways. That the researcher cannot be extricated from the research they produce is an idea that qualitative work, broadly, recognises. It seems pertinent therefore to disclaim upfront who I am and the ways an apartheid past has shaped my own life and psychology.

Born in 1985 in Pretoria my formative years were spent in the (relatively) protected white spaces of first, Pretoria and then Durban suburbia. I grew up in a family of civil servants, of men who found work as clerks, artisans and tradesmen for, then nationalised, corporations like Telkom and the railways and women who supplemented family incomes by taking up secretarial and administrative positions in schools, banks and postal services. Military service in the South African Defence Force (SANDF) was an unavoidable duty for a number of members of my extended family, particularly where financial opportunities to pursue extended education were limited and while my formative years were characterised by movement, by 1990 my small nuclear family unit had grown and settled in Durban, with the births of two younger brothers. Memories of my childhood reflect on the 'simplicity' of a life lived outdoors, connected to family and friends. Humid Durban days were spent high in frangipani trees, wrestling with my brothers and writing stories with a childhood best friend.

That my family had paid employment meant opportunities for some of the "opulence" of middle-class including land ownership, decent education and the occasional 'caravanning vacation' (as was popular and affordable at the time). One morning a week, a black woman who also worked at the primary school I attended, would come to do our ironing. She became

¹ See the section of analysis related to the researcher/participant dynamics for a more detailed discussion of this conversation.

an important woman in my life, showing me empathy and love in both the spaces in which I knew her.

I was 5 years old in 1990 when Mandela was released from prison and 9 when he took charge as the first democratically elected president of South Africa. My memory of the first democratic elections is vague. I recall long, multi-racial queues and conversations regarding how and where our domestic worker would vote and another more pessimistic view given by a family member about the future of the country. Inconsistent with the facts of the time, I also remember standing in one of the queues with my family: a false memory probably supplanted from images of the day that I have seen subsequently and personal memories of later elections.

Having attended a private, catholic primary school (from ages 6 - 8) and then a (newly) multi-racial senior primary school from 1994, I was already accustomed to not only attending school alongside black South African peers but we shared toilets (to hark back to apartheid segregations), play, books and ideas so there was no clear rupture in my life from before the elections and after. Some things did, however, change almost immediately after the elections. I recall learning the new anthem and the new flag, a shift at school in what we called each level of study (from standards to grades) and we no longer had "riot drills" to prepare us for the 'terrorists' that we had previously been told were coming for us. Each of these marked specific and deliberate changes in the political landscape but for a child carried little meaning or history. I did not know who the terrorists were that we had heard were coming, I did not know why they would want to come for us, nor did I know why they were no longer coming. These things were not explained. In the course of my everyday life I may have noticed that I no longer practiced hiding under my school desks (and that instead we had more fire and bomb drills) but I did not pay it much attention. As children do, I was much more concerned with the immediacies of things like what I had for lunch and whether I had remembered my swimming costume.

Other changes unfolded somewhat more gradually. By 1998 when I left for high school, life in the suburbs was relatively unchanged. We were never 'wealthy' and there were often harder times but my parents had kept their employment from before the change-over of government, our domestic worker came to work for us as usual and I continued going to the same school and following the same routine.

A 'late-bloomer' perhaps, it was only as an idealist teenager that I started to become more fully conscious of the things happening in the socio-political sphere. In 1998 the Truth and Reconciliation Commission featured regularly on the news and radio. I was encouraged to pursue courses in History at school, and celebrated with South Africa that apartheid was over, identifying strongly with notions of 'the rainbow nation' coming from Desmond Tutu. The stories told on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) stage, made me curious about my own history and my family's stories, in particular their time in the South African National Defense Force (SANDF).

While the questions around my own family stories have been told, re-told and silenced in my ongoing interactions with them, the questions that started so long ago for me about how family stories matter has carried with me as I form my own story about who I am, and as I embark on this research.

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the role of present violence and trauma in relation to historical memory among school going youth at schools in KwaZulu-Natal. The project springboarded off questions around how ‘born-free’ South Africans navigate, narrate and relate to the apartheid past as they create their future. Thereby taking after work which explores identity, adversity and agency amongst children and adolescents in South Africa after Apartheid. The point of analysis shifted however to hinge on present conditions and identity and life constructed in relation to ongoing violence, racism and discrimination in the context. In this way the project design moves through a look at South Africa’s past and the transition to democracy to a lens centred around the present.

It is commonplace to treat the moment of transition to democracy in South Africa’s history as a fissure against which violence and racism would ‘never again’ be experienced (Jansen, 2009). By treating time as a ‘fissure’ point South Africans claimed those born after democracy to be ‘free’ from structural and racist violence and for whom the world was their oyster. By focusing in on this next generation of South Africans, this project explores the ways that the past is (re)constructed by young people as they navigate lives in the present and the future. The analysis focuses on the socio-economic legacies that are embedded in the systematic and structural challenges of everyday violence. This analysis includes a look at class, race, gender and place as they are aligned with psychosocial studies on memory, trauma and narrative and the questions that are raised about the (im)possibilities of claiming ‘born-free’ identities at all.

Interviews and visual methods including body maps, history lines and narrative lines are utilised in the design of the project to engage narrative identities among participants from three locations in KwaZulu-Natal - a rural, suburban and township school. Participants’ stories illuminate the ways that memory of the socio-political and historical past has become embedded in personal narratives and in the imagination of events that did not occur in the lifetimes of the young people interviewed. In doing so this work goes about answering a line of inquiry that examines the ‘born-free generation’ as characterised by their time and place in

the current South African context in relation to memory, identity, and traces of (everyday) trauma observed in their stories.

Narrative case studies in the analysis of interactional dynamics and content reveal the need to rearticulate (historical) trauma theory in light of ongoing, systemic violence in the present. The salience of place, race, class, gender and sexuality in young South Africans' narratives of ongoing, everyday experiences of violence speak to the embeddedness of young people in their time and place and to relationships between self and other that allow them to create pasts and futures out of their experiences in the present.

Through the research methodology that shifted the project away from direct talk about historical memory, the findings show that memory and trauma are salient in the lives that young people lead in the present and the ways these lived realities of everyday trauma become integrated and made sense of with respect to imagined pasts and futures, in both what has been remembered and forgotten as young people tell about their lives. This frames the project through a postcolonial lens that prioritises reflections on everyday trauma in young South Africans' current lives. Such a contribution offers insights for psychological praxis and interdisciplinary work in areas including memory studies, oral history and sociological understandings of the interplay between collectivity and individual meaning making.

Key words: Narrative, Psychology, Intergenerational Trauma, Memory, Identity, Born-Free

CHAPTER ONE: a HISTORY and an INTRODUCTION

Young people, we are often told, hold the hope and promise of new futures. By examining stories told by young South Africans, from different racial, class and geographical backgrounds in KZN, this project enquires into the transmission of intergenerational trauma and memory that is the psychosocial legacy of South Africa's apartheid history. 'Rainbow nation' ideals of non-racial equality may allow young South Africans to psychologically distance themselves from their histories by imagining themselves free from the structural and psychological constraints of apartheid. While young South Africans attempt to forget and build hopeful lives in the present and future free from apartheid we see, instead, how memory and experience/s of racism in the present come to underpin 'born-free' stories. Engaging with narratives in this manner allows us to ask if we can meaningfully think of the second generation as 'born-free' at all and offers insight into the specific ways that young South Africans navigate their complicated relationship with time after apartheid, sitting ostensibly on the 'hinge' (Hoffman, 2004) between generations. This 'hinge' points also to the ways the present is connected not only to the past but also to the future, and to how young South Africans navigate meaningful lives in the present with what they know about the past and how they imagine their futures. This navigation lies at the heart of the research where young South Africans from different geographical spaces and from different class, gender and race backgrounds narrate the tenuous ways they 'live in history'.

1.1 Remembering apartheid

Apartheid legislation in South Africa, after its inception in 1948, saw the formalisation of racist practices and policies that draw their roots from colonial and western ideologies that had been the status quo in the region since the arrival of European settlers. In particular ideologies of separation and superiority/inferiority were entrenched in policies and practices related to governance, development, and education among others. Bantustans (separate homelands), inferior 'Bantu' education, forced removals, pass laws, influx control, discriminating labour legislation and practices, detention without trial among others were a result of apartheid laws (Simpson, 1993). The 'exploitative and unjust' social system of apartheid had its roots in economic and political order and consequences to physiological and psychological well being (Gilman, 1983). In this way apartheid is accepted as a systemic and

pervasive 'structural' violence beyond the individual interpersonal violence that occurred between people (Gilman, 1983, p. 8). The struggle to emancipate South Africa from apartheid was only realised forty-six years later after growing social and economic pressure from within South Africa's liberation struggle, from exiled activists and beyond to social boycotts and international sanctions. The transition to a fully democratic society where all citizens of South Africa had equal rights to vote and participate in social life was tenuous. However, the 1994 elections and hand over of political control from National Party (NP) under FW De Klerk to the ANC (African National Congress) led by Nelson Mandela was relatively peaceful and was characterised by an optimistic vision for a 'New South Africa'. Nineteen-ninety four's elections promised a dream² of an end to the structural violence and state repression, based primarily on racialised and racist legislation, initiated in 1948.

For the many who celebrated the transition to the 'New South Africa' both within the country and internationally, nineteen-ninety four marked a major turning point from whence no South Africans would again experience racist, structural violence. For those born during or after nineteen-ninety four this would mean a whole life lived 'free' from knowing (directly) of the violence of apartheid (the violence of state oppression as well as the more insidious psychological violence of racism). In light of this, the (second-) generation of South Africans born after apartheid were frequently referred to as the 'born-free generation'.

1.2 'Born-free'

More than twenty years after the transition to democracy, the generational fissure created between those who experienced apartheid directly and those who were either very young at the time of transition or born thereafter, arouses our imagination as a kind of barometer of how our national 'teenage' freedom is playing out: we ask how those who are 'born-free' experience South Africa (ostensibly) 'free' from the baggage of the past. This generation allows us to measure successes and failures, particularly with regard to socioeconomic

² The dream is used here deliberately to note the hope for an end to structural violence, state repression and institutionalised racism but, as we will see in the thesis, these become reinscribed in various ways in post-apartheid life. This is the idea encapsulated by Gevisser (2007) as a 'dream deferred'.

transformation but also with regard to more psychosocial questions such as identity development. Researchers such as Fataar (1997), for example, ask: are all young people able to access social services like education and health care or is our society still unequal, stratified by “race,” class, and gender?

The question links into broader optimism for the future of a peaceful, non-racial South Africa, with young people straddling vulnerability and healing (Bray, Gooskens, Kahn, Moses and Seekings, 2010). In his 1995 speech on Youth Day, Mandela said "This generation of youth stands at the border-line between the past of oppression and repression, and the future of prosperity, peace and harmony" (cited in Welchen, 2012, p. 14). Young people carry the hopes and anxieties of South Africa's transition with them. In the collective imagination, young South Africans have been born into a world of possibility, free from racist, structural violence and the threat of direct and psychological violation that accompanied the brutal apartheid regime. Young South Africans have opportunities to grow up in a society characterised by open, inclusive public spaces, where they are able to meet, engage with, learn and work with and even be intimate with other South Africans from all backgrounds. Moreover, they have a chance to express their intrinsic interests and skills through pursuing the full spectrum of employment opportunities. These and other opportunities have set this generation up as substantially different to those living under apartheid legislation. And indeed, there is much to celebrate in what has become possible for young South Africans among this generation. Mattes (2012, p. 139) writes that 'born-frees' "confront a totally different world than that of their parents". Access to housing, sanitation, and electrification, as well as welfare and health services were advanced by growth-oriented economic reforms, in particular the management of deficit-reduction post-1994³. Technology and news media (both locally from a reformed public broadcaster as well as private or international news channels), uneven but universal education⁴, along with increasing familiarity with peaceful, democratic processes have given young South Africans access to knowledge and skills to identify with and defend the ideals of democracy and to pursue lives within these ideals

³ The average, annual growth of South Africa's economy is 3.3% since 1994 (Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, 2014).

⁴ See 14.4 below about schooling inequalities in relation to class, race and gender

(Mattes, 2012). Increased movement and consumer patterns attributed to young people are evidence of a growing black middle class, where young South Africans demonstrate their freedom to make choices by exercising consumer power (Khunou, 2015)

For Nuttall (2009) and Welchen (2012), the growing black middle and elite classes have opened up opportunities for young South Africans not only to participate in consumption practices but have also resulted in new (hybrid) youth cultures that are modelled on global youth norms and shifting patterns of relating to self and other. Mark(et)ed through technologies of mass media and consumer culture, Nuttall (2009) notes the new forms that young people adopt to (re)make or (re)style them-selves, particularly in the urban space/s of inner Johannesburg where young South Africans actively forge out new non-racial identities that are based on 'taste' and consumption rather than 'race' identifications (Welchen, 2012). In these urban middle class contexts it is perhaps not surprising to find that many South African youth report being optimistic about the future of the country and their place in it. Non-racial group identifications are forged in the sphere of popular culture, within malls (Welchen, 2012; Nuttall, 2009) and on social media sites.

However, increasingly these "pockets of integration, cosmopolitanism and non-racialism" (Welchen, 2012, p. 14) are being challenged as elite as new social movements and activism are finding firm place among the country's youth, including through movements like #Rhodesmustfall, #Feesmustfall and other protest movements. For the lives of the majority of born-free generation "the recurring echoes of the past are often alarmingly resonant" (Bradbury and Clark, 2012, p. 176). South African society is marked by massive social and economic inequality, as evidenced by statistics which consistently showing Gini coefficients that are unmatched anywhere else in the world. Mattes (2012) remarks upon a picture that is dominated by continuity (or even regression) over change and growth. The yawning gap between rich and poor, and significant levels of unemployment particularly among school leavers suggest that things have remained unchanged or become worse for the majority who have not been able to escape urban townships and rural Bantustans into previously white spaces of education and the middle class. For these young South Africans, everyday life is characterised by dysfunctional and poorly resourced schooling, unemployment, violence at

home and in communities, and the scourge of HIV/AIDS that infects and affects them and those around them (Mattes, 2012). The AIDS pandemic underscored the ways that class, race and gender have coalesced in the present context (Hunter, 2010)⁵.

Bradbury and Miller (2010) contend that while these "inequalities of the South African context have, of course, been predominantly defined by 'race', [...] 'race' has always been, and continues to be, overlaid and underscored by other dimensions of privilege or oppression such as gender, class, and the urban–rural divide" (p. 689). The legacy of apartheid plays out in multi-faceted and nuanced ways in the post-apartheid South Africa through the ways that society is stratified along these unequal lines. Welchen (2012) asks: "how appropriate is it to describe a generation as 'born-free' when both the legacy of the past and the weight of expectation so strongly weigh upon it?" (p. 15).

1.3 Media constructions

Born-free is an evocative notion, and it has been frequently used in the media discourse. During the period of this research, young South Africans have dominated the headlines. The research was conducted from 2011 to 2012 and much of the media examples here and literature are read backwards to explain the participants narratives that were already simmering within society at the time of the study. While it does not seem unusual for older generations the world over to be troubled by the question of the next generation, in South Africa the question takes on an edge that says much about the socio-historical context. In this section we look to the ways that young South Africans have featured in news media and been positioned within the legacy of historical time.

The media spotlight falls onto rates of unemployment among the youth, the effects of drugs and alcohol, school yard violence perpetrated by young people and violence perpetrated against young people in their homes, schools, places of worship or on the streets, teenage

⁵ And recently the impact of Covid-19

pregnancy, and the extraordinary feats of sporting, cultural, academic and humanitarian efforts of the nation's 'youngest and brightest'. Among these news stories, a number of headlines in the years immediately preceding and during the study, demand attention and offer a way to contextualise the lives of participants.

In 2008 the world watched as 'Xenophobia' broke out across South Africa. Displacing hundreds and killing more than 60 people, violence directed mainly at foreign African migrants and some South Africans within townships, first in Alexandria near Johannesburg and then spreading throughout the country, the Xenophobic attacks of 2008 were remarked upon in part because of the involvement of youth. In the film *'Where do I stand'* (Blank, 2010) the role of youth as perpetrators, victims and activists during the violence is explored. While the violence was perpetrated by and against individuals of all ages, the involvement of those who were too young to have witnessed apartheid violence put a question mark on explanations which looked to the past to explain this ongoing violence⁶, which curiously re-presents similar images of fear and violence. In particular, the image of 'the burning man' (Boston.com, 2008) evoked memories of 'necklacing', a method of brutally killing 'traitors' during the height of the apartheid struggle by placing a tyre around an individual's neck and setting it alight.

In 2009 at the University of the Free State (UFS), under the new leadership of Professor Jonathan Jansen, media furore was ignited after a video was released showing four white students demeaning black cleaning staff. Following on from his book *'Knowledge in the Blood'*, written during his time as the first black dean of the University of Pretoria, Jansen used his insight into the nature of transmitted knowledge between generations to understand and manage the incident, contentiously pardoning the white students and working toward greater transformation of the UFS and in particular addressing the race based inclusions and exclusions with the residence spaces (Jansen, 2009).

⁶ Debates about what can be reasonably expected in the way of change vary, with the then-president of South Africa, Jacob Zuma stressing that "we can never stop blaming apartheid".

In 2010, South Africa staged the Fifa world cup football tournament that offered an unmatched opportunity for citizens to unite around a notion of national identity, sport and diversity. In the two short years since the xenophobic attacks, South Africans from all walks of life were embracing a spirit of togetherness, not only with their fellow citizens but with foreign visitors from around the world and across the African continent in particular. Youth were encouraged and, in some instances, expected to participate in playing soccer in their communities and watching of the games. Young South Africans were often used as the yardstick for the success or failure of the games with regard to development, with different projects (Sports and Recreation South Africa, 2010) springing up to bring sport and sporting facilities into poor communities. Images of new sport fields and of children playing offered heart-warming glimpses of the work being done to accompany the spectacle playing out in brand new stadiums around the country (Boston.com, 2010).

In the same year, Julius Malema, the then president of the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL), incited controversy by singing the struggle song ‘Dubula iBhunu⁷’, for which he was taken to court on the grounds that the song constituted hate speech. During his term as President of the Youth League, Malema garnered fierce support and equally fierce criticism, dividing South Africans over issues of race, distribution of wealth, politics and more. By the end of 2011 Malema had been suspended from the ANC for bringing the ruling party into disrepute. His exit from the ANC notwithstanding, Malema made it clear that the role of young people in politics, as leaders and/or as an electorate, hold incredible power. These issues were extended in the political agenda of the subsequently formed Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) which focuses on legacies of racism and economic exclusion.

In 2012 a promising young model, Jessica Leandra Dos Santos began to make headlines over a racist tweet. Commenting on an altercation with a man at a local supermarket, Jessica

⁷ ‘Dubula iBhunu’ literally means Shoot/Kill the Farmer but ‘iBhunu’ also means Afrikaner. This term speaks to the race dynamics set up by the annexation of land for farming under colonialization and the ongoing dominance of white Afrikaans-speaking in the farming sector post-apartheid.

ignited anger across the country by indicating that the language and ideas of race and racism perpetuate into the next generation when she used the k-word. Tshidi Thamana, a fellow twitter user and model, and Jessica Dos Santos met in a show of racial unity after Tshidi responded to Jessica's initial tweet with a racially directed tweet of her own. This meeting was encouraged by the Democratic Alliance (DA) as a token of absolution in the face of massive public anger. While the two models reached an agreement with the South African Human Rights Commission regarding charges of hate speech, technological advances (in this case social networking sites) have opened up the more personal and private expressions of racism among young South Africans (we are reminded of the Reitz video) and the resultant emotions that this sparks when these are shared in the public realm.

2012 was also a year the state of education was thrown into the spotlight. Early in the year Mampela Ramphela declared that South Africa's education system is worse today than the 'gutter education' the country had under the apartheid government (Mail and Guardian, 2012). Her distress at the state of government education was to be prophetic as the release of math and science performances were to reveal that South Africans were performing even worse than poorer developing nations placing second to last (Evans, 2013). More, the failure to deliver textbooks to parts of the Limpopo province, meant that many learners were without study aids for the majority of the school year. For all the gains achieved after the end of apartheid, questions in the media persist regarding the standards of education that young South Africans are receiving.

In early 2013 First National Bank (FNB) launched an advertisement campaign linked to a series of interviews with young South Africans available on their web page. While the television advert was scripted or a composite of ideas taken from the interviews, FNB sought to represent the views of idea coming from young South Africans regarding the (ongoing) difficulties of life in poor communities and the need for social change⁸. It is important to remember that first and foremost FNB is a business using this marketing to encourage South

⁸The advert is now only available on Youtube (Youtube, 2013)

Africans (probably targeting the youth specifically) to make use of their services. It is then of little surprise that when labelled as 'treasonous' by the ANC the brand quickly withdrew the advertising under threat of losing big business. Regardless of the debate raised and controversy surrounding this campaign, the foregrounding and then censoring of the views of young South Africans is noteworthy.

At about the same time as the controversy raised by the FNB advertisements, the media were also reporting on the Anene Booysen rape and murder. Shocked, saddened and infuriated by the death of seventeen year old Anene Booysen after being gang-raped, reportedly by two young men barely out their teenage years themselves, communities within the Western Cape and across the country rose in solidarity with Anene's family and other rape victims, survivors and their families. This event was a touchstone in a context of widespread gender-based violence and femicide, and in no way an isolated case involving young victims and perpetrators.

At the climax of twenty years of freedom, youth remained in the news. 2014 saw a revival of racism on the UFS campus/es after a race motivated attack made the headlines. Almost simultaneously, students at the North West University's (NWU) Potchefstroom campus drew attention for the use of the 'Heil Hitler' salute during student initiations. As spaces for young people to collect, share experiences and express themselves, universities are sites that reflect particular institutional cultures *and* what is happening outside of and beyond the university microcosm.

From 2015⁹ (which one could metaphorically call the post-adolescence or emerging adulthood of democracy in South Africa) racism, violence and the need to address legacies of the past have played out in the media as young South Africans continue to dominate headlines. Amongst these the 'Rhodes must fall' movement (coupled with Open

⁹ See earlier reference to the time of the interviews which implicate the participants of the project in later movements. ?

Stellenbosch, George must fall, and Fees must fall) as well as ongoing youth participation in xenophobia stand out. In Healy-Clancy's (2017) historiography of student protests, we see that the decolonial student project and call for greater educational access, which formed the pivot of this latest round of student movements, are tied to "questions that arose out of daily struggles around issues of race, gender, sexuality and class" (p. 1). These questions speak across time to the struggles of students under apartheid as they do to students today. It is important that 'student politics' at high schools and universities should be driven by everyday politics of race, gender and sexuality and by students and teachers who worked against the grain in big and small ways. While the media tends to focus on big moments, the small acts of resistance that have characterised education since 1948 allows us to examine the impact of history for individual narratives. Wells (2017) writes that "it could be that a wave of violent student unrest from 2015 to 2016 provided the impetus to bring public history more to the forefront in South Africa's thinking about how to use its troubled past" (p. 1). In doing so, we move the lens of history away from the 'major players' and political actors who feature in history books, to the everyday decisions of all (Healy-Clancy, 2017).

It is thus a key touchstone that a focus on youth in the media is evidently connected to ideas of race, violence, politics, education and ultimately (im)possibilities of redress from a violent, apartheid past. The media's (and one may appropriately infer also the general public's) interest in young people is directed at this generation precisely because they are 'born-free'. This idea is captured in Wale's (2017) investigation into the 'trauma-drama' of rhetoric and discourses after the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). By tracing the impact of TRC narratives across time, Wale (2017) recognises the shadow of trauma that has become embedded in stories and linguistic and cultural spaces carried forward by survivors and their children.

It is not so much that these stories are about youth per se but rather they get us to think about the (dis)continuities with our (particularly, racist) past. The ways in which historical events and processes come back to 'haunt' us in new ways, gain a new life, are re-imagined or re-exercised in relation to new conflicts and social demands. The (theoretical) idea of 'hauntings' or 'ghosts' (Mamphela, 2008) in contemporary social theory allows us to think

about what we mean when we talk about ‘the legacy of apartheid’. In light of how young people have been presented and imagined in media discourse, this notion is resuscitated and takes on a new life in a new context and demonstrates how the meanings of particular political rhetoric and action is distorted when severed from its moorings. The Molly Blank film ‘Where do I stand’ about Xenophobic violence is a vivid example of this: young (black) people re-enacting protest action of the past on relation to foreign Africans without really ‘meaning’ it as they themselves say when interviewed after the fact. Moreover, the relationship between young people and everyday violence in the present is salient. That young people experience or enact violence in their own lives is crucial to the ways that legacies and stories of apartheid can be framed and understood.

1.4 Research Focus

This project expands on the narratives that young people construct for themselves about the past, present and future. The study, located in KwaZulu-Natal, explored memory- and knowledge- making for young people in relation to their present experiences. Youth are a compelling subject of study, particularly for the ways as they represent a key ‘generational cleavage’ in South Africa (Durham, 2000, p. 113), Hoffman’s (2004) pivotal ‘hinge generation’. Moreover, Durham (2000) sees studies on youth as able to provide insight into broader social phenomena, allowing us to access all areas of social and personal experience including “power and agency; public, national, and domestic spaces and identities and their articulation and disjunctures; memory, history, and sense of change; globalization and governance; gender and class” (p. 113).

This generational fissure point, means that those who constitute ‘youth’, as a category, are a necessary and important resource to capture these processes in contemporary South Africa. It is this fissure which also contains the project within the hinge of an apartheid time span, between two living generations. My interest in ‘youth’ is however, not in ‘youth’ or ‘youth identity’ per se but about this entry point into talking about and thinking about memory, which is both personal *and* political, individual *and* collective. This research used narrative interviews and visual methodologies, which allow participants to reflect on and make sense of their lives through the stories they told about the past, present and future imaginings.

This research project focused on understanding the stories young South Africans tell of their lives. The project questions the ways young South Africans know and make sense of stories of the past, as well as the specific configurations of this knowledge in their personal narratives. These questions are pinned against narratives of lives in the present and expectations of the future. Enquiring into the ways young South Africans make sense of a history that they did not experience 'in their own lifetimes', this thesis builds on the questions Jansen (2009) tackles in his book when he asks about the transmission and effects of received/indirect knowledge for those who did not witness to or directly experience the events that shaped our history. The (ghostly) re-inscriptions of the past that are of particular interest in this project require that we ask: How and why does the past matter for those who come after? And, does the past matter at all in the face of everyday, ongoing violence?

By looking at stories told by adolescents in different geographical locations around KwaZulu-Natal (a province on the eastern coastline of South Africa): urban, township and rural communities, this research explores what and how young people know about an apartheid past and how this 'knowledge' is articulated in different contexts in the present. Cut through by gender, race and class divisions, their stories offer insight into the specific histories and realities of their different communities as well as the politics and psychology of second generation memory more broadly.

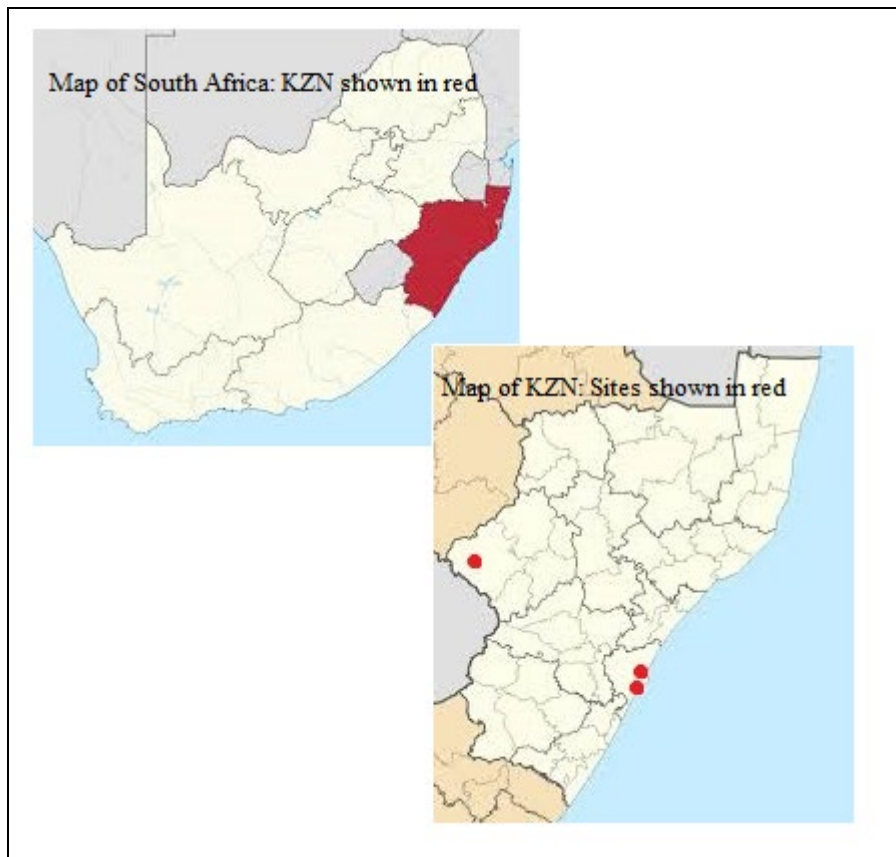


Figure 1: Maps showing research sites in Kwa-Zulu-Natal, South Africa.

Situated at three sites across Kwazulu-Natal, as indicated in Figure 1, the research explores how stories of the past become incorporated into the personal narratives of young South Africans, to be celebrated, ignored or escaped from. In particular we explore how the next generation attempt to overcome social and psychological legacies of violence and trauma. Bringing together theories on memory, psychology and (intergenerational) trauma, this thesis explores the ways young South Africans narrate an indirect knowledge of an apartheid past as they try to navigate their present and future. Participants' stories will illuminate the ways that memory of socio-political and historical change has taken the form of a number of 'myths' in the imagination of events that did not occur in the lifetimes of the young people interviewed.

The project grew out of a previously enquiry by the researcher (Frankish, 2009) where (grand)parents were asked about what stories about the past they share with the next generation (Frankish and Bradbury, 2012). This earlier study and subsequent paper led to

findings related to ongoing trauma and silence amongst the ‘older’ generation. These findings sparked questions pertaining to what and how young South Africans incorporate (traumatic and silenced) Apartheid memory in their ongoing life narratives. Moreover, a pilot study conducted before the commencement of data collection drew epistemological and methodological limits around what young South Africans know and how they can speak (See appendix 10, page 339). This meant that the epistemological questions of what young people know were also already framed by what could and could not be said and to whom.

To answer these questions the work looks to history and memory, and using narrative and identity theory, to examine the long-term implications of apartheid, particularly for the identities of the post-apartheid generation, the youth. Chapter Two and Three offer a review of the literature pertaining to three pertinent theoretical directions: memory, trauma and narrative. Each of these theoretical directions represent privileged lines of engagement with the question of the second-generation. As we will see in the discussion of each there is room for individual critique of the theoretical contributions and for integration to contribute to the body of literature presented as a holistic argument. Chapter Four presents the project methodology and is followed by three chapters analysing the data from participants. The narratives of the young South Africans who participated in this project, are analysed first for the form or structure of narrative cases looking at the ways that what was said (and even what remained ‘unsaid’) was complicated by choices of form including the ‘interactional dynamics’ of research (Chapter Five). Second, an analysis of the content of the stories presented in individual cases (Chapter Six). Third, the project turns to an analysis of the thematic content of the narratives (Chapter Seven). These analyses culminate in a discussion in Chapter Eight that draws together the theoretical and analytic threads into a narrative about the second generation. In doing so, this work goes about answering a line of inquiry that examines the ‘born-free generation’ as articulated in their time and place in the current South African context in relation to memory, identity, and (everyday) trauma traces observed in their stories. Findings from this study of the second-generation after historical horror in South Africa lead us to question whether what separates them from their parents and the longer past is the way they narrate their place in time. Concerns about everyday violence in the present are pinned against knowledge of the past and hopes for the future, making new possibilities for narrating self and other (im)possible.

The study focuses on the transmission of intergenerational trauma in the ways that young South Africans remember conflictual histories. This focus is necessarily shaped and informed by narrative identity work that offers a route into the forms that second generation memory takes in South Africa after Apartheid. It is therefore a key finding and contribution of the study that narrative theory and method is a vital instrument for thinking about the transmission of stories between generations and for making sense of what cannot be said in a context of historical trauma and everyday violence. Such a contribution offers insights for psychological praxis and interdisciplinary work in areas including memory studies, oral history and sociological understandings of the interplay between collectivity and individual meaning making.

Lessons drawn from the research methodology, and necessitated by participants' engagement, shifted the project away from direct talk about historical memory. Participants' narratives demanded an understanding of how memory and trauma are embedded in the lives that young people lead in the present and the ways these lived realities of everyday trauma become integrated and made sense of with respect to imagined pasts and futures. This happens in both what has been remembered and forgotten as young people tell about their lives. This frames the project through a postcolonial lens that prioritises reflections on everyday trauma in young South Africans current lives.

CHAPTER TWO: MEMORY, TRAUMA and EVERYDAY VIOLENCE

In this chapter we look at understanding how people remember conflictual histories and how these impact on the present. Memory and trauma studies are the theoretical underpinnings for much of the literature that explains how people make sense of violence and how they transmit experiences through cultural and familial traces across generations. By looking at memory and trauma the project sought to understand the ways that vicarious and intergenerational trauma shape the experiences of young South Africans. In particular the role of storytelling or silence in families is unpacked to think about the narrative (im)possibilities, re-articulations and distortions that allow young South Africans to know about apartheid and construct narratives of their own lives within the framework of their own experiences of 'everyday trauma' (see chapter one) and in relation to ongoing, postcolonial relationships with self and other.

The TRC was established in the Preamble of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (1995) at the birth of a democratic South Africa. Led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the TRC held public hearings with witnesses to and victims of 'gross human rights violations' under apartheid in South Africa. By allowing perpetrators to also give testimony and request amnesty from civil and criminal prosecution, the TRC also sought to act as a kind of restorative justice body. Both victims and perpetrators were motivated by the goal of transcending collective violence through the TRC. In this way, the TRC was tied into religious ideas of confession in its work to facilitate forgiveness and healing (Motsemme, 2004). By sharing their pain on the world stage (Andrews, 2007), the promise of the TRC was that individual stories would allow for collective memory, healing and nation building (Motsemme, 2004), underpinned by the rhetoric of 'the rainbow nation'.

Credited to Archbishop Desmond Tutu the term 'rainbow nation' is a version of his 'Rainbow people of God' quoted from his speech upon presenting the TRC report to parliament (Tutu, 1998). In it Tutu calls for 'Never again! Nooit weer nie! Ngeke futhi! Ga reno tlola!' (Tutu, 1998). The theme of 'never again' (first attributed to the Soviet troops liberating Auschwitz

after the second world war¹⁰) has permeated the lexicon of politics and social arenas by generating demands for memory in response to mass atrocity, starting with the Holocaust, and extending to (among others) apartheid and the genocide of 1994 in Rwanda (Brandsetter, 2010). Nelson Mandela in his Inaugural lecture in 1994 stressed: “Never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land [South Africa] will again experience the oppression of one by another and suffer the indignity of being the skunk of the world”.

The ‘never again’ slogan emphasises the importance of remembering and never forgetting the past in order for it not to be repeated but of course it may not be repeated in the same way. Desmond Tutu, in his introduction to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report (1998), notes the importance of such learning from the past for both the present and the future, of crossing the boundaries from old lies into new truths, from the country of the past to the country of the future.

The common kernel connecting national identity construction projects after apartheid, and initiated with the healing processes of the TRC during Mandela’s presidency, is a need to “forge a nation better than and different” from that which came before (Baker and Muller, 2010, p.49). While each subsequent presidency in South Africa has brought a divergent slant to these processes, they remain faithful to the work of adding to the archives and celebrating lessons, memories, values and heroes of the struggle against apartheid (Bakker and Muller, 2010). Gqola (2010) writes that for South Africans “27 April 1994 was an invitation to envision ourselves differently than we had up until that point” (p. 2). From this perspective, the lessons of the past lie in firstly, remembering and rewriting the truth of the events, and secondly, generating new ways of being (for South Africa, largely based on conciliatory and non-racial principles).

¹⁰ This phrase has more recently been reincarnated as a hashtag to speak to school shootings in the USA.

These twin goals of remembering and constituting the past in the present are evident in the plethora of new heritage sites, commemorative places, museums and statues that have sprung up and which offer the historical value of ‘telling the other side of the story’, of revealing misrepresented, suppressed and silenced stories *and* of offering a new basis for imagining the self and other across time (Marschall, 2010). These public memorialisations have drawn significant academic, political and public interest (Marschall, 2010). Memory sites, both physical (including new statues and memorials etc) and symbolic (such as the TRC) serve to “induce purposeful remembrance in the interests of forging a particular historical consciousness and shaping collective memory upon which group identity can be based” (Marschall, 2010, p. 2). It is taken as a given that those who experienced apartheid directly will naturally remember it. This presumes that the events of apartheid would inevitably and indelibly be marked in the memories of those who lived through them¹¹. More, the directionality of remembering is forward-looking. We remember the past so that we can do better and be better in the future. Such forward-looking would by presumption always include the next-generation/s.

2.1 Memory

The study of memory is a burgeoning area of interest within and across various social science disciplines including history, historical geography, sociology, psychology, folklore, museum and communication studies (Neves, 2003) and beyond, including public culture and contemporary politics (Argenti and Schramm, 2012). This “flurry of activity in the field of public memory” over the last thirty years (Marschall, 2010, p. 3) points to debate within academia regarding what constitutes memory. Changing definitions and conceptualisations of memory, remembrance, commemoration and antonyms including forgetting, obliteration, oblivion or silence reveal struggles to define memory studies (Argenti and Schramm, 2012).

Definitions of memory and memory processes vary depending on disciplinary interests and between the different contexts of its use. While some focus on memory as a tool for

¹¹ This presumption sits uneasily with traumatic forgetting.

individuals or societies to recall, store and retrieve information about events and experiences across time, others focus on the fallibility of memory that is open to suggestion and manipulation, including false memories (Loftus, 2012). Still others consider how memory plays a role in individual and social healing and the (re-)creation of identity, particularly after violence and trauma (van der Merwe and Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008). Broadly it is accepted that memory is "not a simple, unmediated reproduction of the past, but rather a selective re-creation that is dependent for its meaning on the remembering individual or community's contemporary social context, beliefs and aspirations" (Argenti and Schramm, 2012, p. 2). What is remembered and how, is invested with cultural, social and political interest.

Positioning memory in this way, distinguishes it from a computer model of memory that sees recording, retrieval and storage as the main tasks of memory, making these processes more akin to the functions of history or historiography. Gqola (2010, p. 8) writes: "memory is a shadow always hovering and governing our relationship to the present and future. History is the art of recording and analysing this consciousness of the past. Memory resists erasure and is important for the symbols through which each community invents itself. It requires a higher, more fraught level of activity to the past than simply identifying and recording it". The art of re-member-ing (of calling out of the ether a sense of an embodied, real experience) makes the past present (Prager, 2012). "In other words, memory resists the tenet of much academic history that the past is complete and in need of analysis, contextualisation and explanation because in order to use the past in their daily lives people must create and recreate open-endedness in their experiences" (Gqola, 2010, pp. 9 and 10).

In a discussion about how we remember traumatic events, we need to consider a variety of features of memory. The first of these, while seemingly obvious should not be taken for granted, are the processes of remembering and forgetting. What do we remember and what do we forget? Second, we look at trauma as a 'memory affliction' and a consequence of violence in the present (Prager, 2012). In this view, trauma reveals the presence of the past in the present (Birth, 2006). Third, we turn to discuss the ongoing legacy of violence and trauma among the next generation. How are cycles of disruptiveness passed from those who experienced violence to their children and grandchildren, the generations that follow? In a

sense this chapter follows a chronological approach: past, present, future. How are conflictual histories/events experienced, remembered and transmitted across time¹²?

Post-apartheid South Africa is an interesting case study into the workings of memory after large scale socio-political conflict. How are South Africans making sense of and remembering their past? How are these memories activated and utilised in the present? That memory might play out in relation to a violent past or to trauma (as suggested also by Argenti and Schramm, 2012, above) is important. While it is important to retain the distinctions between these two concepts, one can also meaningfully ask how they interact with each other, particularly in contexts where one is compelled to engage with the (long-term) effects of violence. Argenti and Schramm (2012) ask: "How does violence affect remembering?" (p. 1). By navigating the relationship between remembering and forgetting. Argenti and Schramm (2012) trouble the Faustian bargain that allows individuals and societies to manage conflictual histories. In doing so the question of collective, social and post-memory remains: If violence asks you to forget, what memory is available for the next generation by which to give life meaning? Or how do they process histories and collective memories of violence? The question of how individuals or societies remember violence is not inconsequential. We are reminded in many spaces that 'those who do not know their history are doomed to repeat it'. While this has become somewhat of a cliché, there is merit in thinking about and interrogating quite seriously the consequences of historical violence, legacies which can persist many decades after the events and the possibilities of (unremembered) past violence begetting violence in the present.

Within South Africa, the large scale project of 'never forgetting' (introduced in the preceding chapter) has resulted in a plethora of spaces and places for talking about and engaging with (or 'remembering') the history of apartheid. Most notable remains the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, initiated in 1998 to address large-scale human rights abuses that

¹² While the chapter follows a chronological order, the literature and data show intersections between past and present that cannot be neatly disentangled. This entanglement shows how the past is present; how the present evokes the past; how some things are remembered and others forgotten. These entanglements will be unravelled as a part of the project.

occurred under Apartheid and which offered South Africans from all walks of life a chance to tell their stories. Narrative, testimonial and archival projects, including the apartheid archives project at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, capture and record “stories and narrative accounts from ordinary South Africans, about their experiences of racism during apartheid” (Stevens, Duncan and Hooks, 2013, p. 7). More, the development of new heritage sites, commemorative places, museums, monuments and statues, which intend either to correct previously misrepresented history, or to present previously silent or silenced history (Marschall, 2005; Marschall, 2010). Memory projects of these and other kinds serve “to induce purposeful remembrance in the interests of forging a particular historical consciousness and shaping collective memory upon which group identity can be based” (Marschall, 2010, p. 2). These forms of historical consciousness and/or collective memory seem to be directed especially at those who did not experience the events to which this history speaks directly, the younger generation, outsiders and (foreign) tourists (Marschall, 2010).

Equally clichéd is the notion that his-story is written by the victor. In telling the stories of the past and remembering what happened under apartheid it is worth interrogating “of *what* are these memories? *Whose* memory is it?” (Ricoeur, 2004, p. 3, italics in original). In doing so we recognise that as a presence of the past in the present, memory does a particular kind of work to recall what is important at a particular time and place, and of forgetting which is less important or too painful. ‘Never forgetting’ does not mean remembering every minutae of life in South Africa and may in fact exclude a vast range of experiences within South African history, including, among others, colonial and slave memory (Gqola, 2010), gendered violences and the experiences of women under colonialism and apartheid (Ross, 2001) and for many the list also includes violences perpetrated by white South Africans conscripted into military and police forces (Wildschut, 2014; Steyn, 2012a) as well as privileges accrued through racist segregation and possibilities for ‘real’ reparations¹³. These silences coincide with the project of remembering – where in South Africa, what is remembered is often

¹³ Policies geared toward redistribution of wealth have not significantly altered class inequalities, where a yawning divide between the rich and poor still bears the legacy of apartheid so that biology is still destiny in South Africa – especially where race, poverty and gender discrimination meet.

violence perpetrated against the many (almost exclusively, black) victims of apartheid¹⁴. That silence and memory coincide is important, and demands that we interrogate the specifics of the processes of remembering and forgetting.

In psychology, memory has long been understood using a computer model. While the details of memory processes are highly specialised to talk about how memories are organised, encoded, stored and retrieved through the conversion of sensory information into short-term and long-term memory (Coon and Mitterer, 2010), it is clear that forgetting is an unfortunate by-product of memory processes gone wrong. Forgetting is a result of decay, disuse, interference and/or repression among other such failures (Coon and Mitterer, 2010). For psychologists following this model, remembering is privileged. This privileging of recollection or remembering in traditional psychological approaches is likened to a hero and villain of a play where memory is the star and forgetting lurks in the shadows ready to steal the show (Brockmeier, 2002). The drama is a cat and mouse game of protecting or stealing the proverbial cheese. In a clear sense this drama and the conflict that it creates is a struggle for 'truth' (Brockmeier, 2002) and the dangers of losing touch on what is real. This emphasis on the struggle for remembering and truth in psychological theory on memory holds for a broader debate on cultural memory where commemorating is privileged as virtuous and forgetting is necessarily a failing (Connerton, 2008). Commemorating apartheid, much like the catharsis posited of recalling repressed memories in psychotherapy, is held up as noble and healthy, in the pursuit of full disclosure and healing.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in South Africa, referred to many times already, is perhaps the most obvious example of engaging with collective and individual trauma and memories of apartheid. Individuals before the commission gave testimony and witness to gross human rights abuses under the apartheid regime, by narrating individual stories of past experiences and past abuses. Narrative and memory are ideologically linked

¹⁴ What is remembered and how is telling of the different subject positions between speakers – such as the competing narratives told at the TRC by victims and perpetrators.

through the recalling of traumatic events at the TRC offering a different model to the ‘talking cure’ posited by psychologists. Van der Merwe and Godobo-Madikizela (2008) note that such individual narration hold promise for individual healing, but the commission also sought to redress the violent past of a racially (and economically) divided country by creating a meta-narrative of reconciliation under the rubric of ‘the new South Africa’ and ‘the rainbow nation’ (Frankish, 2009). ‘Telling one’s story’ at the TRC provided opportunities and spaces where national and individual healing could be facilitated, underpinned by deliberate connections with and to cathartic and psychoanalytic processes of the ‘talking cure’, Christian notions of ‘confession’ and African communal forms of ‘taking responsibility’ (Motsemme, 2004). Whichever version is most salient at any given time, each of them proposes that remembering and telling stories of violence offers healing and/or other positive social outcomes, including reconciliation and forgiveness. Desmond Tutu makes this link very directly when he notes that forgiveness requires remembering and truth-telling (Tutu, 1998). Reconciliation in this model strains against the possibilities for pain, trauma and violence that may result from people telling their stories (Tutu, 1998).

This model of reconciliation or national healing is not the only one. At other times and other places, models for addressing violence and social upheaval have been very different to the one adopted by South Africa after apartheid. Most notably, the Nuremburg trials after the fall of Germany in World War II took a punitive approach where perpetrators of violence (some of the worst in the modern world) were held responsible for their actions, tried and, when found guilty, subject to the death penalty or extensive terms in prison. In judicial terms, the Nuremburg trials followed the full legal process. International criminal law and the International Criminal Court are a legacy of the Nuremburg trials and continue to play a role in conflict alleviation.

In Latin America, the pendulum between justice (as understood in purely legal terms) and reconciliation (fundamentally a spiritual or religious endeavour) swung the other way. Unlike the Nuremburg trials of almost half a century earlier, perpetrators were absolved of their crimes and given the chance to confess and reconcile with those they had wronged. The model offers amnesty so as to avoid the social amnesia encountered in the Nuremburg model (where the incentive is always to avoid prosecution and thus to avoid confessions of any

kind). Talking once more is positioned as socially cathartic, but without any measure of justice the inequalities developed during wars and social upheaval continued to bear on individuals.

The South African model strikes a balance between the two binaries of justice and reconciliation. While each of these models has been celebrated and criticised for various reasons each looks to capture, understand and address the events of the past within a specific context. One could say, their work is fundamentally to remember the past, is memory work. In this context, recalling past violence resonate with the privileging of remembering in psychology. Individuals are encouraged to give testimony and those who remain silent or who forget (sometimes deliberately) risk losing ground regarding individual and social reconciliation, healing and nation building. However, as we have already noted, memory is fallible and political. What we remember and forget is related to our capacity to hold large volumes of information simultaneously, open to manipulation, connected into geo-political and historical demands to remember some things over others, or memory located in time and space, including the body.

In numerous publications, Loftus, sometimes collaborating with colleagues and students, reports on the unreliability and even malleability of memory. Loftus' work throws light on memory and forgetting as qualitatively distinct from the model presented by treating memory with a computer-like or storehouse model where capacity to remember is privileged (Loftus and Loftus, 1980). Here it is not just *how much* one remembers but also *what* they remember and for *what purpose*. Put another way, Loftus' work inspires us to inquire into the quality as opposed to the quantity of memory. A result of work that provokes such a distinction reflects on a dyad in memory-work. On the one hand, there is an approach to memory which adopts a store-house like or archival model of memory. On the other hand, is an approach which sees memory as dynamic, political and 're-constructivist' (Campbell, 2003; Sutton, 1998).

2.2 Political, social and collective memory

Clearly, when thinking solely about capacity, memory is seen as an important storehouse that is plundered by forgetting. But it is clearly not enough to concern ourselves with thinking about *how much* people remember and not helpful in relation to the focus of this project. Loftus (2012) has already revealed that there are other questions to ask about memory, such as *what* they remember and *why*? Perhaps there are other questions still? Like *who* remembers *what*? How is it that memories *shift over time*? Whose memories are *right*? Do individual memories *challenge or support the status quo*? These questions link us to thinking about ‘collective’ memory. The suggestion is that memory is situated in time and place and connected into the present political and social moment.

In his key text ‘*On Collective Memory*’, Halbwachs (1992) suggests that it may be unhelpful to think of memory that is not social in nature and that even personal memories exist ‘in society’ (originating from and supported by social frameworks), and out of present interests. Such a social framework to memory suggests that individual memories draw on broader, social patterns which suggest what should be remembered and how, so that in effect we need to speak of collective memories even when referring to private events in the life. Halbwachs (1992) writes that “no memory is possible outside frameworks used by people living in society to determine and retrieve their recollections” (p. 43) and that “...society from time to time obligates people not just to reproduce in thought previous events in their lives, but also to touch them up, to shorten them, or to complete them so that, however convinced we are that our memories are exact, we give them prestige that reality did not possess” (p. 51). While the earlier notion of the manipulation of memory speaks to a deliberate, conspiratorial alteration of memory for deliberate purposes – say the avoidance of chocolate cake or the possibility of prosecuting (alleged) abusers - Halbwachs (1992) suggests that what I have termed geo-political and socio-historical memory is characteristic of a ‘living history’ or ‘living memory’ that is continuous in the present and which is moulded by the collective or ‘society’ rather than a single authority. Halbwachs (1992) addresses history and politics in memory by stressing that society makes of the past what it does, in relation to present circumstances, conventions and needs - which are in any case always in flux, never static. What we remember can and does change. An individual may remember something in the

present which was unavailable (forgotten) to them a moment ago, and which in another moment may be forgotten again. According to Halbwachs (1992) this is indicative of 'collective memory' where it is not a patchy connection or loose wires in a computer-like model of forgetting that account for the fluidity of memory. Memories are alive and react to demands from and circumstances in the present. An individual 'agrees' to a version of the past based on present, collective frameworks and which come to have very real effects on what people can be/come and what they can do.

By exploring seven types of forgetting, Connerton (2008) is able to suggest ways that the (present, collective, one may say political act) of forgetting might similarly be understood as more complex and diverse and, ultimately, entangled with memory. The seven types of forgetting include: 1. Repressive erasure 2. Prescriptive forgetting 3. Forgetting that is constitutive in the formation of a new identity (p. 62) 4. Structural amnesia 5. Forgetting as annulment 6. Forgetting as planned obsolescence 7. Forgetting as humiliated silence (Connerton, 2008, pp. 60 - 67).

Focusing on '[f]orgetting as constitutive in the formation of a new identity' we can see how the project of memory in South Africa might simultaneously and necessarily be a project of forgetting. Connerton (2008) writes that by acknowledging 'a negative significance' from such loss we shift how forgetting is understood. Loss might in this instance 'construct' rather than decay memories and therefore serve current (identity) purposes. Connerton's (2008) theorising of memory in this way means that forgetting is neither a unitary phenomenon nor self-evidently *always* a failing. Rather, under conditions of forging new identities, forgetting may allow for gains that are obscured by a focus on the losses of memory (Connerton, 2008). Brockmeier (2002) contends that memory (and autobiographical memory specifically) is necessarily about forgetting, writing that a complete autobiographical memory, with no forgotten detail "would be like drawing a map of the world in the ratio of one to one" (Brockmeier, 2002, p. 22). For Brockmeier (2002) it is then clear that memory practices (both remembering and forgetting) are narrative practices. As narratives, memories talk to processes of meaning rather than truth by selecting and emplotting events retroactively

(Argenti and Schramm, 2012). This narrative character distinguishes memory in the interests of identity from versions that value capacity and ‘truth’.

2.3 Memory in spaces, places and bodies

Halbwachs (1992) and Connerton (2008) locate memory in ‘society’ - a space inhabited by the collective rather than an authority. While they acknowledge history and politics in creating the conditions for memory in the present, it is difficult to pin down memory to fix it and unpack it. So, while they allow us to broaden our questions and explanations of memory, one final question remains: *where* is memory? The answer that theorists provide may be equally unhelpful in targeting a specific location, but offer insight into ways that we remember (violence) and how it might meaningfully be approached (in some cases literally approached as a physical place or embodied person). Taken in turn, we will look first at memory located in space and place, and then embodied memory.

2.3.1 Space and place

The list of commemorative monuments, memorials and public statuary commissioned after and/or to mark apartheid in South Africa is extensive: the apartheid museum in Johannesburg, Heritage tours along Vilakazi street in Soweto or to Robben island, a statue of Nelson Mandela installed at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, arms outstretched to welcome the world. Pilgrims, tourists and children from across the globe commemorate the struggle in South Africa for democracy with outward journeys that signify and mark desired inward journeys toward remembering, making sense of and/or healing from the past.

Building on the notion that the past is present and alive as suggested by Halbwachs (1992), Morris-Suzuki (2005) shows us that heritage journeys to deal with the presence of the past in the present may be unnecessary as ‘traces’ of the past can be found all around us (one may even suggest that heritage journeys are the domain of tourism and support various economies of tourism). Our lives play out against (or ‘enmeshed’ with) structures, ideas, institutions etc that predated us and which carry history and memory into the present (Morris-Suzuki, 2005).

This idea is reinforced by Seeberg, Levin and Lenz (2012) with their concept of ‘elephants in the room’ referencing the unacknowledged presence of the past.

This idea is supported by Birth (2006) who contends that the past is ‘immanent’ and that its presence in the present may take many forms including memories, texts, ruins and monuments. In this sense he argues that people are confronted with traces of the past which demand narrativisation and have powerful implications for present subjectivities. This past is not infinitely flexible and so Birth (2006) notes the limits of this narrativisation, suggesting that the past is not simply an ‘imaginative reconstruction’. Birth (2006) contends that “any view of the past in the present cannot be limited by an assumption that the past only serves present needs or is only a creation of present interests. This deprives the past of its potentially uncanny, disruptive, and contested presence” (p. 180). Critically, he thus suggests that remembering is not merely a means to (re)present the past but a response to the presence of the past and in this way shifts thinking about encodings of the past as merely objects or remnants, toward considering their relations in creating what he terms a ‘phenomenological presence of the past’ (Birth, 2006). These vestiges of the past are, however, only given significance in light of present and cultural investment in them (Birth, 2006).

Pierre Nora’s volumes on *lieux de mémoire* supports the idea that places become invested with the presence of the past in the present. By identifying, classifying and analysing ‘sites of memory’, Nora (1989 and elsewhere) shows how objects of memory become invested with enduring, emotional and symbolic signification so that they become subjects of memory. Museums, archives, monuments, symbols, events, even people can be read as such sites or subjects of memory. For Nora (1989), such investment in ‘place memory’ is specific to our socio-historical moment in time (or at the very least France’s current moment) where the need to represent memory in place reflects a decay in ‘real’, lived memory, what he terms ‘*milieu de mémoire*’. In distinguishing between ‘site of memory’ (*lieux de mémoire*) and ‘environments of memory’ (*milieu de mémoire*), Nora (1989) is provoking a deeper discussion on the nature of memory and history. Memory is not synonymous with history. Memory is spontaneous, constitutive and difficult to contain – not least because it is perpetually evolving as the passage of the present into the past grows and shapes new

‘memories’ (Nora, 1989). Grasping memory is therefore a slippery enterprise. Much like language studies which face constantly evolving rules and content and living languages adapt and merge to change to meet demands and fashions in the present – in the way slang words for example become incorporated into everyday talk. History, unlike memory, attempts to fix the past into a consistent and acceptable version. In this way it is always a reconstruction which is ‘problematic and incomplete’, where: “at the heart of history is a critical discourse that is antithetical to spontaneous memory. History is perpetually suspicious of memory, and its true mission is to suppress and destroy it” (Nora, 1989, p. 8 - 9).

For Nora (1989) this distinction refocuses attention on lived memory over static memory consumed (deliberately consumed) through heritage and tourism projects. This means teasing out the processes of signification and their role, while also looking for local, communal memory invested in practices and rituals that make up the everyday lives of individuals. To focus on the stories told around the fire, or while making food, over the kind hung up in museums and picture galleries for example. Winter (1997) writes:

“Today's grandparents were children after the 1914-18 war, and their stories--family stories--are now the stuff of history, and exhibitions, and museums, and pilgrimage, all the stuff of ritual Nora considers as signs of a loss of "true" collective memory. The linkage between the young and the old is so central to the concept of memory that it is surprising that Nora does not simply urge us to leave our libraries and simply look around, at our own families, at our own *milieu de mémoire* still so firmly rooted in family life, however unconventionally lived it may be” (pp. 2 – 3).

This change in focus allows us to question, as Marschall (2008) does, what it means that the past is always understood from the perspective of the present. Marschall (2008) reminds and cautions us that “one can manipulate the younger generation’s experience of the present by influencing its knowledge and perception of the past” (Marschall, 2008, p. 116).

2.3.2 Ghosts and Haunting

Following from the notion that the past is present, the theorizing of ghosts and haunting are key pivots for thinking about the ways that past events continue into the present. This work draws heavily from Derrida's conceptualisations of spectrality and mourning (Craps, 2010). In this conceptual frame Derrida explodes the neat distinction between the living and the dead and the past and the present (Craps, 2010). This version of hauntology aligns with "major achievements of psychoanalytic and cultural theories of subjectivity over the last few decades can be outlined in terms of the development of new frameworks that understand the subject as collectively constituted" (Rahimi, 2015, p. 40). Such frameworks dislodge the subjective experience from its temporal moorings to answer questions about the intergenerational transmission of affect that would not be possible otherwise (Rahimi, 2015). Rahimi (2015, p. 43) notes that:

"For Derrida, on the other hand, a text, a life narrative, an identity, is always already haunted, with no hope for a final interpretation or decryption. This is the sense in which hauntology is a theory of text as such, a theory of reading rather than one of readability. For Derrida the ghost is "the hidden figure of all figures" (1994, p. 150). Or as he elaborates elsewhere, "spectral logic is de facto a deconstructive logic. It is the element of haunting in which deconstruction finds its most hospitable place, at the heart of the living present, in the liveliest pulsation of the philosophical." (2002, p. 131). "To tell a story," writes Wolfreys, tracing Derrida's logic, "is always to invoke ghosts, to open a space through which something other returns [and as such] all stories are, more or less, ghost stories" (Wolfreys, 2002, p. 3)".

By looking at the ways young South Africans tell their stories we are necessarily invoking the spirits of the past. This is always already a key part of living and telling stories as well as the acceptance of stories that exist outside of oneself. This is seemingly at odds with views that understand the embodied nature of memory but it is through the interplay between the individual and collective that such hauntings occur.

2.3.3 Embodied memory

The body has increasingly received a great deal of attention within and beyond the academy in the last few years, including through studies in anthropology, sociology, philosophy, psychiatry, cognitive science and psychology. This shift to focus on the body, or to refocus on the body, has not escaped the memory realm. Connerton (1989) notes that “memory is sedimented, or amassed, in the body” through social practice (p. 72). Memory is embodied rather than existing (solely) inside the mind, as is often concluded by understandings which rely on a mind-body dualism as originally recognised by Descartes (1984) in his comments about the self as a thinking thing distinct from, and with the possibility of, existing outside of, the body.

In psychology the body has typically been the site of internal, personal individual processes through constructivist accounts including evolutionary, cognitive/ behaviourist models and most developmental literature. This view contrasts with more recent social constructionist versions which see language and society at the heart of subjectivity and identity. Beyond this earlier ‘turn to language’, more recently, there has been a ‘turn to embodiment’ erodes the distinction between classical ‘nature’ versus ‘nurture’ debates which set the bodily or physical and the social domains in opposition to one another. Initiated by second wave feminists and picked up by sociologists, postmodern cultural theorists and those in the field of critical body studies, bodies have been reclaimed as a necessary but often silent(ced) and/or under-theorised force in the complex interconnections between materiality and metaphysical, psychological processes¹⁵ (Martin, van Wijk, Hans-Arendse and Makhaba, 2013). From disciplinary bodies (Foucault, 1979) to refusing bodies (that matter) (Butler, 1990; Butler, 1993; Salih, 2002), bodies are back in vogue. However, when bodies are included, there is a tendency toward speaking to and privileging white bodies in a (theoretical) world where whiteness, alongside other strands of power, including gender and sexuality, retains the ability to research, speak and write themselves and other. In the move to embodiment, theories attempt to redress a number of core issues. First, to claim a link between material reality and psychological processes. Second, to speak of (or for) bodies and experiences not

¹⁵ See the section on everyday trauma and postcoloniality below

(yet) included and defined in social science literature – including vulnerable or marginalised groups.

The claim to a link between material and psychic realities has been posited by a number of theorists. As early as 1945, Merleau-Ponty provided a take on the body that made this link where experiences were said to occur through the body as it relates to and interacts with objects of the real world (MacMullan, 2002). According to MacMullan (2002), Merleau-Ponty views the body as a “meaning-producing entity” which allows us to create coherence from our worldly experiences by using cognition to form meaningful patterns from the stimuli we perceive (p. 6). There is, hence, an intimate relationship between the body and its experiences and the two cannot be viewed in isolation (MacMullan, 2002). The body and the world are closely interrelated because “the body is an active subject, it is the point from which we take in and relate to the objects in the world” but at the same time it is “also another object within the world” (MacMullen, 2002, p. 6).

Much later, developments in critical-realism continued with this basic assumption, that there is a link between bodies and psychology. Archer’s (2000) conception of human agency recognises the centrality of the body and practices, emerging from “the ways in which we are biologically constituted, the way the world is, and from the necessity of our human interaction with our external environment” (p. 50). If the body has real consequences, as is suggested, for psychological processes, what role does the body have regarding the memory of conflictual events? Connerton (1989) included a discussion of ‘bodily practices’ in explaining *‘How Societies Remember’*. In doing so, he makes collective memory a function of individual processes and speaks to how memory comes to be sedimented or amassed in the body through two types of actions: *Incorporating-* or *Inscribing-* practice/s. Even without necessarily or obviously linking to historical events or origins, habitual skilled remembering keeps the past in mind and re-enacts past actions in the present (Connerton, 1989, p. 72).

Incorporating practice refers to physical movements or activities, often taken for granted such as riding a bicycle, swimming or hand-shaking for example, which require direct involvement

of the body. Inscribing practices are activities undertaken for the purposes of recording, storing and/or retrieving information, often utilising tools or technology to capture fragments of experience (digital archives, recordings, photography etc). Connerton (1989) suggests that “both incorporating and inscribing processes may be the objects of our interpretive activity (p. 95), and that as such should be read as ‘texts’. We need to explore not only symbolism of, attitude to and discourse/s about the body but also how they are constituted as to pay attention to “performances, and in particular habitual performances, in conveying and sustaining memory” (Connerton, 1989, p. 104). We are reminded of the work of Nora (1989), writing at the same time, for whom the distinction between *lieux de mémoire* and *milieu de mémoire* could meaningfully speak to Connerton’s (1989) embodied memory. Environments of memory are maintained through the habits and performances needed to sustain them.

2.3.4 *The vulnerable or marginalised*

Telling the stories that are embodied (and habitually performed) by those who sit on the margins of society is no easy task. As Ross (2010) has noted the ‘ugliness’ of life characterised by poverty, violence and silence resists theorisation. Such ‘raw-ness’ of life (to use Ross’s (2010) term) sits on the margins of what can be said, and who can speak. The key to understanding marginalised experiences is recognition of embodied experiences (Ross, 2010). Fassin (2007) writes that the body carries experiences of the past into the present, speaking its own kind of story. The body marks and is marked by time – carrying history and culture and imparting an immediate physical presence of an individual (Fassin, 2007). Embodied experiences of distress, anxiety, fear, pain are written as much on the body as the ‘heart’ and psyche of the individual experiencing them (Blackman, 2002; Gobodo-Madikizela, 2003), a kind of indelible, embodied mark left during the experience of conflictual or traumatic events (Motsemme, 2004).

In turning to talk about the body in this way we can begin to take seriously the ways that traditional (pathological) trauma theory offers a useful and important account of how the traces of the past are inscribed on the body. While trauma theory may subscribe to reductionist medicalised and pathological explanations of the embodied traces of conflictual

experiences, it offers an important recognition of about embodied pain. The possibilities and difficulties of narrating such ‘felt’ pain can then be explored.

By looking at memory and forgetting as a cognitive, socio-political and embodied phenomena, how we remember violence in the collective can benefit from insight into individuals. The converse of Halbwachs’ (1992) assertion that personal memory is always collective, that collective memory is always personal could be a meaningful addition. By taking into account the embodied individual we are compelled to consider memories not as units without consequence. As Halbwachs (1992) has already suggested, individual memory is situated in a particular socio-historical moment and is remembered, told and re-told to the collective, in a way that is acceptable and appropriate to the collective. Moreover, history and memory have real, lived consequences for individuals whose lives, identities and expectations for the future are shaped by their experiences in the past, more so when these experiences were of the kind of perceived or actual violence or harm. While individual responses to violence or harm may vary significantly, psychology has primarily turned to trauma theory to understand psychic harm¹⁶.

This chapter explores trauma theory as a means of understanding the impact of the past in the present. For those who experienced the events of conflictual histories, trauma is the prevailing and pervasive diagnostic and descriptive tool available to researchers and guiding intervention. For the next generation, it is intergenerational trauma that forms the theoretical pivot of analysis. That the next generation are regarded as in some ways ‘traumatised’ is not without consequence so it is worthwhile spending some time understanding first what is ‘trauma’ and then how it comes to be transmitted even to those who did not experience the ‘trauma’ first-hand.

¹⁶ Theorists have shown that discussions about responses to remembering violence might need to address resilience, containment and transition through including, among others, work on mourning and bereavement. Unlike the focus on trauma, such work approaches the individual without the troublesome pathology and curative frameworks. See Martin et al (2013).

2.4 Trauma/s

It is often taken for granted that we know what trauma is. Hacking (1995) writes: “Traumatic events, traumatic experiences – we know what they are: psychological blows, wounds to the spirit” (p. 183). Broadly defined as “an event that overwhelms the individual’s coping resources” (Hamber and Lewis, 1997, p. 1), an event which shatters the person’s ordinary sense of him/herself (van der Merwe and Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008), and “cruel and painful experiences that corrupt or destroy one’s sense of self” (Young, 1996, p. 89). These definitions take it that what and who is included in the concept of trauma and why is self-evident.

Initially used to refer to physical injury or wounds in need of medical attention, the concept of trauma has morphed through a series of historical and political changes. Trauma is not an ahistorical, inevitability owing to its usage and links to the practices, technologies, and narratives of its time and place in history and by which it is diagnosed, studied, treated, and represented (Young, 1996).

This specific genealogy has constructed a notion of trauma that holds a number of key assumptions. The first is that particular experiences result not only in immediate physical harm but also longer lasting psychic harm, that the psyche or psychology of an individual can be injured in the same way that the body can. Herman (1992) writes that “people who have endured horrible events suffer *predictable* psychological harm” (p. 3, emphasis mine). The second assumption is that a ‘curative’ procedure can and should be developed to restore the individual to earlier functionality. This assumption is in line with a medicalised view on pathology (see below) and is a direct consequence of the genealogy of trauma. Lastly it posits that talking is the psychological approach to facilitate healing in the individual and collective. This approach to trauma studies is notably linked to discourses of ‘illness’ and ‘healing’ within medical and pathology based approaches that focus on diagnosing and ‘curing’ patients (Painter, Terreblanche and Henderson, 2006; Wampold, Hyun-nie and Coleman, 2001).

Alternative models to conceptualising trauma, including structural, vicarious and intergenerational trauma, tend to follow the same basic structure as the one outlined in the Diagnostic and statistical model (DSM). Numerous authors, including Judith Herman (1992) and La Capra (1991) extend the model of trauma to include aspects or symptoms not included in the DSM definition. Key questions and critiques include what events count as appropriate or relevant triggers, whether trauma can be shared or transmitted to others and if we can talk about collective or social trauma? Two basic alternatives are proposed, that is first: structural trauma/s, and second: vicarious and intergenerational trauma/s.

Structural type trauma/s are of the kind introduced to us by Herman (1992) in what she terms “complex PTSD” (p. 87) and La Capra (1991). Both of these theorists (Herman, 1992; La Capra, 1991) work to differentiate between traumata originating in the collective rather than the individual. Introducing structural type traumas shifts the lens of analysis from the individual to society, and from symptoms to causes. In this way authors distinguish between trauma events that have a single origin (historical trauma) and those that are the result of a pattern of prolonged series of events (structural trauma). Trauma that is the consequence of structural type events, are experienced as fundamentally different to historical trauma as captured by the DSM. In particular, Herman (1992) makes a case for the systematic and deliberate, long-term harm to and against women who experience physical and psychological harm in intimate relationships. Rather than being unusual, once-off events, the violation these women experience is sustained, virtually inescapable and for many, sadly very normal. While these authors make a case for different events or ‘environments’ of trauma they continue to employ the key assumptions about psychic harm and medicalised responses. This re-thinking of the events which trigger traumatic symptoms and reactions provoke questions about whether one can think of systemic, legalized policies (such as apartheid in South Africa) as being ‘traumatising’ of individual citizens on a mass-scale, and whether, in remembering apartheid how best to treat trauma on such a mass scale?

Vicarious type trauma/s, including secondary stress and intergenerational trauma/s, offer a different kind of challenge to the DSM. Fundamentally these trauma/s offer a position that notes that traumata are not bound to the individual sufferer. Through recognising how those

who surround the trauma sufferer become affected, theorists have offered an account of how trauma may be transmitted by the telling (or, as is the case in intergenerational trauma, the silencing) of horrific stories. Listening¹⁷ and/or empathy in the therapeutic and familial settings facilitate the transmission of trauma. Symptoms often mirror those of the original trauma sufferer and may occur in a number of professions including, but not limited to mental and social health workers, journalists, humanitarian workers, social service workers including welfare, health care and policing services, and justice professionals. As we will see, intergenerational trauma allows us to include the family and other close non-professionals in this list. Ron Eyerman (2001) extends the definition, away from traditional psychological definitions, of trauma to include ‘cultural trauma’ that may be the result of (vicarious and) intergenerational transmission. Like Collective memory, cultural trauma speaks to processes within the social realm that relate to meaning and identity and which may be the product of socio-political decisions and is embedded in symbolism, stories and traces within everyday life (Eyerman, 2001). Vicarious and cultural trauma notes that at once, trauma has the potential for expansion – to inflict ever more people, and depletion – to lose (cultural) meaning across time. This paradox is important for thinking about what resources future generations can claim from the past.

While these additions to the conceptualisation allow us to make sense of the experiences and realities of individuals in new ways, the threat to the definition of trauma is that they seem to suggest that just about everything can be included in the category as constituting ‘trauma’ and that everyone has, is or can be traumatised – even those who did not experience a ‘traumatic’ event themselves. By pushing psychological explanations to its limits (as Caruth, 1995, claims our current conceptualisation of PTSD does), we are faced with the dilemma that if everyone and everything is trauma-tised/tising then no-one/thing is. In the event that trauma is normalised, it becomes an expected, ordinary part of human experience and loses its explanatory power to delineate unusual and/or unwelcome events.

¹⁷ Of verbal and non-verbal cues

2.5 Family History, Intergenerational trauma and beyond:

Without even having a handle on how first generation trauma sufferers remember conflictual histories, the question of how young people ‘remember’ a history that they did not experience is more complex. As we consider what and how we remember apartheid in South Africa, we risk reproducing and recreating psychic harm, even among those who did not experience it directly (Prager, 2012). Theories related to vicarious type trauma/s urge that while we attempt to get a grasp on the psychic harm of an individual or collective, we simultaneously, albeit often unintentionally, open up spaces where the transmission of exactly that same harm may become possible. Prager (2012) challenges us to interrogate how we remember as a root of cycles of disruptiveness (an interesting alternative conceptualisation to trauma) that might be passed on, in particular from one generation to the next. We must trouble the popularity of trauma as the dominant model by which we understand political violence, individual psychic harm, and individual and collective memory. To do this we must ask whether trauma and memory are conceptually and analytically linked and if so how does this work to transmit memory/trauma across generations? (Argenti and Schramm, 2012).

In this section we map the current conceptualisation of how trauma might be transmitted between generations, that is, through looking at the theory of intergenerational trauma. In doing so we come back to the idea that at its core trauma is a ‘memory affliction’ that makes it possible for us to consider myth and narrative as options to counter the challenges waged against the concept of trauma. The questions of transmission of psychological states, subjective affect and behaviour, including knowledge, habits and preferences, temperaments and even talents is not new to the field of psychology (Hoffman, 2004). Age-old questions about the transmission of various legacies is attached to the family, by among others, theorists concerned with Freudian and Psychoanalytic approaches, as well as developmental or parenting literature that suggests that socialisation (primarily within the family) accounts for the development of individual identity. In other words, not only traumatic histories are transmitted across generations, everything that we are or become has its roots in the intergenerational nature of human life. This forms the basis for psychoanalytic and other psychological interventions with families and second and third generations post-conflict (Wardi, 1992).

Freudian and Psycho-Analytic approaches concern themselves with how early relationships, particularly with primary caregivers, are key to the development of personality through mechanisms of oedipal repression (cf. Freud), object relations (cf. Klein) and mirroring (cf. Lacan). Laub and Hamburger (2017) indicate that psychoanalysis allow us to answer why the Holocaust (or apartheid) and testimony ('the talking cure') are still so important many years after historical horror.

Developmental and/or parenting literature look at the development of an individual over the lifespan (cf. Erikson), plotting cognitive development as an adaptive, universal, human endeavour (cf. Piaget) or socio-historical project in the zone of proximal development (cf. Vygotsky, 1933/2002). Each of these approaches privileges early childhood in the unfolding capacity of the individual. One theory used often to understand the parenting relationship to the child is **Attachment** (cf. Bowlby) where a child's connection and bond with caregivers is pivotal to personality, behaviour and lifelong coping strategies. Bowlby (1951, p. 84) writes: "If a community values its children it must cherish their parents". A study by Merrill and Fivush (2016) shows how developmental and psychosocial theories intersect with intergenerational storytelling and "point to the importance of narratives as cultural tools for creating individual meaning and identity" (p. 89).

The theory of '**Intergenerational Trauma**'¹⁸ trauma was established to account for the children of survivors of the Holocaust in Nazi Germany and World War Two in Europe (e.g. Danieli, 1998 and Hoffman, 2004). Offering a model to think about how 'trauma' moves between generations, the theory concurs with earlier psychological theory which points to the family as an important site of the transmission of psychic and developmental states. As a model, the theory has been applied in other contexts. Jansen (2009) is cautious about making comparisons between the holocaust and apartheid. While there are parallels that provoke questions for thinking about the effects of the transmission of psychic states on the second

¹⁸ Often used interchangeably with 'multigenerational'

generation, we should hold in mind the very real differences in the context that underpin any claim to applicability¹⁹.

For the most part, stories, autobiographies and testimonies of the children of survivors make up the bulk of the literature underpinning the development of the theory (see Epstein, 1979; Fine, 1982; Spiegelman, 1986; Hass, 1990; Hass, 1996; Epstein, 1997; Fine, 2001; Hoffman, 2004). By interweaving their own stories into accounts within literary, social and cultural studies these authors posited that something unique and noteworthy was happening amongst their own generation²⁰. The suggestion that there might be longer term effects than on the immediate victims and survivors was at once in support of psycho-analytic and developmental trends and provocative enough to initiate a flurry of research and theorising on the topic (Bar-On, 1989; Danieli, 1998; Auerhahn and Laub, 1998; among others). While accounts between authors and theorists on the details of ‘Intergenerational Trauma’ vary, there remains a number of key points in common. The first of which is a recognition that the effects of the Holocaust persisted after the end of the war. The spectacle of the death camps persist not as real lived events – which they once were – but as “l’univers concentrationnaire” in the minds of those who came after (Fine, 1982). This links to Caruth’s (1995) point that trauma “possesses” those who experienced conflictual histories and it is this spirit that is transmitted in models of intergenerational trauma.

The reason ‘trauma’ is included in the naming of the experiences of the second-generation as ‘intergenerational *trauma*’, is that it conforms to the basic assumptions outlined regarding trauma theory. A psychic injury persists and possesses even after the physical threat or harm has been removed (Caruth, 1995). This psychic injury is experienced even, in the case of the

¹⁹ The differences in context include: 1. That the Holocaust was a Genocide; 2. South Africa did not experience the mass extermination of black people; 3. Surviving Jews were driven out of Europe while in South Africa victims and perpetrators live alongside each other; 4. Economic relations still largely reflect inequality; 5. The defeat of the Nazi state led to Nuremberg trials of perpetrators whereas in South Africa the negotiated settlement that favoured reconciliation over retribution (Jansen, 2009)

²⁰ It is worth remembering that the children of survivors writing about their experiences are ostensibly the children ‘who made it’; and that they write as educated individuals from within the Academy.

children of survivors, where the physical threat and harm is absent. This flies in the face of political agendas of 'never again'. Here, the events are re-experienced again and again, even among the next generation, re-inscribing and repeating their harm. This harm is identified through a variety of symptoms used to elaborate on the condition of the second generation. Children of holocaust survivors are described as having a pathological and paradoxical need to control their world while simultaneously experiencing their world as spinning out of control (Hoffman, 2004). This exhibits as a need achieve and perform in the world, to obtain parental approval, perfectionism in all areas of life and humanitarian or philanthropic drives, countered by difficulties forming committed relationships, feelings of hopelessness or even obsessive or intrusive thoughts about death or dying (Volks, 2014). These symptoms manifest under specific conditions, and children of survivors experienced such symptomology where, according to Kellerman (2001, p.43):

1. Offspring were born early after the parents' trauma; 2. Offspring were the only, or the first-born child; 3. Both parents were survivors; 4. Offspring were "replacement" children to children who had perished; 5. Parents had endured extraordinary mental suffering and significant loss and were highly disturbed as a result; 6. Symbiotic relations were dominant between parents and children and family relations were characterized by enmeshment; 7. The trauma was talked about too little or too much.

It is one thing to claim this transmission, it is another to understand how and why it happens. By unpacking the stories and literature offered by theorists we can see a number of key claims to make sense of the transmission of psychic effects of trauma. First, the transmission happens in the family. Second, the transmission occurs through silence/s. Third, the traumatic effect is an unintended consequence of transmitted, albeit indirect, knowledge/s.

Foregrounding **the family** as the site of transmission, is the first and most fundamental claim by theorists in this tradition (Ancharoff, Munroe and Fisher, 1998; Danieli, 1998; Hoffman, 2004; Jansen, 2009). Hoffman (2004) writes "for of course, the conditions of the survivors' lives, their psychic states and scars, could not but affect or infect those around them, their

children most of all” (p. 61). That these states pass between two living generations remind us that conflictual events are not over simply because they have ended. Continuities exist between generations and across time so that rather than thinking about the next generation as removed, across a chasm, from the experiences of their parents, it is best to speak of a ‘hinge’ in historical time. Hoffman (2004) contends that “the generation after atrocity is the hinge generation - the point at which the past is transmuted into history or myth” (p. 198). It is this hinge which moves us away from an exclusive focus on present-day socio-economic conditions to think about the possibility that young people’s experiences offer a window into theorising a psychological legacy. This ‘Hinge’ is a useful metaphor for introducing talk about the psychology of the second generation because it suggests that rather than a generational fissure, post-conflict societies are characterised by connections to and continuities with their conflictual histories which are carried forward into the present and future. What is clear is that the family is the “primary site for transmission of first knowledge, the intimate or fairy-tale knowledge that lays the foundation for any future understandings of self, of community, of history” (Jansen, 2009, p. 72).

Second, while **silence** may not seem like the most obvious mechanism for thinking about the transmission of received knowledge/s across the generations, it is the most common mechanism identified in intergenerational trauma theory (Danieli, 1998; Hoffman, 2004). Hoffman (2004) argues that not just talk or overt parenting practices, but *silence*, which may be the primary vehicle for the transmission of received knowledge/s across generations, particularly where children have not directly experienced traumatic events themselves. For Danieli (1998) it is a “conspiracy of silence” that defines intergenerational trauma (p. 4), defining this as the marker of transmission, of trauma (and traumatic memory), between generations. Hoffman (2004) recognizes this within her own family and, using the term ‘a cocoon’ (p. 67) of silence, suggests that there existed a “prohibition on open disclosure, on touching through speech painful or shaming matters,” and that this “was the one thing that was passed on-or rather included-in the Holocaust legacy” (p. 67). This suggests the ways in which it is in fact possible for traumatic ‘memory’ to be transmitted through what is left unsaid within families (Frankish, 2009; Frankish and Bradbury, 2012). Ancharoff et al (1998) articulate that these silences within families also function as a way of communicating rules,

myths and meta-messages within the family, offering protection against negative emotional effect but also closing off direct talk.

It is because silence offers a protective function that it has become the primary site for thinking about the transmission of received knowledge/s and trauma across the generations. Parents want to protect their children from knowing of their experiences precisely in the hope that they can protect their children from similar threats in the real world, and from the psychic harm ('trauma') that the survivor knows so well from their first-hand experience of conflictual events. Ironically, it is the silence that puts a spotlight on the event and children sense that, because parents won't talk, the event must be immeasurably terrible. That is not to say that the experiences of parents weren't terrible, in most cases they certainly were, it is the immeasurability, the incomprehensibility, that creates the possession or fixation, referred to by Caruth (1995), among the next generation. Mill (2017) writes that "it is far too difficult for the children of survivors to imagine their parents as anything other than the severely traumatized people that the Holocaust made them into" (p. 4).

Third, "it is about **knowledge** and not about experience or trauma or pathology" (Jansen, 2009, p. 53). While the symptoms and conditions described above give an account that speaks to the notion of trauma as it has been understood in psychology, theorists of intergenerational trauma argue that the harmful effect of conflictual histories in families is a by-product of the transmission of, or failure to transmit, knowledge between generations. For Hoffman (2004), it is *knowing* that something bad happened that she cannot fully comprehend or understand that mediates the pain felt by her parents into her own life.

As a child, Eva Hoffman knows something happened, but she also does not know it. Not experientially anyway. The second-generation is locked in this paradox of feeling the weight of conflictual events in their lives but never quite knowing what happened or what they would be like to live through. Conflictual events take on an amorphous presence, consuming or possessing the next generation precisely because they do not and cannot know what their parents experienced (Auerhahn and Laub, 1998). This is particularly true when parents refuse

to talk about the events. However, even where, as Kellerman (2001) has suggested, voracious talk between generations does happen, (intergenerational) trauma symptomology may still present precisely because the capacity to make sense of and process the events is difficult if not impossible to manage among those who did not witness the events directly. In this way trauma is ‘amorphous’: “not defined by place or time and lacking a beginning, middle or end” and which is transmitted as an organising principle to all succeeding generations (Auerhahn and Laub, 1998, p. 22). This organising principle is akin to what we might call collective memory or knowledge.

While we speak in terms of trauma, it is not trauma that is transmitted between generations, it is knowledge, often a vague, intangible (‘amorphous’) sense rather than a complete, structured comprehension. Walt (2014) makes the distinction between the generations with reference to a metaphorical suitcase: in the first generation the suitcase is packed as survivors anticipate violence and disruption, the second generation move the suitcase to the hall and in doing so recognise its presence but cannot grasp its contents, it is only in the third generation that the suitcase is unpacked and put away in the attic²¹. If we think of the metaphorical suitcase as knowledge or memory of the conflictual events experienced by survivors it is clear that silence is not the most helpful explanation for describing the transmission of intergenerational knowledge/trauma. While Hoffman (2004) notes a lack of direct communication in families after the Holocaust, she also suggests that other spaces for hearing and learning about the past were available. In (the myth-making of) her knowledge of the past, she had to have had some sense of the past to begin with. The question of transmission of knowledge about the past then becomes not so much about the workings of silence but about how and when and what the next generation are being told and by who: can and should the metaphorical suitcase be unpacked and what are the consequences of that? If silence offers protection, the questions remain: Should the generations talk? Should the next generation/s know? And, if so, how do we unpack that suitcase without inflicting further harm?

²¹ The original source of this metaphor is unclear but included in Walt (2014).

2.5.1 *Traumatic silence:*

Ironically, underpinning many of the understandings of memory and trauma is a notion of loss, of forgetting or silence in the face of events that are difficult to make sense of, which fail to cohere into clear and logically narratives of one's history and one's self and ultimately (especially in the instance of trauma) the disintegration of individual and group identity. The focus of the medicalised and DSM model on trauma underplays silence (which it subsumes under avoidance and constrictive symptomology) and wishes away with the application of the 'talking cure'. Recognising the embodied nature of memory and trauma, it should be easy to acknowledge that no explanation or re-enactment or representation of any kind will be adequate to capture the range of sensory and emotional responses an individual experiences, short of the improbable, if not expressly impossible, option of recreating the event in its minutest detail and reliving it moment by moment.

In psychology and the social sciences more broadly, talk and silence hold similar associations to memory and forgetting. While talk is privileged as cathartic and healing, silence is the evil step-sister. When measured against a Eurocentric psychosocial norm of voice, silence as an absence of speech is suspicious (Kidron, 2013). Linking into psychoanalytic and psychotherapeutic notions of repression, denial, avoidance and others, and to political and social or political repression including secrecy, silencing and censorship there is no upside to silence in its current conceptualisation (Kidron, 2013).

Paradoxically, trauma sits on the uncomfortable knife-edge of silence and talk. Trauma, as it has been conceptualised in psychological literature, must confront the ways that conflictual events in human life are unspeakable but also simultaneously inescapable (Herman, 1992), where survivors can neither forget nor address their pain (Danieli, 1998, p. 22). This idea is captured by theorists whose work on amnesia, nostalgia and saturation trace a fine line between remembering and forgetting on which optimal recovery is forged – too much memory is akin to silence in the way it constructs life after trauma (Hassan, 2018).

Used traditionally to refer to that which is “outside the range of usual human experience” (Young, 1996, p. 96), the concept of ‘trauma’, by its very nature, refers to experiences not fully or easily able to be captured in words (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2003). The notion of experiences which fall outside of a specific range has been challenged, in line with critiques and extensions of the conceptual territory of trauma. This challenge rests on the idea that , some events that lead to trauma are not especially ‘unusual’ (Cf Herman’s, 1992 collective trauma and Eyerman’s, 2001, cultural trauma). It is because trauma events cannot be incorporated into existing coping and life strategies nor captured in language that theorists retain the idea of trauma events being outside ‘normal’ life experiences. ‘Survivors’ find that attempts to capture and communicate their experiences in words fail as language fails to adequately describe intangible emotional responses and events. While the experiences of trauma survivors is experienced by a ‘failure of language’ (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2003), they share a ‘need to bear witness’ (Herman, 1992; Danieli, 1998). Silence in trauma theory is vexing in light of the understanding that uncovering and disclosing on difficult and conflictual events through talk can be healing. How can you tell that which is untellable? And, if you cannot tell, how can you heal? By rupturing a person’s sense of self and time and by making storytelling impossible, trauma resists narrative (Kidron, 2013).

At the same time, numerous authors regard narrative as the primary vehicle for (re)constituting and (re)constructing self in relation to conflictual histories and its resultant embodied reactions. Finding structure, coherence and meaning after trauma is the result of (re)writing the life narrative and in doing so allows one to incorporate traumatic loss into a new story (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2016; Van der Merwe and Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008). While these authors talk here about writing, the effect is the same as regarding the open disclosure of the ‘talking cure’: unpacking the suitcase. Such a task inherently faces down the barrel of time as one is tasked with *remembering* past events and (re)working them into something more appropriate or even more appealing for life in the present and to build a (better) future.

Getting people to narrate life experiences and in attempting to generate a sense of coherence in the accounts produced, one is making strong connections with psychoanalytic and psychotherapeutic theory and practice (Crossley, 2000). Therapists, by all accounts, are “in

the business of ‘constructing’ meanings through stories rather than ‘discovering’ meanings ‘in’ the mind” (Crossley, 2000, p. 58). Therapy ultimately pursues a narrative task, in a sense ‘reauthoring’ the life story produced by the individual to produce a coherent and logical narrative (Crossley, 2000). The task of psycho-therapy and psychoanalysis is to transform narratives into ones that are “more complete, coherent, convincing and adaptively useful than those they have become accustomed to constructing” (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 120). One of the primary ways that individuals come to make sense of experience is by casting it in narrative form (Reissman, 1993). This is especially true of difficult life transitions and trauma. By their very nature narratives allow narrators to create an ordering of disordered and fragmentary experience, giving this experience a kind of unity or coherence that neither nature nor the past possesses so clearly (Reissman, 1993). The ‘survivor’ must tell about what happened if they are to return to self (Culbertson, 1995), whereby controlling aspects of the narrative and telling can allow the ‘survivor’ control over the intrusive memories, restore meaning (Brison, 1997) and undo the ‘vice grip’ of the perpetrator experienced as a persistent sense of violation (Culbertson, 1995). Such a suggestion is premised on two key assumptions. First, that one *can* somehow, usually through a variety of psychotherapeutic techniques, find a way to articulate ones ‘trauma’. And, second that one *should* do so, for the better of one’s own and others people’s lives. However, silence may be a functional and protective strategy that can be employed at specific times and places for particular ends.

For example, Weingarten (2004) suggests that when we look to families as the primary sites where the transmission of experiences of ‘trauma’ can move or ‘pass’ between the generations, we should be careful about how we think about the connection/s between the generations and how silence plays out alongside current distress and political issues. Unlike other theorists who talk about intergenerational trauma (such as Hoffman, 2004), she notes that intergenerational legacies within the family have the ability to move in multiple directions. With the example of township youth who made traumatised witnesses of parents in the 80s and 90s during the height of the struggle against apartheid, Weingarten (2004) introduces the possibility of upward transmission of trauma effect. That the transmission of trauma is not just a vertical, downward movement from parents to children suggests that other directions of trauma transmission are also possible – we could imagine a horizontal transmission between members of the same generation for example. Such transmission could

exist in relation to present day traumas or stresses for young people like gender-based violence, racism, schooling, poverty etc.

Moreover, this multi-directional transmission may allow for or demand silence as children attempt to protect parents, precisely from opening up old wounds through talk (Frankish, 2009). Talking is an invasive, difficult process which may upset the finely balanced apple cart of family life, especially where ongoing socio-political challenges including poverty, HIV/AIDS and violence (among others) mean that children of survivors are also often survivors in their own rights of a variety of 'traumata', both physical and psychic.

To exclude the contextual dimension in a discussion of 'intergenerational trauma' would be a serious error. The genealogy of any concept gives crucial insight into its use and application, and intergenerational trauma, having its roots in the experiences of second generation.

Holocaust survivors is no exception. Jansen (2009) makes the point to compare and apply the concept of intergenerational trauma carefully and sparingly. He writes: "apartheid is not the Holocaust, and the Holocaust is not apartheid" (Jansen, 2009, p. 55). Advocating for a soft comparison on the meanings and effects of received knowledge/s rather than a hard look at similarities or collapsing events into each other (Jansen, 2009). This 'soft' approach to context alerts us to a variety of emotive (rather than pathological), possibly collective (rather than individual), symptomology which begs us to engage with the context/s in which silence is played out. While Das (cited in Ross, 2001) is clear that there are limits to what can be said and argues that silence may variously come to demarcate particular kinds of knowing. For Motsemme (2004), writing about women's experiences of struggle under apartheid, silence is political and agentic. Silence, in this context, does not mark a lack of 'voice' (as is so often the claim of feminists writing about an/other), lack of (mental) capacity to comprehend their experiences and meaningfully share them (as might be challenged by Spivak, 1988), or even just an absence, a nothingness from which no reflection or talk is possible at all. Instead, Motsemme (2004) sees silence as a deliberate choice to protect self and others in a (political) context where secrets and families needed to be maintained. The notion of silence offered by Motsemme (2004) is qualitatively different from the *refusal* to speak, or the notion of

‘voiceless-ness’ in the sense of a lack of opportunity for expression or the inability to speak produced by trauma and mainstream psychological attempts to ‘create voice’.

Steyn (2012b) also deviates from the accepted ideas about silence as absence in the context of trauma and history after Apartheid. In outlining an ‘ignorance contract’ Steyn (2012b) asks us to question what we think about when people claim not to know or are silent, specifically regarding the history, and their memory/ies of, apartheid South Africa. Steyn (2012b) speaks to a notion of ‘ignorance’ that plays out in narratives of apartheid and argues that what we might think of as absence or faulty cognitive abilities might rather have social significance at a specific socio-historical moment, or as she says, can best be understood as “a social achievement with strategic value” (p. 8), and that “ignorance must be studied as a social accomplishment, not just as a failure of individual knowledge acquisition” (p. 10). Ignorance is a communicative, social practice that exists between people in the same way that any knowledge embedded in social networks or activity would (Steyn, 2012b). As a communicative act ignorance in this sense is thereby related to talk and silence in families and may function differently in different families. By looking at the channels through which ignorance is managed, sustained and reproduced, one also becomes aware of the power invested in particular patterns of knowing or not knowing.

In this sense, as Schlant (1999) writes that “silence [...] speaks and is as risky [or as powerful] as speech” (p. 1). Laub and Auerhahn (2017) speak to the idea that knowing exists on a continuum with not knowing. If it is silence and knowing that are at the heart of the transmission of intergenerational trauma within families, it seems crucial to ‘unpack’ what kind of knowing, and in whose interests, silence after conflictual events functions.

Motsemme (2004) thus stresses that “we begin to read silences, just as we invest in reading speech and action in the social sciences” (p. 910). By recognising silence as a kind of ‘language’ we can begin to unpack and explore other, perhaps hidden meanings regarding the struggle to live under apartheid (Motsemme, 2004; Ross, 2001) in order to hear what is (un)said. This is central to the work of Derrida whose work looks to interrogate what is unsaid in language, where through ‘difference’ ideas come to be deferred from what they are

not (Sampson, 1989). In this way absence or silence is present in text and life to inform what we think and how we act.

For Foucault (and others) working on disciplinary power, silence delimits social and political power by marking out a social contract of discretion between speakers and therefore what can and cannot be said (Bindeman, 2017). This work is achieved through distinctions made between “‘self’ and ‘other,’ ‘signified’ and ‘signifier,’ ‘subject’ and ‘object,’ ‘sign’ and ‘meaning,’ ‘true’ and ‘false,’ or ‘different’ and ‘same’” (Bindeman, 2017, p. 143). And so, silence is understood by Foucault as a form of oppression that is defined by powerful discourse about what counts as good and bad and how ideas and people are accepted or pushed to the margins (Bindeman, 2017).

2.6 Everyday trauma and post-coloniality

While memory and intergenerational trauma theory give us a hook for thinking about the transmission of past pain (or, ignorances) between living generations we must also consider the broader, social issues in which such individual and family affect emerge and are embedded. A powerful vignette about Ms Mbanga from Swartz (1998) leads us into this discussion. Ms Mbanga is a 35 year old mother who dropped out of school to support her child (and later children). She was shot while tending her vegetable stall in a settlement during a period of ‘unrest’ with police during the struggle against apartheid. Lawyers, psychologists and NGOs tended to focus on the injury sustained from the shooting as well as psychological and legal interventions that would result from a case based on the disability that was a direct result of the shooting. This focus ignored the structural poverty and ongoing threats of violence in her community and the impact this had on the survival of her family – and this was made evident when Ms Mbanga’s daughter was impregnated by her partner as a result of a cycle of poverty and (gendered) violence that inflicted the next generation and the one still to be born (Swartz, 1998).

The story of Ms Mbanga and her family demand that we align work on memory and trauma with social and cultural understandings of the context in which traumatised individuals are

embedded. The ability to think of trauma contextually (Swartz, 1998), require a bigger lens even than the notion of complex trauma of Herman (1992) and others. Herman's (1992) complex trauma recognises that trauma may be the result of long-term, structural events such as gender-based violence (see above). In Ms Mbanga's story we are forced to consider the confluence of historical violence and ongoing structural violence including poverty, race, and gender that make traditional, (presumably well-meaning) psychological interventions to 'trauma' appear farcical. Our investigations of 'trauma' must shift from the 'big' events (such as being shot) to include the lived experiences of racism and vulnerability that are embedded in systematic, structural and social forms of oppression that are ongoing and therefore necessarily inter-generational.

Mark Epstein (2014) in his recent book: *'The trauma of everyday life'*, considers the salience and pervasiveness of trauma in human psychology, or the 'unbearable embeddedness of existence'. Everyday trauma emerges from history, death, family experiences, primitive agonies, emotional memories among others and a part of the self we become/are becoming (Epstein, 2014). This view rejects the position that we must only consider trauma as a single event in favour of an analysis of the life-long, enduring and 'normal' ways that human psychology deals with inevitable processes of grief and suffering that cast a 'murkiness' on the persons' sense of self and for those who come after. The work of looking at this 'everyday trauma' also speaks to theory from the continent examining the social effects of colonialism. Instead of looking for symptoms and pathologies to colonial systems, postcolonial theorists sought to/seek to examine the enduring and 'normalised' forms of oppression that continue to pervade within social life and human psychology since colonialism.

The Algerian psychiatrist Frantz Fanon explored the impact of colonial and imperial governance and life on psychological development in his book *'Black Skin, White Masks'* (1952) and others. Fanon highlights violence as central to the practice of oppression, noting that "oppression is above all else, the practice and institutionalization of violence- both crude and subtle. This pervasive violence imposes a Manichean world, corrodes basic human values and dehumanizes all involved" (Bulhan, 1985, p. 117). On the continent and in the diaspora,

social conditions for Africans under colonialism impinged on all of Bulhan's six basic dimensions of human life: space, time, energy, mobility, bonding and identity (Bulhan, 1985). For Fanon, there is a 'geography of reason' that speaks to the intersection between everyday lived experiences of oppression and human psychology, between consciousness and being (Gibson, 2011). In this sense Postcolonial discussions have drawn heavily on Marxism and Psychoanalysis. For Fanon and other postcolonial theorists looking to understand the social being and consciousness of those living under colonial rule, concepts like alienation, ideology and false consciousness gave them space to examine race and class struggles for 'the Negro'. This gave rise to ideas like 'Negritude' and 'Black Consciousness'. In South Africa, similar analyses have been made by Biko (1978) and Manganyi (1973).

Fanon's writings are at the heart of postcolonial thinking and privilege an understanding of trauma, memory and alienation that expand the definition of 'trauma' to meaningfully capture historical power and (cultural) dispossession. In his book 'Black Skin, White Masks', Fanon (1952) navigates the (physical and psychic) wounding and alienation that has resulted from colonisation and the imposition of norms, attitudes and values that speak to the power dynamics of his time, where whiteness held social value and power. This was marked by embodied experiences of violence, linguistic and cultural shifts and psychological impacts that marked the alienation of the Black man from himself. Even when no physical power was being asserted between those with power and those without, this form of trauma came to be inscribed on the body and through culture and language to designate the forms of power that marked colonial life. Fanon's (1952) experience of a child pointing and calling 'Look, a Negro' reveals this social power by the ways these words reveal the social conditions and traumas of those who fall outside of valued understandings of whiteness and civility and beauty etc.

Postcolonial thinking allows us to recognise historical trauma and the ways it has shaped society, *and* recognise it as an ongoing experience across time, an unfinished story. This addresses the danger that Maxwell (2014) identifies in relation to intergenerational trauma accounts elsewhere. She writes that invoking (grand)parents' transmission of historical trauma as the primary trauma discourse and psycho-social mode of intervention/s operates to

“construct [...] families as pathological, promote an oversimplified, universalizing understanding of [...] colonialism, and divert attention from the contemporary continuation of colonial structures and relations” (Maxwell, 2014, p. 407).

Examining these ongoing colonial structures and relations in the context has led to engagement with the banality of everyday violence. In a conference on recognition, reparation and reconciliation, in Stellenbosch in 2018, ideas about the entrenchment, enunciation and recovery of and from ongoing colonial violence were central. Theorists from South Africa and elsewhere, including representatives from the ‘Black Lives Matter’ movement in the United States of America spoke of the need for social and psychological redress for slave, colonial and apartheid “history”. Swartz (1998, p. 180) writes:

An important role for mental health professions has been in exploring the nature of oppression and responses to it. These responses are not always, or even primarily, in the area of symptoms, but rather in the way people feel about themselves as they grow up – what they feel they can aspire to, what they deserve in life. Ways of intervening in the psychology of oppression, similarly, have to do with building constructive identities through work and social action, and not with the curing of symptoms and illnesses.

In this way the postcolonial position on historical trauma moves the psychological lens away from ‘trauma’ to speak to violence and the impact of ‘violent conditions’ across time that “burn at the background of daily life” (Laurie and Shaw, 2018, p. 8) and which include ecological violence, poverty and (mental) health. We must understand the existential climates within which subjects are situated and in which their being may flourish or flounder (Laurie and Shaw, 2018). Such a link between the material and psychic, between self and society is best understood in narrative.

2.7 Everyday violence and identity politics

As we saw in chapter one, media discourses of youth reveal the ubiquitousness of everyday violence in the lives of many young South Africans. Structural inequality, racism and violence, class, gender and sexuality which are linked to educational spaces are key to the experiences of young people in the context (Jewkes et al²², 2014). Coupled with the effects of intergenerational trauma, the young South Africans of today are doubly touched by violence. This is especially relevant when we realise the need to consider a third-generation (already a focus in Holocaust literature and becoming salient for post-apartheid South Africa) (Aarons and Berger, 2017). This means that the so-called ‘Born-free’ are not free from the traumatic effects of violence. Indeed if there is trauma in the stories of apartheid told to and by the next generation, it is exacerbated and compounded by *ongoing* violence and discrimination in South Africa. South African youth are constructing narratives and identities against the backdrop of violence, discrimination, poverty and many other ‘everyday’ violences which are very real and tangible legacies of apartheid’s structural, legal and psychological oppression (Howard, 2017). In addition to ongoing overtly brutal forms of violence (perpetrated by both the state and interpersonally), pervasive banal, ordinary everyday experiences of racism and inequality confront South Africans as a consequence of entrenched structural violence. This shifts the spotlight away from individual acts of extreme physical brutal violence toward understanding the ways that for many people (both under Apartheid and now) it was/is the everyday (legalised) racism and poverty that shapes their lives in dehumanising effects for black people or in supporting white privilege. This is in keeping with distinctions made by Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois (2004) between everyday violence and extraordinary violence and the effects of both for the collective and individual.

One need only pay attention to news media in South Africa (see examples in chapter one, above) to see a myriad of examples of how young people encounter violence in the home, school and in communities, much of which is the normalised ‘everyday’ violence of racism, taxi and gang violence and gender violence, pervasive through South Africa as a whole. It goes almost without saying that the South African reality is predominated by racial inequality

²² More than six authors

which pervades into every aspect of young South Africans' lives and consciousness. Being young in South Africa continues to be defined by racial violence and racial thinking. However, this is but one aspect of young lives where it matters not only what race one is born into but also the intersectional (Moolman, 2013) identities of gender, class and geographic location that one embodies. It matters if you are black or white. It matters if you are a boy or a girl. It matters if your parents have money. It matters if you are raised in a suburban neighbourhood, a township or a rural community. It matters because if you were unlucky to be born a black female to a poor, rural family you sit on the margins of social life – fated most likely to a life of poverty and violence. The intersectionality of these identifications means that there remains a hierarchy of privilege and access to social resources in current South Africa and, not unlike under apartheid, starting with race.

In particular, the everyday violences of the current milieu mirror the everyday violences under apartheid in important ways. Hayes (1998), writing about the apartheid generation, contends that “in a sense everybody has a story to tell about our ordinary lives during apartheid, not only the victims. The real horror of apartheid is that for four decades its inhumanity and brutality were ordinary, were everyday” (p. 38). This ‘everydayness’ of our traumatic past also points to the fact that apartheid is not a closed chapter in South Africa’s history but was and continues to be a vital thread in people’s lived experiences; and that brutal forms of violence cannot be consigned to the past. One could then meaningfully look at the structure of racial, spacial and gendered violence to see how ‘mundane’, normalised violence pervades the everyday lives of young South Africans in the present. That this mirrors the experiences of their parents’ generation is a link that must not be lost.

Much of the ‘everydayness’ of violence and discrimination for young South Africans that resonate with Essed’s (1991) reflections on racism point to the ongoing structural violence that is not linked to political conflict in the same way that parents experienced their lives under apartheid but which nonetheless shapes lives through their disruptive impact. Below we look at some of the key aspects that affect the experience of violence for young South Africans: race, gender and location. While we turn to each individually it is important to recognise that each exists and is experienced in relation to the others.

2.7.1 Race

It is of no surprise that race remains a salient feature of the social and political landscape for all South Africans. A yawning inequality divide²³ between South Africans means that more than twenty years into democracy things have changed little or regressed for the poorest in South Africa. The violence of abject poverty is a violence metered out almost exclusively on people of colour, Black South Africans most of all. The entanglement and complexity of race and class speaks to the lived reality of many South Africans where race is a salient feature of lives even among the middle class. When poverty is not a factor, it is striking that race retains importance and Khunou (2015) reflects on the heterogeneity of middle-class experiences.

There is an enormous body of literature built up around the idea that ‘race’ is represented by minute genetic variation/s and is ultimately socially constructed (Sarich, 2018; Molner, 2016; Jorde and Wooding, 2004). As such it is proposed that the best way to address racial inequality is to deconstruct our racial thinking and engage with people in more egalitarian terms (Cf. Maré, 2014). This may seem reminiscent of the narrative ideal of the ‘rainbow nation’ established after the TRC for national identity-making and healing²⁴. This idea is disingenuous in the context and lived realities of violence for many (young) South Africans. It is a utopian idea to not see ‘race’ where there remains an unequal footing based on racial profiling and the legacy of racist violence. To do so would be to mask continued experiences of both privilege and oppression. The only thing that differentiates between the races is not a biologically inherent differences as indicated by genetic or other variance but straightforward racism (Soudien, 2012). Attempts to categorise essential race groups under apartheid fell apart most evidently within so called ‘coloured’ communities for whom attempts to measure and control people based on racial features revealed the underlying madness and illogical fallacies of defining race (Ruiter, 2009; Posel, 2001).

²³ As mentioned earlier in the introduction with reference to the Gini coefficient and writing by Mattes (2012).

²⁴ The idea of the ‘rainbow nation’ speaks to a multi-racial sensibility that respects the diversity of South Africa’s population. This idea is distinct from non-racial or colourblind ideas that idealise a post-racial thinking in which race is no longer a relevant social construct (Cf. Goldberg, 2015).

Despite the madness of race categories, race matters. Racism is experienced across the spectrum of life (Soudien, 2012) including educational spaces. Access to and movement into educational spaces is tenuous and limited for the Black child who must often travel many kilometres to get to school, overcome financial access and perform for gatekeepers who often work in the interests of elitist governing bodies and other school members. This alone justifies the reference to race as a ‘master signifier’ as Soudien (2012) has claimed. Critical race theory is a theoretical lens through which to examine the relationship between race, racism and power (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017; Maylam, 2017). Race likewise is linked to psychoanalytic understandings of pathology (Oliver, 2017).

2.7.2 Gender and sexuality

In much the same way as ‘race’ and gender differences are reinforced and policed through violence, especially for young, Black South African women. South Africa has high levels of sexual and gender-based violence and HIV (Artz, Klazinga and Müller, 2020) and this makes growing up female in post-apartheid South Africa incredibly dangerous. Most women experience some form of sexual or gender based violence in their lifetimes. Violence in South Africa is not atypical and “being a victim of a violent attack is almost an unremarkable part of being a woman in South Africa” (Walker; Reid and Cornell, 2004, pp. 38-39). Multiple theorists note that in such a context of threat of, or actual, coercion and/or violence, women are unable to request, let alone insist on, safer sex practices such as mutual monogamy and condom use (Campbell, 2003; Kalichman and Simbayi, 2004; Walker et al, 2004 and Gordon, 2014). Dunkle, Jewkes, Brown and Gray (2004), and Kalichman and Simbayi (2004) provide evidence for a positive correlation then between sexual assault and HIV infection, recognizing that women’s risk exists on two planes. Whilst susceptibility to infection is increased during the assault, women who had been sexually assaulted were also reported to engage in more risk-taking behaviors than women who had not been victims of gender-based violence and sexual assault (Kalichman and Simbayi, 2004).

In a context of female victimisation and discrimination it is not only femininity (as defined within traditional gendered norms and contexts) that is constrained. Young men are groomed to perform their masculinity in ways that subscribe to the gendered norms assigned to them. To be a man is to be ‘tough’, to provide for families and to control women. Hegemonic norms for masculinity remain linked to politics, authority and traditional gendered power relationships but have increasingly taken on corporate and capitalist goals within the new milieu (Morrell, Jewkes and Lindegger, 2012).

That gendered experiences across the spectrum are surveilled and policed is a core of feminist analyses which problematise gender categorisation within patriarchy (cf. Wolf, 1991 and Butler, 1990) and place emphasis on the individual and psychological consequences to current gender roles and norms including effects to self-esteem and self-efficacy (cf. Bandura, 1997). In this context, young girls also have to contend with sexualisation of their bodies on the one hand and shaming and policing of sexuality on the other, including with virginity testing²⁵ (Thornberry, 2015). Gender based violence, rape and femicide is also a significant problem in the South African context (Gqola, 2015). The reinvocation of the tradition of virginity testing underscores the policing of sexuality for young women in the context.

Sexuality also offers a marker for agency, identity, trauma and memory in the context. Cultural constructs around femininity and masculinity coalesce with virginity practices and respect (Bhana, 2016) in the region. Moreover, the family and schools are sites of contestation with regard to sexual expression and violence (Bhana, 2018; Bhana, Crewe and Agleton, 2019; Mkwanazi and Bhana, 2017). As young people navigate developing sexualities they do so against norms and values that define who they are and who they can be, including cultural practices regarding virginity and ilobola (Posel & Rudwick, 2014). Such navigations are often met with ideological and physical violence, in homes, communities and schools (Bhana, 2018). For young men, constructs and consequences of masculinity and the

²⁵ Virginity testing is a highly contested tradition that is practiced by pockets of women and communities around South Africa but is not a uniform experience for all South African girls (Mkasi and Rafudeen, 2016).

absence of fathers, is a direct consequence of gendered work and categorisation (Langa, 2010). These constructs are tied with and to race and location, and while talking about the subjective positioning of researchers, Ratele's (2015) paper entitled 'location, location, location' reminds us that young black men (and women) come from different communities than their white counterparts.

2.7.3 Location and schooling

Growing up in a rural South African community is not like growing up in a township or an (sub-)urban environment. Marked class, racial and other dynamics distinguish life lived in the various geographic spaces and locations around South Africa. Emerging out of a legacy of racialized zoning under apartheid different places offer young South Africans remarkably different experiences with regards to access to social resources - including access to schooling, water and sanitation, to social services such as clinics and hospitals, libraries, sports and recreational spaces, and policing services. For Bray et al (2010) "apartheid is also echoed in the continuing relationship between race, neighbourhood and class" (p. 23). Racially defined neighbourhoods remain a legacy of apartheid with white South Africans living in well-resourced areas and black South Africans largely living in areas with compromised infrastructure and resources including education, healthcare and opportunities to enter the labour market (Bray et al, 2010). These differences are captured by Chinguno's (2013) and Moleba's (2016) work with young South Africans in Marikana²⁶ for whom poverty is a landmark of their geographies and lives.

In particular educational differences, entrenched by apartheid separationist and segregationist policies, continue to draw fault lines between communities in South Africa. Hunter (2015a) and Hunter (2015b) remarks on the 'transformation' of education from spaces since the transition to democracy in 1994. What were once racially exclusive spaces have been intersected with class and language dimensions where despite some movement between

²⁶ Marikana refers to the Marikana Massacre in which 34 miners lost their lives when police fired on workers of Lonmin Platinum mines during labour strikes.

geographic spaces – in particular between townships and former Model C²⁷ suburban schools, this has largely left the broader race, class and geographic dimensions untouched. So while schools are now open to all, “[t]he universities [and other sites of education] have done very little since 1994 to open up to different bodies and traditions of knowledge and knowledge-making in new and exploratory ways” (Heleta, 2016, p. 1). In his book ‘Race for education’, Hunter (2019) brings together race, gender, class, location and schooling to show the ways that education has changed or stayed the same in South Africa after apartheid. In doing so Hunter (2019) examines the race, class and other dynamics of social power or mobility for families from different geographical spaces in Durban. Here education provides a pivot for thinking about the ways one’s location is shaped by and shapes the kind of lives people are able to live. This is critical for thinking about generational change and similarity, especially with regard to continued racism in classrooms (Teeger, 2015a; Teeger, 2015b) and the ways this ruptures rainbow nation ideals (Teeger, 2015a) and storytelling about the past (Teeger, 2015b).

2.7.4 Class

Class differences are an important shared feature across any analysis of race, gender and location. South Africa’s apartheid system was a racialized system that reified patriarchal hierarchies, divided South Africans along race and geographical borders, and created poverty and inequality in line with these divisions. Levels of inequality remain high in South Africa many years after apartheid. Much research focuses on the Gini co-efficient which reveals the inequality between the rich and poor (Hundenborn, Leibbrandt and Woolard, 2016). Other statistical measures of income and inequality focus on income, age, race, (Leibbrandt, Woolard, Finn and Argent, 2010), as well as gender, location and intergenerational inheritance (Piraino, 2015). South Africa’s wealth is still largely pooled around the cities and along racial and gendered lines that denote historical wealth despite discourses that wish to align privilege with meritocracy in ways that justify the system (Jost, 2017).

²⁷ Model C was the label for the early process of very minimal incorporation of black learners into white schools in the early 1990s.

The intersection between these features of social life have been analysed through the aptly named ‘intersectional’ theory or ‘intersectionality’ perspective (Crenshaw, 2001). Theorists under this umbrella argue that conducting research separately on race, gender or class ignores the multifaceted nature of individual experiences and risks interrogating only a part of human experience and not the complex whole (Landry, 2016). So while it remains true that there is a clear scale of ‘social locations’ (Landry, 2016) or identity positions in which privilege resides (whiteness and patriarchy for example, and), changes within the context such as political influence, mobility, access to technology, global forces etc. trouble this neat hierarchy. Ncube and Lufumpa (2015) write that a growing middle class in Africa who have access to education and technology and who demand skills and opportunities are the key to economic growth on the continent. They write that this middle class “appear to be in large parts young, well educated and business-minded” (Ncube and Lufumpa, 2015, pp. xx – xxi). It is also important to note the ways that class, race and gender intersect with age as young people grow up to be ‘entrepreneurs, innovators and consumers’ (Ncube and Lufumpa, 2015). One feature of this ‘digital generation’ is access to cellular technology (Ncube and Lufumpa, 2015) and the defining and socially constitutive role of media (Buckingham, 2013) in shaping knowledge, experience and self. Access to media and technology reshape geographical boundaries as young people access, and share with, the world – thereby revealing the relationship between ethics, politics and technology (Von Schnitzler, 2013). That young people are positioned at the centre of conversations about class, technology and opportunities to remake material and psychic lives is not inconsequential.

2.7.5 Childhood and nation

Arguably, even justifiably, the second generation of black South Africans could meaningfully consider themselves direct victims rather than children of survivors. Through encountering everyday violences toward themselves and others in their immediate lived reality, diagnosing their experiences as ‘traumatic’ is a plausible and helpful endeavour. Violence by its nature threatens or harms the individual (stressor event) and it is reasonable to expect that victims faced with ongoing, pervasive violence would develop patterns of reaction in line with the seriousness of the threat/s they are or have been faced with (re-experiencing symptoms) but ultimately will aim to avoid being repeatedly harmed or situations where they anticipate possible harm may occur (avoidance symptoms). While ‘everyday violence’ does not

conform to the standard Diagnostic and statistical manual (DSM) type definition of trauma by virtue of its pervasiveness, we can begin to tease out? in the lives and stories of the second generation the ways the traumatic response to ongoing violence in their everyday lives masks, mirrors and/or reveals processes of narration and identity-making regarding a longer history of violence in South Africa.

Childhood in South Africa is characterised by many violence/s (Bray et al, 2010). Structural violence of poverty, racism and lack of resources confront many young South Africans. Despite growth in certain areas, schooling and basic services like electrification and sanitation remain ongoing challenges in the context. In addition, domestic and gender violence affect young women and men in the form of rape, harassment, corporal punishment and others. These are examples of ongoing overt forms of brutal violence. Corporal punishment is often a forgotten instance of violence meted out against young South Africans as it is often a socially sanctioned way to ‘discipline’ and impose values linked with cultural norms within communities and in schools. Breen, Daniels and Tomlinson (2015) note that up to 80% of children in sub-saharan Africa report being beaten at home. This is not inconsequential for young people who attempt to navigate lives across the past, present and future.

In Burman’s (2016) interrogation of Fanon’s traumatology of race and childhood she notes that there is important ways that childhood is ‘co-opted’ into national and global, political interests. This links the experience of childhood with the political and with the material. The link between the conceptualisation of childhood and the metaphysical realm in which they exists extends the possibility of human psyche that links psychology and the material in important ways. Unpacking this link by examining the political spaces or possibilities available for children to be is the project that Fanon demands (Burman, 2016). It is to these possibilities that this project speaks and which resonate with the feminist call to recognise that the *‘personal is political’*.

Moreover the notion of childhood intersects with discourses of nation especially in South Africa where ‘rainbow’ ideals (Welchen, 2012) compete with everyday realities of poverty and violence (Mattes, 2012). Millei (2014) writes that there is a need to interrogate the ways that the concepts of ‘nation’ and ‘childhood’ interweave and to explore their cultural and discursive roots. In asking these questions, Millei (2014) provokes us to rethink our understandings of place and how the interplay of local and international forces in childhood reveal social processes. Such a provocation reflects a disquiet with ideas of agency and citizenship (Millei and Imre, 2009) in relation to globalised interests and local givens.

2.7.6 Narrative identity

There is substantial literature on the ways young South Africans construct identities against the needs for thinking about everyday violence and identity making in the family (Cf Mkhwanazi and Bhana, 2017); at schools (Cf. Hunter, 2019; Teeger, 2015a; Teeger, 2015b), as they navigate gendered experiences and sexuality (Cf Bhana, 2016; Bhana, Crewe and Aggleton, 2019; Mkhwanazi and Bhana, 2017) and as they build national identities (Cf. Millei, 2014; Millei and Imre, 2009) within and against unequal social and economic forces including globalisation and history. These areas provide the context for the narratives of young South Africans told in this project. These identity constructions offer us a way into thinking about the stories told and are necessary insofar as they elucidate on the generational similarities and change that are at the heart of this project.

Narrative offers a unique entry point into thinking about the collective and individual, local and international machinations of identity and the complicated ways that young South Africans draw together the threads of intersecting experiences of violence and hope and of their pasts presents and futures. It is these intersections that inform a born-free identity that will be unpacked to make sense of the competing influences of violence and history within contexts that are simultaneously local and global. Narrative allows for the consequences of local and global histories in the stories young South Africans tell about themselves and the situated realities of race, class, gender and sexuality, location and schooling, childhood and nation and how these are interwoven together.

CHAPTER THREE: NARRATIVE and IDENTITY THEORY

In thinking about the stories people tell of apartheid it is important to note that the stories we use to describe the world and ourselves are not innocent. “Stories matter; they do things”, as Andrews (2007, p. 12) reminds us. The stories themselves become a kind of internalised myth that guides who and what we can become (McAdams, 1993). In this chapter we explore the role of stories in the construction of self specifically in relation to how memories and myths are captured in time through the emplotment, selection and narration of personal stories. Personal stories or personal myths are like the myths of old in that they carry meaning and memory forward in time (McAdams, 1993).

The self is the embodied site for the development and dissemination of myths. These myths weave together fact and fiction into a story that blurs the boundaries of time (past, present and future) as well as blurring the distinction between self and other (personal and collective). In this chapter, narrative theory will be outlined and unpacked to think about the development of such narratives following the idea that the stories of our lives are our personal myths, specifically in relation to the second generation. These myths link us into an intergenerational historical past, drawing from cultural-historical resources that are enacted in collective ways in the present. In this way, the stories we tell are myths not only about our own lives, linking us to others and to history. This is important when we think about the politics of storytelling for and among the second generation in South Africa.

3.1 Narrative and Identity

Narratives are everywhere (Toolan, 2001) and are an increasingly popular approach to making sense of the question that philosophers and psychologists have asked since time immemorial: ‘what is the self?’ (Crossley, 2000). ‘The self’ remains as intuitively obvious as it is elusive to definition (Bruner, 2002) within the social and human sciences. The ‘slipperiness’ of defining self rests in the intuitive sense of our-selves that fools us into thinking of our-selves as an obvious or essential being that is inherently knowable (Bruner, 2002). Many attempts to define the ‘self’ may result simply by pointing to one’s own body when trying to capture the complicated experiences, thoughts, behaviours and emotions that

are claimed by an individual within a particular society. Such complications speak to the difficulty of recognising and untangling individual processes like emotional affect, embodiment, agency, personality traits etc. with the socially constructive forces of language, culture and history.

The narrative inclusion of the *storied self* as an object of social science inquiry, which has come to be called ‘the narrative revolution’, is a reaction to positivist and realist approaches in understanding human life and behaviour (Lieblich et al, 1998; Reissman, 2008) and a consequence of ‘the turn to language’ (Frosh, 2001) in the social sciences. In doing so, narratives “in the social sciences, particularly those elicited through biographical interviews, have become the preferred method of data collection for researchers interested in identity construction and the connection between structure and agency” (Hyland, 2018, p. 1).

3.1.1 Reaction to Positivism and Realism

Narrative theory began to emerge in the 1980s as a response to behaviourist understandings of self in psychology (McAdams, 2018). By attempting to measure and determine human (and animal) conditioning and behaviour in laboratories and simulated environments, behaviourism embodied the dream of positivism and realism to capture evidence of universal, albeit mechanistic, cognitive processes. That the emergence of narrative as an ontology for understanding the self coincided with a shift away from such positivist and realist work in social science (Lieblich et al, 1998; Reissman, 2008) is not inconsequential. Positivism (especially as it was applied in behaviourist undertakings) takes the position that the self is empty and lifeless “devoid of any sense of privacy, feeling or humanity” (Crossley, 2000, p. 7). Such a position emphasises the cause-and-effect relationship between the stimuli of the external world and human behaviour. These causal explanatory epistemologies continue to dominate mainstream psychology, including work within cognitive-behavioural approaches among others. Causal explanatory models are distinguished from hermeneutic-interpretive epistemologies and further by narrative modes of thought and action (Sools, Tromp and Mooren, 2015). The interpretive tradition, and later narrative theory, speak to personal agency and interiority by focusing on “human ‘experience and experiencing’, ‘uniqueness’, ‘meaning’, ‘freedom’ and ‘choice’” (Crossley, 2000, p. 8).

Narrative theorists began to explore the ways that humans almost universally tell stories when asked about themselves. These stories became the kernel of investigating self in society and are sharply distinguished from the mechanistic epistemologies of earlier understandings. McAdams (2018) writes that he “began playing around with the idea that identity, if you could see it, would look like a story”. Narrative theorists claim that the self is a story so that “being a self entails having a story” (Crites, 1986, p. 162). The ‘self’ that we come to know, and feel ourselves to be, is the story we construct to tell ourselves and others about who and what we are (Bruner, 2002). We construct and tell stories that narrate the events of our lives and which give us meaning and purpose going forward. Bruner (2002) refers to such self-making as a ‘narrative art’. By analysing the stories people tell about themselves “we can understand how they make their lives coherent and meaningful” as members of particular social groups (Hyland, 2018, p.1). And in so doing, make it possible to ‘see’ identity processes at work (Hyland, 2018). The self is therefore made and read in the (content and form of) stories with which people tell about themselves (Lieblich, Tuval-Masiach and Zilber, 1998). The umbrella assumption of narrative approaches is that stories help people create, arrange and synthesize their experiences into an organised whole (Horstman, Maliski, Hays, Cox, Enderle and Nelson, 2016) and that by telling and revising their stories across time they come to make sense of themselves, others and events in the world (Denzin, 2000, Lieblich et al, 1998; McAdams, 1993).

3.1.2 The Turn to Language

The popularity of storied approaches to understanding the self is a consequence of ‘*the turn to language*’ in (critical) social science (Frosh, 2001) The ‘turn to language’ impacted on the ontological and epistemological understandings of the ways in which people make sense of their lives (Frosh, 2001, p. 28) within discursive and narrative approaches. Narrative theorists under this tradition privilege the human condition as lived, experienced and meaningfully interpreted in language (Schiff, 2006). Narrative thus promises an exploration of human meaning and intention (Schiff, 2006) in line with the promises of ‘the linguistic turn’ which placed experiencing subjects at the centre of their analyses since around the 1960s (Reason and Torbert, 2001). This focus on the experiencing subject makes language a primary site of

investigation as “*all* ways of framing and interpreting the world are human constructions framed by language in social interaction” (Reason and Torbert, 2001, p. 5; italics in original). This means that any interpretations and meaning we make about our lives are necessarily drawn from the linguistic and moral resources such as literary genres, plot structures, metaphoric themes and others (Freeman, 2001) that are available to us within culture (Crossley, 2000). That there is an inextricable connection between ‘self’ and language within such (post-)structural thinking (Crossley, 2000), forces us to re-examine the dichotomies of ‘self’ *or* ‘society’, ‘agency’ *or* ‘structure’, ‘nature’ *or* ‘nurture’ with which ‘self’ has been understood.

By shifting the analysis to include both the discursive and structural constraints alongside possibilities for agentic, reflexive experience in the making of the self (Day Sclater, 2003) the potential for thinking the self is a consequence of multiple and shifting positions within socially constructed discourse, or language is refuted. Narrative thus takes seriously the individual sense of unity, coherence and continuity (Day Sclater, 2003) and embodied subjectivities (Clegg, 2006). This sense of a complete story is elided within postmodern discursive approaches (Bradbury and Miller, 2010) when understood as opposite ends of a spectrum of human experience. In addition we must examine the “personal, psychological and social mechanisms” (Sims-Schouten, Riley and Willig, 2007, p. 107) such as embodiment, institutions and materiality or the “extra-discursive” (Frosh, 2001), that always at once constrain discursive choices available to speaking subjects. A recognition of the body *and* practices allows for a formulation of human agency that acknowledges the ways our biological makeup interacts with social and human environments (Archer, 2000). Mackenzie (2014) argues that agency and selfhood are anchored in embodied experiences (in a similar way to the embodiment of memory discussed in chapter 2). Like memory studies which refute the easy divide between mind and society, narrative selves are therefore necessarily embodied, corporeal selves.

Narrative theory interrogates language in order to unpack human meaning-making in society and therefore forges ground between the agentic and experiencing individual and the society from which they emerge. Language is therefore an important social system in the formation

self-hood but we must not ‘lose the subject’ in our quest to locate individuals within society (Crossley, 2000). A narrative self must be therefore be thought of as being at once a living, “breathing, passionate [being] in the full stream of social life” (Plummer, 1995, p. 16) *and* a consequence of the cultural and linguistic resources and constraints that are available in language (Clegg, 2006; Day Sclater, 2003; Crossley, 2000). This begs us to question how we can hold both the ‘inner’ and ‘outer’ worlds of people together without flattening their complexities? How can we acknowledge selfhood that expresses a unique individual agency but which is also ‘socially situated and culturally fashioned’ simultaneously? (Day Sclater, 2003). Are selves represented or constructed in the stories we tell about ourselves and others (Day Sclater, 2003)? Such philosophical intrigue is at the heart of making sense of narrative self.

3.1.3 Narrative self

The link between self and story in narrative theory demands that we interrogate what we “imagine narrative to be in order for us to think about it as a primary locus for selfhood?” (Day Sclater, 2003, p. 319). Many scholars may agree that “narrative is a spoken or written account of connected events; a story” (Hylan, 2018, p. 1). However, there exists a plurality of shifting uses and definitions across a range of topics of study, methodological and epistemological approaches, analyses and theoretical orientations (Squire, Andrews and Tamboukou, 2008) that make narrative more like an umbrella for a range of approaches rather than a single, clear line of investigation. Bradbury (2017) writes: “[n]arrative is an umbrella term that includes a collection of approaches and methods that vary considerably due to different conceptualisations of the relation between the words of stories and the stuff of life” (p. 16). In particular approaches vary in relation to epistemological and methodological questions about how best to capture narrative content and as such narrative is best thought of as ‘theory-method’ for the way that conceptualisations and methodological approaches coincide (Bradbury, 2017).

Moreover, non-narrative forms of expressing life or representing events or experiences (Bruner, 2002; Reissman, 2008) such as chronologies, images, lists etc. (Bruner, 2002) as well as various discursive forms of oral communication, including chronicles, reports,

arguments, and question and answer exchanges (Reissman, 2008) resist the idea that all of human experience lies in stories. We must also consider how art including visual arts, dance, music and cultural rituals articulate selfhood and identity in particular times and particular places (Schiff, 2006). Story-telling, as presented by narrative, is but one version or presentation but is not all there is. It is important that we recognise that not all talk and text are narrative (Reissman, 2008). What makes something a good story, such as a plot, characters, setting etc. are not significant nor necessary features of many verbal, written or visual expressions. We must recognise that there exists experience that resists narrativisation in the same way that Frosh (2001) asserts a recognition of the 'extra-discursive'. What distinguishes narrative from these 'extra-discursive' expressions is that narrative allows us to examine and theorise how people make sense of themselves within time. Ricoeur (1984) privileges the way that narratives account for temporal experience in the construction of human meaning in time. Bradbury (2017) writes that the ability to create coherence in life narrative gives stories their psychological value. By making integrated persona that endure across time and multiple social roles we forge commitments with and expectations between "who we are (and others) were in the past and who we (and others) will be in the future, and similarly across various social contexts" (Bradbury, 2017, p. 19). While rapid change and 'fractured multiplicities' may make creating a consistent narrative across time difficult and undesirable (Bradbury, 2017), the fleeting construction of selfhood, of constructing meaningful stories about the person in time, is inescapably and fundamentally the work of narrative (Brockmeier, 2002; McAdams, 1993; Freeman, 1993). Theorists in search of universal understandings of self and person-hood find appeal in the ways story-telling across time is what makes us human.

3.2 Meaning and interpretation

People are 'natural storytellers' (McAdams, 2013) who make sense of and give meaning to their lives by telling stories. Fivush, Booker and Graci (2017) write that:

To be human is to be a storyteller. Humans inherently seek meaning and purpose in life and stories are fundamentally the way in which humans create meaning from their experiences. Although there is no agreed upon definition of narrative, there is

consensus that narrative forms are both universal – in that they create a framework for linking actions together through time, creating beginnings, middles and ends carved from flow of experience – and culturally specific – in that they provide evaluative frameworks that define the moral good. Narratives move beyond simply chronological recounting of actions in the world to explain human motivations, emotions, commitments, and values. Thus, narratives are, by definition, ways of making meaning and constructing identity (p. 131).

Stories are what make us human (Kearney, 2002). All people tell stories in order to make sense of and give purpose to their lives. Barthes (as cited in Reissman, 2008, p. 4) writes that “narrative is present in every age, in every place, in every society, it begins with the very history of mankind and there nowhere is nor has been a people without narrative...it is simply there, like life itself”. We create meaning out of fragmentary and disconnected experience by telling stories that create a sense of coherence, a story of the life that brings together disparate and conflictual parts (Polkinghorne, 1988; Fivush, 1994; Polkinghorne, 1995). Good stories are understood within this tradition to be coherent and complete stories, which produce temporal accounts from beginning to end, give shape to formless experience and allow people to live better lives (Hyvärinen, Hydén, Saarenheimo and Tamboukou, 2010). To understand people we must examine the meaning they find by telling stories (Josselson, 1995). Fivush et al (2017) identify four ways that meaning-making in narrative is forged. These are coherence, subjective perspective, integrative meaning, and motivational themes. Of these, coherence is a central argument for making meaning and we touch on this and the other models below.

3.2.1 Coherence and making meaning in narrative

Coherence is refers to the ability to create order in the narrative (Fivush et al, 2017) by generating an account of life events that have contributed to or ‘caused’ what came next (McAdams, 1993; Polkinghorne, 1988). This causal approach to thinking about one’s developing sense of self relies on the selection and ordering of events (both perceived or actual) across time (Fivush et al, 2017; Polkinghorne, 1988). The selection and ordering of events in this way may take three forms: chronological coherence, context coherence or

thematic coherence, which allows individuals to construct chronological, causal and logical links between events (Fivush et al, 2017). These links give events meaning and significance within a person's overarching story, plot or life narrative (Polkinghorne, 1988).

The agentic and active process of selecting and making meaning in narrative is unlike a historical chronology or listing of events in sequence (Polkinghorne 1988; Reissman, 2008). While Fivush et al (2017) refer to chronological coherence this speaks to the temporal order that is given to life narratives rather than speaking to an objective historical record. Coherence within narrative demands that we interpret and recollect events from our life as we make and remake a sense of who and what we are (Freeman, 1993). To do this we must 'retroactively' (Polkinghorne, 1998) recall and select experiences that create or support our present sense of self and future imaginings of who we might be, or want to become (Cf. memory in chapter 2). A key part of our life narrative is tying together what is past and what is possible (Bruner, 2002). As such narratives do not claim to offer a record of historical fact, of how things actually were, but how they have been used and understood in the present (and future) to make sense of the complicated and/or disconnected perceptions and experiences of life (Josselson, 1995).

Additionally making meaning in narrative involves linking external events to one's evolving interiority (subjective positioning), overcoming competing or dissonant positions in the development and evolution of life events by engaging with challenges, opportunities and turning points (integrative meaning), and reflecting on individual goals, values and motivations for telling some stories over others (motivational themes) (Fivush et al, 2017). The key to each of these forms of meaning-making is how they hold the evolving story together in terms of time. Temporality is a fundamental feature of narratives both lived and enstoried. Narrators retroactively select events and link them across time (using any of the models above) by employing perception, remembrance and imagination (Polkinghorne, 1988). In doing so we create plots of our lives that are based on our memory of events and the evolving story of who we are.

3.2.2 Plotting the life story in time

Emplotment is a primary way that coherent, meaningful, self narratives are forged (Ricoeur, 1981). By plotting one's story across time one is able to 'make-sense' of complicated life events and give them an order and consistency that they may not have in life (Crossley, 2000). In particular, personal narratives are defined by having a 'beginning, middle and end', that allows the narrator to develop the causal events in the life trajectory and develop the plot and character of the story (Crossley, 2000). This conception of a beginning, middle and end relies on the application of time (Sarbin, 1986) that is symbolically and discursively central to any awareness and engagement with human activity and change (Polkinghorne, 1988). What holds human action together, in our awareness of it, is that it happens across time. Bradbury (2017) writes that:

[e]mbodied life is lived in time, inexorably moving from birth to death (shaped along the way by various developmental processes, if not stages) in between. Narratives too have a temporal structure, in which concatenations of events create an account of a movement from a beginning to what seems to be an inevitable endpoint. But a critical distinction between (biological) lives and stories lies in the vantage point from which meaning is made. Despite the ostensible forward motion of a story that carries us to its conclusion, the significant events can only be recognised once their consequences unfold in time" (p. 17).

This 'backward looking but forward moving' directionality is a feature of narrative understandings of self. Ricoeur (1981) notes that narrative is "always realised temporally and in the present" (p. 198). Labov (2006) likewise demands a reversal of chronological time that starts with the 'initiating event' in the present and then looks at the causal events that preceded it. This means that narrative time pivots off the present to retrospectively make sense of past events and to imagine what might come next (Polkinghorne, 1988). Andrews (2014) refers to this as 'time travelling'. She writes that we can and must travel backward and forward in time as we learn from our pasts and as we plan for the future (Andrews, 2014). This movement in time is also captured in Mishler's (1999) reference to the 'double arrow of time' whereby the past shapes what one can know about oneself in the present but the present

(and future) also shape understandings of the past. Narrative therefore allows for the past and future to always actively be present (Bradbury, 2017) and therefore the past and future are tied together through the present that acts as a pivot for the evolving 'I' told in narrative (Crites, 1986). One's sense of self is drawn from the recollected past and out of interests in the imagined and projected future (Crites, 1986). Thus Kierkegaard notes that "we understand backwards [...] but we live forwards" (cited in Crites, 1986, p. 165). It is the simultaneously backward and forward pointing of time that positions the 'I' in the present, and creates our sense of our-selves, of who we are and who we want to be simultaneously (Crites, 1986). Such a 'double arrow of time' (Mishler, 1999) creates a duality of movement and these "two movements are complementary, the dying of what is providing the nourishment for what shall be, but it is difficult to visualise both movements simultaneously" (Crites, 1986, p. 167).

In this way, narrative relies on introspection and recollection to select and make sense of lives going forward (Labov, 2006). Without recollection and memory, self narratives would hold no value to account for evolving events in the life course and the identity or sense of oneself that is drawn from them (Andrews, 2014). These selective recollections allow narrators to create plots that give order and coherence to both the specific story and global connections within life narrative" (Fivush et al, 2017). By selecting and integrating events, narratives weave together a pattern (Freeman, 1993) from one's remembered past, perceived present and anticipated future (Bruner, 2002). This pattern reveals how people selectively make sense of their lives across time and what counts as an acceptable script in the context.

The application of plots to events and narratives in order to make sense of and generate thematic and causal coherence between complex and disconnected events (McAdams, 1993; Polkinghorne, 1988) need not imply that narrators decide on and employ a ready-made plot or thematic structures on an independent set of events. There is instead a dialectic movement that allows events to acquire significance in relation to other parts of the story and to the overarching plot (Polkinghorne, 1988). This means that when things don't make sense, it is because events fail to become integrated into a single, coherent narrative line (Polkinghorne, 1988). Very often attempts to address trauma or other social, collective or cultural changes focus on creating new stories that may tackle the loss of meaning that comes from being

unable to integrate new events into existing narrative lines. Such psychological or pathological fragmentation occurs when individuals or societies have ‘lost the plot’ and must find new narratives that cohere with new encounters.

The stories that we tell of our lives are constantly shifting and evolving as we encounter new circumstances, friends and enterprises (Bruner, 2002). These shifting narratives are not made anew every time we encounter new experiences but are updated as time moves forward and as we integrate new events that support or challenge our existing plot. This means that narratives, like identity, are always necessarily ‘in flux’ (Hall, 1996). So while we treat narrative as a text that reflects a stable, coherent, singular identity or ‘self’ we must recognise that the construction of narrative means that identity is not passive but active, not a product but an activity (Polkinghorne, 1988). Time stands still for no-one we are told, and because of its necessary dependence on time, neither does narrative. So while we may observe a narrative *product* the fixity of narrative methodology should not belie the active construction of telling stories across time. This means that narrators are continually constructing and reconstructing themselves in narrative.

3.2.3 Relational

Making meaning in the life is the ‘task’ of storytellers (Bauman, 1996; Polkinghorne, 1988) who must select and craft a narrative tale that balances the events in their lives, their emotional responses to them and what counts as a good story. Such a task is usually presented as a lonely ‘pilgrimage’ that the individual must undertake on their own. The modern conceptualisation of identity as a ‘pilgrimage’ or ‘project’ (Bauman, 1996) illustrates the purposeful ‘journey’ that the individual undertakes in an attempt to make sense of their lives. The pilgrimage is a “sense-making story, such a story as makes each event the effect of the event before and the cause of the event after, each age a station on the road pointing to fulfilment. The world of pilgrims - of identity-builders - must be orderly, determined, predictable, ensured” (Bauman, 1996, p. 23). Directional and meaningfully coherent life narratives are endpoint or ‘destination’ that we strive toward on our ‘pilgrimages’ as storytellers. Other metaphors for more fragmented narratives, more post-modern lives exist. These metaphors may be the consequence of failing to get our stories to cohere or of stories

that speak to counter-narratives, multiplicity and/or resistance. Such fragmented stories offer much for thinking about post-modern storytelling about (historical) trauma and the value of new narratives that address the failings of traditional trauma theory. Moreover, the non-narrative and fragmentary stories force us to recognise the ways that coherence in narrative has been privileged (Hyvärinen et al, 2010).

The meaning that storytellers find in narrative is not ahistorical, apolitical existing outside the realm of our relational engagements with others. As we tell our-selves and others about our-self we share in a storytelling tradition that shapes and is shaped by the stories in that realm. “Human beings are social creatures who tell stories to relate to, console, and entertain others” (Horstman, Maliski, Hays, Cox, Enderle and Nelson, 2016, p. 326). As people tell themselves and others about themselves we must understand the choices that they employ that make their stories more like a ‘caravan of individuals negotiating a shared terrain’ (Frankish, 2009) than the solitary ‘pilgrimage’. In deciding when and how to tell their stories and with whom, people reveal specific purposes and intentions for telling some stories over others (Bruner, 2002). These decisions include factors in the process of narration such as the context of talk, understanding and interaction with an ‘audience’, mood of narrator and listener, among others (Lieblich et al, 1998).

This makes stories communicative acts that act not as monologues to be told in isolation but as shared storytelling practices (Kearney, 2002). Whether through direct talk, writing or visual arts, humans spend much time telling the stories of their lives to others. These stories narrate the lives of the tellers as characters that star in their own stories but whose stories feature all the other characters within their landscape and are often told on a shared stage. That stories are not only about us or for us is important. As ‘communicative acts’ we share linguistic traditions with those we tell our stories to (Kearney, 2002). This means that even seemingly private spaces of narration for self are constrained by the cultural and linguistic tools available within society. Such a shared cultural and linguistic landscape then “hardly requires a postmodern leap to conclude, accordingly, that self is also other” (Bruner, 2002, p. 66). Bradbury (2017) too writes that “[h]uman beings are never singular even when alone, rather, we are constituted by the internalised others of our social world” (pp. 28 – 29). This is

reminiscent of Halbwachs' (1992) memory work showing how even personal memories are directed and influenced by cultural and social norms and expectations.

The meaning that we make and find in the cultural and social norms and expectations are embedded in language. The 'turn to language' centred any analysis on human meaning making within the realm of language and the ways that existence could meaningfully be observed and interrogated within socio-linguistic choices in certain contexts. This means that language is necessarily the medium through which telling (either spoken or written) about one-self in narrative can be analysed (Polkinghorne, 1988). When we express or tell about ourselves, to ourself or to others, we use language that belongs within the shared cultural terrain (Polkinghorne, 1988). In order to communicate across this terrain individuals present themselves (a kind of performative act) by choosing how and when and what to share. These choices are based in the words and grammatical features that are used to express particular meanings. It is important then that we examine language choices that allow some stories to be told over others.

As we tell people stories of our lives we navigate what counts as a good story. A good story is not only a coherent, logical account of events in time but one which conforms to and makes use of acceptable forms of telling. These forms of telling are collectively agreed upon within the social and linguistic realms so that story telling is not just a reflection of social practices and experience but are constituted by them (Fay, 1996). Story telling is a social practice wherein what stories are (im)possible to tell are drawn from collective social designs and functions.

Some of the designs, functions, norms and values that we use to tell our stories may be universal but others may be temporary and dependent on one's place in the world. This makes the narrative account of life at once an agentic, individual accomplishment and a product of its time and place in history, emerging from specific cultural and social norms and values. Making meaning in narrative is thus a relational process that shifts as those around us make and remake the rules of storytelling in our context. Such fluidity of storytelling speaks

to the ways that developing life narratives must align with notions of what counts as a proper, acceptable or intelligible story in society (Gergen and Gergen, 1986). A relational approach to narrative requires, not that we dismiss individual autonomy. Even though society constructs and constrains what stories are possible to tell in language we need to reframe autonomy as an interdependent notion that accepts that to be ourselves we are also simultaneously other. That our stories shift in line with those around us makes the pivot for thinking about the next generation a question of social and identity norms in relation to their time and place in history.

As a social practice or ‘game’ that people learn to play when telling themselves and others about their lives, an individual draws from socio-linguistic resources, from designs and functions that create ‘rules’ about what people can say, to whom and when (Polkinghorne, 1988). These ‘rules’ of language exist to shape and construct the self and are at the heart of theoretical lines that see words and worlds as social constructions. If we think of the ‘game’ as the worlds in which people make meaning, we must understand that in order to be understood, we must follow the ‘rules’. As members of the same linguistic or community we enter world/s that have always already existed before us and which, while the ‘rules’ are ever shifting and evolving, will continue after us. To understand the stories people tell we must then know the worlds their stories emerge from and the words they use to express themselves to themselves and others (Carbaugh, 2001). This means that the listener, the other, is vital to the stories we tell.

This does not mean that words are all that exist or that we could ever approximate a complete understanding through language. Somewhere in the ‘gap’ between a strictly discursive engagement with experience and attempts to capture objective reality lies the narrative promise for understanding human meaning (Merleau-Ponty cited in Polkinghorne, 1988). Such an understanding is necessarily incomplete and we must recognise that language acts as a ‘prison-house’ (Merleau-Ponty cited in Polkinghorne, 1988) for trying to make sense of ‘extra-discursive’ reality that resists narrativisation (Frosh, 2001). We use words and symbols that we have learnt from society when we experience, think about and describe events in the world. That we cannot comprehend the raw, unfiltered version of reality that is not touched

by language, we can and must acknowledge that not all experience can be captured in words, that the symbolic, discursive and linguistic ‘rules’ of storytelling do not always reflect the totality of human experience (Frosh, 2001). We know ourselves and others through the language we share and but “this does not mean that what is linguistic or discursive fully encompasses them” (Frosh, 2001, pp. 44-45).

3.2.4 Living and Telling Stories

The question of language in narrative in relation to others and ‘extra-discursive’ reality (Frosh, 2001) demands that we also interrogate whether stories predate our narratives and are reflections of reality or are constructions that we overlay onto experience. That is, how can we know about pre-narrative, raw lived experience except by putting it in words? And as such do we always-already see the world through the lens of our personal narrative/s? (Brockmeier and Carbaugh, 2001). These questions are relevant in that the questions of experience and story are pertinent for those who did not experience the events of their parents’ lives. What is the relationship between events and stories and how does the politics of storytelling shape identities? What versions of history or our-selves can we construct, and in whose interests? Ndlovu (2012) notes that:

These philosophical questions are about the nature of human reality and, importantly about the nature of social scientific research. What are we doing when we ask people to tell us about themselves? The converse is also significant here: what are people doing when they tell us stories about themselves? The answer lies in how we conceptualize the complexity of life and story (p. 45)

The question of the relationship between story and life is usually understood in one of two ways. The first, that life is depicted in stories holds that stories come after the living and can be measure by how ‘truthfully’ they capture life (Widdershoven, 1993). The second is that stories are ideals that we strive toward and which pattern experience in the living of it (Widdershoven, 1993). Does art imitate life or does life imitate art? (Bruner, 2002). This speaks to questions about whether people “actually *experience* their lives in this way, or is it

just in the telling?” (Bruner, 1994, p. 47). The question of whether life and story are linked is the site of much theoretical contestation (Ndlovu, 2012). Fay (1996) attempts to answer the question of the chapter, ‘*Do we live stories or just tell them?*’ by arguing for a middle course or merged position of *narrativism*. In so doing he is ‘having his (theoretical) cake and eating it too’ (Ndlovu, 2012) as he attempts to overcome the debates between and across the positions of ‘Narrative Realism’ and ‘Narrative Constructionism’. Here, we can find a middle course that differentiates between a narrative position (including theorists such as Lieblich et al, 1998, above) which contends that the story *is* the self and one in which “selves are always more than stories can express” (Day Sclater, 2003, p. 318). Is life the sum of its storied parts or is it more?

‘Narrative Realism’ collapses the ontological understanding of life and story so that life is understood as inherently and inevitably existing as a storied form (Ndlovu, 2012; Fay, 1996; Bruner, 2002). Here, life fundamentally takes a narrative structure so that stories ‘mirror’ or reflects the ‘real world’ as it already exists outside of our awareness of understanding of it. This narrative structure exists in the natural world in the ways we experience all aspects of our lives including how we ‘dream, plan, hate, love and gossip’ (Ndlovu, 2012). Stories simply make use of already existing structures in the experience themselves when they are told and re-told, after the fact. In particular the temporality that exists in narrative accounts is a reproduction of time in the world. The beginnings, middles and ends of stories correspond to physical births, sequence of life events and deaths (Fay, 1996). Narrative Realists attempt attaching significance to events that they did not have at the time they were experienced.

‘Narrative Constructivism’ on the other hand, claims that life and story are ontologically separate (Ndlovu, 2012). This position claims that the stories we use to make sense of the ourselves, others and the world act to ‘socially construct’ what we know (Ndlovu, 2012). It is through the stories we tell that life, which otherwise has no inherent structure, is made meaningful and organised. Life is a series of disconnected experiences that relies on us to impose meaning and structure (in language) that allows a (particular) story to emerge (Fay, 1996). We produce the characters, events and plots by how we choose to tell some stories

over others. These stories, and the constructions that allow them, exist before we are born and continue after we die, challenging the argument for real-world temporal events of births and deaths that hold together realist assumptions. This is “the question of how fiction creates realities so compelling that they shape our experiences not only of the worlds the fiction portrays but of the real world” (Bruner, 2002, p. 9). The meaning we make in narrative allows us as narrators to find coherence within fragmented and disorganised worlds and by speaking to fundamental human ‘truths’ a model of human meaning that is more than objective reality is realised (McAdams, 1993). Narrative ‘truth’, from a constructionist position, is more than the sum of factual parts that make up a realist account of life. Human’s tell the ‘truth’ when they proactively and retroactively make meaning out of their lives.

The distinction that is created between narrative realism and narrative construction underpins the work of historians and psychologists as they attempt to find the ‘truth’ that may be more or less related to what ‘really’ happened and how people retrospectively make sense of events. Historians, and others working across historical time, traditionally attempt to capture the story of history as it has been lived by real people (Mishler, 1999). This distinguishes historical narratives and fictional constructions by measuring how accurately accounts reflect ‘what actually happened’ (Polkinghorne, 1988). Psychotherapists examine the ways people deceive themselves with the stories (or cognitions) that they tell themselves, or which through distortions, repression and dissociation, unhealthy or unwelcome experience may be denied or split off (Ricoeur, 1991) from conscious awareness. However psychotherapeutic work may also foster new stories and cognitions of life to address the disconnection of trauma and to find coherent alternatives when people ‘lose the plot’ (Crossley, 2000).

Fay (1996) offers a position between realism and constructionism that he calls ‘*narrativism*’. This position attempts to avoid both the conflation and separation of life and narrative that creates a binary in positions where one must hold that life is or is not stories, where both the lived and told (enstoried) dynamics of experience can be considered together (Fay, 1996). Fiasse’s (2014) reading of Ricoeur’s ‘hermeneutics of self’ suggests that rather than either/or, or both/and that life is *more than* what is lived or told. Our lives cannot be reduced to our lived story or our narrative identity and we must continually question what it is:

to be human, to be able to reflect on one's own identity, to narrate the story of one's life by configurations and reconfigurations, to shape one's identity thanks to signs of culture that precede us, and finally to have an ethical life (Fiasse, 2014, p. 50).

In this way, stories are interpretations of life, in that life and story share and construct meaning across time (Widdershoven, 1993). The necessary interpretive and hermeneutic implications for understanding the stories we tell and can tell about ourselves mean that "life and story are only meaningful in and through mutual interaction" (Widdershoven, 1993, p. 4). By expressing experience and imposing meaning retrospectively on events we recognise that we can create new versions of the past that shape and redirect our understanding of the present and hopes for the future. For the 'hinge' generation the work of identity making entails finding meaningful connections between storytelling about the past and their present lived experiences in ways that will creatively plot their lives into the future.

3.3 Master and Counter Narratives

How young people tell their stories, when and how speaks to the socio-linguistic realm in which storytelling is possible. McKenzie-Mohr and Lafrance (2017) note that "when we talk we are created: linguistic practices continually construct our social identities, which in turn direct and constrain our actions" (p. 191). As such, stories are social and cultural products and we draw from socio-linguistic resources and storytelling traditions outside of our-selves that shape "who we *are* and what we can *do*" (McKenzie and Lafrance, 2017, p. 191; italics in original). Within the socio-linguistic realm these stories are highly contested and not all stories have equal social power. Stories that 'get it right' are those that conform to acceptable ideas of storytelling in the context (Gergen and Gergen, 1986) and achieve a type of 'master status' that reflects the social power invested in some kinds of stories over others (McKenzie and Lafrance, 2017). These master narratives define cultural and behavioural norms and offer a dominant way of understanding life that may largely be invisible or taken-for-granted (McKenzie and Lafrance, 2017). Dominant narratives of these kinds may become oppressive

as they close off opportunities for other kinds of stories to emerge or be legitimated in society or to allow lived events to find a voice.

When narratives are oppressive in their consequences, they warrant contestation, and in such circumstances counter narratives support people in telling new and more helpful stories for their lives. They are the stories which people tell and live which offer resistance, either implicitly or explicitly, to dominant cultural narratives (McKenzie and Lafrance, 2017, p. 192).

We are reminded of Plummer's (1995) politics of telling stories. The politics of storytelling in the present is key to this project. As much as stories can both account for events of the past, or recreate new versions, "stories are not just practical and symbolic actions: they are also part of the political process" (p. 26). Parker (1989) too writes that "what is spoken, and who may speak, are issues of power" (p. 61), the stories people tell, though seemingly private and individual, 'speak' of broader social, regulative and discursive mechanisms that allow certain kinds of stories to be told, but also constitutes the self through these processes. Plummer's (1995) questions, into when and how stories might be told, legitimated or silenced, raise important issues for thinking about the kind of stories that have been told about and in response to apartheid South Africa. In particular, Plummer (1995) focuses on four broad area of storytelling, that is, the nature of stories, making stories, the strategies of storytelling, and the consumption of stories. These stories, as Plummer (1995) has already indicated, carry power to be legitimated and voiced or to be silenced. It is against the dual force of memory and silence, coupled with the politics of storytelling, that we take up Plummer's (1995) task of thinking about which stories, and how they have been told, as well as what and how other stories might have been silenced? In what ways do the stories told interact with those that have not been told, and what does this mean in the construction of personal and collective identity making? Andrews (2007) asks: "what makes some stories more 'tell-able' than others, and [to what extent] is it ever possible to 'read' silences, or the 'not told'" (p. 3).

Counter narratives, of this kind, are not easily told or heard. McKenzie and Lafrance (2017) open up spaces for narrative resistance by being mindful of the performative role of language and considering the words that we use and how they have the “capacity to open up or shut down ways of accounting, bringing some stories into view as obvious and common sense, while rendering others invisible and untellable” (p194). In addition they listen for moments of narrative resistance by attending to ‘linguistic incongruence’ and ‘narrative debris’ that are embedded in the ways we talk about our-selves, by ‘double listening’ and examining metaphors (Mckenzie and Lafrance, 2017). These allow them to listen for the ‘absent but implicit’ resistances underpinning the discursive features of people’s narratives. They also unpack, deconstruct and externalise master narratives with the use of audience to nurture resistance narratives and mobilise new stories for emancipatory change (Mckenzie and Lafrance, 2017).

By telling new stories in this way one can resist oppression and redefine self and other. Further those who revise or re-story difficult or traumatic experiences into more positive and coherent storylines are known to express greater well-being (Horstman et al, 2016). Issues of justice, peacebuilding and reconciliation – especially in South Africa after 1994 – similarly re-story events in the political landscape. This process allow for ‘healing’ of past oppressions by allowing new or counter stories to emerge. Such a shift may inadvertently create new borders, boundaries and policing of what counts as an acceptable story, who can talk, when and how (Little, 2011).

Ultimately the concept of reconciliation can constrain narrative by policing and foreclosing acceptable and sensible discourse thereby producing blockages because the dominant, normative approach cannot reflect the multitude of interpretations of reconciliation while still driving towards an agenda of compromise. In short, if reconciliation’s aim is to bring together perpetrators and victims of the past in one way or another, then it relies on a certain disposition amongst interlocutors which is based on performed conciliatory mentalities (Little, 2011, p. 86).

If the political context of apartheid demands an analysis of story-telling in the transmission of memory between generations we are alerted to the ways that memory trauma – and its co-conspirator silence - are invested with narrative and identity where we tell ourselves (political) stories about who we are. Even our most private stories are political in that they may be silenced or told in some spaces over others. How and when we tell stories about what is remembered is vital to making sense of how the events of conflictual histories are transmitted to the next generation and come to inform their own identities and what they imagine for the future. It is to this end that we explore the politics of storytelling among the next generation and the ways that they navigate past, present and future.

3.4 Intergenerational stories

A narrative self, told in the course of one's own lifespan, is a neat theory, albeit a messy process (Plummer, 2001). Telling oneself about oneself is understood as a key mechanism for giving meaning to events over time. When we think about young South Africans for whom events that shaped their lives occurred before they were born, a number of questions about narrative remain. These questions link us to the work of Hoffman (2004) and Freeman (2010) whose location of longer histories and narrative unconscious allow us to make sense of narratives of conflictual histories that were not experienced in the course of the teller's own lifespan.

Hoffman's (2004) work on intergenerational trauma and specifically, mediated or received knowledges after the Holocaust, introduces us to thinking about the *psychology* and *politics* of the second generation. Her work suggests that the continuities (rather than fissures) between living generations after large-scale violence and trauma are important analytic sites and that we should look at the ways psychic material (alongside other material legacies) can be passed between generations and carried forward into the present and future. This is what Freeman (2010) terms the 'narrative unconscious'. Narratives form a part of our deep conscious and fundamental part of our sense of self (as we have seen), and is comprised of layers of history that we may not be aware of but which we access (sometimes unconsciously) when we build our individual stories (Freeman, 2010).

The sedimented layers of memory that we access, Freeman (2010) calls the ‘narrative unconscious’. By recognising these unconscious layers Freeman (2010) moves stories beyond simply telling of personal events and constructing individual meaning, to stories that belong within the realm of culture and collective memory. It is here that collective resources from a longer history can become “inscribed, often unknowingly, in the inner recesses of the mind and self” (Freeman, 2010, p. 105). Work by Halbwachs (1992), Nora (1989) and others has shown that memory/ies exist as social and political products, even when we refer to private events in one’s own life. Moreover, memory studies have shown that the past has a presence in the present (Birth, 2006). How we think about and manage the past has implications for ongoing psychological realities among the generation that follows. These stories are carried within the narrative unconscious and defined by the stories we tell or do not tell about the past. By introducing the narrative unconscious, and arguing for collective memory we are reminded of Hoffman’s (2004) text on the indirect relationship of the ‘second generation’ to the atrocities of the past:

“It was not that the mythical vision of the world I had put together from scraps of story and imagery was untrue. The mythology, after all, derived from reality. It was just that I knew it *as* mythology and had no way of grasping it as actuality” (p. 16, emphasis in original).

Freeman (2010) is clear that this ‘mythology’ of a longer past (longer than an individual life) which he terms the ‘narrative unconscious’ is unlike the unconscious posited by Psychoanalysis. Rather Freeman (2010) refers to a cultural²⁸ dimension of memory, and “specifically, to those culturally rooted aspects of one’s history that remain uncharted and that consequently, have yet to be incorporated into one’s story” (p. 97). However, whilst the ‘narrative unconscious’ remains largely uncharted, both Freeman (2010) and Hoffman (2004) offer personal accounts of moments when aspects of the ‘narrative unconscious’ do become

²⁸ This use of culture speaks to language, cultural practice, history and politics.

incorporated into one's story. For Freeman (2010) this is a visceral experience of a Jewish history whilst in Berlin. For Hoffman (2004) this is the making sense of her parents' history and the mythology that has passed onto her as a child of Holocaust survivors. That parents lives and stories – told or untold - can become an important part of the story of the second generation, demands an approach to thinking about how collective memory informs personal narratives among the youth.

While we explore how people remember conflictual events, and tackle the reading of silences in the embodied experiences of survivors and its role in the transmission of intergenerational trauma, it is important not to dismiss history/historical fact. Focusing on myths, is not an approach that elides the very real 'pastness of the past'. Instead, and far more importantly, it allows us to see the traces of this past in the present without falling into the trap of claiming 'trauma'. In the end, we can never really be sure about the actual events, but we can read, as suggested regarding silence, the ways that stories of the past come to feature in the present as coded, political, distortions and even silence/s.

Memory myths, of the kind introduced in Hoffman's (2004) reflections, do not refer only to a select group of vulnerable or victimised individuals. They exist and are drawn on through the broader processes of memorialisation and collective remembering. Hayes (1998) contends that "in a sense everybody has a story to tell about our ordinary lives during apartheid, not only the victims. The real horror of apartheid is that for four decades its inhumanity and brutality were ordinary, were everyday" (p. 38). This 'everydayness' of our traumatic past also points to the fact that while the perpetration of specific violent acts by the state and other political actors may be in the past, apartheid is not a closed chapter in South Africa's history but was and continues to be a vital thread in people's lived experiences (as noted in the section on everyday violence in chapter 1).

Talking about myths allows us to focus on the third point regarding intergenerational trauma: knowledge. The first two points concerning family and silence are addressed above. When we think about knowledge we must ask: How is apartheid represented in the mythology of the

past amongst the next generation? What do they know and how do they know it? What does it mean for lives in the present and the future?

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

Storytelling is an important way that people construct and engage with themselves and others. Research confirms the view that identities are multiple and fluid (Hall, 1996) and are enacted variously by people across time and space (Pattman and Chege, 2003). However, it is also clear that respondents, are not always free, unfettered authors creating themselves out of nothing. “They are constrained by the positions made available to them in longstanding popular cultural discourses (Foucault, 1979)” (Pattman and Kelihiy, 2004 p. 85). In this sense, this research project does not claim to tap into existing and fixed understandings or identities. Rather, it contends that the respondents construct their identities through what they say about themselves and others, and that this depends on how they position themselves in relation to, and are positioned by, the interviewer(s), and the existing discourses on which they draw in their storytelling. In a study on Australian families, Reiger (2016) found that “late modern conditions of increased affluence, social and geographic mobility, and technological change mean new opportunities for self-invention” (p. 73). Young people and families are inventing themselves in new ways as cultural and generational resources shift.

Bray et al (2010) in their book on ‘*Growing up in the new South Africa*’ suggest that understanding ordinary, urban children and adolescents within Cape Town can offer optimistic stories of youth, beyond the pathologies and/or vulnerabilities of being young that they find proliferating in public accounts. They claim that their investigation offers a promise for healing the nation: “As Nelson Mandela himself has often emphasised, young people ‘are special not only because they are vulnerable, and are the first to suffer whenever we adults get things wrong, but also because of their remarkable spirit, their ability to heal not only themselves but their societies as well’ (Mandela 2000)” (Bray et al, 2010, p. 22). Beyond both of these tendencies to problematise or romanticise youth, this project seeks to explore the ways that youth themselves navigate the tensions and national identity making (Burman, 2016) of life in the ‘new’ South Africa.

How young people navigate the hope and despair characteristic of their generation is to be found in the stories of a longer past. By exploring how young people talk about the past,

present and future this research project offers insight into the ways ‘born-free’ South Africans remember, forget, reconstruct, change and/or navigate conflictual histories.

4.1 Aims and Objectives

The aims of the project were originally to explore the forms that intergenerational trauma took among the second generation in South Africa. After the pilot study these aims shifted in line with epistemological and methodological requirements of doing this kind of work (see appendix 10, page 339). The pilot study tested a focus group and two interviews for the ways that participants reacted to a line of questioning asking directly about historical events, dynamics with the researcher, language, ethics etc. The outcome was to accept that directly asking about history in the collective space of a focus group would be untenable. The need to shift questioning away from direct talk about historical events also reframed the design to look for the ways that historical memory is embedded in the construction of narrative identities. This was framed by narrative theory that brings together the collective and individual through language and culture. As such, the project enquires into the collective and individual sense making embedded in the stories young people tell about their lives. An important feature of these narratives involves how the specifics of their personal histories have come to be understood within their communities (social spaces) and across time (past, present and future).

4.2 Research Questions:

How do young people across different geographical? spaces (urban, township and rural) experience the apartheid past and navigate the present and future?

- a. What public, collective and private, personal stories of the past feature in the stories young people tell about themselves?
- b. How and when are these stories told? By whom?
- c. How are these narratives and identity resources received by young people? i.e how and when are they included in narratives of lives in the present and in their projected future?

4.3 Theoretical underpinnings: Narrative methodology

The theory-method of narrative research (Bradbury, 2017) rests on the assumption that people are natural story tellers (Lieblich et al, 1998) and that to know people we must know their story/ies. In narrative epistemologies and methods the story is therefore the main object of investigation (Reissman, 1993). If we take seriously the multiplicity, embodied and ‘extra-discursive’ (Frosh, 2001) elements of life (as suggested in chapter 3) we must recognise that the narrative produced in research is a single snapshot of a life in motion. This means narrative researchers are tasked with concretising narrative in ways that are not fully representative of the dynamic, evolving nature of narrative and identity (Lieblich et al, 1998). Such are the limits of any approach that treats human life as a text. (Ricoeur)

However, by recognising the limits of storytelling methodologies we also open up possibilities for more grounded engagements with what narratives *can* offer. Narrative allows researchers to make sense of the meaning and temporality that narrators use when articulating who they are and who they want to be. These features of the narrative can be read in the socio-linguistic content and structure of how and when narrators tell some stories over others. In particular, features of the text that reveal the context of talk, aims of the interview, interaction between interlocutors and other factors in the process of narration (Lieblich et al, 1998) are helpful for making sense of ways people give meaning and order to their experiences across time. By looking at the ways people construct their stories, narrative methodology can examine who people are and what counts as a good story in their world/s (Reissman, 1993). This means that narrative researchers ask not just what a story says but why and how it was told the way it was (Reissman, 1993). Bradbury (2017) writes that while something may be lost in narrative other things may be found. What is found is the ability to attend to “grand narratives of history and socio-political life [that] articulate with/in and through individual, personal lives or psychological realities” (p. 14). It is also possible in some, but not all, cases to open up possibilities for positive or cathartic engagements with self through reflecting on and becoming conscientised to one’s story (Bradbury, 2017). What is often lost in narrative research is options to engage with non-narrative, the relational dynamics of stories that give way to individualised stories and the danger of re-inforcing what counts as a good story (Bradbury, 2017). Below we look at the messy and uneven

dynamics of narrative research to try to capture ‘good’ stories and overcome some of the challenges faced by a narrative approach.

4.3.1 Interpretive co-construction

That the narrative interview has the ability to (co-)construct narratives in the methodology of narrative research and to interpret the way people make sense of their lives is key to the narrative project. The stories that we end up with are the result of “negotiated research practice” (Caine, Estefan and Clandinin, 2013) in which the researcher interprets ‘truths’ that are always partial and dynamic (Lieblich et al, 1998). Narrative interpretation rejects the view that research interviews ‘discover’ the ‘truth’ but that they ‘construct’ stories with participants at a particular time and a particular place (Wengraf, 2001). Such a construction reflects the position that narrators are constantly making and re-making their story (and consequently) themselves as they tell their stories to others. This may be troublesome for positivists who seek an unproblematic window on psychological or social realities in which fixed or stable identities are extracted and analysed ‘objectively’ (Wengraf, 2001). Instead research data of the interpretive kind produces a particular story at a particular moment for a particular listener.

Because of the primary role of language to express and share meaning, narrative researchers access the talk, text, interaction and interpretation of how people make sense of their lives and cannot know or observe human meaning directly (Reissman, 1993). For this reason we cannot be objective and must interpret the stories we hear (Reissman, 1993). This means that we must take seriously issues of subjectivity and voice, especially if we are inclined toward producing (feminist) work that shifts individuals or initiates social change. How do we speak for others? What does it mean to ‘give voice’? When and how do we interpret the voices we hear in research? (Reissman, 1993). In the framing of narrative interpretation we are forced to engage with the other and to see the interviews as a ‘conversation’ with opportunities for producing a narrative through the interpersonal dynamics that connect the teller and listener (Reissman, 1993). This speaks to the communicative role of language within narrative (Kearney, 2002) and recognises that people construct stories together with the other/listener (Reissman, 1993) In this way both the teller and listener are implicated in the final

‘conversation’ or story that emerges from the research, these implications include: “the reciprocal actions of teller and listener in beginning and ending a story and the listener’s need to encode and interpret it” (Reissman, 1993, p. 41). This interaction, though akin to the see-saw interaction of regular conversation (Frankish, 2009) remains uneven. While both teller and listener co-construct the narrative account there are different power relations that make some stories (im)possible to tell. When we advocate for narrative interpretation we accept that the stories (or ‘truths’) that emerge from the interview differ “significantly from its positivistic counterpart in its underlying assumptions that there is neither a single, absolute truth in human reality nor one correct reading or interpretation of a text. The narrative approach advocates pluralism, relativism and subjectivity” (Lieblich et al, 1998, p. 2). This does not mean that narrative does not reveal ‘truths’. Rather the ‘truth’ of narrative rests precisely in the distortions, lies etc. that narrators use to give meaning to their lives (Personal Narratives Group, 1989). The meaning that people make in narrative is revealed through the story telling form, a meaning that the narrator themselves may be oblivious to (Josselson, 2006). Narrative interviews reveal messy, uneven truths that are the job of the researcher to untangle and interpret.

We must take seriously the power imbalance in interpretive research. While we recognise the co-construction of research data we must be cautious to suggest that participants have power beyond the choice of how to tell their stories. Co-constructed research is no less ‘asymmetrical’ (Henning, van Rensburg and Smit, 2004) for its recognition of the role of the researcher in conducting the interviews and analysing the stories that are produced. Ultimately the story that is told in research is ‘managed’ by the researcher (Henning et al, 2004) who decides what questions to ask and for what purpose (Reissman, 1993). We must ask, as Reissman (2008) does “[h]ow is a story coproduced in a complex choreography – in spaces between teller and listener, speaker and setting, text and reader, and history and culture?” (p. 105). These questions speak to the ways the dialogic interaction constructs knowledge through interpretive processes that are “situated, transient, partial, and provisional, characterised by multiple voices, perspectives, truths and meanings. It values transformation at a personal level, individual subjectivity and the researcher’s voice” (McCormack, 2002, p. 220). Narrative method demands that we attend to the “meaning

making processes of both participants and researchers in the exploration of psychosocial life” (Bradbury, 2017, p. 14).

4.3.2 Listening to stories

The narrative design of this project focused on the temporal understandings of young South Africans across time. Narrative theory speaks to the meaning-making and subjectivity that emerge from storytelling as a consequence of plotting and giving order to events in time (Polkinghorne, 1988). The Biographic Narrative Interview Method by Wengraf (2001) is one way in which the narrative design grapples with movement between events/themes and the whole, between the historically situated subject and personal biographies and events. The method tries to get interviewees to wander through their (recovered) memories so that they may happen upon the seemingly trivial events that reveal personal meaning, socio-cultural processes and historical contexts (Roseneil, 2012). BNIM thus offers narrative researchers a way to capture deep, interpretivist biographies and narratives that facilitate an in depth qualitative exploration of life stories in context. So while BNIM suggests that participants may not (yet) know about them-selves²⁹, this method positions the researcher as ‘listener’ and allows marginalised voices to come to the fore (Peta, Wengraf and McKenzie, 2018; Spivak, 1988)

We must ‘listen’ to the ways our participants do in fact speak (Andrews, 2007). Participants share stories that are expressly their own and they choose how and when to tell them. These stories hold the power to direct the flow of talk, to remain silent or to choose what words to use as they describe themselves and their lives. Moreover in speaking, research participants draw from socio-cultural resources, from experiences and from storytelling that exist outside of the interview. These resources and experiences may be of the embodied, non-narrative or ‘extra-discursive kind that direct stories but which cannot be discursively interrogated (Frosh, 2001). Like all narrators, young South Africans constantly make and remake their stories as they encounter ‘new circumstance, friends and enterprises’ (Bruner, 2002). The text that

²⁹ Self is the primary unit of investigation in BNIM

emerges from the narrative interview remains unevenly produced but it is not the final word on an evolving and dynamic life story.

4.3.3 Visual methodologies

The narrative design was complemented by the use of visual data collection methods. Studies on childhood in the social sciences emphasise the need to work with young people in participatory ways (Lomax, 2012). Creative practices and applications including art, photography, drawing, collage and video methods have been developed to address the need for youth-centred methodologies (Lomax, 2012). Participatory, visual methods of these kinds, in combination with narrative methods, may also help address the limits of narrative research by finding ways to capture life and events that are ‘non-stories’, invisible or silenced (Bradbury, 2017). This must include recognising multiple temporal trajectories in the gap between life and story, and by recognising the importance of relationality in human life by situating an individualised story within its context (Bradbury, 2017). Bradbury and Kiguwa (2012) oversaw a project in which photographic material was used to reflect on and map autobiographies from women researchers as they tried to understand the fragmented and multiple experiences of student life across intersections of gender, class and race. Other projects in the context that were inspired by Squire’s (2011) visual autobiographical methods (cited in Bradbury and Kiguwa, 2012) or Wengraf’s (2011) BNIM include: Haynes-Ronaldo (2016); Liccardo (2015); Coats (2013); Haley (2010); Frankish (2009) and Selohilwe (2009). These projects variously used visuals provided by participants (such as photographs used by Haley-Ronaldo, 2016) but also constructed visual diagrams, charts and representations in the analysis of narrative content (Liccardo, 2015; Coats, 2013; Haley, 2010; Frankish, 2009; Selohilwe, 2009). That much critical and narrative work in the context includes visual methodologies builds off the idea by Rose (2016) that visual images are embedded in the social world. This means that efforts to understand the social world of participants necessitate an analysis of visual content.

This research project includes both visual tasks undertaken by participants (in the form of body-mapping and timeline exercises) and analysis that includes representing the chronological and interview timelines as visual representations of the life lived and story told (see attached data lines, appendix thirteen). “Visual data collection methods involve participants in documenting and reflecting on their worlds, enabling them to narrate lives that may be difficult to both tell

and hear” (Bradbury, 2017, p. 33), or to allow researchers to ‘listen’ to their participants (Andrews, 2007).

4.4 Research sites and profile of participants

In a project on second generation memory, I have interviewed 32 adolescents, ranging in age from 15 - 21³⁰, from three communities (urban, township and rural) around KwaZulu-Natal. Narrative interviews have yielded rich data that speak to the different histories and realities of young people from different cultural, linguistic and racial backgrounds. A visual task (including body maps at the first two sites and timeline at the last) was used to develop initial rapport and followed with interviews that were conducted with individual participants during hour-long, narrative interviews, within schools³¹ from across the province (KwaZulu-Natal, see Figure 1 in the introduction). Table one below introduces the basic biographic details of the participants in the project:

³⁰ The participants were interviewed during the latter part of 2011; early 2012 and 2013.

³¹ The site of research and of data collection was within participating schools.

Table 1: Profile of Participants by location

Participants	Approx. ages	Number of Participants interviewed	Racial profile³²	Number of Male respondents	Number of Female respondents	Home language/s
Rural school (School A):	15 - 21³³	10	10 black participants	3	7	isiZulu
Suburban school (former model C) (School B):	16 - 17	9	1 indian participant; 1 coloured participant; 2 white participants; 5 black participants	3	6	Various: English, Afrikaans, isiZulu
Township school (School C):	15 - 19	13	13 black participants	7	6	isiZulu

Table two below includes the pseudonyms and details of the participants at the rural school. There were 10 participants at the rural school. All of the participants were black. There were 3 male respondents and 7 female. They ranged in age from 16 – 21.

³² In South Africa, under apartheid, four official race categories were constructed Black, White, Indian and Coloured. Those classified 'Black' included indigenous groups and other people originating from Africa. 'White' referred to European settlers and their descendents. 'The category 'Indian' spoke to indentured laborers and their descendents who originated from Asia. 'Coloured' was a general category used for individuals of mixed (Black/White or Indian/Black); Malay; or Khoisan heritage. This project uses these same four categories (despite the obvious risk of reproducing them) because of the focus on the past and its ongoing effects in the present.

³³ One participant at the rural school reports being 21 but elsewhere also notes a birthday in 1996 which would have made him 17 years of age at the time of the study, so his exact age is unclear.

Table 2: Participants Rural school³⁴

Participant Pseudonym	Sex	Race	Age	Transcript number
Khethiwe Duma*	F	B	17	23A
Naledi Mokhosi*	F	B	16	24A
Cebesile Mchunu*	F	B	17	25A
Nonhle Mkhwanazi*	F	B	16	26A
Bongani Hlongwane*	M	B	17/21	27A
Sindiswa Thwala*	F	B	17	28A
Vusimuzi (Vusi) Msomi	M	B	16	29A
Thabile Zondo*	F	B	16	30A
Jabulani Siyanda Nzimande	M	B	17	31A
Xolani Gigaba*	F	B	16	32A

Table three below includes the pseudonyms and details of the participants at the suburban school. There were 9 participants at the suburban school. They varied in racial backgrounds. There were 2 male respondents and 7 female. They ranged in age from 16 – 17.

Table 3: Participants Suburban school³⁵

Participant Pseudonym	Sex	Race	Age	Transcript number
Adam Naidoo*	M	I	17	14B
Zena van der Westhuizen*	F	W	17	15B
Jabulani Dlamini*	M	B	17	16B
Andrea Peterson*	F	C	16	17B
Zola Zulu*	F	B	16	18B
Ayanda Ntuli*	F	B	16	19B
Nomalanga Shangase	F	B	16	20B
Zama Mthethwa*	F	B	17	21B
Pieter Steyn	M	W	17	22B

Table four below includes the pseudonyms and details of the participants at the township school. There were 13 participants at the township school. All of the participants were black. There were 7 male respondents and 6 female. They ranged in age from 15 – 19.

Table 4: Participants Township school³⁶

Participant Pseudonym	Sex	Race	Age	Transcript number
Duduzile (Dudu) Maphumulo*	F	B	16	1C
Fikile Zondo*	F	B	16	2C
Khanyisile Buthelezi*	F	B	16	3C
Lindile Shezi*	M	B	17	4C
Sipho Sithole*	M	B	17	5C
Njabulo Banda*	M	B	17	6C
Bhekisizwe Ngcobo*	M	B	19	7C
Khethelo Xaba*	M	B	16	8C
Thenjiwe Cele*	F	B	16	9C
Gugu Shabangu*	F	B	15	10C
Thando Mbambo	M	B	17	11C
Philani Sibiya	M	B	17	12C
Cebesile Mokhosi*	F	B	16	13C

4.4.1 Sites of research:

Each of the research sites was selected as representative of different socio-political and geographical realities that would enable the research to engage with heterogeneous South African youth. In particular, these sites are classed and raced, shaped by apartheid spatial planning of the past.

³⁶ While the analyses (chapters five to seven) and themes (in chapter seven) are drawn from all of the transcripts, extracts of data are included from those participants are indicated with an asterisk (*). Not clear why. Perhaps reverse – asterisk for those from whom data is not included and state why.

Suburban school: The suburban school is located within a once all-white, Durban suburb. Established in the mid-fifties this school catered initially only for Afrikaans speaking white students. This school simultaneously became dual-medium English/Afrikaans and multi-racial at about the point of transition in 1994. This school serves a suburban community that was historically a white, working class community that had many of the protections of other white suburban spaces under apartheid but was not as affluent as similar suburban spaces elsewhere in Durban or across the country. Like most 'former model C' schools, the participating suburban school turned 'government (or public) school' under the new dispensation. The legacy of apartheid education and results of present school-based governing body decisions about fee structures and the like, means that this school remains a fairly well-resourced and efficient site of learning. So while a diverse range of students have access to the school, class has come to supersede race and language (at least in terms of a shift from Afrikaans³⁷ as the sole medium of instruction to include English) with regards to entry criteria. Located in a Durban suburb, this school serves a community that was relatively protected from violence under apartheid. This protection was afforded at the cost of nearby township and low-cost communities whose families now increasingly send their children to this and other schools within the suburban space. The suburb in which the school is located was historically a white, working class suburb largely providing artisans and tradespeople to service the busy harbour and attached rail services. Access to wealth and opportunity have therefore historically and currently been experienced differently to other white communities in Durban and across the country as class has constrained social mobility.

Township school: The township school is located within a recent extension of the older more established township. Much like the whole community, the young, government school (of little more than 10 years) also deals with the irony of being wedged between the economic hub of the central business district in Durban and the affluent, previously white suburban

³⁷ The school is dual medium English-Afrikaans and this means that Afrikaans is no longer the sole medium of instruction. Choice of the languages of instruction continues to discriminate against those whose mother tongue is neither English nor Afrikaans; notably the majority of citizens of KwaZulu-Natal whose home language is isiZulu or another local language.

spaces and a shopping mall, whilst itself being relatively under-resourced and serving a poor community. Under apartheid, the township within which the school is located was a site of extreme violence as police and other state forces sought to control and limit the struggle uprising within the community. Political undercurrents within the township under apartheid meant that neighbours turned against each other and old antagonisms continue to simmer below the surface within the community.

Rural school: Lastly, the rural school is a government school, opened after 1994 to serve the rural communities in the mountains of KwaZulu-Natal. This school not only serves a very poor community, but does so within a community where other social services are hard to access because they are located at quite a distance from the school and the communities they serve. The community has a long history of clashes between different groups of people (including the San and Zulu, English and Zulu, and English and Afrikaans) in the area, the mountain spaces and neighbouring towns. Clashes within the community that were both continuations and re-articulations of earlier conflicts and new fault lines also marked the apartheid period. Alongside the official apartheid repression based on race politics, the late 1980s and early 1990s also saw massive divisions and violence within communities in what has been known as 'black on black' violence. In particular this violence, supported by an apartheid government 'third force' in the interests of the ruling, white elite, was primarily marked by a distinction in political affiliation between those supporting the Inkatha Freedom party (IFP) and the African National Congress (ANC) in the period leading up to the first democratic elections. Moreover, the history of chieftdomship in the area elicits a story of complicated affiliations between people in the area. Despite being based in a poor community, the rural school that participated in this study is a very well performing school and regularly features in year-end articles about individual student successes and very high pass rates³⁸.

³⁸ The rural school performs on par with the suburban school and both rural school and suburban far exceed the pass rates of the township school.

These different histories (represented by different research sites) remind us that we could perhaps should more appropriately speak of the multiple and heterogeneous ways in which apartheid was (and its legacy continues to be) experienced for different people across South Africa, reminding us of Nora's (1989) work on 'lieux de mémoire', or communities of memory making. In this project these communities can often be almost directly mapped onto actual geographic space owing to the historical and ongoing spatial architecture of South Africa.

It is with this in mind, that it is important to recognise the ways that the kinds of stories these young people tell are provoked and informed by the researcher. Social (and narrative) research that recognises that research is as an act of interpretation necessitates an inquiry into the way that stories are told in the uneven, seesaw motion that characterises research interviews. While much time will be dedicated to the dynamics between the readers and the participants in analysis (see below), it is important to recognise the ways that, throughout the interviews, the researcher's questions direct and initiate conversation. This is important as we consider the position of the researcher (a white, middle class South African and herself quite young at the time of South Africa's transition in 1994) and the way she may have been positioned by the research participants. In particular, these positions become important in the light of the multiple and divergent histories of the different sites of the research and the legacies of received knowledge carried forward by the participants as well as the researcher.

4.5 Ethics:

Based in standard and obligatory research ethics, this project respects the fundamental tenets of ethical research praxis. This includes informed consent, the option of withdrawal, nonmaleficence, and 'truth' telling (not actively misrepresenting the worlds of the participants) (Blaxter, Hughes and Tight, 1998). The commitment to these tenets, as well as a clear outline of the project and commitment by the participants is elaborated upon both in the letter of informed consent for participants and parents and the letter of request to the schools (see Appendices 1 - 6, pages 320 - 331) as well as a letter of request sent to the Department of Education (see Appendix 7, page 332). Although informed consent is mediated through the school and parents for the young participants, neither of these parties had access to the 'data'

generated in the course of the discussions and the youth themselves ultimately chose to participate in the project once access was secured. This means a secondary layer of ethics whereby the young participant was consulted to give informed consent, could choose to withdraw at any time and had the full beneficence of ethical protection (see appendix 1, page 320). Verbatim quoting was employed to provide evidence of what the young people said during the course of the project, with pseudonyms employed and identifying information removed to maintain confidentiality. This included removing the names of other family members or friends, see various quotes including from Adam Naidoo and Andrea Peterson where names of friends, family or others have been removed. Pseudonyms were used to replace participants' names throughout the project instead of codes. This is in keeping with qualitative norms to seek human meaning that is reflective of the personal and social environments that make people who they are. It is for this reason that names reflect the racial and gendered character of participants and why many of the pseudonyms are isiZulu names within the KwaZulu-Natal landscape.

In order to protect the participants further, the names of the schools are withheld. This is also why unsigned copies of the consent from principals and the department of education are included in the attachments (see Appendix 8). Signed copies of these consent forms were sent to the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) in meeting the requirements for ethical clearance, see attached ethical clearance document³⁹ (appendix 12). The information letters make reference to Professor Ellis as one of the project supervisors, to focus group sessions and interviews with teachers. These are retained on the letters as these documents were given to participants in this form after the Wits ethical clearance. Professor Ellis sadly died after the collection of the data in the project and was replaced by Professor Dalakoglou. The choice to not include focus groups or teacher interviews in the project stemmed from reflections on the pilot study but the renewed focus on the interviews with young South Africans was possible with the discussion around interview dynamics in all of the letters of information.

³⁹ One of the original documents has subsequently been corrupted due to theft and time. The letter from the department of education was faxed to the researcher and scanned copies were lost when her personal laptop was stolen.

Participants, parents, schools and the department of education understood what the interviews would entail and could give fully informed consent.

At the time of the interviews the University of the Witwatersrand ethics committee asked for informed consent from parents and gatekeeper approval from principals and the Department of Education. Greater efforts could have been made to speak directly to participants and parents in their home language but support was offered through the schools for those who had questions or concerns. During each stage of the research process the researcher sought verbal assent from participants who had the right to withdraw from the study at any time without consequence.

Against all of these procedural obligations, Andrews (2007) notes, the question of ethics in research (in particular the concern towards nonmaleficence), cannot always be neatly resolved, especially where “oftentimes it is not our presence but our absence which causes concern, and we are no longer there to observe the fall-out we may have left in our wake” (p. 42). How can we be sure that our work has ‘done no harm’ after we have left? What are the limits of ethics in social science and qualitative research, and where does this leave our responsibilities as researcher? Given the interconnected relations between participants (which continue after the researcher has left and which have very real consequences for participants), the researcher needed to be transparent, approachable and willing to renegotiate the terms of the research as was necessary or as the project developed. The break between the visual task and interview served as a juncture for a second round of informal informed consent.

Counselling services were available during and immediately after all of the data collection sessions where issues that arose necessitated this. For those within the township and suburban spaces, these services were accessed via the University of KwaZulu-Natal psychology clinic, and offered free. For the rural space, a counsellor with whom the researcher had an existing relationship accompanied the researcher during the course of data collection and she was available afterwards as necessary. This service was charged to the researcher.

A small number of participants were put in contact with the counsellor after the interviews were conducted. Counselling was available to all participants and was requested by one participant at each site. Other participants kept in contact with the researcher after the data collection was concluded (see chapter five). This continued contact allowed any psychological needs to be requested or identified but also speaks to the need for continued care in research after the data collection. In contexts where vulnerable populations are researched the layers of responsibility extend beyond the standard obligatory ethics to consider the needs of participants holistically. The students who participated in this study are a vulnerable group that have also experienced violence and ‘trauma’ in their own lives, this makes safety and risks of continued violence for participating in the study salient especially where visual methods are also employed (Treffry-Goatley, Wiebesiek and Moletsane, 2016). One safeguard evident in the project is that the project did not specifically enquire into violence so that schools, parents and other parties may not have victimised participants further for revealing personal experiences of violence in their homes, schools and communities. This is in line with WHO guidelines and safety recommendations and supported by Sikwyiya and Jewkes (2012) in the context. Two other strategies used in this project that provided ethical support for participants included the extension of the debriefing period and a continual negotiation of assent with participants, as indicated (among others) by Konza (2005) in guidelines for working with vulnerable families.

When one of the participants revealed that she had been raped, the student did receive psychological support from the counsellor and efforts were made to contact law enforcement in line with Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related matters) Amendment Act (no.32 of 2007) and Amendment Act (no.5 of 2015). Unfortunately law enforcement did not take a statement nor act on the ‘report’ as the student had experienced the rape in another province around seven or eight years prior to the research. The student did indicate that the rape had been previously reported during conversations off tape after the interview but that similarly police officers had failed to arrest or intervene with the known perpetrator who was also a minor. It was clear to the researcher that adults in the participants’ life knew about this event and had intervened but that further intervention from the researcher risked exposing the story more widely and might have had consequences for the participant and their family at school

and in their community. This story makes up a part of the analysis of the narrative co-construction in chapter five (case six, page 168).

4.6 Data collection:

Inspired by the outcomes of pilot studies carried out at the rural and township schools (See appendix 10, page 339), data collection consisted of two methods: a visual task and individual interviews, from these time and interview lines and tables were drawn up to assist analysis – see table 5 below. Two kinds of visual tasks were completed with participants, including an adapted body-mapping task (see Figure 2 below) and a time-line exercise (see explanation below) in an attempt to engage participants in tasks that would foster rapport and address a language barrier as the researcher is unable to speak isiZulu which is the home language of most participants. These visual tasks provided a trigger for the narrative interviews and to allow for an in-depth exploration of the lives and stories of those participating in the research.

Table 5: Types of Data Collection

Visual Methods	Interviews	Time and Interview lines	Tables
Body Mapping (Township and suburban school)	Narrative Interviews (all)	Timelines (all)	Various (all)
Visual timeline (Rural school)	-	Interview lines (all)	-

4.6.1 Body maps and timelines:

Visual methodologies including adapted body mapping and timelines (see below) were used to foster rapport at the different sites. Following on from the pilot studies, the need to address the relationship between interlocutors, language and other variables (above) demanded a creative approach. The use of adapted body maps and timelines is unpacked below particularly in relation to an analysis of the dynamics generated in the production of visual

products and the stories they allowed. Both the body map and timelines were versions of visual storytelling that could drive the narrative storytelling in the interviews. The body maps were used in two locations (The township and suburban school) but were abandoned when it was advised that they were constructing very embodied narratives outside the goals of the project to address identity and memory among the second generation.

Visual methods were used alongside narrative interviewing related to dynamics, structure and content. Visual methodology is based on the idea that “every image embodies a way of seeing” (Berger, 1972, p. 10). This idea suggests that meaning is constructed and found in images in similar ways to talk and text. This is supported by Rose (2016) who notes that modern visual representations are important sites to ‘read’ and make sense of human meaning in modern western society. These meanings “may be explicit or implicit, conscious or unconscious, they may be felt as truth or as fantasy, science or commonsense; and they may be conveyed through everyday speech, elaborate rhetoric, high art, television soap operas, dreams, movies or muzak; and different groups in a society will make sense of the world in different ways. Whatever form they take, these made meanings, or representations, structure the way people behave - the way you and I behave - in our everyday lives” (Rose, 2016, p. 2). While a variety of methodological styles abound to make sense of visual data it is clear that visual data has something to say.

a. Embodied images

At two of the research sites (The township and suburban schools) a body-mapping type visual technique was employed to initiate contact with and rapport between the researcher and the participants. Body-mapping is a technique best employed to make sense of embodied experiences and memories (including, but not limited to, illness and disease, body changes as a result of deliberate body modification, pregnancy, accident, aging etc), trauma and other psychological stressors related to the disruption of an individual’s sense of self. In the REPSSI (Regional Psychosocial Support Initiative) body mapping guide (Soloman and Morgan, 2007) the technique is described as “[having] been used for many thousands of years by people who want to get a better understanding of themselves, their bodies and the world they live in” (p. 2). Body mapping uses painting and drawing exercises to elicit an image that

represents the self in situ. As per their instruction participants complete the body by collaging, drawing or painting who they consider themselves to be within the outline of the body (traditionally an outline of their own body at a direct 1:1 scale). People, structures or histories that participants feel have impacted on themselves are drawn outside of the outlined body.

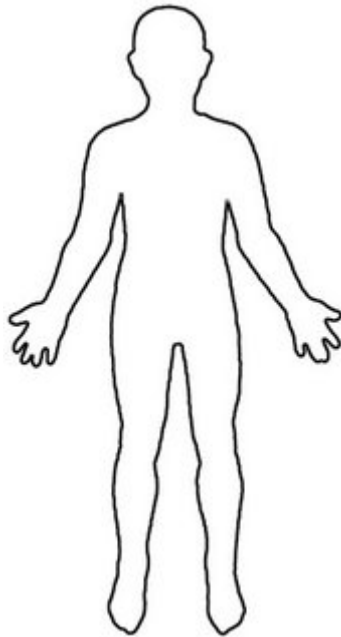


Figure 2. Blank body as provided for the body-mapping type method

The first set of images produced in collaboration with the participants were body map type images. Using a scaled down outline of a body participants were supplied with a variety of drawing and art materials as well as magazine in English, Afrikaans and isiZulu to complete representations of themselves. These images were used to allow participants to describe and represent themselves in non-verbal, pictorial fashion and so attempted to get around the troubles of conducting research in English.

More importantly the dynamics that were facilitated as a result of using a visual method, and a body mapping type method specifically, were critical in allowing some kinds of stories to be told that might have been silenced in talk. This section will show how a thread of

embodiment became intertwined with talk about self as a logical result of using this type of visual cue.

b. Images in time

The second set of images produced with participants were timeline type images. Like with the body mapping type images, participants were provided with a variety of supplies to produce images to represent themselves. Unlike the body mapping type images, for the timeline type images participants were supplied with blank pages on which to collate words and pictures that showed their past, present and future.

The timeline type images produced in the course of this research are analytically interesting in their own right for the ways they represent the participants' sense of self across time. In contrast to the body-mapping type images they offer a second point of analysis regarding the shift away from embodied stories. In this analysis we looked instead to how time featured in the participant's images and what this meant in terms of developing interactional dynamics within the project.

Due to the way in which this body mapping technique seemed to disproportionately evoke stories about bodies and body image, occluding other narrative identities, at the third site, at a rural high school, the method was dropped in favour of the production of visual timelines. While not a standard method in research, the design of the timeline method retained some of the motivation regarding the body mapping technique without the embodied element that might seem to construct body type stories (see above). What is retained is a method that allows participants to represent the self through images and written words that simultaneously develops rapport with the researcher through offering a kind of interaction which is more playful and less like (school-) work. As per the researcher's instructions, participants completed the timeline by collaging, drawing or painting who they consider themselves to be within three time zones on individual, blank pages: past, present and future. Past here refers to both the participants' lived history and the longer, collective and familial history that informs who they are.

4.6.2 *individual interviews:*

Visual methodologies supplemented and provided the trigger for individual narrative interviews that form the primary data set for the study. Single interviews of approximately 45 minutes to an hour were run with each of the 32 participants. The visual method images (adapted body maps or timelines) were used to initiate the interview conversations that were then probed using the interview guide (see Appendix 9, page 337). Probing areas were included to allow issues raised to be understood in detail but did not add any new lines of enquiry to the study. Thirteen interviews were conducted at the township site, nine at the suburban site and ten at the rural site. Participants were interviewed at their schools during life orientation classes (at the suburban site) or after school (at the rural and township sites). Refreshments were provided and arrangements for transport for participants organised as necessary.

Interviews require one person to reveal details of their life or aspects of experience (e.g. witnessing to a particular event) while an/other(s) (the interviewer) explores and probes, predominantly through questioning, the accounts provided by the first person (the interviewee). Interviews of various kinds are a pervasive form of interaction between people (e.g. news, employment interviews) and Wengraf (2001) works quite hard to set up research interviews (and narrative research interviews in particular) as different in kind to these and other familiar conversational interactions. He is clear, however, that both the interviewee's and interviewer's past experience with the various other forms of interviews can and do impact on the types of talk and interaction possible in the research site (Wengraf, 2001).

As a way of probing and exploring in-depth the participants' stories, narrative interviews of the semi-structured variety (as outlined in Appendix 9, page 337) should allow the researcher (myself) to probe accounts provided and obtain a 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) of the research questions. In doing so, it is recognised that while this approach focuses on 'talk' and getting people to articulate their experiences, we are reminded that "we can only know people through language, but this does not mean that what is linguistic or discursive fully encompasses them" (Frosh, 2001, pp. 44-45).

What distinguishes these interviews from other kinds of research interviewing is what Reissman (2008) calls the ‘goal’ of narrative interviewing - which is “to generate detailed accounts rather than brief answers or general statements” (p. 23). This subtle shift has large implications for methods, including allowing for simple, open questions that can lead into long stretches of talk. Following participants down their trails in talk is important to generating narrative data (Reissman, 2008). Such a method suggests that within a conversational style to narrative interviewing which recognises the unequal relations between the interviewer and interviewee, disproportionate speaking time is allocated to the participant, and the ‘job’ of the researcher is to *listen* and probe the stories that are told.

4.7 Analysis and interpretation:

Narrative analysis refers to “a family of methods for interpreting texts that have in common a storied form” (Reissman, 2008, p.11) and, as in all families, there are varying and sometimes competing ways to do things. Narrative analytic methodologies vary predominantly in the extent to which they focus on content or structure of stories. On the content end of the spectrum, the analyst privileges *what* the participant says and utilises a thematic approach to understanding the topic under investigation (Reissman, 2008, Squire et al, 2008). On the opposite end of the spectrum, is narrative research which seeks to explore *how* and *why* stories are told as they are, both on an individual and social level (Reissman, 2008). Squire, Andrews and Tamboukou (2008) write “by focusing on narrative, we are able to investigate not just how stories are structured and the ways in which they work, but also who produces them and by what means, the mechanisms by which they are consumed, and how narratives are silenced, contested or accepted” (p 1-2). This approach thus employs linguistic and discursive strategies in understanding phenomena under investigation.

However, this distinction may be unhelpful as the work of narrative analysts is rarely as clear-cut as presented above. In fact, the complex ways in which content and structure work together to produce a narrative of a life is far more interesting. Squire et al (2008/2013) cite Wetherell (1998) when they propose a ‘dialogic approach’ that advocates doing both kinds of

analysis (content and structural) at the same time, as a conceivable and helpful solution to doing research, within the narrative tradition. As such, I have taken Reissman (2008) up on her offer to combine the various stances of doing narrative analysis across the fuzzy boundaries of typologies.

4.7.1 Analytic approach of the project

The data are analysed in three sections that blend Wengraf's (2001) model with Reissman's (2008) four stages. First, the methodological decisions are unpacked to examine cases that speak to visual, structural and interactional dynamics. Second, cases that refer to narrative content are examined and lastly the content of all the narratives is thematically analysed. This blend of method was informed by the development of time and interview lines that come from Wengraf's (2001) Biographical-Narrative-Interpretive-Method [BNIM] and which underpinned the narrative analysis that followed. This step allowed the researcher to interrogate the life lived and the story told in the data and to direct the structural analysis of the data (see below). This blend of Wengraf (2001) and Reissman's (2008) analytic methods allows the researcher to integrate the narrative analysis across the three areas of inquiry and across the select cases included in the project.

4.7.2 Wengraf's BNIM

As a way to focus on the structure of the narratives, I have adapted Wengraf's (2001) model of Biographical-Narrative-Interpretive-Method [BNIM]. Like Wengraf (2002), I hinge my analysis on the production of two documents drawn out of and from the transcripts (see Appendix 13). The first is a chronological *timeline* which tracks the 'events' narrated of the individual participants life in chronological sequence as they occurred in the life. Second, is a record of the themes and topics of narration as they develop in the 'situated' context of the interview, which I have come to call the *interview-line* reflecting on the order, weighting and time afforded to each of these aspects of the story. These themes and topics are tracked against the questions that were asked by myself, so as to recognise the situatedness of the interview setting, as well as to think about the depth in which each question is covered (as tracked by interview time).

Such reflections on the stories produced in interviews, are credited with the ability to generate an account of the participants' lived and told story (Wengraf, 2002). Discrepancies between these accounts do not suggest the participant is 'lying', but rather indicates how the story that is produced reveals the meaning and significance attributed to particular life events and presentation of self. "“Given the life that X led, how come X got to tell her life-story that day in the way she did?” [...] ‘Given the way she told her life-story that day to me, what do I learn from it about the life she led?’” (Wengraf, 2001, p. 299).

One of the indicators of this, emanating from the time- and interview- lines, was the weighting of time spent on various content areas in the interviews (see Appendix 11, page 341). This timing is used to suggest areas of significance for participants. Two sets of timing were noted – the first indicates time period and the other thematic focus. Time periods speak to the past, present and future foci of the project while thematic foci were generated across codes from all of the transcripts. These timings are developed in separate tables (attached) and do not specifically speak to the time and interview lines that were drawn up for each participant.

a. Timing of Past Present and Future

Inspired by Wengraf's (2001) method, the analysis tracked the structure of the interview talk in relation to lived time. Past, present and future were recorded as features of a kind of position(ality) to the talk that young South Africans in the study made use of as they produced a version of themselves in the interviews. For the purposes of recording this information, 'past' was understood as all time before the life of the participant, 'present' was time occurring during their life until the interview and 'future' was talk about any events happening after the interview, including but not exclusively imagined careers and projected dreams.

On numerous occasions these features of time in the participants' narratives overlapped so that the participant might be talking about two or three of the time features simultaneously. Because of this overlap between the time dimensions it is not possible to get results that show a neat and simple split between past, present and future across the interview resulting in a logical 100%. That is when the percentages of time spent on each of the time dimensions is combined they may exceed a hundred percentage because some of the interview time is counted for one or two additional dimensions. The figure over a hundred percent shows the degree of overlap between the time dimensions in participants' interviews.

b. Timing of Thematic Foci

The second feature of the interviews that were tracked in the interview-lines is the thematic content. This is the themes and topics of conversation that participants drew on when answering questions, ranging from school to family to talk about politics or sexuality, among others.

Deciding on the themes to code in the course of mapping participants' interviews was done in an iterative and inductive fashion. Characteristics of participants' talk were thematised based on references to specific ideas by the participant, or research questions directed by the researcher. These themes were revised and revisited throughout numerous readings of the transcripts. This process saw novel themes emerge, the merging of overlapping themes and the dissolution or re-emergence of themes whose support was patchy or thin. Thematic coding for the purposes of drawing interview-lines were done until saturation. Similarly to the time dimensions, an overlap between themes means that the themes together will not contribute to a total of 100%.

Both the case studies in chapter five and chapter six draw from these timings as well as the time- and interview-lines in the analysis of the structure and content of participants' stories. In chapter five the cases included are from Adam Naidoo and Zena van der Merwe. In chapter six, an analysis of the structure is included alongside the content and visual analysis of Jabulani Dlamini's and Andrea Peterson's cases.

4.7.3 Reissman's four steps

Reissman's (2008) work adds to the structure/content discussion threads of analysis that explore the dialogic/performance dimension of narrative, as well as techniques for visual analysis. Reissman (2008) argues that these four areas of narrative analysis (structure, content, dialogic/performance and visual), while separated by chapters in her book, are in reality interconnected aspects of the personal narrative. In line with Reissman's (2008) approach, my analytic steps will include all of these four areas. I start with the dialogic/performance analysis to think about the dynamics of the research encounter that allowed participants to talk to me and for me to interpret their stories in the way I do. Second, I use Reissman's (2008) visual analysis to look at the pictorial representations from the visual task. Third, I analyse the structure of the narratives and ask about how the stories have been told. In particular time- and interview-lines that show interview structure in comparison with life events forms the pivot of structural analysis (See appendix 13). Finally, I focus on content by thematically coding the transcripts to make sense of what is said.

In the analysis of this project, there is a move to include cases (Chapters five and six) and general content analysis (Chapter seven). This analytic decision allows the researcher to include an in-depth investigation of individual narratives and to look at what this means across the whole. In total eight cases from all three sites were chosen to reflect the different areas of analysis seen below. These cases complement the content analysis of chapter seven where themes drawn from all of the participants are included.

a. Narrative Analysis: Dialogic/Performance Analysis - Dynamics of Research

The first analytic method, drawn from Reissman's (2008) work, looked at the way that participants *perform* their narratives in the interviews. The performance of narrative is indicated in Elliott and Squire's (2017) reference to 'narrative media' that extend the analysis of narratives from what is spoken or written to include a variety of non-verbal mediums. This analysis focuses on the context and production of narratives for self and others. Reissman (2008) highlights the importance of attending to factors such as linguistic markers and story

sequence when using such an approach. She emphasizes how language and historical and cultural contexts influence the construction and performance of narrative.

In addition to these contextual factors, the stories were explored for the ways in which they were told in interaction with the researcher. Interactional dynamics refers to the ‘politics’ of who is speaking, when and how the other is implicated in what is said. Questions of audience are crucial in investigating the stories produced by participants. Two cases were analysed in Chapter Five to reflect the interactional dynamics and dialogics of the specific research investigation.

b. Narrative Analysis: Visual Analysis

Visual analysis asks not just what images participants produce in the research but also *how* and *why* these images were produced, and how the images were made *with* participants in a collaborative research endeavour. In her work with young Muslim women in East London, Esin (2017) supports a multi-layered investigation of relational context within visual storytelling. Reissman (2008) focuses her analysis on how the image was produced, what the image itself portrays and the different interpretations made of each the images. By describing how images are produced (be it photographs or paintings) she interrogates how researchers decide what to include and how to represent the salient features. In so doing there is a distinction made between work that uses ‘found’ images (e.g., photographs and paintings) and those that are ‘made’ during the research process (e.g., self-portraits and video diaries). These differences speak to how visuals can tell stories through the choices of representation (Reissman, 2008). Images do not just ‘speak for themselves’ but interpreted within their context. Such interpretation opens up possibilities for being interpreted differently by different people. We must recognise that image and narrative (like all text and analysis) remains a co-constructed activity by both the participant and the researcher. Meaning and signification are the result of contested, subjective and interpretive reading of visual ‘texts’ (Hall, 1996). That a narrative is possible, is to balance the reading with the text and to recognise the processes of signification involved in interpretation (Hall, 1996).

Textual analysis was integrated with the dialogic and content analysis of cases in chapters⁴⁰ five and six. These analyses showed how visual tasks contributed to the narrative production and co-construction within the project and allowed some stories to be told over others. The salient features of the visual task, namely the embodied content and time elements were derived from how individual participants ‘mapped’ their stories onto each visual exercise and how they imagined themselves accordingly. Two case studies were included in chapter five to reflect specifically on the visual tasks’ contribution to the narratives. These cases were Duduzile Maphumulo (Dudu) and Xolisile Gigaba (Xoli). Dudu and Xoli completed the different visual tasks in this project. Dudu completed a body map and Xoli completed a timeline. For each their cases reveal how these methods link to their storytelling and the co-construction elements in the methodology.

c. Narrative Analysis: Structural Analysis

The focus of this form of analysis was to probe *how* the content (what is being said) was told in the interview. Reissman (2008) argues for shifting our attention to ask *how* and *why* an event is told in the way it is, what is achieved in the telling, and how telling the story *like this* is affected by the presence of the researcher/audience? Key analytic questions here include “[h]ow is [the narrative] organised? Why does an informant develop her tale *this* way in conversation with *this* listener?” (Reissman, 1993, p. 61). Reissman (2008) extends these questions “[h]ow are narratives organised – put together – to achieve a narrator’s strategic aims? How does a speaker attempt to persuade a listener that a sequence of events ‘really happened’ with significant effects on the narrator? Are different narrative styles heard, or are some more familiar, easily recognised as stories?” (p. 77). These questions shift attention from the ‘told’ to the ‘telling’ (Reissman, 2008). The focus thus shifts from looking at the events of a life to the story that is produced to speak of (and to) such a life. Note that “[b]ecause it takes language seriously, structural narrative analysis provided tools for investigators who want to interrogate how participants use speech to construct themselves and their histories” (Reissman, 2008, p. 103).

⁴⁰ Chapter five specifically blends Reissman’s visual, content and interactional dynamics analyses

d. Narrative Analysis: Thematic Analysis

This aspect of the analysis, which happens in parallel with the structural analysis described above, entails interrogating what is said, and what is not said. Based in a general thematic tradition (Cf Braun and Clarke, 2006), transcripts are ‘coded’ into themes that emerge most frequently across the participants’ interviews as well as to note the novel explanations that participants draw on in their stories. These novel explanations can be both accounts that ‘don’t fit’ into the thematic structure common to the other participants or more emergent themes as compared to anticipated results. Analysing text from conversations necessarily involves reducing long stretches of talk to codes that are merged and morphed to speak to other stories and other contexts (McCormack, 2002).

However, Reissman (2008) differentiates a narrative thematic analysis from a general interpretive thematic approach by noting four subtle shifts in method. The first I have touched on, and relates to using theory to guide the interpretive process as well to actively seek novel theoretical ‘data’ within the transcripts. Second, narrative analysts try to preserve the ‘stories’ participants tell and thus avoid cutting transcripts into small chunks of text. Reissman (2008) writes that “[i]n narrative analysis we attempt to keep the ‘story’ intact for interpretive purposes, although determining the boundaries of stories can be difficult and highly interpretive” (p. 74). Third, by situating a narrative within a particular time, place and context, by historicizing a narrative account, thematic analysts of the narrative kind, reject ‘generic’ explanations of the phenomenon under investigation (Reissman, 2008). Finally, and in contrast to generating a set of stable concepts that can be ‘transferred’ across cases, narrative analysis is a case-centred approach (Reissman, 2008).

Two case studies were included in chapter six to reflect specifically on the content analysis of the narratives (although this is included alongside an analysis of structure and visual material to allow for a holistic look at their stories). These cases were Jabulani Dlamini and Andrea Peterson. Jabulani and Andrea were chosen because their stories spoke best to understandings of historical trauma. The content of each of the cases chosen for analysis do feature also in chapters five, however it is in chapter seven that all the narrative content of the project is analysed. Participants across all three sites are included in an analysis which looks at the

stories of young South Africans in the broadest terms. This is initiated with a direct, specific analysis of the content of all of the stories, looking for relevant key words (see Chapter seven, table 7).

4.7.4 A combined approach

The approach that this project takes is to combine Reissman's (2008) four steps with Wengraf's BNIM. In Chapter Five cases are selected that allow the researcher to examine the visual methodologies and how these shaped design choices. Additionally cases are presented that speak to choices by the participants and researcher related to structural analysis and BNIM. Lastly cases that allow the researcher to reflect on interactional dynamics and her subject positioning are included. These cases overall allow the research to recognise the co-construction of the methodology and research data. In Chapter Six two cases are chosen from the suburban school. These cases are strong examples of the kind of stories told by participants and are analysed across Reissman's (2008) visual, structural and content areas as well as for the time and interview lines from Wengraf's BNIM.

While some cases are chosen for greater examination they have been chosen to reflect the various elements of the project but are not unique or unusual cases except insofar as has been stated in each case. It is clear in the presentation of thematic weightings especially how participants reflect similar or the same narrative choices as those in their geographic areas or the research as a whole. Such a choice to include only a few cases may risk allowing some voices to be heard over others but is also able to allow for the kind of 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) valued in qualitative work broadly.

In Chapter Seven thematic content from most of the participants is drawn out to understand the collective understandings and experiences of participants. This section utilises Reissman's thematic analysis of content as well as a brief inclusion of quantitative content analysis that acts as a springboard for thematic findings.

4.8 Rigour

It is important in qualitative studies studies that researchers show that their analysis is “systematic, procedural and rigorous” (de Wet and Erasmus, 2005, p. 27). In particular the transparency of research processes including all steps of the data collection and analysis allow the researcher to build trustworthiness, credibility, confirmability, dependability and transferability in their findings. That is, qualitative findings have value because they can be seen to be the outcome of a rigorous application of the methods and not the product of unbridled bias, ad hoc conclusions and intuitive, subjective or unsystematic analyses from the researcher (de Wet and Erasmus, 2005).

This research has ensured rigour in the study, including trustworthiness, credibility, confirmability, dependability and transferability through an open engagement with the data collection processes and analytic steps. In particular the transparency of the methodological decisions through the inclusion of a reflection on the pilot study (appendix 10, page 339), a chapter on the co-construction of the data (chapter five), the inclusion of visual methods, thematic areas and data lines, the use of tables and long quotes with references to the transcripts mean that research findings may be interrogated for their acceptability to the data from participants and the way these were analysed. This is at the heart of ideas of trustworthiness, credibility, confirmability and dependability which together seek to address the ‘legitimacy’ of research findings, how believable these findings are, and whether findings are presented in a logical fashion to allow a possibility for applicability with other groups or settings. It is clear that one cannot follow qualitative analytical procedures. In doing so, the nuances of analysis reflect qualitative norms for making sense of data that is sensitive and creative will also being systematic and rigorous (de Wet and Erasmus, 2005).

4.9 Reflexivity

In addition to the open and transparent decisions underpinning the methodology, and the analysis specifically, the need to reflect on the role of the researcher is key to making sense of the stories told and heard in this study. The project opened with a brief autobiography and includes an entire chapter on the co-construction of narratives (see chapter five). These mechanisms open the door for examining and consciously acknowledging the role of the

researcher and the embodied dynamics including my own history and generational talk and memories. It is also important that my academic role, as a scholar (fulltime student at the time of the interviews), reflects certain layers of social access and privilege that shape the interactions of participants with me and my reading of their lives. Moreover my age and race were marked signifiers of difference in our interactions and shape engagements such as what histories might be (able to be) told, expectations for educational support and other features of the participants' storytelling.

These reflections permeate/d the entire research endeavour in an iterative fashion informing decisions at multiple stages including during the design, pilot study, data collection, analytic and write up stages. It is to this end that the contextual dynamics of the method, interpretation and situatedness of the research are weaved into the three analytic chapters to follow, showing "the relevance of the research for our particular context, as well as the possible applicability of the research findings" (Dodgson, 2019, p. 220).

4.10 Conclusion:

Three chapters of analysis follow. Chapter Five looks at the methodology processes of co-construction by using case studies or narrative portraits related to visual, structural and interactional dynamics that allow for an interrogation of decisions and interpretations made within the project. Chapter Six includes two narrative portraits that reveal structural, visual and content analysis regarding the narrative lines related to the influence of the past on young people's narratives and the salience of everyday violence, especially racism. In Chapter seven the content of themes drawn from all the transcripts extends and expands on these foci.

These analyses allow for an indepth look at individual cases as well as the collective meaning making about the past. In this way the project examines parts and the whole when making sense of what young South Africans know about historical trauma in relation to their experiences in the present. In this way we can examine what historical trauma means for the individual without losing the context in which they are embedded nor obfuscate individual meaning in search of general conclusions.

CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS of NARRATIVE CO-CONSTRUCTION– A Generation of Stories

In this chapter distinct methodological elements, including the time- and interview- lines, interactional dynamics and visual methodologies, will be drawn together to provide a detailed analysis of selected case studies. Too often, even in qualitative research, it is easy to miss the importance of individual stories, and the ways in which these are constructed. Focusing on the ways in which the participants produce narratives rather than just on the content of these narratives enables particular theoretical and methodological insights, tracing how, through narrative processes, (intergenerational) memory and trauma come to be embedded in and employed to construct young people's identities in the present. The limited number of portraits included cannot represent all young people in all places across South Africa but they do provide insight into stories that emerge from and are embedded in personal and collective memory- and identity- making practices (Connerton, 2008), that might be taken as broadly representative or at least indicative of the different communities from which participants come.

Narrative portraits have been selected to highlight key features within the stories but it should be clear in the examination of the whole life story that individual narratives offer complex points of intersection – with other participants in this research and with local and national storytelling processes. This work will attempt to make sense of these intersections without neglecting an in-depth exploration of the individual meaning participants ascribe to the points, events and experiences within their own stories.

Table 6: Case studies of interactional dynamics

Chapter	Section	Case Study	Evidence used
Chapter 5: Analysis of Narrative Co-construction	Narrative and Visual Portraits	Case Study One: <i>Story of Duduzile Maphumulo (Dudu)</i>	Body mapping image
		Case Study Two: <i>Story of Xolisile Gigaba (Xoli)</i>	Timeline images
	Interview structure portraits	Case Study Three: <i>Story of Adam Naidoo</i>	Body mapping image
		Case Study Four: <i>Story of Zena van der Merwe</i>	Body mapping image
	Interactional dynamic portraits	Case Study Five: <i>Story of Njabulo Banda</i>	Body mapping image
		Case Study Six: <i>Story of Sindiswa Thwala</i>	Timeline images

In table 5 above we see that there are three types or kinds of analysis included in this chapter. The first indicates how visual methods shaped decisions throughout the research. This analysis lends itself to the visual analysis offered by Reissman (2008) by examining the visual exercises in two cases. The second looks at the interviews as sites of meaning contestation where participants made specific choices about how to tell their stories. This structural analysis of cases unpacks the way time- and interview-lines (in attachment eight) shaped the analytic process and the resultant conclusions. Third we turn to examine the interactional dynamics that shaped the narratives told in conversation with the researcher. These last case studies reveal how interactions with the researcher shaped the data produced and the interpretations thereof. By looking at these three analytic areas the chapter reflects on the methodological decisions that underpin the project and the co-construction of narrative data.

5.1 Narrative and visual portraits:

Two sets of narrative portraits are included in this study. This first set analysed in chapter five show the intersecting aspects of individual and collective identity and memory-making by turning to the visual methods employed in the initial meetings with participants. In

particular, two cases will demonstrate the ways that the different visual methods (the body maps and timelines) produced different kinds of narratives related to how young people make sense of their bodies and collective histories.

Participants were asked to collage and draw amended body-mapping images and timelines variously at the different sites of the research as indicated in the chapter on methodology (see chapter 5 above). Those at the township and suburban schools were asked to complete a scaled down outline of a body by using collage, drawings and writing to represent themselves. Those at the rural school completed a timeline visual method where representations of past, present and future were constructed to indicate one's own life trajectory. The cases that have been selected for inclusion as narrative portraits represent cases from each of the two visual methodologies employed, the body-mapping type method and the timeline type method. Duduzile Maphumulo from the township school and Xolisile Gigaba from the rural school show us the ways the method shaped what could be told and what would remain silent. More, they position their stories in a complex web of meaning making that indicates that, while the method directed what could be said, it also reveals a richness within which making sense of what is unsaid is possible. This interpretive step is fundamental to narrative analysis and unpacking the influence of the past on lives lived in the full motion of the present.

CASE STUDY ONE: Story of Duduzile Maphumulo (Dudu)

Duduzile Maphumulo is a 16 year old, black female attending a township school in Durban (Interview 1C). Dudu's interview was the first conducted in the research process and shows a clear link between the use of the body map as a catalyst for talking about herself and stories that reflect on embodied experiences. If we look at Dudu's time- and interview- lines (appendix 13, 1C) we will see that much time in the interview was dedicated to talk about her family and bullying (in particular body-shaming) at school. Dudu's story tells of a 16 year old living with her father, stepmother and siblings. Dudu narrates stories related to life with her family, especially her relationship with her father and stories of his life. She also talks about her dreams for the future underpinned by a sense that her school failures have limited her

opportunities and disappointed her father. Dudu produces a body-mapping type image at our first meeting that introduces this story:

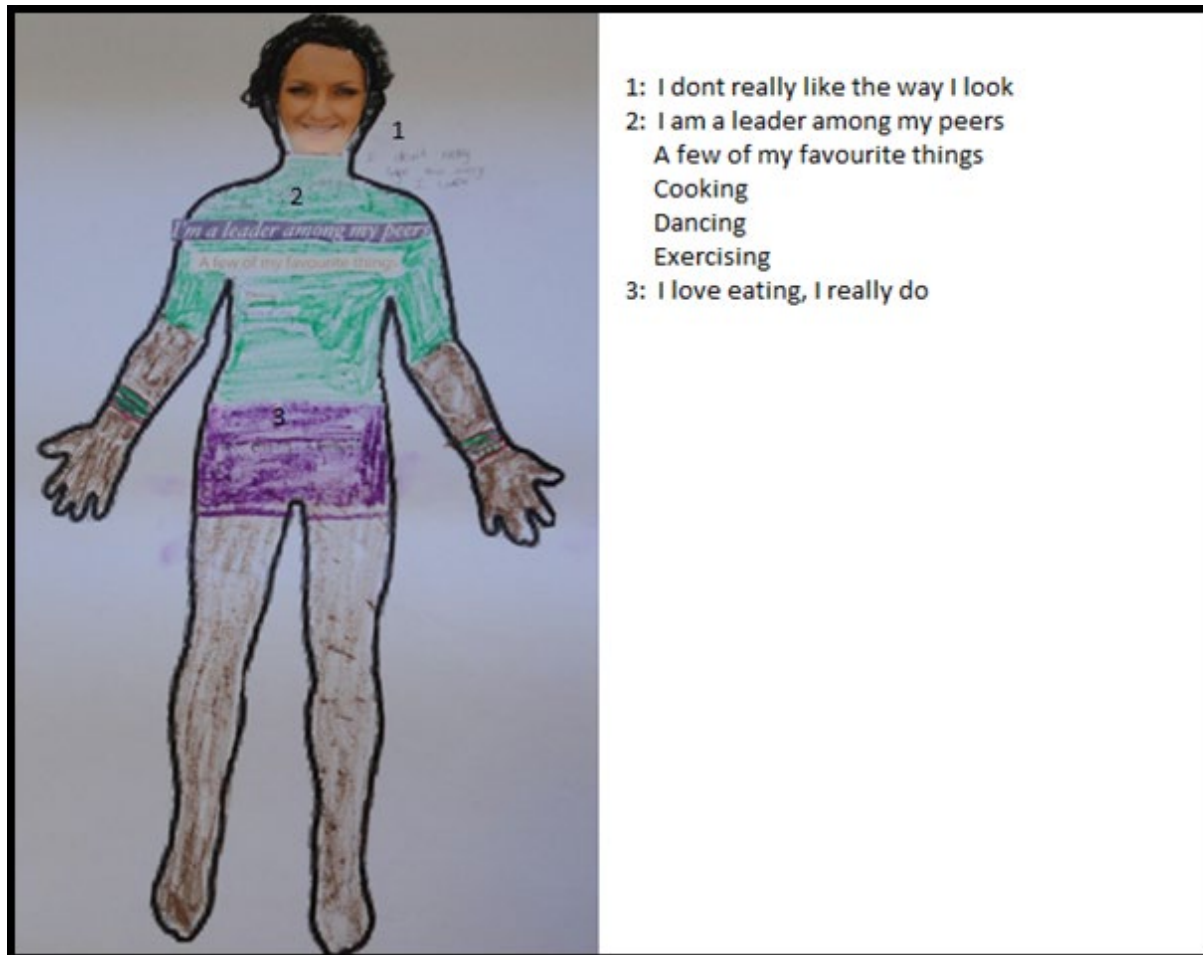


Figure 3. Duduzile Maphumulo's body mapping image

As can be seen in the image above, Dudu filled the body outline with very little detail. She has coloured the limbs brown, given the figure purple shorts and a green top to cover the torso and drawn bands of green and red on the wrists. A 'white' woman's head has been collaged over the head of the body and some words are collaged and written inside and outside the body that speak largely to her role amongst her peers and her embodied sense of herself. The body produced in the body mapping type technique and in the accompanying story of Duduzile Maphumulo is indicative of the way the body-mapping type visual methodology facilitated a particular, embodied, type of story/ies told by participants

generally. Dudu's interview is not unique in this regard. While her story is her own, this link between the method and the content is evident in all of the interviews where the body-mapping type method was used.

Dudu's narrative of herself in the interview follows suit. The lines in Dudu's narrative, which she introduces very early on in her interview, include talk about body issues, bullying and parental disapproval. She says, talking at first about her picture and then talking 'freely' in response to probing questions, Dudu says: "you can see that I'm fat I hate that, okay, my skin is black that's hard" (1C⁴¹, p. 1). This quote suggests how she sees herself in relation to her body as both raced and gendered. It is noteworthy that her body-map image has a prominent 'white' face against the brown body. This decision can be understood in relation to how the construction of beauty and whiteness underpin how young girls like Dudu interrogate and make sense of their bodies in relation to the (unspoken) 'other' (Wolf, 1991):

Dudu: *they say I'm ugly, most of my classmates says that and today they wrote on the chalkboard that I'm ugly, really ugly I was so hurt and most of them say that I'm fat and I have big boobs, so I don't know why are they saying that to me 'cause, really I dunno, I, I didn't ask god to make me look like this [...] I just ignore it, uh, sometimes I ask them why they say I'm fat and I'm ugly, I, I, I tell them that its not their problem, its mine, I'm me, that means I'm self-confident and having a self-esteem. At the same time it's hard for me, okay I am a leader 'cause, ja I am a leader 'cause when I'm talking to my friends and telling them 'okay this is wrong you must not do this and this' and that they understand, they do what I say [...] [my confidence and strength] comes from inside, uh, even my dad, my dad always say that I'm useless, I dunno why but sometimes, ja, I'm lazy but not that much 'cause I love reading, exercising and cooking even though he hates my cooking, my food [1C, pp 1 – 2].*

⁴¹ Transcripts are numbered and given a letter which is indicative of the location of the participant – 1C is a participant from the township school; a transcript number with 'D' would come from the suburban space; and A would be from the rural school.

For Dudu, the comparison with the other is marked by the taunting of her peers who focus on features that have come to signify the distinction of the black female bodies from their white counterparts, in particular a curvier shape labelled ‘fat’. The analysis of her weight coalesces with femininity and idealised notions of being a young woman where being heterosexually attractive is based on an embodiment of self, based on slimness as well as particular conceptions of breast size. These ideas underpin feminist literature including Wolf (1991) and others.

The policing of her body is reinscribed in her relationship with her father. That this relationship is so pivotal in her life speaks to the role of parenting in developmental literature (cf attachment theory, Freudian psychoanalysis). Parental closeness is a key developmental feature whereas Dudu narrates a relationship with her father that is fraught with tension (as is evidenced in the text below) and her insistence on psychological strengths and reliance in psychological concepts reflects a body-mind split in the way Dudu perceives herself. While Dudu reports maintaining internal, psychological strengths of self-confidence and self-esteem (Bandura, 1997) there remains a conflict about perceived intrinsic qualities such as being ‘ugly’ (understood within fixed parameters of what counts as beautiful), ‘lazy’ and other skills like cooking.

Dudu: *my dad always says ‘you are such a loser, you are useless. Why, why, why didn’t you pass so you could go and do what you always wanted to do?’ He’s always shouting at me like that, everytime when he comes back from work, she, he will say the same thing again and again and again [1C, p. 4].*

It is unsurprising then in the body-mapping task that she elects to leave the area outside of the body relatively free from any form of representation and all these stories of others (her peers and father) are IN her body. While the area outside the body was assigned to ‘external influences’ Dudu’s body (as drawn as a body-map) has become the site of contestation for all relationships in her life. This links to ideas of embodiment and self as constructed in and through relationships with others (Martin et al, 2013). Dudu’s example shows that being ‘in her body’ and the personal embodied experiences of sadness and shame are a consequence of

her relationships with others. Not only is her psychology linked to her embodied experiences but it is relational.

An initial examination of the body map and interview produced with Dudu, surfaces the themes of friendship, (parental) acceptance and body image. Indeed, the structure of her story (see the time- and interview- lines) sees these themes predominate. Reducing Dudu's story to these themes or deciding that the interview is 'off-topic' (in relation to the overarching research questions about the past and traumatic memory) is to miss the point that telling her story in this way, makes. Telling about these themes offers a way for us to recognise how raced and gendered discourses or the 'narrative unconscious' (Freeman, 2010) are threaded into her story without her directly or deliberately including direct talk about how these dimensions of identity are historically situated in South Africa. One of the difficulties of looking at silenced histories and the second generation is precisely that they are silent and cannot be easily spoken about.⁴² Dudu shows that the traces remain even when the stories appear to be purely 'personal' or what might be considered typical (universal) teenage concerns with body image (Bandura, 1997). That is not to say that Dudu is silent or that she lacks an awareness of the past. Instead the method provokes talk that foregrounds the present. This foregrounding does not derail the project but allows the confluence of past, present and future to be examined as they are lived by participants who cannot anyway speak to events of the longer past that they did not experience. That the method allows this is a strength that adds to the project albeit unexpectedly. We must also consider that what Dudu shared is the outcome of her interaction with the researcher and perceptions about the situated qualities of race, class and gender that characterised the researcher and which shaped what could be said.

In the following quote, issues of food and space are political and historical markers for making sense of life in the present.

Researcher: *How were [your parents' lives] different [from your own]?*

⁴² Frankish (2009) shows that talk about the past between generations very often happens precisely through indirect means.

Dudu: *my mum was poorer, really poor, my dad was ... okay, my dad didn't really grow up with her [sic] mum and dad. He was travelling, feeling every place if they let him stay but usually stays at her [sic] grandmother's that's all [...] uh its different because my life isn't the same as theirs, as theirs, 'cause I'm, I'm, I have a home where I live and dad, uh, eats whenever allowed to eat and sometimes I do stuff. I have, we have our own room, me and my sister, but sometimes with my brother because the home we got only has 4 rooms and 2 bedrooms. Ja, my brother sleep in the dining room at the couch [1C, p. 9].*

In the above extract Dudu responds to the direct question of the interviewer and talks about her parents' lives in contrast to her own⁴³. While her own life is impoverished and constrained she reflects on how much worse that was for her mother and father, in particular related to issues of housing/stability, food and sleeping space. That each of them have their place, even her brother who sleeps on a couch in the dining room, and food to eat are keys into a history of and ongoing concerns about everyday racism and structural violence (Epstein, 2014; Hayes, 1998; Eckert and Jones, 2002) that are experienced as embodied and spatial. Dudu expands on this again:

Dudu: *Okay, so, okay she [sic] always mention that, he always mentions that when she [sic] when he shouting and saying, 'okay I didn't have the life you have, he, this is not how I grew up. You have everything, you have even your own room you, you get to use everything you want to do and I didn't have that ... breaks my heart really it's tough when your dad tells you that he didn't have, he didn't get an opportunity to do what I'm doing while he was growing up [1C, p. 10].*

Dudu's relationship with her father is also a relationship with his past. What she knows about apartheid and how she experiences her life in the present is strongly correlated to what she knows about her father's life. This knowledge is emotional: "breaks my heart". Much of the turmoil of her life is trying to manage her ongoing difficulties in relation to and her love and

⁴³ The quote illustrates interactional dynamics in the way that Dudu responds to the direct question by the researcher – see discussion below under 5.3

respect for the even greater poverty suffered by her father under the apartheid past. He is unable to recognise her present difficulties – they seem ‘easy’ compared with his own remembered youth. Without explicitly using the label, he sees her as ‘born free’ – this interaction between Dudu and her father reflects the intergenerational break down in (particularly black) families – where parents think their children’s lives are freer and easier and that they can’t possibly know how bad things were under apartheid. Children on the other hand think their parents lack compassion and understanding about the tough contemporary challenges they face (linking us to Weingarten’s (2004) conceptualisation of the movement of family stories). Weingarten (2004) notes that the protection offered by silence within intergenerational theory operates not only downward where adults protect children, but also upward as children protect adults. Dudu is conflicted by the difficulties in her own experience when placed alongside those of her parents. The temporal balance seems to be toward respecting and protecting what came before.

What Dudu knows about the past and how she makes sense of the future is understood through the lens of experiences in the present. Even though it is clear that the body mapping technique provided a trigger that shaped and directed Dudu’s talk about herself, focusing primarily on her embodied experiences, there remains a story about how these experiences have been the result of longer histories, knowledge/s of parents’ lives and hopes for the future to offer something different. In recognising that things are better for his daughter and in hopes regarding her education it may be possible to see how the past, present and future are logically linked in her father’s story that speaks into and is intertwined in her narrative. In particular as seen above, Dudu’s relationship with her father is fundamentally shaped by the constraints placed upon her father’s life under apartheid and the hopes he has for her in the new dispensation (Volks, 2014).

For Dudu, her father’s hope is heavy because it is demonstrated as an overwhelming, unachievable hope, effectively experienced as a rejection by her father that she also has to moderate with gratitude and respect and a desire to please him. This hope (and disappointment) is embodied. Her body image as well as the list of her favourite things (cooking, reading and exercising) may well be reactions to this dashed hope. That first quote

“you can see that I’m fat I hate that, okay my skin is black that’s hard” (1C, page 1) is very telling. Her body is the site of much contestation: racial, gendered, aesthetic, and it speaks to a history that is at once very personal and collective. Being ‘fat and black’ is historically and socially meaningful in Dudu’s story, reflecting not just an individual story about this one young person, but instantiating the embodiment of raced and gendered histories (Martin et al, 2013).

Dudu’s story offers lessons for methodologies where talking directly about the past is not always feasible or even necessarily the best way to interrogate knowledge/s of and legacies that result from historical conflict among the second generation. The knowledge/s and legacies are passed, in all of the interviews, through predominantly indirect forms of communication (what has been coined ‘silence’ in intergenerational theory) and are performed and embodied in the present. It would be an emotionally difficult process (at least at this historical and personal moment) to ask Dudu to expressly talk about the (silenced and subtextual) weight of the relational expectations upon her as she is living through it. She may reflect on these later in her life. In the present, the nature of the expectations is that she does not and perhaps cannot (yet) meaningfully interrogate them. These expectations form the basis of the very real connection she has in the present with her father, whom she loves and respects and whose affection she craves.

Below the surface, threads of memory are included in her talk that might be understood with reference to theory regarding intergenerational transmission of trauma (Hoffman, 2004). These indirect, silent threads that must be ‘read’ in the subtext of her talk about the present. Second, these threads are largely related to family concerns and her relationship with her father specifically. Third, they are reinforced by a knowledge of parental experiences under apartheid, and lastly, they are emotional. These threads show how the transmission of knowledge happens between Dudu and her father through emotions and expectations about her body and her school performance: experienced as conflicts around school, housing, eating and personal space. Understanding that these embodied experiences locate Dudu in relation to a specific other (her father) and others (her peers at school) indicate how memory emerges

in the present through direct channels but as interactions within families (Hoffman, 2004; Jansen, 2009).

The implication of the methodological choice is that it is through the prism of the present that the past can be seen and that claims must be grounded in rigorous scientific pursuit and that what is asked and by whom matters.

CASE STUDY TWO: Story of Xolisile Gigaba (Xoli)

Xolisile Gigaba is a 16 year old, black female attending a rural school (Appendix 13, 32A). Xoli's interview was the last conducted in the research process and tells a story of how time came to be understood and used as a resource in telling about herself. Like Dudu, Xoli's narrative was produced in relation to the specific visual task conducted at her school. Xoli's story shows a possible link between the use of the timeline as a catalyst for talking about herself and stories that reflect on time as a category for making sense of a life (Polkinghorne, 1988). Xoli's timelines and story is not unusual amongst her peers whose stories bear many of the same reflections regarding time.



Figure 4. Xoli Gigaba's timeline - Past

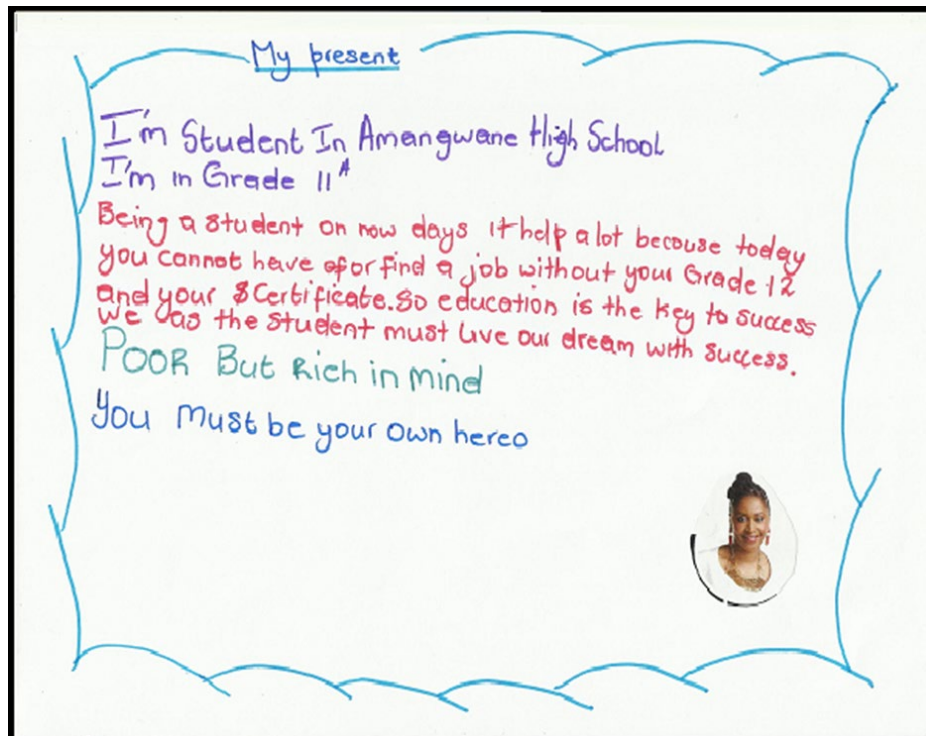


Figure 5. Xoli Gigaba's timeline – Present

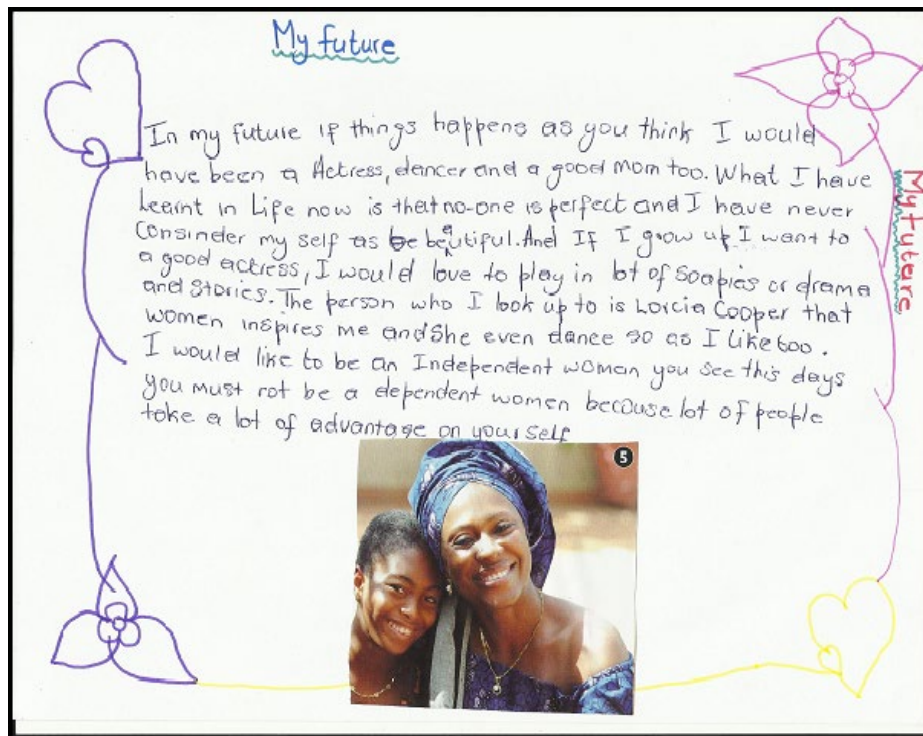


Figure 6. Xoli Gigaba's timeline – Future

Xoli's timelines tell us about a young woman living with her grandmother in the rural area of KwaZulu-Natal working toward completing her high school studies and dreaming of becoming an actress, dancer and mother. Each of the three time periods – past, present and future – tell about different aspects of Xoli's life. Her past timeline talks about the absence of her mother and her life with her grandmother and the guidance she has offered specifically regarding apartheid and growing up black. Her present timeline talks about school as the springboard to success (Mattes, 2012) and links to ideas of meritocracy, social class and mobility (Cf Jost, 2017). Xoli's future timeline speaks to feeling inspired and to her hopes for the future. Despite this, there remain threads that connects each of these periods. That is, there is an overlap between past, present and future in relation to representations of motherhood and (scholarly) discipline. Of course, these images have been produced in interaction with the researcher and perceptions of the embodied life and history that characterise the interlocution and what could be said (included) in the above images.

One thing you will notice in each of these three sections (past, present and future) is that none of them focus exclusively on their designated time period. There is an overlap in each of the sections that is evident in the majority of the timeline images collected. When Xoli talks about her grandmother's advice to her as a 'child' for success, she uses words like 'now days' and 'this days', and makes reference in each of the sections to future aspirations. She is showing an interesting interpretation or even manipulation of time where past, present and future are not and cannot be understood in isolation but remain intricately linked. This emplotment of the life through an understanding of past, present and future is key to understandings about how people make sense of their lives and stories (Polkinghorne, 1988). This speaks also to the idea of the presence of the past in the present (Birth, 2006). Birth argues that the past is not past but rather that it is immanent in the present. For Xoli, temporal links across time reveal the salience and understandings of her life in the present. In particular mentoring is a way in which past experiences and understandings get transmitted and utilised by Xoli in the present.

Each of the time zone images – past, present and future – include significant amounts of English text (rather than drawn or collaged images) which reads as offering guiding principles, and references motivational talk and advice she has received. This is not inconsequential and she follows her timelines with talk in her interview about mentoring, advice and motivation. These become key themes that underpin her talk about her relationship with her peers, grandmother and mother, and indirect relationships with role-model/s including Lorcía Cooper, a South African soapie actress. This is the organising thread of her story that connects the different time zones and creates a coherent version of her-self.

For the most part, mentoring and advice in Xoli's interview is of the kind where she is the target of older adults' input. External mentoring from adults within and beyond the community are coupled with parenting (from her primary caregiver, her grandmother) to reinforce objectives of making successful futures often by embracing gendered feminine qualities and ideals – like cooking and maintaining virginity. Virginity testing in some parts of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) (Mkasi and Rufadeen, 2016) is the most overt practice of managing

young women's sexual initiation and exploration. However this is coupled with more indirect forms of sexual surveillance, social norms and attitudes that constrain and police young women's bodies (Gqola, 2015). This conservative, sexist positioning is largely accepted by participants within a context in which sexual surveillance is asserted as necessary in a context of fears of teenage pregnancy and HIV (Walker et al, 2004). Xoli speaks to the intergenerational talk in which such policing of female sexuality is embedded:

Researcher: *Okay and then you got some sayings here, 'poor but rich in mind' and 'you must be your own hero'*

Xoli: *yes, like I must say that I'm 'poor but rich in mind'. I'm using my mind to make to make things like happen, uhm, 'you must be your own hero' I quoted to someone else who was speaking on the radio. He was talking about you have to start looking into yourself for what you want to achieve in your life. Ja, so that's what I was writing, 'you must be your own hero'*

Researcher: *You said you live with your grandmother and your mother wasn't here. What was what was that like for you growing up?*

Xoli: *No, it was hard but not that hard 'cause my grandmother knows me well than my mom. Like my mom knows me but not that much as my grandmother. It was kind of hard 'cause all the time when my friends talk about their mothers I have to talk about my grandmother so it's quite, it's like ja*

Researcher: *Okay when you say your grandmother knows you, was that because you got to spend more time together and talk about things*

Xoli: *yes*

Researcher: *What sorts of things did you do with your grandmother?*

Xoli: *she used to teach me how to cook, how to be like how to be a woman, 'cause she was already married, she taught me how should I live life as a young girl and what things should I focus on and what things should I not focus on.*

Researcher: *Okay, uhm, talking about that, what does it, what sort of things did she teach you about being a young girl and then what things did she say to focus on and what not to focus on?*

Xoli: *She told me to focus on being a girl who respect his (sic) body and I mustn't just, I don't know how to say this, she told me that I have to be a girl and I must keep my virgin until I get married and then like respect, I must respect. Yes she told me about respect, oh the other things that I shouldn't, I shouldn't do, like having boyfriends and those things. [32A, p. 2].*

It is against these expectations about gendered and sexualised constraints that one story stands out from the others that she tells. In this narrative line, Xoli explores taking up the role of providing (rather than receiving) advice through a dramatic performance. Xoli and her peers write and enact a rape story. This story is significant in that it is a story with a similar moral import to her grandmother's advice and sees Xoli and her peers working through gendered and sexualised stories across generations. In working through accounts of everyday gendered relationships and structural positioning (Jewkes et al, 2014) in this way Xoli opens up the door for counter-narratives that allow her and her peers to talk about and make sense of troubling events.

Xoli: *Look, I like acting because I do act sometimes so, ja, I think that dancing and I think actress and, uhm ja, I like to be famous [...] like, I write stories with my friends so like, we act them, not like being on the camera, no just do it like a story, like we act maybe in front of the class and we do that act [...] hmmm, like some kind, like drama stories [...] it's about a young girl. Actually it's about me but like I'm making a story, it's about a girl who use to like the same as me who use to stay with his [sic] grandmother and then about what happened at school. People don't use to like him [sic] ja, and there was a time when she was raped because people didn't take him [sic] serious, ja, but it haven't come to an end*

Researcher: *Okay, do you think that, that the story you mentioned, that, you, do think that stories help you to to, uhm, think about your own life and, uhm, work through some of the things in your own life?*

Xoli: *Yes*

Researcher: *How?*

Xoli: *Maybe it can help me, like, maybe it can tell stories, maybe about some other girls like or maybe it will give people, who, who's the real person, am I [...] it hasn't helped me. No, I'm still writing the story not that it's done (32A, pp. 4 – 5).*

[...]

Researcher: *Okay, you mentioned that one of the stories that you and your friends wrote was about rape, uhm, what, in what ways have that sort of, uhm, happened in the community or in your friends or your life that you feel that you need to tell your story*

Xoli: *The rape things, it happened to my other sister from another family so she told me about it, then I feel sorry for her, then I decided to write*

Researcher: *How did the story play out in terms of, uhm, how did you deal with the rape in the story, uhm, so after the character in the story was raped what happened after that?*

Xoli: *You report, like, we reported the case and the case was like was taken by the police so they got the person who raped and he was locked up in jail*

Researcher: *Okay um and in terms of your other sister's story how did that end, did it end in a similar way, was she also able to go to the police?*

Xoli: *No, it wasn't the same. People didn't believe the things she was talking about but I do believe it so when we told his [sic] mother that she wants to open the case she said 'You can report the case I don't care.' [32A, pp. 9 – 10].*

This thread in Xoli's narrative is analytically interesting in the way that it appears to show how motivations, advice and mentoring bridge the past and the future. Things that have happened (in this case, rape) can be altered in the retelling and, in particular, for the purposes of creating change so that they are not repeated. This tells about gender based violence and pervasive present experiences of trauma. Participants do not sit across a chasm from

historical violence but legacies of violence in the context have informed ongoing violence in the context. Gqola (2015) suggests that rape is the consequence of race relations and violence on the continent going back to colonisation. While it may be argued that these alterations and retellings may detract from the lived realities and consequences of historical actions, they create an engagement with experiences that is hopeful and forward looking (Crites, 1986). This is not unlike Dudu's relationship with her father that sees stories from the past used as a counter to expectations for academic success in the present and future⁴⁴.

Many of the participants from the rural school spoke of 'motivations and advice' in a similar way. Radio, preachers, peers, role models, teachers and (grand)parents construct snippets of advice that participants feel is helpful as they tackle various aspects of cultural, religious, education, social and even sexual lives. Popular media and technology trouble the geographic limits of self and reveal the complexity of intersectional positioning in relation to space, race, gender, class and the urban, rural divide as well as global influences (Cf. Von Schnitzler, 2013) allowing young people to imagine lives outside of themselves.

Even where life under apartheid is the direct topic of conversation between the generations the talk is often directed in such a way as to deliver a moral or advice for living now as young people. This way of delivering moral messages is a contemporary form of talk linked to advice columns, radio and talk shows, especially for women but also in schools where people tell each other how to live, how to cope with day to day struggle, 'putting our best selves forward' in advice that aims to produce the best version of our selves / the way we should be. Technological changes like having access to electricity, television and cellphones have thus changed the way that people interact with and relate to others and themselves (Nuttal, 2009). Young people have been able to style themselves (Nuttal, 2009) in new ways and to imagine themselves and others differently by being able to access markets and technology that open up space and subjectivity. Young people are no longer defined by their immediate surroundings but have influences from media that allows one to transcend the physical/spatial

⁴⁴ Unlike Xoli, Dudu is not actively trying to rewrite events but the hopeful, forward looking way that past experiences of violation and poverty are incorporated into expectations and goals for the future is a common thread between the two participants.

borders of geography and the constraints of subject positions available (Buckingham, 2013) – especially for young people who come from poor, conservative communities. For Xoli, these technologies are defining of her generation:

Xoli: *I just ask because, I use to ask them how they were living in the past years, they use to tell me that by that time they didn't watch TV, they didn't have cellphones, that's what I asked, they told me they didn't have electricity. So I asked them, how was life at that time because now on this days of ours we can't live without those things, but they told me they lived good lives without having these things that we have today [32A, p. 8].*

The morals are most often of the kind of being respectful of elders, for girls to not become involved with men and for young South Africans to appreciate the 'freedoms', 'opportunities' and 'excesses'⁴⁵ that previous generations were denied. These 'freedoms' play out in a context of HIV and restrictions on sexuality (Walker et al, 2004). Elsewhere I have written about how these narrative lines connect intergenerational talk and silence in the present with parents' experiences under apartheid (Frankish, 2009; Frankish and Bradbury, 2012). In short, the stories that are told within families and across generations matter for the ways that they open up or close off dialogue and make some things (im)possible in the next generation's ongoing lives and stories.

5.2 Interview structure portraits:

The narrative portraits in this section turn to the time- and interview-lines as indicative of how participants structured the stories they told about their lives. Participants made choices in the telling of their stories that were tracked in time- and interview-lines (see explanation in Chapter 4 and appendix 13). Derived from the transcripts the time- and interview lines chart

⁴⁵ Freedoms, opportunities and excesses are included in inverted commas because often these remain very limited in the lives of the participants and include such things as education, access to various technologies like cellphones and televisions, career possibilities and/or opportunities for the use of and movement into previously regulated spaces. Check font

the thematic structure of participants' stories where the duration of time spent on particular topics throughout the interview and the order of thematic content within the interviews is measured (interview-lines) or organised as a chronological sequence of events in the participants' stories – from past to future – where every event mentioned is paid equal attention regardless of how much time has been spent telling some events over others (time-lines). As indicated in Figures 7 and 8 below, there are remarkable similarities between the two selected case studies of participants in relation to how they chose to tell their stories and what they chose to include in their interviews. This is the case despite the two participants differing in terms of identity dimensions, including race and gender.

5.2.1 Geographies of telling: a brief structural analysis

By analysing the interview data, it is observed throughout the interviews at all three sites that participants spoke predominantly about and within the present – of personal experiences in their own lives (see appendix 11, page 341). No variation to this trend is evident at any of the sites: young people at the township school, rural school and urban school all showed overwhelming amounts of talk about life in the present. Past and future featured almost identically but significantly lower than talk about the present in terms of interview time covered by participants at each site. Throughout the interviews on all three sites it may be seen that participants' interviews spoke predominantly in the present. Overall, at all three of the research sites, participants spoke about the present through 86% of their interviews. Very little variation is recorded across the sites: the township school scored 82%, the suburban school scored 89%, and the rural school scored 87%. Past and present scored much lower at an overall rate of 14% each⁴⁶. The implications of the way that (historical) time has been incorporated into young people's narratives reveals the ongoing link between the material and psychic that is understood in theories of 'everyday trauma' (Epstein, 2014), in work on the embodied aftermath of trauma (Martin et al, 2013), and postcolonial examinations of oppression (Bulhan, 1985).

⁴⁶ Scores do not combine to total one hundred percent owing to overlap in participants' talk where various time elements and themes were spoken about simultaneously.

Moreover, within the thematic content it is also an important observation that the participants across all three sites spend the bulk of their interview time talking about family, school and other young people - a theme titled 'youth' (see appendix 11, page 341). The three themes tell us how and with whom the participants and other young people spend their time and indicates their primary foci. Furthermore, these themes point to key sources in the construction of their identities (Crossley, 2000). Secondary themes including (intergenerational) talk, race, sex and politics were present to a lesser extent in the interviews of a sub-set of the participants at all of the sites. These were followed, in terms of volume of talk included, by supplementary themes including religion, culture, friends⁴⁷ and sport. Scoring the lowest in terms of the amount of time spent and / or the number of participants that spoke of them, are themes of respect and gender. For the purposes of analysing the structure of the interviews these themes were used to draw out salient features of each participant's text. As is evident in our engagement with the case studies and thematic analysis (to follow in chapters 7 and 8), these themes are difficult to disentangle from one another. The overlap and integration of themes is a primary motivation for exploring interview data in individual case studies.

Participants across all three sites spend the bulk of their interview time talking about family (32%), school (16%) and youth (16%): telling us how and with whom the participants and other young people spend their time and indicates their primary foci. These three themes are consistent with the focus on the present, already indicated above. Themes that score somewhat lower and which indicate references to questions posed by the research include talk (11%), race (11%) and politics (10%): indicating secondary foci, and engagement with, questions about and issues that have resulted from the three primary themes. These are followed by supplementary, personal variables including sex (10%), religion (8%), culture (8%), friends (7%) and sport (4%): where participants share more private details of what they believe and how and with whom they spend their time outside of family and school. Scoring much lower are tertiary themes of respect (1%) and gender, both male (1%) and female (2%). The last three were included as themes in the project owing to the need to address large areas

⁴⁷ This theme has been identified as differing from the 'youth' theme as it marks a relational component related to direct interpersonal relationships.

of talk for a small number of participants, and might be more helpfully understood as sub-parts of other themes: respect falls under family, youth and talk, while gender could meaningfully contribute to the themes of family, sex, talk and culture. That much of the thematic engagement across all the sites speaks to present concerns is telling of the ‘everyday’, systematic and ongoing violences in young peoples lives that resists its place in history – in that it resists being a closed chapter but instead informs an ongoing legacy that is both material and psychic in nature (Martin et al, 2013).

There is some variation between the thematic scores at each of the sites. Let us look at what has been called the primary, secondary, supplementary and tertiary themes in turn:

Primary themes do not demonstrate huge amounts of inter-site variability. The rural school scores higher regarding family at 35% to the suburban school’s 33% and the township school’s 28%. The 18% scored by both the suburban and rural school is only marginally higher than the township school’s 13% for the theme of school. Similarly the 18% scored by both the township and suburban schools is slightly greater than the rural school’s 13% for the theme of youth.

Secondary and *supplemental* themes seem more variable between the sites, notably where one school seems to indicate a higher score than the others. The rural school talks about intergenerational talk more than the other schools, scoring 18% in contrast to the 6% and 8% for the township and suburban schools respectively. The suburban school talks about race at 20% which is higher than the 6% and 7% at the township school and the rural school respectively. Sexuality and relationships are also spoken about more at the suburban site: The suburban school scored 16% to the township school’s 6% and the rural school’s 8%. Politics is spoken about fairly consistently between the township and suburban schools at 11% and 12% respectively, which is in contrast to the rural school’s 6%. The suburban school scores highest by something of a big margin regarding religion, scoring 17% to the 4% and 3% scored by the township and rural schools respectively. The rural school outscored the other two sites on the theme of culture, scoring 14% to the township school’s 4% and suburban

school's 7%. Regarding the theme of friends, the suburban school again outscored the other two schools scoring 12% to the 4% scored by both the township and suburban schools. The last supplementary theme of sport is the only one to be scored consistently across the sites, scoring 4% at the township school, 4% at the suburban school and 3% at the rural school indicating a consistent but very low volume of talk about sporting interests.

The secondary and supplemental themes indicate a variability by site where the suburban school outscored the other two on the themes of race, sex, religion and friends, and the rural school scores somewhat higher on themes of talk and culture, and lower on the theme of politics. That the township school is paired at all times with either the suburban or rural school could be grounds to say that this site offers 'the best of both'. The township school shares talk, culture and politics in common with the suburban school, and race, sex, religion and friends in common with the rural school. These thematic trends say much about the different sites regarding access to information including through generational talk and concerning politics, relationships with others including family, romantic partners and friends.

Tertiary themes are indicated at only one or two sites. Respect is spoken about at a lowly 2% at both the township and rural schools. Femininity is solely included in talk at the rural school but scores an impressive 6% while Masculinity can only garner 1% at both the suburban and rural schools.

However, the vast similarities in participants' talk elides some subtle differences. Paying attention to the data (as evidenced in the time- and interview-lines) and to individual cases, reveals that intergenerational talk and culture are more prominent at the rural school, talk about sexuality, friendship, religion and race feature more at the multi-racial suburban school, and politics is included more often at the township school. It is no surprise that the rural space is more 'traditional' and talk about 'culture' is more frequent, or that because they are racially homogenous that race and politics are underplayed. In contrast, the diverse space of the suburban school confronts and questions interpersonal relationships through themes of race, sexuality and friendship, which in many cases overlap. That these are raised alongside a more

dominant theme of religion indicates that they may be understood and/or resolved through a conservative, christian lens. Sharing features of both the rural and suburban space, the township school aligns itself with the rural school regarding the themes of interpersonal interaction, owing to the similarly racially and culturally homogenous nature of the township community. However, on measures related to the theme of intergenerational talk they score similarly to the suburban school, that is, similarly low. This kind of positioning for participants in the township space is reinforced by less time spent talking about cultural and religious themes, where participants talk fairly equally but minimally about both culture and religion. Youth and politics stand out as the only salient features of township participants' talk⁴⁸. Both offer insight into the way young people in the township position themselves, alongside or against other young people and political forces.

These distinctions across the different research sites, or geographies of talk, indicate the nuances of participants' talk and reinforce the need to look at specific cases. Distinctions may also reveal differentiated interlocution with the researcher and the situated contexts of the interview including what could be said to the researcher, comfort with the language (English) and other factors such as perceived support regarding opportunities within higher education (see section 5.3 below). The cases below, while both from the suburban school, show the subtle ways that shifts within the structure of participants' stories reflect on features of their 'environments' including their geographical position in the world as well as the history and current socio-economic climate of where their stories emerge and belong.

Adam Naidoo and Zena van der Merwe are two participants from the suburban school. Their stories were chosen to indicate how one narrative thread – accounts of the longer past⁴⁹ – were included or avoided in each of their personal narratives. That they come from the same site of research is not inconsequential in the ways the multi-racial school navigates

⁴⁸ When compared to features of talk emerging at the other sites of the research.

⁴⁹ In all of the interview and time-lines talk about the past refers to time outside of the individuals' own lifespan and talk about the present includes a personal past such as childhood memories etc. Where there is a need to distinguish between these they will be referred to as 'longer past' to indicate historical time outside of the participants' life course and 'personal past' including memories and experiences within the participants own life.

intersectional identities and competing engagements with race and history. The suburban schools act as a kind of contact zone for young people to meet across intersectional positions which is less possible at the more homogenous rural and township sites – especially in terms of race and class. Adam includes the most talk about the past in his interview while Zena includes the least⁵⁰. Both minorities in their school community and in the country more widely – Adam is a student of ‘Indian’ heritage and Zena comes from an Afrikaans family. It is helpful to understand these two cases against the range of participants’ narrative structures given that these two cases have been expressly chosen to indicate the outliers of talk about the past in the structure of participants’ stories. Making sense of their stories helps us to see how young people use (and resist) the resources of the past in building lives in the present and future, and helps us to understand other (social structures like race, class, gender etc) that participants have included in narrating their lives.

CASE STUDY THREE: Story of Adam Naidoo

Adam Naidoo is a 17 year old, indian male attending a suburban school in Durban. Adam makes by far the most significant reference to the longer past (34%) of any of the participants in the project. (Appendix 11, page 341)

Adam’s timeline (Appendix 13) reveals an inclusion of the past throughout the interview which is not at the expense of talk about the present and future. Adam talks about the past at the same time as he talks about his present and future. While he speaks relatively little of his future (11%), his talk about the present encompasses almost the entirety of his interview (99%) where most of this talk about the present is very overtly and explicitly informed by the apartheid past. For this reason Adam’s interview is labelled ‘*the past is not past*’. Every instance of talk about the past is also simultaneously talk about the present and briefly, also, the future.

⁵⁰ Of all of the participants across all three sites.

Adam's story tells of a 17 year old living in a nuclear family structure with his parents and siblings. Adam is Christian, enjoys consumer and social networking activities and participates in sports to build social connections and manage expectations. Adam's collage image (below) references these through images and words that indicate a fit, masculine body with consumer items and brands.

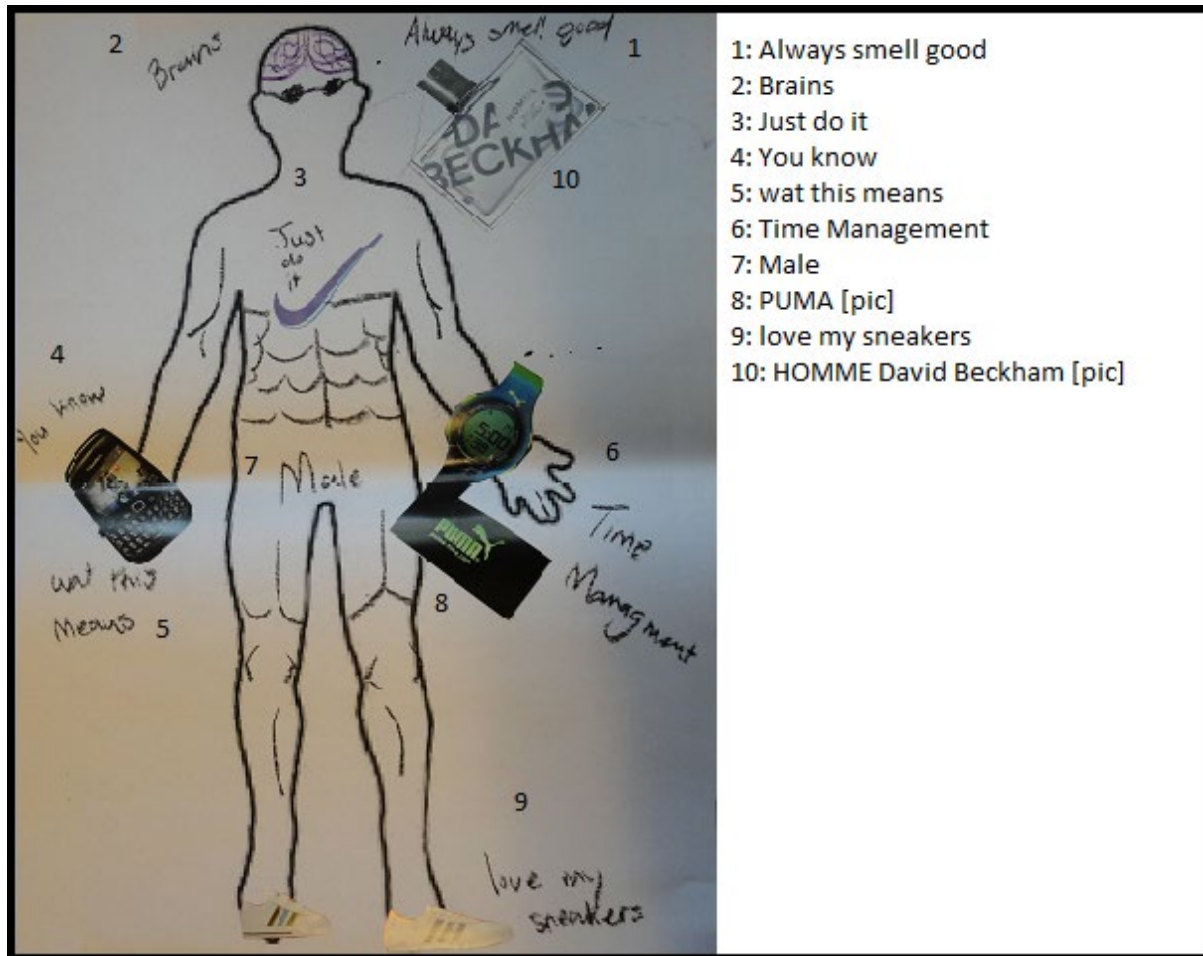


Figure 7. Adam Naidoo's Body mapping image

Like Dudu's body above, Adam presents a body that is gendered. Masculine tropes are included in his representation in ways that centre the embodied, male self (Martin et al, 2013; Morrell et al, 2012). His masculine body reveals a possible entanglement with reflections on race and racism in his interview. Adam's narrative does not include personal details of family members or intergenerational stories from those he knows (see life-line 14D), rather, the

collective apartheid past shadows his present life story. A story that stands out in Adam's narrative is an encounter with a racist teacher:

Adam: *I had the very racist white teacher. I think he is either dead or went to New Zealand because I really hated that man. That was my first racial experience. I was in grade 5 [...] I did actually go to the white school, it was mixed, it was called [removed] primary school. It was previously Afrikaans school and he was a teacher there in apartheid time, so then I really started hating him. He targetted me. He did say a few things to me which I don't want to mention it now. I still, up to today, if I see him I will hit him. I will definitely break him because of the type of person he was. I will smash him but I don't know what happened to him because I didn't see him after grade 6 [...] he was more like white supremacist kind of racist and he still have that apartheid times in his mind, if he would do something like that to me now I would be angry but not to a point that he did it to a small child, a child that doesn't understand race, a small child that doesn't understand racial, he shows that he really don't care about us [...] but also one of the bad thing about it is the fact that people who are hardcore racist and white supremacist in apartheid time still have the mentality of 'this is how it should be', they see us as inferior to them even though now we see each other as equal. Their children will see us as equal but they will never let their children to do that in the racist family. You can't blame children because it is their adults who are drowning them to that, they sort of brain wash them by the time they are born. They told them 'we once own the country, this is how things should be done. Don't let all this happen, don't get too close' it is like that and it is what they have in their minds. Please don't take this in the wrong way because I have lot of friends that are whites, I have lot of people that I can't explain the type of respect I have for them [14B pp. 4 – 6].*

The relational experience of racism shows a moment of direct connection between two generations. This experience of racism narrated by Adam appears to reveal the continuation of lived experiences of racism among the second generation in South Africa. These

experiences have real consequences in the present and shape his knowledge of and relationship with the past. The hand of time points backwards (Labov, 2006) from the present, and from one generation to the next relationally. This complicates the temporal relationship suggested by theorists of intergenerational or historical trauma who show how past events constitute what comes after. By narrating his interaction with his teacher, Adam narrates events in the present that impose a need to reflect on and engage with the past while also acknowledging that racism passes through generations chronologically. It is because of the racism he experiences in the present that Adam speaks South Africa's history and to the continued '*mentality*' of those who came before. The use of the word '*still*' ('*still have the mentality*') reflects that his talk is not fundamentally about the past at all even as he talks about '*apartheid time*'. In addition, Adam is interested in the history of Indian settlement in South Africa and in particular the role of Mahatma Ghandi in the 'struggle' for racial and class equality:

Adam: *I'm sure, as you know, the greatest Indian icon for politics was Mahatma Ghandi [...] my father told me that Ghandi didn't come to fight for us but what he came to fight for was upper class. He was from the upper class, he lived in the huge house. My father said 'don't think that he came to fight for you but he came to fight for indian upper class' [...] in terms of politics in South Africa, Nelson Mandela was just the man that I really, really look up to. Just recently this December holidays I went to Cape Town, it was amazing there [...] I really love learning more about Mandela. It is the man that I regard. He is the man that fight for freedom in South Africa [...] You must understand the big question for me is, ah, what was life like for white people during apartheid? I have never asked about this. How was life like with them? They were surrounded by white friends and family (inaudible). Another big question for me is the future of Indians in South Africa, because in 1900 after Ghandi has fought us for freedom there were people who were trying to get us back to India but they were already established businesses here, which is what made us stay. There is a lot of new generations growing up here. The future of Indians in South Africa is a big question for me [14B, pp. 6 – 9].*

Both of these lines in the narrative of Adam position the past as collective, troubling and embedded in present needs and expectations. They are similar in the ways that racism and belonging to the Indian community forces Adam to confront the legacy of a longer past in the present. He does this by linking Ghandi and Mandela – both figures that are currently subject to revisionist histories about the role they played/did not play in the liberation of South Africa, making his narrative very timely (Cf. Ellis, 2016). History evolves out of and in relation to information and needs in the present. Ellis' (2016) work has played a role in shifting the rosy perspective of Mandela's history by unearthing new information and challenging political narratives, arguments that find favour with political and postcolonial positions that also struggle to integrate the inclusive, non-racial rhetoric of the Mandela era with the negotiated settlement, ongoing structural inequalities and the failure to adequately reform, redress or redistribute social capital.

Racist and cultural experiences are narrated by Adam to be at the forefront of his story and make links with knowledge of understandings about whiteness and Indian heritage. Adam references whiteness in both accounts as he tries to make sense of his own life in the present. Talking about his own school experience and the future of new generations of 'Indians' in South Africa, Adam is the subject of both of these accounts. Moreover, he is not the subject in a distant sense, but his concerns are raised in the present related to immediate emotions, thoughts and desires, including his unresolved hatred for the racist teacher. For Adam the past is not past, it remains distinctly present and he is himself aware of this when he indicates ongoing racial prejudice:

Adam: *freedom is a special thing, because we all have our freedom. Like I said about racial tension, it is not that we, we, we free of each other but we are not free of our own prejudice, ja, it is something we are not free of it, it is something we need to get over it because the younger generation to get along and to realize that what happened in the past should stay in the past. We free of systemization and of, we free of apartheid, we are free to go and do whatever we want now, I can go anywhere in South Africa, we just need to get over our own prejudices, that is our prison at the moment [14B, pp. 9 – 10].*

Continued prejudices across time – from past to present – offer a sense of continuity with our conflictual past that characterises what Hoffman (2004) referred to as a ‘hinge’ in the movement between generations after historical horror.

CASE STUDY FOUR: Story of Zena van der Merwe

Zena van der Merwe is a 17 year old, white female attending the same suburban school in Durban as Adam. Zena hardly mentioned the longer apartheid past at all (only 2% of her talk referenced the past – see appendix 11, page 341). Looking at Zena’s timeline (Appendix 13, 15B) we see that talk about the past only pops up once, briefly in a moment between talk about the present and in relation to a theme on race. Zena’s transcript is dominated by talk about the present with sporadic overlaps of talk about the future.

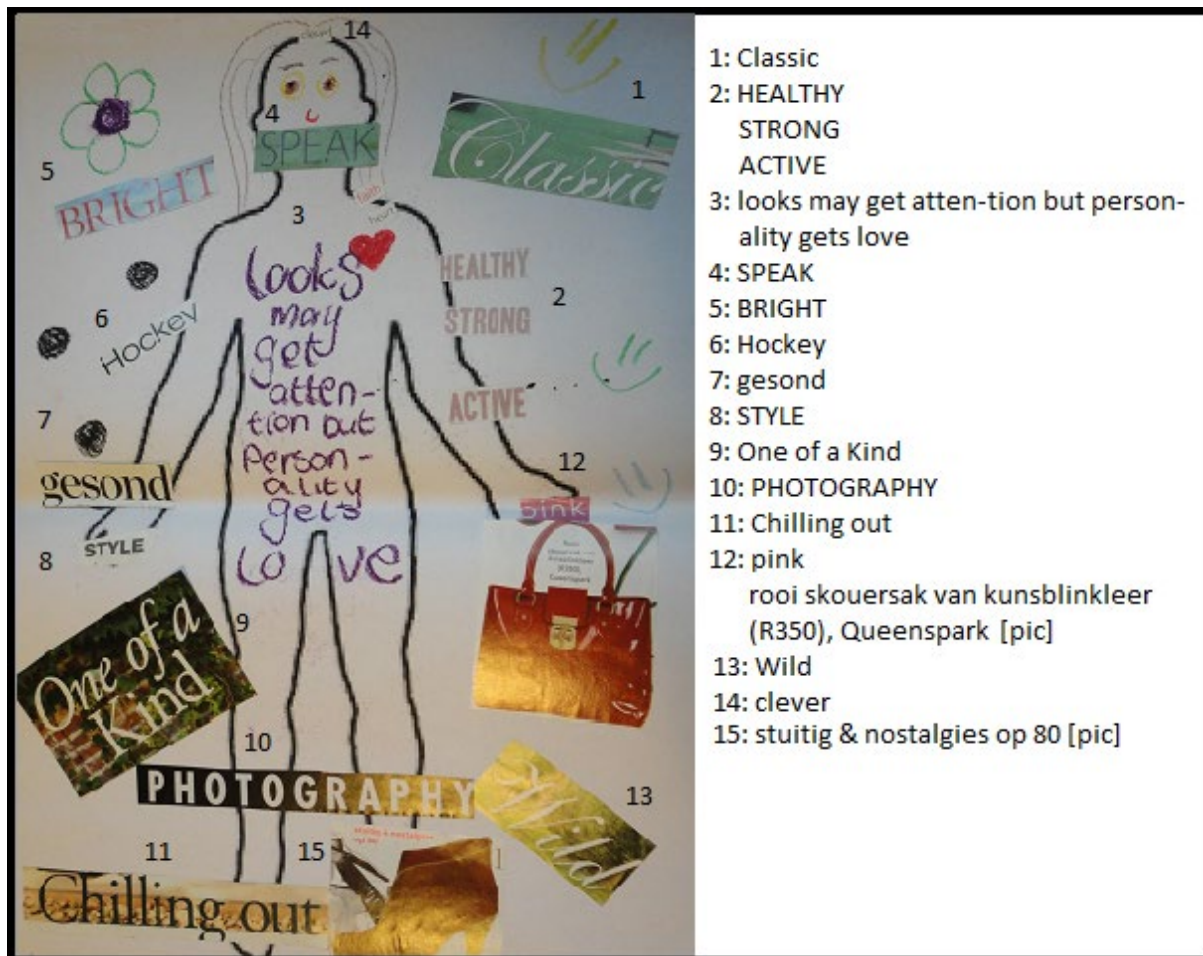


Figure 8. Zena van der Merwe's Body mapping image.

As a body map the image speaks a lot about her body and gendered experiences and femininity. It is interesting that Zena's body map includes images and text in her home language of Afrikaans indicating that language may have played a role in the story that she tells albeit that she is telling the story in English. On her body map 'gesond' means 'healthy' and the additional Afrikaans text is included with images of a bag and shoe indicating details of the items: 'red patent leather handbag', and 'mischievous and nostalgic at 80' (see image number 15). The only narrative line Zena's includes about the past is one related to experiences of previous generations, especially her father's experiences at school:

Zena: *Well my father, he has talked to me about his childhood a lot and my mom not so much, my father told me that like, he wasn't the, how can say it, he wasn't like a*

rebel. He did everything, he was like, quite ... He told me when he was in university he, mhm, he would make the first years, mhm, I can't remember, he just told me he was, like, really bad and he failed grade 11. He told me that, he said 'I have done that so you don't have to do that'. He didn't get distinctions but it's not bad he got his d's and c's, he says 'I don't have 100% so you have the chance, so you make sure that you get it'. I learned from that he told me and I thought to myself 'it happened to him, it doesn't have to happen to me', that is why I'm working hard to make them proud. I like making them proud as well.

[...]

Researcher: *Okay so what do you see in that is different to your parents' generation? You mentioned drinking and smoking.*

Zena: *Yeah, I don't do that myself but I can see that there is more fighting and more drinking, more parties and more smoking and then drugs [...] [because the older generation] would have got discipline so that is the important [difference], like playing outside when they were small, they could play outside and they wouldn't have to worry about getting mugged or getting raped or getting stabbed or getting hijacked or stuff like that and nowadays, you just, you can't even go outside, I, my, my mother doesn't let me walk to spar [15B, pp. 4 – 5].*

Talking about the past in this way is incredibly similar to Dudu's story about her father. The past is a resource for talking about present limitations and future hopes and goals. Both Dudu and Zena are constrained by their parents' expectations. These expectations are related to parents' own experiences of growing up and place constraints on the autonomy and independence of what to eat, of where to go, but more especially it relates to significant demands for academic successes. Achieving at school and gaining parental approval ('making them proud') in the present is the purpose for telling stories about the past. Unlike Dudu's account however, the past is understood as not all bad. In Zena's narrative the past is imagined and told as a utopia without crime and violence. This nostalgic narrative situates her within a political and racial community that was protected under apartheid (Frankish and Bradbury, 2012). Zena expands on a vision for the future in relation to the nostalgia she has

constructed of the past when asked about what she imagines an ‘ideal’ South Africa would look like:

Zena: *so, I think no racism, no discrimination against one another. I think everybody should be equal. I think there should be a little bit more discipline in schools and at home. I don't think we should have as many rights that we do because I think people think 'we are like the huge thing, we are untouchable, there is nothing you can do to us'. I think that is not, you are still the same person. That is not right. The standards that you look up to, you can't just do as you please and expect nothing to be done to you. That is what I think a lot of youth have in their minds that 'you can't just do anything to me', 'I can do what ever I want' and I don't think that is right ,yeah. I think the discipline has to be changed. I haven't experienced racism but I think there is a bit of racism on the older generation against the younger generation. The white older generation doesn't like the black younger generation, or something like that. I don't know because I haven't experienced that. [...] And the crime as well in South Africa, I would look at that as well because I heard something about the prisons are too full and people that haven't committed serious crimes can go out and let other people in. They should build more prisons so that anyone can go. People that have done wrong could go to prison because now even if they do wrong they know that the prisons are too full, so they know that 'I'm not going to get a harsh sentence' or 'I'm not going to be for long', like they don't really care. I've heard some people would rather go to prison than to be outside because prison is better for them, they get food and clothes and beds. Some people don't have that on the outside so I would look into that as well*

Researcher: *Okay, have you or your family or people close to you affected by crime?*

Zena: *not directly [15B, p. 6].*

These lines in Zena's narrative present the past as relatively carefree, where a lack of concern about crime meant unrestricted freedoms including freedoms of movement and to rebel and, seemingly paradoxically, to also be sheltered by family and social structures like discipline.

Zena's version of the past talks about a delicate balance struck in protected, white spaces under apartheid (Frankish and Bradbury, 2012; Steyn, 2012b). In Zena's narratives of personal and collective experiences in the present this delicate apple cart is upset. Zena's references to what is going wrong and how it should be addressed is premised against a vision of the past (that she has probably gleaned for her parents' talk), Zena largely refuses to talk about this past. Even implying that things may have been better under apartheid is controversial and not at all politically correct. Instead, Zena makes her claims in relation to aspects of life in the present, including seeming 'facts' about prisons for example. The issue of full prisons is countered against what happened before. She also overemphasises that she is not racist. This kind of denial or resistance of racialized talk may meaningfully speak to terms within Steyn's (2012b) analysis of whiteness and social contract regarding 'ignorance'. It may also indicate a level of perceived similarity or comfort with the embodied whiteness of the researcher. The disclaimer regarding race and history is marked throughout her talk and is most noteworthy in the extract from her transcript below:

Zena: *I don't really know a lot about apartheid, don't really know. I just know, like, all I know about it is the whites and the other racial groups were separated and they weren't equal so to say they weren't equal and that is all I know about apartheid. [...] I don't know about racism because I'm not a racist [and...] I don't know about politics [15B, p. 6].*

By distancing herself from the talk about the past, from politics and even from awareness of racism (which is simply untrue as in the account she provides documents every single race category), Zena can include traces of the past in her narrative through a vision of a nostalgic past that is 'unknowing'. Being nostalgic toward and 'knowing' about the past reveals specific relations with time and memory making processes in society (Dlamini, 2009; Jansen, 2009; Hoffman, 2004). Much like Steyn (2012b) suggests with regard to 'ignorance', the way that people know or do not know about what came before, reveals a socio-political strategy for positioning self in society.

The interview with Zena van der Merwe was a particularly emotional one. Her story, like many of the stories at her school, focuses on themes of body image, fitting in and various other pressures. These themes while possibly personally challenging for young people are far less traumatic than stories told by young people from the township school (including such as themes of death and violence) and yet the suburban participants exhibit significantly greater emotionality. While Zena told the story below she was crying but indicated (verbally and non-verbally) that she was happy with the interview proceeding.

Zena: *Since growing up I never saw myself as everyone else. I never fitted in. Like, if you had stereotypes, I never fitted in. Like I wasn't girly, I wasn't tomboy, I wasn't stylish but I was nerdy, if you can say that, I was out going. I was just like all over the place, if you can say that. If you look at my friends they all like girly, worried about how they look. I like looking nice but if I don't, I don't care, I don't care what people think of me, if you can say that. I'm myself, I don't really care what you think. If you don't like me, it's okay. Yeah, that is just how I am.*

Researcher: *Okay you've mentioned that in your family you are also the odd one out, growing up in Durban there is a sense of somewhat different, how do you, you seem to be excited or happy about those differences.*

Zena: *Yeah*

Researcher: *Maybe talk to me about that a bit more*

Zena: *I'm happy about it because to me... I don't want to fit in. I don't want to be the same as everyone. I don't want to be girly and I want to stand out. I want to do my own thing. I want to be my own. I don't want to be like anyone else. I like being different. If someone comes and says to me – 'I don't like you and', I would be like, 'that is fine, I don't mind because that is your feeling about me. If you like me that is also good, I don't really care', I don't want to sound harsh or anything. I'm trying to be sensitive but I don't really care what people think about me*

[...]

Zena: *Well sometimes it is hard for me to try and fit in. I do try even though I say I don't want to fit in, sometimes I do want to fit in, so I don't want to be seen as a freak or something nerdy. I want to try and be pretty and feel pretty. I do use a lot of makeup because I don't feel pretty without it and that is one of the hard thing being a teenager. I just want to feel pretty and I don't always feel that way.* [15B, pages 8 – 10]

These extracts from Zena's interview come right as we are concluding the interview. The preceding text reveals a tension in her narrative of being a hard working but active young woman who is involved in sport, her family and the church where she narrates a fairly emotionally neat story. That is, initially there seem to be no major emotional difficulties. This narrative line was sporadically interspersed, however, with comments about being 'the odd one out'. When the researcher asks about these threads in the narrative they are met with an outpouring of emotionality.

The long text above indicates the ways that despite not directly talking about the past, Zena shares commentary that is at once historical, collective (if we think in Halbwachs, 1992 terms) and embodied. That Zena's story shows greater emotionality (in line with other participants at the suburban school) is indication of interpersonal dynamics including rapport with the researcher and greater knowledge of psychological processes (through school counsellors and community access to psychological services) and broader intersections of race in schooling (Hunter, 2015a; Hunter, 2015b).

5.3. Interactional dynamic portraits:

Access to my participants' worlds was only possible through the interactional dynamics of the interview encounter (Josselson, 2006 and Reissman, 2008). Layers of researcher involvement⁵¹ and interpretation were evident in the processes of planning for and

⁵¹ This involvement indicates that the research was not neutral or objective from the outset.

conducting the visual tasks and research interviews, all of which allowed some things to be ‘said’ while others remained ‘unsaid’. In this section of analysis I reflect on these layers of interpretation and the complicated ways they have alerted me to what a participant said and *how* they came to say it, and how the research process interprets and generates meaning.

As we have seen with the analysis of the visual data and time- and interview-line comparisons, decisions made before, during and after the research shaped the generation of stories produced by and told by participants and allowed for particular kinds of interpretation of what was said. Unpacking the decisions made at each of the stages of the research is critical to making sense of the stories told.

5.3.1 Interviews as contextual space of interaction: a brief interactional analysis

The process of constructing meaning in the interviews is evident in the way that the participants constructed their accounts *in situ* as they navigated the interview dynamics. This section illustrates the ways in which the story teller and audience interact in the production of narratives. It is here that the idea of ‘co-constructing’ or ‘co-authoring’ research data holds sway, where “all narratives are, in a fundamental sense, co-constructed” (Reissman, 2008, p. 80).

The presence of the interviewer impacts on what and how the participants say what they say. One of the key dynamics that is explored in this section is related to the differences in style and approach at each of the different interview sites. In particular, various emotional responses were elicited among the participants and researcher at each of the research sites and will be unpacked, using case studies from each of the geographic locations. The emotionality of the interviews indicates a meaningful element in the way participants and the researcher were positioned in relation to each other (see also Zena’s story above). While this section will focus on the emotional aspects of doing narrative interviews with young South Africans across different geographical sites in KwaZulu-Natal, other features of the interviews including content, style and silences will be touched on in the analysis below. Of course, there is an overlap in the experiences and stories told by young people in different locations.

The point of teasing out the disparities here is primarily to make sense of interactional dynamics but may well also serve as a reminder that a single story (Adichie, 2009) of being young in post-apartheid South Africa would be a fallacy. The geography of storytelling is related to the embodied presence of the past in the exchange generated between audience and teller (Josselson, 2006).

My own story (introduced earlier, preface on page xi) positions me as ‘outsider’ or ‘insider’ to the stories that I hear and make sense of. Josselson (2006) wants us to reject taking up a modernist position where interviews are treated as ‘data’ as ‘facts’. Rather, she calls for us to regard the results of our investigations to be “situated interpretation” (Josselson, 2006, p. 6). In doing so she wants us to recognise that our final reports are reflections on ourselves as ‘knowers’, and to be aware of the limits to ‘knowing’ (Josselson, 2006, p. 6).

The stories told by the participants of this project were told *for me*. This was seen by the ways participants made sense of who I was and the assumptions they made about what I wanted from them. While being an insider can foster rapport and familiarity (as seen at the suburban school), being a valued outsider can be just as productive for telling and hearing. Fay (1996, p. 21) writes “sometimes *not* being one can facilitate knowing one”, and certainly at moments in the interview process, stories were facilitated by my ‘outsider’ status. I was seen as an outsider in many ways over the course of the interviews, as ‘white’, as facilitating access to university spaces (see below), and as a ‘safe’ person to reveal (community and personal) secrets to especially when I was also positioned as ‘psychologist’. This varied across the research sites: where in the township I was largely an ‘outsider’, somewhat suspicious, with whom participants were sometimes wary of sharing. Hailing myself from the same community as the suburban school, I was a clear ‘insider’, I was welcomed into the school and stories of participants as someone expressly familiar⁵² and talk was often peppered with ‘you know’. While my outsider-ness was most obvious (to me) at the rural school, the interaction with participants positioned me as an outsider-insider where a strong

⁵² This is evident further in the fact that a teacher mentioned in Adam Naidoo’s story once taught me with similar hostility (a key feature of his narrative), albeit not racially motivated.

desire to share and develop longer-term relationships predominated, especially amongst the girls. Lines of race, geography, gender, background (psychology) and class intersect in positioning me and allowing access to participants' stories. My privileged class status, whiteness, age and having come from an institute of higher learning aligned me as the researcher with perceptions about wealth, status and access. This was important at the moment in the participants' lives when they would imminently leave school and try to access opportunities within cities and in higher education. That these constructs were embodied by the researcher, therefore shaped interactions that would potentially enrich participants who would soon seek support to further their studies with the hope of escaping the poverty in their community/ies. It is therefore no surprise that interactions varied in relation to where and how much this potential, perceived support was valued.

a. Township space

The township school was, as already stated, the first site for collecting research data. The thirteen interviews conducted at this site were experienced (by the researcher) as rather heavy regarding the themes and content revealed in the interviews. Participants spoke about poverty, racism, violence and death (See appendix 11, page 341). Many participants experienced violence and disruptiveness through big and small experiences including death, disappearances and direct personal violence.

These stories were told, however, for the most part, with very little emotion. Neither much laughter nor sadness is overtly exhibited by the participants in telling their stories. Their stories come across as 'matter-of-fact' and this is further evidenced by a style of interview talk where participants largely answered questions from the researcher and story-telling was limited. Questions were answered with minimum detail and the researcher was forced to ask and probe ideas with multiple questions aimed at eliciting and exploring the life story⁵³. The interview style was broadly 'narrative' largely owing to the discussion surrounding the

⁵³ Evidence regarding claims about style difference will be presented in the chapter on structural analysis (chapter 6) as will a discussion regarding how this style of interview can contribute to a NARRATIVE analysis at all.

imaging technique used (in this case the body mapping type technique), but talk remained broken and uneven. It is worthwhile trying to make sense of why this space produced narratives of this kind unlike those elicited in the suburban and rural spaces. At its heart, dynamics of language, space and race remain salient in the ways they marked the researcher as ‘outsider’ and made some things (im)possible to say. For example, fear of punishment from school authorities appeared to both open up talk for participants who might otherwise have not participated in the project and close down open disclosure.

b. Suburban space

Participants from the suburban school demonstrated a remarkably different engagement with the researcher than those from the township school. Most notably the interviews produced showed significantly more story-telling and less necessity for probing questions. As indicated above, the interview with Zena van der Merwe was particularly emotional. Her story, like many of the stories at her school, focuses on themes of body image, fitting in (individualised) and various other pressures. These themes are rather unlike many of the stories told at the township school (such as themes of death and violence – structural, collective, political) and yet exhibit significantly greater emotionality. This is likely related to greater linguistic fluency with English, associated levels of confidence, and more familiarity with psychological services and possibly with the research process – this is linked to the intersection of class and privilege in these spaces (Hunter, 2015a; Hunter, 2015b). Former Model C schools, like the suburban school that participated in this study, are government schools in previously white only areas that retain historical wealth in the form of infrastructure and location to other resources and which, through governing bodies, attract higher fees and are thus positioned to provide psycho-social and other kind of support for students. Former Model C schools are better able to provide small(er) teacher-student ratios, libraries, sporting and other academic and extra-curricula pursuits in their programme than their rural and township counterparts despite all being ‘public’⁵⁴ institutions of learning.

⁵⁴ Many examples of exclusion, primarily in relation to race, complicate how public former Model C schools truly are.

c. Rural space

The participants at the rural school presented their stories quite differently from the other two sites, specifically regarding emotionality. For the most part the stories were upbeat and positive even when they told of events or emotions surrounding death and poverty. One of the consequences of developing rapport and spending time talking to participants at the rural school, about the things that matter in their lives is that they want, and even need, this relationship to persist. A number of participants, predominantly from the rural school, have maintained some or a lot of contact with the researcher. This contact, for the most part, has been of the kind related to educational support likely as the result of being isolated and geographically distant from these resources in the ways that the suburban and township school are not. This shows that the kind of relationship and the kind of talk that happened within the interviews was constrained by expectations and assumptions made regarding the role of the researcher as a perceived ‘representative of educational opportunities’. Someone from a university is perceived to be in a position to assist with needs related to scholarly and financial aid pursuits, especially at a site where meeting these needs is difficult and geographically distant.

To unpack these dynamics two case studies are presented by Njabulo Banda from the township school and Sindiswa Thwala from the rural school. Njabulo Banda’s and Sindiswa Thwala’s stories are interlaced with telling moments of connection with myself as the researcher. These moments occurred throughout the research project and at each of the sites in various ways.

CASE STUDY FIVE: Story of Njabulo Banda

Njabulo Banda is a 17 year old black male attending a township school in Durban (Appendix 13, 6C). Njabulo’s interview shows how the dynamics of the research within the interview played out to reveal or obscure narrative lines within his story, to allow some things to be said while others were silenced. Foremost in Njabulo’s narrative is a sense of ‘playfulness’:

Njabulo: *um, I'm that kind of a person, umm, I'm friendly to those who are friendly to me, you know, but to those who are not I give them what they want, umm, adventures, umm, oh my family doesn't have the means to give me what I want but I, I would love to have an experience of adventure, you know, um, I'm playful ah, you know what even the teachers know me as this kind, I'm playful, ja ja I, I really love playing interacting with people you know it's what I like, yeah. [6C, p. 1].*

Njabulo's time- and interview- lines (Appendix 13, 6C) speak to play as integral to his character where play is imagined in the past, practiced in the present and anticipated in the future. The past, present and future are different for Njabulo because of play – that is the lack of historical opportunities for play gives way to opportunities for limited play in the present and unlimited play in the future. It is no surprise then that Njabulo's bodymap is completed almost solely with words connected to play. At the top of the head is collaged the word 'winner' which is a helpful description for how he sees his life. Play is a positive, social practice that reflects upon and is enabled by upward social mobility including access to various resources and growing wealth (Welchen, 2012). 'Winning' at life means one must be able to engage in (expensive⁵⁵ and possibly dangerous) play.

⁵⁵ Njabulo references play that includes sky diving and racing motorbikes – very masculine risky play

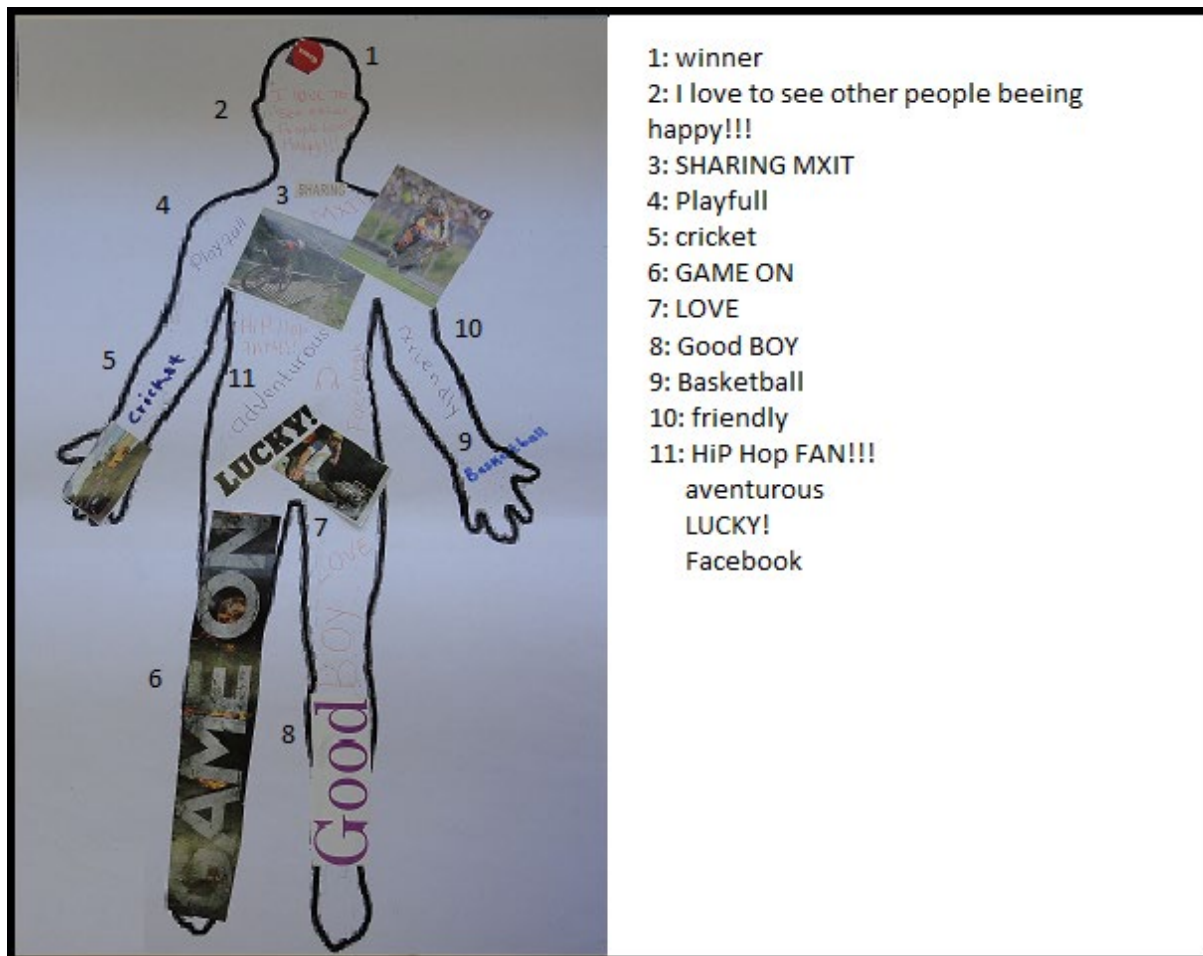


Figure 9. Njabulo Banda's Body mapping image

Njabulo's story stands out amongst his peers when he tells us about the death of his father and the mysterious disappearance of his mother. In doing so he also suggests how he has developed his story with regards to emotionality, trust with the perceived audience and active silence. His storytelling is very carefully managed as Njabulo indicates (elsewhere) that he finds talking difficult including with peers about relationships. This is particularly true when it comes to talking about his father's death and mother's disappearance.

Njabulo: *emm, emm, my dad, my dad um we lost him couple years ago, also my mom, mom got missing a few months back, oh, umm, last year our mother left us, she got missing, you know, and now I live with my brother, my older brother and twin sister, you know, so when I'm talking about means I'm, I'm, I'm kinda like*

expressing, you know, that mmm, though my mom was there, you know, she, she didn't have means to like give use that support, you know, em, she, she, she, she, she gave us supports in a way that she could, you know, she, she loved us, she gave us what we want though not all what we want, you know [...]

Researcher:*ok and talk to me about your mom and your dad I know they are not here anymore but do you have any special memories with them, ehm*

Njabulo: *eh, I would pretty much say I would not like to talk about dad but my mom we had a very, ehm, we were very close with my mom, oh, cause she loved me. 'You bright as ... ' she said, umm she said I was the smartest kid umm she has, you know, we were very close, you know, she used to talk to me, you know, she, she used to say lot of things, that I shouldn't do bad things, you know, eh, she was kind of like a, um, a church person, you know, she, she really loved church, you know, ehh, that's the things that I can say about her, you know, but she, she did good things she was a very good person she was open to us*

Researcher:*ok what kinds of things that she talked to you about*

Njabulo: *eh, she used to say, ehmm, you know, you shouldn't do bad things as I've said, you know, she wouldn't treat our, our, treat, treat other people, you know, badly she wouldn't do bad things, oh, cause she, she didn't like, ehm, crime and stuff like that, you know, she told us that we shouldn't be like, ehm, there, there was a cousin of ours who was very bad who, who's, who's in jail now she, she told us that we shouldn't be like him you know she motivates, she motivated us, you know, ja*

Researcher:*ok, ehh, and you said she disappeared last year, ehm, what was that like for you*

Njabulo: *ehm, It was very, ehm, I felt very bad, you know, umm ahh, you know, I even cried, you know, it was a very we were in a very bad state at that moment, you know, it was a very bad thing lose losing my mom, you know, which now a lot of people do not know that but few people knows it, you know, few people know that cause I do not feel comfortable talking about it, you know, if I I'm talking to a person who will listen you know there would be a very good thing, I, I, I usually*

talk to people who listen people who would like to listen you know not all the people, yeah

Researcher:*ok eh what do you suspect, eh, where do you suspect your mom is*

Njabulo: *umm we heard that, ehm, she was placed nearby [The township], I don't know the name but, you know, eh, I think it's fast track they said she was there, umm, coz we have already phoned the police, the police had done nothing about it, umm, we heard rumours that she was there and we went looking for her, we did not see her, you know, we didn't find her, umm, but that what we suspected but she, she, she was not there, you know, and now we hoping for the best we, we do not know where she is*

Researcher:*do you think that she left or that something happened to her*

Njabulo: *I don't think she would just leave us like that cause she loved us she, she had love for us I, I, I would say that something bad happed to her (6C, pages 2 and 3)*

This extract from the text is rich with information and not just in terms of trying to make sense of the events that transpired. Njabulo reveals a difficult line in his narrative but through silence (his refusal to talk about his father/his father's death) and when probed on his mother's disappearance indicates that he reveals his sadness only under very circumscribed conditions with a select group of people he is saying much about his life and story generally as he is about the perceived relationship with the researcher. Njabulo has told the researcher a story that he only tells to select individuals whom he feels will 'listen' to him (the story of his mother's disappearance) but has elected not to talk about his father. It may be that my 'outsider'/'insider' status opened up talk about some kinds of experiences and closed down others especially in gendered ways – where being a woman brought stories of motherhood into the discussion while limiting talk about masculinity and fatherhood - as would be expected by Fay's (1996) discussion about 'being one to know one'.

The interview with Njabulo progresses in such a way that he later confesses that he is 'glad that someone got me to think like this' and he thanked the researcher 'for listening' but if

there was a change in the emotionality or perceived relationship with the researcher it was not evident in the transcript. The overall tone of Njabulo's interview remained the same. That is, he told the story of his mother with the same emotion (or lack of it) that he told us about being playful. It is not that he could or should show emotion in telling his story to me but that like his suburban counterparts (including Zena) his emotional response is revealing of dynamics within the interview context – of language barriers, gender differences, expectations of who is 'listening' (the researcher and idea of research knowledge generally) and familiarity with psychological processes.

For Njabulo the two lines of his personal narrative, that of play and the disappearance of his mother, intersect through the relationship with the researcher and the dynamics of the research process. The situated context of the interview (Josselson, 2006) allows Njabulo to share the story of his mother's disappearance but not to reveal or engage with emotional aspects of his story. Arguably it is the silence of the emotion rather than the events that indicate firstly the kind of relationship established with the researcher – one that is seen as scholarly and formal rather than casual, and which indicates secondly how silent emotionality directs how stories can be told. These silences are key to the way Njabulo constructs his narrative and how narratives about (traumatic) memory are often constructed (Herman, 1992).

CASE STUDY SIX: Story of Sindiswa Thwala

Sindiswa Thwala is a 17 year old, black female attending a rural school (transcript 28A). Sindiswa's story introduces us to thinking about research dynamics that extended beyond the interview.

Sindi's time- and interview lines (Appendix 13, 28A) dedicate much time and content to talk about her family, and in particular their move from Limpopo, her rape at a very young age at the hands of the brother/young son of a family she was staying with for some time, and the birth of her own son and relationship with her child's father. Sindi's story sees a young

mother living with her family, raising a young boy in the absence of his father and confronting the legacy of being violated by another young man. This story plays out across time and place as it tells of significant transitions around the time of moving from Limpopo to KwaZulu-Natal (two rural places). The significant traumatic story of her rape is contained in a story of leaving Limpopo and the events surrounding settling in KwaZulu-Natal. This transition in her life, where the sense of disruption and cultural dispossession that she felt, is aligned with understandings related to the disruptions and dispossession felt by (political) trauma survivors (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2003). For Sindi, the transition or disruption experienced in her life is however narrated as a 'move' - rather than the typical 'event' like focus of traditional trauma theory as seen in Herman's (1992) accounts of collective trauma. A move is a longer term transition rather than single clear moment. While Sindi's physical move in geography can be seen as a single event in her life course, it plays the role of a catalyst for longer term disruptions including her rape.

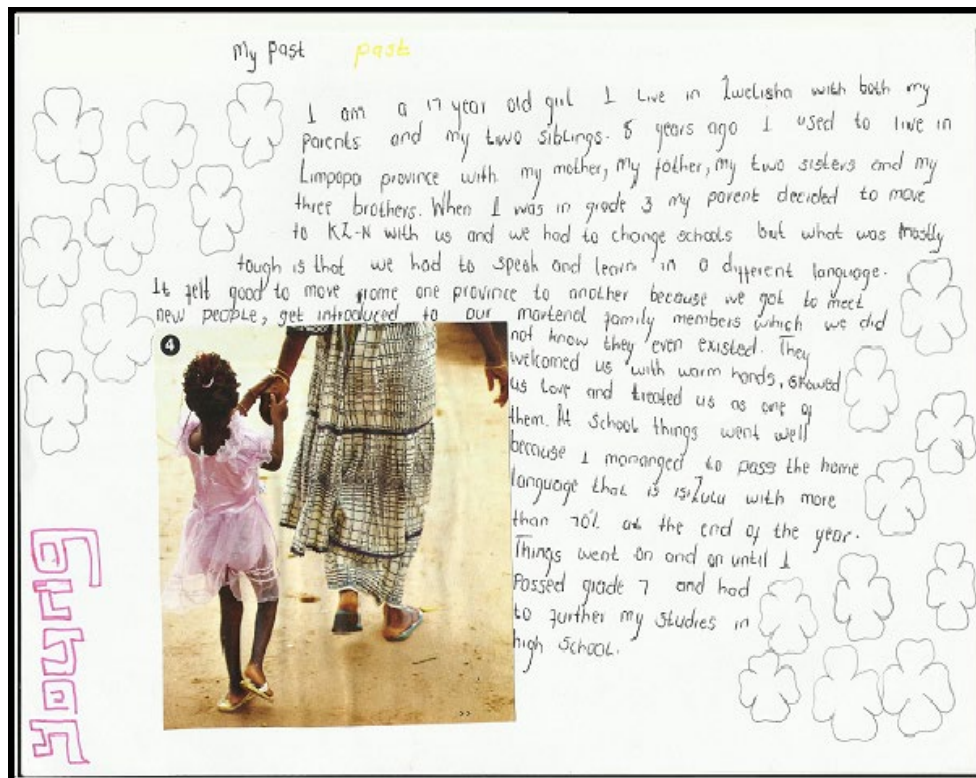


Figure 10. Sindiswa Thwala's timeline - Past

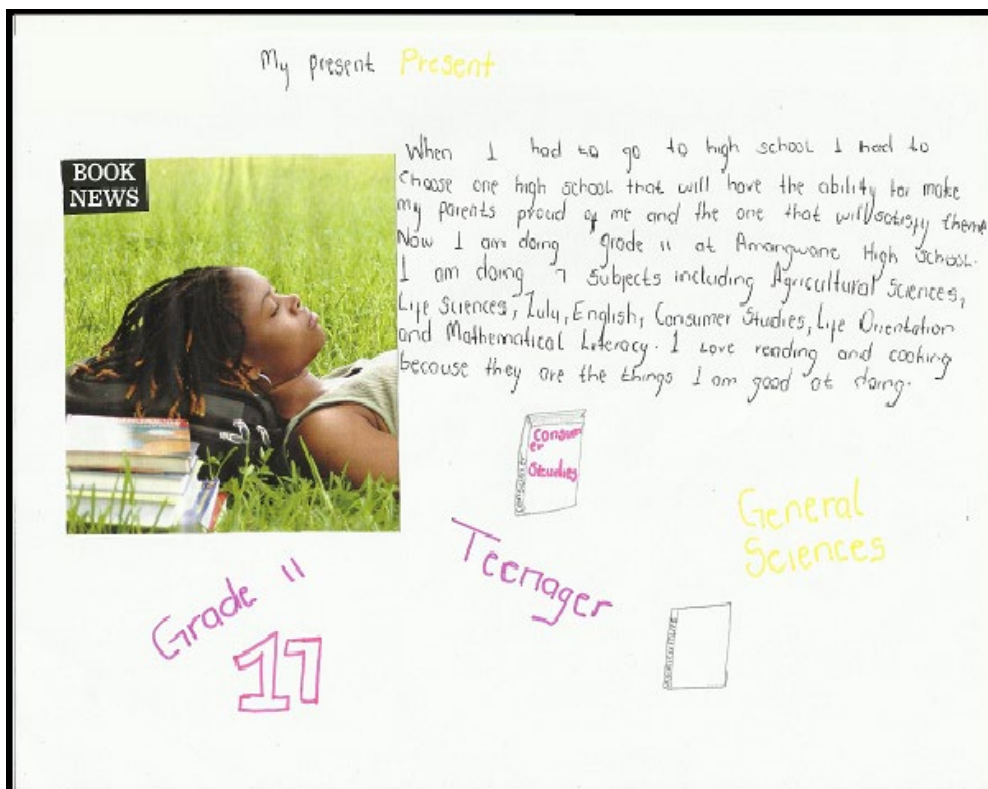


Figure 11. Sindiswa Thwala's timeline – Present

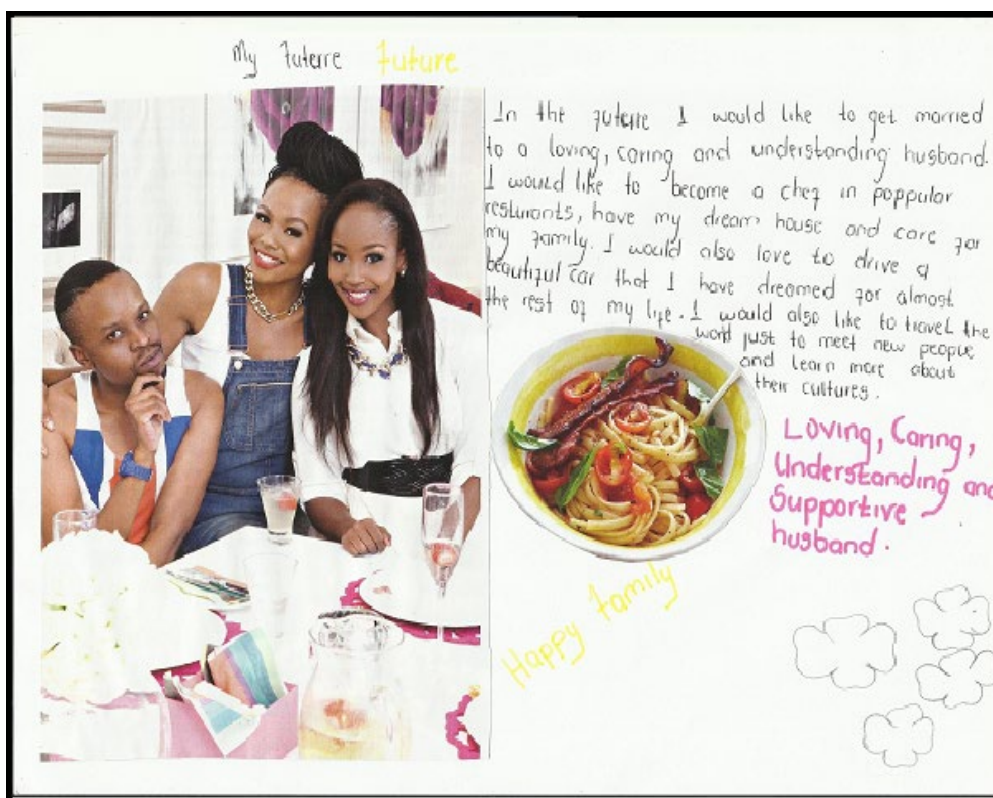


Figure 12. Sindiswa Thwala's timeline – Future

Moving is a salient feature of Sindi's timeline images. In particular, her past is also included in her representation of the future through talk about future travel and meeting new people and learning new cultures. In addition family and romantic relationships take on importance in the past and future while school achievements are exclusively present concerns.

In her focus on her move, Sindi also included events related to changing schools and learning isiZulu. Going forward into the future, it is these two lines that remain salient as Sindi reports a desire for a stable, loving relationship with a male partner and to continue to learn about new cultures through travel. Sindi has meaningfully incorporated the events of her life into a story that allows her to imagine her future as a “dialogic subject in time” (Mishler, 1999, p. x⁵⁶) who grows out of but is not constrained by the events of the past.

⁵⁶ Quote is included in the introductory text before the start of page numbering.

Sindiswa: *I would like him [her son] to learn other people cultures and religions just because I like other people cultures and religions, just to understand them, 'cause better than the way other people feel them [...] my mom always tell me 'if you don't know English, than you nothing in the world, you have to know English, English is the key to knowing all other subject, you know'. I have to learn English in order to achieve a better life [28A, pp. 7 – 8].*

Language choice is not inconsequential and is tied to national decisions, educational options, race and identity making. That her move is tied to a relinquishment of self in favour of other cultures and language may be an instance of the depletion of cultural meaning referenced by Eyerman (2001). The term 'cultural trauma' referred to in Eyerman's (2001) speaks to the loss of self linked to participants adopting the language and culture of the colonial other. Postcolonial theory, including in Fanon's (1952) 'Black Skin, White Masks', include similar indication of the role of language in shaping the way that the oppressed relate to themselves and other. By thinking of the ongoing legacies of Apartheid, of racism, gender violence and poverty as oppressive (as we must) then the language of cultural meaning is an important site of analysis.

The narrative of her move becomes a key in her understandings of her life and the rape story is a bigger underlying story, more disruptive than the move, the move being easier to articulate as a story. Sindi's timeline images show this through her initiating sentences which locate her in place and indicate her move from Limpopo: "I am a 17 year old girl[,] I live in [a rural community in KwaZulu-Natal] with both my parents and two siblings. 8 years ago I used to live in Limpopo...". For Sindi, her rape was one part of a series of events which were ordered around the family's move. These events include cultural and linguistic transitions as well as the rape (which she talks about only very late into her interview after the researcher asks for concluding thoughts upon hearing the school bell ring to signal that Sindi needed to move to her next class). It is possible that Sindi came into the interview wanting to tell this story and when reminded that time was almost up rushed to include it. This suggests that while the move organised the story-telling of her life, the deeper, silenced

rape story that was at the heart of the move story is much more important for Sindi's narrative of herself, reminding us of the salience of everyday violence for young South Africans (Hayes, 1998; Essed, 1991). Ms Mbanga's story (Swartz, 1998) offered a historical lens in which psychologists and theorists tried to understand the loss of her arm rather than attending to the material needs that she had in the present as a result of systemic violence and poverty. Sindi's interview suggests parallels to Ms Mbanga in that she constructs and tells a story of violation in the present that demands attention. Let us turn to this story:

Researcher: *okay, uh, I see that the bell has gone and everybody is just rushing off so maybe just to conclude are there things that you want to say that we haven't spoken about, about your life or what it means to be, be a young South African*

Sindiswa: *well there are somethings that I didn't mention in my papers*

Researcher: *okay, maybe say it shortly the things or the summary of what they are*

Sindiswa: *well there are when we move, when we were about to move from Limpopo we swapped schools me and my sister, you know, we stayed with this family a mile from home when we stay there, the father of the family and mother, they were two girls, one was older than us the other one was younger than us, and then there was a boy, the boy was almost 3 years [older], he stay with us everything was fine at the beginning but then as time went on and on things became different they started acting weird and everything changed my sister moved back home, she will like come to school by taxi every morning, well my friends can't afford, well they tried so I had to stay closer to school and then in January, I think it was January, my sister was already move back home I stayed there, you know, when we came I used to like stay there with like other girls and then one day there were like all three of us there the boy send the young girl, for like, to go fetch water they fetch water and the tap was far away, well the girl went to fetch water and when she was alone there and I didn't know what was happening and then he ended up raping me I didn't know what to do or to talk to some, I kept quiet and then he kept on doing it, you know I stayed there with them, no one notice me it was a bit complicated for me to tell them that he happened, I just kept quiet for 7 years after that, I had dropped out of school and it was highly emotional after that, well*

when having sex he asked me who broke my virginity and he was horny but and I just switched on cold, I don't know what to say to him and I just told him everything, after I told him everything I had dropped out of school and he asked my friend about it and my friend told him, after that they say he was acting weird at school but then when he came out of school he didn't go to school after, he didn't go to his house, he came to my house and told my mom that he was looking for me, well I just stayed in my bedroom didn't say anything my mom thought I wasn't there so she told her, she told him that I had left almost an hour ago and she doesn't know where I went after that he called me and phone was on silent so he almost left 50 missed calls I didn't answer the phone course I didn't know what to say to him, he went back to his house stayed there kept on calling and calling but I couldn't answer the phone, well after a few hours I realized that I had to do something about the situation, I called him and said you can come and see me at home, well he came, we talked, he apologized about the argument and we just went back to the way things were than I felt more like I was free from something on my shoulders and everything was just fine

Researcher: *When did this happen what year*

Sindiswa: *It was while I was still in grade 3 [28A, pp. 9 – 10].*

Sindi rushes to tell a very extended narrative of her rape at a very young age (probably around 9 or 10 years old) coupled with how it has affected the relationship with the father of her child and concludes with the moral that telling him was healing. Sindi is a victim of gender violence in the context (Walker et al, 2004) but finds ways to talk about rather than silence her experiences of violence and/or trauma (Brison, 1997; Culbertson, 1995). Sindi experiences structural and physical violence in her own lifetime that speaks to 'everyday violence' and ongoing systemic violences for those living in South Africa. What is interesting is that she is not silent and while the events happened around 7 years prior to the interview, she has found the words with which to narrate this experience (if we think of Gobodo-Madikizela's 2003 reference to the 'failure of language' to express trauma). Sindi appears to find 'catharsis' in talking to her new boyfriend and the researcher and this opens up space for new engagements with trauma and possibilities for more equal sexual relationships. The

interactional dynamics with the researcher, as an outsider in the community, white, and a psychology student, may have contributed to what was (im)possible to say (Frankish, 2009).

It is unsurprising then that Sindi has engaged the researcher on a number of occasions after the research project was concluded but two are noteworthy. On both occasions Sindiswa sent 'please call me' messages to the researcher and, when the researcher made contact, engaged with her telephonically⁵⁷. Each of these exchanges are in line with Sindiswa's narrative portrait which places emphasis on utilising and embracing individuals from different backgrounds and the importance of learning English as a means to move forward and become successful. As a rape survivor and teenage mother Sindi's engagement with the world is pragmatic. She speaks about having to grow up quickly after having a child but arguably the transition in her life is much earlier, coinciding with her rape and cross-country move.

Sindiswa: *well, I use to see myself as this girl who will have a child after finishing school but then when he came up everything was changed, you know. I didn't plan to fall pregnant, it's just happened, and now I have to act as someone who is fully matured* [28A, p. 5].

That Sindi tells the researcher about her rape and the manner in which she maintains contact tells us much about the dynamics of Sindi's personal narrative and the dynamics of the research context. Growing rapport across the interview, the value ascribed to telling (and the seemingly resultant relief she has felt previously from disclosing) and perceived opportunities

⁵⁷ The first of these telephonic exchanges happened soon after the interviews were completed at the rural school. When the researcher called Sindiswa she was put on hold and asked to speak to Sindiswa's aunt. The aunt proceeded to enquire about the researcher's movements, intentions and in particular likelihood of returning to the rural space soon, with the justification and conclusion that "Sindiswa needs someone to teach her English. The second of the exchanges with Sindiswa took place on Freedom day (27 April) 2013. In this exchange Sindiswa turned the tables on the researcher and asked what she remembered and how she was celebrating the public holiday.

for talk and growth (with linguistic and educational support) shaped what Sindi told and her continued engagement with the researcher.

5.4. Conclusion:

Each of the case studies analysed offer us insight into the ways that structure of individual narratives and aspects of personal and collective memory processes embedded in the stories they tell about themselves in the present. The narrative portraits indicate how methodological decisions in the project reveal some aspects and conceal others regarding the workings of a longer history in the ongoing stories and lives of participants. They also reveal everyday violence that obscure the influence of a longer history and impose very real and present demands upon participants.

In Case Study One Dudu's embodied narrative emerges from the body mapping exercise but also reveals tensions with embodied distress in hers and her parents' narratives. In Case Study Two Xoli manages the time element of the visual task requiring her to map her past, present and future by overlaying mentoring and storytelling as a way to overcome time. This is most prevalent in her dramatic re-enactment and re-imagination of a 'rape' story. Xoli is able to generate hope despite continued experiences of violence.

By speaking to the ways that the visual methods opened up narrative lines for participants, Case studies one and two reveal also the importance of methodological choices by the researcher. These decisions allowed participants a frame for thinking about themselves as embodied or across time thus shaping narrative accounts while also revealing embedded storylines.

Case Studies Three and Four indicated how a reading of the structure of interviews showed (dis)continuities between the past and the present or across intergenerational time. In Case Study Three Adam's preoccupation with present racism is underpinned with a recognition of the presence of the past in the present when he speaks to continuing experiences of race and

race-ism and the ongoing links with apartheid classifications. In Case Study Four, Zena seems to avoid talking about a longer past but this belies a knowing, nostalgia that sees a tension between current experiences and a desire for the freedoms that talk about suburban life under apartheid has contained. In both cases race is the pivot that can be read into the structure of their interviews and which reveals each of their engagements with the political past in the present.

Case Studies Five and Six speak directly to the dynamics with the researcher in relation to individual experiences of trauma. In Case Study Five Njabulo's silences related to narrating about his father's death and being openly emotional reveal his interaction with the researcher. This relationship allows some stories – in particular stories of play and mothering – to be told and others to be silenced. That Njabulo tells this story in this way to this researcher underlines the way that trauma and storytelling operate. Similarly in Case Study Six, Sindi's revelation of the traumatic events of her rape reveal an allegiance with the researcher that is extended with contact well after the end of the research interaction.

By tracking the methodological, personal and interactional decisions within the project visual methods shaped decisions throughout the research process, looked at the interviews as sites of meaning contestation where participants made specific choices about how to tell their stories, and examined the interactional dynamics that shaped the narratives told in conversation with the researcher. In doing so the interview was necessarily treated as a situational process (Josselson, 2006) where the dynamics of the research and the researcher allowed for particular kinds of knowing (Fay, 1996). The result is an insight into the ways young people narrate stories across time and what is (im)possible to say as they integrate intergenerational stories from a longer past with demands of school and everyday trauma in the present with hopes and dreams for the future.

CHAPTER SIX: ANALYSIS of NARRATIVE PORTRAITS – (Not) in Their Lifetimes

Following from chapter five which looked at methodological elements within particular participants' cases, this chapter moves to look at specific case studies with the lens of looking at *what* (rather than *how*) participants talk about when they narrate their lives. This chapter is informed by thematic analyses of narrative (Reissman, 2008) where the stories produced in the narrative interview become salient markers of stories lived and told.

Table 7: Narrative Case studies

Chapter 6: Analysis of Narrative Portraits	Case Study Seven: <i>Story of Jabulani Dlamini</i>	Body mapping image; Time periods; Thematic content;
	Case Study Eight: <i>Story of Andrea Peterson</i>	Body mapping image; Time periods; Thematic content

Delving into Jabulani Dlamini's and Andrea Peterson's narratives offers indepth analysis and 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) of individual cases which, while offering a glimpse at the collective, allows for the detailed, focused study of the each individual narrative of a single, interesting young South African. Chosen because of the volume of story-telling in their interviews and the level of insight they demonstrate about the past, present and future, Jabulani and Andrea's stories stand out from the collective. Additionally these two cases speak explicitly to racism in the present – a key and salient feature of all the narratives in the study. These individual cases cannot and should not stand for all young people at all times and in all places – least of all, all young South Africans after the transition to democracy. However, analysing these two narrative interviews in-depth shows how a single personal life of events and experiences is lived in history. Each individual life-story is connected to and draws on collective events, and collective resources to make sense of these events. In doing so these stories (like those included in chapter six) reveal themselves to be personal and collective simultaneously, embedded in collective memory- and identity- making practices (Connerton, 2008) and in linguistic and story-telling mechanisms that are personally chosen from those socially available (Fay, 1996).

CASE STUDY SEVEN: Story of Jabulani Dlamini

Jabulani Dlamini is a 17 year old, black male attending a suburban school in Durban (Appendix 13, 16B). Jabulani's interview was conducted during the first set of interviews at the suburban school and is distinguished from his peers concerning the volume of talk regarding 'politics'. This political story, while offering talk about the past in new ways, is underpinned by shared narratives of the present and future – as follows below.

Jabulani is an 'only child'⁵⁸ and lives with his mother and stepfather in a suburb in Durban. Jabulani does not have a relationship with his biological father and considers his uncle to be his 'father'. Before moving to the suburb to live at a property resided on also by his grandparents, and attending school in the suburbs, Jabulani lived with his uncle 'at the farm'⁵⁹ in Hammarsdale and their relationship was built around talk of his uncle's time as a 'comrade'. Jabulani's political knowledge and awareness largely originates with this family talk. It is likely also that his disinterest in politics might be a consequence (at least in part) of the difficulties faced by his uncle despite or because of his time fighting in the struggle against apartheid. Jabulani's story reveals the tension between knowing about the past while the meaning of these past events for the present remains unresolved. To use Prager's (2012) metaphor, the suitcase, which represents a full integration of events and historical trauma experienced by others, is in the hall but it has not been unpacked or put away. It is this tension between knowing and integration that allowed Jabulani's story to stand out when choosing which cases to analyse and it is this tension that will therefore be the focus of the analysis that follows.

⁵⁸ It is not known, presumably to the participant also given the estrangement, whether Jabulani's biological father has had additional children but as a result of being shot during the struggle against apartheid Jabulani's mother was unable to have subsequent children after birthing Jabulani.

⁵⁹ 'At the farm' is a colloquial reference to traditional homesteads located largely in rural communities where subsistence farming is practiced and cattle raised. Those living 'at the farm' sometimes take piece jobs at much larger, historically white-owned, commercial farms moving to the cities to find work to provide an income to support families.

In exploring the tension in Jabulani's narrative a case analysis of the whole life narrative given in the research interviews is unpacked. The central focus is to make sense of what Jabulani knows about the apartheid past and how this is integrated into (or dissociated from) his narrative in the present and imagined for the future by analysing the narrative mechanisms and linguistic building blocks or 'discourse events' that he employs (Ricoeur, 1981). What does Jabulani know, how does he know it and in what ways does he talk about what he knows to create personal narrative coherence or psychological integration or to escape from troubling or troublesome knowledge? That this knowledge is troubling or troublesome is because it is a knowledge related to conflictual histories that he did not experience (Hoffman, 2004).

One of the first linguistic choices Jabulani makes is to reference his 'uniqueness'. Within the first few paragraphs of the transcript of our interview with him we see he indicates: '*I am unique*' (16B, page 1), and '*I don't think like the rest of the guys in this life, now in this period*' (16B, page 1). Jabulani's narrative differs only slightly from his peers in narrative structure but it is important to recognise that this notion of 'uniqueness' is the defining feature of how Jabulani sees his own life and story. Jabulani is however the only participant to directly speak of an older generation family member's role in the struggle (in resistance or support). In particular this 'uniqueness' is articulated into the visual representation that he makes of his life and thematic content related to masculinity, race and politics. The quote below completes the articulation of uniqueness in Jabulani's interview:

Jabulani: *My name is Jabulani Dlamini. I live at the [suburb in Durban], eh, well here this is what I think, its, eh, what we call this thing, the diagram [researcher: mhm], as precisely here in the future. One day I want to have six pack muscles, all the stuff, eh, creative brain, according to me, eh, I think my brain is not like. I don't think like the rest of the guys in this life I'm living now, in this period, because I am not so into politics, you know, history etc. Eh, here eh, one day I want to design architecture etc, here it is food, I am a man, I love food especially meat, ja, also here food and here it's how I must get these muscles, I must work hard [16B, p. 1].*

Jabulani's introduction to his narrative is to talk about his (masculine) body - in particular his (future) muscles and brain – which distinguish him from others of his generation as he perceives it. Jabulani indicates that his body is the site of identity and contestation, he is a man as evidenced by a love for food and meat, he must 'work' on his body to get it to look and do what he wants, and his brain (included in his bodily account of himself) is what sets him apart from his peers and which (presumably) will allow him to follow his desire to pursue work in the architectural profession. The apparent centrality of the body in his narrative introduction emerges from his body map as seen below:

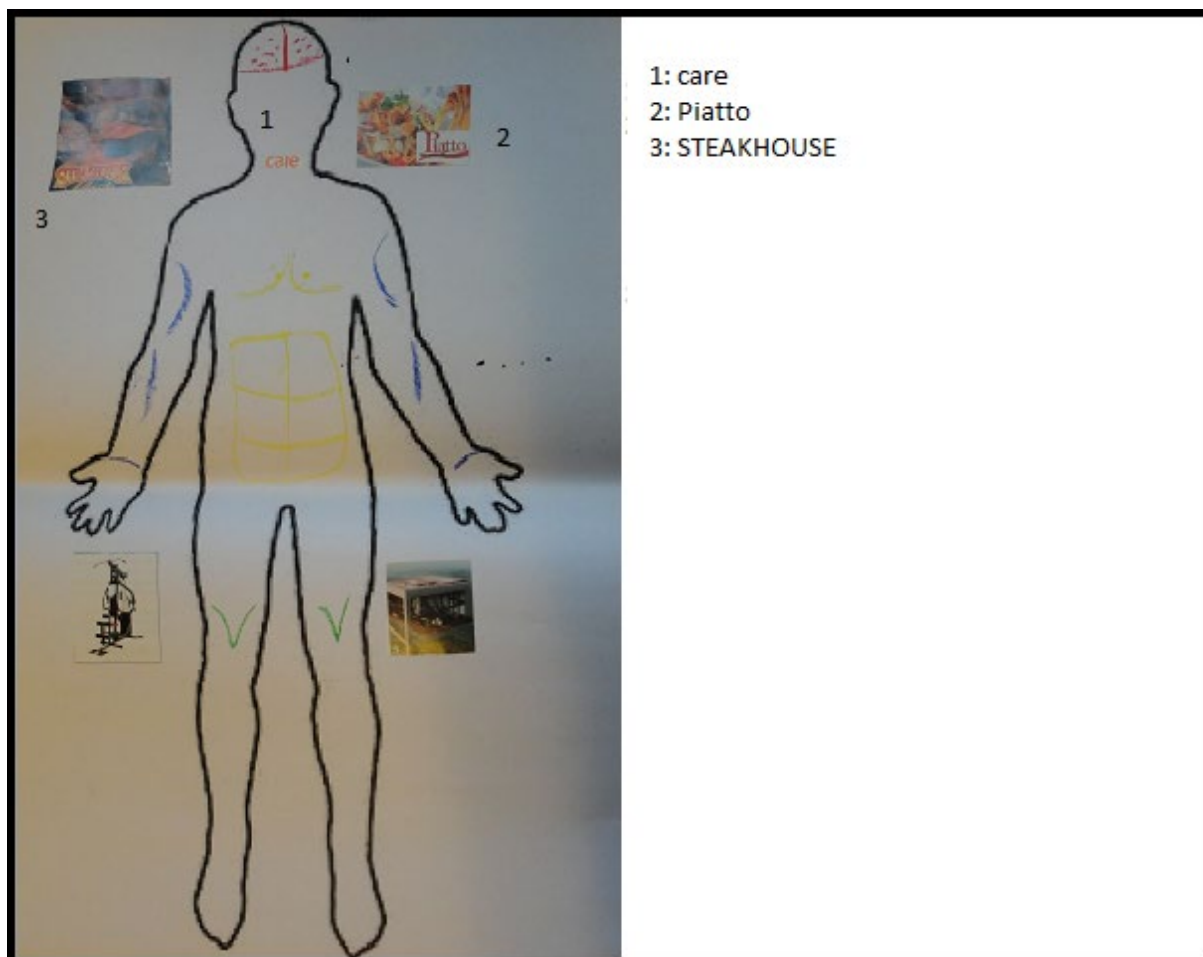


Figure 13. Jabulani Dlamini's body mapping image

Jabulani's body map shows a representation of self where the body outline is filled with references to body type -as indicated by the muscular lines on the abdominal and pectoral areas as well as on the arms and legs. These lines are indicated faintly in yellow in the image. This representation of a male body is linked to his talk about 'being a man' and what that means (Morrel et al, 2012) but is supplemented with an image of the brain drawn on the body's head and which makes the body a physical and intellectual object (Malinga and Ratele, 2016; Martin et al, 2013). The mind-body dualism in psychology is resisted by an account that situates talk about masculinity in a highly stylised masculine body. This reference to masculinity says much about collective meaning-making, cultural value and politics of being a young, black man in South Africa today. In the quote below, Jabulani talks about the ways being masculine intersects with other social and embodied experiences – in particular race. By understanding all of the aspects of his character (including his race and gender together), the whole, complex, entangled subjectivity that Jabulani presents is made clearer (Landry, 2016).

Importantly, Jabulani is the only participant at his school to talk about the theme of masculinity as tracked in the time- and interview lines (see appendices 8 and 9)⁶⁰. Embodied stories was a feature of the visual tasks and interviews conducted at the township and suburban schools, emerging from the visual method of body mapping (see chapter six). These embodied stories were told as embedded in themes of race, emerging sexualities, body image and peer or family pressure (or as indicated in the time- and interview line themes: 'race', 'sex', 'friends' and 'family'). Jabulani was the only participant at these two schools (that is, the township and suburban schools) for whom talk about his body took on such a gendered nature– that is, specifically of masculinity. Despite not having completed a 'body mapping' visual task, participants from the rural school revealed much higher instances of talk about femininity and masculinity than at the other sites of the research. This may be related to the conservative community of the rural school and traditional practices that speak to very gendered experiences. Within the urban and township spaces neither explicit talk about feminine or masculine gendered experiences or understandings featured in any significant

⁶⁰ Adam Naidoo's visual image 'speaks' to masculinity where he does not explicitly do so in his interview.

way, apart from in Jabulani's interview. Even in Dudu's reflections regarding her body and expectations, which are undoubtedly the consequence of gender, sexuality and patriarchy (Wolf, 1991; Butler, 1990), Dudu never claims them as being a feature of her femininity or critiques the social norms from which they originate. Nonetheless these embodied and gendered are constitutive of identities and shapes understandings, especially in light of gendered norms and myths about sexual violence (Gqola, 2015) and virginity (Mkasi and Rafudeen, 2016; Thornberry, 2015).

This is surprising especially when compared with Adam's body map which came earlier (see chapter 6, interview 14B). Below is Adam's body map (on the left) alongside Jabulani's (on the right):

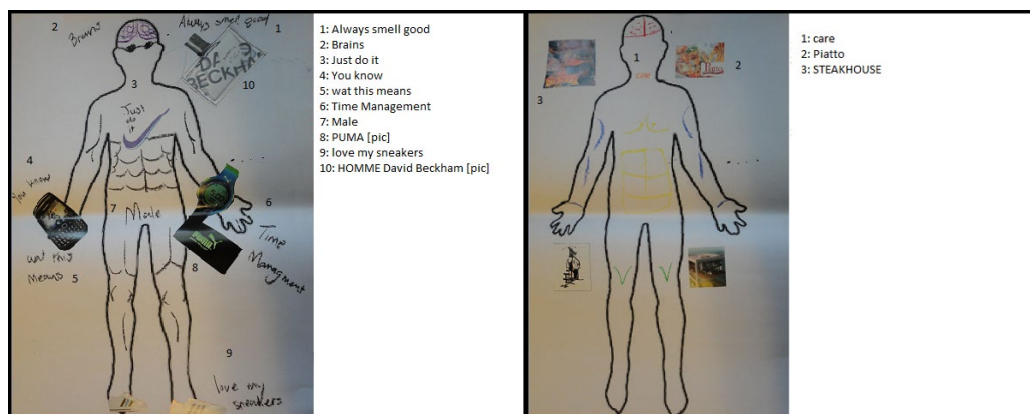


Figure 14. Adam Naidoo's (left) and Jabulani Dlamini's (right) body mapping images

In his talk about the past, present and future, Jabulani appears to be centrally concerned with his masculinity as a tie that connects the violence experienced by his mother, to his interest in politics and 'uniqueness', to his future plans and wishes.

Jabulani's time- and interview- lines (Appendix 13, 16B) show that much time and content was dedicated to talk about the present, as well as to thematic content pertaining to family, school, race and politics. As already indicated in chapter six (and the section 6.1 'geographies

of telling’) a structural analysis of the interview lines shows that Jabulani’s weighting of these time and thematic areas is consistent with the overall structural decisions across the participants at the different research sites.

Below, in table 8, are the times for each of the three time dimensions for Jabulani Dlamini as well as the combined times for the suburban school and all of the schools together (indicated as overall scores). The only noticeable distinction between Jabulani’s scores and the combined scores of the other participants in the research (at both the suburban school and a combination of all three research sites) is a marginally higher increased volume of talk about the past.

Table 8: Time periods in Jabulani Dlamini’s interview⁶¹.

Time Dimension	Jabulani Dlamini	Suburban school	Overall – across all 3 sites
Past	• 23%	• 13%	• 14%
Present	• 82%	• 89%	• 86%
Future	• 17%	• 15%	• 14%

In the below table (table 9) are the thematic weighting in Jabulani Dlamini’s interview as well as the combined times for the suburban school and the overall scores across the three research sites – rural, township and urban. Jabulani’s talk is predominantly on the themes of Race, Family, and Politics with secondary themes including School, Youth and Sexuality. Jabulani includes limited talk about Intergenerational Talk, Masculinity, Religion, and Friendships.

⁶¹ Because of this overlap between the time dimensions it is not possible to get results that show a neat and simple split between past, present and future across the interview resulting in a logical 100%. That is when the percentages of time spent on each of the time dimensions is combined the may exceed a hundred percentage because some of the interview time is counted for one or two additional dimensions. The figure over a hundred percent shows the degree of overlap between the time dimensions in participants’ interviews

Table 9: Jabulani Dlamini's inclusion of thematic content.

Time Dimension	Jabulani Dlamini	Suburban school	Overall – across all 3 sites
Family (Fam%)	• 23%	• 33%	• 32%
School	• 17%	• 18%	• 16%
Sexuality (Sex*)	• 11%	• 16%	• 10%
Talk	• 8%	• 8%	• 11%
Politics	• 23%	• 12%	• 10%
Youth	• 14%	• 18%	• 16%
Religion (God^)	• 4%	• 17%	• 8%
Friends	• 3%	• 12%	• 7%
Respect	• 0%	• 0%	• 1%
Sport	• 0%	• 4%	• 4%
Race	• 27%	• 20%	• 11%
Culture (Cult\$)	• 0%	• 7%	• 8%
Gender (Fem#)	• 0%	• 0%	• 2%
Gender (Men#)	• 7%	• 1%	• 1%

It is remarkable that in the greater scheme of things Jabulani's scores differ only marginally from the group scores – at his school and between the three schools included in the research. Themes of Family and Culture score less, while Politics and Race score more, than the collected scores (that is, at the school and all the schools combined). Themes of Sexuality and Religion show marginal reductions from the mean scores at his school. This reveals somethings about Jabulani's narrative and somethings about the context in which his story is embedded. As seen in Chapter Five, the narratives of young South Africans across the different sites has some intriguing similarities. One of the core similarities throughout the participants (and continued through the group analysis in chapter 8) regards knowledge of the past. While the similarities across the transcripts direct us to particular issues, Jabulani's case

also presents key thematic areas in a coherent personal narrative. A long tract of Jabulani's talk on pages 1 – 3 of his transcript introduce his knowledge of and personal views on apartheid, his family history and reflections on politics. This very long section of talk will be included in sections below for analysis but can also be read as a whole in Jabulani's transcript (See Appendix 13, 16B).

a. *Past: Knowledge (or silence) of apartheid and Family History*

Starting on the first page of his transcript Jabulani starts to tell us the story of his life, starting with a seemingly contradictory notion of on one hand living 'a normal life' and on the other being 'unique':

Jabulani: *I don't believe in many things, you know. I just live the life that I think I should live it, I think I live life, a normal life, you know, it's just that I am unique that's all*

Researcher: *Okay, you mentioned, you mentioned unique before and you pointed to the brain and you said you are different to the people of your age because of your interest in politics can you tell me more about that*

Jabulani: *well, I, I, I don't know it is inside me that, eh, the present will always affect the future so our past as South Africans politics and all those slavery things, ah, ah, they really affect my life you know cos sometimes my uncle was, ah, ah, he was a comrade back those day so me and him we spend a lot of time talking about how life was it back then so now I got a picture and a vision about the future and, ah, ah, ah, since one day, I don't want to be a politician and it's just that I am interested in politics so, ah, ah, I think my mind is different from the guys at school because what they know is girls girls, that's all, ah, I think I'm more focused in politics but I don't want to be a politician and, eh, ja, that is it.*

Researcher: *Okay, eh, you mentioned that the past affected you please talk to me about that, how does the past affect you?*

Jabulani: *eh, first of all I don't have siblings because of the past. My mom was shot in the stomach in the eighties so I was the only child, I am the only child she is got today because she was shot and something happened inside her womb, something, so she couldn't have children so I was born lucky so, ja, that's it, past, ja. According to me, past will always be the bad side of this country so we have to work hard just to uplift the country*

Researcher: *Okay, em, you are talking very specifically about the violence under apartheid. Maybe you must talk to me about what you know about the history of this country.*

Jabulani: *eh, I know a lot about the history of this country that, ah, our past is not that good between the Blacks and the Whites, ah. Even today in the school, we still have those racial genders in the school but, eh, ja, past really affect my family because my uncle was, eh, as I told, was a comrade [researcher: mmmh] so they had to, in fact my family, my grandparents they had to, to leave their houses, ah. My parents grew up in Hammersdale so they were in that township it was divided into two parts, on the other section were IFP members and on the other section was ANC members, so my parents, my uncle was a ANC member they had to fight for everything for stupid things if you can but, ja, I don't know what to say about the past, you know [16B, pp. 1 – 3].*

Being unique is a key marker in Jabulani's identity, even despite the significant overlaps between his story and those of other young people at the schools participating in this research. This speaks to the privileging of psychology's 'individual' in late capitalist and neoliberal thinking and moves us away from collective understandings of self and narrative (Kearney, 2002; Halbwachs, 1992; Gergen and Gergen, 1986). Underpinning this story of 'uniqueness' is the events of his mother injury. Jabulani tells us that his mother was shot in the stomach causing wounds that prevented her from having another child. Jabulani does not indicate the circumstances under which his mother was shot or by whom but taken together with his talk about his uncle's time as a comrade and references to forced removal and ANC/IFP conflict in KwaZulu-Natal. Taken together, however, it may be understood that Jabulani knows a fair amount about his family's lives under apartheid.

This knowledge is expanded upon in the quote below where he talks about knowledge of apartheid more generally:

[...]

Researcher: *Okay eh may be may be leading on from that we can talk about apartheid what was apartheid?*

Jabulani: *First of all apartheid is a African (sic) term, English name, meaning separation, eh, where people, Black people don't have a right to do few things, certain things in the country for instance voting, not going to tertiary so, ja, apartheid was bad and the worst thing that ever happen to our country because nowadays apartheid is affecting, as I said present will affect the future so, eh, nowadays you will find that many Black people are unemployed because of the level of their education, they didn't get education because of apartheid and, eh, apartheid was, eh, where Black people had a mentality of respecting White people while White don't respect Black people and ja. [16B, pp. 1 – 3].*

Jabulani *knows* about apartheid. Not only has Jabulani gathered together factual or historical stories of apartheid and its effects on his family but he indicates that avenues for talk (specifically with his Comrade uncle) are available and more, that he has incorporated an understanding of the past into criticism, expectations and hopes, for the present and future.

Jabulani reveals an extensive knowledge of Apartheid history (although not complete or offered in much depth):

1. Definition of apartheid – “*meaning separation*”
2. Lack of Legal or Social rights for Black people – “*Black people don't have a right to do certain things*”; including:
 - a. Political citizenship – “*for instance voting*”
 - b. Restricted access to education – “*not going to tertiary*”

3. White racism targeted at Black South Africans and internalised – *“Black people had a mentality of respecting White people while White people don’t respect Black people”*
4. Forced removals – *“my family, my grandparents they had to, to leave their houses”*
5. ANC/IFP conflict - *“that township was divided into two parts, on the other section were IFP members and on the other section was ANC members”*
6. Violence directed at Black people – *“my mom was shot in the eighties”*
7. Participation of young men in the struggle as ‘comrades’ – *“he was a comrade back those day”*
8. Events and influence of the (longer⁶²) past including:
 - a. Political decisions and conflicts – *“our past as South Africans politics [...]”*
 - b. Slavery – *“[...] and all those slavery things”*

Jabulani *knows* about apartheid. Jabulani knows about apartheid in much the same way that Eva Hoffman (2004) knew about the Holocaust. Eva’s story is underpinned with a factual history of the events in Nazi Germany and she is aware of pivotal moments in her parents’ lives – including the major events surround their escape and survival (Hoffman, 2004). Eva writes: “I had grown up with the Shoah from the beginning” (Hoffman, 2004, p. x). Eva’s references to silence speak to her family’s specific history where the events and details of Eva’s parents’ lives were kept from her. In the moments where she learned some parts of their story (and not necessarily from her parents directly), these stories were told under hushed tones, in low detail and with gaps of understanding that were key to her comprehension (Hoffman, 2004). What Eva shares with Jabulani is a lack of comprehension of the actuality of living through the historical events they know about – a necessary feature of being a part of the second generation. This lack of comprehension appears most succinctly when Jabulani says “apartheid was bad and the worst thing that ever happen to our country”. It is not that Jabulani is incorrect only that such a sweeping statement reveals how his narrative lacks the nuance and detail of a more grounded understanding. It also reveals how the past has been constructed (for Jabulani) as all bad, reinforcing the sense that the past exists outside of comprehension. The past takes on the fabled, mythical quality of a time of great darkness where great dragons the likes of which were never seen again existed. Dlamini (2009)

⁶² Longer than an apartheid past

suggests that recognising and remembering instead the small, everyday realities for many South Africans under apartheid allows for a psychological bridge (from the present) which sees the past as knowable, varied and potentially less troublesome, even nostalgically valued. For many among the second generation, at least in this particular narrative account, the past has become a composite of factual titbits rather than a comprehensive understanding of the lived realities of those who came before – which is never complete and which defines the fissure between generations.

That is not to say that Jabulani avoids links with the past – quite the contrary in fact. While Eva Hoffman (2004) was showing us how her parents' lives affected her upbringing and sense of self, Jabulani appears to be using race as a similar link between the past and the present: the experiences of his family are still happening to him at his school. Jabulani remarks (above): “eh, I know a lot about the history of this country that, ah, our past is not that good between the Blacks and the Whites, ah, even today in the school we still have those racial agendas in the school but, eh, ja”. This movement between the past and present is a key feature of Jabulani's talk and he regularly alternates between the past and the present in this way. It is noteworthy that such a movement makes the present the focus of talk about the past and this occurs often in the way Jabulani organises his narrative. This focus reveals the way that everyday racism and structural violence is central to the lives and stories of Jabulani and other ‘Born-frees’ (Soudien, 2012). Knowledge of a racist, ‘all-bad’ apartheid past is linked to and used to make sense of his everyday experiences of race⁶³ and racism. This link seems to reveal important navigations of time and the importance of ongoing, pervasive violence and trauma in the present. It is, of course important that the violence and trauma of his mother being shot in the stomach is a very different kind of violence to the everyday, insidious violence of his time. The distinction between the ‘classic’ trauma of direct, personal violence (such as being shot) and the ongoing physical brutality of systemic oppression is juxtaposed in this example. This is the difference between the DSM's trauma and ‘everyday’, structural,

⁶³ It is an interesting point that Jabulani makes to refer to “those racial genders”. Given his references to masculinity this may reveal that gender exists alongside race as a key marker of everyday violence. But, even if we take this as a language issue, we see how everyday life after apartheid is ordered and controlled by features in the identity landscape that continue to structure the experiences of young South Africans.

postcolonial conceptualisations. These multiple forms of trauma can and do coincide – such as in the same family with Jabulani’s example or even the same person as was the case for Ms Mbanga (Swatz, 1998).

Let us turn to the organising principles that guide Jabulani’s talk of the past and then unpack how they are linked to the present. Jabulani’s knowledge of the past is underpinned by two key narrative lines for his life. The first, is that Jabulani sees himself as ‘unique’. Jabulani’s relationship with himself is connected to the past – and in particular with the events that resulted in his mother’s injuries. Jabulani recognises this connection with a second narrative line: “the present will always affect the future so our past as South Africans politics and all those slavery things, ah, ah, they really affect my life”. This second line offers insight with regards to an understanding of time (Cf Polkinghorne, 1988). Jabulani appears to understand that who he is and who he will be is a consequence of the events that came before. Moreover, he offers this guiding principle from the pivot of the present. He states that the ‘present affects the future’ and therefore infers that it is obvious that the past affects the present. It is with an interest in the present that time is organised. To follow his logic of a chain of causation in time one might expect a sequence starting with the past, moving to the present and resulting in the future. Instead there is a narrative that starts in the present, moves forward and then moves backwards. Within this there is a reminder again of Kierkegaard’s aphorism regarding living life forwards but remembering and understanding backwards (Crites, 1986). It is likely that language ability has played a role in the ordering of time presented by Jabulani but the focus on the present fits with the rest of his narrative where the primary focus is on his current experiences and imagined opportunities.

b. *Present: The Narrative Unconscious*

While Jabulani has a general and fairly informed sense of the past this knowledge is mobilised in the interests of the present, understood in relation to its present effects. Jabulani’s comment about the lack of opportunities under apartheid for ‘going to tertiary’ are mirrored in current discourses and struggles over free education playing out in the more recent Fees Must Fall movement across the country. Jabulani reads the past in the present when he comments on the opportunities for education were closed off to previous

generations. This reminds us of the presence of the past in the present (Birth, 2006). In the below section of talk, Jabulani narrates his present experiences of schooling compared to schooling under apartheid. In his talk there is a tension that exists between an appreciation of having access to the kind of education denied to Black people historically and acknowledging the ongoing challenges he faces with regards to politics and race in these spaces as he experienced them.

Researcher: *mhm, eh, you spoken a bit about what life was it under the apartheid, eh, maybe you, maybe say what is different today, what is life like, eh, for young people today?*

Jabulani: *Well for us life is life as we live today it's just that, the difference between now and the past is that back then for a Black person, especially if you are a guy, school is not your thing, you know, you have to fight, for what reason I don't know. They all had that mentality of being comrades, you know. In the house where, if your father was, eh, was involved in the politics you have to, if you are a guy you have to be in the politics, you have to be in the politics. Schools were schools but not now we have a right to be in Whites schools which is a privilege [researcher: Mmh] because back then because my, some of, some people who live in the past they can't even speak English because they were fighting doing stupid things at the times, now we have a right to, to go to the education, to free education which we don't have, eh, you know, to do many things which were not done. For instance we supposed to be united, to be a one nation country but we are not, we are not like that because of this apartheid mentality that if you are Black you are Black, if you are White you White because even here in the school during breaks you will see that there are groups, Coloureds sit there only, you know, the Afrikaners sit there, Black sit there [researcher: mmh] so we still have that apartheid system operating in the school 'cause last week in my classroom eh there was a learner I can't mention her (sic) name here, that guy he wrote 'kaffirs sucks' on the board the teacher was there in the class and she didn't comment about the thing she saw it, I don't know, because she is Afrikaner, couldn't say a things about, but us we came with that mentality that can't mess with the Black brothers around so we almost hit the guy, almost. So I think to see someone with*

that mentality of apartheid is affect us, affecting our future because even now if you can look at the politics, Julius Malema the guy have everything, you know, but blowing it away because if you can look at that guy he doesn't understand the term politics [researcher: mhm] he thinks politics is apartheid which is a problem to us. I think we have to understanding of politics and so on [16B, pp. 1 – 3].

Jabulani makes an important point: the more things change the more they stay the same. Jabulani is at pains to tell us that for young South Africans while structural changes like access to previously White (model C) schools has opened up educational spaces after apartheid once denied to Black South Africans, the experiences (particularly regarding 'race') and the 'mentality' of those accessing them has changed little. His use of the word 'privilege' speaks to the fact that education is in fact still only accessed by a few where it is a 'privelege' and not a 'right' to be educated even where Jabulani seemingly wants to create a break with the past noting that while educational opportunities appear to be available the reality is quite different "*we have a right to [...] free education which we don't have*". This speaks to the precarious nature of citizenship after Democracy. Moreover, Jabulani seems to shift between the individual and collective in a way that suggests the social nature of violence and trauma and the ways that race politics seems to be understood in collective terms and the self preservation of that.

The points of similarity between the past and the present include firstly a lack of access to quality, free education, and secondly a divide between people based on racism and racial thinking. On the structural, interpersonal and psychological level, Jabulani appears to insist that apartheid persists. Structurally South Africa has been lauded for its progressive constitution after the removal of apartheid's divisive policies (Gilman, 1983), however Jabulani notes changes at the top have not resulted in the promised free education for young South Africans – as has been noted through political student activism (Heleta, 2016; Hunter, 2015a; Hunter, 2015b). Moreover, political infighting, greed and inefficiency creates politicised links with apartheid that should not need to exist. Interpersonal experiences of racism in the classroom are the result of a continued racist 'mentality' and the organisation of individuals using the language and concepts of 'race'. Note that once again Jabulani has

seemingly made a defining part of this continued experience a feature not only of ‘race’ but of masculinity: *“if you a guy school is not your thing”*. For Jabulani, race politics is linked to gender politics across time. While he is critical of the ‘mentality’ of ‘race’ he takes gender constructs as a given, innate part of his and others identity (Malinga and Ratele. 2016).

Far from being something new with its own distinct character, the present is, for Jabulani, an extension of the past – or rather the past is understood in relation to the present. In making this link Jabulani uses the present to comprehend the past and not the other way around. Jabulani uses his own experiences of racism, politics, masculinity and violence to make sense of the past. This is a backwards looking approach speaking to the concept of ‘hindsight’ (Freeman, 2010) in Jabulani’s narrative which replaces a true comprehension of apartheid⁶⁴. Mishler (1999) calls this the ‘double arrow of time’ whereby, “the present (and future) anticipations shape the past as well as the reverse” (p.2).

As Jabulani navigates the complicated, situated relationship with time that sees him recalling and using narratives of apartheid in the stories he tells about the present and in so doing reveals the processes of what Freeman (2010) called the ‘narrative unconscious’. Freeman (2010) has argued that we access sedimented, collective fragments of historical memory in service of identity-making in the present. We do not do this deliberately but rather in making sense of who we are we call upon and must necessarily rely on social resources including discursive and linguistic tools available in the collective lexicon and life practices. These social and linguistic resources offer symbolic meaning units that carry meaning across the generations to explain social life. The underlying linguistic resources are most evident in the transcript where Jabulani refers to the “mentality of being comrades” and the “apartheid mentality”. Linked as ever to being a young, Black man the options available to Jabulani appear to be to ‘fight and be involved in politics’ or ‘to be unique’ as he has expressed his opting out of this standard narrative.

⁶⁴ Remember that as a part of the second generation an experiential knowledge of apartheid is in any case impossible.

It is without irony that the linguistic reference to ‘comrades’ is brought into the narrative at the moment that Jabulani is struggling to make sense of a core tension in his story. This tension is between change and continuity as indicated above. Firstly, the tension between continuity and change manifests with Jabulani grappling between having access to educational spaces but finding that political and racial legacies and violences persist despite this access. Secondly this tension is evident in Jabulani’s story where he is confronted with a masculine narrative aligned with experiences under apartheid and finds that he does not identify with it, seeking instead to construct a different story for himself. In both instances Jabulani seems to seek a break from the past, to distinguish his own story from what came before, and fails. His failure is twofold in that he finds that little has changed and that he struggles to communicate something else, something new without offering it as a counter to what came before. This is also a feature of Hall’s (1996) references to identification and ‘othering’. This othering is treated as a normal social activity in which identities are constructed in relation to others – and is therefore fundamentally relational. To define something as Black for example is to position it against all things that are not Black. Jabulani finds that by defining himself as ‘not a comrade’ or as ‘unique’ is to define himself precisely in counter to the historic but sedimentary masculinity established during the struggle against apartheid – he is locked into a link with the apartheid past in this way. Jabulani would not want to dissociate completely with the historic comrade figure. The term ‘comrade’ has of course become resuscitated in contemporary youth discourses. Fallist and other youth politics claim ‘comradeship’ as a way to align with struggle objectives and reinforce the idea that present struggles are the consequence of historical inequalities.

c. Future: Narrative

Jabulani’s hopes for a different reality and a new identity call to mind understandings of everyday violence (Essed, 1991). Jabulani’s talk about an overtly racist event in his classroom is important here. Someone writes the most derogatory racist term ‘kaffir’, on the board and Jabulani who has until now distanced himself from other young Black men suddenly feels aligned with a collective of ‘Black brothers’. The use of derogatory names for Black South Africans is one example of how insidious, pervasive racism pervades post-

apartheid life (Soudien, 2012) and making the past present (Prager, 2012). While 'kaffirs' is used in the same way as 'comrades', the movement of racist terms like this across time to be used by and against the second generation reveals much about the legacy of psychological racism and violation that persists. Young, Black South Africans face routine, normalised racism at school, in communities and when they enter tertiary studies and/or the workplace (Cf. Soudien, 2012). Even though Jabulani only mentions this one incident there is a suggestion that this is but one example among many. This is shown firstly by the sweeping comment about having the apartheid system in the school and the teacher's lack of response. The use of this term in the context is considered hate speech and has severe consequences for those who use it – it is not only immoral or politically unacceptable, it is illegal and yet not confronted by the teacher. The teacher and the school tacitly sustain racism, tolerate or at least will not confront it. This is an instance of another version of the 'silence' across generations and is most closely captured by Steyn's (2012a) idea of an ignorance contract. By silencing and ignoring the incident the teacher can maintain ideals of the 'rainbow nation' narrative which is a dominant ideal for citizenship after the TRC (Welchen, 2012; Tutu, 1998).

Were this a once-off incident that was appropriately managed by the school it would be hard to conceptually make the link that the school is still run under an apartheid system. Jabulani makes this link because he sees racism as prevalent. Second the explanation he gives for the teacher's lack of response suggests that he has had to find a justification beyond the circumstantial events that transpired. It was not that the teacher had stepped out of the classroom or that the comment hadn't been seen for some other reason. The racism happens in full view and is overlooked, suggesting an environment where racism is common knowledge and common practice and sustained by the staff who are White and Afrikaans. Thirdly Jabulani's reference to a group of 'Black brothers' seemingly refers to a collective who, while disconnected at other times, band together at moments when their racial identity is threatened. That there is a need for even an informal or imagined collective says much about ongoing, pervasive acts of racism at the school⁶⁵.

⁶⁵ It is probable even likely that the specific group Jabulani refers to was a once-off collective of students who responded to the message on the board at that specific moment and never reacted in that same way again.

The ongoing, everyday violence of racism (which has at least tacit support from the adult authorities in the school) poses a conceptual trigger for explanations of trauma. Much like Herman's (1992) Complex PTSD whereby victims are locked into relationships with perpetrators and feeling a 'sense of captivity' as core to their experience. Pervasive, every day violence in South Africa locks young South Africans into complex interpersonal relationships between and across racial, class, gendered and locational divides (Bray et al, 2010).

Jabulani wishes for something else but finds that there remains an 'apartheid mentality' that is predictable and frequent in his engagement with the world. Jabulani says:

Researcher: *Okay, eh, I mean you mentioned that present will always affect the future, what can we do in the present, eh, to make the future better?*

Jabulani: *eh, we have to especially we have to stop saying that you are Black you are White that is the first thing [researcher: mhm] we have to stop acting like 'because I'm white I can't do this', 'because I'm Black I can't do this', we have to unite for instance if you can take a country like America you, there are no racial fights there even though there are because there will be always that person who doesn't understand the term racial [researcher: mhm] but here in South Africa we have to work together now we have to stop that mentality of being 'because I'm Black I will', it's a free, 'it's a democratically country because I'm Black I will have more chances than a White person' we have to stop that mentality and work to be united so we can fight about this thing then we can move forward and live our lives.*

Certainly there is no formal group called the 'Black brothers' who are formed to address racism with specific agendas or who hold meetings, rallies or the like. Rather it is the conceptual term 'Black brothers' that creates a psychological brotherhood that makes this group an important linguistic reference point. By conceptualising a link to other young Black men on the basis of racism Jabulani reinforces the notion that there is a threat posed toward his (and others) being and identity.

Researcher: *Okay and e, eh, continuing with racism that you have already suggested that is happening even with your own school what sort of effects does it have on people in generally and also in your life*

Jabulani: *well personally that thing doesn't affect me 'cause it like, I was born like, okay, if you are Black you are Black, you can't change that fact, but I think you have to change that fact and there must be something that government has to do about this thing so that we can move forward 'cause now we are not moving forward, in fact we are moving backwards 'cause we still have that apartheid mentality. Our government doesn't do well so I think we have to put more pressure on government to do something about this issue*

Researcher: *Okay when you are saying we are moving backwards what does that mean?*

Jabulani: *eh, now living in the 21st century and we are no longer back in that in those dark days but there are people like Julius Malema who still comes that mentality that okay, since us Black eh Black people running the country we have to make sure that White people suffer, that's like moving backwards because now we are united we are in a democratically country we have to move forward we have to come with strong policies of how to deal with these things because we moving backwards because people there, there, there had, they'll always making, they will always commenting about those things, no like, okay, because maybe if I will ask a White person why life is like this, because maybe she can say because I'm White you saying this, because I'm Black you saying this, they will always use that race thing, that's why I think we moving backwards whites, while we are still talking about that Black and White thing [16B, pp. 1 – 3]*

The persistence of racist behaviour and thinking in Jabulani's accounts is consistent with the re-experiencing symptomology of trauma theory (Herman, 1992). The past intrudes through real, grounded experiences in the present that pose physical and existential threats to Jabulani. That these threats are repetitive and persistent makes them appear insurmountable in Jabulani's narrative. He repeats race terms numerous times in his text, talking about being Black repeatedly and countering it against Whiteness. It is not so much his own Blackness but Blackness (or Whiteness) as a conceptual category that he feels carries the violence of the

past into the present. He is hyperaware of race and racial thinking, despite asserting his desire to be ‘post-race’, in ways that might perhaps be likened to the hyperarousal state of trauma re-experiencing (Herman, 1992)

He says:

1. *“we have to stop saying that you are Black you are White that is the first thing”*
2. *“we have to stop acting like ‘because I’m white I can’t do this’, ‘because I’m Black I can’t do this’, we have to unite”*
3. *“we have to stop that mentality of being ‘because I’m Black I will’, it’s a free, ‘it’s a democratically country because I’m Black I will have more chances than a White person’ we have to stop that mentality and work to be united”*
4. *“if you are Black you are Black you can’t change that fact but I think you have to change that fact and there must be something that government has to do about this thing”*
5. *“people like Julius Malema who still comes that mentality that okay, since us Black eh, Black people running the country we have to make sure that White people suffer”*
6. *“because maybe if I will ask a White person why life is like this, because maybe she can say because I’m White you saying this, because I’m Black you saying this, they will always use that race thing, that’s why I think we moving backwards whites, while we are still talking about that Black and White thing”*

Jabulani wants us to do away with racial thinking and the ‘mentality of apartheid’ that he sees as perpetuating racial conflict, a line of analysis that sits easily with theories aligned with a social constructionist view of ‘race’ (Cf. Maré, 2014). Although never mentioned explicitly this view also falls under the ideal of a non-racial South Africa envisioned under the rainbow nation narrative and articulated by Jabulani in terms of ‘unity’. The text below indicates that Jabulani imagines a life outside of ‘race’ but struggles to conceptualise how this is possible: Jabulani offers a nuanced explanation of how he imagines race should be deconstructed. First he suggests that there might be something inherent about race *“if you are Black you are Black you can’t change that fact”* but then counters this with *“you have to change that fact”*. This paradox in his thinking (which is of course the paradox of race itself – being and not being a

real thing) reveals the salience of race in his life and tackles whether race is individually driven and biologically given or socially constructed. This paradox also exists in his reference to whether the problem is social and “*something that government has to do about*” or personal, existing as either a biological given or a psychological problem of an “*apartheid mentality*”.

If the present affects the future then narrative time demands that what we do today will build the future that Jabulani imagines. This future is free from racism and racial thinking and utopian in its dream of unity. Time is an important feature of Jabulani’s narrative – showing a causal link between the past and a dream of something new for the future. That Jabulani places the chasm not at the point of transition to democracy but at some point in the present or near-future, after which life will improve specifically around his race goals, is important. As Jabulani plots a “*unique*” narrative of growing up in South Africa after apartheid he shows that his story is embedded in language of racism and racial thinking of the past, the trauma of ongoing racism in the present and dreams of a “*rainbow*” future. This story is Jabulani’s story but it is also telling of the time and place in which he is located – at the junction of the past and the future.

CASE STUDY EIGHT: Story of Andrea Peterson

Andrea Peterson is a 16 year old, coloured female attending a suburban school in Durban (Appendix 13, 17B). Andrea’s interview was conducted directly subsequent to Jabulani Dlamini’s. Andrea lives with her mother and maternal family in a peri-urban community in Durban. Andrea’s community was historically reserved for ‘coloured’ South African citizens and remains largely racially homogenous after the transition to democracy. School-going children from this community who can afford to will often attend schools in the neighboring suburban areas as these are the nearest former model-C schools in proximity to them and which have become available options since the de-racialisation of education. Other participants in the project hail from the black townships around Durban for similar reasons. This movement between spaces means that Andrea’s classes are much more diverse in terms of race, class, language and culture than at the other research sites. The implications of this

include the intersection of access to wealth or poverty, generational and geographic knowledge, discourses and experiences of privilege, violence, complicity and nostalgia.

Figure 15 below is Andrea Peterson's body mapping image. Her body is completed to include reference to education (grade 12 put on the body's head), to clothing and accessories (through pictures of garments, bangles and shoes and the words 'handbags', 'the look' and 'trends') and to personal qualities (words like cute, spiritual, walks with lions, opinions) .

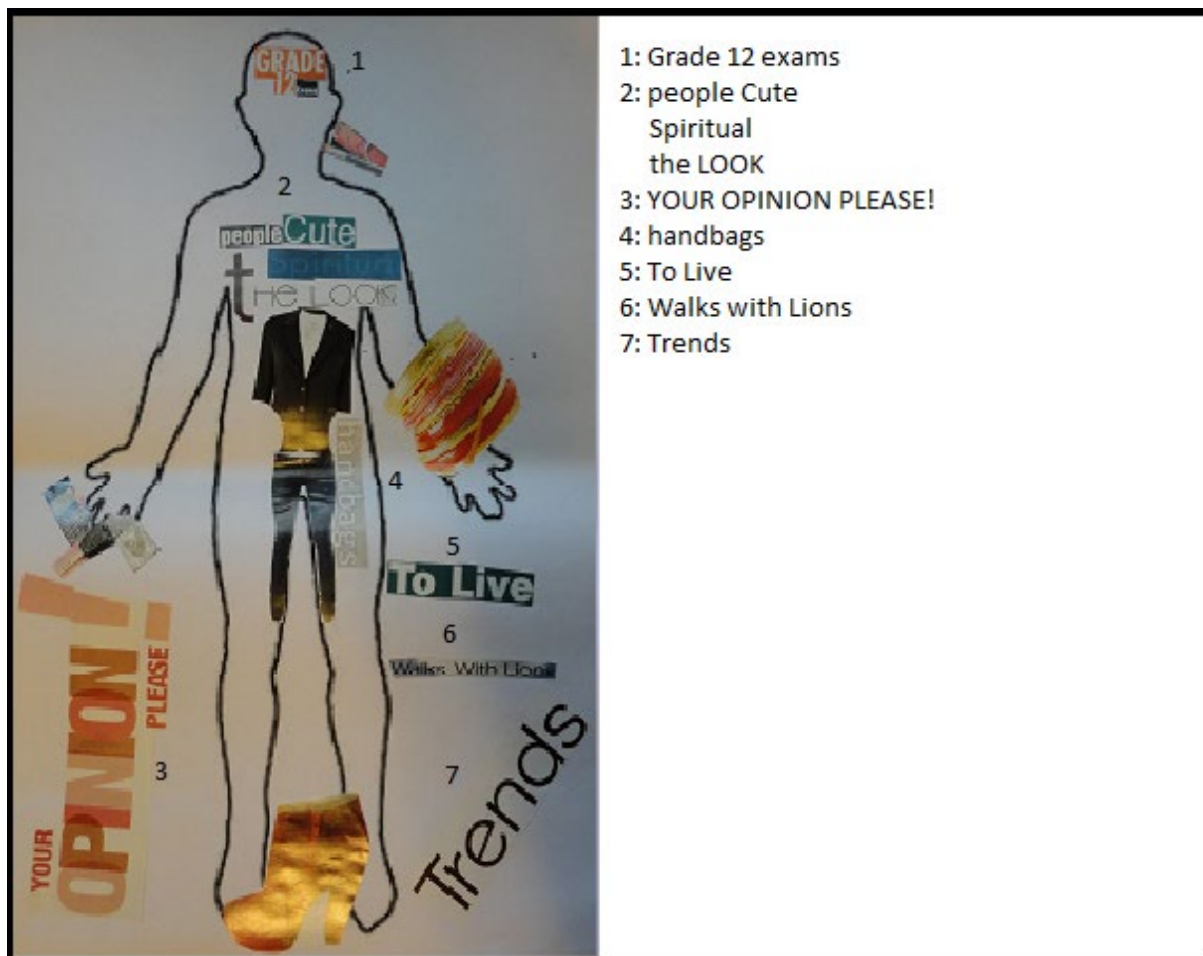


Figure 15. Andrea Peterson's body mapping image

Andreas's time- and interview- lines (Appendix 13, 17B and table 10 below) reveal that much time and content has been dedicated to the present. Within Andrea's interview times (in table 10 below), the inclusion of features of the past, present and future is fairly consistent

with the combined scores at the suburban school that she attends and the collective scores across the different sites. Remember that these scores will not total 100% because of the amount of overlap in Andrea's and other participants' talk. A slight increase in talk about the past in Andrea's interview is countered by an equally slight decrease in talk about the future when compared to combined scores at her school and when compared with the scores across the three different research sites.

Table 10: Time periods in Andrea Peterson's interview⁶⁶.

Time Dimension	Andrea Peterson	Suburban school	Overall – across 3 sites
Past	• 24%	• 13%	• 14%
Present	• 87%	• 89%	• 86%
Future	• 8%	• 15%	• 14%

As with Jabulani's interview, Andrea's thematic threads (in table 11 below) are similar to those of the research group, both at her school and between the three schools included in the research. Themes regarding Sexuality, Politics, Religion and Race are somewhat more prevalent, while School, Talk and Culture score somewhat less, than the collected scores (that is, at the school and all the schools combined). Andrea's narrative allows for the threads of historical, present and imagined life, violence and trauma entangled in her story to be explored – situating her in a communal history and communal story in important ways.

⁶⁶ Because of this overlap between the time dimensions it is not possible to get results that show a neat and simple split between past, present and future across the interview resulting in a logical 100%. That is when the percentages of time spent on each of the time dimensions is combined the may exceed a hundred percentage because some of the interview time is counted for one or two additional dimensions. The figure over a hundred percent shows the degree of overlap between the time dimensions in participants' interviews.

Table 11: Andrea Peterson's inclusion of thematic content.

Time Dimension	Andrea Peterson	Suburban school	Overall – across 3 sites
Family (Fam%)	• 36%	• 33%	• 32%
School	• 9%	• 18%	• 16%
Sexuality (Sex*)	• 27%	• 16%	• 10%
Talk	• 0%	• 8%	• 11%
Politics	• 19%	• 12%	• 10%
Youth	• 18%	• 18%	• 16%
Religion (God^)	• 37%	• 17%	• 8%
Friends	• 10%	• 12%	• 7%
Respect	• 0%	• 0%	• 1%
Sport	• 0%	• 4%	• 4%
Race	• 26%	• 20%	• 11%
Culture (Cult\$)	• 0%	• 7%	• 8%
Gender (Fem#)	• 0%	• 0%	• 2%
Gender (Men#)	• 0%	• 1%	• 1%

a. *Past: Knowledge (or silence) of apartheid and Family History*

Andrea *knows* about apartheid. Like Jabulani, Andrea's knowledge of apartheid reveals that silence is an incomplete account of thinking about the transmission of memory between generations (Hoffman, 2004). A more complete account might recognise the multiplicity and versions of historical trauma that co-exist across time, and the less tangible ways that ongoing systemic violence in line with postcolonial thinking resists the cause and effect that an approach to treating traditional, medicalised trauma elicit in relation to talk about pathology and symptomology.

Researcher: *Okay, eh, we, we I'm sure we both know this is, this comes from the history of racism in the country maybe maybe you may talk about what you know about the history of South Africa*

Andrea: *Okay, I know that back in the days, okay, this is what I know, there were White people and White government and there were different departments, like this department was for Black people, this department was for Indians and Coloureds and the White had the majority of the nicest areas [researcher: mmhh] and we got a bench it will have 'White only' and the bus it will have 'Whites only', if a Black person is outside at 8 o'clock, if they see the police van they getting locked up, people, you know, the youth group are trying to break away from this racism thing and they are getting shot or killed and that what happened back in the days, if you read books and it writes this White man was so cruel, this White man was so cruel, eh, it's the truth but it was that White man it's not this White man and that's what people don't get like, about Mandela stayed in prison for 27 years, I don't even know why he got he got friends for stealing such good stories because they are so different but he had to go to jail and he stayed there for 27 years and when he came out ANC [African National Congress] voted him and he became a president, I don't know how that was even possible because, and South African became a democratic country and then, okay, clearly the racism broke away a little bit but now it is back because the White people, some White people are teaching their children that racism must come back and apartheid, apartheid, apartheid, and then the Black people are saying the White people are bad so it's like the parents and the grandparents are bringing it back and we want it to go away, you can't be friends with a Black person like, for example my grandfather the racist one, I said 'I'm gonna marry a Black man' just to test him and he said 'if you have to bring a Black man home I will deny you and I will disown you' and it's like he is a person you know, he has everything that you have he's, he's handsome he's charming, he has respect and it's like, okay, and you had to refer him back to the day and like, that that was once allowed to happen but Mandela stayed in jail for 27 years so we can be free and now, but we still captured but we still captured that, it's like, it's like BEE, I don't see the need for BEE because you just gonna study and get a proper job, I know the unemployment rate is high but BEE is just bringing more conflict because it's Black economic empowerment*

and I know it is also for women but its Black economic empowerment and it's like, its only for the Black people and now for women and then even start and in people's minds set they, when you have a wrong mind set and that when it causes the arguments because you bringing unnecessary hurts and you thinking you replacing it back to the past and it's also a fault of our president because I personally think he should have never brought it out because there is no need for Black economic empowerment because if you studied you deserve to be in that position, if you don't know anything then go and find another job that you do know so there is no need for Black economic empowerment because it's also related to race again and there is like so many other things that you learn about in history and it's all coming back, it's really all coming back [17B, pp. 2- 3].

Andrea shows knowledge of South Africa's history. Andrea shares a similar understanding of Apartheid to Jabulani. This is the history we 'all know':

1. Apartheid characterised by separateness of racial groups– “there were different departments”
2. The separations existed across the lived experience of South Africans including:
 - a. Separate governance – “White people and White government and there were different departments, like this department was for Black people, this department was for Indians and Coloureds”
 - b. Privileged access to land for the minority– “White had the majority of the nicest land”
 - c. Separate amenities – “and we got a bench it will have ‘White only’ and the bus it will have ‘Whites only’”
 - d. Curfew – “if a Black person is outside at 8’oclock, if they see the police van they getting locked up”
3. White racism targeted at Black South Africans – “White man was so cruel”
4. The struggle against apartheid including:
 - a. The struggle heroes – “Mandela stayed in prison for 27 years”
 - b. Youth activists – “youth group are trying to break away from this racism and they getting shot or killed”

The idea of silence is challenged by a working knowledge of South Africa's history. Through their narratives, Jabulani and Andrea make it possible to conceive that young South Africans know about apartheid however what is striking in the knowledges demonstrated by Jabulani and Andrea is what they know and how they know it. Jabulani and Andrea share a common definition of apartheid regarding the separation of the racial groups. Both also mention White racism and the role of young South Africans in the struggle. That is, however, there are also different details in their talk. Jabulani speaks of a lack of rights including rights to vote and be educated. He also speaks of conflict and turmoil in the townships with forced removals and the African National Congress and Inkhata Freedom Party (ANC/IFP) clashes. Jabulani refers to the longer past by including talk about slavery. Andrea, in contrast, talks about the governing of people by race group and the resultant restrictions to land, amenities and movement experienced by people of colour. Andrea also speaks to the struggle as not just a youth struggle by including talk about Nelson Mandela (Cf Adam Naidoo's narrative). These differences speak to the histories and communities from which the two participants and their families come. It makes sense that Jabulani would talk about the township and the struggle of young 'comrades' there given that he grew up in uMlazi outside of Durban and that his uncle was a 'comrade', as indicated above.

The idea of silence in the context is therefore not about knowledge and while Jabulani and Andrea talk about the macro-state and political dimensions of apartheid history – such as the laws and relations between people, talk about communities and families is limited. Both do speak about extended families and experiences under apartheid as well as violence in the present but tend to resist these and/or favour versions provided by popular media.

The knowledges (or collective memory as used by Halbwachs, 1992) that Andrea and Jabulani have of the past speak also to the way that versions of history are selected, told and reproduced (Connerton, 2008) and the collective sanctioning of political narratives that act as 'common sense' versions of history. It is therefore important to ask who tells young people the stories of apartheid, where do they get them and why are some stories told over others. That their narration of history reflects personal and political interests and lives in the present

in this way reveals something interesting about the memory⁶⁷ among the second generation. Loftus' work on the manipulation of memory (2012 and elsewhere) forces us to interrogate what people remember and how. These questions were expanded by Halbwachs (1992) and Connerton (2008) to think about the politics of memory. Here memories – even the most private memories of an individual – are the products of social demands and collective privileging of some memories over others. Political memories do things, they allow us to tell new or different stories of the individual and the collective (Connerton, 2008). In this way memories are functional, selecting events to recall allows us to tell our stories in particular ways and thereby to act in the present based on how the past is remembered (Bruner, 2002).

For Andrea the transmission of stories about the past is through literature, film and specific instances of family talk:

Andrea: *like in English, it was about the racism, we were supposed to read 'To kill a mocking bird' but then we chose, we chose another book but 'to kill a mocking bird' was from American racism but you can also relate to, but I learnt you... You hear stories from your parents and grandparents and from the movie 'cry the beloved country', you see how apartheid was and how people, Black people were treated and stuff like that and then... I just want to say in apartheid White people, few White people really were nice to Black people but nobody acknowledged that [researcher: mmm] In, in books you read about it but nobody acknowledge that. We are just hurt of how White people were, anyway, and in books I've read, I've watched movies, everybody have told their own different story so that's how kind of like, how I know about history*

Researcher: *eh, within your family how do people talk about their life, eh, in the past like your parents and your grandparents?*

⁶⁷ Collective memory is fundamentally about the ways that ideas about how the world works become embedded in popular discourse, national narratives and politically defined understandings of history (Cf Halbwach, 1992 and Connerton, 2008). Memory here does not refer to the way individuals remember in the traditional approaches to memory theory.

Andrea: *like my grandfather, he would say in the past, because he's fair so it was easier for him to move around but his brothers, and will talk about, my great granny talks about how she use to carry a dompass but she was fair and how her friend who was Black would look at them funny and my friend's great granny she would, 'cause she is a fair beautiful lady but her husband was a dark Indian so would look wrong and she use to tell my friend how they looked at her funny so she would let go of his hands while they were walking and act she doesn't know him at all because of what people would say, and my father would talk about how it was for like his cousin or something to get along and for him it was a bit easy because he is tan, and then how in rural areas it was so bad because people were hardly working and they couldn't get an education and my grandpa spoke, because he is a dark man, my other grandfather, and he spoke about it in school one day, eh, him and my, him and his cousin, my uncle were in the same class and my uncle is white, white, white and my grandfather is dark and my grandfather's marks were higher than his but the principal acknowledged my uncle because of his skin colour and it was like my uncle got handed over for some fruit and they threw good at my grandfather so it's like ouch, you know, that all kind I know about my family [17B, pp. 3- 4]*

This stretch of talk highlights the madness of race in family history, especially in a coloured family where the 'logic' of apartheid's racial definitions are splintered by lived experiences (Ruiters, 2009; Posel, 2001). Within this madness, race gives participants the language to talk about the jarring experiences of racism that continue in their own lives. Avenues for the transmission of memory do exist beyond theorising on the mechanisms of silence. It is not that talk is completely censored or that knowledge does not pass between the generations. Far from it in fact. In an age of access to technology and new forms of (social) media one would better describe the 'born-free' generation as having almost limitless access to stories and images (moving or otherwise) representing life under apartheid. Andrea notes two primary sources of information: 'books and movies': "in books you read about it but nobody acknowledge that, we are just hurt of how White people were, anyway, and in books I've read, I've watched movies, everybody have told their own different story so that's how, kind of like, how I know about history". These sources, while seemingly limitless through the

ability to access them through technological advances, are diluted and sanctioned in systematic and political ways as well as by the ability to ‘afford’ access. It is important that Andrea, like other South Africans, feel that knowing, and the collective memory-making and national identity construction that comes from, that are unrestricted – speaking to the calls of ‘never again’ that underpin the need to remember in the context. What is forgotten or elided in the sanctioned versions of history are overlooked by suggestions that access to information is unlimited. Von Schnitzel (2013) has shown that technology is political and constrains what can be known within particular socio-historic contexts.

There are a few things that stand out in this line of thinking. The first is that Andrea references an emotional aspect to her understanding of the past and dismisses it in favour of a factual understanding: “we are just hurt of how White people were, anyway”. This distancing approach is consistent with an avoidance type reaction in PTSD theory (Janoff-Bullman, 1998). Second, she appears to accept that there were multiple experiences of apartheid where: “everyone have told their own different story”. This line is reminiscent of Dlamini’s (2009) work on ‘Native Nostalgia’. Third Andrea seemingly privileges the formal sources of information included in books and movies but doesn’t acknowledge that the conversations with her family could be included as sources of information. This third conceptual approach contains traces of Weingarten’s (2004) argument that the transmission of trauma narratives are directed in a convoluted trajectory, sometimes top-down, sometimes bottom-up manner. In this instance Andrea hears stories from her grandparents but only mentions them when directly asked by the researcher, as for her the narratives⁶⁸ of racism contained in books like Harper Lee’s ‘To kill a mockingbird’ and the film version of Alan Paton’s ‘Cry the beloved country’ offer a more compelling account of the horrors of racial injustice, or offer an easier way to speak about these things.

Perhaps it is that she sees her family’s accounts as banal (in the sense that what she describes is the kind of everyday racism that continues into her own life). It is also likely that this

⁶⁸ Notice Narratives in the plural in line with Andrea’s suggestion people have their own stories in the multiple.

pattern of circumnavigating of family narrative is an avoidant (Janoff-Bullman, 1998) and/or protective (Weingarten, 2004) strategy, which is linked to silence and the suggestion that silences are more than a failure to speak (Motsemme, 2004). This avoidance and/or protection originates with Andrea, it is not a strategy that has been observed amongst the first generation as the participants have narrated it. For both Jabulani and Andrea at least one family member has talked with them about apartheid. In Jabulani's case it is his 'comrade' uncle and with Andrea it is her grandfather and great grandmother. It is interesting that in both cases it is not the parents who talk about the past but extended family members. That other sources of talk within the extended family and elsewhere are available to young people is significant. As seen books, movies and scholarly exercises also engage Andrea and Jabulani with knowledge of and talk about apartheid.

Patterns of avoidance or protection are seemingly present in things like Jabulani's sense of being 'unique' and his relationship with the past. With Andrea it is a more subtle engagement with history – the idea that some versions of history are more tellable than others. It is not that she doesn't know. Andrea knows her family's stories. She tells stories of how the lightness or darkness of family member's skins allowed them to 'pass as white' or to be further harassed and bullied even when they might meritoriously have outperformed fairer skinned relatives. Embedded in this narrative is a knowledge that is more than just a factual reference list. When she talks specifically about her family's history Andrea extends her knowledge in a particular direction – extended to include more information but also a greater sense of understanding. The story she tells includes talk about:

1. Restrictions on movement – *“she used to carry a dompass”*
2. Experiences of racial passing for fair skinned members of non-white communities – *“she used to carry a dompass but she was fair”*
3. A hierarchy based on lighter or darker skin tones even within a single racial grouping – *“my grandfather is dark and my grandfather's marks were higher than his but the principal acknowledged my uncle because of his skin colour”* [the uncle was fairer than her grandfather].

4. Restrictions on relationships related to the immorality act⁶⁹ – *“she would let go of his hands while they were walking and act she doesn’t know him”*
5. Limited access to work and education, especially in rural areas – *“how in rural areas it was so bad because people were hardly working and they couldn’t get an education”*

Andrea reveals a working knowledge of apartheid history but appears to recognise the influence it has had on the present, the knowledge she has is held in the interests of the present and is particularly salient against concerns for and experiences of racism.

b. *Present: Intergenerational Trauma*

In the below section of talk Andrea narrates her present through talk about race. In her extended discussion Andrea introduces us to the ordinariness of everyday trauma experienced through gendered and racialized discrimination in communities, on public transport and at school. This talk intersects with accounts by Zena van der Merwe (15B) regarding how time is organised nostalgically to show decay across time and also reveals researcher interactional dynamics regarding direct questioning about race.

Researcher: [...] *what is like to be young in South Africa eh, eh, how you do you think that might be different from being young somewhere else?*

Andrea: *Okay, no, you know, like when you small, I don’t know if your parents will say ‘back in our days’, we use ‘back in our days’ and it’s like we not back in your days any more, this is our day and being young in in South Africa, especially in my environment is like, you have to restrict yourself because of the bad things*

⁶⁹ While not specifically mentioned Andrea’s comment shows a concern that her fair-skinned family members would no longer ‘pass’ as White if seen with a darker skinned person. This concern about being seen as fraternising across the colour line is a concern stemming from immorality clauses for maintaining the purity of racial groups – especially the White race. This indicates that claiming black identity for ‘coloured’ South Africans is inevitably a political act.

that going around, like my mother often say a matinée is like club for under 18's [researcher: mmmh] so it use to be so safe back in the days in night because the guys will protect you and they were basic people and they were far away and now it's like okay, this one is getting attacked and raped, social network, technology is like in your face and it's like this one wants to meet up with you and yet you don't even know him from the box so, and that's, it, it's so unsafe, I'm gonna be honest, it's really unsafe right now because I can't even walk on the road in town by myself yet with my mother when she was my age she could, she would, my granny would send her to town for something and now I can't go there because it is so unsafe so it's lovely being young because we full of talent and we boasting with all these talents some of us are using them and some of us aren't, and some of us take whatever life throws at us but some of us don't have the strength to and so, it's like, okay, I'm a teenager I have to act like one my hormones are going crazy, my mind is doing its own thing but I must control myself because I'm in an environment where I'm not allowed to be myself and then if you have to relate it to back in the days like there is so much difference, and there is so much big difference and our generation is like [unclear] this, that, you always get that group of people that is like 'school, education I'm gonna make it for myself' but this generation is messed up [laughter] to be honest some of, some people are just messed up with this generation, it's like they smoking and drinking and clubbing to have a nice time instead of education, they, their fun is smoking and drinking and damaging your lungs and stuff like that but our fun is like, but our fun is 'okay we going out lets go to movies or ice rink or to play golf or bowling' and then there is a difference between some of us, like back in the days some were going to the matinée will in the same place for under 18's, they were not drinking just a dance floor and some were playing soccer and the girls cheerleading or sitting and playing cards, not gambling just sitting and playing the normal game with cards but now everyone is gambling, soccer but after soccer everybody is going to the club to drink, smoking drugs, smoking, alcohol, sex, bbm, bbm, bbm, mixit, facebook, this, and then even the girls have changed now, you know, you, you friends from grade 7 and when you get to the high school it's like you never known the person and that is our generation is, I mean people don't realise the talent they have within them and what they have inside [17B, pp. 1-2].

Andrea makes a very specific narrative move when she starts her extended discussion with references to ‘back then’, aligning herself with memory-making of the past of the nostalgic kind (Frankish and Bradbury, 2012; Dlamini, 2009) presents a fundamentally different use of time than Jabu’s version where the past grows into the present and future. In Andrea’s version life diminishes or decays over time and what was experienced as a peak under apartheid has seen increased crime, surveillance (through technology) and other restrictions in the present. Unlike Zena’s nostalgic versions of the past that speak to constraints of movement and play after democracy in white communities (see Chapter 5), Andrea does not buy into a silence or ‘ignorance’ (Steyn, 2012b) that stems from avoidance of talking about race categories or racism. Andrea calls out racism even in her own family and claims her friends and partners as belonging to certain race groups rather than saying she doesn’t see colour. The link with gender violence speaks also to the everyday violence of life in the context (Gordon, 2014). The ongoing, pervasive and systematic constraints on interpersonal life in the context intersect along lines of race, class, gender and others. These constraints are experienced as embedded norms and expectations about what it is to be non-white, young, poor and a woman so that a ‘normal game with card’ becomes gambling, soccer turns into clubbing and abusing substances etc. What should be ‘normal’ is corrupted by a ‘generational mess’:

Researcher: *Okay, there is there is a lot of stuff I could ask about maybe, maybe the one that I will start with is about race, eh, you mentioned that both in terms of what’s missing in your picture and then also, ehm, stuff that you passionate about in terms of where the country is and where it’s going and maybe we can talk a bit about race, eh, your family and that what’s connected to your picture and then what you see around you*

Andrea: *you see my parents are, well they are both Coloureds and my grandparents are like that, my dad, my parents are divorced 2 years ago and my dad’s side of my family is racist, they don’t want no Black person there and they’re like racist towards Black people and my mother’s family is absolutely beautiful they are like, they don’t care about your colour and your hair and then you get that side of the family, my father’s side which, that, that, to be honest I am extremely honest*

about my family, they are bitter like, I've been rejected from my family and it's not because of who I am, because I am a Coloured, I'm their grandchildren in the family but it's because of what was said about me and then their perception of, and now my father never stood up for me but the thing I'm trying to say is that they are so racist they speak Zulu, they speak other languages but they're racist towards other people, they think Black people are so disgusting yet they have more manners than my cousin who they have so much more respect for, elders and my own cousin, but it's Black people, Black people and they have this perception that every White person is rich or every Indian person is just after money and it's so irritating because we all different and we all different, your mind you gel together to make something even better, even with, eh, politics it's just like, they don't like Jacob Zuma or they don't like Julius Malema, fair enough Julius Malema because he is doing nonsense but it doesn't mean he is doing nonsense because of his race it's just means he's ignorant [17B, pp. 1-2]. [...]

There is so much that Andrea speaks to in this text, notably the generational experiences of racism and racial thinking that exist in parallel to culture, language, politics and 'ignorance'. These experiences speak to the idea that the 'personal is political' that underpin feminist work but which could also speak to the postcolonial thinking about the psychology of ordinary life. The very embodied experience of race is also a deeply political consequence. Andrea continues:

[...] the bible says love another as you would love yourself and stuff like that and then they call themselves Christians but they just hypocrites because it doesn't say anything about race it doesn't say that Black people are rejects, now it's, it's just that something is ugly, you know, it's like a war and to be exposed to this at such a young age it teaches you a lot because I've been to hell a lot, sometimes I think I'm too old to be turning 17 because my mindset is like there and it like if you can distinguish between what's right and wrong and then you just get this which adds knowledge but pain as well because I've dated a Black guy and I'm friends with Black people, with Indians, my best friend was a White girl and my best was [removed] he stays in Joburg and I had a Indian as my best friend it's

not about your colour or your background it's about you as an individual and, and people don't see that, if I can say this in front of live television I could do it every day, it's just mean [17B, pp. 1-2].

The use of race and racism in her narrative are critical aspects of her engagement with her family and others. As a Coloured South African, Andrea seems to be aware that the issues pertaining to race are not Black and White in that they are not binaries (Posel, 2001). Moreover, the definitions and categorisation of race speak to issues of politics and power – who counts as ‘legitimate’, ‘good’ etc. (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017; Maylam, 2017). Even within her own family subtle differences in shade – with some family members being lighter or darker - have had enormous effects on personal experience and values related to how people can engage with each other going forward. Moreover, experiences of being able to ‘pass’ [as White] (or not) were included in the talk that was shared between the generations of her family. Andrea is highly critical of the fact that, for members of her family, darkness is equated with ‘badness’ and structures their collective experiences through how they talk about others. Their experiences then shape their engagement with Andrea and the choices she is able to make going forward. That race and racism is embedded in her family’s structures in this way reveals the pervasiveness of race-thinking and racism that is deeper and more ingrained than even Jabulani’s story about the use of racial slurs could infer.

The transmission of intergenerational trauma, as introduced by Hoffman (2004) and continued in the works of Jansen (2009) and others, focuses on trauma as the unintentional workings of silence. Silence transmits trauma as the unintentional consequence of parents trying to protect children from harmful knowledge (Hoffman, 2004; Frankish, 2009) and children trying to protect parents from sharing and re-experiencing painful memories (Weingarten, 2004). In Andrea’s version racist thought is an overt behaviour that is demonstrated in her family and is transmitted across the generations through rejection and parental failings. In fact it is her father’s inability to stand up for her, to not protect her, that has come to reflect heaviest on their intergenerational dynamic. In this sense the family remains the contested site of transmitted knowledge in the ways that they allow for continuities between the past and present (Hoffman, 2004; Jansen, 2009) but in ways that are

less forgiving of the intentions of and relationships between individual family members who actively chose to believe and engage in the world in problematic ways (*“my dad’s side of my family is racist, they don’t want no Black person there”*) or not (*“my mother’s family is absolutely beautiful they are like, they don’t care about your colour and your hair”*).

Moreover, Andrea’s talk suggests that *‘biology is not destiny’* and she does not mindlessly adopt the views handed down to her by her family. It could be that she has had exposure to differing viewpoints through her maternal family but she narrates a position of holding her own, individual position that is a counter to racist thinking and behaviour.

c. *Future: Born-Free*

This form of navigating her own meaning about the past is embedded in the following text:

Researcher: *What does it mean that you are a born free generation does that, does that sort of play a role in your life?*

Andrea: *I’m the born when, I really like the born free generation, I’m like, that is so nice*

Researcher: *Did you see it for the first time on my board?*

Andrea: *yes, like I never thought to be honest I am the born free generation because I was born in 1995, that’s the year after apartheid, that’s so, like I’m born free I can go sit in whatever bench I want to, I can go to whatever school I want to, to whatever university, do with, go to which, whatever area I want to, I can be whatever religion I want to be, I’m born free but in the same sense you know environment, I’m not free, captured by the world’s sick people, captured by the world’s technology, so it’s like, I’m born free because I know technology, I know these things and it’s like, okay to me it’s like, I’m born free from apartheid, I’m born free from the fighting, I’m born free from the politics but then I’m also captured in a way because apartheid is not gone like completely but you know we, we are born free, we just people, I know I’m born free but people don’t realise, if,*

if all of us will like know this name of born free generation and realise what it means and take it into our heads it will break everything away like apartheid, we can do it because we are the born free generation, you know, we have a say, we can make a difference and that what it means to me [17B, pp. 8 -10].

Despite having not encountered the term ‘born-free’ before the research, and seeing it for the first time ‘on my board’, Andrea distinguishes her generation from the last while holding onto the effects of the past. Linked with interactional dynamics in conversation with the researcher, especially the direction of the questions, Andrea appears to recognise the continuities with a past that lingers while also opening up possibilities for change. Nowhere else in participants’ talk is the ‘hinge generation’ so eloquently introduced by Hoffman (2004) picked up in the discourse of the next generation after apartheid. To be both captured and free in Andrea’s narrative speaks to Derrida’s erasure of terms (Sampson, 1989) and to the possibilities and impossibilities of lives lived in the full motion of time after historical trauma.

Andrea breaks free from the structural constraints of apartheid – of legislature and policy that regulated movement and access to social resources like benches and beaches. Her narrative is still despairing over being captured by technology, which is a nod to global and local forces including new ways race and racism are performed through access to digital electronics and social media for example and reminiscent of Nuttall’s (2009) self-styling young identities “forged in the fires of consumerism”. Nonetheless the adoption of a new narrative (a ‘born-free narrative’) offers Andrea hope and this hope changes the dynamic of her narrative from a nostalgic, despairing one (see section b of her case study above) where time is seen to be depleted to one where there is the possibility of renewal. If there is one narrative line that connects all the participants (and even in most instances connects the generations, parents and their children) it is this hope for the future which takes on tropes of the rainbow nation (Welchen, 2012). For Andrea, like many of the participants, her hope is imbued with a sense that racial equality is the goal of her life and generation (Soudien, 2012).

6.1 Conclusion:

Both of the case studies analysed above offer us insight into the ways that young South Africans make sense of the past through their present experiences. The narrative portraits indicate how the past, present and future are included in narratives of self that don't allow young South Africans to escape history but which nevertheless allow them to imagine a world that is not constrained by the past. It is these twin motions of being tied to a longer past and reaching forward to an imagined future that are key to Jabulani and Andrea's narratives.

As an only child, Jabulani's narrative line speaks to the 'unique' ways that he makes sense of apartheid racial thinking, racism and violence and the ways they underpin his life in the present. Jabulani has sufficient depth in his knowledge of apartheid but rather than allow these to shape his narrative he reveals a desire to 'break' from the past, in line with rainbow, non-racial visions for South African society that are free from an 'apartheid mentality'. This break underscores a narrative lens that is forward looking and hopeful despite evidence that everyday trauma, violence, racism and racial thinking continue in his present. Jabulani's comment that "the present will always affect the future so our past as South Africans politics and all those slavery things, ah, ah, they really affect my life" is pivotal to showing his relationship with time.

Andrea's narrative similarly speaks to the continued effects of racial thinking and racism in her life and to the hope that these will be overcome. She discovers the term 'born free' in the research interview and mobilises it: "if all of us will like know this name of born free generation and realise what it means and take it into our heads it will break everything away like apartheid." Andrea reveals that breaking silence about apartheid may have the effect of breaking free from the enduring legacies that it has left for those who came after. Both Andrea and Jabulani look to the future for lives lived free from racial thinking, racism and violence.

Delving into Jabulani Dlamini's and Andrea Peterson's narratives have offered us insight into the individual cases of two young South Africans with different but overlapping accounts of

life in post-apartheid South Africa. In particular their accounts of time, everyday trauma and hopes for the future allow us to make sense of the unique ways narratives of apartheid inform and shape their personal stories of who they are and what they can expect for the future. Most notably it is important that both include family knowledge in accounts of themselves and struggle with pervasive everyday violence including experiences with racial thinking and racism that carries persistent legacies of the past into the present. Both struggle to rethink race given the function of language to represent continuities rather than break with linguistic roots and in a context of pervasive race categorisation and thinking ('mentality' – a word used by both). However, within rainbow-nation tropes (although neither directly refer to the rainbow-nation directly) they both hope and plan for a time of racial equality where time takes on a break from, rather remaining hinged to, South Africa's historical past.

CHAPTER SEVEN: a collective THEMATIC ANALYSIS – Past, Present and Future

In this final phase of analysis the focus shifts to the *content* of participants' narratives across the whole corpus. The primary focus of this study is on the ways in which young people tell about themselves, and as they imagine their past/s and future/s. This thematic analysis is conducted within the broad narrative frame recognising that these 'thematic codes' intersect with other aspects of their lives and the complicated ways they are narrated together with or alongside other narratives. In particular, the conflictual histories (both in the sense of the general conflictual apartheid past and the more personal family intergenerational histories) that underpin each participant's experience and which forms the pivot for their stories, are woven together with key threads or subthemes: as well as current systemic traumas of violent crime, poverty and health.

Table 12: Thematic content

Chapter	Thematic Content
Chapter 7: A Collective Thematic Analysis	Narrative of the Past - Silence - Knowing - Generational Talk - Other 'sources' of talk Narrative of the Present - Experiences of racism - Rejecting race/racism Narrative of the Future - Unrestricted freedom and rights - (Re)playing the past - Limits and abuses of freedom - Respect - Gendered freedom and constraints

While silence remains difficult to capture in research into the second generation, the question of what young people know, including the denials, distortions and incomplete stories offer much for theorising the psychological legacy of conflict. Hoffman's idea of silence exists in the midst of an excess of knowledge of the holocaust. The 'narrative of apartheid' seems parallel in that it exists as a totalising narrative, used to explain everything, defining of our national identity. Silence and knowing are thus not opposite ends of a spectrum in which young South Africans are told about and engage with history. This chapter will unpack how stories from others dominate the stories young South Africans tell about themselves - their pasts, presents and futures. It is striking that what is told and the tools young people are

handed down to make sense of their lives are inherently historical, political and social. The presence of others' stories within their own stories starts to make sense of an indirect transmission and adoption of stories which offers a fascinating glimpse into what is happening with young South Africans. Jabulani, as seen above, opens up his discussion with a point critical to the narrative analysis of his case (chapter 6) but which will continue to be explored here. He notes that:

Jabulani: *well I, I, I don't know it is inside me that eh the present will always affect the future so our past as South Africans politics and all those slavery things ah, ah they really affect my life you know 'cause sometimes my uncle was ah, ah he was a comrade back those day so me and him we spend a lot of time talking about how life was it back then so now I got a picture and a vision about the future [16B, p. 1]*

Tracing the participants' knowledge and expectations in the present reveals how participants have constructed their sense of themselves *in time*. There remains a connection between events in the past with consequences in the present and ongoing decisions and implications for the future. This thread connects the talk of participants throughout the interviews (see chapter 6 above) and is a useful thread to pull at and disentangle to make sense of the content of participants talk: How has talk (or silence) about the past allowed participants to celebrate freedom, ignore or escape apartheid and construct lives in the present and dreams for the future. To follow from Jabulani: How has the past affected the present to create a vision of the future?

When asked about talk in her family, Khetiwe reflects on something her grandmother said:

Khetiwe: *she also talked about, ehh, the way that we used to live during apartheid. She told me that things were a bit hard back then because as zulus we were not allowed to do many things and there are words that she always said to me but I never took*

them serious but since now I'm growing I now realise that, so this is what my grandmother meant when she told me, because she said that, ehh, 'your past is a hill that describes who you are, what you do and what you will be in future'⁷⁰, so now since I'm growing and realising I know what she meant by saying that your past is a hill that describes you better [23A, p. 3]

That the past is a hill is an interesting metaphor for thinking about how participants make sense of a history that they did not experience. Hailing from the a rural community in KwaZulu-Natal this is probably a very specific reference that Khetiwe's grandmother makes that is tied to everyday walking that entailed many uphill. To stretch the metaphor it would seem that as a hill, the past must pose either some kind of hurdle to overcome or which casts a shadow on the present and future. Either way it is a metaphor that in its telling has been adopted by the participant and she has grown into an understanding and application of the metaphor as a kind of guiding force in her engagement with the past.

It is against this metaphor that the past has come to be understood and incorporated into the stories young people tell about themselves. As Khetiwe says: *'your past is a hill that describes who you are what you do and what you will be in future'* [23A, p.3]. What people know and how they make sense of the past matters in the construction of self in the present and imaginings for the future.

The section that follows includes a look at the stories that participants construct through engagements with others to make sense of the past. First, the section looks to the narrative of apartheid to see what young people know about apartheid. Second the section looks at narratives of race and freedom which underpin the knowledge that participants have constructed out of stories of the past. Underpinning the narrative of freedom are secondary

⁷⁰ As the interviews were conducted in English this expression does not have an easy isiZulu translation. The researcher has been unable to locate an idiom or common isiZulu phrase that speaks to this idea. It can be inferred from the conversation that this may be a local metaphor and/or originating in the participant's family.

stories of play and childhood, and intergenerational respect. While these last two are not major thematic lines quantitatively (see chapter 6) they are hugely revealing in the qualitative analysis of how participants engage with the past in the present.

7.1 NARRATIVE OF THE PAST: Remembering apartheid

The first narrative that I explore relates to apartheid. Owing to intergenerational silence what my participants can know and experience of apartheid is pulled together from broader collective story-telling and public (media) discourse and other opportunities in which telling about the past is opened up. The narrative of apartheid tells of how young South Africans access and incorporate the story of apartheid into their own stories owing to the fact that they did not experience the events of apartheid themselves. In this narrative what young people know and how they know what they know is explored primarily through the questions '*what is/what do you know about apartheid*', '*who tells you about apartheid/the past*' and '*when do people talk about apartheid/the past*'.

The notion of silence builds on established theorisation of trauma which notes that extraordinary events such as violence and death cannot but be experienced by a failure of language to adequately capture and make sense of them (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2003). It is for this reason that for the condition of the survivors of the Holocaust is described variously as a 'conspiracy of silence' (Danieli, 1998) or 'cocoon of silence' (Hoffman, 2004) and that it is against these silences that the second generation piece together 'myths' and 'knowledge' about the past. It is important then to note the ways in which it is possible for traumatic 'memory' to be transmitted through what is (un)said, especially within families. In light of this it is pertinent the kind of talk that *does* happens between the generations.

7.1.1. Silence

Silence as always is a tricky concept to pin down, so rather than try to ask about the talk that doesn't happen in families, the research has tried to make sense of talk that does happen. This means asking 'who talks to you about the past', 'when do people talk about apartheid' and 'what is being said'? These questions align with a sense that there is a *lot* of talk directed at young South Africans. The silences that do exist are a result of multiple factors including

avoidance by parents and young people and the absence of parental figures with whom such talk can happen at all. For participants whose parents are largely dead, missing or absent⁷¹ it is moot to talk about parental talk. Nonhle notes that she simply cannot talk with her parents and that she must rely on her grandmother whose recollections of the past speak mostly to her own life:

Researcher: *Do you, do you, does your family talk about their lives when they were young?*

Nonhle: *Yes my grandmother use to tell me about her and the life how was it how was bad and how was good*

Researcher: *Okay how was it bad and how was it good?*

Nonhle: *aah she use to say, she was really, with her mom life was good what was boring about them is that their school was far away*

Researcher: *Okay your parents do they talk to you about how they grew up?*

Nonhle: *no they do not, my dad is not living with me right now, he is in Gauteng and my mom is in Ladysmith. I don't have enough time to talk with her* [26A, p. 3].

Familial silence is evident in the transcripts but it is an incomplete silence. Talk about some aspects of the past does happen.

7.1.2 Knowing (a content analysis)

Given the large absence of parents in participants' lives it is important that one of the striking characteristics of the narrative of apartheid is that young people's stories demonstrate a fair knowledge base when it comes to knowledge of the events of apartheid. This mirrors

⁷¹ See attachment 11, page 339. 44% of participants report the death of one or more parent; 38% report the disappearance or abandonment by one or more parent; and 66% report living with a single parent or adult family member.

Hoffman's (2004) analysis that this 'knowledge' is not usually passed down directly intergenerationally from parents.

To demonstrate the scope of knowledge among young South Africans in this project, a content analysis will be included below⁷². This line of analysis demonstrates whether participants mentioned key words regarding knowledge of apartheid. Each key word was counted only once per participant so does not demonstrate depth of knowledge. Key words were sought throughout the transcripts as well as in talk in answer to the question '*what was apartheid/what do you know about apartheid/the past?*'. Keywords were excluded where they did not speak to these questions, for example where school was mentioned for present, personal or general reasons rather than as a site of political turmoil or separateness under apartheid. Questions that led participants through asking for example, 'do you know about Mandela?' are included where participants were able to engage with the question and talk to the history and story of Nelson Mandela. The choice of keywords was iterative and compiled until saturation. That is, it is led by participants' talk and extends only to areas included in at least one participant's account of Apartheid - areas of history that are not included in this list reflect a gap in participants' understandings and knowledge of apartheid⁷³ or reflect the framing of interview questions to align with talk about South Africa's apartheid past.

It is important that while the research did not specifically ask about these content areas from the outset, the data may reveal much about the framing of the project rather than being all of what participants know. The data is drawn from conversational interviews and not direct questions which explains some of the variance in data and speaks to the possibility of co-

⁷² The use of the content analysis is a starting point for the narrative themes owing to the research questions into the ways that young people know about and narrate the past. This is not a typical narrative approach and is therefore a precursor to the analysis proper looking at how and why participants know what they do and what this means for lives across time.

⁷³ Interviews did vary in relation to conversational responses to questions posed, allowing key topic areas to emerge spontaneously. While race and apartheid were specifically questioned, politics and political figures only formed part of the discussion if raised in the conversation by participants.

constructed knowledge/s. Reissman (2008) speaks of a ‘complex choreography’ that produces situated and interactional research data.

Table 13: Content Analysis of keywords regarding knowledge areas of apartheid

	Township:	Suburban:	Rural:	Total
Total Students:	13 participants	9 participants	10 participants	32 participants
1. Separation type keywords: Beach/es, Bench/es, Toilet/s	2 (15%)	1 (11%)	6 (60%)	9 (28%)
2. Educational key words: School, Afrikaans, Soweto uprising.	8 (62%)	2 (22%)	7 (70%)	17 (53%)
3. Violence keywords: massacre, death, dying, killed, beaten.	4 (31%)	2 (22%)	5 (50%)	11 (34%)
4. Mandela keywords: Nelson Mandela, imprisonment, prison, 27 years, robben island.	4 (31%)	3 (33%)	8 (80%)	15 (47%)
5. Political party keywords: ANC, IFP or other.	4 (31%)	2 (22%)	1 (10%)	7 (22%)
6. Struggle key words: Comrades, Fighting or the struggle	9 (69%)	4 (44%)	8 (80%)	19 (59%)
7. Movement key words: Dompas, ‘Passport’, IDs, curfew.	8 (62%)	2 (22%)	8 (80%)	18 (56%)
8. Policing key words: Apartheid police or other ‘law enforcement’ bodies or vigilante groups	4 (31%)	2 (22%)	3 (30%)	9 (28%)
9. Other restrictions key words: Freedom/s, opportunity/ies, play, rights.	12 (92%)	6 (67%)	8 (80%)	26 (81%)
10. Race-ism key words: black, white, race/ism	12 (92%)	8 (89%)	10 (100%)	30 (94%)
11. Place key words: forced move, chased	2 (15%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (5%)

As participants were able to indicate one or more of these areas, the totals represented are indicative of how each set of key words, independently features in the total group. Of course what remains unsaid in these scores is that the remaining percentage did *not* talk about these key words, so where 22% of participants at the suburban school reveal movement key words related to dompasses and curfew restrictions, what might be masked or hidden is that 78% did *not* mention these key words at this site.

In order the most frequent words overall were race-ism (94%), other restrictions (81%), struggle (59%), movement (56%), educational key words (53%) and references to Mandela (47%). There is a very low frequency of keywords related to forced removals (5%), political

parties (22%), police (28%), separation and exclusion key words (28%), and to violence (34%).

There are numerous group differences at each of the sites:

Township school: The township school was similar to the suburban school in terms of scores for each of the ten sets of key words, except for a few notable exceptions. The township school scored 62% for educational keywords which puts it in line with the rural schools 70% but is much higher than the 22% scored at the suburban school. Similarly the township school scored 69% and 62 % for struggle and movement keywords respectively which is closer to the rural school's 80% for both and a big jump from the suburban school's 44% and 22% respectively. The presence of references to forced removals (15%) is indicative of a community that grew up after and nearby to the forced removals in Durban. Viewed from the perspective of the present, ongoing challenges of housing, overcrowding and poverty in the township community make the forced removals of the apartheid era a touchstone against which present conditions originated. Knowledge about apartheid is shaped by and out of interests in the present (Birth, 2006).

Suburban school: The suburban school scored the lowest on almost all categories of key words. At times, it is the lowest by a lot (as seen above in reference to the township school: particularly education, struggle and movement) but even where there is strong support, it is less strong than at the other two schools, including reference to other restrictions key words at 67% and race-ism at 89%. The privileges of education (as defined by Jabulani, in chapter 6 above) in the present shape this knowledge of and interaction with the past. Social mobility is a key feature of the suburban space where participants access education from elsewhere in the 'city'. This mobility speaks to opportunities for economic change and ties in to meritocratic goals for life (Jost, 2017) and individual success.

Rural school: The rural school has high scores for almost all of the knowledge categories, with only policing (30%) and political parties (10%) scoring especially low scores. In many of the categories the rural school outscores the other schools fairly significantly. Separation

type keywords scored 60% at the rural school compared to 15% and 11% at the township and suburban schools respectively. Similarly Mandela key words scored 80% at the rural school to the 31% and 33% at the township and suburban schools respectively. The differences in knowledge across the geographical regions speaks to the increasing ambivalence among urban and township youth about the ideal of the ‘rainbow nation’ tropes. Rainbow nation tropes sit uneasily with the experiences of everyday trauma and violence experienced by young South Africans and the very real constraints of social mobility (both in relation to class and space) faced by participants in the rural space.

This knowledge shows that *some* knowledge (and in some cases *a lot* of knowledge) does pass between the generations and while the knowledge areas are understood unevenly, the knowledge that they have is telling of their contexts and the value placed on some kinds of knowledge over others. That the suburban school with access to arguably the better resourced education, it is striking that they have scored so low even on the relatively more impersonal dynamics of the past such as separation, education and movement keywords. This can be read variously as stronger limits on access to this knowledge and refusals to talk, or more interestingly as related to what is possible to say (or even know) in a multi-cultural space where racial and cultural dynamics have important current realities for participants – see attachment 11, page 339, where 67% of participants report having personally experienced racism, anxiety or bullying related to body characteristics, in contrast to the much lower 8% and 0% at the township and rural schools respectively.

When talking about what apartheid was, Jabulani’s point about the past affecting the present and, and the present consequently affecting the future is an important one. It is critical that knowledge about the past is related to interests and concerns for the present, as evidenced at the suburban school but also by a range of extracts in the participants’ transcripts. Duduzile reveals what she knows about apartheid:

Dudu: *[...] apartheid, um, okay, it separates blacks and whites [...] so uh white were getting better things than blacks, blacks were poor in the end, uh (inaudible) ja*

where there is none living in the shacks with no food, power, every time when they going to, to town they must have their passports to go to town meanwhile with the whites (inaudible) I really don't believe it when my dad talks about it

Researcher: *what does he say about apartheid? what were his experiences? what did he tell you?*

Dudu: *(inaudible) that apartheid, apartheid made our lives so miserable 'cause its, its affected them so hard 'cause they didn't get chance to learn to learn and have their dream (inaudible) and apartheid its bad 'cause when there was apartheid there was so many, there so many people that died, even children that are fighting for their freedom so they could learn in their own language or in English at school [1C, p.10].*

Dudu's account indicated here refers to a six of the eleven key areas identified in the content analysis, including separation type keywords, race keywords, struggle keywords, movement keywords, educational key words and other restrictions. In a few sentences Dudu has covered enormous ground but it is the way she tells me about what she knows that is striking. The inclusion of references to not believing it when her father tells her, to including herself in the misery brought about by apartheid by way of saying 'apartheid made *our* lives so miserable' and then the explanation that the struggle was about learning also in English pulls the knowledge out of the past and makes it personal and present. This trend to make the past personal and present is repeated time and time again but another possible example is when Fikile refers to separation type keywords:

Fikile: *oh, she used to tell me about that, she said something about apartheid, they had to move and stuff like that but we, as the young generation, we are very lucky, we can go to beaches and black people couldn't do that like, we can do anything. The other thing is we have the opportunities now but all I see is that a lot of black people don't use those opportunities, they just sit around and like to talk and stuff like that, but we are very lucky [2C, p.4]*

Fikile is the one of two participants to hint at forced removals but it is her talk about how the young generation differs from her parents' and grandparents' generations that again turns any knowledge she may have about the past into an analysis of her current, personal experiences and expectations. It is no surprise then that the rural and township school score much higher on many of the key areas in the content analysis. Their scores say as much about their knowledge of the past as about their current realities and expectations where race-ism, poverty, and violence are legacies of apartheid that participants want to escape. For the rural participants poverty is a systematic violence that marks their everyday lived experiences but they are somewhat naive about the experiences of (direct, personal) racism that characterise life in the suburbs and township spaces. For township youth who experience the racism of being followed in malls, it is relevant to speak to the past restrictions of recreational spaces like beaches.

7.1.3 Generational talk

Given that participants know about apartheid to a greater or lesser extent, the logical next question is to ask *how* they know what they know. *Who* tells young people about the past and *when*? While Hoffman (2004) notes a lack of direct communication in families after the Holocaust, she also suggests that other spaces for hearing and learning about the past were available. In the myth-making of her knowledge of the past, she had to have had some sense of the past to begin with. The question of transmission of 'myths' (as Hoffman would say) about the past then becomes not so much about the workings of silence but about how and when and what young people are being told and by whom.

Khethelo indicates that there is a direct silence between the generations where parents and adults might be ashamed to talk about the past:

Researcher: *Okay do people in your life talk to you about, um, their lives when they were growing up?*

Khethelo: *ai, they don't. Nobody talk about their lives.*

Researcher: *Why do you think they don't talk about such stuff, you think it's too hard?*

Khethelo: *Maybe they are ashamed of their stories, that's the big thing, being ashamed.*

Researcher: *Why do you think they would be ashamed? What do you think they would be ashamed of?*

Khethelo: *Maybe too hard stories, too bad stories, like my friend. One of my friends, I knew his story. He lived with a father, becoming dad, but it's not his real father. Some neighbours were shouting that you living with someone who is not your dad, you know, something like that [8C, p. 6]*

While Khethelo's account confirms a lack of direct talk, knowledge of the events of the past is transmitted between the generations through the way that neighbours (in this case) or other adults might interact. It is important that this narrative speaks of family stories that are not about the 'big' stories of apartheid but the everyday experiences of family and interpersonal relationships. While there is silence about the past, the past is not a secret. That is, family members know about what has happened but do not directly talk with each other. Moreover because the past is a silent non-secret, it demands an engagement from participants to do something with the knowledge. Khethelo's friend is being forced to confront, make sense of and possibly act on the knowledge that he is given and while it is unclear what he does it is important that he does something. Nomalanga similarly notes that talk about the past happens in round about ways, where participants are confronted with knowledge rather than directly being told. Again, the onus then falls on her [Nomalanga] to take up the knowledge and ask the requisite questions:

Nomalanga: *hmm, Well when I was younger, right, and I used to go well the farms, hmm, my gran and other old people they would always talk about 'ooh do you remember that day when we were walking and we got arrested' or something like that and so I ask them why they got arrested because, I mean my gran getting arrested, it didn't like come to me and then [s]he told me 'well I got arrested because I wasn't supposed to be in the area' blah blah blah and then I said*

'why weren't you supposed to be there' and then she told me about the apartheid laws and stuff like that [20B, p. 7].

To reiterate, the lack of direct talk does not necessarily mean that the past is secret and hidden from participants. By all accounts, the past is very visible and participants revealed that engagements with the knowledge of the past are left up to them. That Nomalanga characterises some of the talk with her grandmother by running off into 'blah blah blah blah' shows an intriguing engagement with the knowledge and the relational quality of their interactions. The presumption here is that Nomalanga already knows what comes after the 'blah, blah, blah' so that talk or exchange of ideas has already happened and is therefore redundant. This relational link is key. There is also a subtle resistance to the knowledge in this description which says that while she chose to confront her grandmother she finds the answers she got to be tedious, boring or unnecessary (although it's hard to say exactly which). This is quite a typical response of young people to the stories of older generations and suggests that in the living of her own life these accounts are simply not relevant⁷⁴. The next generation's interaction with knowledge is being driven by interests in the present so that not all stories of the past matter. This is key also to the idea of 'forgetting' by Connerton (2008) so that what stories of the past come to be included in the present narrative and how young South Africans construct identities. This may contribute to self preservation in the face of historical trauma and ongoing violence in the present. Fikile likewise has a choice to confront or not the silenced past in her family. Fikile is asked:

Researcher: *Okay, does anybody talk to you about the past here?*

Fikile: *the past, no.*

Researcher: *not at all?*

⁷⁴ In line with the analysis of interactional dynamics in chapter five, an alternative interpretation is that the participant was unwilling or unable to share this with the researcher due to her subject positioning or other factors like language.

Fikile: *[...] I never ask, I don't think I have anything particular to ask but if I do, something comes up, I will ask them [2C, p. 3].*

Fikile confirms a lack of direct talk between generations. More, she also introduces us to the idea that Weingarten (2004) has put forward - that silence is multi-directional and that children may avoid or be incapable of receiving even an indirect knowledge of the past. Other respondents likewise indicate the multiple but still indirect channels through which knowledge about the past is transmitted.

Researcher: *Okay, uh do your parents talk to you about that time, do they talk to you about apartheid at all?*

Lindile: *Not that they don't talk about it, we, we don't ask them about it 'cause maybe we thought, we think that they might not act, like, properly or they might not want to answer it 'cause, uh, maybe they were (inaudible) grew up in they (inaudible) things like that [Researcher uh hum] So we are scared what will they, what will they react when we ask them about these things, how can they react [4C, p. 4]*

A salient feature of both Fikile and Lindile's versions of the talk that happens (or does not happen) between the generations is that silence originates in the second generation and is a protective function of the children towards the parents and not necessarily the other way around as might be expected (Frankish, 2009). Parents and adults seemingly, or at least are understood by many of the participants, are open to talking about the past both the good and bad:

Researcher: *Okay, ehm, does your mom talk to you about her life, ehm, about when she was growing up?*

Khanyisile: *She talks about how she met my dad and how they argued a lot. She told me that, she told me how they were happy and she talks both sides, happy and sad, she told me everything. She tells me that when my dad went to pay lobola for her how*

it went, the arrangements and everything. She talks about everything. She tells me each and every detail, how she was happy, how she couldn't stop smiling and her thoughts. She shares everything

Researcher: *Okay, ehm, do either of your parents talk to you about, eh, what life was like under apartheid?*

Khanyisile: *She talks about how it was hard for her to live in apartheid country where she wasn't free, where she wasn't given a platform to explore more and learn more things. It was hard at that time, she wasn't free, she didn't have freedom to, to do more, to learn more and she talks about how it was hard to live, not quite happy and how it is hard to not live free, with peace, with your family as a whole when you have to be separated, others go to that side and others that side, you see, she didn't have that much connection with her family [3C, p.4].*

The talk that Khanyisile's mother has with her is open and fairly detailed, relaying details of her relationship with Khanyisile's father and then about apartheid - including details about movement and other restrictions keywords. So if adults (including parents and/or community members) are open to talk, it is the second generation that remains resistant and uncomfortable with talk about the past. It is also possible that parents subtly convey a lack of willingness to talk about certain topics and that children 'know' that parents don't want to talk. Jabulani talks about open discussions about his uncle's time as a comrade, but notes that he still feels unable to really understand or imagine apartheid:

Jabulani: *well, eh, first of all I think being free is something else 'cause look I didn't live on those apartheid times so I can't say I'm free or not because I didn't experience those apartheid times so I, I can't use that term born free to describe myself because I don't know how was it like it is, just that my uncle told me about the apartheid but I can't physically feel that thing, like okay 'now you can't go to school because of this and that' so born free to me is just a word, doesn't affect my life*

Researcher: *Okay, you mentioned that you talk to your uncle about a bit about the past, does, does talking to him, eh, about the past help you to imagine what it was like?*

Jabulani: *yes a lot stories he told me about, they were very touchy stories and now I have visions, vision of how was it like back then, few opportunities for black people etc.*

Researcher: *What kind of stories did he tell you?*

Jabulani: *about his life how was his life back then, he had to fight, he had to go to the, to the bushes and camp there, to exile etc. ja so such stories [16B, p. 6].*

Jabulani does narrate direct talk but he also suggests that the idea of silence, offered by theorists of intergenerational trauma, could be more appropriately understood as this notion expressed here as a lack of capacity to grasp the actuality of violence. This is the same idea that Duduzile (above) talks about when she says “*I really don’t believe it when my dad talks about it*” [1C, page 10], as well as Nomalanga who noted “it didn’t like come to me” [20D, p. 7]. Jabulani reports that he “can’t physically touch that thing” but that through talk with his uncle he can start to “*have visions*” of what life was like. For those who did not experience apartheid directly, conjuring up a tangible sense of what happened appears to be hard work and frustratingly fleeting.

Nomalanga: *hmm, it sort of in a way means that I kind of escaped apartheid, hmm. It means that I, I didn’t have to go through what people who are older than I had to go through. I never really, I don’t really, I know what they went through and the pain they had but I don’t understand it because I’ve never felt it before so being a born free to me means that I got to have a chance and freedom and I sort of escaped the discrimination, well, I didn’t really escape it but I escaped the apartheid laws [20B, p. 6].*

Nomalanga indicates that a profound understanding might only come from feeling the exact pain as those who came before her and acknowledges that while this leaves her in a limbo

zone of both escaping and not escaping the influence of the past, for the most part there is a kind of relief and ‘freedom’ from not having to experience that pain.

Coupled with the desire to protect parents and in response to demands in the present it is no surprise then that participants largely avoid initiating or engaging talk about the past.

Sindiswa, a victim of rape at a young age and a teenage mother, reports a wish not to tell her son about her experiences:

Researcher: *Do you think that you will talk to [your son] about your experiences?*

Sindiswa: *I don't know yet. I'll think about it but I don't think that would be so such a good idea*

Researcher: *Why would it not be such a good idea?*

Sindiswa: *Well he might end up feeling like mama ask for it to happen. I just don't think it's a good idea. He will under, see me as someone else.*

Researcher: *Do you think that your experience inspire you in any kind of way?*

Sindiswa: *yes they do inspire me because right now I must focus on the future, be there for him so that he doesn't end up becoming a rapist, you know, he has to know what's good and what's bad [28A, p. 10].*

Sindiswa fears that her relationship with her son will change if he knows and/or that knowledge of the past might make him become the thing (rapist) that the story talks about. She is expressing the parent's wish to protect her child from knowing her trauma – in this instance, she is not the ‘second generation’ – she is the older generation, projecting forwards and reproducing the desire to protect the next generation. Bhekisizwe shows us how conceptualising and making sense of the past assumes a kind of amorphous presence because of the resistance to talk between generations:

Researcher: *Okay, what do you think life was like for people growing up under apartheid?*

Bhekisizwe: *eyh, its a bit like, uh I d... it was bad its like painful, bad, all the kinda bad stuff you can imagine ja* [7C, p. 3].

Many of the participants refer to emotive aspects of imagining events that they did not experience. Bhekisizwe imagines the past as fundamentally ‘bad’ and ‘painful’, Jabulani mentions ‘touchy stories’ [16B, p.6], Dudu includes herself when she says that apartheid made ‘our lives so miserable’ [1C, p10], Khethelo notes “*that’s the big thing being ashamed*” [8C, p. 6], and Lindile shows fear and says “*we are scared [...] what will they react*” [4C, p. 4]. Knowledge of the past is emotive. Painted as ‘all bad’ and resulting in real emotional anguish for participants and their families, it is little wonder that participants don’t want to talk about it. Moreover, when they do ask directly about the past they can be met with confusion - especially with regard to transmitted nostalgia that seemingly undermines the general sweep of history that has been painted as ‘all bad’.

Xolani: *I just ask because I used to ask them how they were living in the past years. They used to tell me that by that time they didn’t watch TV, they didn’t have cell phones, that’s what I asked. They told me they didn’t have electricity so I asked them how was life at that time because now on this days of ours we can’t live without those things but they told me they lived good lives without having these things that we have today* [32A, p. 8].

It is worth reading Jacob Dlamini’s ‘Native Nostalgia’ which challenges the singular story of apartheid by suggesting (even somewhat controversially) that aspects of life under apartheid may conjure nostalgia even among those who experienced the full brunt of the structural and racist violence. Zola reflects on this:

Zola: *Okay, I was asking my uncle if like the difference between now and the past and he said that during the past things were much more better, much more cheaper you see the economic [...] hmm, he told me that things were much more better, that time. Things were much more cheaper that time like everything was more clean, the towns was more clean during that time, okay when they say that ‘when the ‘white man’ was still the leader and now everything is like has gone for real it has’ and I see for myself because the town is dirty but there are bins provided. The economy is like, it’s slacking because people, those who are like in authority, they’re corrupt, they, they’re just, aah, they don’t know how to handle money, they’re greedy and, maybe I can say if, maybe I was still in that time things were much more better because, maybe even the education was still more better. [18B, p. 9].*

This extract illustrates the way in which knowledge of the past is related to present troubles and structural violence in her everyday life. Zola’s reflection on the past as originating in talk with her uncle makes the point that the story of apartheid as ‘all bad’ is only one version of what apartheid was for people at different times and in different places. Participants know about apartheid (to some extent) but they don’t want to know about it. Participants feel that to know is to risk their parents’ and their own emotional well-being, especially when any attempt at knowing and constructing a clear, tangible account is doomed to fail. This failure to know is related to the ways that the past has been constructed as ‘*all bad*’ which sits uneasily with nostalgic recollections and alternate versions, as well as in relation to the evident social, economic and political troubles of the present. The confusion caused by trying to make sense of time that resists the easy distinction where the past was bad and everything after 1994 must be good. This simply does not align with knowledge of the past and experiences in the present.

7.1.4 Other sources of ‘talk’ and motivation: Older generation and role models

In addition to generational talk that took many forms, participants did indicate other sources of ‘talk’ and motivation which goes some of the way in answering how they know what they know. In the absence of parental talk (which as seen above is not always a silence from

parents and family directly), participants get knowledge through other means. These sources include religious sermons and connections, ‘motivations’ on the radio, TV and other media sources as well as school.

Sometimes the sources of this motivation are close family members and (grand)parents. Bhekisizwe Ngcobo [7C, pages 9 - 10] refers to a brother as a close role model, Thenjiwe Cele acknowledges her parents, teachers and elders in providing support and encouragement [9C, page 11], and Gugu Shabangu notes:

Gugu: *when you young it's, where you have to, like, listen to your parents and do as they say 'cause if you doing the opposite of what they say, eh, I'm telling you, you are not guaranteed to live to reach the age of 40 'cause things are, are bad. Here in life, in nowadays, 'cause if a person likes in, well, well some other time they call it call it ukuthand' izinto (liking things) and that, that leads you to bad things. I mean like you end, you end up having no future, you know, but we we, we, we study so that we can get a job and when our parents die... I mean for when they are very old they, so that they can be proud of us, you know, those eh people, but now (sigh) the world has changed [10C, pp. 12 - 13].*

More often than seeing parents as role models and motivators, young participants find this in religious and media sources. At least fifteen of the participants make strong reference to their faith as a source of inspiration in the interviews. Gugu finds inspiration and motivation from an ‘aunt’ at her church:

Gugu: *My aunt from church*

Researcher: *Your aunt from church?*

Gugu: *Ja*

Researcher: *Okay, talk to me about that?*

Gugu: *She, she's always talk, she's always talking to me about how life was and how she grow, and how she grow while she was in my age because, em, well she was suffering, okay she was suffering, em, from, from school, well she's, eh, is very well on her brain and she, she study until, 'cause her mother did not work as she was in high school so she did not have money to go to university but then with, eh, her brain she got a scholarship, I mean a bursary then she went to to study and then she now she is a owner of a restaurant and, mm, well she told me that things will not get easy on life especially if you are a, eh, child of God. Challenges will come through and, eh, I understanding that but she does to, she does things for me where when there is a trip on church she pays, even for me, and I'm president of the youth at church just because of her and I am, eh, choir conductor which is what I love. I love singing so ja, she's, she's like a mother to me.*

Researcher: *Okay, what does it mean to be the president of youth at church what kinds of roles do you play?*

Gugu: *Owh, I'm always encouraging young people to read their bibles so that they can be strong in the word of God so that they can grow up spiritually and do the right things according to the bible, you know, eh, so that they can stay away from things like drugs and teenage pregnancy, well, some they have babies but then, eh, did not know what to do when someone gets pregnant [10C, pp. 3 - 4].*

With parents largely absent and/or the lack of direct generational talk it is no surprise that young South Africans would look to others for guidance and support, which is not atypical of adolescence more broadly. Young people experience life in wider circles than just the family, including and importantly there is the role of religious and educational institutions, peers and others that play important roles. That Gugu refers to the woman at her church as an 'aunt' and then as 'like a mother' indicates a strong desire to find in another what they are unable to access in their families. Finding mother and 'father' figures, spiritual or otherwise, who can guide and mentor them but not evoke the same (emotional) reactions as their parents is key. Gugu finds in this woman a source of emotional and sometimes financial support as well as someone she can look up to and follow in her footsteps through pursuing tertiary studies (see

timeline 10C) and re-enacting the motivation she receives with the youth group she leads at church. Receiving motivations and passing them on is a significant way that young people learn about the world and engage with what they know. Cebesile is a writer and poet who delivers motivational speeches to her school during assembly:

Cebesile: *What motivates me is that I was born with potential and taking every challenge as I encounter in life. I know that because I know that I'm a motivational speaker so, like, each and every Monday or Friday I go to the assembly and motivate people so I kind of motivate myself, you know. The more I write the more I get motivated so I know that each and every problem I encounter it is for a reason, you know* [25A, p. 6].

[...]

Researcher: *Okay what inspires you when you are writing?*

Cebesile: *Everything around me, my experiences, what I saw on TV, like I would see a word on TV and then I say let me write about this. It is more like everything around me, my experiences, my past and everything that I want, everything that I dream of and so on. That is what inspires me* [25A, p. 8].

The motivational speech in Cebesile's interview speaks to the self-styling way that young people interact with self and other in a neoliberal world (Nuttall, 2009 and others). While Cebesile does not talk about a longer past (longer than her own life) in her speeches (at least not directly) as she writes about '*struggle, love and success*', and indicates an acceptance of the transmission of lessons and stories that is seldom evident when it comes to parental talk. That TV is a source of inspiration in her talk about where she gets material to write her speeches and poems is important as it, along with other media sources, has come to be a key source of information about the past for many of the young South Africans in this study. This information of the past comes embedded in advice for living in the present (Brison, 1996; Birth, 2006). Much talk about the kind of lives that young people should aspire to are premised against (im)possibilities of the previous generation. There are numerous accounts of such 'motivation' coming largely from media sources:

- Sipho Sithole [5C, p.7] watches the programmes, Cutting Edge and Third Degree, which interrogate corruption among other social issues. His choice to watch these shows is inspired by suggestions from teachers.
- Jabulani Siyanda Ndzimandze [31A, p. 6] watches ‘Chatroom’ on TV which teaches young people ‘how they should behave and how they can succeed’ which is largely through notions of ‘respect’.
- Thenjiwe Cele [9C, p. 11] listens to a pastor on Ukhozi fm every morning who motivates young people to not quit and to dedicate their energy on life goals,
- Bhekisizwe Ngcobo [7C, p. 9] attends visits by the presidency to [the township] “every July” where the president advises young people to stop using drugs and committing crime and rather to dedicate themselves to the upliftment of their communities.
- Nonhle Mkhwanazi [26A, p. 3, 7, 8 and 10] spoke throughout her interview of listening to motivations on Ukhozi FM and how the focus, especially around youth day, was to get people to remember the past as a counter to current youth behaviour.

Two instances of the role of the media will be unpacked as they demonstrate not only the intense impact of media motivations on young South African’s lives but also how the past has been used to transmit knowledge and expectations to the next generation. Sindiswa notes that TV has filled the gap created by a lack of parental/generational talk:

Sindiswa: *I don’t know much about apartheid at my house, my parents never talked about it much but I only see it in TV, you know.*

Researcher: *Okay, where on TV and what do they say about it?*

Sindiswa: *About how black people struggled to get freedom, you know.*

Researcher: *Okay, what, uh, explain.*

Sindiswa: *Okay, I, uh, watch this movie Sarafina, it taught me a lot about apartheid in Sarafina. There was this women who work as domestic worker who, uh, worked*

in a white woman house. Her child was Sarafina, will just go to the house and they there, watch TV, open taps in the bathroom, leave the water on, I mean running, you know, and leave the place in a mess and Sarafina and her friends did anything they could to challenge white people and then Sarafina's mom got fired she ended up living in the house with Sarafina and the other siblings, you know, but they struggled to figure out to survive but after Sarafina's mom not working they kept to afford a decent of meal just 'cause of her not go to bed with an empty stomach, you know, and then Sarafina and her friend, uh, at school they always play how to challenge like, white people but like, they didn't really quite get that into other people's mind on how to challenge white people. They tried as much as they could to, uh, but then it just went on and on and on and apartheid just vanish in to the air, black people got their freedom [28A, p. 6].

The story that Sindiswa has taken from her watching of Sarafina is an interesting one and certainly resonates with her own life in a poor community where many women continue to leave home to work as domestic workers in the cities, including for white families. More crucially her knowledge of the struggle represented in Sarafina (and possibly in the real world as well) where apartheid just 'vanished into thin air' is a fascinating interpretation on a film whose message was about the sacrifices and hardships faced by Sarafina in the struggle against apartheid and by other characters who played key roles. Mbongeni Ngema, the author of Sarafina! is quoted as saying:

Around that time [in 1985] I had an interesting conversation with Winnie Mandela that gave the foundation for the musical [play] Sarafina! The conversation was about the youth of Soweto. We talked about their fearlessness and courage that gave them the strength to face the South African Defence Force with nothing but stones and the accompaniment of song and dance... The play centred around a young militant girl called Sarafina and was a salute to heroines of the struggle including Lillian Ngoye, Fathima Meer, Winnie Mandela and all the women of South Africa who has committed their lives to the fight for freedom (cited in Guldemann, 1996, p. 85).

For *Sarafina!* to be interpreted with a conclusion where apartheid simply vanishes despite or in spite of the actions of the key characters. *Sarafina* has in fact been critiqued for communicating a triumphant version of a struggle that ‘ended’ in liberation, rather close to this interpretation that she offers. Such a conclusion might well reveal an underlying romanticism / nostalgia within official versions and subsequent memory-making as to how apartheid ended and it reveals a kind of helplessness on the part of *Sarafina* and others to effect change which might reflect a feeling of helplessness with the participant. These stories may also contribute to dominant narratives about what apartheid was that contribute to current political interests. *Sarafina!* was not the only movie to inspire participants in this way, Bongani refers to *Invictus*:

Bongani: *I learn about apartheid when I was in primary, in life orientation they told us about the past and just to have meetings around the community. That is where we get a chance to know about our past and apartheid and how it was and the movies they also help us. There are movies that are about apartheid. There is the one that got Morgan Freeman, he is the character of being Nelson Mandela when South Africa won the game, rugby world cup it was 96 or 95, I don't remember but those days no one can forget them [27A, p. 7].*

Invictus was a theatrical depiction of the 1995 Rugby World Cup that was won by the South African team. The events lent themselves to dramatic re-enactment of this kind owing to the, the re-entry of South African teams into international sport after 1994 and the spectacle of the South African Airways (SAA) plane that dipped over the stadium at the climax of the game. In particular the film drew attention to the attempts for national unity in the country soon after the transition to democracy. Mandela's role in the games was important given the historically white only participation in all sport, and rugby in particular, within the context and the need to create inclusivity along racial lines. Bongani's conclusion to this chunk of transcript is rather insightful. He reports that ‘those days no one can forget them’. While participants report actively escaping or resisting knowledge of the past from parents, here they seek out motivators and consume media products where stories of the past are central to messages transmitted to the next generation. The stories and insights are then adopted,

reworked and retold sometimes having lost the link to the past, or with interpretations which are distortions of the original message. For lack of a better description, motivations act as a kind of ‘broken telephone’ game where messages are subject to increasing distortion the more they are told and re-told until any trace of the original message is removed. One is reminded of Morris-Suzuki’s (2005) idea that we are ‘enmeshed’ in the structures and ideas of the past but that we may be unconscious to the history and workings of individuals which have become obscured. These movies (especially *Invictus*) produce an account of South African history for international audiences and so what these young South Africans ‘know’ may be little more than any other member of the audience in NY or London or in white middle class South African suburbia. – aligned with what Bongani may perceive to be the space that the researcher originates from⁷⁵. Rather than reflecting history or providing a political analysis, they present sanitised versions of life under apartheid that are captured by Hollywood and other media sources. It is interesting and important that family stories and history classes however do not spark the same interrogation or engagement in the narratives of participants as do these more ‘entertaining’ but thin versions within the media.

Participants know about apartheid but what they know and how they know it, while the result of generational talk, is not familial. Silence largely originating with participants leads to knowledge/s that are indirect and engaged with through more ‘palatable’ sources, largely media and motivational in kind.

7.2 NARRATIVE OF THE PRESENT: Legacy of Race/Racism

The second narrative is one of Race and racism. Following on from the content analysis, race is the most significant theme across all three sites⁷⁶. Additionally, at the suburban school, large numbers of students reported being victim to racism⁷⁷. It is ironic that homogenous black spaces (particularly rural spaces), unchanged from apartheid days, may shield young

⁷⁵ See analysis of interactional dynamics in chapter five.

⁷⁶ See attachment 11, page 339

⁷⁷ See attachment 11, page 339

people from direct personal experiences of racism. Following on from the narrative of apartheid where knowledge from generational talk and other sources did allow young people to know and make sense of the past, Khanyisile (a participant from the township school) reflects on accessing information about race through television and talk with her mother, while not having experienced racism herself:

Khanyisile: *We have freedom but at the same time people of South Africa have racism they still have that thing of whites and blacks and putting a wall and making them separate and not the same, like blacks are not quite people but whites are given more, are given the opportunity more than blacks. Whites, like, have more, are given the platform to perform more and we blacks are not given that same respect and that same eye.*

Researcher: *Who doesn't give you that respect where does it come from?*

Khanyisile: *I haven't experienced it but from what my mom tells me it was hard.*

Researcher: *Okay what I'm trying to think about is if we were to make South Africa different how would we do that?*

Khanyisile: *I have no idea because I can't stop racism, I can't tell people what they I can't change their minds. I can't give them, I can give them a different perspective but I can't change what they believe in and I can't change the way they see people, how they feel, it's their choice to do what they like.*

Researcher: *Okay, do you think that is the one of the biggest challenges we have in South Africa, the continued racism?*

Khanyisile: *Yes, and it will never end.*

Researcher: *Why do you say it will never end?*

Khanyisile: *Because people still do that blacks and whites things, that whites and blacks are what what. People are still angry, blacks are still angry about what the whites did*

to them and as you can see on TV they try and remind if, mina⁷⁸ [myself] if I don't want to be reminded of what they went through, I appreciate it but it brings back that anger, it brings back that war, it brings war, not really war but confusion and they try and persuade the youth to hate whites because of what they did to them. I know that we are learning but sometimes in documentaries they make it like, yoh, they were evil and I know they did bad things but they trying to remind, they trying to make it a point that blacks hate whites and whites have to be reminded of what they did to blacks. Whites have to be reminded of how they separated people 's towns and how they destroyed that unity of that connection of blacks. Whites have to be reminded of, they bring back that racism is still so in documentaries. They are trying to make it a point that blacks hate whites and whites as well.

Researcher : *Okay, so the people who are doing this are the people who are making the TV shows and documentaries?*

Khanyisile: *They are aiming to fight (inaudible) because, as it is, people of South Africa are racists, so they trying to make it more, to bring back memories that are painful to bring back that memory of the dead people and how they fought for our freedom and how many people were killed and how the tears of the families shared, it's just, they bring back memories that are not necessary because you can make a documentary but not, they even sing those songs that, the apartheid songs so they are separating us more than before, they are pushing each race, each colour away from each other. They trying to make blacks and whites like different, like different humans, live in a different planet or what not [3C, pp. 4 - 5].*

This long extract from Khanyisile's transcript reconfirms that talk between generations does happen, both in the form of direct generational talk and access to other sources primarily in the media. Khanyisile makes multiple important points, following up from the narrative of apartheid. First, that intergenerational transmission does happen. Second, the transmission of received knowledges is not neutral but has implications in the present, in her view, to create

⁷⁸ Mina refers to oneself in isiZulu

conflict by ensuring that people remember. Third, that knowing about the race and the past is emotionally heavy, bringing back anger and memories that are ‘painful’ and lastly, to re-inscribe race categories where people still do ‘that blacks and whites thing’. She suggests that talking about race has the effect of creating racism and ties into a range of emotional reactions. This is contrasted with the ‘never again’ discourse that urges remembering as a way to bringing an end to traumatic histories and racism. While Khanyisile reports that it ‘will never end’ and that she can’t change people’s minds, she wants gratuitous representation of racism to end, particularly in the media by those she feels have agendas that include inciting racial tension in demanding memory. This is a kind of hopelessness about the present and future in relation to ongoing, everyday experiences of racism.

7.2.1 Experiences of racism

Moreover, in rejecting media representations of the past, Khanyisile indicates that race and racism are ongoing legacies of apartheid, that while she may not have experienced race-ism herself, these are features of the South African social landscape that have not yet been resolved and which she feels will never be resolved. That intergenerational transmission about race is a reflection on the realities of race that persist for a number of participants, in the present. Many participants have experienced or witnessed racism in the present. Khethelo notes:

Khethelo: *I think racism is still, counts, is still on, you know, ‘cause the way we live, why people live in townships, you know, if there’s someone, maybe white guy walking in the township no cops will come and arrest him but if you can go there in your place, ja, they will ask you where you going, who do you know there, you can’t just take a drive there, you know, I can say so, racism is still on [8C, p. 10].*

Participants recognise race as a central organising feature in their experiences of the world and in doing so indicate that race has significant effects on what they can and can’t do. The underlying message when talking about experiences of race-ism is that there remains an inherent unfairness in the way people are still treated based solely on racial dynamics and that

this entrapment in racial thinking is unwanted and experiences of racism, while ubiquitous, should not occur. One example of unwanted race/racism experiences is that of being followed in supermarkets which is reported by a number of participants.

Khethelo: *you know, okay, so this time, unfair, is not the time, the era, okay, as of now I can't do something's, something's that can be done by a white, even if you can walk to the Pavilion, you know the Pavilion mall [Researcher:ohm] maybe walking on my feet without my shoes they will look at me 'hey what you doing without shoes, go wear shoes' you know, something like that, but if it can be the white children, they are free now, they will just say 'hey where you come from' with a smile and other things, you know, ja, you can't even watch a magazine, maybe they see you watching a magazine 'hey what you doing' [Researcher: ohm] 'get out the shop', you know, even if you were to buy they'll chase you. There are no blacks who owning shops there, you know, that is up there.*

[...]

Khethelo: *...nobody is interested in [the township] 'cause they owning shops there, they are only indians, are, you know, every time I ask myself why is that so, why is that happening, why there are no Blacks who are owning shops, blacks are only cleaning, do the cleaning, sweeping and mopping. [...] I don't have an answer for that 'cause sometimes I blame my people, my blacks, you know, so if you don't want to school that's the problem 'cause there's something on their mind, school is not for blacks. They were taught that black person got a black mind, you know, so what's the use of going to school 'cause you still have no jobs, good jobs, you know, ja [8C, p. 11].*

The participants who spoke about being followed in malls largely (although not exclusively) came from the township community situated alongside a large shopping mall complex: the Pavilion. The juxtaposition of the economic hub and the poor community does not go unnoticed by those who narrated experiences of this type. More than the personal experience of an-other's gaze because of his poverty (not wearing shoes) and perceived likelihood of

criminal behaviour (being followed), the link to larger understandings about class and race are integral parts of making sense of his experience (Khunou, 2015; Soudien, 2012). Despite the fact that systematic economic and racist forces shape his experience, it is intriguing that he blames ‘my people, my blacks’. This individualising of social oppression speaks to Ms Mbanga’s case (Swarts, 1998) and the tendency of psycho-social interventions to target ideas like trauma, agency, resilience etc rather than looking to macro systems of poverty and oppression that would be the focus of postcolonial approaches. Khethelo’s story is at once personal and political simultaneously, and uses race as the key marker for the injustice he has experienced and witnessed. Siphso likewise relates his experiences, reflections and confusion when he too is followed by security:

Siphso: *Now they say we are normal but, ah, there is one thing that I know is maybe, when I’m off to Pavilion with my brother, eh, we live near, we have another home here in Ridge view so it’s easy to go to Pavilion, ja, so we like dress up and like, just at home maybe just called by granny to go and buy bread, maybe at Pick n Pay then we are buying, stuffing and looking around the supermarket. You will find some securities following you, you like, ‘why, what did I do wrong?’ You still find those kinds of things, they quite make you feeling what, what did the black guy do wrong to get followed like this when you find the white guy just enjoying around. This is what I don’t know, you like and, ah, about, ah, ja we are free as black people but there is this thing, we are free, ja, some of them are rich, ja, but there is this, when you are rich in South Africa you are rich, big rich and when you are poor, you are very poor and, ah, there are middle class like I say, at my home we live with middle class in, eh, South Africa if you say you are free but economically we are not free, they are quite things that, ah, they, you don’t get eh, as eh, as black, the South Africa as a whole even the white people, you see.*

[...]

Researcher: *Why do you think race still matter?*

Siphso: *Maybe I could say they are more factors, it’s like, eh, most other doing, eh, maybe, maybe you are working for a coloured or what, they get this kind of infection, it’s like an infection, I could say they just say they follow you in*

supermarkets and all the stuff and Indians, ah no, those guys, ay no ay, they always have this thing about black people but I'm quite surprised because they look like us, most of them, I don't know why they hate black people mostly because, most of them do get hate black people, ja [5C, pp. 5 - 6].

For Sipho, being black is positioned outside of 'normal' everyday life. This positioning is based on race but is also entangled with class where to be poor and black is to be looked down on by other races - white, coloured and indian, In an important way the naming of races undermines the reflection by Sipho to remake race categories in the present. This gaze originates and speaks to the other who is overcome with a sickness, or 'infection', that makes them hate black people. That racism is seen as an 'infection' likens racism not just to an illness that can and should be cured, but it is seen also as something that a person 'gets' or takes on - it is not a normal part of their being. This is coupled with the economic constraints that intersect with race (Ncube and Lufumpa, 2015). That racism is seen as an infection is notable within the work by Oliver (2017) who takes a psychoanalytic view on racism as pathology. Racism is not okay:

Khethiwe: *Well, I did experience racism before. I didn't know what racism is about, what I knew race was the difference in skin colour but I never thought that I will experience it but one day I did. We were at the national park somewhere and we were, as you can see, at school, all the blacks but some of us are xhosas and some of us are bapedis. As teenagers, you know, that we feel like I can say I hate this girl because she is like that and that. While we were at the park there was a boy that showed up, he was different, he was white actually and he wasn't one of us at school, he was just walking at the park and when he came to us and he asked where they can catch fishes and we said we don't talk with white people. First of all, we don't know who you are so and we said you have to look at us we are not white because we believe that white people are the ones that are rich so we don't really like them and I was like 'oh my God'. They did this to him, they answered him using racism, they didn't give him what he wanted because they believed that he is a white person so what made me realise that if it was a black person asking*

the question they would have paid attention to him but, just because he was a white person, they didn't [23A, pp. 3 - 4].

This story is especially interesting when considering that white South Africans still largely have access to land, resources and opportunities that are denied their black counterparts (Soudien, 2012). It is also narrated at a time when views about whether black South Africans can even be racist at all. Marxist and other sociological positions see the means of production as exclusionary (largely white owned) and reflect on uneven power dynamics that remain (McLellan, 1975). Even when, like Khetiwe describes, the racism is perpetrated against others, it is a surprising realisation of something that should not happen. Participants reject race-ism in the strongest terms:

Andrea: *Now they relate everything to race, even if he own a transport business and he takes a black girl and one time she stays down the road by [the conductor] and he got a coloured girl, he pick up before her. So she took like 5 minutes to come out so he gets really irritated and he still waited for her but we went to fetch the black girl, she was taking too long to come out and he just left her so it's like how she, she needs to go to school, how she's gonna get to school now because you just left her, she is in grade 11 she is missing the whole day, she is missing out on work you couldn't wait for her but you waited for a coloured girl. If a coloured girl jumps into the condor and says hello [removed], he'll say hello, hello and when that girl jumps in and he just says hi. It's so ugly and you know when something breaks your heart it, it breaks my heart because it's people, people are people [17B, p. 2].*

While Andrea does not narrate having experienced racism herself, it is very close to her. That is, it happens to those she knows personally 'everyday' and it has very real emotional responses for her: 'it breaks my heart'. Race/Racism is not some hypothetical, intangible legacy of the past but it is immediate and emotive for young South Africans that is imposed on them by others. Andrea, like many participants, distances herself from racism. Andrea has

friends and partners of other racial groups to evidence the kind of interaction she hopes to see between people. Her hope is that individual characteristics become more salient markers than race or background in people's interactions with each other. The implication is that race, as it is currently understood, remains a large part of how other people understand each other *and it shouldn't be*. This is important in relation to how Jabulani (16B) narrates an 'apartheid mentality' in the classroom (chapter 7).

Adam's earlier reference to white supremacy and an apartheid mentality (in Chapter 5) in the context is salient here also. Adam locates race/racism in whiteness, as befits the history and his own experiences with a racist white teacher, but interestingly it is those who lived under apartheid who carry on the 'mentality' or psychology of race-ism through their interactions ('brainwashing') with their children who otherwise would not be racist, they would 'see each other as equal'. Racism is the effect of generational interaction. This speaks to the generational quality of human life and mediated experience within families and all other sources of generational interaction, inspiration and influence – including books, celebrities, political figures etc. Nomalanga speaks to these other sources:

Nomalanga: *hmm, Julius Malema he was the youth ANC youth league leader because I'm not into politics, I'm not really affected by it but if I was into politics and, hmm, a youth leader, telling singing songs like that, my mind is going, I'm going to be sort of brainwashed into thinking that, 'okay wow let me unbury the hatred and also show white people what it feels like or what my parents felt like, let me also join in and take revenge for my ancestors and let me show them and stuff like that', that's what, sort of, Julius Malema was trying to say [20B, p. 11].*

While the results of a generational interaction are severe (children who 'drown' and become 'brainwashed' in racist ideologies) the ways this happens involves talk, like telling children 'we once owned the country' or through more subtle talk and interactions. In talking about his own experiences Adam indicates how race/racism is learned through the subtle transmission of ideas between generations.

Adam: *being part of a born-free generation, um, I grew up not understanding colour. I went to a preschool [...] I loved it there. I obviously grew up with many diverse races, different cultures, different teachers, it's something you don't understand at that age and being a child, the truth is not many people will tell you, you do actually feel the tension of there. There was something that happened before you can see by the way your parents react, you can see by the way they dig if, if, if you are, they see that you are friends with let's just say a white boy, it's not that they'd be angry, it's not that they'd be scared, they just ask more questions about that boy then if I had to say, I had an Indian friend his name was [T...], they'd be like oh [T...] okay, but if I had to say I had a white friend his name was [R...] they'd be like 'oh, where does he stay, what like', they'd ask questions that, that at that age you wouldn't really care to ask because you're coming to school to play on the jungle gym. You see that was when I started, not so much realising, I just started noticing that, hey theres some difference between us, even though I didn't know, you know what I. I'm brown and he's white and I didn't able to knew that. I grew up playing with our our maid's boy I, I learnt a bit of Zulu there. I, I grew up when I went to [primary school]. I was being, you don't know race as a child in primary school. It was the same up until an incident that I had with a really racist white teacher [14B, p. 4].*

Learning about race/racism in this example reinforces the notion that racial thinking and racist behaviour is first, rejected in the strongest terms by the second generation, and second, that it is a consequence of generational talk and interaction (Hoffman, 2004; Jansen, 2004). Adam's early childhood experiences are entrenched in class and race dynamics where playing with the child of a domestic worker reveals as much as playing with a white peer from his school. While his story reveals engagement across racial lines it also re-entrenches a hierarchy of race, class and age - especially in relation to domestic labour. These entrenched hierarchies are policed and experienced in relation with their parents' generation. By locating the source of race-ism as originating in generational talk and interaction, Adam suggests that rather than a disconnection with the past, young South Africans come to learn and inherit knowledge and prejudices from their parents. However, it is the first of these two points that

young people focus on as they try to escape the past and construct new, rainbow nation type realities that are not based on race. They want to claim both that the older generation has an impact on the younger generation, perpetuating racism but that they themselves are not tainted by the past. Rejecting racism is a key feature of the participants talk.

7.2.2 Rejecting Race/Racism and constructing a Rainbow nation

By rejecting race/racism, Adam and his peers indicate that racial thinking and racist behaviour is not inevitable. Racism is understood as a legacy of the past, and despite (or perhaps because of) participants' continued exposure to race/racism, there is a general consensus that race/racism should be abolished. An ideal world would be one where people are equal in all senses (certainly the lesser narrated but subtly evident lines of injustice including class, location and gender are implicated here also: see the discussions above about being followed in malls and such) and treated without prejudice. Participants report endeavouring to embody this ideal of equality through maintaining relationships not influenced by race (although quite obviously with a race awareness nonetheless). In recognising this ideal, and in rejecting race/racism, participants' acknowledge that race/racism remains a significant reality in their own lives and that of people around them. This tension between the ideal and the real causes conflict for participants who react emotively to instances of racism perpetrated against themselves or those they know. In a broad sense, the rejection of race/racism as it is understood here, participants in this study indicate a desired disconnection from the past, through rainbow-nation type expectations of equality (Soudien, 2012). A rejection of race and racism is a defining feature of the 'new' South Africa. It would be remarkable to find black (or any) participants who think racism is fine or at least would be prepared to state this openly to the researcher. However, it is not just the rejection of racism but the stated desire for unity and non-racialism that is interesting here. Black consciousness and postcolonial theory address historical violence without the sentimental condition of unity (Bulhan, 1985). For these participants at the time the research was conducted (in 2011 and 2012) the attachment to the rainbow ideal still seems prevalent:

Naledi: *Ja, I think racism is dead but I think somewhere, somehow they practising it but I really don't like it because we are all of the same species. God created us different but we are the same before him [24A, p. 4].*

As already indicated, a part of constructing this version and rejection of race/racism involves distancing oneself from race/racism (often through developing friendships and other relationships not premised on racial identifiers) as Zena below indicates:

Researcher: *The history of apartheid is also a history of racism, perhaps you can talk to me about that?*

Zena: *Well, I grew up without experience, I don't, I don't, I don't see racism as much as I do like... I don't see racism anymore 'cause I have black friends, I have indian friends, I have coloured friends and it's just normal to me, it doesn't occur to me that maybe once at a stage they were separated and we couldn't be friends with them because I've never experienced that and it's just normal for me to be friends with them and see them as equal and I and that's all I've really experienced and I dunno my parents, so that it, so there's no racism at home in, uhm, at home or anywhere like that where I am. I don't know about racism because I'm not a racist [15B, p. 5].*

Zena denies not only experiences of racism and an identification as racist (moving the analysis inward - to knowledge and identity over explanations of behaviour and history), she also denies the knowledge of racism while still affirming racial categories. While Zena introduces us, perhaps into thinking about how the narratives of descendants of victims / oppressed and perpetrators /oppressors might differ, as well as speaking to the different histories and contexts of the different sites of my research. Zena is a white participant from the suburban school. She provokes questions into how respondents have dealt with race. Many, contrary to Zena, have narrated events of racism towards themselves and/or others but have done so against a rhetoric of 'the rainbow nation' or ideals of non-racialism. These young people largely identified with the rainbow nation very strongly as an ideal, their

experiences however are for the most part very un-rainbow, particularly in the suburban space. Certainly the geography of their experiences is important but the lines of hope and despair intersect in this generation where what could be wrestles with what is and my participants seem to know this very well.

Being friends with or having relationships with other racial groups is asserted by participants as evidence that one, they themselves are not racist and bound by past ideologies or other restrictions and two, that race experiences have changed. Asserting these two things is troublesome and even contradictory. The first, the suggestion that the speaker is themselves not racist and is disconnected from race and other ideological perceptions is a hard claim to make when using precisely the categories and terms (and sometimes even stereotypes) about race that they seek to escape. This does not make participants racist but it also does not mean that they are removed from racialized thinking that entails ‘othering’ people on the base of race (Hall, 1996). Moreover arguing that things have changed - especially change like ‘hanging out in malls with white people’ - goes against earlier recognitions that race - in malls especially - is highly policed and that the actual experience of ‘hanging out in malls’ is often characterised by experiences of race-ism. The intersections between race, class and consumerism means that young people are free to engage in these pursuits but are also not free as the pursuits themselves are also by and large costly (Khunou, 2015). These contradictions are not lost on participants who, while holding strongly onto the notion of a rainbow nation, also try and make sense of the incongruities between the rhetoric (rainbow ideals) and reality:

Bhekisizwe: *Yeah, I think there are lessons from the past which can help us build the future, like when this country became one, became together, we used the combination of being, you know, one, like black and white is the same thing, you know, so that makes a a huge world, like we are forming one thing for one purpose, like to make this country a better place, you know, so everyone could love, could love South Africa, you know, so we are, we as black and whites youth should make the South Africa be, eh, the most better place ever, like ever been there.*

Researcher: *Okay, you mention you mentioned black and white so maybe if, eh, if you supposed to talk about race, what is going on with race in South Africa?*

Bhekisizwe: *Yeah, in South Africa some places race is, eh yo, what am I going to, how am I going to put this, eh, there still that like, separation between the black and white, you know, in some places but in some places there's a bond between the black and white, you know, like here in Durban black ei, either you Black White Indian Coloured, I still see you as my brother and you still see me as eh, your, you still see me as your brother, I see you as my sister, you know, it is one and the same thing. I wouldn't say 'oh okay you white, I'm black so what is the use for me to sit with you and talk to you', you know [...] some places they still doing that which is wrong, you know, but here in South Africa we try by all means to be together as one like we are the rainbow nation like, eh, I once saw the news there is a place where white people don't like to sit around the blacks you know but they in the same community and they are separating with fences you know they don't use rands like money in South of South Africa they don't use those, they, they use some sort of, eh, Pound I don't know euro or something on their own, mmh, so that kind of separation is still there [7C, pp. 7 - 8].*

Bhekisizwe points to white South Africans who refuse to integrate with other races as a reason for the shortcomings of a non-racial, rainbow ideal. Referencing most likely Oranje, Bhekisizwe continues to support a non-racial South Africa and reject race-ism personally. Bhekisizwe locates 'racism' out there in one small group of renegade whites, who even use a different current are thereby not clearly identified as belonging in South Africa, rather than suffused into everyday life for all of us. This shifts the analysis of everyday violence and racism from ongoing legacies of apartheid. Everyday violence is about the precarity of black South African citizenship in the present. To be a young, poor black woman especially is to exist on the lowest rungs of a social hierarchy based on intersectional analysis of privilege (Landry, 2016) but an analysis of nationality adds an additional layer of privilege and oppression in the context where western nationalities (such as those with Pounds) trump those from the continent. Zola does the same by pointing to African foreigners as the cause of (racial) tension:

Zola: *Okay, now we're all just the same, now we're just all the same because there are mixed marriages in my school. Here there's an Indian girl dating a black guy, there's a white guy dating a black girl so even my cousin, she dated a coloured, and I mean wow everything was just, ah (laughter) Okay, at that time everything was just horray but then there's, there's no like really much difference, you see, because at the end of the day we all come from, like, from one, what they say, I don't know, but then we come from the same people at the end of the day, we're just one, we're all family, that's what I believe in, no skin colour makes a difference in my life, ja, still though confirming race I just don't have a problem with race and we're all just South Africans but then it's the people that are coming from here that are from, that are from the other African countries they are like really corrupting South Africa to be really honest, they are really corrupting South Africa and they are just, it's really bad because they brought drugs, even South Africans they have been exposed to drugs like those other countries but then it's mostly them, like a lot of South Africans aren't employed but then the other people from other, like, other African countries, they are, which is not fair, this is our mother land at the end of the day and they're supposed to be like, hmm, making revolution in their countries, in bettering them than just coming to our countries and and corrupting it. I, I believe in justice and it should be served and that there should be a stand for this because it can't go on, it really can't [18B, p. 10].*

Participants' account of a history of racism see them caught in a tension between recognising the importance of progressing beyond race, to foster new rainbow nation type ideals whilst simultaneously being trapped in seeing and being seen through the lens of race categories and racial thinking. This as they are trying to make sense of the legacies of racism and racist violence towards those close to them or even experienced personally. So while there is a general consensus that in an ideal world races would not exist, people would interact freely regardless of colour or creed, the narrative of race is an imposed one. Participants indicate that they are unwilling or unhappy about the use of static race ideas in the construction of themselves and others. This has socio-economic legacies as the application of categories

deflect the problem elsewhere – such as toward foreign African migrants. Xenophobia in South Africa has largely been directed toward black Africans from the continent and not toward white South Africans or migrants or tourists from other parts of the world.

The danger of race categories and experience is that it creates an other who exists in a binary with self (Hall, 1996). By seeing the world in this black and white way, where people exist only in predefined boxes presupposes an othering that risks creating violence among those who serve as easy scapegoats to history.

7.3 NARRATIVE OF THE FUTURE: Freedom?

A narrative of freedom is equally evident in these young South African's narratives as revealed by keywords associated with "other restrictions" in the content analysis⁷⁹. Freedom has come to signify unfettered and unrestricted opportunities, movement, access to resources and wealth and a lack of responsibilities of any kind. This willingness to be untied from the constraints of the past (as indicated in the narrative of apartheid) extends to a desire to not know about the past, to move on and build new futures. The desire to not know, of silence, comes from the second-generation (in addition to other origins of silence).

Njabulo: *The young people in the past, they don't do things we do now, they don't play games, they don't, they do, they did play games but they don't, you know, play the games we play, yeah, that's what I would say about that*

Researcher: *your generation is known as the born-free generation what does it, uh, I mean apart from this thing of, uh, the difference between what kinds of things people did, what does it mean to be free, uh, what do you understand about what it means to be free?*

⁷⁹ See table 13

Njabulo: *Uhm, what I understand about being free is that you get um, um, except for doing things that you want like, being free is like, um, you know not having, you know, things that you should worry about as a young person, you know, um, I think, um, you know, um, the youth of, um, the past, you know, had things that they had to do when they come home, you know, I don't do any chores, you know, I do them with, I, when I feel like doing them, you know. They are the young people of the past, they were forced to do things like that, that's what I think being free is [6C, p. 11].*

Njabulo talks not only of socio-economic and other material freedoms (like being absolved of doing chores) but more importantly of a freedom from knowledge. To be free is to not have to confront the responsibilities and knowledge of things that are not age appropriate 'as a young person'. While Njabulo speaks specifically about household chores and responsibilities he proposes freedom as being freedom from worry and to experience and retain childhood without these constraints that characterised the past. His narrative of the past is thus a domestic narrative tied to labour in the home, not stories of grand ruptures of the political arena of the time. This does not mean that this was true for all, only that it is the point of comparison in Njabulo's knowledge. Growing up in a township means that proximity to resources and rights does in some sense allow the kinds of childhood of which Njabulo speaks, and are even more evident in the suburban space where Jabulani can create 'uniqueness' in his narrative line. As this narrative explores, two sub themes related to childhood including play and respect delineate how the notion of freedom is also a very specific narrative which rather than being unlimited and unfettered is highly constrained around ideas of what it is to be a child and how best to remember the past. The constraints however, sit uneasily against a notion of freedom that is idealised as completely unrestricted but in reality remains constrained and gendered in important ways.

7.3.1 Unrestricted freedom and rights

For many of the participants, explanations of freedom were in direct contrast to the restrictions experienced by their parents and grandparents. Nomalanga characterises the restrictions on her grandmother's life under the term 'typical black life':

Researcher: *Okay, so do you think that life for, do you think that life for your gran's generation was very different to your own?*

Nomalanga: *Very different, hmm, I think that she didn't have as much privileges as I do or we do, hmm, she didn't really have a lot, she didn't have freedom, she obviously had that typical black life where you just, you had to live by, hmm, apartheid laws back in those days, you just get married, have kids, you know, and then that's your life [20B, p. 7].*

In living a 'typical black life' Nomalanga's grandmother had to conform to apartheid and gendered restrictions. She was restricted from accessing the 'privileges' that Nomalanga enjoys. These privileges include freedom of movement, access to education and other social resources including wealth, opportunities to explore the entire career and work spectrum and a limit on responsibilities as children, particularly in the home. Bongani notes:

Bongani: *freedom, what does it mean to me? It means that I can be able to get what I want and I can be able to have lot of options in my life, just to pick what I think it can help me and be able to communicate with others, just to be happy in life and help others who can't help themselves [27A, p. 7].*

This ability to choose from a range of opportunities and identity options speaks to the importance placed on consumerist choices (Khunou, 2015; Mattes, 2012; Nuttal, 2009).

Fikile likewise talks on the theme of unrestricted opportunities and movement:

Fikile: *Being free, I think it is, it is to me like to able to do anything you want at any, at any time, you know, allowed to, to, like if you want to do something that 'come on man, can't do this, not allowed, no', we are allowed to do anything we like at any time, so that's being free, like old people who in the apartheid were not free*

because if they wanted to go to these parks they couldn't, they couldn't do that but they wanted to do so, that's not being free, like, wanting to do something but, you know that, you know that you going to get into trouble for that, to, to be free so to be able to do anything you want at any time [2C, p. 8].

Doing anything at any time and any place is a highly specific concept that might reveal roots of apolitical and entitlement narratives through the recognition that the work of the struggle is complete. It may also speak to a rejection of and scepticism of direction from other/s and anger toward any closure of institutional access - particularly education. This narrative is linked strongly to the post-apartheid development of the Bill of Rights which is variously seen as a complete, albeit flawed process.

Researcher: *Okay, ehm, do you, do you think there is a, a big difference to being young today as being young, eh, in your parents' generation or grandparent's generation?*

Bhekisizwe: *Yeah there is a huge difference, yeah there a huge, huge difference because the youth is, the youth of today, like black, black youth there's like been, gave back their rights, they have all the rights they, they need, they deserve, you know, but in those days black youth was not that, those people who have rights, they didn't have rights, they didn't, they grew up around struggle, you know, so us we grew up in a free world, we are a born free generation [...] eh, that means like being free, it's like you can do whatever you want, if you want to succeed you can succeed, if you want to be a better person like, you can be whatever you wanna be, that is being born free [7C, p. 6].*

Doing and being whatever you want to be is an idea that firstly, is contrasted starkly to the lives of their parents and grandparents (as well as to their own lives as we will see), and which secondly, allows for particular kinds of engagement in the present. Being what you want to be is discursively linked to ideas of meritocracy, global capitalism and psycho-social economies of being (Jost, 2017). Njabulo notes the restrictions placed on the older generation

as related to his own, but the message underlying these restrictions is that current young people should play:

Researcher: *Okay, what do you think life was like for the elders when they were growing up, what were their lives like?*

Njabulo: *umm, they told me that, umm, they, they were told, umm, they will be told stories, umm, umm, tales and, and, and all kind of things and, you know, very, eh, very few people, you know, experienced young love at that time and they didn't have games, they didn't have, ehm, cell phones, you know, if, if you you get bored you just take a a paper and scramble, you know, some games or so, play x and o's, that the things, that's the things that they used to to do, you know.*

Researcher: *Why, why do you think that they were restricted in that way, I mean obviously there wasn't technology but, but what else were they not allowed in their lives?*

Njabulo: *eh, they were restricted from dating, umm, they were restricted from, umm, they were restricted from eating, you know, umm, eggs. They say when drinking those kinds of drinks, like coke, you know, all those kind of things because they said that their mothers said that they make them grow faster, you know, they didn't like that, they didn't like their children to grow faster, yeah [6C, p. 6].*

This relates to sexuality and parental control (and perhaps implicit conservative cultural norms) rather than the system of apartheid. It is important that talk about 'being what you want to be' speaks to issues of work and study but that talk extends also to more adult play in the form of sex, love and technology. Technological access is an important way in which materiality, politics and social ethics are integrated into how people engage with and see themselves and others (Von Schnitzler, 2013). As seen below a key anxiety about adolescence is the threat of teenage pregnancy. For parents living under apartheid, the idea of being and remaining young is an important one. Njabulo shows how play and other restrictions were imposed on her parents' generation for the precise purposes of maintaining innocence and other childish/child-like qualities. The implication is that parents want to protect children from adult responsibilities and dangers for as long as possible.

The narrative of young people's stories is one of freedom and play. This narrative sees play and freedom come together in the imagination and memory-making of these adolescents, and in particular probe how this is related to ideas and psychological constructions of childhood. In light of the ways young South Africans narrated a failure to imagine or talk about the past, what follows will explore the ways a construction of imagination in play features in these young South Africans' narratives for the present and future.

7.3.2 (Re)Playing the past

Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela (2007) quotes an eight year old girl from Mlungisi township: 'Let's play a game'. The young girl has gathered together a group of her peers and orchestrates the re-enactment of a 'necklacing' in play, casting herself in the leading role as victim. Acting out the part, she perfects her role despite never having directly witnessed an actual necklace killing in the course of her own lifetime. I am going to use this story as an impetus for thinking about how second generation memory functions in South Africa after apartheid as well as map what it offers into post-conflict theorising internationally. Unlike the young girl in Gobodo-Madikizela's story, the young people in my own work talk about play which is quite ordinary, but which holds a legacy of the past through the way it constructs the identity of the next generation in relation to the past. Participants are attached to the idea of play because they narrate that it was not possible for their (grand)parents. This important theme of 'play' shows how the past is reconfigured in the ways that young people understand themselves, others and the world around them. As has been shown, the participants feel that these ordinary experiences of play – skipping, hide and seek and cellphones, make their generation different from what came before. It is this thinking that distinguishes play in the present. This theme of play is simultaneously a reference to actual play, to ideas about being young as well as a way for young people to distinguish the present generation from the last. The examples of play from my respondents are - in the experiences of those enacting them - *simply playful*.

Njabulo: *I'm playful, ah, you know what even the teachers know me as this kind, I'm playful, ja, ja, I, I really love playing, interacting with people, you know, its what I like, yeah [...] Well I do have a lot of games that I like but, um, playful is just a spirit, just a feeling that I have, you know, that I get [6C, p. 1].*

In developmental literature, play features as an important feature of growth and socialisation, and holds the capacity to allow children to *imagine* themselves, others or situations that are not evident. Such imaginative potential offers, as Vygotsky (1933/2002) would suggest, the possibility for extending the zone of proximal development and facilitating new engagements with tasks that they were previously unable to accomplish. Vygotsky(1933/2002) emphasised the importance of play (during the early years): “Play also creates the zone of proximal development. . . the child is always behaving beyond his age, above his usual everyday behaviour, in play he is, as it were, a head above himself” (Vygotsky, 1933/2002, p.74). Embedded in language and culture, imagining in play allows us to think about how young people make sense of a history they never experienced. Play is understood as an instance of what it means to be 'free', whilst also being quite ordinary - skipping and playing hide and seek. The freedom to play is reported through noting what being a child was like, in the past:

Researcher: *What does freedom mean?*

Khethelo: *You don't mind if I say it means everything, it means everything to me 'cause everything, some other things, you know, 'cause back in the days you wouldn't chill with your friends maybe in the road just playing, chilling, chatting, chatting, you were not allowed to do that but now we can do that, you know, yeah [8C, p. 9].*

This is important in comparison to Zena's (chapter 5) earlier references to restrictions of playing outside in the suburbs and the fears of violence in protected white spaces. That Khethelo's and Zena's stories offer competing understandings of the play that previous generations engaged in, speaks to the different histories of their different communities. The contrast between the township and the protected white suburbs to violence under apartheid is

quite stark and thus informs their expectations - across time - about how spaces for play have opened up or been constrained in relation to the past. It also speaks to the ordinary, everyday violence of post-apartheid South Africa that has been a key feature of participants talk. This is important because township children (such as Khethelo) are far less safe than suburban children (such as Zena). Violent crime (including GBV) is more prevalent against poor black children (Altbeker, 2007). In addition, structural poverty affects life conditions and chances of death (see appendix 11, page 341).

What participants share however is the notion that the opportunities for play should not be closed off as it is an important feature of being young, and being young in post-apartheid South Africa specifically. The young people, who participated in this research, report that play is a large part of what they do - they play soccer, video games (etc) and that the games they play indicate their 'freedom' from constraints of the past and responsibilities in the present. It is not that I think that the *kind* of play that they engage in is exceptional or extraordinary, rather that for older adolescents, almost adults, the *way* they talk about play is striking. Traditional developmental and psychological literature might unravel in trying to explain the role of play at this stage in the lifespan. So while play features very strongly in what they do it should be stressed that the construction of play (indicating what it means that they are (born-) free) is related to an unstable and invariably flexible notion of 'child' (see also, Burman, 1994; Burman, 2016). Burman's work to distinguish the constructions of child and adult may reveal the ways that participants articulate childhood in their communities as what counts as a child in the rural areas includes much more talk about play as games whereas in the township play is largely related to freedom from economic restrictions.

Many of the participants' versions indicates a version of childhood that is free from responsibilities but also free from some of the restrictions mentioned by Njabulo. This free, 'irresponsible' version of childhood is not without its limits. Without the pressure from adults to perform very strict, limited play there is the danger that young South Africans could 'play' at more dangerous activities as mentioned by Thenjiwe:

Thenjiwe: *I do play those games, hide and seek and knock knock knock who is there, those kinds of games and the games that are on the beach, I play there like, I do play girls games like throwing balls, it the kind of games that are likely to be played by young kids, like pouring salt in the bottles, you know, throwing balls those kinds of games, I can even become dirty playing these games and the children belonging in my age will just say 'you know what go and take a bath, have a bath, this game is not for you, you are too old to be playing this game' and I just don't listen to them I continue to play with the kids.*

Researcher: *(inaudible) Do you think young people struggle with, eh, trying to be both young and grown up at the same time?*

Thenjiwe: *Sometimes I think they struggle a lot and at the end they end up being like, breaking up the next day pregnant and the baby is going to be look after by the, by your parents or you grandparents while you will be going to school and finishing and start working for the baby, now you are no longer working for yourself, you, but you are working for yourself and your baby as well, you won't even enjoy your money, you know, those thing, I think they are struggling because of those things and when they are smoking they end up with the (inaudible) and it will be a bit late when they start realizing that, you know, 'what I'm doing now is really bad and I should stop', it's a waste of time either because they are wasting their own time yet they are doing something they will regret one day [9C, pp. 10 - 11].*

Falling pregnant as a teenager is a great fear and source of much deliberation and theorising by many of the participants. However, sexual play is an important and normal element of adolescent and adult 'play'. In this context, this play may be dangerous and risky. Fears for sexual violence and disease in the present are transmuted into policing of sexuality, especially among young women. Zama notes that an attitude by young people that they should play might result in abuses of certain freedoms to 'have fun' which will allow young South Africans to make decisions that they will regret:

Zama: *Whilst you young you don't realise that you just keep having fun but at the end of the day when you make it out there in the future, somewhere down the road, you gonna go down, because you didn't think before you did, you just did things without thinking* [21B, pp. 9 - 10].

From this it is evident that only some kinds of play are allowed and that being, and more importantly remaining, a child are valued terms in relation to how 'freedom' has been understood after apartheid. Even where participants reject some kinds of play as 'too much freedom' the link between play and freedom is an important one. Play and freedom come together in the imagination of these adolescents, play is about freedom and freedom takes on a playful edge.

7.3.3 Limits and abuses of freedom

What is striking in the conceptualisation of unrestricted freedom and play is that they are not as free and unfettered as they seem. Too much freedom is constrained by fears of delinquency and teenage pregnancy. The constraints to freedom and play are largely because they sit uneasily and sometimes in stark contradiction to the actual experiences of the young people interviewed in this project. There is a tension around the unfulfilled desire for unlimited freedom and the attainment of rights versus the actual lived experience of violence, poverty and severe limitations regarding movement, access and opportunities. Freedom and play are not unlimited, particularly where young people 'abuse' the rights that have been hard won.

Thabile: *Well I do [identify with the idea of being born-free] and I don't 'cause, uhm, like I say it's a born free generation, we are supposed to be free but, uhm, somehow we're not free and somehow we are free 'cause we get to do quite a lot of things. We got children rights but I don't think that those rights are doing us anything good 'cause I mean, like, we do horrible things to our parents 'cause we know that we have rights, how we know deep in our hearts that whatever we doing is definitely wrong so, ja, that's what I think* [30A, p. 3].

This idea that the problems with discipline in schools and homes is because of ‘children’s right’ is quite prevalent in popular discourse and reproduced by several participants. Abusing freedom/s includes doing ‘horrible things to our parents’, becoming involved in violence, the abuse of drugs and alcohol, teenage pregnancy, skipping school, and generally disregarding the successes of those who came before. To blame for these behaviours is the Bill of Rights and the absence of parental and other discipline also as a result of changes in legal structures after 1994. In particular corporal punishment remains popular even among those who would be on the receiving end as a means to curb the excesses of youth described above. Ayanda [19B] notes that abusing rights is a consequence of ‘laziness’. In her reference to ‘laziness’ Ayanda indicates that the ‘abuse’ of freedoms by young South Africans is fundamentally about attitudes and psychological engagements with the past rather than only about behaviour choice. This is indicated by Zena [15B] as ‘knowing’ that you have rights and cannot be touched. The limit to the narrative of freedom is that young people know that they are free, they know that they have rights and they know that they cannot be physically disciplined. It is against this knowledge that they can construct the kind of freedom that they have already indicated is so desirable - that is, one with absolutely no limits. This includes accessing not only those things deemed desirable but to participate in behaviours that were previously (and currently) off limits. A truly unrestricted freedom takes the good with the bad, opening up opportunities without favour. Nevertheless, it is knowledge of freedoms that is understood as allowing young people to ‘abuse’ their rights and behave in ways that show a lack of appreciation for the hard-won successes of the previous generation:

Zama: *See, I’m born free, you know, it wasn’t supposed to be put that way because now if you, you get to do anything now as a teenager. I do anything. I just say to my friends ‘I’m born free’ that’s why, you know, it shouldn’t be, it shouldn’t be put in our minds that we’ve got rights now, you know, rights is changing this youth, you know, because now, you know, you’ve got rights, if you do something wrong, you got rights, you’ve got the government to protect, protecting you which is wrong, grants, giving grants to young kids that’s why they’re actually motivating them to get more kids so they can get this money, you know, they shouldn’t be doing that, you know. I don’t believe that this born free and rights thing is working for us it’s*

not it really not [...] we've lost too much culture and motives and, um, ja, I think that we too free we are given a chance, like we're too free, you know, and this is getting to a point that everyone is doing what they want, where ever they want, whenever they want. It shouldn't be that way. A country should run in a way that we're all happy, we all have respect, you know. If you look at other countries it's not as concentrated as South Africa, you know, the reason being is South Africa's giving them too much benefits and all these benefits they giving it to, to, to young kids, you know, it's not helping us, it's actually degrading us, it's, it's making us worse than what we are, we are already as bad as everyone thinks we are but giving us all these grants and everything, right and everything, you know, it makes kids think that they can do whatever they want, you know, so I just don't think they made the right choice by giving learners and children rights [21B, p. 12].

The political, national project of democratic freedom is not aligned with the freedom imagined by young people who see the rights based approach as limiting cultural values especially related to mothering and respect and promoting corruption within the benefits system. Mothering is an important pivot against which young people reflect on the failings of a post apartheid society.

Researcher: *Okay, do you think what you experience in the past and also maybe the things that happened in South Africa in the past, do you think those are important to who you are?*

Nonhle: *Yes, they are important because there are those heroes and heroine who paid their supreme price to make us as we are free generation but we are free, those heroes don't make us free from what we did, we are teen mothers those heroes didn't mean that we need to be the teen mothers at an early age so we need to make our country South Africa proud of us and remember us with something good like those of 1976 who are still remembered by something good and that make us who we are right now [...] what I know is that there are those heroes, like 1976 children, those who lived in Soweto, fight for freedom, like they use*

Afrikaans as the subject, as the core subject so they didn't understand it so they used to fight against it, no matter what, it was hard. I used to watch Sarafina, it is so painful, yoh, it is painful, so if somebody would realise how those children fight for us. I didn't know what he or she would realise about that because they share their blood for us because they need to be free but not them all like saying not for them but for us. As South Africans we are free as we are, as I am learning, if Afrikaans was the subject of instruction, how can I be able to learn? [...] as Nelson Mandela was arrested in Robben Island [...] he was making me and you to be free. How can I realise that, if Nelson Mandela was arrested in Robben Island for me and you to be free, how can I be the one who would be the hero remembered by something good in South Africa? How can I do something good for our country and for our lives? [26A, pp. 5 - 6].

Being grateful means accessing the tensions that young South African's have desperately tried to escape from through avoidance of generational talk. It requires a knowledge and appropriation of the past that, as seen in the narrative of apartheid, is difficult owing to having not experienced the events themselves, confusions around nostalgic recollections of the past and a failure to create tangible, clear 'visions' of what life was like under apartheid. That young women's sexuality features in this talk speaks to the ways that violence in the present is counterposed with political freedom: as was spoken about by Goniwe (cited in Gqola, 2010) that 'we are free and are not free'. Freedom is tenuous and must be managed – most of all by policing women's bodies. It is striking that the causes of social ills and anxiety about the future is tied to gendered concerns about violence and pregnancy. The ways that gender is mobilised is a re-inscription of concerns that may historically have been linked to race and which may, after the end of apartheid, fail to hold the same threat without a clear 'enemy' to direct energy toward. Nevertheless the call for a reverence and gratitude of the past, primarily through the idea of 'respect' is a key one that informs much of how young South Africans position themselves and others. That is, self is primarily understood as 'respectful' and others positioned as lacking 'respect'.

7.3.4 Respect

Respect was a notion that participants (largely in the rural space) included when they spoke of an apartheid past, a personal present and imagined future. It is the narrative that most easily indicates the presence of others' talk in the stories that young South Africans have constructed for themselves. Respect for the past, as a condition placed upon the freedom of the next generation, manifests as a call to respect the self (the body) and others (especially those who fought in the struggle - the elders). Rather than offering an unlimited freedom, respect is somber and places cultural, religious and social demands on the young person to navigate chaste, wholesome lives where their actions are judged as indicative of their appreciation for the sacrifices of previous generations. Respect means that their lives are not 'free' in the unfettered, unlimited sense but rather highly constrained and policed by those who decide what counts as appropriate behaviour and what counts as appropriate psychological engagement and memory with a past they did not experience and don't understand (See Chapter 6 with regard to Jabulani's incomprehensibility of historical narratives). This policing of behaviour is especially evident among young girls for whom sexuality is a major site of both constraint and violence. This policing of (gendered) behaviour offers a counter to deal with the real constraints of participant's lives including, among others, a reverence and respect for oneself, for others and for one's elders. This is ironic given the attachment to a supposedly unrestricted narrative of freedom. The traditional value of 'ukuhlonipha' (respect) has elsewhere been described as making young people vulnerable to other kinds of danger (Cf. Bray et al, 2010). The message of sexual abstinence shows increased risk of HIV for young people (Walker et al, 2004).

Nonetheless, Cebesile indicates that the fundamental issue of her generation is respect:

Cebesile: *The hard things to be young today, we don't, we don't respect, you know, we don't respect and, but there is not a lot of hard things today, ja, there's not a, there's not a lot of hard things, ja* [13C, p. 7].

Respect is an issue that is primarily faced by the youth. The notion of respect delineates the born-free generation from adults where adults are positioned as having experienced apartheid and thereby by default knowing and respectful of the past. Young South Africans in contrast are, by virtue of their lack of experience and knowledge, urged seemingly to remember and to respect, and their behaviour is constantly measured against this narrative of respect.

Jabulani: *Ah, to respect, to respect, eh, to to be, to be a child, to act like a child I have to respect, I have to know the difference between the adult and the child* [16B, p. 7].

This ties in with the notion of childhood and play understood earlier. Young South Africans are urged to stay young, to remain childlike and to understand their proper place in a hierarchy where those who experienced apartheid, but who are also elders within cultural hierarchies, are the arbiters of what counts as appropriate behaviour:

Researcher: *Uh, what does it mean to be free now, what, what kind of freedom do we have in South Africa?*

Lindile: *us as black and young teenagers, I think living freely will be more expensive 'cause most of us don't, don't, don't respect that they do things their own way, they don't respect that this land was fought for, they are now living their lives like such a going to die tomorrow. They are doing everything, you know, girls having too many pregnancies still they, you know, they don't respect their bodies and us as boys, um, doing, we are too much in the older things that they don't belong to us, like having girlfriends, doing things, parties, bashing, things like that* [4C, p. 5].

There is a coalescing of ideas related to femininity, culture and virginity in the way that respect has been articulated (Hunter, 2010; Posel & Rudwick, 2014; Bhana, 2016; Bhana, 2018).

Respect is gendered and constrains young men and women differently in relation to

movement, expectations and penalties for transgression. That the body is the site of this cultural and gendered contestation in relation to 'freedom' is not without consequence.

Lindile's reference to 'living freely will be more expensive' is striking in the way in which it demands respect amongst his wayward peers but which also highlights the paradox of living freely after apartheid. Lindile has cleverly highlighted that being 'free' in the political sense also has economic implications by referencing 'expensive'. That is, political freedom and class inequalities are juxtaposed in our context. Freedom, as the cliché goes, is and was not free and is in fact, according to Lindile, rather 'expensive'. Freedom's costs have come historically in the form of struggle and death that the second generation are urged to recall, but going forward the ongoing cost of freedom is the constraints placed upon young South Africans to live virtuous, respectful lives. These operate alongside costs incurred by ongoing inequalities related to poverty and lack of access to opportunities associated with 'freedom'. Additional costs come in what Cebesile talks about when she opens up about corruption:

Cebesile: *I think the corruption there is tons of corruption, even the ministers or the people that are in the cabinet they are corruptive and according to all people who still believe about things of the past, we believe that we as young people have lost respect like, we don't respect at all but I don't see that, maybe it is because I'm still young, maybe when I grow up I will notice that little bit of respect and like I think people have lost respect for themselves because like, we have cases of old women being raped by old men so I think it's not that young people have lost respect it's because the whole nation have lost respect for itself [25A, p. 3].*

Cebesile shifts the gaze of respect away from its exclusive focus on the youth and indicates that a lack of respect is a bigger social problem facing 'the whole nation' in the form of structural and interpersonal violence originating, in her view, with the older generation whereas other participants blame their own generation. . This implies a shift to question whether those in power (including struggle heroes) deserve respect. Interestingly, violence (within society or homes) is seen as the root of a lack of respect. A lack discipline and

corporal punishment in homes and schools is credited as one part of the problem of respect, that violence is needed to correct young people who have become violent or who transgress socially acceptable behaviours. Respect then is a consequence of generational relationships but not just any generational relationship, one characterised by surveillance, discipline and corporal punishment. Corporal punishment has largely been regarded by scholars as exposing young people to more violence and as a risk rather than protection from mental and public health challenges (Cf. Breen et al, 2015). Khethelo notes living with (abusive) family members:

Khethelo: *I thought they were abusing me, maybe sometimes uyabo (you see) I got two minds say, ja, maybe they were abusing me, maybe they were showing me how to respect, you know, but sometimes I ask myself how can you show some body respect if they beating me at the time, no missing day, you know, yes [8C, pp. 5 - 6].*

Sindiswa reports that after the birth of her son, the generational surveillance increased as she had transgressed the conditions attached to 'freedom':

Sindiswa: *They acted a bit awkward while I fall pregnant, well I did something wrong I had to be punished for it but now we fine*

Researcher: *What do you mean you had to be punished, what happened?*

Sindiswa: *Its just that I did something wrong, they had to punish me, like my mom use to told me that you have to go to school in order to support your child, you know, you have to look up for your child because one day I would be gone and there would be no one there to help you so well, when I am home my mom would tell me 'go and fetch water and come to study your books so that you can pass'. I don't, I use to go out and play and stay with my friends and come back maybe at 6 o'clock but now she always leaves me for 30minutes and come back, you know [28A, p. 2].*

7.3.5 Gendered freedoms and constraints

As a generational relationship, the demands for memory and respect are predominantly connected to gendered experiences. Girls are taught to cook, clean and ‘stay away from boys’ as behaviour which exhibits respect:

Xolani: *[My grandmother] used to teach me to cook, how to be like how to be a woman 'cause she was already married. She taught me how I should live life as a young girl and what things I should focus on and what things I should not focus on [...]* She told me to focus on being a girl who respect his (sic) body and mustn't just, I don't know how to say this, she told me that I have to be a girl and I must keep my virgin until I get married and then like respect, I must respect, yes, she told me about respect, oh the other things that I shouldn't, I shouldn't do like having boyfriends and those things [32A, p. 2].

Boys do have certain behaviours that they can perform and those that garner criticism as being disrespectful. That said, respect is largely coupled with a highly constrained female sexuality with the ultimate transgression being becoming a teenage mother. (Young) Men are invisible in this process and their sexuality and choices remain largely unsanctioned.

Andrea: *My friend she's 16, she's gonna be 17 in June, she just gave birth in the beginning of this year, it's a baby and he is a beautiful child and stuff. She didn't get rejected by her family or anything but she is not looking after the child but granny is. It's like, 'you gave birth to the child, nobody said you must be pregnant while in school' so we wanna teach the young girls, you know, like it begins at home. If you get too much freedom and if I had to get too much freedom, I was bound to get pregnant. You need discipline and you want to instil to the new generation [17B, p. 7].*

While Andrea goes on to elaborate on the victimization of young girls who are raped and abused, it is her talk about ‘too much freedom’ that demonstrates the binary in how freedom has been understood. On one hand is an idealised, unrestricted freedom and on the other hand, ‘too much freedom’ that must be curtailed, especially amongst sexually developing young women.

As indicated, gender is a salient feature of the constraints placed on freedom. These gender constraints are spoken about predominantly at the rural school⁸⁰. By contrast, the amount of dedicated talk about gender at the suburban and township schools was negligible –as traditional expectations on boys and girls bear a greater weight in conservative places and in relation to traditional customs that are practiced more often in rural communities. Gendered talk was not completely absent in the township and suburban communities, owing to overlaps with other themes, notably the themes on family, talk and sexuality. Gendered experiences are not exclusive to rural experience, as indicated by Gugu:

Researcher: *Eh, you you said a few times as well that, eh (inaudible) in the beginning you were enjoying your childhood, em, what does that mean what, what does it means to enjoy your childhood?*

Gugu: *ehm, it's great 'cause you, you get what you like at the right time 'cause, 'cause young people like me, they, they use a drugs, they go to night clubs, em, well, others have babies and others are they have boyfriend, just enjoying, I just enjoying staying at home, do what a girl needs to do then my dad loves me for that*

Researcher: *What does, what things does, does a girl need to do, what do you mean by that, what things?*

Gugu: *It's to wash, cook and wash the curtains, wash the washing, em, do school work, you know [10C, p. 4].*

⁸⁰ See appendix 11, page 341

There are a set of behaviours that girls must perform. Girls are tasked with keeping the home but they are also tasked with keeping their virginites. Almost all of the girls at all of the sites mentioned maintaining virginity explicitly in their interviews and was included in the chronological narratives. Girls at the rural school also reported regularly attending virginity testing. This speaks to the nostalgia for custom that is present in contemporary practices and policing of young women's bodies (Thornberry, 2015). Because of the way that this practice is tied to attempts to reclaim what it means to be a young, zulu woman at a time of mobility and (perceived) threats to cultural authority, it is thus unsurprising to find that the re-inscribed and re-imagined practice invokes optimism from the girls themselves:

Khetiwe: *Well, we feel excited, we love it because most of us here at school we practice it, we go every Saturday, we go and do a virginity test and when we come back it is a sign to show that I'm a girl, I'm behaving well and our chiefs and kings they appreciate it because they even take us for tours to celebrate and make life easy for us, when on my sign, I feel comfortable and happy about it but some of us feel like it is just a waste of time, why practice it [23A, p. 9].*

Khetiwe reports not being compelled to enact her sexual identity / gender in this manner but has internalised and appropriated the need to and even liking of attending virginity ceremonies. This is in contrast with the participants from urban sites and contrast particularly girls' lives with those of their grandmothers. These gender constraints are not perceived as constraints. They are taken as natural and normal parts of being women and more that they are healthy engagements for showing respect and dignity in the community. Much talk and agreement is reached regarding transgressions of the gender norms, especially when a young girl has fallen pregnant:

Researcher: *Okay, uhm, do you get a chance to talk to your friends or family about, uhm, the past, you mentioned your grandmother, are there any other people you talk to about...*

Thabile: *Ja, I do I talk to my friends at school, let's say, uhm, I watch something on TV and I'd be like 'hey you guys I saw this, I saw that' and they'll be like 'oh ja, we saw that' and I'll be like 'what do you guys think would've happened, if maybe this was long time ago, do you think that girl was going to be allowed to do that', then we'll start discussing, take some ideas and then, ja, make something good out of it and so, ja.*

Researcher: *okay what sorts of things on TV spark that sort of conversation?*

Thabile: *uhm, things like teen mom, teen mom refers to like teen girls having babies and living with their parents and their parents are okay with it. Oh some of my friend were like they don't think that that parent was like, 'argh, I'm allowing you to come and stay in my house even if you just embarrass me in front of the whole community' so ja, some were like 'you know what a mistake is a mistake and like having one kid at an early age that's a mistake so that doesn't mean you are gonna to do it again', so in the past, during the past you were allowed to have a baby at 15 years so right now it's kinda a disgrace to us, 15 years to us, teenagers so, ja [30A, pp. 3 - 4].*

Girls are the topic of discussions, debates and the subjects of surveillance (Haley and Bradbury, 2015). When a girl transgresses the gender rules she is positioned as a 'disgrace' and all blame is heaped on her:

Nonhle: *I used to like, when I went to see my mom on the Easter holidays, I used to see girls walking on the, on the on the street wearing short things or smoking, you see, if you are wearing something short, you are the one who would be saying one day 'I am raped' but when you realise 'I make myself if I involved myself to be the victim of this' [26A, p. 9].*

Participants' accounts of freedom allow them to imagine a version of life that is fundamentally different from those lived by previous generations. That is an unfettered, free childhood which is characterised by open access to various spaces, education and other

opportunities and which allows young South Africans to cast off responsibilities, to remain child-like and to play is a direct counter to imaginings about what life was like for [grand]parents and those who lived under the apartheid regime. This narrative, however, sits in contradiction to limits placed on freedoms which include socio-economic legacies but which extend also to legal restrictions in the form of the Bill of Rights as well as to family and social structures which demand discipline and respect as a condition to hard-won freedoms and youthful abuses of freedom such as teenage pregnancy and drug use. These restrictions rest unevenly on girls whose sexualities are highly constrained especially in rural spaces. While the rhetoric that young people construct is one of freedom, the reality is quite different.

7.4 CONCLUSION

The stories young people tell about apartheid offer us a way to think about how they make sense of the past and in turn their presents and futures. These adolescents' stories (set against the grain of silence), indicate the 'mythology' (to use Hoffman's term) or psychology of how young people understand themselves in the present relation to the past. The suggestion being offered is that the past intrudes or lingers even among the generation born after apartheid so that the question of talking about the generation as 'born-free' becomes pertinent. This is reminiscent of a conversation with Andrea earlier (in chapter 6) where she claims her born-free status in a world still battling a legacy of racism and inequality *“okay I'm born free from apartheid I'm born free from the fighting I'm born free from the politics but then I'm also captured in a way because apartheid is not like gone completely”* (17B pages 9 – 10).

In the narratives of young South Africans intergenerational silence and knowledge about apartheid is pulled together from broader collective story-telling and rhetoric and other spaces in which telling about the past is opened up. This narrative tells of how young South Africans access and incorporate the story of apartheid into their own stories in ways that articulate with the structural violence of poverty, present day racism and gendered practices. The kind of knowledge of the past and how it is reinterpreted in the present is subject to surveillance in relation to current dominant discourses. The quote from Bhekisizwe reveals that this knowledge is constrained by an incomprehensibility that goes beyond a lack of talk and silence: *“eyh, its a bit like, uh I d... it was bad its like painful, bad, all the kinda bad stuff you*

can imagine ja”. This talk transmutes knowledge about apartheid into forward looking, visions for a ‘free’ South Africa. The past has little narrative value for young South Africans who cannot comprehend its realities.

The second narrative is one of Race and racism. Following on from the content analysis, race is the most significant theme across all three sites. Everyday experiences of racial thinking and racism are a salient feature of many of the participants’ narratives. Participants’ reveal a tension between acknowledging a history of racism, everyday encounters and the rainbow nation ideals that they value. This tension forces participants’ to recognise that their hopeful vision of the future is constrained and limited. Imaging something new speaks to the differences with the past and hopes for the future as something qualitatively different from what came before – most especially regarding race and articulate this freedom in relation to consumerism and class mobility (Khunou, 2015).

It is no surprise then that talk about the future centres around a narrative of freedom. This narrative line of freedom has come to signify unfettered and unrestricted opportunities, movement, access to resources and wealth and a lack of responsibilities of any kind. This willingness to be untied from the constraints of the past (as indicated in the narrative of apartheid) extends to a desire to not know about the past, to move on and build new futures. The desire to not know, of silence, also originates with the second-generation. While speaking to hopes for something qualitatively new and ‘free’, young South Africans recognise that real constraints and abuses of freedom, in particular related to drug use, respect and what women can and should be able to do are important limits. The future holds the most salient importance for young South Africans whose lives in the past and present are in service to the imagined futures that while free from racial thinking and racism continue to value other cultural and social limits for who and what they can be.

The moment of transition in South African history created a generational fissure between those who knew apartheid directly and those who were either very young at the time of transition or born thereafter. This fissure point means that for young South Africans today,

any knowledge of the past can only be indirect (Jansen, 2009). By focusing in on this next generation of South Africans, this paper explored the ways that the past is (re)constructed, indirectly, for young people, and the implications this has for navigating lives in the present and the future. Enquiring into the enduring legacy of apartheid, this paper looked to stories told by young South Africans, from different racial, class, gender and geographical backgrounds, as they make sense of a history that they did not experience 'in their own lifetimes'. A narrative of freedom, play and childhood in the imagination and 'memory' of the second generation is constructed which provokes questions about how the next generation attempt to overcome social and psychological legacies of violence and trauma, and as they balance the hopes and despairs of the different generations. Beyond the socio-economic 'legacy of apartheid', which is widely reported to be responsible for enduring material conditions for most South Africans in the post-apartheid milieu, the transmission of received knowledges question whether it is possible to talk about a 'born-free generation' at all.

CHAPTER EIGHT: a CONCLUSION and DISCUSSION

This research has looked at the stories that young South Africans tell of their lives. By analysing narratives told by adolescents in three different geographical locations around KwaZulu-Natal (a province on the eastern coastline of South Africa): urban, township and rural communities, this research explored what and how young people know about an apartheid past and how this features in stories of their lives in the present and imagined futures. Cut through by gender, race and class divisions, their stories offer insight into the specific histories and current realities of their different communities as well as the politics and psychology of identity construction for the second generation more broadly.

The moment of transition in South African history created a generational fissure between those who knew apartheid directly and those who were either very young at the time of transition or born thereafter. This fissure point means that for young South Africans today, any knowledge of the past can only be indirect (Jansen, 2009). By focusing in on this next generation of South Africans, the project explored the ways that the past is (re)constructed, indirectly, for young people, and the implications this has for navigating lives in the present and the future. Enquiring into the enduring legacy of apartheid, that participants did not experience 'in their own lifetimes' and beyond the socio-economic 'legacy of apartheid', which is widely reported to be responsible for enduring material conditions for most South Africans in the post-apartheid milieu, the thesis explores the transmission of received knowledges and questions whether it is possible to even talk about a 'born-free generation' at all.

The research explored how stories of the past become incorporated into the personal narratives of young South Africans, to be celebrated, ignored or escaped from. In particular the project asked how the next generation attempt to overcome social and psychological legacies of violence. Bringing together theories on memory, psychology and (intergenerational) trauma this thesis asks into the ways young South Africans narrate an indirect knowledge of an apartheid past as they try to navigate their present and future. Participants' stories illuminate the ways that memory of socio-political and historical change has become embedded in personal narratives and in the imagination of events that did

not occur in the lifetimes of the young people interviewed. The theory of intergenerational trauma in this project springboards off the work of Hoffman (2004) and narrative theory to speak about stories, silence and myths in the way that apartheid memory allows young South Africans to imagine their own histories and personal futures. In the collective memory-making of and across time, young people's stories have allowed us to examine the traces of apartheid in the stories that persist and inform how they imagine themselves and others. Persistent traces of race and racial thinking align with poverty and gendered violence to makes growing up in Post-apartheid South Africa (dis)continuous with (grand)parents' lives as similarities across generations are narrated to make sense of lives going forward.

By questioning how young people across different social spaces (urban, township and rural) experience the apartheid past and navigate the present and future this project recognised the importance of the past for the present and for making a future. By including a variety of visual and talk methods, this project explored identities that cut across time. These identities were constrained and revealed in body-mapping, visual timelines and attached interview lines as well as the interview transcripts. Such navigation of time in identity making is not unique to this generation but is located around the content of their stories to reveal specific localities of being. These localities coalesce in relation to the geographic belonging of participants and the socio-historic milieu that has contributed to their present experiences of violence. By unpacking individual stories, as per the qualitative tradition, through an analysis of interactional dynamics, structure and content the study looks deeply into cases which reflect broader issues for identity making for individual participants as well as collective understandings. The choice of methods, fundamentally constrained by a design that looked to engage with a past not experienced by the generation under inquiry, has in this way found a circuitous route to understanding the ways young South Africans *do* make sense of themselves in time.

In doing so this work goes about answering a line of inquiry that examines the 'born-free generation' as a consequence of their time and place in the current South African context in relation to memory, identity, and everyday violence observed in their stories. This is part of bigger narrative questions about how young people make or become themselves through? the

material and symbolic resources from the past, change and resistance in the present and imagination of the future. These are ubiquitous questions that reflect the experiences of young people across history but take on importance and interest in the current socio-political context of South African life after apartheid. Such insights indicate the strengths of the methods for understanding political transition and youth identities within violent contexts. Design challenges led to unanticipated outcomes regarding the ways young South Africans locate them-selves in history. These insights, albeit unanticipated, offer an expanded knowledge into the methods and practices of research in decolonial spaces. These insights centre around the way that time operates in the stories young people tell about themselves – past, present and future; and how as researchers we can come to know about them.

8.1. Past

This PhD project has explored questions of how South African youth (the ‘born-free generation’) understand and ‘remember’ a ‘traumatic’ past and create their future. This line of enquiry was directed by the design of the project but was complicated by methods around silence and reflecting in histories that young people did not experience. Thus, the project focuses on the inclusion of time in narratives that young people tell about themselves. In doing so questions about what young people know about apartheid and how they know it have been pinned against memory and trauma theory. In particular intergenerational trauma (Hoffman, 2004 and others’) have directed attention to storytelling and family silence after mass traumas such as the Holocaust. By looking at how young South Africans make sense of the past it is possible to observe that, while many of the key features of intergenerational trauma are present, they take on a different spin in the current context. This spin is relevant in the current socio-economic milieu as young people have access to ready-made information through media, political messages and technology with which to access knowledge, motivations and celebrity news (see Chapter 7 and the knowledge of and sources of information about apartheid), as well as dynamics of interaction between (children of) survivors and perpetrators make the South African context unlike that after the holocaust. This is especially true in the suburban context where interaction across intersectional lines of privilege and generational history meet with young people from different class, racial and spatial backgrounds in the same classrooms although typically still mainly taught by white teachers.

Remembering conflictual histories among the second generation is largely understood through the lens of theory on intergenerational 'trauma'. This theory posits that a psychological legacy is transmitted between generations within families as the result of silence/s and in the form of indirect knowledge/s (Hoffman, 2001). By looking at the way that the past has been understood by young South Africans looked to each of these (family, silence/s and knowledge/s) to indicate the specific ways that the data (across all of the analytic approaches: the analysis of interactional dynamics, structure and content) indicate the transmission of material between generations in South Africa. What was observed was a need to align historical trauma approaches with everyday, ongoing, structural accounts of violence and oppression in the present. Young South Africans' stories are at once personal and collective - telling of private lives lived in the present, of the influence of their communities and local histories, and their place in the broader South African and global narratives, histories and socio-economic forces.

In recognition of these features the project underlines the contextual experiences of those living after apartheid, telling narratives of a second generation growing up in a fundamentally different world to that of their parents but also different to the second generation after the Holocaust because despite the evil crime against humanity that apartheid was, it was not a genocide. Post-apartheid South Africa confronts ongoing race and class legacies of a nation where (second-generation) perpetrators live alongside (second-generation) victims, where access to information is virtually and socially available and desirable unlike Cold War Europe and North America after World War Two, and where global pressures play increasing roles on young people's lives through consumer influence. It is against these contextual factors that stories from three sites in KwaZulu-Natal (urban, township and rural) allow us to probe what it means for memory to be transmitted between generations.

8.1.1 Knowledge

Trauma theory has a clear position about what constitutes traumatic experiences regarding the persistence of, or '*possession*' by, psychic harm (Caruth, 1995) so that intergenerational

trauma indicates that the second generation are haunted by the *knowledge* of what has come before. Given the generational silence characteristic of post-conflict societies and families, the 'not knowing' prevents a cathartic healing and allows instead for the generation of 'myths' (Hoffman, 2004). These myths, and the way they encourage either or both memory and/or forgetting, can potentially be constructive or destructive in the reconstitution of 'self' (Connerton, 2008). Forgetting therefore need not be understood only as a failure.

The generation and transmission of myths about a past that they did not experience positions young South Africans in remarkable ways to knowledge processes. What young South Africans know is troublesome, emotional and indirect. However, the content of participants' narratives tells us that participants have a fairly significant knowledge of South Africa's apartheid past. In chapter six both Jabulani and Andrea maintained a high degree of intergenerational talk and knowledge. This was reinforced in the content analysis of chapter seven (table 13). In unpacking this knowledge what is offered is an account that focuses on the transmission rather than the narrative content amongst second generation South Africans. It is important to ask how and when and why do young people know about the apartheid past, and in what ways it facilitates ongoing engagements with events and others in the present and future: that is, what does this knowledge do.

Importantly, the transmission of knowledge is generational. It originates in talk between generations largely, but not exclusively, outside of families where silence originating from the second generation constrains talk. Sources of this knowledge include mentoring and motivational relationships with older peers and adults, sometimes extended family, sometimes through media and educational projects. The knowledge of apartheid directs participants' narratives through the recognition and inclusion of narratives about race in participants' narratives as well as a narrative of freedom connected into ideas about childhood and play (see chapter seven). These narratives have very real consequences for participants whose lives are positioned in relation to ongoing legacies of race-ism and actual lived constraints to freedom. Knowing about apartheid is therefore not inconsequential and ties into the experiences, emotions and choices of young South Africans who use resources from the past in constructing stories and lives in the present and future.

It is critical to their narratives that young South Africans experience everyday violence. In particular, experiences of racism and encounters with racial thinking are ubiquitous (see the case studies of Adam Naidoo, Jabulani Dlamini and Andrea Peterson among others). In addition, experiences of gendered violence were included by a small group of participants (see Sindiswa Thwala's case study) as were reports of the policing of gendered bodies (see Dudu Gigaba's case study and thematic discussions in chapter six). In particular violence is experienced by young South Africans at the intersections of race, class, gender, location and age, including a range of experiences of racism, poverty, body-shaming, rape etc. The shift from a focus on historical trauma to the everyday violence experienced by young South Africans speaks to theories of structural violence. Postcolonial theories that refer to historical trauma as residing in ongoing institutional and social violence (see chapter two) offer a way of interpreting these mutuating manifestations and experiences of violence.

In the metaphor of the suitcase it is critical to ask who decides when and how the suitcase is unpacked and does the unpacking or confrontation with conflictual histories always result in a neat packing away of the past 'into the attic'. As indicated in references to race specifically, it could be that given the ongoing legacies of race, class and gender in the context, which distinguish the lives of participants in this study from those writing in the diaspora after the Holocaust, that unpacking and confronting the past is a volatile mission. Rather than resolving the psychic material handed down between generations this volatility serves only to add fuel to the psychic fire of present trauma/s and anger. In a post-cold war world and post-apartheid South Africa, where access to political constraints on 'knowing' are less than for the generation/s after the Holocaust, technology makes information readily accessible including through hand-held and mobile devices with internet access it is striking what generational talk happens and when. Participants have shown talk across generations (Jabulani speaks of his uncle sharing life as a 'comrade, for example) and that scholarly exercises have shaped their knowledge of the events of the past but that these influences are largely resisted or treated as perfunctory. It is the motivations and media sources of historical information that are most relatable, engaging and which are integrated into storytelling in the present.

8.1.2 Silence

Silence is understood as a paradox in research into trauma and memory: silence is related to a lack of language to describe conflictual histories (cf. Gobodo-Madikizela, 2003), to the protective function served by not revealing, especially to the next generation (cf. Frankish, 2009), and as a strategy employed by individuals and societies who wish to transcend what has happened for a variety of reconstitutionary purposes sometimes nefarious or political in nature (cf. Motsemme, 2004; Steyn, 2012b). A functional silence sits uneasily with calls for ‘never again’, to remember and heal from past ‘trauma’ where talk and disclosure are employed to cathartic effect among individuals and even nation states, specifically through the controlled and selective re-narration of ‘self’ (Brison, 1997; Culbertson, 1996).

Interrogating the narratives of young South Africans showed areas of ‘silence’. These areas were not solely characterised by absence or loss but rather a deliberate redirection of talk to indicate new or alternative lines within the stories. The present predominates in the structure of young South Africans’ narratives told within the interviews about their lives across time. In chapter six there were significant amounts of interview time is spent on themes within the present and on immediate experiences. Moreover the impact of language and trauma impact on the construction of stories and narratives in the present context and allow some stories to be told while others are silenced. This construction is aligned with interactional dynamics with the researcher and relationality as indicated in chapter five, including the story of Adam Naidoo. This means that silence in the study was not only not silent but reflective of processes beyond the narrow definitions offered in the project design with respect to intergenerational trauma. Considerations for the extended use of silence should also recognise that forgetting in this context has multiple purposes in the present including to construct new versions of self (Connerton, 2008).

Young people everywhere strike a balance between what to remember and what to forget. This balance sits alongside a focus on the present but it has a particular spin within the South African context in relation to legacies of and experiences of everyday violence. This focus on the present can be understood as a consequence of silences pertaining to the past and future

positions young South Africans mid-way on the see-saw between responding to ongoing legacies of the past in the present and planning for and enacting strategies to build new lives in the future. This balance is struck through a logical connection that is made between the different time periods - where family and education most specifically are carried through from the past into the present and future. Young South Africans recognise restrictions in the past and the urgency for education to restore opportunities and build successes in the future. These successes include responsibilities towards family and creating a future that may enable some redress of past inequities and injustices. – and are inextricably linked to social myths of meritocracy, individual success and mobility. The lifting of race restrictions in the context has opened up narrative lines and opportunities previously not imagined possible for their parents, making the attainment of wealth, success and mobility ostensibly possible. However, these possibilities remain constrained by the real constraints of poverty and racism in the context. So while young people dream of new futures for themselves in the retrospective fashion of realising parents' constraints, the reality often rejects these as fantastical. It is worth stating how these forward looking dreams are trying to meet backward looking expectations.

In making this link across time it is easy to appreciate how talk about one time frame is also talk about the others. This means that a focus on the present in participants' narratives also tells us much about how South Africans make sense of and include narratives of the past in their personal life stories (see the case studies of Adam Naidoo and Zena van der Merwe). In tracing the past in the present it is possible to conclude that the structure of young South Africans' narratives shows that silence is not absence (that a lack of talk does not necessitate a lack of analytic content) and raises a question mark about the notion of 'born-free' even when youth claim a complete break from history.

Of course the narration of participants' stories must be recognised within the situated context of the interview as being elicited by the way the project was framed both by the researcher and methodological decisions (see chapter 6). This recognition is also underpinned by an acknowledgement that what could be said (and how it could be said), in the context of the research interviews, was complicated by questions of audience and other dynamics of the

research process. In examining the different elements of the research process and the decisions made along the research journey, the situatedness of participants' narratives and interactional dynamics with the researcher are teased out to make sense of why participants say what they do (Josselson, 2006). Layers of decisions and interpretation before, during and after capture the entire research process and indicate meaningful interactions between the researcher and participants at the different sites of the research. These decisions include the use of visual tasks, structure of interpretation based on time-and interview-lines and timing of interview talk, and subjective positioning within interviews that saw the researcher positioned in relation to race, class, gender and education (Chapter 5). Most notably, the situated characteristics of the researcher as a white, middle class, women with privileged access to spaces of higher learning and city life are acknowledged throughout the project as opening up and closing off avenues for talk and silence regarding identities that were dis/similar to her own.

Through these interactional dynamics and the research choices, the project reveals the embodied and intersectional ways that young South Africans navigate time and the salience of everyday violence that were not expected findings in the study that sought to address historical trauma. This foregrounds the privileges and positioning of the researcher as a white South African with her own narratives and 'ignorances'.

8.1.3 Families

A point of concurrence between trauma and memory theorists, particularly within the intergenerational tradition, is that the family is the site of transmission of effect between generations after historical horror (Hoffman, 2004; Jansen, 2009). The stories told by young South Africans in this research are largely narratives of 'youth' in the present, where experiences and stories told in the family matter. This is also in keeping with literature about development within families from Vygotsky (1933/2002) and others (Cf. Burman, 1994). This is telling of their ages and dependency on adults (grand/parents, caregivers and teachers variously) but also situates their stories as fundamentally about generational experiences, expectations and talk.

It is unsurprising therefore that participants tell narratives in the present and that ‘family’ is a dominant theme across all of the sites of the research. Across all of the sites, participants dedicate 86% of their interviews to talk about events in the present and 32% of their interviews to talk about families. This talk overlaps in places with talk about the past and the future (as seen in the case studies of Adam Naidoo and Zena van der Merwe in chapter 6) and other thematic content, variously at the different sites of the research. Nonetheless the pivot for conversations remains talk in the present about families.

Faced with ‘trauma/s’ and circumstances in the present including the death or absence of family members and personal violations including rape, as well as (in a few cases) the growing of families through the births of children of their own, the family is a site of much contestation and/or support. Immediate survival and/or emotional needs, in the family, relegate talk about the past largely to secondary concerns. That said, the past is present (Birth, 2006). Present day troubles predominate but these are historically constituted in time and place. As seen in chapter 5 and chapter 6, especially in the embodied story of Duduzile Maphumulo as well as the case studies of Adam Naidoo and Zena van der Merwe, expectations and experiences (largely in the family) in the present are informed by experiences in the past and expectations for the future. Unpacking the narratives of family life in the present allows us to ‘read’ (as indicated by Motsemme, 2004 regarding silences) into individual narratives and see evidence for the long-term effects of South Africa’s history on the stories and lives of those who follow. While silence is tricky to make sense of in social science research owing to the ways it is marked by absence or lack, talk about families or from the other sources mentioned by participants, including extended family, teachers, motivational sources and TV and popular (social) media. These are very present dynamic processes ⁸¹ of transmitting the traces of history to the second generation.

⁸¹ There is a deliberate play here on the word present, to denote both time in the present tense, and presence as distinct from absence and silence.

8.2 Present

The quote from Jabulani that “the present will always affect the future so our past as South Africans politics and all those slavery things, ah, ah, they really affect my life” is pivotal to revealing his and other participants’ relationship with time. Time is forward looking toward an imagined future and both the present and the past speak to the freedoms contained within future ideals of a rainbow nation and non-racism. That the present is the future of the more recent past means that these ideals are always delayed or lead to the kind of violence that has been understood throughout the study.

These freedoms are in contrast to actual lived realities where the legacies of race- thinking and racism intrude on everyday lives in the present. Many of the participants spoke of experiences of racism in their own lives. These experiences include racist teachers (Adam) or racist experience on transport (Andrea) or in the classroom (Jabulani) or being followed at malls (Khethelo). Experiences of racism reinforces the notion that racial thinking and racist behaviour is first, rejected in the strongest terms by the second generation, and second, that it is a consequence of generational talk and interaction (Hoffman, 2004; Jansen, 2004). By locating the source of race-ism as originating in generational talk and interaction, it is suggested (by Adam and others) that rather than a disconnection with the past, young South Africans come to learn and inherit knowledge and prejudices from their parents. However, it is the first of these two points that young people focus on as they try to escape the past and construct new, rainbow nation type realities that are not based on race.

Intergenerational transmission of stories after horror calls us to question who we are and what we are going to be. This, however, does not mean that the so-called ‘Born-free’ are free from the traumatic effects of violence. Indeed, if there is trauma in the stories of the next generation this is exacerbated and triagged by *ongoing* violence and discrimination in South Africa in the present. South African youth are constructing narratives and identities against the backdrop of violence, discrimination, poverty and many other ‘everyday’ violences which are very real and tangible legacies of apartheid’s structural, legal and psychological oppression. This everyday violence is key to the narratives of young South Africans.

Everyday violence speaks to the realities of racism, poverty and gender violence that young South Africans experience in their own lives. The experiences of racism in classrooms (Jabulani, Adam and others) and elsewhere (Andrea talks about racism while going to school) and the harassment, body-shaming and rape of girls (Dudu, Xoli and Sindi speak of their experiences) offer immediate examples. These stories are reminiscent of Ms Mbanga's case offered by Swartz (1998) that allows us to interrogate the immediate needs of people in the context that are overlooked by those intervening and understanding 'trauma' through a historical lens. Such an analysis speaks to postcolonial theory (Bulhan, 1985) and the need to recognise the interconnection of the material and psychic in the way people experience themselves and others in the context.

These everyday violences are marked across the different communities and narratives included in the project. While all of the transcripts across all of the sites were dominated by talk about the present (See Chapter 5 and appendix 11, page 341), thematic content varied between participants from the rural, suburban and township spaces (See Chapter 5 and appendix 11, page 341). All participants spoke to themes of family, youth and schooling but variation was seen in the themes related to ongoing violence, racism, religious and traditional values as well as gender politics and relationships with oneself and others. The participants from the suburban (racially mixed) space focused on themes related to interpersonal relationships, including positive and negative relationships stemming from race(ism) and questions of sexuality. For example, instances of talk about racism in schools were largely experienced in the suburban context (see Adam and Jabulani's texts) as was Andrea's reference to racism and gender harassment on the way to school. The rural participants' talk included more conservative talk about various issues, including culture and gender⁸². Virginity testing and rape were examples brought up by participants in the rural space (see Xoli, Khetiwe and Sindi). The township participants' talk was a balance of these two thematic lines (suggesting an interface between these two worlds). In addition, township youth talk was more overtly about politics. Township participants spoke about political histories and

⁸² The differences in reporting are due to how participants' narratives were constructed and not necessarily how experiences like virginity testing and rape may be disproportionately experienced in some places more than others.

conflict (as indicated by Jabulani's narrative, although he is counted among those in the suburban space revealing the mobility that exists between areas⁸³).

These distinctions across the different research sites, or geographies of talk, indicate the nuances of participants' talk and features of their 'environments' including their geographical position in the world as well as the history and current socio-economic climate of where their stories emerge and belong. If being South African is a key narrative line for young people (as this project has shown by trying to place young South Africans in history) then the (political) geography of different South Africans is equally important for what young people know and how they experience themselves in time.

8.3 Future

For young South Africans trying to escape the noxious, incomprehensible violence of the past and overcome everyday realities of race and racism, the future holds enormous value. Tied into notions of freedom and play, young South Africans imagine free, unfettered futures that are not constrained by race or opportunities for education or success. This link reveals how knowledge of an apartheid past draws their stories from collective resources (such as Freeman's 2010) 'narrative unconscious'). This means that as young South Africans imagine themselves free from apartheid they are also constrained by language and structures that persist across generations. The theme of play that featured in their narratives is used to produce resilient, hopeful narratives that reveal psychological strengths and fortitude against the diminishing pathology of 'trauma'. In the lego block house of self, the narrative of play acts as a re-building mechanism that relies on constructing something new out of the pieces that are acquired from and move between the old self/selves that has been demolished.

⁸³ This reveals the ways that geography and race intersect for participants

8.3.1 *Playful futures*

The young people, who participated in this research, report that play is a large part of what they do - they play soccer, video games, music or dramatic performance (etc) and that the games they play indicate their 'freedom' from constraints of the past and responsibilities in the present. It is not that this research holds that the *kind* of play that they engage in is exceptional or extra-ordinary, rather that, for older adolescents, almost adults, the *way* they talk about play is striking. So while play features very strongly in what they do it should be stressed that the construction of play (indicating what it means that they are (born-) free) is related to an unstable and invariably flexible notion of 'child' (Cf Burman, 1994). Moreover, play allows the participants in this study to record what and how they know about the past by allowing them to re-articulate life in the 'new South Africa'. Being 'playful' as Njabulo describes is a possible avenue for re-imagining, re-articulating and making sense of difficult histories.

Here, play is understood as an instance of what it means to be 'free', whilst also being quite ordinary - skipping and playing hide and seek. The freedom to play is reported through their imagination of what being a child was like, in the past. There is an important comparison between the extra-ordinary lives of Njabulo's (grand)parents' generation and the 'ordinary play' of her own life, while also differentiating between the children of victims and perpetrators in the context. What they share is the notion that the opportunities for play should not be closed off as it is an important feature of being young, and being young in post-apartheid South Africa specifically.

Talk about play reveals a tension between a hope for a new 'freedom' that has been taken as a normal, expected part of childhood under the new dispensation and the persistent experiences and fears for constraints which are experienced as limits to play and restrictions coming from apartheid and ongoing realities of poverty, racism and violence. To play means to be free from work or adult responsibilities or from the seriousness of political activism (as indicated by participants who spoke freedom in chapter 7). This speaks to the ways child-adult categories may be problematised (Burman, 1994). This valued narrative line in the stories of young South Africans allows 'Born-Free' South Africans to psychologically distance themselves from conflictual histories by imagining themselves free from the structural and psychological constraints of apartheid. However, the need to link talk about play with the

constraints on play in past narratives has the inadvertent effect of making that which the second generation did not experience in their own lifetimes salient for and informative of lives in the present and for imagined futures. In this way narratives of play act as a kind of re-inscribing or re-playing, in memory, of issues related to race, trauma and childhood and ties young South Africans with, rather than frees them from, a past that is longer than their own lifespan. Talk about play does this because play is always premised against what life was like for parents.

One story of play stands out. Xoli's story of writing a script and acting in a play about a rape story (see chapter 5) is important. This story is significant in that it is a story which sees Xoli and her peers working through gendered and sexualised stories across generations. In working through accounts of everyday trauma (Jewkes et al, 2014) in this way Xoli opens up the door for replaying past material and the space to offer counter-narratives that allow her and her peers to talk about and make sense of troubling events. Xoli re-imagines a rape in the dramatic narrative of a play⁸⁴. The motivation for retelling and rewriting this story is to offer hope for something different for her peers (and arguably also for herself although she argues not). It is only later when the researcher asks again about play that Xoli reveals that she was inspired by a rape that happened to her 'sister' in the community.

This story is not an apartheid story in that the events that inspired her play happened during Xoli's lifetime. It is worth noting however that the mechanism by which she tackles difficult knowledge of sexual violence reveals similar processes to making sense of apartheid violence. By re-articulating and re-playing traumatic events in narrative, Xoli argues in the same way that Andrews (2007) does that stories matter. Stories offer the possibility of overcoming dangerous histories while also supporting or repeating violence in narrative. In Xoli's version of the rape, unlike in reality, the ending saw the matter resolved. Xoli narrates forward a hopeful vision of a world without violence or where violence is followed with justice that is drawn from violence that has come before. Again, time is manipulated in a forward-looking, hopeful way.

⁸⁴ Writing and performing creative arts is most akin to the necklacing vignette from Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela (2007) and to the understanding of 'play' as imagining something other than what is experienced in actuality.

Young South Africans narrate hopeful stories of play that they navigate to imagine futures free from the material and psychological constraints of their present realities that remain shaped by an apartheid history. Play opens up possibilities to imagine the self truly free from apartheid, from race and from violence. It is to this tension that ‘(re)playing the past’ speaks about as a hopeful look forward toward healing and catharsis. In so doing the project recognises the ‘co-presence’ of the past in the ‘narrative unconscious’ of the second generation in South Africa and question what it means to think of young South Africans as ‘born-free’. Like Jabulani who indicates that the present affects the future and the past affects the present, and necessarily considers that ‘born-free’ narratives ‘hinge’ on what came before. To do so allows us to understand identity construction in the present that looks forward but leans backward, taking lessons and strategies for dealing with racial thinking, racism and violence into their everyday lives, as Xoli has done with her play. It is an important psychological insight that young South Africans overcome traumatic pasts by imagining hopeful (play-full) futures.

8.4 Back to the future: moving the story forward

The interviews with young South Africans from three sites around KwaZulu-Natal reveal the temporal negotiations with past, present and future. The emerging salience of the present and everyday violence offer much for theorising the psychology of the next generation. The present offers a pivot for thinking about the narratives young South Africans make about themselves in time. This pivot or ‘hinge’ within the present is positioned against a knowledge of what came before and a hope for what comes next, making the identities of young South Africans akin to Hoffman’s (2004) generation and with the ‘time travelling’ narratives of Andrews (2014). This means that young South Africans are products of their (perceived) time and place in history.

The generation after apartheid in South Africa are not born-free, in the unconstrained, unfettered version that holds the collective imagination, and they are born-free, in that they are preoccupied with the present and resist knowledge about the past. Andrea’s quote regarding the born-free makes this point:

Andrea: *I'm born free from apartheid I'm born free from the fighting I'm born free from the politics but then I'm also captured in a way because apartheid is not like gone completely* [17B, pp. 9 - 10].

To follow from Derrida's deconstructivist notion of erasure, young South Africans are ~~born-free~~. This holds the key to research with young South Africans narratives which do not fully escape history but attempt to make the world differently and in ways that are not constrained by the past. The move to include talk about the present, that is key to young people's narratives of both the past and present, demands that attention is paid to the ways that ongoing violence and oppression are experienced in the context and to re-articulations of historical trauma narratives that challenge traditional and intergenerational theory to reflect on the current milieu, to colonial legacies and to the navigation of time: past, present and future.

Such temporality as has been articulated by young South Africans is a consequence of how they perceive what came before. The talk that has been (im)possible between generations and the awareness and ability to conceptualise historical trauma make the past 'all bad'. This is bookended against hope for a future that is playful, free and good. This means that while young people experience continuities of racism, poverty and violence in the present they hope for futures that look nothing like the past or the present. Such a movement in the identity making of young South Africans allows for narratives that reach toward the overcoming of trauma that ideals of the 'rainbow nation' and meritocracy promise. Narrative literature has shown that such an approach to temporality, which here is articulated as 'back to the future', is what allows stories to move forward.

The hope that characterised the narratives of participants in this study, need not always be a possible articulation of young people's identities. Another possibility is the disillusionment of young people within higher education (including #feesmustfall and other upwellings) which may reflect imagined futures that are more in keeping with past and present violence (chapter

one). Participants in this study resisted futures that do not have the hope and promise of something different.

Some of the tension and re-negotiation of hope in the different narrative themes across the different sites of research is evident. That hope intersects with class, race, location and experiences of childhood brings the project full circle to thinking about the legacies of historical violence. Instead of asking only what young people know about the past, it is their experiences of the present and understanding and hopes for the future that best reveal how they are positioned within South African social life. Continuities with conflictual histories and ongoing threats in the present constrain and construct possibilities for new narrative lines that hold together the temporal trajectory of tenuous narratives and post apartheid lives among the 'born-free'.

These insights offer much room for further analysis on political transition elsewhere, discourses of freedom and ideologies of childhood. This takes the project beyond the scope of the design of intergenerational trauma. In this way the analysis has extended the understanding of youth and identity. The expansion of theory sits against the ways limitations in the method, analysis and interactional dynamics constrained talk about intergenerational trauma. It is important that the method was constrained by possibilities for talking about 'silence' at all. Various talk and visual methods were employed to overcome these limitations with the effect of opening up conversations about identity and everyday violence that became the focus of the findings. The everyday violence in South Africa is shaped by history and so is a manifestation of contextually specific dynamics that inform identity construction but is also the consequence of global forces and global history so is also a confluence of local and international dynamics at play in the identity construction. Such an interplay is at the heart of navigations that young people play with as they move their stories out of a past and present defined by violence and into hopeful, forward looking futures.

Future research in this area would benefit from greater engagement with language, access and engagement with participants through the letters of information and consent and discussions

of the risks and benefits of participating. Additionally, further study in the area could meaningfully expand on links with a range of areas including, education, race and others.

This research offers a hopeful look into the ways that young people articulate identities in time. Together with ongoing research and socio-political redress it is recommended that the insights here feed into broader understandings of youth and pivot engagements within the geographical and institutional spaces that young people occupy. In particular there exists a significant need to address present ‘trauma’ and violence in the everyday lives of young South Africans, including racism, sexism and other violence/s. This recommendation is aligned with insights that speak to other contexts of political transition and to ideologies of childhood that make the study at once specifically local and reflecting on broader patterns globally.

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APPENDICES:

Appendix One: Information letter for participants⁸⁵

Project Title: *The 'born-free generation': Narrating memory in post-apartheid South Africa.*

Affiliation: Vrije (Free) University Amsterdam, Netherlands (Prof. Stephen Ellis) and University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa (Prof. Jill Bradbury).

Researcher: Tarryn Frankish

Contact details:

Phone No.	031 260 1656
Cell. No.	083 875 4400
e-mail	tarryn.frankish@gmail.com
Prof. Jill Bradbury (supervisor)	jill.bradbury@wits.ac.za
Prof. Stephen Ellis (supervisor)	SDK.ellis@fsw.vu.nl

I am a student at the Vrije (Free) University Amsterdam, Netherlands, and the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa. I am interested in finding out about how young South Africans come to know about the apartheid past, having not experienced it directly themselves, and what this means for them today and as they plan for the future.

I would like to invite you to participate in this research. In deciding to participate in the research you are agreeing to *engage in a group discussion and a possible interview*.

The group discussions will be where a group of your peers, yourself and I will talk about the research topic together. By agreeing to participate in this discussion you are also agreeing not to discuss what is talked about in the group with other people outside of the group. But you also need to understand

⁸⁵ The information letters make reference to Professor Ellis as one of the project supervisors, to focus group sessions and interviews with teachers. These are retained on the letters as these documents were given to participants in this form after the Wits ethical clearance. Professor Ellis sadly died after the collection of the data in the project and was replaced by Professor Dalakoglou.

that even if I ask participants not to talk to others about these group discussions; I cannot guarantee that they will not talk. There is a chance that what people talk about in the group may make you feel uncomfortable. There is also a chance that others in the group may tell someone you were taking part or report what you said.

I will also be speaking to a small number of individuals outside of the group. If you are asked to participate in such an interview, and agree to participate, we will have a single hour-long meeting where we will talk one-on-one about your life and experiences. I request that you are open and honest in your answers to any questions. You may choose not to answer particular questions. I will probably be asking some questions that you may not have thought about before, and which involve thinking about the past and/or the future. I know that you cannot be absolutely certain about these answers but I do ask that you think about them as there are no right or wrong answers. If I ask you a question or if we have a conversation that makes you feel sad or upset, we can stop talking about it. There are also counsellors whom I can put you in contact with, who are willing and able to talk with and/or assist you.

My promise to those who decide to participate in the project is to make sure that you are protected by a set of commitments including protecting your integrity, confidentiality and anonymity. Please understand that your participation is voluntary and you are not being forced to take part in the study. The choice of whether to participate or not is yours alone. If you agree to participate, you may stop at any time without any negative consequences.

I will be tape recording the group discussions and interviews, so if you are not comfortable with this you should not participate in the discussions. These recordings will be kept securely in a locked cupboard. I will not record your name and no one will be able to link you to the answers you give. Only my supervisors and I will know who you are. I may quote some of what you say in your exact words when I write up my findings, but will always use a pseudonym (false name) and leave out any details that may identify you.

If you have any questions about this research you may contact me or my supervisors, Professor Stephen Ellis and Professor Jill Bradbury (details above). If you have a complaint about any aspect of this study you may also contact the ethics committee of the Vrije (Free) University Amsterdam or the University of the Witwatersrand. Please feel free to contact me at any time to discuss this research.

.....

Many thanks

Tarryn Frankish

[Adapted from Brown, 2010]

Appendix Two: Consent form for participants

STUDENT PERMISSION

I, _____ AGREE/DISAGREE to participate in Tarryn Frankish's research. I understand that this will involve a group discussion on 1 occasion for about 2 hours. I also understand that these sessions will be tape-recorded for research purposes although the participants will remain anonymous.

Signature of participant

Date

Appendix Three: Information letter for parents/guardians⁸⁶

Project Title: *The 'born-free generation': Narrating memory in post-apartheid South Africa.*

Affiliation: Vrije (Free) University Amsterdam, Netherlands (Prof. Stephen Ellis) and University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa (Prof. Jill Bradbury).

Researcher: Tarryn Frankish

Contact details:

Phone No.	031 260 1656
Cell. No.	083 875 4400
e-mail	tarryn.frankish@gmail.com
Prof. Jill Bradbury (supervisor)	jill.bradbury@wits.ac.za
Prof. Stephen Ellis (supervisor)	SDK.ellis@fsw.vu.nl

I am a student at the Vrije (Free) University Amsterdam, Netherlands, and the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa. I am interested in finding out about how young South Africans come to know about the apartheid past, having not experienced it directly themselves, and what this means for them today and as they plan for the future.

I would like to invite your son/daughter to participate in this research. In signing the attached form you are agreeing for your son/daughter to participate in a project where he/she will be interviewed in a group discussion and a possible personal interview. I have read the outline given to my child and understand what the project will involve and how the researcher promises they will protect my son/daughter.

If you have any questions about this research you may contact me or my supervisors, Professor Stephen Ellis and Professor Jill Bradbury (details above). If you have a complaint about any aspect of this study you may also contact the ethics committee of the Vrije (Free) University Amsterdam or the University of the Witwatersrand. Please feel free to contact me at anytime to discuss this research.

⁸⁶ ⁸⁶ The information letters make reference to Professor Ellis as one of the project supervisors, to focus group sessions and interviews with teachers. These are retained on the letters as these documents were given to participants in this form after the Wits ethical clearance. Professor Ellis sadly died after the collection of the data in the project and was replaced by Professor Dalakoglou.

.....
Many thanks

Tarryn Frankish

PARENT/GUARDIAN'S PERMISSION [where applicable]

I, _____ the parent/guardian of _____
hereby grant permission for him/her to participate in Tarryn Frankish's research to be
conducted _____. I understand that this will involve a group discussion on 1
occasion for about 2 hours. I also understand that these sessions will be tape-recorded for
research purposes although the participants will remain anonymous.

Signature of parent

Date

Mina, _____ uMzali/uMphathi
ka _____ nginikeza imvume yokuthi abambe iqhaza ocwaningweni
luka Tarryn Frankish oluzokwenziwa _____. Ngiyaqonda ukuthi
loku kusho ukubamba iqhaza ezingxongxweni eyingxenye yeqenjana kanye okuyoba
isikhathi esingamahora amabili. Futhi ngiyaqonda ukuthi lezingxoxo zizoqoshwa
ngesiqophamazwi ukwenzela ucwaningo noma-ke ababambe iqhaza bayohlala bengaziwa
amagama abo.

Uyasayina uZzali/Mphathi

Usuku

[schools name]

[date]

Dear.....

Re: A request for your participation in a research project

Your school is invited to take part in a research project being undertaken by Tarryn Frankish, a PhD student in the Vrije University Amsterdam NRF Desmond Tutu doctoral programme.

The research project, looking at *Memory and youth identity in post-apartheid South Africa*, is interested in finding out about how young South Africans come to know about the past, having not experienced it directly themselves, and what this means for them as they navigate everyday experience and plan for the future. This letter contains information about the research project. It explains the background and procedures involved in this project so that you can decide whether you wish to consent for your school to participate. Feel free to ask questions about any information in the document – my contact details are at the end of this letter.

Background to the project

For young South Africans today, any knowledge of an apartheid past can only be ‘indirect’, and as such this project asks how and when does the past feature in the stories young people tell about themselves, in what ways do narratives of the past come to be celebrated, ignored or escaped from; as young South Africans navigate everyday life and as they project future

^{87 87} The information letters make reference to Professor Ellis as one of the project supervisors, to focus group sessions and interviews with teachers. These are retained on the letters as these documents were given to participants in this form after the Wits ethical clearance. Professor Ellis sadly died after the collection of the data in the project and was replaced by Professor Dalakoglou.

selves? The results of this research will be used in the production of the researcher's (Tarryn Frankish's) PhD thesis to be completed at the end of the academic year 2013, as well as published/presented in various scholarly and academic papers.

What is involved?

Should your school participate in the research, approximately 5 groups, of about 8 - 10 learners per group, will be selected from your school to talk to me as part of a focus group study. This means that I will visit the school (after school hours) to have a group discussion with the selected learners on 5 occasions (once per group) for about 2 hours each time. All of these groups will be conducted in English and tape-recorded for research purposes. The date and time of these meetings will be negotiated between the different parties involved (including yourself as the representative of the school, the learners and parents/guardians, as well as the researcher). Each of the learners will receive a letter of consent to take home so that both they and their parents/guardians may know what to expect from participating in the project and so that formal parental consent may be established. Subsequent to these group discussions a small number of individual learners will be selected to participate in individual interviews, lasting approximately one hour each. Again, all the procedures of consent will be followed with care.

As I try to think about the ways that memories of the past are configured for young people who did not experience it, it becomes pertinent also to approach teachers. A third layer of the research will then be to speak to young teachers individually about their knowledge of the past and the way this may be facilitated through curricula and other formal teaching methods. This means I will invite all the teachers from your school (who are younger than 30) to speak to me on tape at times that are convenient for them, the school and myself. Consent will be obtained from the teachers themselves, who retain the capacity to decide whether they

want to participate or not. Each of the teachers interviewed will spend approximately one hour talking to me⁸⁸.

The research project will be overseen by my two supervisors: Prof. Stephen Ellis of the Vrije (Free) University Amsterdam and Prof. Jill Bradbury of the University of the Witwatersrand.

Privacy, confidentiality and risk associated with this research

Following the standard and obligatory ethical guidelines that direct research in South Africa, I am committed to ensuring that there are no potential risks involved in participating in the research. Please understand that the participation of the school and individual learners is voluntary and you are not being forced to take part in the study. If you and/or the learners agree to participate, you may stop at any time and discontinue your participation. If you and/or the learners refuse to participate or withdraw at any stage, there will be no penalties and you will not be prejudiced in any way. The name of the learners will be changed in any report produced to discuss the findings of the project and any details that can link someone to the project will be removed so that those who have participated will not be identifiable. All of the audio tapes and correspondence that reveal the details of the participants will be kept under strict security and only my supervisors and I will be able to access this 'raw' information. In order to protect the anonymity of participants, especially in the case where different layers of consent are necessary (parents/guardians consenting for young participants) I must stress that nobody will be permitted to gain access to the direct words of participants. Providing consent does not entitle a consenting body to have direct information about what was said by whom. Only after the researcher has replaced names with pseudonyms as well as sensitively attending to details that may identify participants, and upon request, may participants and other stakeholders have access to the reports written through this project.

⁸⁸The objective to interview teachers is no longer made in the research proposal, but remains in the informed consent letter to schools because the consenting schools signed this version of informed consent.

There will be no remuneration provided for your participation in the research and it is unlikely that there will be a direct benefit to you or your school in participating in this research. However through this research, I hope to focus attention on areas which concern youth development and education in a broad sense, this may direct an interest in local schools among academics and policy makers and may also provide the groundwork for undertaking more detailed investigation of the issues arising.

If you have any questions or complaints about any aspect of the project and the way it is conducted; or if you require further information, wish to confirm or withdraw your schools participation you can contact the researcher at any time. Alternately you may contact the relevant university research and ethics offices via my supervisors:

Prof. Stephen Ellis (SDK.ellis@fsw.vu.nl) or Prof. Jill Bradbury (jill.bradbury@wits.ac.za).

Yours sincerely,

.....

Tarryn Frankish

Vrije University Amsterdam – NRF Desmond Tutu Doctoral candidate

Email: tarryn.frankish@gmail.com

Ph: 083 875 4400

W: 031 260 1656

F: 031 260 2618 (attention Tarryn

Frankish)

Appendix Six: consent form for principals

Consent:

[schools name]

I, ...the principal/deputy principal of
....., hereby grant permission for Tarryn Frankish to conduct
her research in this school. I have read the letter of invitation to participate in Tarryn
Frankish's research project and understand that by providing consent I am agreeing to allow
Tarryn Frankish to approach learners and young teachers for research purposes. I am aware
that this research will contribute to various academic papers/publications and/or presentations
– including a submission toward the awarding of a doctoral degree.

.....

Signed

.....

Date

[date]

Dear.....

Re: A request for permission to undertake PhD research in four KZN schools.

This letter serves to request permission for four schools in KwaZulu-Natal to take participate in a research project being undertaken by Tarryn Frankish, a PhD student in the Vrije University Amsterdam NRF Desmond Tutu doctoral programme.

The research project, looking at *Memory and youth identity in post-apartheid South Africa*, is interested in finding out about how young South Africans come to know about the past, having not experienced it directly themselves, and what this means for them as they navigate everyday experience and plan for the future. This letter contains information about the research project. It explains the background and procedures involved in this project so that you can decide whether you wish to consent for the four schools to participate. The four schools, two from a suburban setting and one each from a township and rural location, and whom I have identified to participate in the project have independently agreed to participate (see attached the completed consent documentation).

Feel free to ask questions about any information in the document – my contact details are at the end of this letter.

Background to the project

For young South Africans today, any knowledge of an apartheid past can only be ‘indirect’, and as such this project asks how and when does the past feature in the stories young people

⁸⁹ ⁸⁹ The information letters make reference to Professor Ellis as one of the project supervisors, to focus group sessions and interviews with teachers. These are retained on the letters as these documents were given to participants in this form after the Wits ethical clearance. Professor Ellis sadly died after the collection of the data in the project and was replaced by Professor Dalakoglou.

tell about themselves, in what ways do narratives of the past come to be celebrated, ignored or escaped from; as young South Africans navigate everyday life and as they project future selves? The results of this research will be used in the production of the researcher's (Tarryn Frankish's) PhD thesis to be completed at the end of the academic year 2013, as well as published/presented in various scholarly and academic papers.

What is involved?

Should these your schools participate in the research, approximately 5 groups, of about 8 - 10 learners per group, will be selected from each school to talk to me as part of a focus group study. This means that I will visit the schools (after school hours) to have group discussions with the selected learners on 5 occasions (once per group) for about 2 hours each time. All of these groups will be conducted in English and tape-recorded for research purposes. The date and time of these meetings will be negotiated between the different parties involved (including the representative of the school, the learners and parents/guardians, as well as the researcher). Each of the learners will receive a letter of consent to take home so that both they and their parents/guardians may know what to expect from participating in the project and so that formal parental consent may be established. Subsequent to these group discussions a small number of individual learners will be selected to participate in individual interviews, lasting approximately one hour each. Again, all the procedures of consent will be followed with care.

In order to situate what the participants say in a context, I will also speak to a 'key informant' at the school such as the principal or another teacher who can answer questions on the history of each of the schools and the places that the learners come from. These will be once-off interviews of approximately one hour and consent will be obtained from the informant directly. These interviews will be recorded and all earlier commitments to ethics will be followed.

The research project will be overseen by my two supervisors: Prof. Stephen Ellis of the Vrije (Free) University Amsterdam and Prof. Jill Bradbury of the University of the Witwatersrand.

Privacy, confidentiality and risk associated with this research

Following the standard and obligatory ethical guidelines that direct research in South Africa, I am committed to ensuring that there are no potential risks involved in participating in the research. Please understand that the participation of each of the schools and individual learners is voluntary and no-one will be forced to take part in the study. Any party involved in the research (including the schools, parents/guardians/key informants and/or learners) may stop at any time and discontinue your participation. If any of these parties refuse to participate or withdraw at any stage, there will be no penalties and you will not be prejudiced in any way. The name of the learners will be changed in any report produced to discuss the findings of the project and any details that can link someone to the project will be removed so that those who have participated will not be identifiable. All of the audio tapes and correspondence that reveal the details of the participants will be kept under strict security and only my supervisors and I will be able to access this 'raw' information. In order to protect the anonymity of participants, especially in the case where different layers of consent are necessary (parents/guardians consenting for young participants) I must stress that nobody will be permitted to gain access to the direct words of participants. Providing consent does not entitle a consenting body to have direct information about what was said by whom. Only after the researcher has replaced names with pseudonyms as well as sensitively attending to details that may identify participants, and upon request, may participants and other stakeholders have access to the reports written through this project.

There will be no remuneration provided for any of the schools' participation in the research and it is unlikely that there will be a direct benefit to these schools for participating in this research. However through this research, I hope to focus attention on areas which concern youth development and education in a broad sense, this may direct an interest in KwaZulu-Natal schools among academics and policy makers and may also provide the groundwork for undertaking more detailed investigation of the issues arising.

If you have any questions or complaints about any aspect of the project and the way it is conducted; or if you require further information, wish to confirm or withdraw the Department of Education's support you can contact the researcher at any time. Alternately you may contact the relevant university research and ethics offices via my supervisors:

Prof. Stephen Ellis (SDK.ellis@fsw.vu.nl) or Prof. Jill Bradbury (jill.bradbury@wits.ac.za).

Yours sincerely,

.....

Tarryn Frankish

Vrije University Amsterdam – NRF Desmond Tutu Doctoral candidate

Email: tarryn.frankish@gmail.com

Ph: 083 875 4400

W: 031 260 1656

F: 031 260 2618 (attention Tarryn

Frankish)

Appendix Eight: consent form for Department of Education

Consent:

I, ...the signatory of the Department of Education
....., hereby grant permission for Tarryn Frankish to conduct
her research. I have read the letter of invitation to participate in Tarryn Frankish's research
project and understand that by providing consent I am agreeing to allow Tarryn Frankish to
approach learners and young teachers for research purposes. I am aware that this research
will contribute to various academic papers/publications and/or presentations – including a
submission toward the awarding of a doctoral degree.

.....

Signed

.....

Date

Appendix Nine: Topic Guide [Learners' Personal Interviews]

This guide serves as a semi-structured list of topics to be covered during the interviews and will not comprise a static list of questions to be asked to the young participants. An introductory question will be: *'tell me the story of your life?'* The personal narrative trajectory of history-present-future will serve as points to probe and explore.

Opening Question: *'tell me the story of your life as captured by your body map/timeline ?'*

Question 1: History

-What do you know about *your* family's history? Where do you come from? Do you know about your ancestry/genealogy?

-How do you know about your history? Who tells you? When is it important to talk about what happened in the past?

- How is being young today different from youth in the past? What was it like to be a young person during your parents/grandparents lives? How is this different to life today? Do you know of any trends or fashions that have changed over time? Why were the struggles of youth so important under apartheid? What do those struggles mean for you today and what kinds of struggles' do you think are important today?

Question 2: Present

-Can you tell me about your life now? What have been the best or worst parts of your life (Peak and Nadir experiences)? What interests and activities are you involved in? What difficulties do you face? What are you passionate about?

- What does it mean to you to be South African? What other group identities do you claim? (place, religion, race, gender, sexuality, sporting, arts/culture etc)

-What are the joys/difficulties that young people experience in everyday life? What activities/interests do young people enjoy? How does politics affect your lives?

- What messages are young people being told? What kinds of messages/information are you faced with as young people? Where do these messages come from (parents, friends, other

adults, the media?) Do you think these are important messages for young people? What lessons do they offer the youth of South Africa?

Question 3: Anticipating the Future

-What do you think your/the future will be like? What plans do you have for your future? How are you working toward achieving these plans?

Appendix Ten: Pilot Study

Owing to the fact that the project was proposed from the outset to be conducted in English by the researcher herself, and before the commencement of the project, a pilot study at two of the sites was conducted to test the feasibility of researching in English (particularly within the township and rural spaces where participants' primary language is isiZulu), and to determine the dynamics between the researcher and the participants. The pilot study also set out to examine the possibility of conflict arising out of the focus group discussions. A qualified psychologist accompanied the researcher for the pilot studies and provided feedback on whether support additional to the counselling offered under the informed consent form might be recommended and/or whether the proposed topic guide for the focus group interview needed to be amended. Pilot study participants completed the same informed consent letter as those who were included in the final study (see Appendix 1, page 294, italicised sections refer to pilot study additions that were only included for those in the pilot study).

Focus groups and interviews were employed with the high school youth during a series of pilot studies. Focus groups were initially proposed (within the design of the project) as way to (re)insert context and collective meaning making into the research process (Wilkinson, 1999); and to overcome the decontextualising effects of standard research interviews (Mishler, 1986) but were abandoned in favour of the interviews. The reasons behind this decision included findings regarding language and possible conflict. The areas that were highlighted in the pilot study include: **language** (and translation); **setting; establishment of rapport and trust; narrating the past; the** (initial use of the) **theme of public holidays; and ethical commitments** (covering both confidentiality and possible conflict in group discussions)⁹⁰.

As a result of the successes of the interview pilot studies over the focus groups the decision was made to pursue (visual methodologies and) individual interviews in proceeding data

⁹⁰ The focus group pilot studies were characterised by low engagement by participants owing to the choice of language, lack of familiarity with the researcher, discomfort with their peers and answering 'scholarly'- like questions that appeared to test their factual knowledge of public holidays. Largely the development of trust and rapport featured as a salient in-group and out-group concern for participants.

collection efforts. That is, focus groups were abandoned as a method owing to issues that arose in the pilot studies. In brief these issues presented as a failure to elicit narrative talk in the focus groups (as indicated by the above concerns) whereas the interviews were more successful in doing so (see pilot study interview transcripts 0P and 00P).

Table 1: Participants Pilot study at Township school

Participant Pseudonym	Sex	Race	Age	Transcript number
Lwazi Cebekhulu	M	B	16	Focus group interview
Alice Phakathi	F	B	17	Focus group interview
Nomvula Ndlovu	F	B	17	Focus group interview
Amahle Zondo	F	B	17	Focus group interview
Nomvula Thusini	F	B	15	Focus group interview
Simphiwe Malevu	M	B	17	Focus group interview
Nandi Makhaye	F	B	16	Focus group interview
Sizwe Ngwane	M	B	15	Focus group interview

Table 2: Participants Pilot study at Rural school

Participant Pseudonym	Sex	Race	Age	Transcript number
Ntokozo Mokhosi	F	B	17	0P
Dumisani Jili	M	B	15	00P

Appendix Eleven: Additional Tables

Table 1: Interview time spent on past, present and future – Township School

Participant	Transcript No.	Interview total time	Time: past, present, future.	Calculated time on topic	Percentage of interview time
Duduzile Maphumulo	1C	57:33	• Past	• 08:20	• 15%
			• Present	• 45:12	• 79%
			• Future	• 07:31	• 13%
Fikile Zondo	2C	55:38	• Past	• 12:54	• 23%
			• Present	• 41:45	• 75%
			• Future	• 06:52	• 12%
Khanyisile Buthelezi	3C	58:45	• Past	• 11:43	• 20%
			• Present	• 48:29	• 83%
			• Future	• 01:39	• 3%
Lindile Shezi	4C	53:55	• Past	• 06:09	• 11%
			• Present	• 43:52	• 81%
			• Future	• 06:35	• 12%
Sipho Sithole	5C	1:02:25	• Past	• 06:31	• 10%
			• Present	• 47:29	• 76%
			• Future	• 09:42	• 16%
Njabulo Banda	6C	55:41	• Past	• 05:10	• 9%
			• Present	• 48:56	• 88%
			• Future	• 02:16	• 4%
Bhekisizwe Ngcobo	7C	51:33	• Past	• 02:14	• 4%
			• Present	• 46:23	• 90%
			• Future	• 03:17	• 6%
Khethelo Xaba	8C	53:58	• Past	• 09:33	• 18%
			• Present	• 47:34	• 88%
			• Future	• 02:27	• 5%

Thenjiwe Cele	9C	56:27	• Past	• 10:56	• 19%
			• Present	• 47:03	• 83%
			• Future	• 08:01	• 14%
Gugu Shabangu	10C	57:26	• Past	• 09:51	• 17%
			• Present	• 50:09	• 87%
			• Future	• 04:26	• 8%
Thando Mlambo	11C	56:44	• Past	• 06:21	• 11%
			• Present	• 43:40	• 77%
			• Future	• 09:02	• 16%
Philani Sibiya	12C	53:55	• Past	• 04:54	• 9%
			• Present	• 44:31	• 83%
			• Future	• 04:29	• 8%
Cebesile Mokhosi	13C	46:46	• Past	• 08:28	• 18%
			• Present	• 32:51	• 70%
			• Future	• 09:17	• 20%

Table 2: Interview time spent on past, present and future – Suburban School

Participant	Transcript No.	Interview total time	Time: past, present, future.	Calculated time on topic	Percentage of interview time
Adam Naidoo	14B	49:08	• Past	• 16:41	• 34%
			• Present	• 48:46	• 99%
			• Future	• 05:34	• 11%
Zena van der Merwe	15B	47:14	• Past	• 00:53	• 2%
			• Present	• 42:19	• 90%
			• Future	• 05:40	• 12%
Jabulani Dlamini	16B	40:19	• Past	• 09:14	• 23%
			• Present	• 33:09	• 82%
			• Future	• 06:48	• 17%

Andrea Peterson	17B	41:46	• Past	• 10:05	• 24%
			• Present	• 36:18	• 87%
			• Future	• 03:10	• 8%
Zola Zulu	18B	53:33	• Past	• 05:45	• 11%
			• Present	• 40:37	• 76%
			• Future	• 18:47	• 35%
Ayanda Ntuli	19B	57:05	• Past	• 02:21	• 4%
			• Present	• 53:11	• 93%
			• Future	• 05:33	• 10%
Nomalanga Shangase	20B	48:32	• Past	• 03:03	• 6%
			• Present	• 41:24	• 85%
			• Future	• 10:06	• 21%
Zama Mthethwa	21B	43:48	• Past	• 01:32	• 4%
			• Present	• 42:14	• 96%
			• Future	• 02:26	• 6%
Pieter Steyn	22B	46:09	• Past	• 05:05	• 11%
			• Present	• 42:10	• 91%
			• Future	• 05:58	• 13%

Table 3: Interview time spent on past, present and future – Rural School

Participant	Transcript No.	Interview total time	Time: past, present, future.	Calculated time on topic	Percentage of interview time
Khetiwe Duma	23A	49:15	• Past	• 12:13	• 25%
			• Present	• 46:29	• 94%
			• Future	• 03:47	• 7%
Naledi Mokhosi	24A	39:32	• Past	• 06:00	• 15%
			• Present	• 33:51	• 86%

			• Future	• 03:21	• 9%
Cebesile Mchunu	25A	42:16	• Past	• 04:01	• 10%
			• Present	• 34:35	• 82%
			• Future	• 04:50	• 11%
Nonhle Mkhwanazi	26A	52:15	• Past	• 14:18	• 27%
			• Present	• 45:01	• 86%
			• Future	• 07:43	• 15%
Bongani Hlongwane	27A	55:35	• Past	• 07:16	• 13%
			• Present	• 44:48	• 81%
			• Future	• 06:37	• 12%
Sindiswa Thwala	28A	54:38	• Past	• 04:56	• 9%
			• Present	• 51:24	• 94%
			• Future	• 08:12	• 15%
Vusimuzi Msomi	29A	51:21	• Past	• 03:37	• 7%
			• Present	• 43:02	• 84%
			• Future	• 07:43	• 15%
Thabile Zondo	30A	55:38	• Past	• 13:24	• 24%
			• Present	• 47:26	• 85%
			• Future	• 17:44	• 32%
Jabulani Siyanda Nzimande	31A	44:28	• Past	• 06:13	• 14%
			• Present	• 37:28	• 84%
			• Future	• 07:04	• 16%
Xolani Gigaba	32A	45:10	• Past	• 07:08	• 16%
			• Present	• 43:41	• 97%
			• Future	• 06:53	• 15%

Table 4: Interview time spent on past, present and future – combined

Time Dimension	Township school	Suburban school	Rural school	Average across all three sites
Past	• 14%	• 13%	• 16%	• 14%
Present	• 82%	• 89%	• 87%	• 86%
Future	• 11%	• 15%	• 15%	• 14%

Table 5: Interview time spent on individual themes– Township School

	1C	2C	3C	4C	5C	6C	7C	8C	9C	10C	11C	12C	13C
	Duduzile Maphumulo	Fikile Zondo	Khanyisile Buthelezi	Lindile Shezi	Sipho Sithole	Njabulo Banda	Bhekisizwe Ngcobo	Khetshelo Xaba	Thenjwe Cele	Gugu Shabangu	Thando Mlambo	Philani Sibuya	Cebesile Mokosi
Total:	57:33	55:38	58:35	53:55	1:02:25	55:41	51:33	53:58	56:27	57:26	56:44	53:55	46:46
Family (Fam%)	19:56 (35%)	16:49 (30%)	23:32 (40%)	14:44 (27%)	18:56 (30%)	15:13 (27%)	08:10 (16%)	18:13 (34%)	11:52 (21%)	16:23 (29%)	13:46 (24%)	10:37 (20%)	16:36 (36%)
School	6:36 (12%)	12:29 (22%)	12:01 (21%)	06:58 (13%)	02:12 (4%)	09:07 (16%)	06:46 (13%)	03:56 (7%)	08:34 (15%)	12:47 (22%)	07:51 (14%)	03:06 (6%)	03:57 (8%)
Sexuality (Sex*)	3:40 (6%)	-	03:50 (7%)	07:37 (14%)	04:13 (7%)	06:53 (12%)	06:10 (12%)	-	01:06 (2%)	05:07 (9%)	-	00:50 (2%)	03:28 (7%)
Talk	2:25 (4%)	02:56 (5%)	08:57 (15%)	00:38 (1%)	04:12 (7%)	03:04 (6%)	05:14 (10%)	00:58 (2%)	03:21 (6%)	06:38 (12%)	02:32 (5%)	01:15 (2%)	03:51 (8%)
Politics	08:23 (15%)	05:48 (10%)	07:10 (12%)	07:17 (14%)	15:21 (25%)	03:11 (6%)	04:19 (8%)	06:20 (12%)	04:21 (8%)	03:27 (6%)	05:28 (10%)	03:42 (7%)	02:43 (6%)
Youth	13:39 (24%)	17:39 (32%)	06:03 (10%)	08:37 (16%)	12:29 (20%)	10:35 (19%)	09:44 (19%)	08:34 (16%)	10:55 (19%)	08:01 (14%)	05:20 (9%)	08:29 (16%)	08:12 (18%)
Religion (God^)	-	-	00:24 (1%)	03:34 (7%)	01:02 (2%)	01:15 (2%)	03:39 (7%)	-	10:39 (19%)	06:15 (11%)	00:53 (2%)	01:14 (2%)	01:06 (2%)
Friends	-	00:18 (1%)	-	01:18 (2%)	03:28 (6%)	-	01:22 (3%)	02:46 (5%)	07:59 (14%)	-	02:37 (5%)	03:39 (7%)	01:05 (2%)
Respect	-	-	00:53 (2%)	-	-	00:59 (2%)	01:52 (4%)	07:39 (14%)	-	-	-	-	03:41 (8%)
Sport	-	-	-	08:32 (16%)	03:56 (6%)	10:31 (19%)	03:02 (6%)	-	-	-	03:37 (6%)	00:26 (1%)	00:17 (1%)
Race	-	-	09:02 (15%)	-	07:54 (13%)	-	05:28 (11%)	07:49 (15%)	01:02 (2%)	-	06:05 (11%)	03:19 (6%)	-
Culture (CultS)	-	-	-	-	01:53 (3%)	02:22 (4%)	03:54 (8%)	03:54 (7%)	-	00:48 (1%)	07:34 (13%)	04:23 (8%)	03:43 (8%)
Gender (Fem#)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gender (Men#)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 6: Interview time spent on individual themes – Suburban School

	14B	15B	16B	17B	18B	19B	20B	21B	22B
	Adam Naidoo	Zena van der Merwe	Jabulani Dlamini	Andrea Peterson	Zola Zulu	Ayanda Ntuli	Nomalanga Shangase	Zama Mthethwa	Pieter Steyn
Total:	49:08	47:14	40:19	41:46	53:33	57:05	48:32	43:48	46:09
Family (Fam%)	04:10 (9%)	05:01 (11%)	09:10 (23%)	14:51 (36%)	30:26 (57%)	39:04 (68%)	11:58 (25%)	18:48 (43%)	12:15 (27%)
School	02:12 (5%)	07:13 (15%)	06:51 (17%)	03:56 (9%)	17:08 (32%)	12:56 (23%)	-	15:13 (35%)	13:26 (29%)
Sexuality (Sex*)	-	04:08 (9%)	04:16 (11%)	11:15 (27%)	20:29 (38%)	17:27 (31%)	04:55 (10%)	07:49 (18%)	01:04 (2%)
Talk	04:53 (10%)	05:47 (12%)	03:23 (8%)	-	06:46 (13%)	05:53 (10%)	03:49 (8%)	02:10 (5%)	04:13 (9%)
Politics	10:46 (22%)	00:58 (2%)	09:19 (23%)	08:00 (19%)	-	03:19 (6%)	04:33 (9%)	04:32 (10%)	07:44 (17%)

Youth	-	10:54 (23%)	05:27 (14%)	07:34 (18%)	13:28 (25%)	09:45 (17%)	11:56 (25%)	09:17 (21%)	08:18 (18%)
Religion (God^)	02:40 (5%)	03:26 (7%)	01:25 (4%)	15:33 (37%)	29:52 (56%)	01:31 (3%)	03:18 (7%)	10:08 (23%)	04:00 (9%)
Friends	04:21 (9%)	06:00 (13%)	01:10 (3%)	03:58 (10%)	09:23 (18%)	10:19 (18%)	05:26 (11%)	08:21 (19%)	01:15 (3%)
Respect	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	01:45 (4%)	-
Sport	00:52 (2%)	02:50 (6%)	-	-	-	-	-	00:43 (2%)	-
Race	26:12 (53%)	02:40 (6%)	10:45 (27%)	11:00 (26%)	05:20 (10%)	07:38 (14%)	09:22 (19%)	03:24 (8%)	06:50 (15%)
Culture (Cult\$)	-	00:40 (1%)	-	-	09:23 (18%)	01:25 (3%)	07:34 (16%)	02:29 (6%)	09:42 (21%)
Gender (Fem#)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gender (Men#)	-	-	02:54 (7%)	-	-	-	-	-	02:22 (5%)

Table 7: Interview time spent on individual themes – Rural School

	23A	24A	25A	26A	27A	28A	29A	30A	31A	32A
	Khetiwe Duma	Naledi Mokhosi	Cebesile Mchunu	Nonhle Mkhwanazi	Bongani Hlongwane	Sindiswa Thwala	Vusimuza Msomi	Thabile Zondo	Jabulani Siyanda Nzimande	Xolani Gigaba
Total:	49:15	39:32	42:16	52:15	55:35	54:38	51:21	55:38	44:28	45:10
Family (Fam%)	18:20 (37%)	08:18 (21%)	05:08 (12%)	10:02 (19%)	24:19 (44%)	31:17 (57%)	15:45 (31%)	28:39 (52%)	10:21 (23%)	24:45 (55%)
School	03:17 (7%)	07:11 (18%)	04:40 (11%)	12:26 (24%)	09:29 (17%)	19:35 (36%)	02:59 (6%)	21:27 (39%)	05:32 (12%)	06:22 (14%)
Sexuality (Sex*)	03:08 (6%)	02:39 (7%)	03:04 (7%)	01:42 (3%)	06:07 (11%)	16:50 (31%)	-	05:17 (10%)	-	03:11 (7%)
Talk	03:39 (7%)	07:12 (18%)	05:56 (13%)	06:05 (12%)	13:42 (25%)	07:36 (14%)	05:37 (11%)	18:33 (33%)	13:25 (30%)	09:27 (21%)
Politics	07:04 (14%)	07:03 (18%)	02:00 (5%)	03:24 (7%)	-	01:45 (3%)	01:13 (2%)	05:40 (10%)	02:20 (5%)	-
Youth	02:27 (5%)	10:11 (26%)	08:36 (20%)	10:54 (21%)	00:41 (1%)	01:07 (2%)	-	08:09 (15%)	07:42 (17%)	10:27 (23%)
Religion (God^)	-	00:24 (1%)	00:47 (2%)	03:30 (7%)	07:01 (13%)	00:41 (1%)	-	00:38 (1%)	04:00 (9%)	-
Friends	00:49 (2%)	-	01:15 (3%)	-	00:37 (1%)	02:21 (4%)	01:04 (2%)	09:42 (17%)	03:02 (7%)	01:16 (3%)
Respect	-	-	02:53 (7%)	00:16 (1%)	00:43 (1%)	00:13 (0%)	-	-	00:21 (1%)	02:40 (6%)
Sport	00:49 (2%)	-	-	01:51 (4%)	00:47 (1%)	-	09:48 (19%)	02:59 (5%)	-	01:31 (3%)
Race	00:36 (1%)	01:52 (5%)	02:14 (5%)	03:13 (6%)	04:15 (8%)	03:31 (6%)	01:30 (3%)	13:56 (25%)	02:29 (6%)	02:05 (5%)
Culture (Cult\$)	20:48 (42%)	02:50 (7%)	05:41 (13%)	04:29 (9%)	06:58 (13%)	07:12 (13%)	05:13 (10%)	06:51 (12%)	04:51 (11%)	06:22 (14%)
Gender (Fem#)	04:25 (9%)	-	05:06 (12%)	02:06 (4%)	-	-	-	00:50 (2%)	-	13:57 (31%)
Gender (Men#)	03:28 (7%)	-	-	-	01:19 (2%)	-	-	-	01:07 (3%)	-

Table 8: Interview time spent on individual themes– combined

Theme	Township school	Suburban school	Rural school	Average across all three sites
Family (Fam%)	• 28%	• 33%	• 35%	• 32%

School	• 13%	• 18%	• 18%	• 16%
Sexuality (Sex*)	• 6%	• 16%	• 8%	• 10%
Talk	• 6%	• 8%	• 18%	• 11%
Politics	• 11%	• 12%	• 6%	• 10%
Youth	• 18%	• 18%	• 13%	• 16%
Religion (God^)	• 4%	• 17%	• 3%	• 8%
Friends	• 4%	• 12%	• 4%	• 7%
Respect	• 2%	• 0%	• 2%	• 1%
Sport	• 4%	• 4%	• 3%	• 4%
Race	• 6%	• 20%	• 7%	• 11%
Culture (Cult\$)	• 4%	• 7%	• 14%	• 8%
Gender (Fem#)	-	-	• 6%	• 2%
Gender (Men#)	-	• 1%	• 1%	• 1%

Table 9: Analysis of narrative content in the analytic lifelines of participants' pasts.

	Township:	Suburban:	Rural:	Total
Total Students:	13 students	9 students	10 students	34 students
1. Educational content: School, Afrikaans, restricted learning, corporal punishment	1C; 2C; 3C; 8C; 12C; 13C (6)	15B; 17B; 18B 19B; 21B; 22B (6)	25A; 26A; 27A; 30A; 32A (5)	17 (50%)
2. Violence content: reference to death or violence; illness as the result of violence	1C; 2C; 7C; 8C (4)	16B (1)	23A; 24A; 30A; 32A (3)	8 (24%)
3. Family content: romantic parents, other family dynamics including gendered expectations, nostalgic interactions with others and home life	1C; 2C; 3C; 5C; 6C; 9C; 10C; 12C (8)	20B; 21B (2)	25A; 27A; 28A; 32A (4)	14 (41%)
4. Political content: ANC, IFP or other.	5C (1)	16B (1)	24A (1)	3 (9%)
5. Struggle content: Comrades, Fighting or the struggle	5C; 8C; 10C (3)	16B (1)	24A (1)	5 (15%)
6. Movement content: Dompas, 'Passport', IDs, curfew.	2C; 3C; 5C; 10C; 11C; 13C (6)	17B; 20B (2)	23A; 29A; 30A (3)	11 (32%)
7. Policing content: Apartheid police or other 'law enforcement' bodies or vigilante groups; threats of or actual arrest.	7C; 11C (2)	-	32A (1)	3 (9%)
8. Other restrictions content: Freedom/s, opportunity/ies, play, rights.	1C; 3C; 4C; 5C; 6C; 10C; 11C; 13C (8)	15B; 17B; 18B; 19B (4)	23A; 30A; 32A (3)	15 (44%)

9. Race-ism content: black, white, race/ism	5C; 10C (2)	-	23A (1)	3 (9%)
10. Place content: forced move, chased, community details, raising cattle and living on 'farms'	1C; 5C; 9C; 11C; 12C (5)	16B (1)	29A (1)	7 (21%)

Table 10: Analysis of narrative content in the analytic lifelines of participants' presents.

	Township:	Suburban:	Rural:	Total
Total Students:	13 students	9 students	10 students	34 students
1. Educational content: School, learning experiences, teachers	1C; 2C; 4C; 5C; 7C; 9C; 10C; 11C; 12C (9)	14B; 15B; 16B; 18B; 20B; 21B; 22B (7)	23A; 24A; 26A; 27A; 28A; 30A (6)	22 (65%)
2. Sporting and other pursuits content: reference to sports, music, debating, poetry etc.	1C; 2C; 3C; 4C; 5C; 6C; 7C; 8C; 9C; 10C; 11C; 12C; 13C (13)	14B; 15B; 17B; 20B; 22B (5)	24A; 25A; 26A; 27A; 28A; 29A; 30A; 31A; 32A (9)	27 (79%)
3. Family content: relationships with family members.	1C; 2C; 3C; 4C; 5C; 6C; 7C; 8C; 9C; 10C; 12C; 13C (13)	14B; 15B; 16B; 17B; 18B; 19B; 20B; 21B; 22B (9)	23A; 24A; 25A; 26A; 27A; 28A; 29A; 30A; 31A; 32A (10)	34 (100%)
4. Place content: talk about travel, movement and living arrangements in respect to place, including visits to 'farms' and traditional homesteads.	2C; 3C; 5C; 8C; 11C; 12C (6)	14B; 15B; 16B; 17B; 18B; 20B; 21B; 22B (8)	23A; 24A; 26A; 27A; 28A; 29A; 30A; 31A; 32A (9)	23 (68%)
5. Race and politics content: talk about politics, personal experiences of racism and/or experiences related to perceived racial victimisation - such as being followed in malls	1C; 5C; 8C (3)	14B; 19B; 20B; 21B (4)	23A (1)	8 (24%)
6. Friends and peers: relationships with friends and peers, including bullying and peer pressure.	1C; 5C; 6C; 7C; 9C (5)	14B; 15B; 19B; 22B (4)	-	9 (26%)
7. Religious content: references to religious beliefs, participation in church and/or youth activities related to faith.	4C; 6C; 7C; 9C; 10C; 11C; 12C; 13C (8)	14B; 15B; 17B; 18B; 21B; 22B (6)	26A; 27A; 28A (3)	17 (50%)
8. Cultural content: description of cultural heritage and/or adherence to or rejection of traditional customs and practices.	3C; 12C; 13C (3)	14B; 18B; 20B; 21B (4)	23A; 24A; 26A; 27A; 28A; 29A; 30A (7)	14 (41%)
9. Relationships content: inclusion of personal romantic relationships and/or sexuality	2C; 4C; 5C; 6C; 7C; 10C (6)	15B; 16B; 17B; 18B; 19B; 20B (6)	27A; 28A; 31A (3)	15 (44%)
10. Motivation content: reference to role models and other sources of personal inspiration	2C; 3C; 4C; 5C; 7C; 8C; 9C; 12C; 13C (9)	14B; 16B; 20B (3)	23A; 24A; 26A; 27A; 28A; 29A; 30A (7)	19 (26%)

Table 11: Analysis of narrative content in the analytic lifelines of participants' futures.

	Township:	Suburban:	Rural:	Total
Total Students:	13 students	9 students	10 students	34 students

1. Educational content: descriptions of pursuing tertiary studies	1A; 3C; 8C; 10C (4)	15B; 19B; 21B; 22B (4)	25A; 26A; 28A (3)	11 (32%)
2. Family content: desire for marriage and children, caring for family members and existing children	2C; 4C; 6C; 9C; 11C; 13C (6)	14B; 15B; 16B; 18B; 19B; 20B (6)	23A; 24A; 25A; 26A; 27A; 28A; 30A; 32A (8)	20 (59%)
4. Place content: reference to place where imagined settling in the future, desire for travel, inclusion of expectations for South Africa's future	2C; 4C; 5C; 10C; 11C; 12C; 13C (7)	16B; 21B; 22B (3)	23A; 24A; 25A; 27A; 29A; 30A; 31A; 32A (8)	18 (53%)
5. Consumer content: desire to own land, cars, and generally have wealth and consumer power	1C; 2C; 6C; 9C; 11C; 12C (6)	14B; 15B; 16B; 17B (4)	25A; 30A; 31A (3)	13 (38%)
6. Race-ism content: reference to other race groups in plans for the future	5C; 11C (2)	16B; 19B (2)	-	4 (12%)
7. Service content: wanting to give back through work or volunteer service	2C; 5C; 7C; 12C; 13C (5)	17B; 19B (2)	23A; 24A; 26A; 27A; 28A; 31A (6)	13 (38%)
8. Cultural content: reference to need to perform or maintain cultural rituals in the future	-	-	23A; 25A; 29A (3)	3 (9%)

Table 12: 'traumas' or life circumstance in the present related to family deaths and disappearances.

'Trauma' or life circumstance in the present	Township (13)	Suburban (9)	Rural (10)	Total (32)
Death and Disappearance:				
Death or one or more parent	6 (46%)	2 (22%)	6 (60%)	14 (44%)
Death of a close family member other than parent	3 (23%)	1 (11%)	1 (10%)	5 (16%)
Disappearance or abandonment by one or more parent	5 (39%)	2 (22%)	5 (50%)	12 (38%)

Table 13: 'traumas' or life circumstance in the present related to living situation.

'Trauma' or life circumstance in the present	Township (13)	Suburban (9)	Rural (10)	Total (32)
Living situation				
Living with both parents	2 (15%)	2 (22%)	1 (10%)	5 (16%)
Living with single parent or [adult] extended family	6 (46%)	6 (67%)	9 (90%)	21 (66%)

Lives alone or with similarly aged siblings and/or peers	5 (39%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	5 (16%)
Living situation unclear	0 (0%)	1 (11%)	0 (0%)	1 (3%)

Table 14: ‘traumas’ or life circumstance in the present related to other events including violations and other circumstances.

‘Trauma’ or life circumstance in the present	Township (13)	Suburban (9)	Rural (10)	Total (32)
Other violations and circumstances:				
Experiences of racism, or other kind of shaming or anxiety based on bodily characteristics	2 (8%)	6 (67%)	0 (0%)	8 (25%)
Has been abused, raped or physically assaulted	1 (8%)	0 (0%)	1 (10%)	2 (6%)
Has been seriously ill or wounded (not as the result of an individual’s deliberate actions against them)	0 (0%)	1 (11%)	0 (0%)	1 (3%)
Has become ill or made life decisions as a result of “bewitchment”	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (20%)	2 (6%)
Has witnessed to or been a victim of crime	0 (0%)	1 (11%)	0 (0%)	1 (3%)
Has attempted suicide	0 (0%)	1 (11%)	0 (0%)	1 (3%)
Reports using or feeling pressured to use drugs and alcohol personally	5 (39%)	1 (11%)	0 (0%)	6 (19%)
Has a child of their own	1 (8%)	0 (0%)	1 (10%)	2 (6%)



Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON MEDICAL)

H110909 Frankish

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

PROTOCOL NUMBER H110909

PROJECT TITLE

The 'born-free generation': Narrating memory in post-apartheid South Africa

INVESTIGATOR(S)

Ms T Frankish

SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT

Psychology

DATE CONSIDERED

16 September 2011

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE

Approved Unconditionally

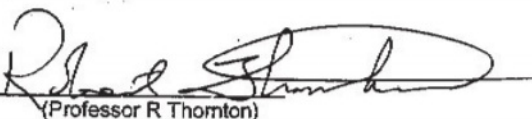
EXPIRY DATE

30 September 2013

DATE

14 October 2011

CHAIRPERSON

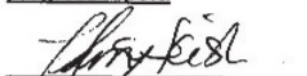

(Professor R Thornton)

cc: Professor S Ellis

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10005, 10th Floor, Senate House, University.

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**


Signature

1, 11, 2011
Date

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

Interview- and time- lines: 1C

Duduzile Maphumulo Analysis lines (16 pp; 57:33) - 1C					
Interview-line				Time-line	
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Time	Chronological Narrative
1	00:00		Present	Past	
2	02:15	Youth			Grandmother sold 'sponges' (thin, foam mattresses) to supplement family income after husband (Grandfather) died young (p. 9)
.	04:48	Family			Family lived on 'farm' where mother had to regularly go to town and return before curfew of 11:00pm/11:30pm (p.9)
.	05:25				Father shared room in stories contrasted with daughters life, and speaks about lack of food, electricity and the need to carry a compass as well as restriction of opportunities to learn, dream and the deaths of people fighting to learn in their own language or n English (p. 10)
.	08:31	Friends			
3	09:12		Future		
4	09:24				
.	13:28	Family	Present		
.	14:17	School			
6	18:47	Youth			
.	20:04				
.	20:05	Sexuality			
7	21:42				
.	23:45	Family			
8	27:17		Present		
9	29:58				
.	30:48	Talk			
10	31:40		Past	Present 1996	Born in 1996—Aged 16 (p. 7)
.	33:59				
.	34:24				
11	35:35	Youth	Present	2008	Uncle (ANC affiliated) was killed n Jacobs (Durban) linked to IFP tension (p14) and it seems the family are waiting for the grandmother (the uncle's mother) to die before they can process forgiving and forgetting (p.15)
.	39:40		Past		
12	40:23				
.	40:24		Future		
.	43:20				
13	44:45		Present		
.	44:48	Politics			
14	49:37		Past	2009—2012	Last three years has been living with father, step-mother , sister and brother while her mother lives alone in Chatsworth. Her relationship with her father is strained by his disappointment in her scholarly struggles (p. 2). She also has a difficult relationship with the stepmother (p.3) whose own children reside in Umlazi (p.4)
.	49:46				
.	50:27	Family			
15	53:11		Future		
.	53:14				
.	54:05	Family			
16	55:19				
.	55:57				
.	57:33				
				Current	Experiences intense bullying and body shaming at school (p.1) where she is also struggling to pass within the commerce stream of subjects (p. 4) and where she is also confronted with students who are dealing with social , family and scholarly issues such as the classmate on pages 12—13. Participant enjoys cooking, reading and exercising (p. 1)
				Future	She aspires to own a big house and a landrover (p.15) but is consumed by disappointment/s about and restrictions related to study possibilities toward becoming a doctor which she feels is now beyond her reach (owing to failure in her scholarly endeavours) (p. 16).

Interview- and time- lines: 2C

Fikile Zondo Analysis lines (12 pp; 55:38) - 2C					
Interview-line				Time-line	
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year	Chronological Narrative
1	00:00		Present	Past	Grandmother and mother were subject to a restriction of opportunities and movement and were unable to access private schools. The mother did not finish any kind of schooling as a result of being one of eight children (p. 4). Participants parents never married (p. 5) Children were generally vulnerable to abuse (p. 4).
.	00:14			•	
.	01:10			.	
.	03:10				Participant lives with mom, dad and cousin. She has two sisters who are in residence while studying (p.3) Her mother works as a packer and her father as a cleaner (p.5). Over the years the mother taught her to sew on a machine (p.2). The family make occasional trips to the 'farm' down the South Coast particularly during school holidays (p.5)
2	04:46				
.	06:40				
.	07:58		Future		Participant recently started attending CEHS (for four months) after leaving Durban Girls Secondary School to allow her to pursue desired subject choice (pp. 5—6). While at Durban Girl's she had two excursions one of which was to Phezulu. She is doing the commerce stream of subjects (p.2) and reports a strong affinity with education as well as sport, especially swimming which she has enjoyed since grade (p.1) - so approximately for ten years.
.	08:17	Friends			
3	10:45	Family	Present		
.	11:42				The participant has decided to wait for 'Mr Right' and is not currently in a relationship. Instead she relies on her mother and sisters for support (p. 7) and finds inspiration from role models including Chris Brown (p.1), Oprah Winfrey and Tyra Banks (p. 10) - well known music, media and fashion celebrities respectively.
.	11:44	Talk			
.	11:44		Past		
4	13:42		Present	Present	The Participant has a desire to pursue a career in the fashion or restaurant industries (p.2) with the dream of owning a "beautiful house" (p. 10) with a "garden like top billing" (p. 9) and living a "very standard life" (p.10) with adopted children (p.10). She also dreams that she might live in the USA (p.9) and feels that South Africa will "be like Zimbabwe" (p.9)
.	13:47	School			
.	14:17				
5	18:15		Present	Unknown	The Participant has a desire to pursue a career in the fashion or restaurant industries (p.2) with the dream of owning a "beautiful house" (p. 10) with a "garden like top billing" (p. 9) and living a "very standard life" (p.10) with adopted children (p.10). She also dreams that she might live in the USA (p.9) and feels that South Africa will "be like Zimbabwe" (p.9)
.	21:20				
6	23:21	School			
.	23:24				The Participant has a desire to pursue a career in the fashion or restaurant industries (p.2) with the dream of owning a "beautiful house" (p. 10) with a "garden like top billing" (p. 9) and living a "very standard life" (p.10) with adopted children (p.10). She also dreams that she might live in the USA (p.9) and feels that South Africa will "be like Zimbabwe" (p.9)
7	28:31	Youth			
.	28:48	Family			
.	30:24	School			The Participant has a desire to pursue a career in the fashion or restaurant industries (p.2) with the dream of owning a "beautiful house" (p. 10) with a "garden like top billing" (p. 9) and living a "very standard life" (p.10) with adopted children (p.10). She also dreams that she might live in the USA (p.9) and feels that South Africa will "be like Zimbabwe" (p.9)
.	30:42				
.	31:22	Family			
.	31:24				The Participant has a desire to pursue a career in the fashion or restaurant industries (p.2) with the dream of owning a "beautiful house" (p. 10) with a "garden like top billing" (p. 9) and living a "very standard life" (p.10) with adopted children (p.10). She also dreams that she might live in the USA (p.9) and feels that South Africa will "be like Zimbabwe" (p.9)
.	31:34	Youth			
8	32:44	School			
.	33:45	Politics			The Participant has a desire to pursue a career in the fashion or restaurant industries (p.2) with the dream of owning a "beautiful house" (p. 10) with a "garden like top billing" (p. 9) and living a "very standard life" (p.10) with adopted children (p.10). She also dreams that she might live in the USA (p.9) and feels that South Africa will "be like Zimbabwe" (p.9)
.	34:41				
.	35:22		Past	Present	
.	36:11				The Participant has a desire to pursue a career in the fashion or restaurant industries (p.2) with the dream of owning a "beautiful house" (p. 10) with a "garden like top billing" (p. 9) and living a "very standard life" (p.10) with adopted children (p.10). She also dreams that she might live in the USA (p.9) and feels that South Africa will "be like Zimbabwe" (p.9)
.	36:42	School		Future	
9	38:13	Politics			
.	39:38				The Participant has a desire to pursue a career in the fashion or restaurant industries (p.2) with the dream of owning a "beautiful house" (p. 10) with a "garden like top billing" (p. 9) and living a "very standard life" (p.10) with adopted children (p.10). She also dreams that she might live in the USA (p.9) and feels that South Africa will "be like Zimbabwe" (p.9)
.	39:40	School	Present		
.	42:07		Future		
.	42:53	Family			The Participant has a desire to pursue a career in the fashion or restaurant industries (p.2) with the dream of owning a "beautiful house" (p. 10) with a "garden like top billing" (p. 9) and living a "very standard life" (p.10) with adopted children (p.10). She also dreams that she might live in the USA (p.9) and feels that South Africa will "be like Zimbabwe" (p.9)
10	43:50		Present		
.	44:51		Past	Future	
.	44:53				The Participant has a desire to pursue a career in the fashion or restaurant industries (p.2) with the dream of owning a "beautiful house" (p. 10) with a "garden like top billing" (p. 9) and living a "very standard life" (p.10) with adopted children (p.10). She also dreams that she might live in the USA (p.9) and feels that South Africa will "be like Zimbabwe" (p.9)
.	45:16	School	Past		
.	45:50	Youth	Present		
.	47:19				The Participant has a desire to pursue a career in the fashion or restaurant industries (p.2) with the dream of owning a "beautiful house" (p. 10) with a "garden like top billing" (p. 9) and living a "very standard life" (p.10) with adopted children (p.10). She also dreams that she might live in the USA (p.9) and feels that South Africa will "be like Zimbabwe" (p.9)
12	55:37				
.					

Interview- and time- lines: 3C

Khanyisile Buthelezi Analysis lines (9 pp; 58:45) - 3C					
Interview-line				Time-line	
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year	Chronological Narrative
1	00:00		Present	Past	Parents were forced to learn in Afrikaans, carry dompasses and obtain permission from authorities to visit relatives (p.8). In addition the mother had a general lack of access to opportunities under Apartheid (p. 4) Participant has been told the story of her parents' lobola negotiations (p.4)
2	00:15				
.	06:09	School	Future		
.	06:39				Grandmother died when participant was in grade 4 (p. 8)
.	07:11	Sexuality			
.	09:42	Youth			
.	10:10				Participant lives with her father, two sister and one brother while the mother lives separately (p.2) in Chesterville (p.3) as well as on a farm which the participant will visit on occasion (p.9). The Participant feels that her mixed heritage where her mother and father are Xhosa and Zulu (p. 8) is inspiring. She is also inspired by her role model Bonang Matheba (TV personality).
.	10:40	Family			
.	11:01	Talk	Present		
3	14:24			Present	Participant plans to pursue a career in the business field (p. 2) and feels that the best path to success is via furthering her education (p. 6)
.	16:44	Respect	Past	Approx. 2004/2005	
.	17:34				
.	18:22				Participant lives with her father, two sister and one brother while the mother lives separately (p.2) in Chesterville (p.3) as well as on a farm which the participant will visit on occasion (p.9). The Participant feels that her mixed heritage where her mother and father are Xhosa and Zulu (p. 8) is inspiring. She is also inspired by her role model Bonang Matheba (TV personality).
4	21:53				
.	22:46				
.	23:21				Participant lives with her father, two sister and one brother while the mother lives separately (p.2) in Chesterville (p.3) as well as on a farm which the participant will visit on occasion (p.9). The Participant feels that her mixed heritage where her mother and father are Xhosa and Zulu (p. 8) is inspiring. She is also inspired by her role model Bonang Matheba (TV personality).
.	25:07	Race	Present	Current	
5	25:24	Politics			
.	30:15				Participant lives with her father, two sister and one brother while the mother lives separately (p.2) in Chesterville (p.3) as well as on a farm which the participant will visit on occasion (p.9). The Participant feels that her mixed heritage where her mother and father are Xhosa and Zulu (p. 8) is inspiring. She is also inspired by her role model Bonang Matheba (TV personality).
.	31:47				
6	35:58				
.	36:50	School	Future		Participant lives with her father, two sister and one brother while the mother lives separately (p.2) in Chesterville (p.3) as well as on a farm which the participant will visit on occasion (p.9). The Participant feels that her mixed heritage where her mother and father are Xhosa and Zulu (p. 8) is inspiring. She is also inspired by her role model Bonang Matheba (TV personality).
.	37:08				
.	37:59	Youth	Present		
7	41:27	School			Participant lives with her father, two sister and one brother while the mother lives separately (p.2) in Chesterville (p.3) as well as on a farm which the participant will visit on occasion (p.9). The Participant feels that her mixed heritage where her mother and father are Xhosa and Zulu (p. 8) is inspiring. She is also inspired by her role model Bonang Matheba (TV personality).
.	42:32				
.	43:10	Family	Past		
8	44:58	School			Participant lives with her father, two sister and one brother while the mother lives separately (p.2) in Chesterville (p.3) as well as on a farm which the participant will visit on occasion (p.9). The Participant feels that her mixed heritage where her mother and father are Xhosa and Zulu (p. 8) is inspiring. She is also inspired by her role model Bonang Matheba (TV personality).
.	47:02	Politics			
.	47:11				
.	48:05				Participant lives with her father, two sister and one brother while the mother lives separately (p.2) in Chesterville (p.3) as well as on a farm which the participant will visit on occasion (p.9). The Participant feels that her mixed heritage where her mother and father are Xhosa and Zulu (p. 8) is inspiring. She is also inspired by her role model Bonang Matheba (TV personality).
.	49:06				
.	51:22				
.	52:06				Participant lives with her father, two sister and one brother while the mother lives separately (p.2) in Chesterville (p.3) as well as on a farm which the participant will visit on occasion (p.9). The Participant feels that her mixed heritage where her mother and father are Xhosa and Zulu (p. 8) is inspiring. She is also inspired by her role model Bonang Matheba (TV personality).
9	52:29	Religion	Present		
.	52:53				
.	58:44				

Interview- and time- lines: 4C

Lindile Shezi Analysis lines (14 pp; 53:55) - 4C

Interview-line				Time-line	
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year	Chronological Narrative
1	00:00		Present	Past	Parents did not have the option to make choices and there was no protection under a Rights act which came after 1994 (p.4).
.	00:14		Future	•	
.	01:08	Sports			
.	02:33	Family			Visited the natural science museum in Durban on a school excursion and has made subsequent visits with his father (p.10)
2	03:49	Sex*			
.	04:37	Religion			
.	06:53		Past		At the age of 13/14 he is confronted by family members who talk to him about the dangers of social ills—including smoking and drinking (p.8).
3	07:20	Sex*		Present	
.	08:06	Friends		Approx. 2007/2008	
.	08:54				Lives with his mother, father and four siblings. His mother works as a cooker and his father takes on piece work (p.2). Participant is taking the commerce stream of subjects at school and especially enjoys Accountancy (p.6). The participant plays soccer and writes and performs music (p.1) and poetry. He is inspired by the music of Drake, Eminem (p.1); by Cristiano Ronaldo on the soccer field and by Shakespearean poetry ((p.7). While he is religious he finds that his soccer match schedule conflicts with church attendance (p.3). He is currently trying to “convince” a young girl he fancies [to date him] (p. 5).
.	09:03	Sports			
.	09:29				
.	09:54	God^		Approx. 2008—2009	Current
.	10:03				
.	10:26	Sport	Future		
4	11:15	Family	Past		He wants to be a soccer player (p.1) but has come to believe he has a “slim chance” after the age of 14 to 16 (p.13). Alternately or simultaneously he would like to pursue poetry (p.3). He is excited to travel both locally and internationally ; and hopes that he will marry the girl he is currently pursuing (p.13).
.	12:20	Talk			
.	14:30				
5	15:08				He worries that South Africa is “going to be poor” and reflects on the state of the economy and lack of resources. Nvertheless he is also optimistic about a rainbow nation which he “loves” (p.12)
.	16:17	Sex*	Present		
.	17:25	School			
6	20:19	Family			•
.	22:05				
7	26:49	Sport			
.	27:21	Youth			•
8	28:38	God^			
.	29:43				
.	30:18	God^			•
.	31:18	Sport			
.	31:36	Family			
9	32:07				•
.	34:53	School			
10	35:50	Friends			
.	36:18				•
.	37:19	Politics	Past		
.	37:49	Youth	Present		
11	38:20		Future		•
.	40:20		Present		
12	41:23		Future		
.	45:37		Present		•
.	46:15	Youth	Future		
.	47:40		Present		
13	50:04		Past		•
.	52:58		Present		
14	53:00				
.	53:10				
.	53:52				
.	53:55				

*Sex = sexuality

^God = religion

Interview- and time- lines: 5C

Sipho Sithole Analysis lines (15 pp; 1:02:25) - 5C				
Interview-line				Time-line
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year
1	00:00		Present	Past
.	00:24			
.	02:29	Sport Race Politic	Past	
.	03:16			
.	03:18			
2	04:00	Family School		
.	04:13			
.	04:31			
.	04:49	Race		
.	05:30			
.	05:35	Friends		
.	06:13	Family		
.	06:27			
.	07:10	School		
3	08:46	Family		
.	10:11	Talk Sex*		
4	13:43	Talk		
.	15:03			
5	16:30	Politics	Past	
.	17:09			
.	19:10	Politics		
.	20:47			
.	21:00			
6	25:21	Race	Present	
7	29:34			
.	29:58		Future	
.	31:00			Present Approx. 1996/1997
8	31:02			
.	31:35	Youth	Present	
.	32:37	God^		
.	34:01	School		
.	34:59			
.	35:20	Family		
.	35:40			
9	36:14	Friends		
.	37:21			2009
.	38:24	Family		
.	39:40			Current
10	40:31			
.	42:12		Future	
.	42:44		Present	
11	43:42	Family		
.	45:42			
12	47:10		Present	
.	48:00			
.	48:06	Sport		
.	48:57	Friends	Future	
.	49:37			
.	51:30	Culture	Present	
13	52:26	School Sex*		
.	52:44			
.	54:21			
.	54:30			
.	55:23	Talk		
.	56:34	Family		
14	57:21	Friends		
.	58:46			
.	59:20	Talk		
.	59:34			
15	01:02:25	Youth		
*Sex = sexuality ^God = religion				
				Life under Apartheid was characterised by attempts to avoid being fined (p. 5). Parents were relatively unaffected by Apartheid because they were living in a white area but parents do reflect on ANC/IFP conflict, about the need to carry dompasses which they have shown to the participant (p.5). The father also shared about an incident at work where he was kept late and became anxious about arrest after curfew. The matter was resolved by white 'superiors' (sic) (p.5) Father has reflected on a split from family in Swaziland where the grandfather under tense circumstances "ran away" and took up residence in Hammarsdale where he still currently resides (p.14) Brother-in-law's uncle was a 'soldier' in Mozambique (p.4) At the age of two his father had two homes in 'ilokshini' (township) which he then sold to move to the farm, taking the participant away from his friends (p.13). He later made friends with two white boys in primary school with whom he enjoyed playing rugby (p.1) Brother passed away with pneumonia (p. 4). Participant comes from a big family, originally from Swaziland (p.1) and who for the most part now reside in Cato Ridge (p.2). His mother who works as a speaker at the department of justice (p.3) is sickly with spinal problems (p.2) and lives with his father at the Cato Ridge home (p.3). The participant lives with his brother who attends CEHS (p.3), his teacher sister (p.3) and her husband (p.2) in Ridge view (p.3). He is enrolled in the commerce subjects at school (p.2). He is determined to finish his schooling after a friend left school and trusting that his mother has "something planned" for his success (p. ...). The participant is inspired by an older brother (39/40) in Hammarsdale who introduced him to clubbing and DJing (p.9); he also follows the work of Black Coffee (p.12) - a local record producer. The participant has a girlfriend in Chesterville (p.12) and will drink ciders with his friends during the December holidays but rejects the thought that he could behave badly like other boys (p.9). He lost a friend to 'wunga' related fighting (p.15). He becomes particularly perturbed when he is followed by security in malls (p.6). The participant wants to be a DJ (p.1) or alternately an economist (p. 2) or artist come fashion designer (p. 10). His interest in economics is related to South Africa falling economically, growing rates of HIV infection and teenage pregnancy (p.10) as well as corruption (p.11). He wants to live "like an Afrikaner" and have a "white life" (p.12), to take his family to Cape Town (p.10) and to travel to the Drakensberg.

Interview- and time- lines: 6C

Njabulo Banda Analysis lines (12 pp; 55:41) - 6C				
Interview-line				Time-line
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year
1	00:00		Present	Past
.	00:16		Future	•
.	02:15			
2	03:56	Family		
.	06:44	Talk		
3	08:33	Youth		
.	13:01			
4	15:17	School		
.	16:10			
.	16:21	Sex*		
5	20:56			
.	21:17	Talk		Present
6	22:32			Age 11/12
.	22:40	Sex*	Past	
.	23:28	Youth		"a couple of years ago:
.	24:20	Culture		
.	24:58			2011
7	26:44	Politic	Present	
.	29:55	Family		
8	32:30	School		Current
.	36:06			
9	36:44		Future	
.	37:10			
.	40:44			
10	41:02	Sport	Future	
.	43:17			
11	44:48	Youth	Present	
.	45:56		Past	
.	46:14			
.	46:56			
12	50:56			
.	51:43	Culture		
.	52:40	God^		
.	52:58			
.	54:42	Respect		
.	55:41			
*Sex = sexuality ^God = religion				
				Future
				•
				Older generation grew up telling and being told tales, they didn't have young love or cellphones and were restricted to playing simple games. They were also restricted from eating eggs, dating and drinking coca cola as a way to avoid "growing up too fast" (p.6)
				Lived with uncle's wife for a time in Sherwood, Durban (p.2).
				Father died (p. 2)
				Mother went missing under mysterious circumstances and has never been found (pp. 2—3).
				He currently lives with his pregnant sister (pp 2—3), as well as a brother (21 years old) who works as a salesperson and acts as the participant's role model (p.7). The brothers enjoy hiphop music together (p.3). The participant also enjoys social media, cricket, basketball, cars, motorcycles and dj-ing (p.1). He spends some of his time hanging out in malls with friends and has felt compelled (at least on one occasion) to participate in smoking and drinking as a result of peer pressure. (p. 4) He is dating a girl from 'town' whom he met through his friends and connects with via mxit (p.5). At school he is registered for commerce subjects (p.8) but finds that he especially dislikes isiZulu (p.9). The participant does not follow traditional customs and reports that his family "doesn't do culture" (p.12) and while he does believe in a Christian God he rejects cleansing practices (p.12).
				The participant dreams of becoming an accountant or alternately a basketball or cricket player (p. 9). He wants to be rich, married to a house-wife and living a "comfortable life" (p.10). His hope is that this might one day include mountain hiking and riding (p.1).

Interview- and time- lines: 7C

Bhekisizwe Ngcobo Analysis lines (14 pp; 51:33) - 7C				
Interview-line				Time-line
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year
1	00:00		Present	Past
.	00:17	Sport	School	•
.	02:14	Family		
3	02:40			
.	08:05		Past	
.	09:01	Race		
.	09:06			
4	10:23	Sport	Present	
.	11:28			Present
.	12:15	Family	Future	1993
5	14:17	School		2001
6	18:25	Friends	Present	
.	19:27	Youth	Past	2002
.	20:51	Race		
.	21:39			
.	22:03		Present	
7	22:05	Politic	Future	2002—2009
.	24:45			
.	25:03			
.	25:14			
.	26:02	Race		
8	28:16		Present	
.	28:41			
.	29:48	Talk	Past	
9	30:13			
.	30:20			2009
.	30:41	Youth		
.	32:22	Politic		
.	33:41			
10	34:48	Fam%		
.	35:08		Talk	
.	35:46	Sex*		
.	36:58	Youth	Respect	
11	38:50			
.	39:20	Talk		
12	41:56			Current
.	42:22			
.	43:03	Sport		
.	43:51			
.	45:22	Youth		
.	45:46	Culture		
13	45:57			
.	46:39	Race		
.	46:59	Culture	God ^	
14	50:18			
.	51:33			
*Sex = sexuality Fam%= family				
^God = religion				
				Past Grandmother was a witness to fighting in the “olden days” (p.1) and tells about people who came to their homes, chasing them and taking boys and putting sons in jail (p.3) Present 1993 Was born in 1993 (19 years old) (p. 1) 2001 At age 7 the participant learned to dance and started travelling to dance competitions (p.3) 2002 When the participant was 8 years old his mother died. He was in grade 2 at the time (p.2). 2002—2009 As his father is not an active presence in his life, his aunt took him to Inanda where he grew up with a sister and two brothers (p.2). His grandmother died in 2004 (p. p.3) While in Inanda he joined a boys dance group (p.3) and later performed in ‘concerts’ with singing siblings (p.4). 2009 Moved to Chesterville where he lives with sisters and cousin as well as occasional extended family who visit from Indwedwe. The family support themselves by renting outbuildings (p. 2). His father lives in Chesterville but they have little contact (p. 2). During the first few years in Chesterville the participant was ‘convinced’ to participate in drugs, alcohol and smoking (p. 6). Current The participant has repeated grades a number of times at school but finds dance to be a passion and strength. While he enjoys many sports including swimming, soccer and basketball he continues to enjoy dancing local styles and freestyle dance (p.1). His role model is his brother who works in music (p. 10). His family have been active in the community, the participant helped to open a swimming club and his sister is trying to reinstate an instrumental band (p.9). The participant is a Christian but does not support traditional practices (p.13). He recently split from a girl who lives in Bloemfontein (p. 10). Future • Wants to open a school of dance (p.4).

Interview- and time- lines: 8C

Khethelo Xaba Analysis lines (14 pp; 53:58) - 8C				
Interview-line				Time-line
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year
Chronological Narrative				
1	00:00		Present	Past
.	00:09			•
.	00:34	Family	Past	•
3	01:26	School		•
.	06:49			
.	07:02	Culture		
.	08:00			
4	08:14	Youth		
.	09:40	Friends		
.	10:36			
.	11:01			
.	11:58	Respect	Fam%	Present
.	12:56			1994
5	15:37	Culture	Fam%	
.	15:52			
.	15:58			
6	17:33			2004
.	17:37			
.	19:18	Talk	Fam%	
.	20:16			
7	24:42			2007—2011
.	25:10	Youth		
8	26:28		Future	
.	28:00			
.	28:55			
.	29:14	Friends	Present	
.	29:42			
.	30:01			
.	30:09			
.	30:28	Youth		Current
.	31:07			
9	31:51	School	Past	
.	31:53			
.	33:12	Fam%		
.	34:29			
.	34:37	Race		
.	34:45	Youth		
.	35:17	School		
10	35:58			
.	36:39			
.	38:10	Race		
.	39:06	Politics	Past	
.	39:14			
.	39:51	Race	Present	
11	44:15			
12	44:18			Future
.	45:48	Politics	Past	•
.	47:22	Fam%		
13	48:57			
.	50:39	School	Respect	
.	51:48			
.	52:06	Youth		
14	53:57			
Fam%= family				
Parents were unable to go to school or university because of lack of funds to pay fees (p. 1) Grandfather worked in Johannesburg and died in a mine when he was crushed by falling rocks (p.9). Uncle was an ANC ‘soldier’ who went through the training but was then left behind (p. 12) Born in 1994—Aged 18 (p. 8) in the Eastern Cape where he lived with mother (who came from the area—p.10) and later maternal grandmother and abusive aunt (p.2). Mother died from TB and ‘other stuff’ Met Father for the first time at the age of 12 or 13 (p. 6). His father lived in Chesterville (hailing originally from KZN— p. 10) at the time and the participant moved to spend time with his father and escape abusive aunt. He hasn’t seen his father, who also has TB (p.1), since 2011 and feels “like an orphan” (p.7). The participant started smoking in this period (p. 1). He currently lives with his paternal grandfather, all of his fathers children and two unemployed uncles, a total of eight or nine in the house (p.2). There is no income in the home (p.1) including his uncle who receives no compensation for being a ‘soldier’ (p.12). The participant notices peoples perceptions of him in malls, when he is barefoot or just generally he is treated as if he might steal (p. 11). The participant enjoys singing and making music (p.1), especially hip hop (p.3) and is inspired by hip hop performers who talk about gangsterism and drugs (p.13). The participant sees music as just a ‘hobby’ and feels that tertiary education is beyond his means so looking to just get any work; “maybe I’ll find, I’ll get a job” (p. 8). If this fails he feels that the alternative is to become involved in gangsterism and drugs as plan B (p.13).				

Interview- and time- lines: 9C

Thenjiwe Cele Analysis lines (12 pp; 56:27) - 9C					
Interview-line				Time-line	
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year	Chronological Narrative
1	00:00		Present	Past	Grandmother (born in 1955) talks about her married life and having children in the 1970s and notes differences in the community and houses over time—saying that Chesterville was ‘just bush’ (p. 7)
.	00:57				
2	03:45	Friends			Parents had a loving relationship and the participant has been told she was conceived as a ‘love child’ (p.5)
.	04:51	Sex*			
3	05:08		Future	Present	Participant would climb trees as a child and found inspiration for flying (p. 5)
.	10:04	God^			
4	14:09	School	Past	Age 6	Mother died “six years ago” (p.5) in a car accident (p.6)
.	14:23	Friends			
5	15:49			Approx. 2006	Father died “five years ago” of illness when the participant was grade 4 (p.6). The participant felt she could only comprehend death generally and the specific deaths of her parents in grade 6 (p. 6).
.	20:02	Fam%			
6	20:51		Past	2009	Started high school in Chesterville where her performance at school declined until her commitment to her faith. Became Christian in 2011 and has seen a transition in her life (p. 2) .
.	22:23	Fam%			
7	29:14		Present	Current	Lives with sister and grandmother (pp. 3—4). She enjoys drawing (p.2), food and singing (p.1) and sings in a choir (p.2). The participant enjoys playing games including hide and seek and ball games with young children, despite being told the games are too young for her (p.p. 10—11). The participant feels pressure from friends to drink and date (p.1). She is inspired by her teachers, and parents as well as elders and motivators including a pastor on Ukhozi FM (p.11) .
.	29:28	Talk			
8	30:52	God^	Past	Future	Wants to be a pilot (p.3) and expects to be trained in Cape Town during a two year course (p.4). She also wants to own a house, get married and have children (p. 12).
.	31:10	School			
9	32:35				
.	32:52	Youth			
10	33:54				
.	34:15	Race			
11	35:47	Politics			
.	36:31	School			
12	38:52				
.	40:18	Youth			
12	56:26	Politics			
.					

*Sex = sexuality
Fam%= family

^God = religion

Interview- and time- lines: 10C

Gugu Shabangu Analysis lines (13 pp; 57:26) - 10C				
Interview-line				Time-line
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year
1	00:00		Present	Past
.	00:12	God^		•
.	01:09			.
2	01:47	Family		
.	06:47	God^ Sex* Talk		•
.	06:57			
3	07:28	Cult\$		
.	08:06			
.	08:56			
.	10:25			
.	10:28	God^		•
4	12:52	School		
.	13:33			
.	13:49	Youth		
.	14:33			
.	14:47	Fam%		Present
5	18:51			1996
.	19:49	School		Approx.
8	29:30			2008— 2009
.	29:45		Future	
.	30:35			
.	31:54		Present	
9	32:19		Past	
.	34:25		Present	
.	34:59		Past	
.	36:22		Present	
.	37:59		Past	
.	38:12	School	Present	
.	38:36	Fam%	Past	
10	40:36	Talk		Current
.	41:19			
.	41:55		Past	
.	43:29	Youth		
.	44:16	Politics	Present	
11	46:55	School		
.	47:43		Future	
.	47:56	God^		
.	48:45		Present	
.	49:38			
12	50:46			
.	50:55	Sex*		
.	55:09	Talk		
.	55:31			
13	57:26			
*Sex = sexuality Fam%= family ^God = religion Cult\$ = culture				
				Past • • • Present 1996 Approx. 2008— 2009 Current Future • •
				Overhead talk about times when curfew was implemented and the role played by white police (p.10) Mother's parents were very strict and she was restricted from "always [being] on the street" (p. 8). The participants mother was later attacked by 'Boers' and thrown teargas at which resulted in her becoming a "comrade" (p. 10). A clever aunt was awarded a scholarship or bursary to study at university and now owns a restaurant (p. 3). Born in 1996—Aged 15 (p. 4) Has been singing since grade 8 (p.4). In the same year (grade 8) started seeing a boy who would become a long-term boyfriend. At about the same time (grade 8) she wanted to pursue a career as a lawyer but by grade 9 she had changed her mind and settled on chemical engineering. She also became choir master in her grade 9 year (p. 4). She recalls a conversation with aunt at age 12 (Approximately 2009) about life under Apartheid (p.10). Lives with her dad (who works as a packer at a mall—p.8), her cousins and uncles (p.1), a total of eleven in the house (p.2). Her mom who works as a cleaner (p.8) lives alone (p.8) owing to the fact that the parents never married and the participant feels closer to her father (p.1). The participant continues to enjoy singing and "being a child" (p.1) and is the conductor of a choir as well as the president of the youth group at her church (p.3). Has in the last month broken up with her long-term boyfriend since grade 8 to allow her to focus on her studies (p.12) of which she is enrolled for the science stream of subjects at school (p. 6). Wants to get a bursary to study chemical engineering (p. 8) and wants to avoid any further relationships until she turns 21 (p.12). In terms of South Africa's future in five years she feels that the illuminati will be all over the world, including South Africa, owing to youth who worship satan (p. 11) and through the use of tattoos, hair dye and extensions and listening to particular kinds of music (p. 12).

Interview- and time- lines: 11C

Thando Mlambo Analysis lines (13 pp; 56:44) - 11C				
Interview-line				Time-line
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year
1	00:00		Present	Past
.	00:25	Race		•
.	00:37		Future	
2	02:15		Present	
.	03:50			
.	03:55			
.	04:40		Future	
.	04:44			
.	05:26	School	Present	Present 1992
3	07:56		Past	
.	08:38	Race		
.	09:48			
.	10:36			
.	10:58	Race	Fam%	Approx. 2005
4	12:23			
.	12:26			
.	12:41	School	Present	
.	13:07			
5	16:32	Talk	Fam%	
.	18:21		Present	2008
.	18:26	Friends		
.	18:41			
.	19:30	School		
.	20:08			
.	20:18			
6	21:03		Future	Current
.	21:57			
.	22:02	Fam%		
.	23:38		Present	
.	24:21	Talk		
.	24:41	Sports		
7	26:43			
.	27:12	Youth		
8	32:38	School		
.	33:22	Politics		
9	38:50			Future
.	38:57			•
.	40:15			
.	40:29	Sport		
10	42:51	Culture	Future	
.	44:38			
11	46:17	Fam%		
.	47:10		Present	
.	48:03	God^		
.	48:06	Youth		
.	48:26			
.	48:49			
.	49:31	Sports		
.	49:48		Future	
12	51:16	Youth		
.	51:31		Present	
.	53:13		Past	
.	54:23			
.	54:40	Fam%		
13	56:06		Present	
	56:45			
^God = religion Fam%= family				
				Aunt was very poor growing up, people around her were forced to trade cattle and land or work as gardeners for other to make a living (p. 3), there was also a need to carry a dompass and constant threat of arrest (p.4). Father died in 1992 (p. 5). At some point he was introduced to the ancestors and this was possible because his parents had been married (p.11). Started playing soccer at the age of about 10 (for the last seven years—p.7)—predominantly as a striker (p.6). Subsequently he travelled to soccer tournaments in Pretoria and the North West (p. 9). Mother died in 2008 when he was 14/15(p.5). As a consequence of Mother's death the participate stopped attending church (p.11). Lived with sister until she got a teaching job at the farm (p.4) and currently lives alone (p.4) in Mayville (p. 6). He continues to play soccer with his friends (p.6) and enjoys slow jam music (p.12). He is inspired by 50cent and a friend who is a male nurse (p.5) and finds support from his brother on his rare visits (p. 12). The participant is enrolled in tourism subjects at school (p.2). Wants to build a career in music (p.2) and wants to travel—including adventure type tourism (p.2). Alternately he wants to be a male nurse (p. 6) or a soccer player (p.11). Does not want to marry or have children but would prefer to enjoy his sister's children (p. 10). Ultimately he wants to "one day have my own house like a coloured like a white person and have a good family" (p.2) with a "high standard of living" in the suburbs (p. 11).

Interview- and time- lines: 12C

Philani Sibiya Analysis lines (17 pp; 53:55) - 12C				
Interview-line				Time-line
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year
1	00:00		Present	Past
.	00:07			•
3	08:07	Family	Future	
.	08:47			
.	09:19		Present	
.	09:45	Sports		
4	11:50	School		Present
5	13:51			Unknown—2011
.	16:26	Fam%	Youth	
6	16:57			
.	18:17			
.	18:33		Future	
.	18:45			
.	18:52	God^		
.	20:06	Culture		
7	20:07			
8	24:07			Current
.	24:30		Past	
.	26:26	Race		
9	27:42		Past	
.	29:45		Present	
.	30:04	Politics		
10	30:08		Past	
.	30:21	Youth		
.	30:29		Present	
.	30:52		Past	
.	31:46	School		
.	31:56		Present	
.	32:35			
.	33:27	Youth		
11	33:32	School		
.	35:22			
.	35:48			
.	36:24	Talk		
12	37:20			
.	38:35	Friends		
.	40:03			
13	41:37	Friends		
14	43:02	Friends		
.	45:07	Sex*		Future
15	45:09			•
.	45:59	Fam%	Culture	
.	47:54		Future	
.	48:05			
.	48:17			
16	48:54	Fam%	Youth	
.	49:28		Present	
.	50:43			
.	51:10		Future	
17	51:39		Present	•
.	53:01			
.	53:55			
^God = religion *Sex = sexuality				
Fam%= family				
				Grandmother grew up on farm and didn't go to school. She stayed behind to look after the cattle (p. 3). Mother died when he was very young (p. 2). He stayed with his mother in Umhlanga until she died (p. 13). While living with his mother he would witness her being beaten by his stepfather (p.1). After his mother's death he moved to live with his grandmother in Umbilo until 2011 when he moved to Mayville (p.13) Currently still resides in Mayville with his brother at his grandmother's house although she continues to reside in Umbilo (p.1) where she works at a crèche (p.2). He is not able to live with his father because his father failed to pay customary money after his birth and was hence ostracised from his son (p.1). Father is unsupportive financially and otherwise (p.2) and has many children (p. 2). The participant will on occasion visit his grandfather at the family farm in Empangeni (p.16) as well as makes visits to friends in Umbilo (p. 13). The participant enjoys playing video games, soccer, volleyball (p.3) and watching movies with friends and his favourite movie is 'law abiding citizens' (p.4). He finds inspiration in Nelson Mandela (p.12) and from the wife of a visiting youth leader from Sweden (p.5) and while he has not been to church in some time he believes in Jesus as well as the ancestors (pp. 6—7). He is enrolled in tourism subjects at school (p.4). Wants to become a metro policeman with a family and a big house. He also wants a house on a farm with his own cows and goats (p.15). He still wants to live in towns but wants the option to visit his own farm on weekends and special occasions (p. 16). The participant is excited about travel to the USA, England and Sweden in his future (p. 5). In general he views South Africa's future as "bright" (p. 17)

Interview- and time- lines: 13C

Cebesile Mokhosi Analysis lines (10 pp; 46:46) - 13C				
Interview-line				Time-line
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year
1	00:00		Present	Past
.	01:15			
.	02:17	Family	Future	
.	04:14			
2	06:21	Youth		
.	08:37		Present	
.	08:44			
3	09:45	Friends		
4	13:57	Sex* Family		
.	14:26			
.	16:04	School		Present 2011
.	16:43			
.	18:22		Future	
5	19:24	Talk		
.	20:44			Current
.	21:20	Politics	Past	
.	23:00			
.	23:54	Youth		
6	24:36	Respect		
.	26:01			
.	26:36	Family		
.	27:02			
.	27:29	Youth	Present	
.	27:59	Respect		
7	28:52			
.	29:15	Family	Past	
.	29:51	Politics		
.	30:18	School	Future	
.	30:38			
.	32:45			
8	34:03		Future	
.	35:33	Sports	Present	
.	35:50			
.	36:25		Future	Past
.	36:43			
9	39:39	Talk		Future
.	41:21		Present	
.	42:10	Sex*		
.	42:12	Family Culture		
.	43:37			
10	44:20	Respect		
.	44:49			
.	45:35	Family	God^	
.	45:55			
.	46:14	School		
.	46:38			
.	46:46			
*Sex = sexuality ^God = religion				
				Grandmother's and mother's life characterised by lack of fun, strict curfews and restrictions on freedoms (p.5). Additional there were a general lack of opportunities and the inability to finish school (p. 6). Mother wore long skirts and her hair in an afro (p. 7). Did some modelling in 2011 through the ward counsellor at the local community hall (p. 2). Participant lives with her mother, grandmother, siblings, aunt and her own child (p.3) - a daughter. The father of her child reportedly paid customary money to the family for getting her pregnant—including a cow to her mother, father and child (p.9) but the couple has since split over his infidelity (p.4). The participant has no contact with her own father and her mother works as a cleaner (p. 3). The participant enjoys sitting, talking and laughing with her mother (p. 6). She also enjoys dancing the cha-cha (p.1), singing (p.2), enjoys sports including netball and basketball and participates in fashion shows (p.1). She is inspired by a neighbour who is a model and finds support in a sister (p.9). She celebrates the ancestors and believes in a Christian God (p.10). Wants to be a model (p.1) or to be a social worker (p.7) or someone who helps vulnerable children and children with no mothers generally (pp 7—8). She wants to stay in Chesterville where she wants a good life for her daughter and for her daughter to learn to be respectful and to participate in the community and to get married (p. 5). The participant wants to have her own house where she can find some privacy from her family, especially if she gets married (p.1).

Interview- and time- lines: 14D

Adam Naidoo Analysis lines (10 pp; 49:08) - 14D				
Interview-line				Time-line
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year
1	00:00		Present	Past
2	03:40			
.	04:20	Sports		
.	05:20	Sports		
.	05:32			
.	05:51	Fam% Friend School		Present Approx. 2006
3	08:03			
4	10:12	Fam%		
.	12:10			
.	12:16	School		
.	12:30			
6	25:22	Race		
.	25:25			
.	26:01		Past	
.	28:11	Talk		
.	28:14			2011
7	30:54	God%		
8	36:54			
.	38:22			
.	38:37	Race	Future	
.	38:44			
9	43:46	Politics	Past	Current
.	47:30		Present	
10	49:08			
Fam%= family				
				Incident with a “racist, white teacher” while attending grade 5 at a local Bluff, primary school where the teacher picked on an Indian classmate, belittled the participant, used racial identifiers to refer to students and made comments about the previously all white school they were at (pp. 4—5). In December of last year he travelled to Cape Town with his family where he went to Robben Island and subsequently finds inspiration in Nelson Mandela (p. 7). Lives with his parents and two siblings—as the oldest of three with a thirteen year old brother and a five year old sister (p. 2). His father recently started his own company which has meant changes at home (p.3). He is religious and reports that: “I am a Christian, not an Indian” (p. 5). The participant enjoys branded clothing—especially sneakers and social networks (p.1). He recently started to get in shape and bonds with friends and family over soccer (p. 2). He is his own role model (p. 8). Wants to be a marketing director of a big company with a family and a big car (p. 8).

Interview- and time- lines: 15D

Zena van der Merwe Analysis lines (10 pp; 47:14) - 15D				
Interview-line				Time-line
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year
1	00:00		Present	Past
.	00:08	God^ Sport		•
.	01:18			
.	02:22	Friends		
.	02:58			
.	03:06	School		
.	04:02			
2	05:20	God^		Present 1995
.	06:50			
.	07:10		Future	Approx. 2002—2008
.	07:57	Family	Future	
.	08:37			
3	09:28			
.	10:45	Culture		
.	12:00			
.	12:40	Family		
4	14:43	Talk		
.	14:57	School		
.	16:14			
.	17:00	Youth		2010
.	17:54			
5	20:30			
.	21:48	Race	Past	Current
.	22:29			
.	23:22			
.	24:16	Politics	Present	
6	25:16		Future	
.	28:01			
.	28:29	Talk		
.	29:16	Family	Present	
7	31:05			
.	31:58	Sex*		
.	32:46		Future	
.	32:52			
.	33:22			
8	36:06	School		
.	36:52			
.	37:45	Race		
.	37:57			
.	39:50	Youth		
9	45:04			
10	45:50	God^		
.	47:14			
*Sex = sexuality ^God = religion				
				• Future Wants to go to the University of Pretoria to study law (p. 2) where she will live in the 'koshuis' (residence) after which she will intern at her aunts firm (p.3) and then dreams of opening her own law firm (p.2) in Pretoria where the "money is big" (p. 3). She doesn't want children until she is 35 when she is established, settled and married (p. 3).

Father was a "rebel" particularly during school and tertiary studies where he failed grade 11 (p. 4). Parents generation characterised by an ability to play outdoors and freedom of movement (p.5).

Born in 1995—Aged 17 (p. 1).

Started playing hockey in grade 1 (p. 1). Identified as a "tomboy" in grades 3 and 4 (p. 1). Met two girls who have become long-time friends in grade 5 (p. 1). In grade 6 she "stopped fighting" and became involved in "everything" (p. 2). By grade 7 she started opening up more and reports now being "happy" as a result (p. 2).

Been in a relationship with the 21 year old brother of a friend for two years and 3 months (p. 7) but is waiting for marriage before she has sex (p.8).

Lives with her parents and is the youngest of three girls with both of her sisters living away from home (p. 3). Her father is from Cape Town and her mother from Surfontein (p. 3). She feels she is the odd one out owing to the fact that she is the only member of her family to be born in KZN (p. 3). Her father owns and is the president of a bike club and she reports seeing the bikers at the club more than her grandparents in Pretoria (p. 4). Her mother is protective (p.5) and she characterises their relationship as a "friendship" (p.7). The participant is inspired by her parents and an aunt who is a lawyer (p.2). She is inspired by school and dedicated to academics (p. 2) where she is currently in the ACA (a Christian group) (p.2). The participant has a strong faith in a Christian God (p. 1). She continues to enjoy hockey as well as photography, fashion, the colour pink and "chilling with friends" (p.1) despite feeling insecure and reporting a strong anxiety about fitting in (p. 10).

Interview- and time- lines: 16D

Jabulani Dlamini Analysis lines (9 pp; 40:19) - 16D					
Interview-line				Time-line	
	Time	Theme	Tense	Year	Chronological Narrative
1	00:00		Present	Past	Uncle was a comrade (p.1) who fought and camped in bushes while in exile (p.6). Mother was shot in the stomach which meant that she was unable to have more children after birthing the participant (p. 1). Grandparents forced to leave their houses [forced eviction] (p. 2) Parents lived in Hammarsdale with 'comrade' and ANC affiliated uncle at a time when conflict between ANC and IFP caused fighting and tension (p. 2)
.	00:22		Future		
.	01:08	Politics			
.	02:32			Present	Came to the Bluff from Hammarsdale where he lived with his grandparents (p.4). The participant was abandoned by his biological father and treats an uncle as his father (p. 4)
.	02:48	Politics			
.	03:48		Future		
2	03:57	Family		Past	He is an only child and lives with his mother and stepfather on the Bluff (p. 6). Mother works at with container shipping at the harbour (p. 4). He is inspired by a close relationship with his 'comrade' uncle (p. 4) and by a step-sister who is studying at a university (p. 4). He is currently in a relationship (p. 9) and notes that: "I am a man, I love food especially meat" (p.1) but also believes that a person is only a man when they have a wife and child (p.1). The participant reports living a "normal life" whilst also feeling himself to be unique (p.1) and unlike others. He has an interest in politics (p.1).
.	04:46	Politics			
.	05:16	Race			
.	05:56			Present	The participant dreams of opening a company like Anchor or LG in South Africa (p. 5) or alternately to pursue a career in IT (p.5) but does not want to be a politician (p.1). He also wants to design architecture and have six pack muscles (p.5). He reports that "in ten years time I see myself as a wealthy businessman" (p.5). He also sees himself living in Durban or Ballito with a family (p. 5). The participant sees a united future for South Africa is we are able to conquer race, where we could compete alongside America, Russia and so on, to develop a strong and stable economy so that he can " see my friends becoming architects, engineers and so on" (p. 3).
.	06:10	School			
.	06:54		Present		
.	07:42	Politics		Past	Came to the Bluff from Hammarsdale where he lived with his grandparents (p.4). The participant was abandoned by his biological father and treats an uncle as his father (p. 4)
.	08:45				
.	08:54	School			
3	09:00		Future	Present 2009	He is an only child and lives with his mother and stepfather on the Bluff (p. 6). Mother works at with container shipping at the harbour (p. 4). He is inspired by a close relationship with his 'comrade' uncle (p. 4) and by a step-sister who is studying at a university (p. 4). He is currently in a relationship (p. 9) and notes that: "I am a man, I love food especially meat" (p.1) but also believes that a person is only a man when they have a wife and child (p.1). The participant reports living a "normal life" whilst also feeling himself to be unique (p.1) and unlike others. He has an interest in politics (p.1).
.	10:00		Present		
.	11:05	Politics			
.	11:44	Youth		Current	The participant dreams of opening a company like Anchor or LG in South Africa (p. 5) or alternately to pursue a career in IT (p.5) but does not want to be a politician (p.1). He also wants to design architecture and have six pack muscles (p.5). He reports that "in ten years time I see myself as a wealthy businessman" (p.5). He also sees himself living in Durban or Ballito with a family (p. 5). The participant sees a united future for South Africa is we are able to conquer race, where we could compete alongside America, Russia and so on, to develop a strong and stable economy so that he can " see my friends becoming architects, engineers and so on" (p. 3).
4	12:42	Fam%			
.	13:47	Friends			
.	14:32	God^	Youth	Future	The participant dreams of opening a company like Anchor or LG in South Africa (p. 5) or alternately to pursue a career in IT (p.5) but does not want to be a politician (p.1). He also wants to design architecture and have six pack muscles (p.5). He reports that "in ten years time I see myself as a wealthy businessman" (p.5). He also sees himself living in Durban or Ballito with a family (p. 5). The participant sees a united future for South Africa is we are able to conquer race, where we could compete alongside America, Russia and so on, to develop a strong and stable economy so that he can " see my friends becoming architects, engineers and so on" (p. 3).
.	16:32	School			
.	17:35		Future		
.	17:53		Present	Present	The participant dreams of opening a company like Anchor or LG in South Africa (p. 5) or alternately to pursue a career in IT (p.5) but does not want to be a politician (p.1). He also wants to design architecture and have six pack muscles (p.5). He reports that "in ten years time I see myself as a wealthy businessman" (p.5). He also sees himself living in Durban or Ballito with a family (p. 5). The participant sees a united future for South Africa is we are able to conquer race, where we could compete alongside America, Russia and so on, to develop a strong and stable economy so that he can " see my friends becoming architects, engineers and so on" (p. 3).
5	18:45	Family			
.	19:25	Youth			
.	20:51	Family		Past	The participant dreams of opening a company like Anchor or LG in South Africa (p. 5) or alternately to pursue a career in IT (p.5) but does not want to be a politician (p.1). He also wants to design architecture and have six pack muscles (p.5). He reports that "in ten years time I see myself as a wealthy businessman" (p.5). He also sees himself living in Durban or Ballito with a family (p. 5). The participant sees a united future for South Africa is we are able to conquer race, where we could compete alongside America, Russia and so on, to develop a strong and stable economy so that he can " see my friends becoming architects, engineers and so on" (p. 3).
.	21:42	Talk			
.	22:20	Race			
6	23:51			Present	The participant dreams of opening a company like Anchor or LG in South Africa (p. 5) or alternately to pursue a career in IT (p.5) but does not want to be a politician (p.1). He also wants to design architecture and have six pack muscles (p.5). He reports that "in ten years time I see myself as a wealthy businessman" (p.5). He also sees himself living in Durban or Ballito with a family (p. 5). The participant sees a united future for South Africa is we are able to conquer race, where we could compete alongside America, Russia and so on, to develop a strong and stable economy so that he can " see my friends becoming architects, engineers and so on" (p. 3).
.	24:59	School			
.	26:00		Future		
.	26:14		Present	Future	The participant dreams of opening a company like Anchor or LG in South Africa (p. 5) or alternately to pursue a career in IT (p.5) but does not want to be a politician (p.1). He also wants to design architecture and have six pack muscles (p.5). He reports that "in ten years time I see myself as a wealthy businessman" (p.5). He also sees himself living in Durban or Ballito with a family (p. 5). The participant sees a united future for South Africa is we are able to conquer race, where we could compete alongside America, Russia and so on, to develop a strong and stable economy so that he can " see my friends becoming architects, engineers and so on" (p. 3).
.	26:51				
.	27:03		Future		
.	27:17		Present	Future	The participant dreams of opening a company like Anchor or LG in South Africa (p. 5) or alternately to pursue a career in IT (p.5) but does not want to be a politician (p.1). He also wants to design architecture and have six pack muscles (p.5). He reports that "in ten years time I see myself as a wealthy businessman" (p.5). He also sees himself living in Durban or Ballito with a family (p. 5). The participant sees a united future for South Africa is we are able to conquer race, where we could compete alongside America, Russia and so on, to develop a strong and stable economy so that he can " see my friends becoming architects, engineers and so on" (p. 3).
7	27:46				
.	28:42		Future		
.	29:37		Present	Future	The participant dreams of opening a company like Anchor or LG in South Africa (p. 5) or alternately to pursue a career in IT (p.5) but does not want to be a politician (p.1). He also wants to design architecture and have six pack muscles (p.5). He reports that "in ten years time I see myself as a wealthy businessman" (p.5). He also sees himself living in Durban or Ballito with a family (p. 5). The participant sees a united future for South Africa is we are able to conquer race, where we could compete alongside America, Russia and so on, to develop a strong and stable economy so that he can " see my friends becoming architects, engineers and so on" (p. 3).
.	30:02				
.	30:54		Future		
.	31:44		Present	Future	The participant dreams of opening a company like Anchor or LG in South Africa (p. 5) or alternately to pursue a career in IT (p.5) but does not want to be a politician (p.1). He also wants to design architecture and have six pack muscles (p.5). He reports that "in ten years time I see myself as a wealthy businessman" (p.5). He also sees himself living in Durban or Ballito with a family (p. 5). The participant sees a united future for South Africa is we are able to conquer race, where we could compete alongside America, Russia and so on, to develop a strong and stable economy so that he can " see my friends becoming architects, engineers and so on" (p. 3).
8	31:53				
.	32:45		Future		
.	33:25		Present	Future	The participant dreams of opening a company like Anchor or LG in South Africa (p. 5) or alternately to pursue a career in IT (p.5) but does not want to be a politician (p.1). He also wants to design architecture and have six pack muscles (p.5). He reports that "in ten years time I see myself as a wealthy businessman" (p.5). He also sees himself living in Durban or Ballito with a family (p. 5). The participant sees a united future for South Africa is we are able to conquer race, where we could compete alongside America, Russia and so on, to develop a strong and stable economy so that he can " see my friends becoming architects, engineers and so on" (p. 3).
.	33:34				
.	34:33		Future		
.	35:13		Present	Future	The participant dreams of opening a company like Anchor or LG in South Africa (p. 5) or alternately to pursue a career in IT (p.5) but does not want to be a politician (p.1). He also wants to design architecture and have six pack muscles (p.5). He reports that "in ten years time I see myself as a wealthy businessman" (p.5). He also sees himself living in Durban or Ballito with a family (p. 5). The participant sees a united future for South Africa is we are able to conquer race, where we could compete alongside America, Russia and so on, to develop a strong and stable economy so that he can " see my friends becoming architects, engineers and so on" (p. 3).
.	35:33				
.	36:06		Future		
.	37:27		Present	Future	The participant dreams of opening a company like Anchor or LG in South Africa (p. 5) or alternately to pursue a career in IT (p.5) but does not want to be a politician (p.1). He also wants to design architecture and have six pack muscles (p.5). He reports that "in ten years time I see myself as a wealthy businessman" (p.5). He also sees himself living in Durban or Ballito with a family (p. 5). The participant sees a united future for South Africa is we are able to conquer race, where we could compete alongside America, Russia and so on, to develop a strong and stable economy so that he can " see my friends becoming architects, engineers and so on" (p. 3).
9	39:46				
.	40:05		Future		
.	40:16		Present	Future	The participant dreams of opening a company like Anchor or LG in South Africa (p. 5) or alternately to pursue a career in IT (p.5) but does not want to be a politician (p.1). He also wants to design architecture and have six pack muscles (p.5). He reports that "in ten years time I see myself as a wealthy businessman" (p.5). He also sees himself living in Durban or Ballito with a family (p. 5). The participant sees a united future for South Africa is we are able to conquer race, where we could compete alongside America, Russia and so on, to develop a strong and stable economy so that he can " see my friends becoming architects, engineers and so on" (p. 3).
.	40:19				
.			Future		

*Sex = sexuality
Fam%= family

^God = religion
Men#= gender

Interview- and time- lines: 18D

Zola Zulu Analysis lines (10 pp; 53:33) - 18D				
Interview-line				Time-line
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year
1	00:00		Present	Past
.	00:06	Family		•
.	01:26	God^		
.	01:34	School		
2	06:01		Future	
.	06:04	Sex* Cult\$ Friend		
4	15:27			
.	18:23	Family		
5	21:40	Talk		
.	22:41			
.	22:50			
.	24:33	God^		
.	24:49			
6	27:43	School	Future	Present Approx. 1995 or 1996
.	28:07	Family		
.	29:11	God^		
.	29:28	School		Approx. 1999 or 2000
.	29:49			
.	30:34			
.	30:53	Fam%		Unknown
7	34:26	God^		
.	34:52	Sex*		
.	36:02			
8	39:14	God^	Present	
.	42:14	Family Youth		
9	43:03			
.	43:40	Talk Fam% Youth		
.	46:24		Past	
.	46:34	Race		2010
10	49:25		Future	
.	51:54	Sex*	Present	
.	53:31			
*Sex = sexuality Fam%= family ^God = religion Cult\$ = culture				Current Future •
				Uncle found that things were cheaper and towns were cleaner “when the white man was still the leader” (p. 9). Overall the family have the sense that things were better under Apartheid—that there were more opportunities, less corruption and stricter social rules leading to greater social cohesion (p.9) including corporal punishment (p. 10). Mother died at age 2 (p. 1). Father died at age 5 (p.1) He left her a trust fund that has funded her education and provided support other living costs (p. 4). In the time since her parents deaths she grew up in Umlazi with her paternal uncle, his wife, her brothers and their growing families (p.4). Subsequently she has lived variously between her Umlazi home and a home on the Bluff with an aunt who her father had appointed as her guardian, her aunt’s husband and their grandchild (p. 4). In 2010 she went to Johannesburg to visit family and again at a later (unknown) time for her sister’s wedding (p. 6). The participant is engaged to a 20 year old man (p.3) who is studying to become a priest (p.7) but feels it is in line with their faith to protect her virginity until marriage (p. 8). She is strongly religious, carrying a bible to school everyday (p. 1) and attends services in the Lutheran church (p.8). She rejects traditional customs and beliefs (p.2). Wants to maintain her independence (p.1) by working as a lawyer or archaeologist (p.2) or alternately pursuing becoming a nurse while working in a nurse’s home (p.6). Alternately she feels she could also pursue microbiology as she doesn't want to be “just a nurse” (p.6). The participant has a strong desire to be a mother and has already named the future child she imagines having with her current partner (p. 7). The participant wants to travel locally (including possibly to Pietermaritzburg—p.5) and internationally (p.3)

Interview- and time- lines: 19D

Ayanda Ntuli Analysis lines (14 pp; 57:05) - 19D				
Interview-line				Time-line
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year
1	00:00	Sex* Fam% School	Present	Past
2	02:40	Talk		
	05:45	School		
3	07:00	Talk		
	08:30	Sex*		
	08:38			
	09:33	Friends		
	09:35	School		
	09:45			
	11:58			
4	16:03			
5	17:53			
	18:25		Future	
	19:44	Friends		
	20:08	Family		
	20:36			
	20:48	Race	Future	
	21:35			
6	22:06	Sex* Family		
	23:08			
	24:18			
7	26:46		Present	
	29:11	Youth		
8	30:46			
	31:52	Family		
	32:56			
	32:57	Race School		
	33:17	Family		
	34:33			
9	34:46	Politics		
	35:52	Fam% Sex*		
	36:28		Past	
	36:33			
	37:41	Talk		
10	38:49			
	39:10	School		
	40:47		Present	
	41:07	Politics Race		
	43:00			
11	43:02	Talk		
	44:14			
	45:31			
	45:49	Family Friends		
	47:29			
12	47:30	Youth		
	47:49	God^		
	49:20			
	51:06	Race Family		
13	52:15			
	53:30	Culture		
	54:55	Youth		
	55:11	Sex* School		
	56:05			
14	57:05			
*Sex = sexuality Fam%= family				^God = religion
				Past • Mother was unable to attend English schools (p.8) and didn't experience the pressure to have cell phones and the like (p. 12). • Father didn't know his own mother until he was 11 (p. 3) Present Approx. 1997 or 1998 Father remarried when she was 3 but does not live with his wife. There are rumours of some kind of family tension which are unclear (p. 1). Approx. 2002—2003 Grandmother died (p. 10) around the time that she was starting to be bullied by some girls she had attended church with since grade 2 (p.4). She started keeping a diary about her life at about age 7 (p.5). She has only ever attended 'white schools' (p. 8) Approx. 2008—2009 When the participant was in grade 7 her father called her to his workplace to talk to her about family matters including a doubt about his paternity of her sister. This conversation has since spoiled an otherwise close relationship the participant has with her father (p. 2). The following year (in grade 8) she moved to live with her father when he mother remarried. This move coincided with four suicide attempts by the participant (p. 4). At about the same time (grade 7—8) the participant met the girls who had bullied her earlier in her life and was able to forgive them after a talk with her father (p.4). One girl in the trio of friends (called 'Destiny's Child) she had at the time "started acting weird" but she bonded with the third member and they have remained close ever since (p.3). She moved to live with her mother after her father found a note in her diary indicating this wish and talking about her difficult relationship with her stepmother (p.5). 2010 Mother caught her talking to a boy on the road outside their home and called her father to fetch her but he did not arrive and the matter was resolved which seemingly he had anticipated (p. 7). Current The participant lives with her mother and little sister (p.1). The participant reports multiple half-siblings from her father including a brother who died but it is unclear when (pp. 1—2). While she has many boy friends she has no boy lover (p.7) and has protected her virginity despite pressure (p. 7). Future • Having initially dreamed of being a social worker (p.5), the participant has decided to pursue a career in psychiatry (p.4) as the money in social work is not "equivalent to psychiatry" (p.5) She feels a strong desire to help people through her work in psychiatry (p.4) and also wants to build an art school (p.11). She imagines that she will study at Stellenbosch university because "white people are more civilised" (p. 5). The participant doesn't see herself getting married (p.5) but may at some point pursue adoption (p. 6).

Interview- and time- lines: 20D

Nomalanga Shangase Analysis lines (11 pp; 48:32) - 20D				
Interview-line				Time-line
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year
1	00:00		Present	Past
.	00:06	God^ Family		•
.	02:58			•
2	05:11	Friends		
.	05:26	Talk		
3	08:18			
.	08:27	Family		
.	11:16	Youth		
.	11:49			
4	13:37		Future	Present
.	14:05		Future	Approx, 1998 or 1999
.	14:50			
5	17:27			
6	22:19		Past	
.	23:12	Race		Unknown
.	23:17		Present	
7	24:30	Talk		
.	27:13	Family	Past	
.	28:10	Culture		
.	29:02	God^ Family		Current
.	30:36			
8	31:50			
.	32:43			
.	34:47			
9	38:10	Sex*		
.	38:17	Race Friends		
10	40:36		Future	
.	41:56			
.	43:05			
.	43:57	Politics		
11	45:23	Race	Present	
.	47:09			
.	48:30			
*Sex = sexuality ^God = religion				
				Past Family on the farm arrested for being in the wrong area [without permission] (p.7) Grandmother had a “typical black life” where she had to conform to restrictive laws and was expected to get married and have children (p. 7). Present Approx, 1998 or 1999 At the age of 4 or 5 was involved in a car accident with the mother and drunk uncle who had been driving. She broke some ribs and had to have surgery (p.1). Unknown Used the visit the farm as a young girl (p.7) but has not done so in many years after fight/s with her family over traditional customs and beliefs which she does not follow (p. 8). Current The participant is enrolled for travel and tourism subjects at school and has travelled to Port Elizabeth to visit her aunt and Pretoria to visit a nephew and her sister (p.3). She used to find inspiration in Nelson Mandela and Beyonce but feels the need to be independent (p.5). Nonetheless she finds support in her life from her sister and best friend (p.2). She enjoys gossip, stories and fashion (p.1). The participant is in an inter-racial relationship with a white boy (p.9) she met at school (p.10) and notices people’s surprise and discrimination toward them as a couple (p.9). She also notices being followed by security in shops (p. 6). Future The participant has decided to pursue a career as a dental therapist, living in Westville (p. 4) after having switched career choices between doctor and nurse for some time (p.4). She wants to have a lot of friends who she can share time with or live together (p. 3) as she feels she is not a ‘marrying person’ and wants to prove her independence (p.10). She has not ruled out marrying her current partner entirely but indicates that if she does marry it will not be in the “near future” (p.10). For the future of SA, The participant expects that there will be white flight and black retaliation for the past (p. 11)

Interview- and time- lines: 21D

Zama Mthethwa Analysis lines (16 pp; 43:48) - 21D				
Interview-line				Time-line
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year
1	00:00	Fam% God^ School	Present	Past
.	00:07			•
.	02:07			
2	03:06	Friend Fam% School		
3	06:45	Talk		•
.	08:25			
4	08:41	Sex* School		
.	10:15			
.	10:30	God^ Friend		Present
5	12:35			1995
7	17:58			
.	18:20	Friends	Future	Approx. 2005—2010
.	19:17			
8	20:57			
.	21:07	Sports		
.	21:51			
9	22:58		Future	
.	23:03	Youth School		
10	23:37	Fam%		
.	27:32			
11	27:54			
.	27:56	Respect Sex*	Past	
.	28:10			
.	29:28	School	Present	
.	29:31			
12	30:43	Youth Politics		
.	30:59	School Race		
.	33:00			
13	35:31	Sex*		Current
14	36:24			
15	40:45	Talk		
.	40:57	Culture		
.	41:21			
.	41:26	Respect		
16	41:53			
.	42:01	God^		
.	43:26			
.	43:48			
*Sex = sexuality Fam%= family				Future • The participant wants to be a psychologist and study at University of Johannesburg or in Bloemfontein (p.4). She has a wish to start a new life after school away from Durban (p.8) where she also has the chance to travel (p. 9).

Interview- and time- lines: 22D

Pieter Steyn Analysis lines (8 pp; 46:09) - 22D					
Interview-line				Time-line	
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year	Chronological Narrative
1	00:00		Present	Past	Maternal uncle who acts as father figure wanted to be a doctor technologist but was unable to after being drafted to the air-force which led to his career as a meteorologist (p.2).
.	00:05				
.	02:19	Fam% God^ Culture			
2	03:36		Past	Present 1995	Born in 1995—Aged 17 (p. 1) to Afrikaans speaking family. His mother was 18 when he was born and his father disappeared so his maternal uncle took on the role of his 'father' (p.1)
.	04:45	Talk			
.	05:59	School			
.	07:14		Future	2000	Mother married his step-father in 2000 and lives with him and the participants 9 year old sister (p. 2). The participant lives with his 'father' and grandmother (p.1) although its unclear from when. At about the same time he starts using computers from age 5 (p.4)
.	07:28	School			
.	09:22	Race			
3	09:32	Culture	Future		'Father's' vehicle was broken into and the radio stolen (p. 7).
.	10:29	Race			
.	10:49	School			
.	11:50	Race	Present	2002	In 2006 he travelled with his family around South Africa to Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Knysna, George, Bedford West, Bloemfontein, Kimberley and Johannesburg (p. 3).
.	12:55				
.	14:24	School			
4.	16:03	Youth	Past	2006	In grade 8 he was "tortured" in school because of his Afrikaans heritage, excellent performance in school and body size (p.4) by students who were abusing alcohol and feared he would report them despite the participant not in fact being aware of their behaviour (p.8).
.	16:04				
.	17:11	School			
.	17:33	Family	Present		The participant loves adventure and taking chances, particularly good chances in education to be successful (p.1). He is fairly successful at school and has been awarded a junior achiever badge for running a successful business where he was the assistant financial manager [at a school fair] (p. 4). He has also involved himself in charity drives and acts as a student representative (p.4). The participant helps his younger sister with her schooling (p. 1). The participant finds inspiration in his family and 'God' (p. 1). He is a Christian. He holidays with his family "every second or third time" down the South Coast (p. 1).
5	18:51				
.	24:06	Family			
.	24:14	God^	Past		Short-term the family is looking to move to the North Coast to be nearer to the 'father's' work (p.4)
.	25:52				
.	26:06	Youth			
.	26:21	Fam% Friends	Future		Longer-term the participant wants to be an accountant and IT engineer (p.1) which he will study ay UKZN part-time (p.4). He would like to open an business in fixing and building computers, as well as looking to external and internal auditing as his "passion is to work with numbers" (p.9).
6	27:36				
.	27:44	Culture			
.	29:19	Race	Present		
.	30:42	Talk			
.	31:32	Politics			
7	31:38		Future		
.	32:35	Talk			
.	38:16	Youth			
.	39:16	Men#	Future		
8	39:57				
.	41:38				
.	41:42	Culture	Future		
.	42:04	Sex*			
.	42:17	Fam% School			
.	42:36		Future		
.	42:55	Youth			
.	43:40	Culture			
.	43:52				
.	46:07				
.	46:09				
*Sex = sexuality Fam%= family ^God = religion Men# = gender					

Interview- and time- lines: 23A

Khetiwe Duma Analysis lines (11 pp; 49:15) - 23A					
Interview-line				Time-line	
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year	Chronological Narrative
1	00:00		Present	Past	Many members of the family died during Apartheid (p. 1). They were killed by the owners of Apartheid when they fought for freedom (p.3). Apartheid was characterised by tribalism and racism (p.1). Life was hard for grandmother who could not do many things because she was Zulu and each cultural group lived in different 'countries' (p.3). The restrictions on her life included not being able to walk in the streets without ID and not being allowed to share anything with whites or other cultural groups generally (p.3) Born in 1996—Aged 17 (p. 1) Between 6 months and 3 years was introduced to the father's ancestors and took his name (p. 4). Visited a National Park with school where she witnessed a racist incident toward a white boy they encountered who was not from their school group (p. 4). Lives with her mother (p.1) and three siblings in Bergville (p.2) as a part of a larger family of grandparents, aunts, uncles and their children (p.2). Her father abandoned the family and is living in Johannesburg with another woman (p.2) and works as a truck driver (p.5). Her mother works for the municipality in Bergville (p. 5). She attends multiple traditional events including girls camp in September (p. 9); workshops for girls wearing traditional dress and performing traditional dance on the first Saturday of every month (p. 4); and virginity every Saturday at school (p. 9). The participant is inspired by a lawyer in the community (p.6). Is anticipating the ritual that will mark her coming of age at 21 (p.4) The participant wants to pursue a career in law so as to effect change in a country where people are becoming "vultures" through rape, murder and violence (p.1). She also wants to be married "one day" and have one child but only after turning 21 (p.9). She does not want to live in cities but rather wants to stay near her family in Bergville (p.9).
.	00:07	Family Culture	Past		
2	04:42				
.	06:28				
3	08:25	Family Culture			
.	11:12				
.	11:23	Talk			
.	12:10				
.	12:16	Race	Past		
.	12:52				
.	13:06				
.	13:39				
4	13:50	Race School	Present		
.	15:23				
.	16:19	Culture Fem#			
.	17:54	Fam% Talk			
5	20:05			Present 1996	
.	21:56				
.	22:50				
.	23:35	Culture Fem#			
6	24:10	Family Talk	Past	Betw. 1996 + 1999	
.	24:34				
.	24:40	School			
.	25:01		Future	Unknown	
.	26:47				
.	26:56	School			
.	27:48				
7	29:45	Men# Culture			
.	30:20				
.	31:14	Politics		Current	
8	33:29				
.	36:01	Family	Past		
.	36:29				
.	37:08				
.	37:30	School	Present		
.	37:49				
9	38:18	Cult\$ Fem# Sex*	Future		
.	39:44				
.	41:13				
.	42:14				
.	42:38				
.	42:52	Culture			
.	43:27				
10	44:39	Youth Sports Friends	Present		
.	45:21				
.	46:10				
.	46:11				
.	46:19			Future	
.	47:48	Sex* Men# Cult\$			
.	48:18				
.	48:19				
11	48:39	Youth Fem#	Future		
.	49:15				

Interview- and time- lines: 24A

Naledi Mokhosi Analysis lines (8 pp; 39:32) - 24A				
Interview-line				Time-line
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year
1	00:00		Present	Past
.	00:13	Family	School	•
.	01:09			
.	02:07	Family		
.	03:08		Talk	
2	04:28			
.	05:59			
.	06:55	Sex*	Talk	
.	07:32			
.	08:07	Culture		
.	08:52			
3	09:22	School		Present Approx. 2004
.	10:22			
.	10:34	Youth		
.	10:49	School		
.	11:36		Talk	
.	12:28			
.	13:05			
.	13:09			
.	13:54			
4	14:07	Race	Past	
.	15:43			
.	15:59	God^		Approx. 2009
.	16:07		Present	
.	16:21			
.	16:38	Politics	School	
.	17:00			
.	17:35		Youth	
.	17:45			
5	19:02	School		Unknown
.	19:27			
.	19:57		Future	
.	21:46			
.	22:13	School		
.	23:34	Family		
.	23:59			
6	24:00	Politics	School	Current
.	24:25			
.	25:53		Past	
.	26:29			
.	27:47			
.	28:40		Present	
.	28:52			
.	29:39		Past	Future
7	29:50	Youth		•
.	30:09		Future	
.	31:00			
.	31:15			
.	31:53		Present	
.	32:03			
.	32:24		Future	
.	33:16		Present	
.	34:02	Sex* Talk Family		
8	34:59			
.	35:18			
.	35:38	School		
.	37:02			
.	37:20	Youth		
.	37:29			
.	38:30		Future	
.	38:58			
.	39:28		Present	
*Sex = sexuality ^God = religion				
				Conflict between ANC and IFP in the community and rumoured continued rallies (p.6). Grandmother had ten children of which only two survived [into adulthood] including the participant's mother and an aunt who currently works in Johannesburg as a domestic worker (p. 1). Lived with Mother until she left [approximately in 2004] to work in Johannesburg as a domestic worker (p.1). As her father, who works as a truck diver in Johannesburg (p.2) had abandoned his family, the participant subsequently went to live with her 55 year old grandmother who used to support herself by selling crafts to hotels (p. 1). The mother would visit every two months (p.2) Five years after leaving for Johannesburg the participant's mother died when the participant was in grade 7 (p. 1) after a surprise illness of 3 days (p.2). At about the same time she visited the National Park at Mponjaneni and Tugela Gorge with her primary school in grade 7 (p. 8) The participant used to attend Emhalngeni [reed dance] (p.2) where she see the king of AmaZizi iNkosi Miya at summer ceremonies (p.3). The participant reports not enjoying her visits to cities (p. 7). The participant continues to live with her grandmother (p.1) and enjoys drama studies at school as well as gospel, rnb and kwaito music (p.5). The participant wants to be a medical physicist to help deal with HIV (p.7). She wants to get married, have children and remain in Bergville (p.7) but to also live her "own" independent life (p.8).

Interview- and time- lines: 25A

Cebesile Mchunu Analysis lines (10 pp; 42:16) - 25A				
Interview-line				Time-line
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year
1	00:00		Present	Past
.	00:39		Future	•
.	01:35			
2	02:16	Family		
.	03:18	Talk		
.	03:21			
.	03:37		Past	Present 1996
.	04:28	School		
.	04:52			
.	05:10			
.	05:44	Fem#		
3	08:01	Culture	Present	Approx. 2008 –2010
.	09:43			
.	10:03			
.	11:30	Fem#		
4	11:32	Talk		
.	12:50	Respect		
.	15:13	Youth		
5	16:11	Friends		Current
.	16:40			
.	17:17	School		
.	18:23			
.	19:05	Youth		
6	21:08	Culture		
.	21:59			
.	22:13			
.	22:20	Race	Past	
.	22:50	Respect		
.	23:24	Fem#		
.	23:30	Race	Present	Future
.	23:34		Past	
.	23:51	Talk		•
.	23:58	Politics		
7	24:01			•
.	24:45			
.	25:08			
.	25:34			
.	25:45		Present	
.	26:01			
.	26:14	Youth		
.	26:28			
.	27:14	School	Future	
.	28:21			
8	30:41	God^	Present	
.	31:10			
.	31:26	Sex*		
.	31:43	Family		
.	32:02	Talk		
.	33:10			
.	33:24	Family		
9	34:14			
.	34:17	God^		
.	34:35			
.	35:47	School		
.	36:29	Talk		
.	36:54		Past	
.	38:04			
10	39:10		Future	
.	41:11	Youth	Present	
.	42:15			
*Sex = sexuality #Fem= gender ^God = religion				Mother was unable to go to school because of laws and gender norms (p. 2). Born in 1996—Aged 17 (p. 1). Participant grew up “carefree, happy and healthy” (p. 1). Father died mysteriously after a week in hospital (p.9) in 2008 or 2009 (p.1) or 2010 (p.8). Before his death father worked in Johannesburg (p.9). She has kept a diary of poetry and motivational speeches since grade 8 [approximately 2010] where she writes about struggle, love and success (p. 8). She currently lives with her mother and siblings (p.1) and her mother works as a cooker at a school (p.9). She continues to write poetry and loves drama (p.6) Every Monday and Friday at school she performs motivational speeches in assembly (p. 6). She is inspired by actors and actresses on local TV including personalities Menzi Ngubane and Sbotho the poet on Ukhosi FM (p.7). The participant anticipates the ceremonies that will be performed to mark her coming of age at 21 [in 2017] (p. p.3) The participant wants to pursue acting, poetry and science careers (p. 1) where she imagines she will pursue acting and poetry in Johannesburg in her 20s and then later in her 30s to 50s take up a career in science (p. 7). In terms of science she is interested in engineering and a bachelor of science (p. 7). She also considers politics a viable career option (p.7). The participant wants to be married in her 30s when she is settled and to have two children (p. 7). Ultimately she wants to pursue fame (p.7) and sees success as being able to spend “millions and millions” (p.8). South Africa’s future will be where the “rule of the child” will end and where people will move away from rural areas (p.10).

Interview- and time- lines: 26A

Nonhle Mkhwanazi Analysis lines (11 pp; 52:15) - 26A

Interview-line				Time-line	
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year	Chronological Narrative
1	00:00		Present	Past	Parents experienced school that was uninteresting and mother didn't finish school even though (or because) school was significantly more costly than today (p. 3).
.	00:08	School		•	
.	01:04	Family		.	
.	01:47				
.	02:28	School	Future		
2	03:37				
.	06:22				
.	08:11	God^	Family	Present	When the participant was in grade 3 she started playing netball and has subsequently travelled to competitions in Ladysmith, Pietermaritzburg and Escourt (p. 5).
.	08:41			Approx. 2005	
3	09:46				
.	09:57	School	Past		
.	10:21	Talk			
.	10:46	Fam%			
.	11:32				
.	12:41	School	Past	Approx. 2010	Met her mother for the first time in grade 8 (p.1). Her mother works as a preacher (p.3) in Ladysmith and the participant will visit her there on the week-ends or holidays (p.2).
.	13:02				
.	13:10				
.	13:56				
4	14:26	Culture			
.	14:57	God^		2011—2012	The participant has taken the science stream of subjects (p.1) since grade 9 and visited Eskom as a part of the school science week and as one of the top 10 science learners, where she met and became inspired by one of the workers there (p.2). The participant became sick in 2012 after losing a notebook which is believed to have been used for bewitchment which she is also sceptical about in part because of her strong Christian faith(p. 4). Last year [2012] was nominated for Uthukela best player award in netball (p. 5).
.	15:56	School			
.	16:05				
.	16:21	God^			
.	17:29	Sports			
.	18:30				
.	18:55				
.	20:21	School	Past		
.	20:36	Youth			
.	22:53				
.	23:23				
.	24:05				
6	25:31		Future	Current	The participant lives with her grandmother, cousins and brothers (p.2) Her father is working as a policeman in Gauteng (p.3). The participant is a good public speaker and debater (p.5) and finds inspiration from speakers and pastors on Ukhozi FM (p. 10). Leleti Khumalo is a role model and 'hero' for the participant (p. 7).
.	26:22	Youth			
.	26:55	Talk			
.	27:40	School			
.	27:48				
.	28:04				
.	28:46	Race	Past		
.	28:57	Youth			
.	29:13				
.	30:00				
.	30:56				
.	31:44				
.	32:14				
.	33:35	Race	Past	Future	The participant wants to become an electrical engineer to assist with the needs of those without electricity (p. 1) and in doing so be seen as a hero by her family (p.1). She wants to study at the Pretoria University (p.9) where she will complete her courses in three years, start working in year 4 and by year 6 she will marry and have children whose lives she wants to be better than her own (p.10).
.	33:47	Politics		•	
.	34:01	Talk			
.	34:09				
8	34:19	Politics	Present		
.	34:42	Culture			
.	35:57	Race	Future		
.	36:18				
.	36:28				
.	37:31	Youth			
.	37:46				
.	38:23	God^	Present		
.	39:48				
.	40:09				
9	42:19	Fem#			
.	42:52	School	Talk		
.	43:10				
.	44:04	Respect	Youth		
.	44:25				
.	44:41				
.	44:59				
.	45:12	Family			
.	45:27	School	Future		
10	45:49				
.	46:56	God^	Present		
.	48:13				
.	48:27	Family	Future		
.	49:32				
.	49:43	Sex*			
.	51:00	School	Present		
.	51:25				
11	51:49		Past		
.	52:15				

*Sex = sexuality
Fam%= family

^God = religion

Interview- and time- lines: 27A

Bongani Hlongwane Analysis lines (10 pp; 55:35) - 27A				
Interview-line				Time-line
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year
1	00:00		Present	Past
.	02:11	God^		•
.	03:57	Fam%		•
.	04:55	School		
2	05:30			
.	05:36	God^		
.	06:40	Fam%	Future	
.	06:45	Friends		
.	07:22	Respect	Present	
.	07:41			
3	08:24	Talk		
.	10:35			Present
.	11:52			1992—1996
.	13:34	Fam%		
.	13:45	Talk		
4	17:55			
.	19:00	Culture		
.	20:23	God^		
5	20:56			
.	21:08	God^		
.	21:20	Fam%		2001 or 2002
.	21:44			
.	22:08			
.	22:49	Fam%		2004
.	23:53	Culture		
6	26:18			
.	26:52	Talk		
.	28:40		Past	
.	29:38	Culture		2008
.	30:31			
.	30:36	God^		
7	31:30	Youth	Present	
.	31:31			
.	32:12	Race	Past	
.	32:19			
.	33:44	Talk		2011—2012
.	33:50	School		
.	34:46	Cult\$	Present	
.	35:17			
.	35:43	Talk	Past	
.	35:49	Race		
.	36:49	School		
8	38:16			
.	38:17			Current
.	39:29	God^		
.	40:00			
.	42:16	School		
.	42:43		Future	
.	42:49	Family		
.	43:31			
9	43:47			
.	44:02	Culture	Present	
.	44:58	School		
.	45:08	God^		
.	46:01			
.	46:46	Sports		Future
.	47:22			•
.	48:16	School		
.	48:45	Sex*		
.	48:56	Sports		
.	49:22			
10	50:41	Men#		
.	51:18	Talk		
.	52:31		Future	
.	52:57			
.	53:38			
.	53:57	Sex*		
.	54:55			
.	55:16		Future	
.	55:33			
		*Sex = sexuality Fam%= family	^God = religion Cult\$ = culture	
				Dad was reportedly a bully (p.3) and had lots of wives (p.4) Grandmother ‘graduated’ and was expected to work as a teacher in Brazil before being taken to get married (p.6). The grandmother had learned to speak many language (including “Brazil, Norwisch and Spanish” among others) when her family had lived in Soweto with Brazilian and Portuguese people under Apartheid (p. 6). Born in 1992, aged 21 (p. 3) or 1996, aged 17 (p.4). He was his mother’s first born child and his father’s fourth child (p.1). The participant has some Sotho heritage as his grandfather is Sotho (p.5). He was raised Zulu in Bergville (p.5). Father died in 2001/2002 (p. 2). Visited Johannesburg to visit his mother who works as a domestic worker (p. 3) Started singing in grade 6 (p. 9). Over the years he has excelled in singing. He was a leader in a choir that visited Ennambithi (LadySmith) and he has won two medals for singing and being a great choir leader (p.9). He enjoys performing gospel and umshado but also performs local music of isicathamiya and indlamu, and sings tenor and bass (p.9). He has visited his mother in Johannesburg at least a total of four times including visits in the last two years (p.3) and enjoyed some of the attractions including Gold Reef City. Meet a girl at school who he started dating ‘last year’ [2012] (p.9). Has been living with his grandmother and siblings (p.2) but his grandmother is currently in Johannesburg with his grandfather to help him build a store which she hopes to manage (p.5). The participant is religious and did attend church with his grandmother until she left (p. 5). He is enrolled for science subjects at school. He recently fought with his girlfriend at school over his perceived infidelity during a trip to Howick to play football and netball (p. 9). The participant wants to own a company (p.2) like a school or foundation to help kids suffering from poverty and HIV/AIDS (p.8) and be able to reward his mother for her efforts raising him (p.2). He wants to live in Ennambithi (Ladysmith) (p.8) and have the chance to travel with friends (p.2). He also dreams of being married to a good wife and being a good father to his own children (p.2).

Interview- and time- lines: 28A

Sindiswa Thwala Analysis lines (11 pp; 54:38) - 28A				
Interview-line				Time-line
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year
1	00:00		Present	Past
.	00:08	Family		•
.	04:40	School		
2	05:50		Future	
.	06:12			
.	06:54			
.	07:34	School		
.	08:54	Sex*		
3	10:42			Present
.	11:19	Friends		1996
.	11:43		Future	
.	13:42	Talk		Approx
4	14:29			2004
.	14:40	Culture		
.	15:21	God^		Unknown
.	16:28	Talk		
.	16:48			
.	17:30	Sex*		
.	18:01			
5	19:11	Family		Approx.
.	19:36			2008
.	21:27	Culture		
.	22:13			
.	23:28			
6	24:09	School		2011—2012
.	24:34			
.	24:41	Youth	Future	
.	24:58			
.	25:00	Talk		
.	25:10	Family	Past	
.	25:25			
.	27:27	Race		
.	28:32			
.	28:46	Youth		
.	29:15			
7	29:17			
.	30:29	Respect	Future	
.	30:42			
.	31:05	Politics		Current
.	31:14	Race	Past	
.	31:38			
.	32:27			
.	32:41	Family	Present	
.	33:18			
.	34:09	Culture		
.	34:38			
8	36:15	School		
.	36:27	Friends		
.	38:24			
.	38:45			
.	39:07	School	Future	
.	39:41	Family		
9	41:39	School		
.	47:33	Sex*		
10	48:39			Future
.	51:58		Future	
.	52:38			
.	53:10	Talk		
11	54:21	Family		
.	54:36			
*Sex = sexuality ^God = religion				
				Unclear how parents met (p.3) but they were a happy couple who enjoyed movies (p.4). After they met the mother travelled to Limpopo to meet the father's parents and they built a life together there (p.3). Born in 1996—Aged 17 (p. 1). In grade 3 was raped by the father of a family she was staying with in Limpopo (p. 9). Moved to Amangwane after her sisters high school matric year [supposedly in 2001 but unclear given date of rape]. Her parents moved in the grandmother's house after she passed away (p. 2). The participant was awarded a certificate for the best student in English in grade 7 after joining a school in Amangwane (p. 1). She met a boy who she started dating when she was in grade 10 [2011] and he was in grade 9 (p.3). They danced together at her sister's wedding shortly after meeting (p.3). In 2012 she fell pregnant when she was in grade 11 forcing her to repeat the year (p.2). The father of her child has since moved to Johannesburg after the death of his own father as he inherited a taxi business there (p.3). Parental surveillance has increased since she gave birth in late 2012 as a punishment for her wrongs (p. 2). The participant lives with her parents, one sister and her four month old son (p.1). The child stays with her mother while she is a school in the day (p.8), where she is doing consumer studies (p.2). The participant also enjoys cooking, reading and watching TV (p.2). She finds support in a sister who recently finished school (p. 2). The participant believes in a Christian God and goes to church with her mother but also believes in ancestors and has performed imbhelelo with her family (p.4). She has noticed that beliefs in witchcraft played a role in her family's decision to leave Limpopo and has impacted on her desire to return (p. 5). The participant wants to grow her family and have a "wonderful husband" and a decent job, possibly as a part-time chef and nurse (p.2). She wants her son to learn about other cultures and religions (p. 7) and while she wants to give back to the community because of her own experiences, she doesn't feel she could share them with her son (p. 10).

Interview- and time- lines: 29A

Vusimuzi Msomi Analysis lines (14 pp; 51:21) - 29A					
Interview-line				Time-line	
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year	Chronological Narrative
1	00:00		Present	Past	Life was hard for parents and grandparents and they had to fetch cows, walk a long distance to water taps and they couldn't go to town without carrying a dompass (p. 9). Grandmother is not that old so she was not exposed to policies and they lived a normal life, they in any case did not need to go to town because they had wood to make fires (p. 11). Born in 1997—Aged 16 and grew up in Bergville (p. 1). His mother, who had worked in a toll booth (p.2), died in 2012 (p.1) of liver failure (p.2). He currently lives with his grandmother. Half-brother who is the same age as him and a cousin (p.1). He sees his father during school holidays including early in 2013 (p. 2). His relationship with his grandmother is difficult and she yells at him about “everything” (p. 4). He enjoys reading, rapping, as well as writing and listening to hip hop and is inspired by Nicki Minaj and Little Wayne (p.1). He finds poetry and song writing helps him to express himself (p.5). He spends a lot of his time alone (p.7). He has travelled a lot through South Africa to visit family (p. 8). He is not engaged in cultural practices and this is a part of a motivation to learn and experience new things from other cultures and people (p. 12). Nonetheless, he recognises the necessity of some customs like lobolo (p. 12). The participant wants to achieve his dream of rapping but wants to pursue more seriously a career in a science (p. 7). He wants to travel to Cairo Egypt, Paris and Hollywood to see and experience things he’s never experienced (p.7). He would also like to live in the USA but feels stuck in South Africa by the need to perform certain customary traditions like lobola (p.13).
.	00:04	Family		•	
.	01:31	School		.	
.	01:50			•	
.	02:58				
2	05:16	Family			
.	05:48		Talk		
3	07:41		Talk		
.	08:47		Talk		
.	10:27		Talk		
4	11:13		Talk		
5	14:08		Talk		
.	14:26		Talk	Present	
.	15:50		Talk	1997	
.	15:57	Sport			
.	16:42			2012	
6	18:47		Talk		
.	19:04		Talk		
.	20:27		Talk		
7	21:09			Current	
.	21:38				
.	22:09		Future		
.	22:35				
8	25:50				
.	27:31	Family			
.	27:50		Present		
9	29:46	Friends			
.	30:50				
.	31:01		Past		
.	32:05				
.	32:15	Race			
.	33:00		Future		
.	33:45				
10	34:08		Past		
.	36:00				
11	38:13		Present		
.	38:22	Talk	Past		
.	39:03	Family			
.	39:29	Politics			
.	39:30				
.	41:02	School		Future	
.	41:49	Politics			
12	41:50				
13	45:50			•	
.	46:04	Culture	Talk		
.	47:03				
14	49:18		Future		
.	49:49	Sport			
.	51:21		Present		

Interview- and time- lines: 30A

Thabile Zondo Analysis lines (12 pp; 55:38) - 30A					
Interview-line				Time-line	
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year	Chronological Narrative
1	00:00		Present	Past	During grandparents time they were ruled by the ‘Boers’ who would beat them especially if they didn't have their dompass on them in the streets (p.2) They were also subject to the bantu system of education (p.2). Grandmother forced to stop school at 15 to work for white ‘Boers’ who would beat her for being late despite living far from work and having to rely on taxi transport (p. 2).
.	00:06		Future		
2	04:57	Fam% Race School Friends			
.	07:02		Past		
.	07:11	Politics Talk			
.	08:22				
.	08:29	Race			
3	10:09		Present		
.	10:51				
.	11:28	Politics			
.	12:40				
.	12:59	Race			
.	13:36	Sex*			
.	13:52	School Talk Friends		Present 1997	
4	14:21			Approx. 2004—2008	
.	14:28	Youth			
.	15:24				
.	15:36				
5	19:04	School Fam% Race	Past Future		
.	22:25				
6	23:31	Friend			
.	24:43	God^ Culture			
.	24:57				
.	25:35				
.	27:16	School			
7	28:14				
.	28:32	School		2010	
.	31:00	Talk			
.	31:13	Culture			
.	31:33				
.	31:41	Sex*			
8	33:17		Talk Fam%		
.	33:25				
.	34:45	Friend			
.	35:55				
.	36:04	Youth Fem#		2013	
.	36:45				
.	36:56	School Sex* Talk			
9	37:11				
.	37:25	Talk Friend			
.	38:08				
.	38:24	School Sports			
.	39:10				
.	40:07				
10	41:55	Talk			
.	42:03				
.	42:58		Future		
.	44:09	School Sports			
.	45:22				
.	46:25		Present		
11	48:05			Current	
.	48:15	Youth School			
.	49:10				
.	49:22	Politics			
.	50:25	Race			
.	50:41	Youth Politics School	Future		
12	52:06				
.	52:14	Culture			
.	53:44				
.	55:02		Present	Future	
.	55:28				
		*Sex = sexuality Fam%= family ^God = religion Fem# = gender			
• The participant wants to get a job that is “satisfactory” where she can have a house and dogs; and while she feels she may have a husband and children those are “bottom of the list” (p.1). Her dream is to become a chartered accountant and after a year balance this with design work and would love to have her own fashion label (p.10). She would like to live in Los Angeles, California USA or in South Africa in Johannesburg or Durban (p.10).					

Interview- and time- lines: 31A

Jabulani Siyanda Nzimande Analysis lines (10 pp; 44:28) - 31A				
Interview-line				Time-line
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year
1	00:00		Present	Past
.	00:06	Fam% God^ School		
.	02:24		Past	
.	02:35		Present	Present Approx. 1996—1998
.	03:00		Future	
.	03:30	Fam%		
2	03:50			
.	04:07			
.	04:20			
.	05:07	Talk	Present	
.	06:08			
3	10:07		Future	
.	10:35			
.	11:02			
.	11:18	Talk		
.	13:00	God^		Approx. 2001—2001
4	13:14			
.	14:06	Youth Friends		
.	14:52			
.	15:43			
.	17:00			Current
.	17:15	School Talk		
.	17:32			
.	17:45	Race	Past	
5	18:56	Talk		
.	19:47			
.	20:04	Cult\$ Race		
.	20:55			
.	21:25	Fam%		
.	21:33			
.	22:30	Talk	Present	
.	22:47			
6	23:12	Fam%		
.	23:31		Future	
.	24:17			
.	24:23	Men# Fam%		
.	24:38		Future	
.	25:08			
.	25:16	Talk		Future
.	25:55			
.	26:22	Respect Youth		
.	26:43			
.	26:54			
.	27:18			
7	29:18	School	Future	
.	30:15	Talk		
8	33:08			
.	34:13	Friends		
.	35:29			
.	35:58			
.	37:16	Youth	Future	
.	37:54			
9	37:55			
.	38:18	Politics		
.	39:04			
.	40:38		Present	
.	41:05	Youth		
.	41:18	Race	Past	
.	41:45			
.	42:52			
10	43:40	Youth		
.	44:28			
#Men = gender Fam%= family				
^God = religion				
				The participant was born in Baragwanath hospital (p.2) After he was born he lived with his father in Johannesburg for a short time before his father took him to live with his grandmother. He has never seen his mother (p. 1). His parents reportedly split after his father was shot during conflict at a hostel (p.2) After two or three years living with his grandmother she died when he was in Grade R and he went to live with an aunt who subsequently moved to Amangwane with him (p.1). The participant continues to live with his aunt and has a difficult relationship with his cousins (p.2). His father now lives in Dukuzu, KZN where he is unemployed and works as a shepherd to support himself (p. 2). The participant has travelled to Durban to visit an aunt (p. 10). He is very religious and never misses church (p.1) especially since his recent commitment to the Christian faith (p. 3). He enjoys playing soccer with his friends who motivate him (p. 4) but is also inspired by a doctor in Johannesburg (p.7) and a local soccer coach despite the later also having some negative qualities like drunken driving (pp 7—8). The participant has directly observed the failure of counsellors to make good on promises to deliver water to his community (p. 9). If he gets a bursary the participant will study to become a doctor (p.1) because he wants to motivate and show people “they can make it” (p.4) as well as save lives (p.7); but he also feels that the door is open to him to pursue many science fields including engineering (p.7). He dreams of having a nice car, and a home with a wife and children (p. 1). He imagines himself living in Durban North as the “lifestyle is more higher” (p.8) and he dreams of travelling around South Africa (p.9). Longer term he expects the future of South Africa will see more libraries and clinics in communities (p. 9).

Interview- and time- lines: 32A

Xolani Gigaba Analysis lines (10 pp; 45:10) - 32A				
Interview-line				Time-line
Page	Time	Theme	Tense	Year
Chronological Narrative				
1	00:00		Present	Past
.	00:09	School		•
2	00:37	Fam% Youth	Future	.
.	05:35			
.	06:20		Future	•
.	06:28			
.	06:34			
.	06:40	Talk		
.	07:09			
.	08:01	Fam%		
.	08:12	Talk	Fem#	
.	08:42	Respect Sex*		
3	09:23			
.	10:54	Talk		
4	11:51			•
.	15:49		Future	
.	17:21	Friends		
.	17:38			
.	17:57			
5	18:32	Fem# Talk		Present
.	19:08			2007
.	19:26			
.	20:10	Sports Culture		
.	20:57			
.	21:03	Fem# Fam%		
.	22:43			
6	23:36	Fam%		
.	23:51			
.	26:19	Talk		Approx.
.	26:32	Fam%	Sex*	2008
.	26:58			Approx.
.	28:06			2010—2011
7	28:29	Youth	Past	
.	29:53	Respect School		
.	30:02			
.	30:47			
.	32:01			Current
8	33:15		Past	
.	33:16	Race		
.	33:29			
.	34:44	Talk		
.	34:50	School Fam%	Present	
.	36:01			
.	36:12			
.	37:15			
.	37:40	Race		
.	38:06			
.	38:30			
9	38:49	Men# Fem#		Future
.	39:55			
.	40:13	Sex* Friends Fam%		•
.	40:36			
.	41:37			
.	41:48	Fam%		
.	42:36	Talk	Youth	
10	43:55			
.	43:56			
.	44:27			
.	45:10			
		*Sex = sexuality Fam%= family	#Men = gender #Fem = gender	
				Father's family were arrested for not paying head tax and during an incident where police found an unlicensed gun in the home of a family member who was subsequently arrested and fired from his job (p. 8). Grandmother has never been to school (p. 3) which is seen as characteristic of her grandparents generation (p. 6). The grandmother's life is characterised by doing chores and staying at home (p.6) without phones or trousers (p.7). Their generation had "good lives" without TV, electricity and cell phones (p.8). Mother only had the participant because a problem with her kidneys meant that she could not have any additional children (p.2). The participant stayed with her mother in Johannesburg (p.1). In 2007 her mother, who had worked in a factory (p.3), died in a car accident (p.1). At the age of 12 her grandmother had a talk with her about relationships and being a woman (p.6). At ages 14 or 15 she stayed with her father in Durban. At some point her grandmother and father fought over 'custody' of her and as a result she moved to Amangwane last year [2012] and has lost contact with her father (p. 3). She currently lives with just her grandmother after her grandfather's death (p.1). She enjoys dancing (p. 1) and goes dancing on Fridays and Saturdays where she dances pantsula and boomjive (p. 5). She is inspired by actress Lorcía Cooper (p.1) and writes stories that her and her friends (re-)enact—including the story of a girl who was raped (p.4) which she (as the author) concluded differently to the actual events which inspired the story—that is, the rape of a 'sister' (p.9). The participant wants to build a life in Durban (p.4) where she wants to be a dancer, actress and mother and has dreams of becoming famous (p.4).