THE SILENCING OF WOMEN'S TRAUMA: DESCENDANT'S REFLECTIONS ON DISREMEMBERED WOMEN ANTI-APARTHEID ACTIVISTS

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2025

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by thesis in the field of Psychology.

DECLARATION

I declare that:

The Silencing of Women's Trauma: Descendant's Reflections on Disremembered Women Anti-Apartheid Activists

is my own, unaided work and all the sources that I have applied or quoted have been indicated utilising complete references. This thesis is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the field of Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.

Lynne Daniele Goldschmidt 

Date 25 June 2025

DEDICATION

This body of work is dedicated to the women anti-apartheid activists and their descendants.

To every woman who fearfully and fearlessly sacrificed their life in pursuit of South Africa's liberation, there could never be sufficient words to adequately express my humility in the face of your actions, nor my immeasurable gratitude for my own freedom.

To the descendants, who have had to live in the shadow of these sacrifices…

It is with deep gratitude that I acknowledge and thank the descendants who gave not only of their time but also shared their precious experiences and memories. I do not hold lightly the privilege of bearing witness to your memories. I know so much pain rested in many of them.

It is with an equal awareness that I acknowledge the descendants who may still feel silenced in the shadows of South Africa's colonial wound.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

"It takes a village"

An African Proverb

The PhD journey is a continuous pendulum of emotions, where moments of confusion and isolation inevitably contribute to the experience. My journey has been anchored by the communities that have offered me a profound sense of belonging, nurturance and guidance. A proverbial secure base from where I could venture and explore, confident in the availability of safe spaces that would hold me when needed. It is with deep gratitude that I thank my family, friends, guides, mentors, and teachers for their presence at different chapters of my journey that culminated in this body of work. Though not all are named in the passages that follow, know that I hold a deep sense of gratitude for every act of kindness extended to me.

To my supervisor, Professor Malose Langa, thank you for providing affirmation, encouragement and validation since the submission of my Master's seminar paper, *"Posttraumatic Stress Disorder: In the wake of trauma, violence and abuse*." Looking back, the completion of this thesis feels like a full-circle moment. Your kindness and reassurance during my Master's provided a belief that fostered my academic trajectory. Thank you for your continued mentorship during my professional development. I am grateful for your intellectual guidance throughout this PhD research initiative and in all the moments preceding it.

To my former research supervisor, Professor Daleen Alexander. Thank you for your encouragement and for motivating me to embark on this journey.

To my former colleagues at the University of the Witwatersrand, thank you for your support.

Dr Tasneem Hassem, I have especially missed our corridor talks.

Thank you to Ms Lyndall Booth for corridor talks that always ended on the couch. How I have missed our togetherness during the final stretch of this journey.

Dr Mamakiri Mulaudzi, thank you for your gentle presence, as well as your consistent words of encouragement and support.

Thank you to Ms Lungile Khumalo and Ms Jabu Maseko for providing a space of belonging. Your authentic encouragement provided a safe space to rest in.

Thank you to my former MACC colleagues. Professor Tanya Graham, Dr Vinitha Jithoo, Dr Nicholas Monroe, Ms Lyndall Booth, Professor Aline Ferreira Correia, Professor Maria Marchetti-Mercer and Dr Ruby Patel.

Professor Aline Ferreira Correia, thank you for being a great constant and support. Thank you for caring enough to provide continuous guidance.

Professor Maria Marchetti-Mercer, thank you for remaining consistently interested in me and my PhD journey, the length of which required *marathon* endurance.

Ms Lerato Moroeng, thank you for your motivation and support. Thank you for your open door, your willing ear and encouraging words.

I am immensely grateful to each facilitator of the writing retreats I have attended throughout this journey.

Professor Hugo ka Canham, thank you for your mentorship. Having you as a guide, supervisor, and mentor has been one of my greatest privileges.

To Ms Esther Chunga, Dr Safiya Bobat, and my entire Ububele family - thank you for exploring every avenue to support me throughout this research journey.

To Ms Phumelele Mkhize Letlala, thank you for your consistent friendship. I am humbled by the way in which you consistently hold me in mind.

To my friend Dr Nicola Dawson, thank you for being a sounding board when the realms of motherhood and doctoral scholarship collided.

Dr Ruby Patel, thank you for your friendship. It has been a privileged space that has held and contained me throughout this journey and across the other avenues of my life.

Ms Hayley Haynes-Rolando, for providing a love and friendship where I could just be me. Thank you for your generosity, for your kindness, and for your love.

To Hayley, Jonathan, Bailee-Rae, Ryder and Stephen for being my second home and family.

To Sumia, Aslam and Aliya, thank you for your consistent presence in my life. Thank you especially, Sue, for being one of my biggest supporters and for always celebrating me.

To my mother, Elaine, thank you for everything that a lifetime cannot put into words. For your labour, your sacrifices, your tears and relentless pursuit to show up for your children.

To my father, Freddy, for a lifetime of lessons. I acknowledge the life you gave me and the ways it has shaped my meaning-making of life and myself.

To my sister, Chantale, for your presence in every chapter of my life and for encouraging my adolescent self in my writing of short stories that captured life's painful realities.

To my sister, Fredelaine, your arrival into the world reshaped my life, giving it purpose and the profound gift of love. Thank you for seeing me in ways that inspire me to strive toward better versions of myself.

To Tanya for being my sister, an enduring symbol of compassionate presence and patience.

To my dearest Aunty Greta, thank you for all your maternal affection and support.

To Aunty Max, for holding me ever present in your heart and mind, even when memory drifts like the ocean waves-unpredictable, fleeting, not always returning. Somehow, I am there…

To George, for loving me…

Finally, to the one who calls me Mommy, and the other who calls me Ma…

Danyella, for your humour, your kindness, your love and your bravery. I never realised how much pride someone else's stubbornness could inspire. Never lose it! Thank you for our study breaks, banter and vanilla chai. I am proud of you. I appreciate you. I love you.

Haeden, for keeping me humble by reminding me of all the things I'm not good at. I hope this thesis eases your doubts that I have read most of the books in my office! Thank you for being my study buddy and the bearer of great coffee. You have my love forever.

To Ulrich, for whom I must find words, where none exist. Thank you for being my best friend, my partner and my biggest supporter. Thank you for walking this path with me, for cheering me on, and for stepping in when I had to take a step back from the rhythms of our everyday life. I am happy that the *'Shouldn't you be working on your PhD?'* chapter of our relationship has finally come to a close. I am excited about embarking on many new chapters with you…

To God for all His mercies.

ABSTRACT

Restorative potential and political threat are ambiguously embedded within remembering and silencing, attributed to its alliance with historical and contextual structures. This research inquiry is framed within and beyond the apartheid circumstance, seeking remembrance and unsilencing through the memories shared by women descendants of women anti-apartheid activists. The contributions of women anti-apartheid activists have been excluded from dominant accounts of apartheid history. It is argued that this disregard has not only functioned to silence the intersectional forms of oppression women activists were subjected to but has also halted human reformation and restoration, evidenced by the escalating prevalence of gender-based violence and femicide in South Africa. This study, therefore, sought to attain an understanding of the consequences of apartheid, the unacknowledged vicissitudes of colonial violence, and how the consequent colonial wound may manifest intergenerationally. A bricolage, informed by a critical approach to discourse analysis and heuristic phenomenological frameworks, guided an attendance to the research aims and questions, within a qualitative research design. These processes enabled an understanding of the individual and collective means of remembering lived experiences, whilst simultaneously making meaning of how unsilencing and remembering may threaten the dominant discourses as archived alongside existing power hierarchies. In concurrence with the bricolage, the analysis was guided by an integrated conceptual framework, embedded in African and Decolonial-centred praxis facilitated by a Fanonian lens and Tamale's Afro-Feminist principles to inform intersectional alignment. The research findings are guided by an understanding of the systemic intersectional inheritance of identity and positionality construction across generations, reflecting on the experiences of the women anti-apartheid activists, as remembered by their descendants. The experiences underscore the epistemic violence of colonial disruption across the macro and micro systemic forms of existence, and how these are collectively and intergenerationally maintained across the post-apartheid milieu. Trauma discourse on remembering and silencing in individual and collective narratives emphasises discursive networks of framing silencing, silence as a discursive device, and discursive networks working in favour of women's perpetual exclusion and invisibility.

Keywords: Apartheid, colonialism, decolonial, descendants, intergenerational trauma, women anti-apartheid activists

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
ANCWL	African National Congress Women's League
APLA	Azanian People's Liberation Army
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
COSAS	Congress of South African Students
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
MK	uMkhonto weSizwe (The Spear of the Nation) Paramilitary wing of the African National Congress (ANC)
UDF	United Democratic Front
PAC	The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania The Pan Africanist Congress (shortened)
SA-TRC	South African – Truth and Reconciliation Commission

SECTION A
AXIOLOGICAL, EPISTEMOLOGICAL, ONTOLOGICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS

The initial chapters of this thesis present the foundation of the philosophical and theoretical tenets grounding the research inquiry in terms of the proposed approach and the practical research execution. ***Chapter One: Introduction, Rationale and Scope*** provides the backdrop of the research inquiry, situating the research within the broader sociopolitical context whilst also motivating its necessity. This has included a particular focus on violence and trauma as a disruption to black, classed, gendered and sexualised life and by extension humanity across varied timescapes. ***Chapter Two: South Africa's Gendered Vistas Across Historical Temporalities*** provides a historical review of gender across the apartheid project and the national liberation movement. ***Chapter Three: Locating Silence as Discourse Within the Context of This Study*** and ***Chapter Four: The Varied Delineations of Trauma and Violence as Antecedent*** both attend to theoretical and conceptual considerations most relevant to the conceptualisation of silence and trauma as they may apply within dominant discourse, as well as within the parameters of this research inquiry. ***Chapter Five: The Sociopolitical Construction of Disremembering Women*** provides an overview of literature most appropriate to this research inquiry to situate the research inquiry within the body of knowledge relevant to the global and national context. ***Chapter Six: Integrated Conceptual Framework: A Humane Reformation Project*** outlines the necessity for a framework appropriately embedded within context and knowledge systems relevant to the contextual milieu of inquiry. Thereby promoting the possibility of contextually appropriate knowledge production. This is followed by ***Chapter Seven: Research Methodology,*** which extends on the rationale, research aims, and research questions. This extension includes demonstrating alignment between the philosophical tenets outlined in the integrated conceptual framework and how these intersect with the epistemological and ontological framing of the research process. The chapter explicates the analytic approaches as applied, which concludes with the researcher's reflexive praxis as the primary research and analytic instrument.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION, RATIONALE AND SCOPE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

> *Remembering is never a quiet act of introspection or retrospection. It is a painful re-membering, a putting together of the dismembered past to make sense of the trauma of the present.*
>
> (Bhabha, 1986, p.123)

It can be argued that the construction of human civilisation, communities, and societies is founded on a legacy of violence, and therefore implicitly trauma (Cesaire, 2000; Pepperell, 2016). History portrays violence in its various guises as practised through colonisation, genocide, oppression, and war (Campbell, 2020). A central causative feature in expressions of violence is an emphasis on perceived differences relating to culture, disability, ethnicity, gender, nationality, race, religion, and sexuality (Alhusen et al., 2023; Balibar, 2015; Hilhorst et al., 2018; Lovchik, 2018). The notion of civilisation may, therefore, be understood as a symbolic guise designed to detract from the violence bestowed on those considered different. This perceived difference is maligned by applying a lens of deviance, thereby portraying those 'othered' as inferior and ultimately designated as less than human (Fanon, 2008). Throughout history, this dehumanising violence has facilitated the memorialisation of violence in a manner that both justifies and pardons it from the savagery it may embody (Cesaire, 2000). This moralisation has, over time, eroded the capacity to bear witness to the continued challenge of what it means to be human in the world. Humanisation, from an axiological perspective, is therefore posited to be humankind's most dire vulnerability (Freire, 1996, p. 43). Heeding Fanon's humanism and attendance to the legitimacy of belonging to the human community (Gordon et al., 2013).

The justification and normalisation to qualify and disqualify human belonging have been achieved by crystalising select histories in service of moralising political discourse and concealing human violations (Trouillot, 1995, 2015). Gradually, these political discourses have woven into the construction of social norms and mainstream public discourse, narratives, and memorialisation. The concealment of inconvenient histories has facilitated silence as discourse along with the power to demarcate which practices constitute violence and violations (Trouillot, 1995, 2015). More pertinently has been the power to demarcate which bodies are susceptible to being violated (Gqola, 2021, 2022), with *othered* bodies deemed to lack the necessary humanity to be vulnerable to violation. Across time and continent, this repetition of

violence, along with its moralisation, has been particularly evident on black and gendered bodies (Tamale, 2020a). These duplicitous echoes suggest that violence imposed on black and gendered bodies continues to be experienced as less palpable, given the historical naturalisation of colonised black bodies as less than human (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012). Thereby, hindering the necessity for witnessing and remembering as channels of validation, healing and restoration.

> *The native is declared insensible to ethics; he represents not only the absence of values, but also the negation of values. He is, let us dare to admit, the enemy of values, and in this sense he is the absolute evil. He is the corrosive element, destroying all that comes near him; he is the deforming element, disfiguring all that has to do with beauty or morality; he is the depository of maleficent powers, the unconscious and irretrievable instrument of blind forces.*
>
> *(Fanon, 1963, p. 41)*

Fanon's theorising elucidates an understanding of being black in the colonial world, and how colonial discourse of blackness equates to the sum of all that threatens humanity. It is this sustained colonial lie that continues to divorce black bodies from humanity, thereby subjecting their being as 'killable' and 'rapeable' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012). This naturalisation remains evident globally, given the ease with which black people are killed, suggesting that black bodies are still not seen as fully human. This assertion is supported by international research that highlights the role of implicit racial biases and how these may limit the potential for empathy in response to pain and trauma experienced by black people (Forgiarini et al., 2011; Trawalter et al., 2012). These implicit racial biases have influenced various assumptions about the black body as well as the black psyche, informing prejudices that have subsequently abetted innumerable dehumanising practices across disciplines, including health care and legislation (Trawalter & Hoffman, 2015). In recent years, these injustices have attained growing media attention in the Global North, contributing to the greater collective awareness that motivated the *#BlackLivesMatter* movement (Chase, 2017). Not unexpectedly, this promptly met resistance from the *#AllLivesMatter* movement (Edgar & Johnson, 2018). This resistance draws attention to the continued difficulty in accepting black people as fully human (Edgar & Johnson, 2018) and the tension in tolerating black consciousness of their own humanity. A further appraisal illuminates the phenomenon of hearing black anguish and distress with contempt and irritation (Kaiser & Miller, 2001; Williams, 2016). It is proposed that permitting

black consciousness and its disavowal of colonial violence, and its annihilation of the black body and psyche threatens the endurance of colonial ideology.

Similar themes have been evident across genders, where the *#MeToo* movement was met with comparable resistance strategies by movements driven by men, in defence of their morality (PettyJohn et al., 2019). Acknowledging the violation of women has, however, always been a contested area. Whilst debates related to race may evoke anger and a plight for voice and freedom, women's experiences of violence are argued to be linked with alternate expressions of shame. This is attributed to questions of legitimacy and the repercussion of doubt and denial that fosters a feigned safety in silence (McCleary-Sills et al., 2016; Murray, 2017). Attunement to the vulnerabilities presented by race and gender, therefore, demands cognisance of how intersections in positionalities change the expression of violence and oppression. The violence imposed on black women is therefore a recurrent manifestation of intersecting patterns of racism and sexism (Crenshaw, 1995).

The *#BlackLivesMatter* and *#MeToo* movements are actions striving towards an unsilencing of narratives once silenced, unspoken, disremembered and most likely redefined to align with acceptable discourse (Durrheim & Murray, 2019; Murray & Lambert, 2019). In contrast, the modes of resistance highlight the need to neutralise any exposure of wrongdoing, rather than bear witness and acknowledge the violence imposed on raced and gendered bodies. This custom is evident across global geographies, systemically instituted within a history of colonisation, genocide, patriarchy and slavery (Trouillot, 1995, 2015). However, *#BlackLivesMatter* appears muted in the South African context, with epistemic injustice driving a continued pattern of exclusion and silencing (Pillay, 2022). Pillay (2022) attributes this to the continuities of coloniality. Initiated in the North, and transferred to the South, the ideology of coloniality has been geographically sustained through systems of power, exploitation and oppression. In the wake of this inheritance, it is unsurprising that the need to counteract and produce politically palatable discourses is at the core of the South African encounter (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2012; Msimang, 2018a).

Remembering and national political discourse in South Africa remains in constant conflict in response to its legacy of violence related to the colonial, slavery and apartheid stages of its history (Barnabas, 2016; Gobodo-Madikizela, 2012; Piotrowski, 2019). Each of these historical periods presents different permutations of contextual and structural violences, and how these may be informed by dynamics of power and subjugation (Kynoch, 2016; Reddy, 2015; Tyali,

2019). Underscored by these are the channels employed to facilitate colonial violence to permeate these practices. The emphasis on racial difference, supported by patriarchal power structures, has been a consistent theme in justifying oppression and violence (Lloyd, 2020; Maylam, 2017). This moralisation and neutralisation of the occurrence and significance of violence against black people, especially gendered - black women, remain evident in the South African context. It is surmised that the exemption of human violations related to slavery, colonisation and apartheid is founded on the argument of cultivating 'civilisation', thereby removing the need for meaning-making in response to this violence. This includes overlooking the continuity of violence as a historic inheritance that sustains the devaluation of othered lives (Njovane, 2021). Though tensions related to civilisation have historically encompassed culture, religion and language – nationality and race have most often occupied the epicentre (Balibar, 2015; Lovchik, 2018). Dominated in this discourse has been the location of Africans as the most inferior race (Balibar, 2015). This presents a risk of single-axis thinking and focusing on race as the sole point of contention, neglecting the relevance of gender and sexuality in debates related to constructing civilisation and humanity (Balibar, 2015). This is an increased vulnerability for Africa and specifically South Africa, given its contentious history that has emphasised race. Analysing slavery, colonialism and apartheid solely on race risks neglecting intersecting systemic power structures at play.

The yields of patriarchal ideals and the cultivation of systemic and structural barriers are attaining increased attention (Gqola, 2021, 2022). The latter includes the distortion of gender positionality, the oppression of women and the neglect of gender-based violence (Bertolt, 2018). Revisiting intersections of human construction through history and discourse promotes the possibility of interrogating the relevance of women's subjugation beyond the present. Thereby defying the illusions presented by colonial times and its efforts to distort the histories and valuation of black life (Canham, 2023). This facilitates remembering the subordination of women and their domestic slavery, and simultaneous recognition of the extreme violence of this exclusion and subjugation that has been normalised through tradition, customs and in assessing the utility of being human (Balibar, 2015).

Whilst the socio-economic and political remnants of apartheid are often referenced in South Africa's violent milieu, Gqola (2021) disputes the role of history as mere context, tracing colonialism, slavery and apartheid and the silencing of these violences in both the present-day repetitions and *responses* to gender-based violations. The intergenerational and transgenerational implications of these violences imposed on women, their bodies, and

psyches, however, remain mostly unacknowledged. This is in part attributed to the normalisation of colonial formative practices, which have over time provided an accepted justification for brutality, torture, and violence across intimate and national spaces (Clark & Worger, 2022, 2018; Gqola, 2022). This silencing in national and political discourse facilitates the systemic inheritance of slavery, colonialism, and apartheid in present-day South Africa. Demarcating a precarious position for black women in South Africa.

Displaced, silenced and marginalised, South Africa's colonial, capitalist and patriarchal geographies mark the ways women, particularly black women, are designated into marginalised positionalities. However, remaining within the discourse of oppression and violence can risk vulnerability to being captive to limited narratives of history. A more encompassing perspective allows a framing that demonstrates that oppression has always met resistance. From South Africa's earliest histories, Ross (2022, p. 3) surmises that '*resistance, not acquiescence, is the heart of the history of human slavery'.* The ethos of resistance and solidarity was evident in individual and collective efforts, though it is suggested that *flight* was a more common resolve than *fight* (Mason, 2003). In the same way, apartheid was always met with resistance, with anti-apartheid resistance taking on a multitude of forms, with an initial premise of non-violence (Dubow, 2014).

Recognising the implicit associations of resistance with the earliest forms of South Africa's colonial acquisition has historiographical implications (Abrahams, 1996a). Commencing with histories relative to South African slavery, an unsilencing of hidden biographies is likely to reveal narratives beyond run-away slaves and may instead reveal biopics of uprisings and rebellions that aided the prolonged quest for freedom (Cornell, 2005; Loos, 2004; Mason, 2003; Ross, 2022).

> *We have very few life stories of individual slaves, and almost nothing written by slaves themselves. We know very little about what they thought, their ideas, their inner experience. But we do know other things about slavery and slave life […]- even how they resisted.*
>
> *(Cornell, 2005, p. 1)*

Erasing black history is one of the most dominant forms of colonial victory. What remains of the available histories of women slaves speak of defeat and exploitation, whilst a dearth of text is available that elucidates the contributions of women in the emancipation of South African

slaves. The work of Mason (2003), to be extended later in this chapter, provides alternative narratives demonstrating a sense of agency amongst women slaves, not only for themselves but also for their families and communities. Nonetheless, acts of unsilencing within this legacy remain mostly dormant. This dormancy risks repetition in response to continued political resistance toward the various modes of anti-apartheid resistance legacies. Historical erasure and political discourse, therefore, remain particularly overt in both the silencing of apartheid history, as well as the masculinisation of permissible anti-apartheid archives. Collectively, this has facilitated the erasure of both agency and trauma concerning women anti-apartheid activists (Magadla, 2023). Msimang (2000) highlights this as a silencing of gender concerns, revealing the selective memory of patriarchal nationalism. As such, while many male activists have been valorised or memorialised in public and private spaces, it is argued that the liberatory contributions and traumatisation of women activists have not been recognised to the same degree (Msimang, 2000). Despite this absence of recognition, it is postulated that women anti-apartheid activists had a profoundly different experience of violence and trauma to that of men and that intergenerational trauma transmission related to their suffering may be particularly important to bring to light. This includes but is not limited to acts of oppression and suppression, sexual assault and the torture of women, based on their status as partners, wives, and mothers (Hiralal, 2015). Recognising that women activists were not only brutalised as political agents but that women associated with male activists were often targeted as a means of subjugating their male partners and family members. This latter form of violence is often viewed as incidental.

It is further proposed that it is not only the violence that is viewed as incidental but the framing of women as activists are subjected to the periphery as well. The latter was often applied through the conceptualisation of women being in service of public motherhood, thus presenting prescribed gendered boundaries within the liberation framework (Hassim, 2005; Healy-Clancy, 2017a). Adding to the weight of this violence, it is further argued that despite women anti-apartheid activists' experience of violence in gendered ways, they have had to diminish their trauma as black women, in defence of an anti-racist struggle. Given the personal and collective silencing of trauma, it is imperative to understand the experience of survivorship amongst women descendants of women anti-apartheid activists who may carry the burdens of the trauma inflicted, be this consciously or unconsciously. This need is heightened in the face of the persistent intersection of troubled gendered, racist and sexual discourse in post-apartheid South Africa (Shefer, 2010). Though the various forms of erasure, silencing and disremembering have

arguably already had considerable influence, attendance to still available anti-apartheid discourses may have the potential to offer both memorialisation and reparation to South Africa's diverted history.

1.2 RATIONALE

This section serves to provide an overarching rationale to foreground the silencing of women anti-apartheid activists' trauma as a psychosocial, but more fundamentally a psychopolitical concern. Silencing cannot be divorced from the politics of power, and the consequent reciprocating psychopolitical associations of violence and trauma. This is particularly salient in the aftermath of South Africa's extensive legacy of colonial violence, followed by acts of silencing and distorting discourses related to this violence. South Africa's histories have thus consistently been marred and dispersed through a Eurocentric and colonially informed lens to safeguard Europe's civility, and simultaneously its structures of coloniality and patriarchy. To advance unsilencing, a further argument is thus presented to emphasise the criticality of employing contextually relevant research that premises African and Decolonial-centred theorising, to centre and re-centre black women's voices in making meaning of women's silencing within South Africa's post-conflict society. This affirms a need to be explicit in striving towards opportunities to redress colonially informed gendered and patriarchal discourse and its collusion with subjugated practices that have become commonplace within South African national discourse and practice.

Whilst this research explores these psychosocial and psychopolitical priorities through the voices and recollections of women descendants of women anti-apartheid activists, the study is framed within and beyond the apartheid circumstance. Applying an understanding of cylindrical epiphenomenal temporality (See Canham, 2023), allows a more extensive framing that serves to illuminate how apartheid atrocities are located within the broader landscape of naturalising colonialist violence on black bodies, especially gendered and sexualised black bodies. This foregrounds the milieu of slavocratic and colonialist practices and offers a complex discursive location of racialised gender and gendered race. Present-day South Africa features as a manifestation of centuries of oppressive practices on black women's bodies and psyches (Baderoon, 2018; Gqola, 2021). The continued vulnerability of women serves as an aide-mémoire that *"the past is never dead; it is not even past"* (Faulkner, 2011, p. 66). Signifying that the past, present and future co-exist in South Africa (Canham, 2023), with the continuous vulnerability of repetition.

A critical analysis of the available contested histories demonstrates centuries of silencing of black women. Surpassing this is the erasure and manipulation of public discourse. Recent attempts at unsilencing have underscored Krotoa-Eva as a prominent representation of the historical silencing of black women's gendered and sexualised realities (Distiller & Samuelson, 2005). Concurrently, Sarah Baartman's biographies represent the violent patriarchal colonial gaze in manifesting intersecting gender and racial oppressions (Mattoscio, 2017). These histories illuminate the silencing of historical realities of black women's experiences of sexual assaults in the context of racialised hierarchies of power, and how these are concealed by race as the more dominant discourse (Distiller & Samuelson, 2005). These historic silences are argued to form the basis of present-day South Africa's gender-based violence public health pandemic, as well as the extent to which South Africa maintains the highest globally recorded rate of femicide (Abrahams et al., 2024). Reinserting gender within these histories may enable an alternate reading of history (Distiller & Samuelson, 2005), and thus an alternate reading of possible futures. This may unveil that beyond the attempted erasure of Krotoa-Eva (Baderoon, 2014; Distiller & Samuelson, 2005) and Sarah Baartman (Scully & Crais, 2008) remain the contradictions of a much more recent gendered silencing located in apartheid and anti-apartheid discourse. Despite the advent of a post-apartheid state and the legislative liberation of people based on the construction of race, subjugation across gendered and sexual intersectionalities persists along colonial and patriarchal parameters. This form of silencing is a multifarious offence given that South Africa's racial legislative liberation is indebted to the efforts of women anti-apartheid activists (Hassim, 2005, 2006; Magadla, 2018, 2023). Liberation should therefore have had the potential of expediting a more inclusive emancipation. Instead, South Africa remains a dangerous and fearful space for all women (Gqola, 2021). The experiences of black women have however remained of particular inconsequence.

Acknowledging the historical and continued existence of women within oppressive systems and its ceaseless production of social suffering requires a gendered lens of attendance, or else renders women vulnerable to "re-colonising" (Segalo, 2012). The silencing of women anti-apartheid activists, therefore, has broader sociopolitical and psychopolitical implications for South African society, as well as intimate and collective responses to gendered subjugation and violence. The absence of urgent responses to gender-based violence suggests that the colonialist and patriarchal ideals that cemented apartheid practices have been adopted and integrated into broader South African culture and gendered practices (Gqola, 2007). Facilitated not only by internalised colonialism (Tamale, 2020b), but also complicit engagement with the

capitalist systems that benefit from this subjugation and exploitation. This, in collision with colonialist violence has framed South Africa as the archetypal locale for gendered violent repetition.

1.2.1 Seeking the Theoretical Intersection between the Psychosocial and Psychopolitical

Theory provides a unique and nuanced lens through which to make meaning of research processes and findings (Anfara & Mertz, 2015). As such, theoretical principles emanate throughout the body of research, in terms of process and knowledge production. Theory and literature related to violence and trauma have attained decades of scholarly attention across various epistemological fronts (See Freud, 1914; Fanon, 1963). Understanding violence and trauma concerning the tenets of psychology has, however, occurred within the boundaries of the field's own limitations, thus splitting off what is considered humanistic versus philosophical or scientific (Griffith, 2014). More recently, the call to decolonise psychological theoretical contributions has highlighted further limitations concerning a Eurocentric bias, its role in facilitating subjugation, and thus the maintenance of human suffering based on cultural and geopolitical representations (Andermahr, 2015; Macleod et al., 2020; Ratele, 2019).

As such, whilst research has demonstrated that the trauma of black people has not attained appropriate recognition, this research initiative presents a further argument. It is proposed that the experience of being from Africa, of Africa, and African, presents a further lens for consideration within the scope of global scholarship (See Ratele, 2019). This argument is posited within a wider frame, given that broader discourses of power and civilisation are often premised as presented by the Global North, whilst other geographies are othered. Various questions, therefore, remained top of mind in terms of interrogating the theoretical concepts integrated into the subsequent integrated conceptual lens. This included considerations about the contexts from which the respective theoretical concepts emanated, versus the context in which its postulations may be applied. As such, the research served to employ an encompassing frame that acknowledged the simultaneous lived experiences of the intersection of gender and race, whilst remaining cognisant of decolonial and African-relevant praxis within a context that may too frequently be at risk of applying Western and Eurocentric norms as a standard. The research therefore aimed to understand silencing and disremembering in service of contributing to acts of unsilencing and re-membering. Emphasising an African and Decolonial-centred theorising, further served to promote an unsilencing removed from a Western-centred gaze that

risks pathology, othering, as well as alternate forms of silencing and its privileging as normative discourse. The centrality of silence and silencing therefore resides not in the assumption of its absence, but rather in its disregarded omnipresence. It is suggested that silence as discourse, and silencing as praxis, emanates beyond its original beginnings. Subsequently, the intergenerational, inter-contextual, and chronosystemic manifestations develop in response to the original derivative of its practice. Silence as discourse (Thiesmeyer, 2003), silence with power (Foucault & Nazzaro, 1972; Trouillot, 2015), and silence as violence (Emerick, 2019) in various ways contribute to sustaining and maintaining trauma. The discipline of psychology in South Africa may unintentionally, or in feigning ignorance, contribute to this silencing. Long (2013) attributes this to the neglect of the discourse of civic responsibilities and social relevance. As such, psychology is suggested to be complicit in the colonial tradition of leaving things unsaid (Pillay, 2016; 2022), rendering psychological analysis politically vacuous and submissive to Eurocentric interpretation. It is in line with this silencing that South Africa's traumatic past remains unspoken, unaddressed, and therefore unresolved (Long, 2013).

1.2.2 Political Economies of Exploitation: The Silencing of Black and Gendered Bodies

> *The slave's status as object-commodity, or purely economic cargo, reveals that a black archival presence not only enumerates the dead and dying, but also acts as an origin story. This is where we begin, this is where historic blackness comes from: the list, the breathless numbers, the absolutely economic, the mathematics of the unliving.*
>
> *(McKittrick, 2014, p. 17)*

The exploitation and oppression of women have been observed consistently through different permutations of violence across South African history. Research demonstrates that women's vulnerability in present-day South Africa is largely shaped by how power informs women's capacity to navigate economic exploitation. Observing the greatest level of poverty (Stats SA, 2020), women are subject to increased economic vulnerability and restricted economic and social power (Enaifoghe et al., 2021; Meyiwa et al., 2017). The Commission for Gender Equality (2023) frames this as the triple challenge of poverty, inequality, and unemployment, driven by the triple burden of oppression based on race, class, and gender. These structural violences are not only associated with the increased vulnerability to gender-based violence (Jewkes et al., 2003), risks related to women's reproductive health, and sexually transmitted

illnesses (Shefer & Strebel, 2012), but highlights concerns related to mental wellbeing, with specific emphasis on traumatic stressors (Hoss & Blokland, 2018; Segalo, 2015).

Baderoon (2018) suggests that women's positionality in South Africa is deeply informed by the 176 years of slavery practised between 1658 and 1834, as a period of racialised and gendered brutality. Slavery as the scene of economic, physical and sexual exploitation (Abrahams, 1996a; Martens et al., 2003), thus provides a possible *terminus a quo* in framing apartheid's overreliance on women's bodies as spaces of control, punishment and torture (Engel-Hills & Ibsen, 2020; Goldblatt & Meintjes, 1998; Krog, 2001). The significance of slavocracy and its role in shaping South Africa's colonial and, later, apartheid history can therefore not be overemphasised (Baderoon, 2018). Narratives from the colonialist and slavocratic eras have, however, mostly been subject to erasure, with 'popular memory' resisting slavery altogether (Abrahams, 1996a, p. 90). It may be suggested that this plight is weighted by the intent to construct South Africa's slave history, exclusively within the boundaries of Africa as context. However, a reminder is offered that Africa's troubles are not solely rooted in its own soil, and that South Africa's fate and that of its people cannot be contested without framing the injustice cultivated from a European scene. Africa's colonial wound can therefore not be navigated in the absence of acknowledging the economic stain of imperialism, which includes the construction and exploitation of racial-capitalist systems. Thereby revealing the economic value assigned to Africa, in relation to other countries based on their status within the world system – an economic convention adopted even in the appraisal of human life within these respective countries (Magubane, 1979). This postulation has maintained accuracy over time, with conspicuous division evident between the Global North and Global South. Despite the latter, Beckert (2022) highlights that most scholarship concerning European history has made little mention of the almost 400-year history of the 12.5 million enslaved Africans treated as transactional commodities.

The scope of this study is, however, not invested in emphasising Europe's economic enrichment, and the sustained destabilisation of African economies concerning colonialism, slavery and the slave trade. It does, nonetheless, bear cognisance of Njovane's (2023) analysis of post-colonial literature, and the parallels drawn between the exploitation of black women's bodies and the exploitation of Africa's natural resources for the economic enrichment of Europe. As such, whilst resource extraction and exploitation are of socioeconomic relevance, the thesis attends to disposability made possible through dehumanisation. Specifically, regarding slavery's role in constructing the "disposability" of Africans, as expendable people

(Vergès, 2010), and how this informs the disposability and disremembering of black women and their trauma. This requires an attendance to how slavocracy not only informed the demarcations of being human in South Africa but also normative constructions of race and sex (Baderoon, 2018).

Colonial productions of race and sex remain dominated by ambiguity given that it has provided delineations for when race is gendered, or when gender is raced. McKittrick's (2014) reference to asymmetrical emancipatory tools presents a suitable metaphor to frame the irony of white freedom and its foundation on black slavery. This may be better explained by presenting the colonial era's preoccupation with fears related to the sexual vulnerability of white women, whilst presenting black men as the central threat, and at the same time rendering invisible the systemic sexual violence black women had to endure by white men (Baderoon, 2018). Slavery and colonialism thus normalised discourse concerning black men as dangerous (*die swartgevaar / the black peril*), and black women as objects – mostly hypersexualised and animalistic. This imagery of the black woman as hypersexualised serves to transform her as an object of the colonial gaze (Njovane, 2023). Legally, as objects, black women could not be raped, and with no crime, there was no necessity for record or narrative (Abrahams, 1996b). Rape as a (non) transgression of patriarchy within the context of slavocracy (Abrahams, 1996b), set the silencing scene of women as transactional objects.

> *For women, sexual exploitation marked the very definition of enslavement, as it did not for men*
>
> *Lerner (1986, p. 89)*

In elucidating the creation of patriarchy, Lerner (1986) explicates how the sexual use of black women by white men, occupied a central feature of race and class oppression and thus women's social, political, and economic status. Despite the dated origin of this reading, the emphasis on race and class finds support in more recent theorising (Tamale, 2020a). Regardless of these records, slavery remains recounted by both amnesia and denial (Loos, 2004). When remembrance is tolerated, discourse depicts slave owners as compassionate and protective of *their* slaves (Loos, 2004), not recognising the colonial practice of infantilising black bodies. Resisting this portrayal, Abrahams (1996a, 1996b) exposes how slavocratic discourse has been construed in service of civilisation by portraying arguments of apprenticeships and economic viability. In contrast, obtainable histories reveal narratives of human sex trafficking, expounding that the slave trade moved beyond the boundaries of physical labour (Loos, 2004;

Mason, 2003). Mason's (2003) aptly titled book, *'Social death and resurrection: slavery and emancipation in South Africa',* pertinently references *'social death'*, though the element of *'resurrection'* for black women in South Africa remains questionable. This reading and questioning are framed in alignment with Mason's (2003) application of social death as a literary metaphor and are therefore introduced as mechanisms for further interrogation, rather than to discredit the agency of black women. Moreover, its application simultaneously draws on the tenets of Mbembe's (2020) postulation pertaining necropolitics and the enforcement of power to dictate how people may live, and how they may die. Building on these, it is argued that the concept of resurrection is so firmly intertwined with renewal, which is arguably in contradiction with South Africa's repetition of coloniality and its alternative forms of slavery evident across both the apartheid and post-apartheid landscape (Dawood & Seedat-Khan, 2023; Vellem, 2014). Black women remain at the centre of modern slavery in post-apartheid South Africa since the practice of domestic employment sustains the varied practices of slavery and servitude rooted in colonialism and apartheid (Dawood & Seedat-Khan, 2023). Despite the latter, authors such as Bank (2005) have resisted the severity of slavery as social death, exploiting the social relations between slaves and masters as evidence. The author's contributions may be referenced as an earlier exemplar of the resistance, which serves to quell the severity of slavocracy and colonialism as violence. Invoking the works of Abrahams (1996a, 1996b, p. 6) it is argued that constructing arguments founded on social agency between master and '*property'* is unfounded, given that an 'object' that can be legally chained, beaten and sexually exploited – *cannot consent or dissent to the manner of their use*. Moreover, Mason (2003) further underscores the objectification of women sequestered as objects of ownership and possession. The black woman's body thus represents a dichotomy of sexualised gender within the frame of both political and sexual possession, whilst frames related to either femininity or humanity are lost. The black woman is thereby subjected to being neither woman nor human. Divorced from femininity and humanity, the black woman is instead vulnerable to erasure within the political economies of exploitation. Engaging within the dominant structures of power, it is the white man who dictates human existence and value. Within the slavocratic context, the white man dictates to the black man that only one patriarch can preside in the master's household, and, therefore, no slave husband can deny his master access to his wife's body (Mason, 2003). It is surmised that this reading premises the interchange between masculinities, with the woman slave experience obscured. Beyond these implications, Mason's (2003) work demonstrates that the experiences of slave women were very different from those of slave men. This coincides with similar arguments made about apartheid, which suggests that

black women experienced an alternative version of apartheid, which has in turn translated into an alternative history of survival (Lee, 2009). The underlying tones of exploitation and shame, therefore, appear evident in both slavocratic and apartheid narratives, with masculinities overt in the assault on women's bodies. Extending on this, it may be postulated that the woman slave becomes a victim of the white man's economic, political and sexual greed, and later must contain the consequence of the black man's economic, political and sexual shame. This aligns with alternative arguments that have been presented concerning the influence of colonialist and apartheid practices of power on black men's masculinities post the slavocratic era (Govender & Cartwright, 2021; Morrell, 1998), and the implications for black women.

Reviewing the work of Morrell (1998) provides an understanding of the role of colonialism in transforming existing masculinities, where constructions of race dictated the conceptualisation of white men and black 'boys'. Whilst black men were subject to having badness projected into them, they were simultaneously subjected to being infantilised, giving rise to the painful encounter of shame (Govender & Cartwright, 2021). Govender and Cartwright (2021, p. 61) explicate the role of shame in the traumatising processes invoked by colonial practices, and the emotional experiences of *embarrassment, failure, weakness, disgrace, betrayal, abandonment, humiliation, disgrace and mortification*. Along with the complexity of this shame, colonialist laws gave rise to patriarchal contradictions within households where black men were provided patriarchal power over women, serving capitalist strategies to maintain the economic exploitation of women in agricultural production (Morrell, 1998). As such, both white and black men occupied patriarchal authority over black women, which ultimately included the legal exoneration of assaults on women's bodies (Morrell, 1998). These moments of history demonstrate the continued marking of the physical violation of black women as a *nothingness*.

Discourses related to the exploitation of women under apartheid bear a similar repetition, demonstrating efforts of considerable concealment, attributed to either secrecy or disinterest (Bridger & Hazan, 2022). The disinterest of the apartheid state exposes a clear inheritance of South Africa's slavocracy, which delineated the rape of black women as a normal nothingness (Gqola, 2021). Accordingly, *women – and particularly Black women – appear in South Africa's apartheid archive in the same manner as the enslaved women […] – with the violence inflicted against them presented as if it were 'for nothing'* (Bridger & Hazan, 2022, p. 287). The authors' statement is framed in response to the words '*for nothing*' applied in the context of a rape incident that occurred in the Umlazi region in September 1972, where two older men physically and sexually assaulted a woman, and then invited a 15-year-old boy to have *'sex for*

nothing'. Suggesting a systemic intergenerational inheritance across genders of both violence and trauma. Whilst the *'nothing'* may be understood as representing a lack of criminal or economic consequence, it may require further analytic attendance in terms of its transactional legacy rooted in slavery and its replication in post-apartheid South Africa. Critical of the conceptualisation and archiving of violence, particularly sexual violence during apartheid, Bridger and Hazan (2022) have accused the apartheid state and their constituents of causing further harm to women, with implications for present-day society. A review of the author's central arguments highlights that the '*Female Fear Factory*', is the patriarchal policing of and violence towards women and thus the targeting of women as safe to violate (Gqola, 2021, p. 18-19), which shifts beyond the boundaries of rape. It instead illustrates the mechanism of a broader patriarchal tool of control (Gqola, 2021), facilitating economic and sexual exploitation which infiltrated occupational, public and intimate spaces.

Research focussing on occupational practices demonstrates incidents where women were permitted into the apartheid labour market but restricted to the lowest-paid work (Sideris, 1998). For those employed as domestic workers in white homes, this included increased vulnerability to poor work conditions (Cock, 1987), as well as sexual exploitation by male employers (Groenmeyer, 2011). Black women working as domestic workers, thus existed in a *legal vacuum,* subject to an absence of legal or legislative safeguarding (Cock, 1987). Cock (1987) introduces a further variable of domestic work, emphasising the economic exploitation of black women by white *madams*. The research features black women's narratives of their experiences as domestic workers and their sense of being slaves, whilst also not being seen as women. Additionally, the research elucidates the implications of employment restrictions that confined black women to domestic work, and their exacerbated oppression through low wages, long working hours and inhumane treatment (Cock, 1987). Where this treatment risked sexual exploitation, the absence of justice for black bodies in apartheid legislation categorised these forms of sexual violences as unambiguously 'for nothing'. Given the vulnerable position of black women in apartheid South Africa, the risk of economic and sexual exploitation extended across various occupational spaces. As such, black women seeking employment outside of white homes were also at risk of being coerced into providing sexual services in lieu of employment in agricultural or factory spaces (Cock, 1987; Groenmeyer, 2011). Mapping these violences demonstrates associations with transactional sex practices evident across the post-apartheid South African landscape amongst vulnerable black women.

The contradictions of the apartheid state in its conceptualisation of masculinity further extended women's exploitation within their marriages and homes. Patriarchal authority and the infantilisation of black women increased their risk of intimate partner violence (Cock, 1987; Sideris, 1998). Beyond the risk of violence, women suffered exploitation within their homes, often primarily accountable for domestic as well as financial duties. This subjugated positionality obscures the process of exposing experiences and discourses concerning violence, and especially sexual violence within women's daily lived experiences under apartheid (Bridger & Hazan, 2022).

Given the silencing and neglect of these discourses, scholarship on sexual violence has overwhelmingly focused on the post-apartheid South Africa (Bridger & Hazan, 2022). This however gives rise to concern given that this form of scholarship promotes a discourse that frames gender-based violence, including sexual violence, as a post-apartheid phenomenon. Thus, freeing violence in all its vicissitudes from its colonial and slavocratic roots. Moreover, this form of discourse is likely to endorse the colonial lie of white virtue in response to blackness and the association with animalistic and hypersexualised tendencies. In response to these risks, a review of black women's exploitation in post-apartheid South Africa therefore requires attendance to cylindrical epiphenomenal temporality (Canham, 2023) and the need to analyse present-day violences with cognisance to historical silences.

Canham (2023, p. 198) argues that violence adapts to the times, *is tied to and feeds off the undetonated energy of historical memories of extraction and devastation*. Post-apartheid South Africa thus represents an alternate timescape for violent repetition, bearing the remnants of colonialism, slavocracy and apartheid. Initially falling within the shadow of race-based offences, the consistent themes of women's subjugation across the colonial and segregatory periods of South African history, are attaining growing awareness given the explicit and implicit role of gendered hierarchy in political and social contexts (Abrahams, 1996b; Boonzaier, 2017; Gqola, 2021). Despite this growing awareness of gendered subjugation, patriarchal ideals have left women occupying the lower tiers of hierarchical systems, thus maintaining a marginalised position obstructed from power and access to resources (Engel-Hills & Ibsen, 2020). This includes sustained economic vulnerability, evidenced by the fact that women in South Africa experience the highest level of poverty (Statistics South Africa, 2020). Despite legal and policy reformation, the political economies of exploitation of black women persist across various structural contexts. As such, the economic exploitation of black women can be expanded on from different viewpoints, ranging from domestic work as modern-

day servitude (Dawood & Seedat-Khan, 2023) to the othering of black women in corporate spaces (Canham, 2014). The concealment and silencing of South Africa's institutionalised subjugation of women (Goldblatt & Meintjes, 1998, 1999), exacerbates its vulnerability for repetition in the present. Accordingly, systemic inequality, subjugation and silencing exist in a reciprocating cycle of eroding women's natural human rights (Enaifoghe, 2019). The structural and systemic exploitations of black women are however difficult to illuminate with incidence and prevalence, given that statistical reviews only provide an illustration of exploitation evidenced through offences that are legally demarcated as criminal. This contributes to silencing the ways wage gaps between genders increase women's vulnerability to systemic and structural exploitation, whilst also rendering a sense of incarceration in exploitative conditions. From an occupational perspective, women earn significantly less than men, with the World Bank reporting that the gender pay gap in South Africa demonstrated minimal signs of reduction since 2007 (Madingwaneng et al., 2024). The pay gap not only widens economic disparities across genders but also permeates into retirement savings, increasing women's vulnerability to poverty and deprivation across their life stages (Ojo & Olaitan, 2024). These forms of structural violences reinforce women's dependence and obedience to men, even when at a psychological or physiological cost. As such, expounding on the subjugation and exploitation of women is most often framed in response to gender-based violence. It may, however, be important to highlight how these structures are closely aligned, given that the sustained gendered construction of power and hierarchy has facilitated continued and persistent communication of women as less significant humans. This has supported the perpetuation of women as deserving recipients of oppression and subjugation, which includes the ceaseless reverberations of physical and sexual violences, not discounting other forms of gender-based violences (Bertolt, 2018; Boonzaier, 2017).

The United Nations Declaration of 1993 defines violence against women as *"any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life"*. Applying a specific lens on physical harm, *Femicide represents the most extreme manifestation of gender-based violence against women and girls. Very often such killings are not isolated incidents but rather the culmination of pre-existing forms of gender-based violence that affect all regions and countries worldwide. Broadly speaking, femicides or gender-related killings of women and girls are committed in different settings, within the private sphere and beyond, for gender-related motives. Such*

motives are rooted in societal norms and stereotypes that consider women to be subordinate to men, as well as in discrimination towards women and girls, inequality and unequal power relations between women and men in society (United Nations, 2024, p. 10).

A review of gender-related statistics in post-apartheid South Africa provides an understanding of how colonialist and patriarchal strategies have been sustained. Uninterrupted across political landscapes, including post-apartheid, these strategies have produced a culture of violence that has intersected across social strata, thereby informing the landscape of gender-based violence. Violence informed by gender and sexual constructions, including its psychological aftermath, thus remains the foremost human rights violation in South Africa (Enaifoghe et al., 2021). Whilst present-day South Africa presents intermittent threats of exposing women's continued subjugation, these are often short-lived. Instead, the concealment of women's trauma is reciprocated across intimate spaces as well as broader societal and political landscapes (Gqola, 2007; Murray, 2017; Segalo, 2012). This concealment aids the perpetuation of violences, with incidence rates and forms of violence against women escalating to unprecedented proportions (Enaifoghe et al., 2021; Engel-Hills & Ibsen, 2020; Sibanda-Moyo et al., 2017). Adding to this, population-based surveys indicate high levels of gender-based violence (African Health Organisation, 2021), with many women experiencing more than one category of violence (Enaifoghe et al., 2021). The available data suggests that intimate partner violence is the most common form of violence perpetrated against women when comparing intimate partner violence and non-partner sexual violence. As such, reported incidents indicate that approximately 50% of assaults are likely to be perpetrated by a friend, intimate partner or other household member (Stats SA, 2019). Moreover, the 2022/2023 South African Police Service report by the Crime Registrar (2023) indicates a 10,6% increase in the murder of women, a 17,6% increase in the attempted murder of women, and a 5,1% increase in assault/gender-based harm, reflecting an increase from 55 655 cases to 58 488 cases per annum.

Despite the high and continuously escalating incidence rates of gender-based violence, available statistics are reviewed as mere broad indicators of the pattern of gender-based violence, and thus deemed non-statistics (Machisa et al., 2018, 2023; Meyiwa et al., 2017). This appraisal is in response to the high levels of under-reporting of gender-based violence - driven by a silencing entrenched by women's restrained economic and social power (Enaifoghe et al., 2021; Meyiwa et al., 2017). This is, in turn, attributed to a multitude of socio-cultural barriers, fears of prejudice and the probability of re-traumatisation within South Africa's criminal justice and healthcare systems. Research by Doctors Without Borders (MSF) indicates

that few women subject to sexual violence ever report it to the police or seek medical attention (Lamola, 2017). This is despite the short- and long-term implications of violence, which include, but are not limited to, physical and psychological trauma, unwanted pregnancy, loss of an existing pregnancy, as well as acquiring sexually transmitted infections (STIs) (Lamola, 2017). South African research has elucidated the risks of mental health difficulties among women experiencing gender-based violence (Kaminer et al., 2008; Kaminer & Eagle, 2010; Machisa et al., 2017), whilst also demonstrating how these may be intensified by South Africa's socioeconomic and sociopolitical disparities (Atwoli et al., 2013; Sere et al., 2021).

Despite these concerns, it is difficult to ascertain the political will to redress gendered violations. South Africa boasts impressive constitutional rights and legislature, including its pioneering *Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment Bill* (Meyiwa et al., 2017). However, polity and praxis continue to remain inconsistent, given that South Africa appears to remain complicit with dominant patriarchal traditions. It is suggested that this extends beyond the hierarchical framing of gender and includes the systemic silencing of women. In working towards an understanding of the continued silencing of women's trauma and how these are underpinned through colonial inheritance, it is surmised that knowledges may be uncovered to redress the perceived absence of political will to address gendered forms of violations.

1.2.3 Silencing Gendered Agency and Acts of Resistance

Previous sections of this chapter have focused on explicating the oppression and exploitation of racialised and sexualised bodies as a manifestation of the political subjugation and economic exploitation of Africa. More often neglected, however, is the further concealed, disremembered and silenced narrative of the resistance in response to this exploitation. This in turn evokes questions related to the purpose of disremembering resistance through discourses of silencing. *What is the threat of remembering forms of resistance? Would remembering women as activists, combatants or agents of change across the different chapters of South Africa's colonial legacy present a threat to sustained patriarchy and patriarchal normativity?* It is postulated that giving voice to the memory of resistance and gendered agency may present a significant danger to dominant political and social discourses, threatening the foundations of patriarchy, power and capitalism as informed by coloniality. However, only exposing South Africa's oppression and exploitation would provide a half-truth, within a context already filled with distorted narratives. Moreover, framing raced and gendered humans as only oppressed would be complicit with the colonial practices that frame black life as infantile, primitive, and

thus void of intelligence and agency. Despite the latter, forms of resistance against colonial power by raced and gendered women have attained minimal attention (Hassim, 2014).

Central to this thesis is the disremembering of women anti-apartheid activists, and thus the distortion of women's agency and activism, which includes the disremembering of their exposure to violence and trauma as a consequence. The continued dislocation and subjugation of women in post-apartheid South Africa suggests the pertinence of re-memory of women's resistance and their dislocated power across South Africa's respective timescapes. Archives concerning colonialism, slavery, and apartheid are thus mostly dormant in conveying the role of women in resistance struggles, whilst permitted stories are at risk of revision to align with dominant discourses. Tracing this distortion requires looking back to the earliest histories of this silencing to understand how South Africa's past haunts its present. This includes tracing resistance narratives that predate apartheid as a timescape of repetition, locating its roots in slavery and remnant coloniality.

Despite the incomplete archive of South Africa's slave trade (Ross, 2022), a review of available texts from the Cape Town Archives Repository (Loos, 2004), as well as the Protector of Slaves archives (Mason, 2003), provides a synthesis of available scripts and stories. This includes uncovering individual, family and community narratives. Mason's (2003) particular attendance to the history of a woman slave named Aurora illustrates the intersection of these relational spaces. In unsilencing the chronicles of Aurora, also framed as the *'Good Mother's Tale'*, the author first describes Aurora as a wife and mother before referencing her as a slave. Whilst this manuscript serves as a central text of slave memorialisation, it also provides a sense of earlier framings of discourse that intersperse women's resistance with motherhood, patriarchal relations and domestic slavery within a marital or family unit. This predisposition will be interrogated later in this chapter.

A slave by patrimony, Aurora's life depicts an existence as an 'object' subject to an inheritance provided by a father to his son. Her life was therefore not only dictated by her racial heritage but also by the patriarchal system in which she existed. In resistance to the violence encountered post this transaction, Mason (2003, p. 2) narrates Aurora's case as a plight before the assistant prosecutor to *save her marriage, preserve her family, and lessen the physical acts of violence endured by her family, as well as other slaves*. Explicated as a form of resistance, each of these relational plights demonstrates a collective that is not forgotten. Mason (2003) continues to explain that as a persecutory response to Aurora's complaint to the prosecutor, she

is subjected to physical violence and a week of solitary confinement - practices adopted by the apartheid system in punishing those active in resistance politics (Naidoo, 2021). After recovering from her punishment, Aurora does not hesitate to return and inform "*the prosecutor that she was concerned about the wellbeing of all thirty of Cloete's slaves, not just herself."* (Mason, 2003, p. 3).

Though Mason's (2003) illustration of Aurora's resistance is of value, the emphasis on the *'good mother'* may risk a reading that obscures Aurora's resistance to capitalism, power and dominance in challenging one of the largest slaveholders in the Cape colony. This includes drawing attention away from Aurora's plights on behalf of other slaves, whilst her own complaint attained *'little interest'* from the prosecutor (Mason, 2003, p. 3).

> *When she returned home after the disposition of her earlier charges, he had taken her "into an Out Room And (sic) there upbraided her for having lodged a Complaint." He then administered "Several Severe blows With a Piece of Wood" and struck her "Several times with the fist on the face". Cloete locked her in stocks overnight and kept her in "Solitary Confinement" for more than a week.*
>
> *(Mason, 2003, p. 3)*

Recognising that Aurora's physical assaults attained *'little interest'* by the prosecutor highlights not only the roots of resistance but also the silencing of the violence and trauma associated with it. South Africa's violent engagement with gendered, raced and sexualised women thus appears to be in some form of historic recurrence, evidenced by Aurora's seemingly indistinct archive, which mirrors the martyrdom of women anti-apartheid activists. Aurora's plight for the collective is reminiscent of women anti-apartheid activists and their reputation as *mothers of a nation* in prioritising the collective (Sideris, 1998). Mason's (2003) search through the archives, however, culminates with Aurora disappearing from the official records and thus from historical remembering. The lost narratives of slave women in resistance implore caution to not have history repeat itself with the narratives of women activists across the apartheid and anti-apartheid archives. This urgency is heightened knowing that many personal stories of women anti-apartheid activists have already been lost and have *gone with them to the grave* (Naidoo, 2021, p. 30). The aftermath is emphasised by South Africa's struggle in its democratic transition, particularly concerning gendered subjectivities and the probability of new myths in response to political discourse (Samuelson, 2005).

The emphasis on mythology highlights the importance of remembering and how language is selected to weave particular discourses, often giving rise to sites of contradictions. These contradictions have contributed to the complexity of representing women in the anti-apartheid resistance, with their contributions poorly delineated. Whilst some women may be represented for their role in student movements, others may have occupied alternative formalised structures such as social movements and trade unions (Hassim, 2004). Though some women were driven by the idea of democracy, others had motives beyond democracy, such as women's emancipation (Hassim, 1991). These divergent objectives were influenced by the day-to-day struggles that black women were challenged with, whilst striving towards the elimination of the broader political struggles. This included addressing how the apartheid state challenged the existence of black communities by applying economic exploitation and exclusion as barriers to black communities' capacity to access basic services. Some of these difficulties included high rental, lack of transportation services, and the absence of primary healthcare services (Hassim, 2004, 2005). As previously mentioned, black women's emphasis on the reparation of the black community has frequently been referenced as occupying a position of public motherhood, thereby occupying a position of symbolic motherhood (Healy-Clancy, 2017b). This notion of motherhood has persisted despite sustained critique, labelling it as a myth in service of propagating patriarchal structures (See Walker, 1991; Mtintso, 2023). It is argued that *a discourse in which motherhood is the ultimate symbol of women's political heroism is in fact disempowering* (Hassim, 1991, p. 77 citing Hassim, 1990) and may be seen as an act to divorce women from the core liberation structures. Remembering and unsilencing discourses related to women's activism and resistance therefore need to move beyond constructions of motherhood within patriarchal structures, to facilitate mobilising women's liberation (Hassim, 1991). The motivation is not to exclude constructions of motherhood, but to acknowledge the ways in which this discourse may serve to conceal women as combatants, political agents and full participants in the liberation struggle. Thereby allowing attendance to the ways in which women had to abandon the societal expectations of motherhood, to take up the political mantles in the absence of imprisoned men as activists (Naidoo, 2021). This includes acknowledging that "*… their bodies and minds were tortured in unimaginable ways*" (Naidoo, 2021, p. 29).

1.2.4 Unsilencing and Remembering Trauma in Pursuit of Restoration

Internationally, trauma has gained renewed attention concerning its implications, and relevance to the maintenance and manifestation of intergenerational wounds and the transmission of trauma (Forrest et al., 2018; Gobodo-Madikizela, 2016; Yehuda & Lehrner, 2018). The

prevalent body of global literature includes an emphasis on American war veterans (See Castro-Vale et al., 2019; Bachem et al., 2020; Cramm et al., 2022) and Holocaust survivors (See Danieli, 1985; Adelman, 1995; Van IJzendoorn et al., 2003; Epstein, 2022). The body of literature reviewed suggests that not all incidents of violence and trauma have attained similar levels of scholarly attention. Historically, this has been particularly true regarding the subjugation of black people and women given that their marginalisation has been justified and moralised based on both culture, religion (De Gruchy, 2006; Jun et al., 2018), as well as the misuse of science and eugenics to support race-based political agendas (Bergman, 2014; Fairchild, 1991). The dearth of scholarly attention is thought-provoking, given that violence has saturated black peoples lived experiences across pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial milieus (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012). Internationally, research has highlighted the persistent intergenerational impressions of violence on the physiological and psychological well-being of individuals, families, and communities (Gaston, 2021). Whilst authors such as Adonis (2016), Gobodo-Madikizela (2012) and Hoosain (2018) have in recent years highlighted the relevance of intergenerational trauma amongst the descendants of apartheid survivors, further contributions to the body of literature are required to facilitate the process of remembering and the unsilencing of racialised gender-specific traumas through a contextually relevant lens. Intersections attributed to gendered constructions concerning violence and trauma have been subject to neglect in post-conflict situations (Segalo, 2012), including in South Africa.

Remembering, silencing, and collective memory concerning South Africa's history and legacy is, however, a contentious issue. As stated by Msimang (2018, p. 32), "*forgiveness became a national mantra, and reconciliation an official ideology*". The widespread call to forget colonialism and apartheid has been heeded in individual and collective spaces (Bowman, 2013; Hook, 2013; McKinney, 2004; Meskell & Weiss, 2006; Msimang, 2018a). Forgetting has been branded as therapeutic, thus facilitating the denial of colonial and apartheid violence. Post-apartheid South Africa has therefore been crafted into a system that discourages disclosure pertaining to human suffering (Segalo, 2012). It is, however, argued that this silencing of suffering has simultaneously hindered the process of healing and reclaiming human dignity by black South Africans (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2012; Meskell & Weiss, 2006). Beyond the risk of hindering healing, it is further suggested that the wounds of colonialism and apartheid continue to manifest in the present generation. This is attributed to the way the silencing of suffering voids the need for atonement or remorse, whilst simultaneously concealing colonial violence as a thriving force. This unwitting safeguarding of the colonial frame sustains a collective

consciousness in which black people are still not accepted as fully human, thereby annulling the significance of the violence imposed on black bodies (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012). This disremembering and silencing thus renders South Africa susceptible to violent repetition.

Given the motivation to remain in the restraints of disremembering and silencing, the memorialisation of South African anti-apartheid history has remained fixed on political activists who gained international acclaim during the apartheid struggle (See Konieczna & Skinner, 2019; Kurtz, 2010). This presentation of agreeable news and heroics facilitated distraction from applying an expanding lens on apartheid atrocities. Therefore, whilst activists such as Nelson Mandela became globally renowned as the symbol of the anti-apartheid struggle (Olesen, 2015), it is suggested that the army of faceless and nameless activists who remained dedicated to the daily struggle towards democracy were mostly forgotten. Despite increased efforts to engage with the stories of *ordinary* people (See Stevens et al., 2013), most anti-apartheid activists' narratives have remained mostly hidden in obscurity. The motivation to forget may be translated as a mandate for collective national silencing, which is itself linked to constructs of power and oppression. This is acutely relevant to the narratives of women, whose contributions to dismantling the apartheid regime have been excluded from dominant accounts of history (Healy-Clancy, 2017b). Borrowing from Samuelson (2005), Canham (2023) highlights the dominant discourse of women as leaky or empty vessels, ascribing impotence and incapacity for containing a historical narrative that can only be spoken into life by men. This discourse promotes silencing and projects powerlessness onto women. The disregard for women's contributions not only functions to perpetuate the sociopolitical marginalisation of women but also serves to silence the forms of suffering women activists were subjected to (Orton, 2018), which over time may have intergenerational implications for their descendants.

Though research has recognised the profound intergenerational and transgenerational implications of formalised war on individuals, families, and communities (Forrest et al., 2018; Yehuda & Lehrner, 2018), the impact of the liberation struggle on former anti-apartheid activists, their families, and communities have remained mostly neglected. The experience of women anti-apartheid activists calls for increased attention, given the intersectional subjugation they were exposed to from both cohorts of the apartheid regime and the anti-apartheid struggle. It may be suggested that the silencing of their trauma is therefore also multifarious. Women's resistance against apartheid included a call to be intimately involved in the anti-apartheid struggle (Miller, 2009). This implicit summons to be involved in acts of resistance and violence was simultaneously met with various forms of oppression based on

their gender. This included oppression by men in intimate spaces, including men they considered their political brethren (Meintjes, 2011; Miller, 2009). Instead of being received as allies in the struggle against apartheid, many women realised that the national liberation struggle could not be separated from the emancipation of women (Hassim, 2004). The social construction of their intersectional positionality of being both black and a woman was therefore subject to multifarious violences and invalidated traumas. The silencing of trauma is proposed to compromise healing and assault connection (Phillips, 2015), which in turn raises questions about the intergenerational implications for the descendants of anti-apartheid women activists.

The silencing of trauma has been posited as having powerful implications for descendants. Silencing risks the illusion of resolution of the past (Rajevic, 2019a), thereby facilitating an uninterrupted intergenerational transmission of unprocessed trauma to find alternative means of expression by descendants (Lijtmaer, 2017). Understanding these expressions is important, given that women descendants are likely to be concurrently subject to the systemic and structural violences as a remnant of apartheid's racist and gendered legacy (Adonis, 2016). Constructions of *post-apartheid* South Africa or *post-conflict* South Africa, therefore, read as misnomers, given that present-day South Africa remains a site of violent reproduction. Zasiekina and colleagues (2021) proposed that the exploration of women descendants' meaning-making of gender-specific trauma is of crucial importance since women often serve as the custodians of family narratives. As such, despite the disregard for women's contributions to apartheid narratives, their role as change agents dictates a pivotal function in the transmission of trauma and consequently, the negotiation of collective and family narratives post-conflict and trauma (Frankish & Bradbury, 2012). Earlier theorising by Fanon (1963) highlighted this role of women in keeping the memory of the anti-colonial period alive by serenading liberation songs to their children. This is further motivated by Rajiva and Takševa (2021), who argue that the reconstruction of traumatic memory by women may facilitate reconstructing post-trauma identity at both personal and collective levels. As such, whilst women's narratives are often disregarded concerning what is perceived as significant liberation accounts, Frankish and Bradbury (2012) argue that women are, in fact, at the core of the transmission of trauma. This elucidates the potential of negotiating family histories that foster the possibility of restoration in the wake of trauma (Frankish & Bradbury, 2012). It is additionally argued that challenging familial or gendered discourse may reveal discursive networks aligning the possibilities of women's functions stringently in response to their positionalities as activists and change agents.

Holding these possibilities in mind, the research aims were premised on attaining an understanding of the consequences of colonialist practices as manifested during the apartheid regime. This included its unacknowledged forms of human violations, specifically on both race and gender constructions. Western patriarchal technologies of gender differentiation and sexual violence have been foundational to the social construction of race and thus the dehumanisation that defines South Africa's history of slavery, colonialism and apartheid (Coetzee, 2021a). Aspiring to an encompassing lens required navigating discourses on the unacknowledged vicissitudes of trauma, as well as how these wounds may manifest across generations. The research engaged with the experiences shared by women descendants of women anti-apartheid activists, in terms of what the descendants experienced as memories shared and remembered, in concurrence with what they experienced as memories silenced. Given the multiplicity of their experiences, an intersection of theoretical constructions was required to facilitate an overarching understanding and to prevent possible erasure based on either gendered or racial constructions. Moreover, an integrated conceptual frame served to acknowledge that the research process did not occur within a contextual vacuum or in the absence of the influence of time and sociopolitical transition. It was instead premised on recognising the complexity of exploring the process of unsilencing and remembering in a context plagued by both its historical and present-day socio-economic and social-political challenges embedded within an African and Decolonial frame.

Beyond the complexities presented by the remnants of post-apartheid South Africa, is the recognition that the realm of psychology in South Africa demonstrates an overreliance on theoretical conceptualisations, literature, and scholarship founded in Eurocentric and Western constructs and knowledge production (Ratele, 2019). These concerns are interrogated with reference to the framing of the trauma construct, and how the application of a Western conceptualisation may render communities rooted in diverse cultures vulnerable to being pathologised as well as having their experiences attributed to individual pathology, whilst obscuring external and collective accountability (Brown, 2017) and therefore silenced. Similar concerns have guided the composition of the integrated conceptual framework. The research initiative was intentional in applying conceptualisations that would lend itself to an African-centric and Decolonial praxis. The South African decolonial project requires careful elucidation of gender systems and gender oppression as central to the renewal of colonial hierarchies (Coetzee, 2021a).

The research served to employ an encompassing frame that acknowledged the simultaneous lived experiences of the intersection of gender and race, whilst remaining cognisant of an African-relevant praxis. Despite the latter, cognisance of the critiques and limitations of the different conceptual contributions were considered and remained top of mind throughout the conceptualisation and application of the integrated conceptual lens. Taking this into consideration, the current research aspired to meaningfully contribute to facilitating an understanding of the intergenerational implications of the silencing of women's trauma, to contribute to the body of knowledge related to trauma intervention in response to colonialist, race-based, and gendered forms of disremembered human violations. The need to mitigate the transmission of intergenerational trauma is of particular relevance given the ongoing global incidence of acts of genocide, war, and human violations that are serving to maintain and manifest the various iterations of the transmission of intergenerational trauma. It is hoped that the research can in this way contribute to an unsilencing and remembering, that challenges South Africa's '*readiness to displace black women from any form of cultural, political, or indeed, spiritual power*' (Bennet, 2017; p. 237).

1.3 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

1.3.1 Summary of the Present Study

The central focus of the present study comprised an analysis of the memories shared by 20 women descendants of women anti-apartheid activists. The experiences were shared through in-depth semi-structured individual interviews as well as two family processes. The analysis of the corpus of text was initially guided by a hermeneutic phenomenological analysis, followed by a critical approach to the discursive analysis of the participants' experiences as descendants of women anti-apartheid activists. Commencing with a hermeneutic phenomenological analysis allowed for an understanding of the participants' lived experiences, while attending to memories remembered and possible memories silenced. The critical approach to the discursive analysis facilitated uncovering possible dominant ideologies and power structures informing or maintained by discourse production. The analysis was aligned with the integrated conceptual framework, premising an African and Decolonial lens, to facilitate an understanding of the descendant experiences with cognisance of the colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid timescape of South Africa.

1.3.2 Research Aim

This study pursued to attain an understanding of the consequences of apartheid as a colonialist force and its unacknowledged forms of human violations, the unacknowledged vicissitudes of trauma, as well as how these wounds may manifest intergenerationally.

The research aimed to do this by engaging with the experiences shared by women descendants of women anti-apartheid activists, in terms of what the descendants experienced as memories shared and remembered, in relation to what they experienced as memories silenced.

The primary aim of this research was to explore the ways in which the women descendants of women anti-apartheid activists may have made sense of their forebearer's experiences of apartheid acts of race-based human violations, as well as gender-based forms of oppression, and its probable contributions to intergenerational trauma.

The research intended to uncover:

- Trauma discourse pertaining to remembering, and silencing in the individual narratives of the women descendants of women anti-apartheid activists
- Trauma discourse pertaining to remembering, and silencing in the collective narratives of the women descendants of women anti-apartheid activists
- Trauma discourse in the intergenerational transmission of trauma in the individual narratives of the women descendants of women anti-apartheid activists
- Trauma discourse in the intergenerational transmission of trauma in the collective narratives of the women descendants of women anti-apartheid activists

1.3.3 Research Questions

The research questions resulting from these overarching and secondary aims comprised the following:

- What are the forms of trauma reflected in the discursive networks emerging from the individual narratives of the women descendants of women anti-apartheid activists?
- What are the forms of trauma reflected in the discursive networks emerging from the collective narratives of the women descendants of women anti-apartheid activists?
- What are the discursive networks of remembering and intergenerational trauma based on the narratives of the women descendants of women anti-apartheid activists?

- What are the discursive networks of silencing and intergenerational trauma based on the narratives of the women descendants of women anti-apartheid activists?

The emphasis on trauma discourse is intentional, given its links with remembering and silencing. Trauma and discourse are often conceived as two conflicting constructs, given the manner in which trauma is assumed to impede language, meaning-making, and its translation into discourse. Psychology has traditionally framed silence in response to trauma in association with the repression of speech due to the unspeakable nature of the traumatic experience (Kidron, 2009). Further associations have been made concerning trauma's resistance to meaning-making and organisation (Seshadri, 2012). However, these arguments may be understood as dismissing the various positionalities of silence and its links with power and subjugation. This is particularly relevant in considering trauma as an implication of silence as a product of coercion or threat (Gilbreath, 2020), as well as silence as an attempt to protect against possible endangerment (Labanyi, 2009). There is, therefore, a danger of framing trauma and silence solely within the boundaries of individual pathology, without cognisance of how societal power and political constructions have informed psychological knowledge production. This argument is further explicated in *Chapter Four: The Varied Delineations of Trauma and Violence as Antecedent.*

1.3.4 Significance of the Study

> *We choose to notice some aspects of our world, allowing others to fade into the background.*
>
> *(Murray & Durrheim, 2019, p. 1)*

Colonialism and apartheid have attained awareness and examination across literary and scholarly spheres (See Adonis, 2016; Bowman, 2013; Dubow, 2014; Gobodo-Madikizela, 2012a, 2016, 2023; Stevens et al., 2013). These contributions have facilitated substantial intellectual guidance to inform international and national discourse, anchoring South Africa's global and local history and memory reconstruction. Dominant political discourse has however been resistant to reconstruction (Msimang, 2018a), thus facilitating the disremembering of subjugated histories. This resistance may in part be attributed to a memorialisation that has isolated apartheid solely as a race-based project (Adonis, 2016), dislocated by heroic masculinity (Langa et al., 2021). This partial framing has solidified global recognition of select activists as heroes, legends, and martyrs, with some recalled with saint-like dispositions

(Maylam, 2009). Of concern is how this masculine memorialisation and the silencing of women anti-apartheid activists have facilitated a continuation of the original colonialist project of gendered subjugation. The silence and silencing of women are therefore not new and are surmised to be a repeated manifestation of colonialist slavocracy, finding reform in South Africa's post-conflict condition. This silencing remains deafening in its co-construction of women's subjugation, exploitation and disposability across South Africa's timescapes, evidenced by the continued escalation of gender-based violations. Consequently, colonial ideology remains dominant even in anti-apartheid, liberation, and post-apartheid discourse (Healy-Clancy, 2017b; Lee, 2009; Msimang, 2000). Present-day South Africa's complicit engagement with its colonial and apartheid legacy informs the absence of social justice and psychosocial priorities in response to escalating rates of femicide and gender-based violations. This research frames the possibility of reparation, repair and social justice as contingent on bearing witness to unsilencing women's agency, political contributions and its traumatic aftermath.

Explicating the silencing of women anti-apartheid activists' trauma serves a twofold function of making meaning of what the act of silencing intends to conceal. Though the overall intent is to engage with the experiences shared by women descendants of women anti-apartheid activists, in terms of what the descendants experienced as memories shared and remembered, as well as what they experienced as memories silenced, it is suggested that multiple acts of silencing are in the service of concealment. It is argued that an initial process is to excise women as activists and systemic agents of change. This, in turn, serves as an erasure of their agency and power within their role and contributions in the anti-apartheid struggle, whilst also diminishing the need to acknowledge the vicissitudes of colonial violence and trauma in the aftermath of liberation. Diminishing their possible relations to both power and trauma facilitates an almost complete erasure of women in the intersections of the liberation struggle.

CHAPTER TWO: SOUTH AFRICA'S GENDERED VISTAS ACROSS HISTORICAL TEMPORALITIES

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This brutal history is invisible, unspoken. But still, its traces are everywhere.
(Baderoon, 2020, Wall text, Izikko Slave Lodge Museum)

South Africa has an extensive history of oppression purported to be premised on race-based ideology (Adonis, 2016). However, a more in-depth review may premise South Africa's history in a context beyond race and instead framed within the boundaries of patriarchy, power and capitalist gains. Extending beyond race, this encompasses an intersectional matrix of gender, sexuality, class and power. As such, whilst South Africa's political legacy is habitually framed in association with apartheid, a practice politically condemned by international society (Klotz, 2018), it is suggested that much less is criticised about South Africa's history of colonialism, slavery and the economic and sexual exploitation of black women's bodies. This censoring persists even though colonialist ideology served as the foundation in cultivating the apartheid segregationist society (Masson & Smith, 2019). The emphasis on select histories may be the Global North's attempt to frame Africa's sins as born from within Africa, rather than emanating from Eurocentric patriarchal ideals and atrocities. Alternatively, it may be attributed to South Africa's custom of forgetting. This chapter presents a historical and contextual understanding of gender intersected with race-based oppression, through colonialist and patriarchal variants of violence and trauma as catalysed in South Africa. Followed by an explication of how this has been transferred across South Africa's liberation struggles and post-conflict transition.

The intention of this chapter is thus to provide historical anchors to locate the research in context. It is, however, important to note the limitations of accessing the narratives of history based on what is permitted to exist within the realm of archived documentation and narratives shared. The limitations of this chapter are therefore acknowledged, given that any historical narrative comprises a particular bundle of silences (Trouillot, 1995, 2015). This, in turn, reflects the role of power in the production of history. Given that silencing can occur at various stages of crystallising the past and thus the construction of history (Trouillot, 1995, 2015), what is remembered for retelling is subject to the production of power (Chakraborty, 2022). Unsilencing and remembering are thus a heeded tension that threatens the dominant discourses as archived, generating an unease about how unsilencing may unbalance existing power hierarchies (Stoler, 2010). Despite these limitations, this chapter aims to examine how gender constructions across South Africa's historical timescapes resonate in the post-conflict society.

2.2 SOUTH AFRICA: LEGACY OF GENDERED AND RACIAL OPPRESSION

The oppressive legacy of gender interlinked with race extends beyond the landscape now designated as South Africa. The Republic of South Africa was established in 1961, two centuries after it was subjected to colonialist oppression. To speak of South Africa, therefore requires an understanding of Europe's thirst to conquer and own Africa and its people. Echoing Césaire's (2000) argument that the colonial project was never benevolent and always motivated by self-interest and the economic exploitation of the colonised. Select colonial and apartheid histories remain accessible, though dominant discourse still promotes these violations in the service of civilisation (Ndlovu-Gatsheni; 2021; Wright, 2021; Zille, 2017). Expressed differently, it is suggested that even in historical text, coloniality presents as the dominant discourse, while decoloniality is subject to silence. Accordingly, whilst broad themes, text, literature, and archives are available about the various atrocities of marginalisation, oppression, and human violations, it is widely acknowledged that the victor cements history and knowledge production (Macgilchrist & Van Praet, 2013). History in the service of memorialisation is always likely to represent the ambiguity of representing a particular narrative, as opposed to a factual construction. It may be suggested that this silencing contributes to the maintenance and manifestation of violence, in the act of concealing the original sins. An initial interrogation of slavery, colonisation, and apartheid thus appears deceptively uncomplicated to elucidate.

A concrete analysis of slavery, as well as colonisation and apartheid milieus, provides a sound understanding of legislation, law, and policy and the governing of racial segregation (Adonis, 2016). The process of understanding the implications and legacy of slavery, colonisation and apartheid, however, reveals its complexity, thereby demonstrating various levels of intersection that extend beyond the social constructions of race. This includes but is in no way limited to the intersections of a patriarchal system, and the consequent enmeshment of power and marginalisation with racialised sexuality, and ultimately racialised gender (Healy-Clancy, 2017b; Ratele & Shefer, 2013). Central to understanding South Africa's historical and sociopolitical legacy is seeking what is hidden beyond the racial framing of colonialism and apartheid. This requires explicating gendered and sexual violence in formulating the racial constructs that catalysed South Africa's history of slavery, colonialism, and apartheid (Coetzee, 2021a). Reference to overarching systems such as colonialism and apartheid therefore does not serve to minimise the reality of the multiple denigrating traumas embedded yet silenced.

2.2.1 Remembering Apartheid and Silencing Preceding Crimes Against Humanity

Apartheid holds a prominent position in South African history, whilst simultaneously neglecting that its roots are embedded in race-based practices dating from the 1600s. Though numerous forms of apartheid legislation came into practice during the 1800s, an institutional racial segregation policy was legislated in 1910 (Dubow, 2014). Ultimately culminating in the legislative promulgation of apartheid in 1948, motivated by the National Party and its premise on white Afrikaaner nationalism (Clark & Worger, 2022, 2018). Whilst the National Party and apartheid have attained prominence in history, less emphasis is placed on the United Party that governed South Africa between 1934 and 1948 (Dubow, 2014). Current archives demonstrate that the United Party held a comfortable lead over the National Party and that the 1948 defeat could only be understood in relation to the United Party's increased liberal stance (Dubow, 2014). This liberal stance was in strong contrast with the ideology advocated by the National Party, and its construction of Afrikaner nationalism, whilst advocating the unified experience of the Afrikaner Volk. A sentiment still maintained in post-apartheid South Africa.

Apartheid, as a literal interpretation of 'apartness' in the Afrikaans and Dutch languages (Adonis, 2016), represented the legalised application of policy and praxis to apply segregation practices according to race. This included the hierarchical categorisation of people by racial categories defined by apartheid policies. By categorising the white race as superior, the National Party ensured an economic, educational, political, and social monopoly of the state (Kurtz, 2010). The premise of apartheid was not novel and was perceived as a mere amplification of colonial segregation policies and legislation. A further aggravation was the introduction of apartheid legislation that excluded black people from accessing the rights ordinarily associated with being a citizen of a country (Clark & Worger, 2022, 2018). Apartheid and its associated law and praxis remained official until the end of the National Party's rule in 1994. Apartheid was officially declared a crime against humanity by the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid in 1973. However, it was only officially recognised as a crime against humanity in 1998 by the South African Truth and Reconciliation Committee (Slye, 1998). Given the South African Truth and Reconciliation Committee's overt emphasis on forgiveness and reconciliation, it is argued that its processes neglected the violations experienced by black South Africans (Msimang, 2018a).

Highlighting the building blocks of colonialism and segregation in apartheid's structure serves to emphasise the risk of delimiting black people's experiences of human violations to a

shortened timeframe. Beyond the threat of an abridged history, the redacted archive also severs ties between Europe and South Africa, the ideology of white supremacy through the dissemination of European colonial doctrine and lines of accountability. This, in turn, conveniently conceals the varied ways in which gender was instrumentalised and exploited in the colonial apparatus (Tamale, 2020b; Wabuke, 2022). This concealment has aided a continued erasure of gender subjugation, which includes its demarcation to the periphery in contemporary decolonisation and decoloniality initiatives (Tamale, 2020b; Wabuke, 2022).

2.3 THE APARTHEID PROJECT: RACE VERSUS GENDER AND SEXUALITY

Apartheid is historically presented as a legislative initiative founded on the supremacy of white culture and race, and therefore the importance of protecting white racial purity. Dubow (2014), however, argues that apartheid never represented a single ideology and that its dynamic construction observed continuous evolution. It is instead suggested that apartheid may have been experienced differently across contexts, guided by class, age, and gender (Dubow, 2014). Select arguments have, therefore, suggested that at the core, the apartheid initiative was centred on gender (Healy-Clancy, 2017b; Lee, 2009; Msimang, 2000). This gendered project was initially presented to be primarily engineered to facilitate white men in their patriarchal struggle to hold power over each other. This may, in part, be supported by Morrell's research on settler masculinity, which illuminates the construction of exclusion through race, class and gender power (Martens, 2003). An alternate lens is provided by Cock and Nathan (1989) in their description of militarisation as masculinised to maintain the ideological structure of patriarchy. Over time, this was interchanged with the plight to hold power over black men. Thus, serving to alleviate perceived fears of being politically overpowered, though further unspoken gendered processes were likely at play. Whilst it is commonly understood that white men's need to hold power over black men was founded on their perceived fear of being politically or criminally overpowered (Ratele, 2013b), it has less frequently been linked to their fear of sexual subjugation or their sexual urges towards black bodies (Ratele & Shefer, 2013). In response to these fears, the law instead facilitated the sexual privileging of white males (Ratele, 2013b). Though white men were found to be more likely to be in breach of the Immorality Act, they were less likely to face legal repercussions since their immorality did not threaten the contamination of the white race (Ratele, 2013b). The emphasis on racial purity, urged by the Immorality Act, therefore, suggests the racialisation of sexuality to be a core factor in the drive towards segregation and apartheid. It is therefore suggested that apartheid and its regulatory practices to control sexual intimacy premised apartheid as a sexualised project at its core.

The forced merging of race and sexuality requires extensive interrogation of how sexuality was profoundly associated with gender under apartheid patriarchal dominance (Ratele & Shefer, 2013). Given the emphasis on racialised sexuality and sexualised racism, women were at the core of upholding and maintaining the apartheid project. In alignment with the gendered character of the apartheid legislature, women's movements were highly regulated, thus limiting their existence within prescriptive margins (Lee, 2009). This marginalisation is in strong contrast to the central position women occupied to secure the unjust political landscape (Lee, 2009). For black women, this responsibility centred on raising racialised subjects that would be compliant in their ascribed roles within the sociopolitical and socioeconomic landscape assigned by white men (Healy-Clancy, 2017b). In contrast, white women's responsibility centred on securing the purity of the white race (Ratele, 2013b). For this reason, whilst it was difficult for people to engage in racial reclassification, a white woman could be reclassified if she engaged in sexual acts with a black man (Ratele, 2013b). The emphasis that racial classification could be changed from white to coloured contradicts the apartheid ideology of race as a biological entity rather than a social construction. These postulations highlight that despite the emphasis on controlling black men, the success of the apartheid initiative was dependent on controlling all women, irrespective of their race and class.

2.4 APARTHEID AND THE COST OF BEING WOMAN

> *The perpetrators of apartheid have grasped in some insidious way that the foundation of their system finally rests on the subjugation of the African woman*
>
> *(Meer, 1985, p. 7)*

South Africa's patriarchal landscape ensured that all women, irrespective of race, were cognisant of their positionality within the framework of white male power (Meer, 1985). This reality applied to all spheres of women's existence, whether it be within their family structures, society, or the political landscape. As such, whilst black women and black men were both subject to gross violations during the apartheid regime, it is argued that the violations imposed on black women were significantly worse (Meer, 1985). Black women were not only subject to a racially oppressive existence within the apartheid regime, but the Native Administration Act of 1927 subjugated black women to be subordinate to black men (Ngcobo, 2012). As such, irrespective of black women's role and positionality within family and community structures, they were positioned as perpetual minors, placed under the guardianship of any male relation, even their own sons (Ngcobo, 2012). It is therefore argued that in response to the simultaneous

oppression experienced by black women, their lived experience of apartheid was profoundly different to the experiences of black men (Lee, 2009).

The lived experiences of women have been constructed by various intersecting systems of oppression (Carastathis, 2014; Kobo, 2019). This introduces the relevance of intersectionality, which argues that class, gender, and race cannot be discussed in isolation since it is simultaneously operational (Crenshaw, 2017). Class is of particular significance in the South African context, given that by their socially constructed allocation to racial groups, black people were automatically economically excluded and exploited in terms of their human resources (Beinart & Dubow, 2013; Patel & Graham, 2012). This remains a lasting legacy in terms of the pervasive levels of inequality evident in the South African context and the continued exploitation of black people in terms of labour. Despite the systemic violation of economic exclusion of black people, black women were subject to greater exploitation (Meer, 1985). Consequently, black women remain the most disadvantaged in the socio-economic landscape (Eynon, 2017). This contributes to their continued vulnerability to marginalisation, oppression, and violence in present-day South Africa (Bower, 2014; Calitz, 2017). It has, therefore, become nearly impossible to differentiate Meer's contributions premised in 1985 from present-day South Africa. The repetition of several violations across generations continues despite the shift from an apartheid to a post-apartheid state. The apartheid vision, founded on the compliant woman, has continued to entrench the subjugation of black women across generations. Evident across readings is, however, the revelation that similar levels of gendered compliance were expected across the different branches of the liberation struggle.

2.5 BEING *WOMAN* IN THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT

> *Opposition politics during the 1980s in South Africa has been dominated by organisations whose major objective has been to mobilise women for the national liberation struggle as opposed to mobilising them for women's liberation. […], this mobilisation process has the effect of reinforcing rather than challenging patriarchal relations of domination.*
>
> *(Hassim, 1991, p. 65)*

The anti-apartheid movement comprised various permutations of international and national anti-apartheid activism, thereby transcending borders (Hassim, 2004). The multiplicity of the movements' origins is rooted in their divergent histories and contexts, whilst also facilitating transnational networks and forms of action. Despite these multiformities, the origins of the

anti-apartheid movement are deemed to be rooted in a humanitarian, moral and political discourse (Konieczna & Skinner, 2019). Whilst select political organisations have attained prominence for their role in the liberation struggle, the movement comprised a multitude of heterogeneous organisations and was not driven by a single political body (Hassim, 2006).

The anti-apartheid movements in South Africa reflected a similar multiplicity. The anti-apartheid movements experienced various phases, with each phase characterised by the change agents and form of activism most relevant during that time. The resistance against apartheid and its oppressive legislation was initially predominantly steered by the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) (Davis, 2018; Kurtz, 2010). However, the state responded to any form of resistance as an act of treason. The movement, therefore, fell into a period of stagnation when various leaders of the ANC and PAC were either imprisoned or forced into exile (Davis, 2018). The movement subsequently entered a period of silence and stagnation. Succession emerged in terms of resistance leadership through the Black Consciousness Movement, as observed with the student uprisings against oppressive education policies in the 1970s (Mhlauli et al., 2015). The student movements motivated the inclusion of many young women in the national struggle. Some of these young women combatants left South Africa to receive militarised training to oppose the state (Magadla, 2018, 2023). During the same period, the resurgence of trade unions and civil movements provided women a platform to become increasingly involved in the political landscape (Hassim, 2004).

As such, the representation of women in the anti-apartheid movement cannot be easily delineated. Whilst some women may be represented for their role in student movements, others occupied alternative formalised structures such as social movements and trade unions (Hassim, 2004). Similarly, some women may have been driven by the idea of democracy, whilst others may have had motives extending beyond democracy. These divergent objectives were influenced by the day-to-day struggles that black women were challenged with, whilst striving towards the elimination of the broader political struggles. This included addressing how the apartheid state challenged the existence of black communities by applying economic exploitation and exclusion as barriers to black communities' capacity to access basic services. These difficulties included high rent, lack of transportation, and the absence of primary healthcare services (Hassim, 2004, 2005). Black women's emphasis on the reparation of the black community has frequently been referenced as occupying a position of public motherhood, thereby occupying a position of symbolic motherhood (Healy-Clancy, 2017b).

Despite these acts of service, women were not only oppressed in the broader apartheid landscape but were subjected to marginalisation within the anti-apartheid movement itself. The initial emergence of anti-apartheid movements aligned with the exclusion of black women (Ngcobo, 2012). The association and positionality of women's movements were in constant flux and negotiation with the broader anti-apartheid movement (Hassim, 2006). This instability was in some ways attributed to the multifarious ways in which women's movements were conceptualised (Hassim, 2002; Meintjies & Marks, 1996). Of greater significance, however, was their political exclusion premised on their gender. In brief, women were not welcomed as activists by men, not on a broader national level, not on a community level, and not even by their partners (Hassim, 2006). In instances where conditional acceptance was granted, women had to make significant compromises of their politicised gender identities (Bridger, 2021; Ramphele, 2013). This acceptance did little to amend the overall climate of patriarchal domination and women's subjugation in decision-making processes (Hassim, 1991). It is therefore unfortunate that in women's struggles against the broader oppressive nationalist state, they were opposed by the very communities they strove to defend.

These tensions continued with different guises even when the mainstream struggle movement spoke the language of gender equality (Meer, 2005). For the ANC movement, this comprised the adoption of a new constitution in 1943, allowing women to become full members of the organisation. Despite the latter, the ANC Women's League (ANCWL) was founded shortly thereafter (Frates, 1993), which evokes questions about the necessity for a distinct movement. It is suggested that these tensions persisted and subsequently sustained dominant perspectives that women's rights would compromise the race-based initiatives of the struggle movement (Meer, 2005). As such, the strategies of women activists ensured alignment with national political structures, ensuring that the struggle between men and women was not emphasised when confronting masculine domains (Hassim, 1991). Hassim (1991, p. 69) has applied the Women's March of 1956 as an example of such appropriation, given that it was located within the context of a broader national liberation struggle, rather than within the history of black women. It is argued that the act of appropriation extends across the anti-apartheid history, given that most of the political action after the march was either carried out or organised by women (Frates, 1993). Dominated by patriarchy, it is suggested that the national liberation movement utilised black women's intersectional invisibility to obscure their prominence in these victories.

Women activists were not blind to these contradictions and tensions. There was, however, a divergence in beliefs. Some women activists were content that national liberation would not

provide automatic emancipation (Meer, 2005), while others had confidence that national liberation would include their emancipation (Frates, 1993). Adding to the belief, Helen Joseph proposed that women's fate post-liberation weighed heavily on their participation in the liberation process itself (Frates, 1993). The extent to which Joseph's convictions have not been realised is deeply unfortunate. Select women activists nonetheless continued to raise their concerns regarding women's subjugation across different platforms. Grievances encompassed expectations of women's subservience and resistance to women in leadership positions whilst also attending to crises experienced by women in society overall (Meer, 2005). Thereby bringing into political discourse discussions underscoring abortion, childcare, contraception, domestic violence, maternity, sexual harassment, and campaigning against rape and violence against women (Meer, 2005). This demonstrates women's continued activism and resistance as change agents across hostile territory.

2.6 CONCLUSION

The complexity of gender construction and subjugation is evident across South Africa's varied historiographies. Each timescape demonstrates the reinforcement of gendered, racial and patriarchal hierarchies in the shadow of colonial ideology. The repetition of resistance by women across these timescapes is, however, often overlooked, facilitating an absence of awareness of women's agency, commitment to social justice and persistence in the face of reprisal. Though women's activism is applauded, a retrospective appraisal of the expansiveness of women's contributions raises concerns about their possible exploitation beyond the apartheid circumstance and within liberation structures as well. The latter argument is framed in response to the evident appropriation of women's achievements and its collapse within the broader masculine and patriarchal structures of the anti-apartheid movement and present-day political leadership. These concerns do not serve to discredit the advances facilitated by women activists. There is an appreciation of women activists for ensuring that the South African constitution mandates equal rights between women and men. However, as evidenced by femicide rates and the increasing incidence of gender-based violence in South Africa, laws and legislation are vacuous without obligation and execution. Post-conflict South Africa, consequently, requires urgent renewal of gendered advocacy to attend to the deeply entrenched patriarchal structures that have been sustained across colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid milieus.

CHAPTER THREE: LOCATING SILENCE AS DISCOURSE WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THIS STUDY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews the structure and functions of silence as discourse, but more specifically, the possible ways in which the practice of silencing may be interpreted within the context of this study. The practice of silencing, the intent to silence with discourse and the practice of power are thereby examined. The intersections of power and subjugation are at the core of this research initiative, given the function of social and political judgments regarding narratives deemed permissible versus taboo (Lijtmaer, 2017). Silence and silencing can therefore not be explored in the absence of intensified and persistent awareness of the power of enforcement, active defiance of the practice of being 'silenced', and silence as an act of demarcating deviance and resistance. The act of silencing is therefore subordinate to the practice and power of a person or force, though the agency and power of the subjugated other cannot be neglected. Ferguson (2003) highlights the parallel shared across constructs of power and silence. Given that both exist beyond any boundaries of containment, neither is likely to be subject to sound and final comprehension. The complexity of silence, silencing and silenced is therefore central to illuminating silence as discourse and how it may be represented within the context of this study. It is surmised that this examination may facilitate an understanding of the silencing of women's trauma, with the intersection of gender and race, associated with South Africa's complex legacy, and the sustained remnants thereof in present-day South Africa. Given the specific interest in the silencing of women anti-apartheid activists' trauma, as reflected by their women descendants, the research aims to provide an understanding of silencing that extends beyond historical conceptualisations that construct silence as the absence of voice. Silencing is instead explicated to the practice of discourse in the transmission of power and promoting the legitimacy of select discourses and narratives, in service of suppressing the other (Thiesmeyer, 2003). Whilst also tending cognisance to the intended function of suppression. In such instances, silence and silencing both converge and diverge as select discourses are premised in the service of concealment. In contrast, Labanyi (2009) emphasises the practice of silence as a chosen strategy for survival and protection, including how this may be transformed into custom and tradition over time. This postulation of habit and its potential to become custom or culture highlights that any delineation of silence can be scrutinised in terms of the intersecting forces that may have contributed to its formation. Silence may therefore be reinterpreted as another language through which women speak, providing a conduit to recover hidden meanings associated with the violence of apartheid (Motsemme, 2004). As such, whilst this research has

focused on the silencing of women's trauma, it has informed this understanding with cognisance of the various constructions of silence in facilitating and strengthening forms of liberation or resistance (Naidoo, 2021). This calls into question the possibility of silence and silencing as a remnant of resistance politics, whilst simultaneously making meaning of silence as violence. Recognising that "*one kind of silence may be the result of another, imposed silence from a wider sphere"* (Thiesmeyer, 2003, p. 1), the research does not assume that a single point of interest drives silence and silencing in the context of South Africa's history. Referencing the possibility of silencing in the service of subjugation, liberation, and resistance, or practice adopted as custom, does not defer the possibility of concurrent practice. Instead, this research recognises the inevitable intersection of different forms of silencing, with varied forms of discursive actions at play (Thiesmeyer, 2003).

3.2 DECONSTRUCTING THE CONSTRUCTION OF SILENCE

The study of silence has sustained prominence across varied disciplines, independent from psychology, over several decades. This includes attendance across linguistics, music, philosophy, political science, and sociology (See Picard, 1952; Cage, 1961; Lorde, 1977; Kurzon, 1997, 2007; Glenn, 2004; Trouillot, 1995, 2015; Murray & Durrheim, 2019). Beyond scholarly foci, the diverse contexts and cultures from which silence has been explicated have contributed to numerous perspectives (See Covarrubias, 2007; Hao, 2011). The sustained prominence of silence appears to be attributed to the ambiguity resting within its practice, thus eliciting central debates. Framing silence is thereby subject to questioning the practice of *silence, silencing, or being silenced*. In response to elucidating the practice of silence, it may be difficult to contest power as an underlying catalyst irrespective of format, and the varied ways it may contribute to the production or reproduction of subjugation (Wodak, 2004). An understanding of silence may require foregrounding in terms of the production of silence in its varied forms. Extant literature has demonstrated shared commonalities across praxis, while many have also presented contradictions (Picard, 1952). A certainty is that silence in its multidimensionality remains subject to reformation, with no component offering a semblance of permanence (Ferguson, 2003). Central debates have included but have in no way been limited to silence as discourse (Thiesmeyer, 2003), and silence in relation to power (Foucault & Nazzaro, 1972; Trouillot, 2015).

A central tension in conceptualising silence is its presentation as a format of discourse, given the divergent attributes and interacting phenomena associated with discourse as a construct (Thiesmeyer, 2003). The reciprocating nature of discourse serves to exemplify that whilst

language serves as a symbolic instrument that facilitates human communication (Ferguson, 2003), Western ideology has placed it at the core of delineating what is deemed human (Glenn, 2004). Ferguson (2003, p. 1) centres language, in terms of both voice and speech, as *'central to the construction of community'*. This not only highlights the role of the collective in the construction and maintenance of silence but also in contributing to the construction of the collective in a cyclical reciprocating process. Whilst this may be framed in association with its function as discourse, it is important to highlight its representation as norms, values, and meaning attributed to being. In this respect, silence as discourse functions in the service of political, social, and cultural aims (Dénommé-Welch & Rowsell, 2017). Discourse is therefore applied across varied micro as well as macrosystemic contexts, thus influencing interactions on individual, community, societal, and systemic levels. Given this intersection, discourse not only informs the social realm, but it is suggested that its existence within the political realm sustains a cyclical process that informs the interaction of discourse in the social world. It has thus been proposed that discourse calls attention to things that are not 'really' there, but its delineation through discourse crystallises it into reality (Parker, 1990). This may be further explicated by applying Foucault's (1972) conceptualisation of discursive formations, which conceptualises discourse as "*practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak*". Discourse can therefore not be reduced to language and speech (Foucault, 1972). However, even when aiming to understand discourse solely as a feature of language, the centrality of power remains overt (Glenn, 2004). The most frequent interrogation of this conceptualisation of discourse and language relates to spoken versus written word (Howarth, 2000). This highlights the vulnerability of oral histories in contrast with what is crystallised in written form. The latter is a frequent tension within the frame of the coloniser and those colonised (Trouillot, 1995, 2015). Despite this privileging of accepted histories, it is argued that even in its perceived absence, silence is always present (Glenn, 2004). Even when silence is conceptualised in its most basic understanding of either spoken or written word, silence is active and present in governing what is privileged to be spoken and preserved in written form. The dominance of the written discourses as colonial hegemony dislocates the foundation of oral traditions of memorialisation within colonised contexts (Biakolo, 2013). It cannot be contested that this privilege is subject to power (Van Dijk, 2011, 2013).

Seeking out an understanding of silence in association with its earliest delineations and derivatives predicates its praxis in service of privileging a Eurocentric and Western understanding (Covarrubias, 2007; Hao, 2011). This has centred on framing silence as the

absence (Kurzon, 1997) or as the failure of speech (Kidron, 2009). It may be suggested that these constructions of silence as a threat signal some fragility of the human condition, and how this can only be appeased by assimilating with the voice and noise as presented by the collective. Moreover, this stance has contributed to overlooking silence as equally representative of agency and responsiveness in informing choice from a repertoire of communicative strategies (Montoya, 1999). This includes the potential of silence as a conduit to represent presence and speaking, rather than being emblematic of absence and voicelessness (Motsemme, 2004). As such, whilst emphasis is placed on the presence of speech, voice, and spoken word, the intermittent silences are not acknowledged for providing context, space, and meaning. Further obscuring the possibility of silence as a site for creating new meanings and forms of enablement (Motsemme, 2004). This negative construction has contributed to understanding silence as the antithesis of speech. Speech, in contrast, has long been symbolic of the achievement of humanity, representing civilisation and power, and thus deemed to be at the core of what sets humans apart from other living beings (Glenn, 2004). In contrast, silence is observed as conflicting with the goals of civility and humanity (Ferguson, 2003). Marked as deviant, silence is perceived as opposing the Eurocentric psychosocial norm of voice, speech, or spoken word (Kidron, 2009). This parallels the practice of limiting conceptualisations of voice to language accessible to Eurocentric understanding, demarcating *othered* voices to silence. This is evident in Europe's construction of Africa and those of Africa as being limited in words, rather than attributing this to Europe's difficulty in understanding African voice and writing (Biakolo, 2013). Eurocentrism thus not only voids Africa's oral tradition but further applies the dearth of written records in service of denying Africa's civilisation (Biakolo, 2013).

Mainstream psychology is notorious for this Eurocentric inheritance of bias (Ker, 2013) and perpetuating the framing of deviance. As such, silence as a perceived deficit has been associated with pathology in need of therapeutic restoration (Kidron, 2009), whilst expressions of speech must align with Euro-Western construction (Boza et al., 1999). Speech and its association with symptomatology have therefore been at the core of psychiatry, and thus psychology, as well as its emphasis on the pathological characteristic of speech, its delivery, content, and tone (Boza et al., 1999). Speech, therefore, occupies a central position across various diagnoses, including trauma. This has contributed to assumptions and hypotheses about silence and its representation of repression or an absence of memory (Labanyi, 2009).

Beyond deviance and perceived pathology, silence has also become analogous with passivity, with a semblance of lacking potency and agency, which is only applauded when in compliance

with expectations of obedience (Glenn, 2004). The term obedience serves as a reminder of power and how its practice directs the way silence may present in form, moving between *silence, silencing, and silenced* (Fivush, 2010). This intersection may comprise unwanted silencing, compliance silencing, self-imposed silencing, as well as oppositional silences (Thiesmeyer, 2003), whilst simultaneously recognising the discursive boundaries and networks active across these varied forms. The suppositions of silence as representing the absence of both voice and agency have, therefore, come under increased scrutiny (Ferguson, 2003; Vieira, 2021). Intensified scholarly attention has facilitated a shift from constructing silence from a deficit perspective. This repositioning has been aided by promoting an understanding of silence within the context of varied sociocultural and sociopolitical landscapes (See Covarrubias, 2007; Hao, 2011; Labanyi, 2009). Though silence may rarely be neutral, silence, in its multidimensionality (Kurzon, 2007), may represent varied forms of practice.

Silence as an oppressive force continues to attract calls of resistance (Ferguson, 2003), emphasising the use of voice as power (hooks, 1986). There is increased focus on silence as resistance (Motsemme, 2004), calling attention to both the ambiguity and multiplicity of silence. This invites the complexity of distinguishing between oppressive silencing and silence as resistance to oppression (Motsemme, 2004; Roberts, 1999). This response to subjugation draws attention to the revelation of silence holding power, whilst also suggesting a rejection of power (Ferguson, 2003). This requires cognisance of the possibility of understanding silence and its use as both resistance and strategy within liberation struggles. The latter particularly references how activists have resisted apartheid law enforcement to demonstrate resistance to their power in forcing political disclosure (Naidoo, 2021). This includes the extent to which silence underscored and shaped the underground political activism of the liberation movements (Motsemme, 2004).

Even within post-conflict conditions, silence may be employed in response to resistance and mistrust of how their narratives may be misconstrued (Handlarski, 2009). The possibility of silence as a form of resistance challenges the dominant ideology that posits voice and speech as central to political action (Ferguson, 2003). Irrespective of the conflicting demarcations, it is argued that silence remains motivated by function irrespective of its presentation. It is this function that highlights that *"there is not one but many silences, and they are an integral part of the strategies that underlie and permeate discourses" (*Foucault, 1978, p. 27). It may therefore be argued that it is not silence or silencing that holds multidimensionality, but that meaning instead resides in its practice and function. Understanding this meaning is

fundamental to illuminating silence concerning its construction, context, chronology, and consequences (Dénommé-Welch & Rowsell, 2017). Silence is additionally subject to continuous restructuring in response to the relevant contextual milieu.

3.3 SILENCE AS GENDERED DISCOURSE IN WOMEN'S EXCLUSION AND ERASURE

Silence is often undervalued in its understanding of gender (Glenn, 2004). In the same manner that silence as discourse may be subject to dispute (Bucholtz, 2003), gender as a construct also requires examination. Analysing gender as a social construction demonstrates its negotiation within context as well as its execution through language (Mills, 2006). The intersection of discourse and gender is subject to various analytic perspectives. Arguably, an analysis of gender requires a lens beyond linguistic construction, prefacing practice instead, and how it functions in its intersection with power (Bucholtz, 2003). With this in mind, gender construction is posited and practised varyingly across cultures and its relations of power (Mills, 2006). This line of argument aligns with Foucault's (1972) emphasis on discourses and their embedment within historical and contextual systems. Within the context of this study, the latter suggests the relevance of post-conflict identities and the practice of erasing women's contributions in the aftermath of conflict, resistance or liberation politics (Henshaw, 2020; MacKenzie, 2009). Mannergren Selimovic's (2020) research provides a necessary response to this theoretical conundrum by emphasising the dynamics of silence and gender, whilst introducing an analysis of social remembering and forgetting in response to post-conflict milieus. Framing silence, gender, and discourse thus requires cognisance of situating the research within the historical timescape and context, and how this influences the valuation of life based on its association with constructions of race and gender (Fivush, 2010).

Literature demonstrates that gender, silence and power have attained scholarly attention across various landscapes and timescapes (Guzana, 2000; Kitch, 1987; Knowles, 2015). Globally, this attention has often been framed with silence as a form of subjugation in response to patriarchal-dominated cultures and contexts. Knowles (2015, p. 302) borrows from the philosophical thoughts of Plato and Aristotle, which suggest that women are deemed to have the propensity of '*being too loud, yet never silent enough*'. The author demonstrates the practice of silence in response to the expectations that women should neither speak nor be spoken of. The latter appears to be in service of forgetting and exclusion across both spoken and written forms of memorialisation. The phrasing '*yet never silent enough*' may be analysed as demonstrating a discourse that emphasises the continued inadequacy of women within a frame of existence.

This suggests that women's adequacy can only be found in a form of social death, in which their existence is only measurable in response to patriarchal needs.

Recognising the broader implications of gendered discourse and silence mapped within a patriarchal landscape, Kitch (1987) questioned the implications of a possible phallogocentric bias in language construction and male domination in the construction of discourse.

> *Silence, poses no threat as she has no chance of ever appropriating masculine virtues: she may only aspire to them, as her nature would not allow her to become a man. As women are suppressed, so fear is repressed, and masculine insecurities are consequently protected from any threat, real or imaginary.*
>
> *(Gaunt, 1990, p. 211)*

Gaunt's (1990) analysis explicates the double bind imposed on women by the cultural construction of gender and how this construction is supported by the function of language. From a literary perspective, the analysis reflects the political, emphasising that the ultimate suppression of women is in their silencing (Gaunt, 1990, p. 213). Moreover, Gaunt's (1990) theorising presents a tension, opposing the dominant discourse of women representing natural purity and goodness. Gaunt (1990) instead contends that misogynistic dominance dictates the standards of being either a good or bad woman and that these are set impossibly high, thus leaving women at consistent risk of demotion. Maintaining silence is advocated as a central means to ensure obedience in the unattainable quest for favourable valuation. This is supported by hooks (1986), who contends that silence is socialised with femininity and the expectations of obedience and self-humility. Speaking from a North American lens, hooks' (1995) highlights stereotypical classifications that characterise black women as loud and subsequently vulgar. Speaking out is, therefore, not only seen as an act of deviance but is associated with constructions of badness (hooks, 1986). Guzana (2000) emphasises similar concerns within the African context, attributing women's subjugation to male dominance of language construction, traditional values, as well as the beliefs upheld by religious doctrines. Guzana (2000) describes silence as an important behavioural trait to be presented by women in the Xhosa culture. Similarly, from a Kenyan perspective, silence is highlighted as a required practice to align with the African Tradition of being a proper woman (Ebila, 2015). The risk of voice and an unsilencing, may therefore render women vulnerable to being characterised as *abnormal* and *deviant*. This framing of a 'speaking' woman (not necessarily outspoken) as deviant thus appears to resonate across contexts and continents.

Building on Guzana's (2000) argument concerning the church, literature has demonstrated how religion and its influence on broader societal structures have served a pivotal function in moralising the subjugation of women (De Gruchy, 2006; Jun et al., 2018). It has been argued that the misappropriated masculine and patriarchal readings of biblical scriptures have provided the necessary support to silence women within the church, as well as extending the moral expectation that women occupy a virtuous, silent role within society overall (Machingura, 2013). Despite the latter, women and silence have been a consistent expectation across varied religious traditions. Being a woman, and its association with the essence of *femininity* has therefore required ignorance, obedience, passivity, and emptiness of being (Glenn, 2004). A good and virtuous woman is therefore a mute woman (Guzana, 2000). As such, whilst women's construction of gender and silence is argued to be dictated by patriarchal dominance, this compliance in silence deceives women into assuming that their compliance maintains their perceived civilisation and association with humanity. Reflecting on the *emptiness of being* demonstrates that all possibilities culminate in a diminished humanity. Lorde (1977) cautions that silence will not save women, declaring the urgency of moving past fear to speak as a necessary gesture of resistance.

These arguments, however, risk falling within a discourse in which silence aligns only with deviance and where its practice can only be assessed in relation to patriarchal delineations. Thereby limiting its other possibilities. Motsemme (2004) and Naidoo (2021) provide a landscape in which silence as gendered discourse presents alternate possibilities. These include silence as a site for coping and the reconstitution of self (Motsemme, 2004), as well as silence as resistance and courage (Naidoo, 2021). However, even within the practice of silence as resistance, the ambiguity of its practice persists. Especially when employed to reproduce culturally gendered taboos and reinforce stereotypes pertaining to who may have access to important or political information (Motsemme, 2004). This includes the extent to which silence has been repurposed in the present to inscribe a dominant patriarchal discourse that erases women's silent resistance, along with the retaliatory violence imposed and its remnant traumatic consequences.

3.4 SILENCING AS RACIAL DISCOURSE

The relationship between silence and discourse is not readily recognised, though the association between discourse, language and power has rarely been challenged. Discourse and the social construction of race and racism continue to be a defining feature embedded within Western societies' sociopolitical and socioeconomic structures (Azarmandi, 2018). What remains

concealed is silencing as racial discourse, along with its allegiance to political ideologies that support amnesia and denial of the remaining structuring influence of colonisation (Macdonald, 2018). The weight of this concealment remains burdensome to Africa and the broader Global South, given how they remain subject to Euro-Western dominance. It is suggested that this has informed the racial contract that continues to guide political, economic, and social privileges based on race (Macdonald, 2018; Mills, 2019), whilst demonising and undoing culture, context and history. It is posited that the racial contract operates through processes and structures of silencing, as a racial discourse that remains aligned with colonial principles (Macdonald, 2018). The racial contract, as presented by Mills (2019), elucidates the world as constructed by white dominance informed by a Western lens, and how it has informed a world that dictates the subjugation of people of colour. Borrowing from Fanon's elucidation of the Manichean world, Mills (2019) explains how colonisation and white dominance have constructed a world in which the practice of '*thingification*' has supported the construction of white people as the suitable 'governing race', thereby pardoning the violence required to subjugate people of colour as sub-human. This structure has been supported by compartmentalising language, religion and culture into divisions of civilised versus savage (Mills, 2019).

A reading of Fanon's (2008, p. 1) postulation regarding "*The black man and language*" suggests that the symbolic representations of language extend beyond the linguistic framing, influencing the psyche. Language is therefore not only a *'means of communication but also a medium of power'* (Motsaathebe, 2010, p. 107) that can induce psychic violence as evidenced by the experience of inferiority. As such, language as symbolic representations of internal framing and thought cannot be impartial but embodies the history of its origins and initial functions (Montoya, 1999). This includes the extent to which coloniality identified Euro-Western languages as the benchmarks for human engagement, whilst other languages have been *othered* (Clark, 2015). In Africa, this hegemonic dominance has contributed to the erosion of heritage and language (Motsaathebe, 2010). This suggests an acceptance of the dominant discourse dictated by the racial contract, under the guise of the social contract of civilisation (Mills, 2019).

3.4.1 Silencing and South Africa

Framing an understanding of silence in the context of South Africa, and its colonialist and apartheid legacy requires cognisance of how apartheid applied racial classification to direct social stratification by silencing humanity in African heritage, culture and language. This

framing can therefore not be done without cognisance of the silencing of language, culture and identity in the legalised crafting of racialised bodies. This practice is of relevance in most contexts with a history of colonialism, where coloniality thrives as Euro-Western languages and customs are spontaneously accepted as perceived markers of intelligence. Fanon (1986) described language as the mask of assimilation within the framework of coloniality (Dei, 2010). This tension remains relevant in the post-apartheid milieu (Avramenko, 2020).

Despite boasting twelve official languages, including the introduction of South African sign language by The Presidency in 2023, most of post-apartheid South Africa's Indigenous languages have been pushed to the margins (Mesthrie et al., 2018). This includes the promotion of English as a perceived marker of intelligence in South Africa, whilst indigenous languages have been silenced in many contexts of power. This argument is supported by McKinney's (2016) introduction of *Anglonormativity* within the context of post-colonial education. Anglonormativity represents the widespread expectation that all children should be proficient in English and are viewed as deviant or deficient if they are not. According to McKinney (2016, p. 4), South Africa represents '*a post-colonial context where political power has shifted but where the power of whiteness continues, to provide new insights into the complex relationships between language and power, and language and subjectivity'.*

Post-apartheid South Africa, therefore, remains reminiscent of colonialist practices, given that Indigenous languages were not only deemed as uncivilised but were also applied as linguistic markers to facilitate the artificial division of black people (Kamusella & Ndhlovu, 2018). Moreover, in the apartheid state, language was used to demonstrate hierarchy and power. Black people were infantilised and designated as either 'boy' or 'girl' irrespective of age but in response to socially registered hierarchies aligned with racial categories (Kamusella & Ndhlovu, 2018). Language as discourse has therefore served a pivotal function in the maintenance of apartheid South Africa, whilst simultaneously manifesting different forms of silencing in the service of constructing racialised identities.

Elucidating silence in South Africa, therefore, needs to be done with an understanding of language in allegiance with both oppression and resistance in apartheid South Africa. The silencing of languages in South Africa not only links to historic attempts of unsilencing, as is the case with the eradication of cultures and language, as well as the resistance evidenced by the Soweto Uprising that began on June 16, 1976. The eradication of cultures and language refers to a collective of people, whose language and culture are vulnerable to eternal silence

with the silencing of Khoi and San languages (Batibo, 2008; Sehume, 2022). The Soweto Uprising may be understood from various perspectives, though language as discourse and the ideological intent of Afrikaans (Ndlovu, 2006) in conjunction with *Bantu Education* cannot be ignored (Ndlovu, 2017). As such, whilst the uprising is primarily recalled as a protest to resist the directive of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction, for the youth of 1976, it most likely symbolised the difference between silence and resistance.

Language as discourse and the relationship between discourse and power can thus not be underestimated (Goke-Pariola, 1993). The silence of violence concerning language as a racialised construct is mostly ignored in apartheid atrocities, and silencing the role of Afrikaans as colonial violence has therefore facilitated its maintenance in post-apartheid South Africa. The politics and discourse of compromise in language policy consequently continue to harm black people (Ngcobo, 2009). This is noted in the way post-apartheid South Africa continues to privilege Afrikaans at the expense of black South African children (Greenfield, 2010). There is a dearth of research that has focused on the psychosocial implications on black children due to the maintenance of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in public schools. Focusing on tertiary education, Greenfield (2010) reported code-switching to Afrikaans in courses with English as the medium of instruction. The use of Afrikaans not only created a hostile atmosphere that alienated black students but also influenced their motivation and performance. Moreover, research in the workspace demonstrates the extent to which Afrikaans is applied to maintain hierarchy and oppression whilst simultaneously facilitating capitalist boundaries (Bokala, 2017; Magubane, 2019). The latter reinforces social and professional exclusion, which manifests in harmful psychosocial and existential consequences (Bokala, 2017; Magubane, 2019). This, in turn, restricts career opportunities for black people in their designation as second-class workplace citizens (Magubane, 2019). Reflecting on these educational and occupational implications highlights the importance of interrogating to what extent post-apartheid South Africa continues to do the work of the apartheid state. Though silencing as a racial discourse in its association with coloniality is an evident violence, the section that follows aims to provide a more in-depth interrogation of the further violence of silencing trauma.

3.5 THE VIOLENCE OF SILENCING TRAUMA

> *What makes silence dangerous in the aftermath of violence is that it invites and intensifies trauma. It precludes the safety, remembering, grieving and connection necessary to heal from traumatic events.*
>
> *(Phillips, 2015, p. 65)*

Historically, the exploration of silence in association with trauma has been presented as a discursive repression of speech. Trauma was thus delineated as an experience beyond narrative and discourse (Kidron, 2009). It is, however, strongly contested that silence exclusively comprises representations of passivity, repression, or pathology (Lijtmaer, 2017). On the contrary, whilst this research intends to make meaning of the silencing of trauma, the function of the silencing requires framing in terms of silence as discourse, silence to power, and its translation into violence, and the manifestation of silence itself. Silence as applied in this research should therefore not be read solely concerning psychic processes and its representation of silence as a failure of memory (Labanyi, 2009). It is important to interrogate silencing as induced by external political and societal motivations, rather than as a spontaneous response to trauma. Emerick (2019) postulates that this form of silencing serves as a violation of human integrity and that this violation is itself an act of violence. The risk is that silence is often framed as an absence (Ferguson, 2003), and this perceived absence may conceal the violence inflicted.

Research often frames silence in the service of concealing acts of abuse or violence, whilst not recognising the silencing as an act of violence as well (Chandran et al., 2018; Geldenhuys, 2023; Gilbreath, 2020; Vaillancourt-Morel et al., 2019). Various forms of abuse and violence are therefore permitted the freedom to proliferate, whilst those subjected to abuse, violence and oppression remain unheard. These incidents occur within families and communities, as well as across organisations and countries (Chandran et al., 2018; Gilbreath, 2020).

Globally, there is a growing awareness of the role of silence and silencing in childhood sexual abuse (Díaz, 2018; Jeremiah et al., 2017; Reid et al., 2014; Vaillancourt-Morel et al., 2019) and gender-based violence (Geldenhuys, 2023). In contrast, silence regarding abuse in organisational settings (Lam & Xu, 2019) and countries subject to continued oppression remains commonplace. Gilbreath (2020, p. 1) describes *'silence as the language and landscape of abuse'*. Concerning child sexual abuse, Gilbreath (2020) emphasises that children are not only coerced into silence by their abusers but are compelled to remain silent by societal norms as well. Speaking of dynamics in India, Chandran et al. (2018) postulate that a factor

contributing to silence resides with parental response, which results in either the prevention of disclosure or the retraction of disclosure. The burden of abuse, therefore, only resides with the child. Similarly, with incidents of gender-based violence, the responsibility of disclosure resides with the woman. However, women are left in a state of contradiction, given that both silence and unsilencing receive reproach (Birchall & Choudhry, 2022; Knickmeyer et al., 2010; Towns & Adams, 2016). Silencing through the promotion of nondisclosure is enforced by multiple structures, including the family, the church, as well as legal structures (Birchall & Choudhry, 2022; Knickmeyer et al., 2010; Towns & Adams, 2016).

In the South African context, Gqola (2021) has illustrated these social and legal offences in the silencing of women and the acts of violence on their bodies. Gqola (2021, p. 83) contends that "*the safety of the aggressor lies in the absence of consequence, in a complicit and cowered audience, and a target that behaves appropriately*". Silence and silencing have therefore been adopted as both individual and collective culture in response to patriarchal forms of violations and violence. Women who dare to engage in unsilencing are met with hostile attacks. The recent efforts of Andy Kawa against the South African Police Service demonstrate the extreme effort required to attain some level of unsilencing related to gender-based violence (See Kawa, 2024). Kawa's unsilencing details a thirteen-long battle, because she was so aware that her harrowing experience of rape was not unique to her but endemic to the South African society. This highlights systemic barriers, in part, attributed to the collusion with dominant structures, the avoidance of urgency, as well as the anomalous actions required to produce any form of unsilencing. It may be suggested that this ambivalence is attributed to South Africa's adoption of silence as a safety barrier, rather than bearing witness to truth. It is suggested that despite its aims of unsilencing, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has contributed to the discourse of silence as safety within the South African context.

3.5.1 Silencing a Nation: The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission

National memory in post-apartheid South Africa has been a site of contradictory strategies for remembering (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2012). Much of this contradiction is often attributed to the ambiguity of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (SA-TRC) in both mandate and execution. The intent to apply a truth commission is one of the primary missions of many states to facilitate political transition in post-conflict societies (Rajevic, 2019b; Kabwete, 2018; Van der Merwe & Chapman, 2008). It may be suggested that some of the tensions arising from these processes are attributed to the compromises made in negotiating

between peacebuilding and seeking transitional justice. The pursuit of transitional justice to support peacebuilding is considered especially contradictory, given the historical valuation of transitional justice institutions as a threat to reconciliatory efforts (Leebaw, 2008). The latter is of particular relevance given that truth commissions are tasked with seeking truth, rather than prosecution or trial (Van der Merwe & Chapman, 2008). Extending on the contributions of Arendt (1968), Kashyap (2009) suggests that truth and politics are in a state of conflict and that the very idea of truth and reconciliation commissions may illustrate either political naivety or mere political process. Within the South African context, the truth and reconciliation process was elected as the most appropriate transitional justice model to meet the ideals of the post-apartheid state. However, the decades following the SA-TRC's execution remain haunted by its remnants.

In retrospect, it seemed inevitable that the SA-TRC would have experienced difficulties meeting its mandate. Though the mandate has also been subject to scrutiny. Despite recognising apartheid as a crime against humanity, the SA-TRC's focus was limited to gross violations of human rights, thereby excluding violations that were deemed legal under apartheid legislation. As such, the SA-TRC's mandate emphasised the political violence associated with both the apartheid state and the respective liberation movements, focusing on violations committed beyond the realm of apartheid, rather than the violence of apartheid (Mamdani, 2002). Thus, the effort to establish a shared understanding of past violence conflicted with the intention to address the denial of apartheid's broader implications (Leebaw, 2008). By compromising the attack on denial, it may be suggested that these shortcomings instead became complicit in driving a national discourse of innocence, aligning closely with the call for national amnesia. Borrowing from Tuck and Yang (2012, p. 4), Matsunaga (2016) uncovers that the aims of reconciliation "*motivate settler moves to innocence*". Whilst Tuck and Yang (2012, p. 9) recognise the settlers' desire to be made innocent, and an alternate translation may recognise the wish for the violence to be moralised. Thereby illuminating the risk processes associated with reconciliation may bear with cultural violence and its function to moralise and validate the necessity of direct and structural violence (Galtung, 1990).

As such, despite the permeation of centuries of violence deeply embedded in South Africa's landscape, the SA-TRC was burdened with the responsibility of ensuring the transfer of political power without violence (Stauffer, 2016). From its inception, the SA-TRC was consequently a body of political compromise (Mamdani, 2002) and therefore a body of inevitable limitations. A central tension was, however, the amnesty clause, labelled as a

sociopolitical shortcut to reconciliation, which represented an inherent contention of power in the wake of political compromise (Stauffer, 2016). This highlights that despite the SA-TRC's emphasis on truth-seeking and disrupting apartheid silence, its process, practice and outcome sustained silence. It is argued that the maintenance of silence was often in response to rejecting narratives that deviated from the preferred discourses of the SA-TRC (Handlarski, 2009) and its emphasis on nation-building and Christian ideology (Murray & Durrheim, 2019). Though select authors, such as Shore (2016), have written favourably about the contribution of Christianity and the SA-TRC to enable conflict resolution, others have highlighted how the role of Christianity introduced tensions and political compromise (Graybill, 1998; Van der Merwe, 2003; Van der Merwe & Chapman, 2008). With justice occupying a subordinate role in the face of Christian mercy (Graybill, 1998), those wounded by apartheid were weighed with the additional burden of providing forgiveness and absolution (Van der Merwe, 2003). The SA-TRC's role thus demonstrates the centrality of selective discourse in structuring, securing, undoing, as well as maintaining silence (Murray & Durrheim, 2019).

The concerns related to the SA-TRC and the motivation for national amnesia and silence have been quite common in retrospective analysis. However, more recent theorising related to gendered construction within political discourse has highlighted concerns regarding the SA-TRC's privileging of patriarchal processes (Borer, 2017; Manjoo, 2012; Segalo, 2012). The latter extends beyond the problematic composition of the SA-TRC's committees and the truth commission process that was predominantly conceptualised by men (Segalo, 2012). Of concern is Manjoo's (2004, p. 15) assertion that *"in terms of the racial breakdown, the staff was largely White and this led to polarization with numerous accusations of racism, incompetence and corruption allegations against Blacks".* The prominence of white men and their position of power within the SA-TRC, not only highlights concerns of raced and gendered constructions within the TRC process but also draws attention to the manifestation of patriarchal dominance in post-apartheid South Africa. The absence of gender-specific concerns is critical, given how this may have biased the SA-TRC process, analysis and reporting. This urgency remains relevant despite women activists' call for a gendered lens (Goldblatt & Meintjes, 1998, 1999; Meintjes & Goldblatt, 1996), and the SA-TRC's response with the Special Hearings on Women (Kashyap, 2009; Kusafuka, 2009). Whilst these women-only hearings were applauded by some (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2005; Kashyap, 2009), others argue that this engagement with gender remained peripheral, rendering numerous apartheid narratives silent (Kusafuka, 2009; Oboe, 2007). Silence in this instance is not isolated to the absence of voice or even the oppression of

voice, but rather the power to dictate the representation and misrepresentation of voice. Oboe (2007), therefore, urges a reading of SA-TRC testimonies that attends to disparities and silences.

In the overall SA-TRC proceedings, these disparities and silences comprise an exclusion of narratives demonstrating women's strengths, instead privileging discourse that forecloses women's positioning within stereotypical demarcations (Handlarski, 2009). As previously mentioned, the SA-TRC mandate focused on framing a singular master narrative, misaligned with women's narratives of resistance. Women's narratives and portrayal of strength were subsequently misrepresented to align with the dominant portrayal of women as victims, neglecting narratives of women as activists or combatants (Handlarski, 2009; Oboe, 2007). The use of discourse in alignment with patriarchal principles was therefore in service of reinforcing gendered identities. The large numbers of women testifying at the SA-TRC, therefore, were most likely to do so on behalf of deceased husbands and sons, rather than for themselves, mothers, daughters or sisters (Krog, 2001; Motsemme, 2004). Handlarski's (2009) analysis of the SA-TRC report in comparison with women's testimonies demonstrates the practice of providing select extracts that highlight many women's psychological trauma, divorced from their activist actions. This redaction of women's activist identity (Oboe, 2007) may be scrutinised as perpetuating violence. This in turn transforms the psychological trauma as a presentation of a stereotypical *feminine* victim, rather than conveying their trauma as a consequence of resistance and political agents. Handlarski's (2009) analysis attends to women's misconstrued narratives and misinterpretation of extracts, that emphasise narratives of motherhood, rather than roles of activists and combatants. Oboe's (2007) analysis underscores the othering of women as appendages to men's experiences. Both examinations demonstrate the various degrees of erasing women's identity and capacity to hold varied positionalities. Oboe's (2007) work further demonstrates women's continued resistance to these post-conflict forms of subjugation by attending to the testimony of Sheila Masote as a form of deviance to the SA-TRC expectation of her to align with a gendered script:

> *On the programme it says I'm here to speak about - on behalf of the family. No, that is not what I am here about. [. . .] yes, I'm part of the family, but I refuse to be family and have no identity as Sheila. The problem that I have always suffered and I have always said to myself is that I don't seem to be having an identity like belonging to me. I'm always either Zef's daughter, Mathopeng's daughter or Mike*

Masote's wife. Or no, Masote's mother and Zef Masote's mother. But no, I feel I am me. And this is why I am here.

(TRC women's hearings, 28 July 1997 cited by Oboe, 2007, p. 64)

Sheila Masote's argument demonstrates an awareness of dominant discourses that are intent on framing women in subordinate positions – whether these are framed in terms of daughterhood, wifehood or motherhood. As per the extract, "*The problem that I have always suffered"* suggests that these discourses have permeated all realms of existence and are not unique to the SA-TRC hearing. Sheila Masote's assertiveness demonstrates an act of resistance. Though it is of concern that the SA-TRC created a context in which resistance was required. The silencing embedded in this truth-seeking process has implications in post-apartheid South Africa. It is of concern that limited constructions of humanity and human rights mark the most important process in South Africa's path through transitional justice. It is argued that for women, it has contributed to a South African society where women's experiences remain marginalised (Oboe, 2007). A cumulative review of these concerns predicates the possibility of an underlying driver. A growing body of literature attributed the varied shortcomings to the SA-TRC's initial misalignment and restricted focus (Park, 2022; Roberts, 2020). It is suggested that the SA-TRC failed to explicate the role of colonial ideology in manifesting and maintaining the overall apartheid project. Authors such as Park (2022) and Roberts (2020) have argued that the SA-TRC was itself subject to colonial structuring as a product of colonial genealogy. Stating that the *"commission is the technology through which colonialism and imperialism gain and impose the ways and means of knowledge for a government of instrumental reason." (Roberts, 2020, p. 13).* An analysis of the SA-TRC reports suggests that the SA-TRC did not employ colonialism as a lens for interpreting apartheid, thereby neglecting the overarching role of coloniality. This was despite the magnifying lens placed on colonialism by both the ANC and the PAC in their submissions (Park, 2022).

> *Yes, the "Rainbow Nation" still has its silences, some of which originate in the unsilencing project of the TRC. These silences have come to define the current order and struggles, which have their own unsilencing slogans (e.g., #FeesMustFall and #RhodesMustFall), curse words (white privilege, white monopoly capitalism), and political projects (e.g., decolonization, Black First Land First). Yet, as was the case with the TRC, these voicings and the social actions they inform cast a veil of silence that will haunt future generations.*
>
> *(Murray & Durrheim, 2019, p. 3)*

Although the SA-TRC was initially anticipated to serve as an unsilencing initiative (Murray & Durrheim, 2019), it may have been destined to impede decolonial intents since its inauguration. Thereby encumbering the possibility of healing and restoration, with the regression of democratic governance steered by colonial interests (Roberts, 2020). This limitation may be attributed to an absence in understanding how transitional justice approaches require adaptation that aligns with meaning, recognising that transitions are defined by disputes over the values, practices, and memories that define context (Leebaw, 2008). A similar argument may be presented concerning aspects related to reconciliation, given the extent to which African ideology concerning healing was undermined (Motsemme, 2004). It is argued that the SA-TRC management of the process and its outcomes produced further silencing. This includes a critical erasure of the aetiological dominance of colonial violence in South Africa's colonial wound. This erasure has not foreclosed the possibility of hauntings, as demonstrated by the *#FeesMustFall and #RhodesMustFall* movements mentioned in the extract above. In redressing this erasure, it is anticipated that student movements may have the potential to diminish, disrupt and in so doing, transform existing collective memory praxis of relating to the past in post-conflict societies (Rajevic, 2019a).

Beyond the identification of women's misconstrued narratives and the misinterpretation of extracts (Handlarski, 2009), Motsemme (2004) further highlights the limitations of verbal language and the SA-TRC's vulnerability in assuming that South Africa's violent past could only be known through acts of testimony. Thereby highlighting the risk of valorising verbal language and the extent to which the absence of language is marked as deviant, as per Western ideology (Motsemme, 2004). This includes the dismissal of the implications of systemic violence and the dehumanisation of those who have been denied the agency to share their stories and remain in a realm where things that remain unspeakable (Motsemme, 2004).

Perhaps unspeakable, because the violation of the body and therefore of the self becomes so deeply embedded that only the woman can access its meaning, held not in words, but in the body's quiet tremors (Krog, 2001).

3.5.2 Silencing of Trauma: Implications for the Intergenerational Transmission of Trauma

Bearing witness to its hauntings, the silencing of colonial violence and the colonial wound is evident in post-apartheid South Africa. Caruth (2014) postulates that trauma resides not only in the uncontrolled re-living of the traumatic event but also in the complexity of surviving it. The intersections of trauma, death, and the necessity to survive are of consequence for what is transmitted from one generation to the next. Research has demonstrated the long-lasting implications of man-induced trauma amongst second and third generations of Holocaust survivors (Scharf, 2007). Brown (2017) suggests that, irrespective of the source of the original trauma, those who survive it are subject to further marginalisation and silencing. Silencing is conceptualised and practised in varied forms, and whilst it may be suggested to be fluid, the practice crystallises the past and thus the construction of history (Trouillot, 1995, 2015). It is argued that this silencing severs any ties of the trauma with narratives that may challenge global discourses regarding the source of trauma exposure. Questions of the inevitable impact of colonialism on the construction of global discourses may be guided by Lorenz and Watkins (2001, p. 2) when they demand, *"what habits of silenced knowing from the past 500 years of colonialism have been passed on to us?".* This question extends beyond individual, family or societal representations of trauma transmitted over time.

In reviewing conflict across Africa, the remnants of colonial policies, the accompanying oppression and the uneven distribution of wealth bear considerable consequences (Ocheni & Nwankwo, 2012). It is asserted that colonial discourse and history have enjoyed sustained power and privilege globally, thus facilitating a silencing of historical sins. Thereby privileging Euro-Western voices, whilst suppressing the voice, narrative and history of Indigenous people (Dénommé-Welch & Rowsell, 2017). This subjugation has, in turn, facilitated the fragmentation and silencing of collective histories and knowledge. In South Africa, these colonial displacements, with racial, economic, and special dispossession, facilitated the legislative acceptance of apartheid law (Oliver & Oliver, 2017). In a similar way that apartheid can be analysed regarding colonialism, so too, the psychosocial dilemmas of post-apartheid South Africa, need to be understood concerning colonialist and apartheid remnants.

Whilst all forms of subjugation remain unjust, political violence – whether through the lens of colonialist violence, slavocracy or apartheid - takes different forms. As such, it is experienced differently by men and women (Meintjes, 2011) and has been acknowledged and historicised differently for men and women. It is therefore not only reasoned that black women experienced an alternative version of apartheid, but that this has translated into an alternative history of survival (Lee, 2009). The latter is contended to be true for the experience of women anti-apartheid activists within and beyond the movements they served. Highlighting the necessity to understand how the violent oppression of women may have translated into the intergenerational transmission of trauma across generations. This is critical given the multiple roles women occupied by safeguarding their families, children and communities (Lee, 2009). This gives rise to the question not only of the burden of survival but also of the implications of collective trauma with the simultaneous survival from black women's bodies.

The concept of intergenerational trauma proposes that descendants may continue to experience life in the shadows of their forebearers' trauma (Knight, 2019). Research suggests that descendants of trauma survivors bear the emotional, physiological, and psychological tracers of traumatic experiences that they have not had direct exposure to (Juruena et al., 2020; Yehuda & Lehrner, 2018). This transmission of trauma may be attributed to an array of factors, inclusive, but not limited to neuropsychological considerations, developmental histories of families, as well as systemic and societal considerations (Yehuda & Lehrner, 2018). It is proposed that trauma that could not be contained and processed by one generation is unconsciously transmitted and becomes the task for the generation that follows (Pickering, 2012). The phenomena of colonialism and apartheid, as well as the intersectional oppression of women, however, give rise to further questions of the intergenerational transmission of trauma. In terms of the race-based ideology of colonialism and apartheid, this may specifically link to the implications of being the intentional recipients of another collective's aggression and racial hatred (Volkan, 2009b). Prager (2016) states that this racial hatred becomes inscribed psychically and physically, thus facilitating the transmission of this racist violence across generations. It is reasoned that the transmission of intergenerational trauma is inevitable and that the implications may remain evident across decades (Volkan, 2009b). As such, beyond the survival of the direct recipients of trauma, it is the experience of the trauma that is maintained and manifested, facilitating its perpetual survival (Prager, 2016).

The silencing of trauma, concerning the survivors' incapacity to mourn, remember, and symbolise their trauma, has been identified as a key factor in the intergenerational transmission

of trauma (Connolly, 2011). The silencing and disavowal of trauma are surmised to cause confusion among future generations, causing some form of deprivation (Pickering, 2012). Pickering (2012) postulates that descendants become the carriers of traumas that may have been too horrific for their ancestors to bear. This postulation is specifically regarding the unresolved and unspoken traumas, that find manifestation in the unconscious of descendants. Whilst descendants may not be aware of their psychic inheritance (Pickering, 2012), it is likely to find a way of breaking out (Phillips, 2015). Unconscious traumatic memories can be triggered by contextual cues (Meares, 1999). Women descendants are particularly receptive, given South Africa's legacy and its present-day systemic and structural forms of violence, as well as the perpetuation of gender-based forms of violence.

3.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter endeavoured to illustrate how silence may operate in multivarious ways, though often at risk of being observed as a marker of either absence or deviance. This negative construction limits an understanding of silence as discourse and its complex engagement with power. Thereby, revealing how silence is subject to power, and may be swayed to dictate silence as violence or silence as resistance. This includes how it has been complicit with gendered or raced constructions. The violence of silencing has been evident globally, particularly when in service of concealing sexual, gender or race-based violences and its consequent traumas. The overt prevalence of sexual, gender or race-based violences across the slavocratic, colonial and apartheid milieus demanded further attention to examine how post-apartheid transitional processes may have functioned in service of either repetition or repair. Despite its initial intents, it is surmised that within the South African context, the SA-TRC diminished an attendance to truth in terms of the aetiological dominance of colonial violence in South Africa's wounds. It is argued that this has, in part, allowed the continued psychic and physical transmission of colonial and racist violence across generations into the present, whilst simultaneously neglecting the repair of the psychic inheritance of intergenerational trauma amongst descendants.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE VARIED DELINEATIONS OF TRAUMA AND VIOLENCE AS ANTECEDENT

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The following chapter aims to provide a review of the conceptualisation of trauma as a psychological construct, the continued evolution of trauma constructions and how these may inform an understanding of trauma and its intergenerational implications within the context of this study. The literature on trauma as a psychological construct has witnessed exponential growth, and as such, the scope of this chapter will be limited to the focus areas of this research. After setting the scene between the past and the present, the chapter commences from a psychoanalytic perspective, given its foundational contributions to trauma as a psychological construct, and its overall influence on psychology. This includes a review of the complexity of the trauma concept, whilst considering delineations of trauma and how these may facilitate forms of violence in and of itself. This includes the possible risk that select constructions of the trauma concept may facilitate pathologising practices, thus hindering the acknowledgement of trauma and violence as an antecedent. As such, whilst an understanding of the trauma concept serves to demonstrate an acknowledgement of trauma concerning its biomedical and neurological underpinnings, the chapter aims to emphasise the importance of engaging with the psychopolitics of trauma. This includes a review of how the dominant conceptualisation of trauma as associated with pathology, rather than social justice imperatives, may aid or distort relevant and contextually appropriate applications. This includes the risk of emphasising pathology and offering a distraction from underscoring the violence responsible. Seeking an understanding of trauma informed by social justice principles urges attendance to this violence within the context of this study. Specific emphasis is placed on elucidating colonial violence and its links to cultural, symbolic and structural acts of violence located within the past and the present. Shifting beyond construct delineation to praxis highlights the significance of social justice principles and their function in addressing the intergenerational transmission of individual trauma, alongside collective trauma. In doing so, the chapter concludes with an overview of expressions of violence, in physical, psychological, structural and systemic forms, and how this bears association with the growing knowledge of the trauma concept.

4.2 TRAUMA: THEN AND NOW

A review of trauma in association with its etymological origins relays its application since the late 17th century to describe physical injuries inflicted from an external source resulting in

extensive shock or injury to the body (Figley et al., 2017). Psychological literature demonstrates the dual delineation of trauma, representing both the initial emphasis on the physical, whilst extending its application to the psychological wound (Soutis, 2006). As a direct derivative of the ancient Greek term 'titreno', the word wound directly references the piercing of the skin, whereas the psychological interpretation acknowledges the piercing of the protective shield of the mind (Freud, 1921). As a psychological construct, the study of trauma has enjoyed decades of scholarly attention across various epistemological fronts (See Charcot, 1887; Janet, 1889; 1894 (cited by Goetz, 1999); Freud, 1895, 1897; Fanon, 1967, Van der Kolk, 1988; 1996; 2014, Caruth, 1995; 2014). Herbert William Page (1883, as cited by Figley et al., 2017) initiated the possibility of a psychological wound in response to the distress presented amongst victims of railway accidents without evident physical injuries. Page recognised that the accidents brought on overwhelming fear and continued anguish. It is argued that by extending the trauma construct to psychological interpretations, the emphasis on the external event has gradually been lost, with an all-encompassing focus on the internal world. Whilst losing sight of the external, it is interesting to note that the study of trauma has coincided with theorising related to dissociation (Figley et al., 2017). A trend evident in the chapter allocation of the DSM-5 TR (APA, 2022). In doing so, this act of severing (and its associations with silencing) is attributed to the individual rather than seeking external resolution.

> *To individualise this pathology is to paralyse our appetite for social change.*
>
> *(Muldoon & Lowe, 2012, p. 270)*

Reflecting on these tensions, it is inevitable that proposing an appropriate conceptualisation of trauma would require an expansive lens of inquiry. Increased scholarly attention to trauma, including collective and intergenerational trauma studies, has, however, attracted critique in response to the various definitions of trauma (Pickering & Keightley, 2009). Thus, finding agreement with Eagle's (2014, p. 3) supposition that "*it is sometimes difficult to comprehend that writers are describing the same phenomenon*". When engaging with the vast landscape of literature concerning trauma, this candid statement illustrates the conundrum presented when engaging with the trauma construct and its associated traumatic stressors. This challenge is exacerbated by the more recent acknowledgement that trauma is both aroused and expressed across biomedical as well as psychopolitical spheres. It has previously been suggested that the complexity of providing an elucidation of trauma may be located in the inadequacy of language to convey the experience of trauma and its attack on time, the body, and the mind, as well as

the capacity to connect relationally (Phillips, 2015). This argument presumes a biomedical paradigm and needs to be interrogated within the context of recognising the role of cultural, systemic and political norms or agendas in both facilitating as well as silencing the verbal and non-verbal expressions of trauma. This is relevant to this study, and its associations with racial and gendered violations emanating from colonial violence and trauma.

4.3 A PSYCHOANALYTIC PERSPECTIVE OF TRAUMA

Trauma, as conceptualised from a psychoanalytic understanding, emphasises traumatic disruption and its impingement on the protective barrier of the mind (Freud, 1920), and thereby the disruption of symbolic functioning. This impingement is proposed to leave the mind without protection, and thus vulnerable to stimuli that may be experienced as distressing, along with the possibility of annihilation (Freud, 1920). Whilst Sigmund Freud (1895, 1897) is most often renowned as the reference point for the psychological delineation of trauma, the psychoanalytic understanding of trauma is founded on a culmination of collective contributions. Pioneers such as Jean-Martin Charcot (1887) and Pierre Janet (1889, 1894) had special interests in hysteria as a phenomenon, guided by their 'hysterical patients' statements of sexual trauma experienced during childhood (Goetz, 1999). The contributions of these theorists ultimately provided psychic trauma and traumatic neurosis with a pivotal place in psychoanalysis (Weisaeth, 2014). It may be suggested that these original constructions, may at times be at risk of assuming universal application and relevance, in the absence of contextual or cultural consideration. Nonetheless, in setting the scene for these initial postulations, it is accepted that Freud and Breuer (1895) proposed the link between hysteria and trauma whilst recognising the contributions of Charcot (1887) and Janet (1889, 1894). In their seminal text *"Studies on Hysteria"*, Freud and Breuer (1895) cited that 'hysteric patients' suffered primarily from reminiscing – the act of remembering. Grounded in these preliminary postulations, Freud proposed *Seduction Theory*, suggesting that hysterical symptoms were caused by events that were of a sexual nature inflicted during childhood (Strachey, 1955). Freud and Breuer's collaborative work thus focused on *seduction* as the origin of neurosis (Strachey, 1955). Freud, however, postulated that incidents of sexual abuse occurred too early for them to be remembered and integrated into awareness (Figley et al., 2017). It was instead speculated that the memory was unconsciously repressed, and it was therefore not perceived as traumatic (Figley et al., 2017). It was surmised that the overpowering event returned later in life, in the form of either somatic symptoms or compulsive and repetitive behaviours as observed in their patients (Berger, 1997). This repetition compulsion was considered the most painful of these

events, given the unconscious nature of this repetition (Russell, 2006). Freud and Breuer proposed that catharsis, a release of repressed emotional energy, could resolve these neuroses and its associated paralysing effects of traumatic memories (1893, as cited by Freud, 1914).

4.3.1 Nachträglichkeit: A deferred experience of the traumatic event

A review of Freud's (1893, 1920, 1955) theoretical contributions demonstrates the development of his understanding of trauma. Freud's (1920) theorising observed further evolution with the occurrence of World War I, and the presentation of combat neurosis. This enabled Freud's conceptualisation of trauma and the role of repression as a defence mechanism, whereby distressing memories are repressed into the unconscious mind. Traumatic experiences deemed incompatible with existing psychological structures resulted in repression and the formation of symptoms as symbolic substitutes for the repressed content. The occurrence of World War I also cultivated Freud's understanding of trauma in relation to broader societal and cultural dimensions. This demonstrates the possible understanding of recognising the link between trauma and the collective. Freud's initial theorising observed a deferment between the cause and the traumatic response (Giesen, 2004). Translated as deferred action, *Nachträglichkeit* conveys a deferred experience of the traumatic event, suggesting that the traumatic event is not fully realised until it is later reinterpreted in the light of subsequent experiences (Breuer & Freud, 1893; Freud & Breuer, 1895). Nachträglichkeit is thus surmised to present the memory, not the event, with traumatic significance and signifies a circular complementarity of both directions of time (Eickhoff, 2006). It is further posited to inform clinical practice, with the subsequent (nachträglich) representing the working through of unconscious infantile and transgenerational conflicts (Eickhoff, 2006).

This deferred experience is thus Freud's explanation of the mechanism underlying symptom formation (Bistoen et al., 2014). Freud's presentation of Emma Eckstein is most often applied in conveying this understanding (Bistoen et al., 2014; Eickhoff, 2006), a case infamous for its gendered assumptions and malpractice (Launer, 2016). Whilst an analysis of the Emma Eckstein case is beyond the scope of this study, it serves as a reminder of how gendered subjugation underscored the earliest theorising related to the trauma concept. As with most of Freud's theorising, he applied the term '*nachträglichkeit*' to convey how sexual encounters in childhood may manifest traumatic effects during a later life stage, such as when puberty ascribes new meanings to these memories (Goldin, 2016). This notion rests on the premise that an initial event only becomes traumatic, in the sense of exerting its complete pathogenic power,

at a successive stage in psychical development (Bistoen et al., 2014). This occurs when the initial event to which the subject was unable to respond adequately is revived and reinforced by a later encounter (Bistoen et al., 2014). *Nachträglichkeit,* therefore, signifies the process by which pathology develops after a trauma that is constituted through two etiological moments rather than one (Mather & Marsden, 2004). This encounter highlighted that whilst memories were not always available to the conscious mind, it did not hinder the act of repetition. Whilst the concept is helpful, it also risks individualising pathology, as with Freud's thinking related to seduction. Given that the concept alludes that it is not the traumatic event that holds importance, but rather how the person reacted or responded to this experience that determines the outcomes of the traumatic encounter. This frame of conceptualisation therefore divorces the traumatic event from cause and consequence. A central tension that has remained integral to contemporary trauma construction.

Despite the latter, more recent theorising has postulated the utility of *Nachträglichkeit* as a construct that may guide and contribute to an understanding of collective and intergenerational trauma. Though Freud did not yet conceive traumatic memory as a social or collective response, his theorising acknowledged processes within the psychic system (Giesen, 2004). As such, whilst Freud did not explicitly reference intergenerational trauma (Hosein Alavi & Bulut, 2021), this compulsion to repeat what has not yet been repaired can provide support to the interpersonal, family, and community levels of intergenerational trauma transmission. Moreover, in Totem and Taboo, Freud (1918, p. 261) asserts that '*no generation is capable of concealing its more important psychic processes from the next'.* Though Freud remained modest in his lack of clarity on how such processes may occur, it suggests his postulations about intergenerational transmission. Instead of presenting any pretence of clarity, Freud (1918) framed two central questions in Totem and Taboo regarding the psychical processes that continued from one generation to another. The first comprised of wondering about the extent to which psychic processes contributed to the continuity across generations. This was followed by Freud's enquiry on the processes of intergenerational transmission; in deliberating the 'ways and means' generations transferred their mental states to the next. This concept of concealment is central to the hypothesis of this research initiative, given its focus on disremembering, as well as that which has been shared versus hidden across generations. Ultimately, the complexity of providing a clear conceptualisation of trauma is evident in Freud's contributions as well. In reviewing Freud's theories, the contrasting and evolving dilatations are evident. A statement that has been consistently held is Freud's assertion that

trauma is associated with something overwhelming or disorganising that was taking place or had already taken place (Levine, 2014).

4.3.2 Critiques of Gendered and Colonial Silencing in the Psychoanalytic Frame

The significance of the occurrence of sexual assault was diluted by Freud's hypothesis that the actual event was not traumatic, but that a different sexual event later in life would trigger a memory of the initial sexual experience (Figley et al., 2017). Freud postulated that it was the memory that took on traumatic meaning, only to be repressed, whilst represented by hysterical symptoms (Figley et al., 2017). Despite the latter, Freud's theory had the potential to expose the incidence and prevalence of childhood sexual assault and challenge the dominant discourse and the prevailing culture to reject notions of possible sexual violations (Rush, 1996). Negating this potential, Freud, later contended that much of his initial postulations were founded on the phantasies of his patients – and not reality (Berger, 1997; Garland, 2018). It is difficult to assess to what extent Freud's revision was in response to his own intellectual structuring, rather than a concession to the sociocultural, political and patriarchal landscape that found his original theory incomprehensible (Figley et al., 2017). Arguments by Masson (2012) and Rush (1996) support this sociopolitical hypothesis, basing their postulations on Freud's unpublished documents and letters. These perspectives are heavily critiqued, given the shadow it may cast of Freud's ultimate Oedipal Complex and its contribution to psychoanalysis. Nevertheless, Freud altered *Seduction Theory*, and its recognition of a *real, external sexual trauma* (Levine, 2014), with the revision stipulating the role of psychic processes, phantasy and unconscious wishes in psychological presentations. The sociopolitical context of Freud's theorising thus begs questioning of what was actually being repressed and by whom.

> *Freud uses various words to describe these "infantile sexual scenes": Vergewaltigung (rape), Missbrauch (abuse), Verfiihrung (seduction), Angriff (attack), Attentat (the French term, meaning an assault, Aggression (aggression), and Traumen (traumas). All of these words explicitly state something about the violence being directed against the child expressed in the sexuality of the adult, with the exception of the word "seduction, which was an unfortunate choice, since it implies some form of participation by the child. These terms, used by Freud in his early papers, are replaced in his later writings, in the overwhelming majority of cases, by the word "seduction".*
>
> *(Masson, 2012, p. 3)*

The extract conveys a use of discourse that communicates an understanding of violence at the root of psychological distress, a violence ultimately erased by the proposal of phantasy. Masson (2012) presents this as *The Assault on Truth*. It is thus surmised that Freud's theoretical amendments were arguably in response to context, though the revision is not without concerns. It is important to note that despite the sociopolitical climate, Freud's postulations did not go unchallenged. Ferenczi (1928, 1929, 1930), an earlier follower and scholar of Freud's, remained committed to the idea that most neuroses have a real, external trauma as its origin (Dupont, 1998). Ferenczi's resolve was, however, not only met by discontent within his relationship with Freud, but the psychoanalytic community responded by discarding Ferenczi along with his theoretical contributions (Dupont, 1998). Though select analysts have remained in the Ferenczi tradition, this disposal has most likely had longstanding implications on the progression of contemporary psychoanalysis. Reviewing Ferenczi's work, it is anticipated that much of his psychoanalytic theorising would have aligned with the theoretical postulations central to this research inquiry. This includes Ferenczi's emphasis on relational and political dynamics neglected by Freud, thereby introducing sociopolitical considerations to conceptualising trauma (Gondar, 2018). Interrogating power, and the modes of affecting and being affected were of consequence in Ferenczi's theorising (Gondar, 2018). Additionally, aligned with the application of Canham's (2023) *cylindrical epiphenomenal temporality*, analysts in the Ferenczi tradition argue that trauma cannot be defined as an experience that occurs to a single individual isolated in time and space (Dalenberg et al., 2017). It is of interest to note that Ferenczi's definition of trauma comprised two parts, the first being the initial experience of the event and the second as the point at which the reaction of the individual was disavowed or rejected by the people on whom the person depends (Dalenberg et al., 2017). This theorising in many ways mirrors not only the relational experience between Ferenczi and Freud but also that of Freud and his patients. Given that Freud was unique in his time to believe his patients' narratives of sexual assault, this may have exacerbated the later experience of having these narratives disavowed as fiction (phantasy).

A central concern is therefore the extent to which misogyny was evident in the origins of psychoanalysis (Frosh, 2018). Embedded with underlying gendered biases, Freud's revision of hysteria was followed by a historic legacy of antagonistic conceptualisation as a woman's disease, or a disturbance of femininity (Showalter, 1993). Reflecting on the respective contributions of Charcot (1887) and Freud (1955) in conceptualising hysteria, it is suggested that Charcot's groundwork presents fewer apparent gendered biases, whilst also demonstrating

continued cognisance of the incumbrance of the external event. The latter being the *traumen* seemingly abandoned by Freud's theorising. This reading in association with cognisance of gender finds support in Charcot's (cited by Goetz, 1999) emphasis that "*Male hysteria is not at all rare, and, just among us, gentlemen, if I can judge from what I see each day, these cases are often unrecognized even by distinguished doctors."* Charcot's perspective was met with considerable resistance, given the preference for gendered biases (Goetz, 1999). The latter demonstrates Freud's deviation from Charcot's initial contributions, which recognised that both men and women could manifest symptoms of hysteria (Figley et al., 2017). Unsurprisingly, Freud's theorising has gained critique from feminist authors since the 1970s, given the varied ways it undermines women's experiences of abuse (Figley et al., 2017).

It is suggested that these seminal psychoanalytic tenets have contributed to fostering the dominant neglect of gender violations or other external considerations. This further presents the possibility of patient blaming, given that the women in these clinical case presentations were subsequently deemed as the unconscious architects of their own neurosis (Herman, 1992). Feminist Florence Rush (1996) referred to this as *The Freudian coverup,* surmising that Freudian theory has contributed to the silencing of the sexual exploitation of the female child, whilst also facilitating the psychologising of women's oppression.

> *The sexual abuse of children… is an unspoken but prominent factor in socializing and preparing the female to accept a subordinate role; to feel guilty, ashamed, and to tolerate, through fear, the power exercised over her by men. That the female's early sexual experiences prepare her to submit in later life to the adult forms of sexual abuse heaped on her by her boyfriend, her lover, and her husband. In short, the sexual abuse of female children is a process of education that prepares them to become the wives and mothers…*
>
> *(Rush, 1971/74, pp. 73-74 cited by Kitzinger, 1996)*

In re-reading Freud's contributions, it may be further suggested that it is this theorising that has over time contributed to two further vulnerabilities evident in psychological practice. This includes psychology's tendency to seek pathology in the individual and thus apply analysis within a cultural and contextual vacuum. A second argument in response to this re-reading is related to how these initial postulations may have contributed to the vulnerability of present-day psychological diagnoses and its propensity to gendered interpretation (Garb, 2021). Though it may be unfair to suggest that Freud (1896, p. 386) initiated this gendered bias, given

the general tendency of his time, he, unfortunately, supported it by introducing his respective complexes; *"It is not at all rare for both of the two children to fall ill later on of a defence neurosis—the brother with obsessions and the sister with hysteria."* The prevalence of these biases is supported by present-day research findings (See Garb, 2021; Hartung & Lefler, 2019).

Though seminal psychoanalytic writings extend minimal contributions to race, it may be inferred that psychoanalytic biases are likely to apply to race-based prejudices in the provision of psychological and psychiatric care as well. Attending to race in the construction of psychoanalytic theory, Altman (2000, as cited by Frosh, 2013) argued that Freud's conceptualisation of psychoanalytic goals is reminiscent of the colonial mentality, rendering racism within the frame of structural psychoanalytic theory, specifically in its ego-psychological form. Moreover, Frosh (2013) has emphasised the risk of colonialism in the psychoanalytic paradigm, stipulating that it is not only entrenched in psychoanalytic theorising but is embedded within psychoanalytic discourse as well. The latter renders the contemporary psychoanalytic tradition vulnerable in both theory and practice. Frosh (2013) highlights the use of language and the application of terms such as 'primitive' to refer to 'unreasoning' components of psychic lives. Of concern is that this terminology has its roots in a colonial opposition between 'primitive' and 'civilised', whilst further risking the reproduction of this division 'unconsciously' when it is employed (Frosh, 2013). Stoute (2021) provides an alternative postulation, suggesting that Freud's formulation within a cultural and social vacuum facilitated the disavowal of his own racial trauma. The author identifies this as the precedent that fostered psychoanalytic theory's subsequent difficulty in recognising, formulating and integrating the experiences of the oppressed. The readings of Frosh (2018) and Stoute (2021) hold relevance, as it may have been Freud's racial trauma that made him vulnerable to ensure a theorising aligned to the colonial and misogynistic discourse of his time. Nonetheless, it remains evident that even the psychoanalytic tradition struggles to recognise the conditions of racialisation and racialised trauma, and hence its contribution to sustaining it (Frosh, 2018). Holding these tensions, it is critical to interrogate how this *silence on racial oppression has impeded the development of theory, limited the diversity of our professional organizations, and blinded many to the reality of racial violence in society generally* (Stoute, 2021, p. 260).

4.4 CONTEMPORARY PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES OF TRAUMA

Located within an alternate timescape, contemporary perspectives of trauma have extended across varied theoretical frameworks and practised modalities. This includes psychoanalytically informed Psychodynamic Therapy, as well as theoretical and practical approaches embedded in Cognitive Theory, such as Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT), Cognitive Processing Therapy (CPT), Eye Movement Desensitisation and Reprocessing Therapy (EMDR) and Prolonged Exposure Therapy (PE) (Ford, 2017). More recently, body-based therapies, such as Somatic Therapy and Sensorimotor Psychotherapy have also started gaining traction in trauma treatment (Ringel, 2019). Despite the apparent breadth, the latter provides a marginal view of the extent to which psychotherapy has evolved in both theory and praxis. Despite this evolution, some of these approaches, especially Psychodynamic Therapy demonstrate continued theory and praxis that remain remnant of traditional psychoanalytic thought. As such, whilst there are select areas of divergence, a shared feature with earlier theorising is the emphasis on psychic trauma, with the external incident occupying either an obsolete or diminished function. It is however suggested that within select psychoanalytic communities, the tension between the internal versus external in the conceptualisation of trauma is not as unyielding as its historical counterpart (Levine, 2014). As such, whilst the internal psyche remains at the core of psychoanalytic understanding, there is a growing appreciation that the development of internal dynamics is subject to the events in the external world (Levine, 2014). Similarly, Cognitive Theory and its associated therapeutic approaches is rooted in the construction that cognition serves a fundamental purpose in informing emotional and behavioural responses. Though quite divergent from psychoanalytic principles, its theoretical principles underscore the internal processes of the mind. As such, Aaron Beck, the primary pioneer of Cognitive Thought, is frequently accused of theorising in a manner that is reminiscent of his psychoanalytic roots (Milton, 2001). Similarly, whilst the more recent body-based therapies, appear more theoretically divergent to Psychoanalytic and Cognitive Thinking, its central thesis resides in conceptualising trauma as something that is held inside the body, in the absence of an empathic witness – rather than something that happens to the body (Levine, 2010). Theoretically, the approach acknowledges aspects of silencing and the unspoken voice. However, as with many psychotherapies, the theoretical foundation appears to expunge the external event, resting accountability with the self. *"Salvation, then, is to be found in the body",* indicating the client's (not patient) responsibility to safely hear and see the unspoken voices of their bod*y* (Maté, 2010, p. xii). As such, whilst the theory appropriately

recognises the practice of some form of silencing and the disablement of voice, it doesn't appear to attend to sociopolitical reasoning that the voice may require expression. Its well-intentioned aspirations therefore lie vulnerable to oppressive execution in the absence of recognising the need for systemic transformation (Haines, 2019).

Contemporary psychotherapy is increasingly informed by the growing body of research centered on neuropsychology and epigenetics (Liberman et al., 2019; Ryan et al., 2016; Yehuda & Lehrner, 2018). Questions nonetheless prevail concerning the extent to which psychotherapeutic integration may be possible in terms of praxis. Emphasising the theoretical gains, renewed focus on biology, and more specifically, epigenetics, has provided a broader framework to facilitate an understanding of trauma, as well as the intergenerational transmission of trauma (Liberman et al., 2019; Ryan et al., 2016; Yehuda & Lehrner, 2018). The emergence and recognition of epigenetics, however, offer an opportunity to recognise the external event, given that it suggests a psychological wound with direct engagement with a physical wound (Kirmayer et al., 2014). Borrowing from Malabou (2007), Dhanvantari (2020, p. 45) argues that neuroscientific data demonstrate that violence activates profound psychic transformations, resulting in permanent changes in subject formation. This perspective has shed new light on understanding collective and intergenerational trauma. Neuropsychology and its associated underpinnings therefore demonstrate greater cognisance of genocide, war and how its associations extend beyond individual pathology to greater systemic significance. Though its focus is predominantly grounded in research and theory, its learnings may encourage further interest in social and political considerations (Hirschberger, 2018).

4.4.1 Recognising Collective and Intergenerational Trauma

Research has demonstrated that collective trauma rooted in genocide, massacres and wars can remain in the collective subconscious and manifest across generations (Hirschberger, 2018). Collective trauma is described as the psychological reaction to a traumatic event that influences an entire community and is therefore present in the collective memory of that community (Galtung, 1990; Hirschberger, 2018). The construct of collective trauma is therefore closely associated with intergenerational trauma, given that collective trauma recognises that collective memory persists beyond those exposed to the original traumatic event (Volkan, 2001). This introduces the prospect of the production and reproduction of traumatic events across context and time, as these may be experienced differently intergenerationally (Hirschberger, 2018; Volkan, 2001). Attributes of collective trauma are surmised to include neurophysiological,

psychobiological, psychosocial as well as sociocultural implications (Cypress, 2021). However, collective trauma in response to human-made disasters such as colonialism and apartheid, and its consequent forms of political violence, has further implications. Cypress (2021) suggests that whilst natural versus human-made disasters may resonate with different elements of trauma, colonialism includes almost all possible elements of ongoing traumatic experience. The intentional violence imposed requires further meaning-making by the collective, given that their subjugation was premised on a singular dimension, such as race (Aydin, 2017). The violations based on perceived individual, or community features evoke a crisis of meaning and identity (Hirschberger, 2018), whilst simultaneously violating any previous expectations of humanity, society, or the world (Aydin, 2017). It is argued these forms of collective trauma present such a significant breach that nothing can be authentically known or anticipated of the world (Aydin, 2017). This in turn contributes to a world in which safety and security are not possible, with subsequent relational implications across generations. Although this study employs the term, intergenerational trauma, the construct is often used interchangeably with the term historical trauma. In this regard, Heart's (2003, p. 7) definition of historical trauma proves helpful in elucidating the *'cumulative emotional and psychological wounding over a lifespan and across generations, emanating from massive group experiences'.* The term intergenerational trauma is, however, preferred, given that historical trauma references a particular event (Andermahr, 2015). Systems such as colonialism and apartheid, however, served as forms of cultural and structural violence and trauma, which endure into the present day. Given this continuance, the transmission of intergenerational trauma may occur at various levels. The current body of literature recognises that these may include epigenetic alteration, interpersonal engagement, family functioning, or community cohesion (Kirmayer et al., 2014). Whilst these various levels are recognised, an important consideration is that the forbearer experienced the original trauma. The descendants may, however, also be living with the effects of their forebearers' trauma exposure (Williams-Washington & Mills, 2018)

Epigenetic research suggests that descendants of trauma survivors bear the emotional, physiological and psychological tracers of traumatic experiences that they have not had direct exposure to (Juruena et al., 2020; Yehuda & Lehrner, 2018). It is postulated that intergenerational epigenetic inheritance has evolved to facilitate survival (Hirschberger, 2018). This concept of survival supports previous psychoanalytic framings, which are recognised for laying the foundation for contemporary conceptualisations of intergenerational trauma (Stoute, 2021). *Totem and Taboo* outlines Freud's (1912–1913) theoretical postulations regarding a

type of cultural memory with associated mental representations that could be transmitted across generations (Stoute, 2021). Caruth (2014) extended this work when elaborating on Freud's contributions to war neurosis in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*. Caruth (2014) postulated that trauma resides not only in the uncontrolled re-living of the traumatic event but also in the complexity of survival. Caruth (2014), therefore, suggests that the necessity to survive is also transmitted from one generation to the next. The mission to survive is faced with complexity, given that it is the unknown aspects of trauma that are experienced as most overwhelming. The weight of these unknown aspects may be best described when referring back to Aydin (2017) and Hirschberger's (2018) work that emphasises the crisis of meaning and identity in response to the breach that nothing can be authentically known of the world (Aydin, 2017).

An important departure from Breuer and Freud's (1893; 1895) emphasis on neurosis is Caruth's (1995) assertion that the traumatic experience is not based on a pathology of falsehood (phantasy), but that trauma is, in fact, founded in reality. Caruth's work provides a clearer understanding of Freud's initial contributions, whilst van der Kolk seems to occupy an alternative position by considering the contributions of psychoanalysis through the lens of neuroscience and societal contributions (van der Kolk, 1988, 1996, 2014). Before the emergence of literature related to epigenetics and neuroscience, van der Kolk (1996) referenced the psychobiology of trauma, emphasising the link between the brain, body and mind. Recognising that trauma could be repeated on various levels, including behavioural, emotional, and physiological levels (van der Kolk, 1988). From an epigenetic perspective, this survival occurs by facilitating adaptation to unfavourable conditions of descendants without mutating the genetic information (Liberman et al., 2019). As such, traumatic experiences of forebearers have been shown to alter the biological phenotypes of the descendants even in the absence of the initial stressor. This is supported by alterations observed in the descendants of collective trauma survivors (Yehuda et al., 2016). Given the absence of mutation, the potential exists to return to the original state once the unfavourable stressors are reduced (Liberman et al., 2019).

The role of epigenetics in the transmission of intergenerational trauma is of significance given the potential learnings from a psychophysiological perspective (Yehuda et al., 2016). An appreciation of the Neuropsychological framework does however not serve to facilitate a discourse that may highlight pathology. This is of considerable importance given that the body of literature suggests that epigenetic consequences are reversable with protective life experiences (Liberman et al., 2019). The opportunity for protective life experiences is however

questioned in response to the continued imposition of cultural and structural violence post incidents of collective trauma.

Taking the aforementioned into consideration, it is therefore suggested that diagnostic definitions of trauma, such as post-traumatic stress disorder, may not adequately encapsulate the long-term implications of psychological trauma stemming from cultural and structural violence, such as discrimination, oppression, and racism (Williams-Washington & Mills, 2018). This postulation is supported by the fact that empirical research does not corroborate the notion that traumatic pathology is confined to a restricted set of events or criteria as presented by the DSM (Rosen & Lilienfeld, 2008; Van Hooff et al., 2009). The construct of trauma applied in this research study will aim to represent the assaults made on the body and the mind (Phillips, 2015), thereby recognising both the physical and psychological wounds. This highlights the potential role of social justice initiatives in understanding and mitigating trauma and the intergenerational transmission of trauma.

4.5 THE TRAUMA CONCEPT AND ITS MISALIGNMENT WITH SOCIAL JUSTICE PRINCIPLES

> *The study of psychological trauma has a curious history - one of intermittent amnesia.. . . This intermittent amnesia is not the result of the ordinary changes in fashion that affect any intellectual pursuit. The study of psychological trauma does not languish for lack of interest. Rather, the subject provokes such intense controversy that it periodically becomes anathema.*
>
> *(Herman, 2015, p. 15)*

As explicated in earlier sections of this chapter, trauma has historically been conceptualised from a Eurocentric lens, thus premising an individual focus, as well as presenting trauma as an intra-psychological phenomenon. As such, despite the complexities presented by the concept of trauma, its relationship with psychological and psychosocial well-being has remained mostly uncontested. This intra-psychic focus has, however, tethered the link between trauma and its foundational association with an external event, and its alliance with social and political agendas. As such, trauma is separate from the practice of social justice principles and overall well-being. This disconnect has contributed to considerable scholarly contestation in the conceptualisation of trauma when discussed in relation to social justice contraventions, such as the practice of oppression and subjugation. It is suggested that this disconnect may be symptomatic of intentional silencing, given the argument that the study of trauma presents a

threat to political agendas (LaCapra, 2014). These considerations are pertinent given that traumagenic potential is heightened when trauma is of human design, and when structures of power and oppression have already been active in constructing the lived realities and accessibility of resources of those subjugated by systemic and structural violence and oppression (Brown, 2017).

This includes the social construction of gender and race and how it has contributed to the increased vulnerability of women and black people to various forms of oppression. As such, whilst women are more vulnerable to forms of sexual and interpersonal violence, black people are more vulnerable to structural and systemic forms of racism. A social justice agenda may therefore facilitate the process of depathologising those who have been subject to violence and oppression, whilst driving greater awareness of the systemic drivers of violence and trauma. The disconnect in recognising the significance of social justice principles may be exacerbated within clinical practice, given that the concept of trauma is more strictly premised on the diagnostic criteria of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) as presented by the American Psychiatric Association (APA, 2013, 2022). These concerns remain of relevance within the South African context given the widespread adoption of the DSM across the South African psychiatric and psychological fraternity (Burns, 2013). This widespread adoption and acceptance persist despite the continued critiques of the DSM across both the Global North and South (Burns, 2013). The application of the DSM raises various concerns within the context of this research, particularly in relation to its understanding of mental health from a Western lens. A further concern of this research focuses on how it may entrench an understanding of trauma that presents a risk to individuals, families and communities that have been subjected to various forms of oppressive practices. This includes increased vulnerability to perceived pathology, a lack of acknowledgement of trauma, and its implications on access to care (Carter et al., 2020). Moreover, the current conceptualisation of trauma as per the DSM-5 may serve as an infringement on appropriate diagnoses and care (Kirkinis et al., 2021).

An analysis of the DSM criteria demonstrates how the delineation of trauma not only works in isolation from possible social and political agendas, but functions to silence the ubiquity of widespread trauma. One of the most central arguments in the conceptualisation of trauma as a construct has been on how contemporary frameworks are diluting the complexity of trauma (See Pickering & Keightley, 2009). Theorists within this faction are working hard to protect trauma as a unique occurrence. This form of thinking cuts us off from the reality of the world and how humans have consistently functioned in some form of hostility with one another.

Despite humanity's claim to civilisation, a review of the world's history narrates a different story. It appears that humanity has never been able to break away from acts of oppression and violence. Consequently, the 21st century is rampant with genocide, war, and various forms of segregatory practices across the world (See Gesesew et al., 2021; Lloyd, 2020; Maylam, 2017). Whilst media drives which stories are of importance for distribution, broader power structures dictate these practices. These power structures thereby dictate history, knowledge and knowledge production. The latter is of particular importance in informing arguments related to trauma and the DSM. This timescape has observed global awareness of the Ukrainian and Russian war (See Kuzio, 2022), as well as the decades of Israeli–Palestinian genocide (Di-Capua, 2024; Nijim, 2023). Much less, is however communicated about the conflict in Ethiopia's Tigray region, which includes the widespread destruction of the healthcare system, with rape and gang rapes identified as key components of the war (Gesesew et al., 2021). Additionally, little would be known about the armed conflicts across Africa without actively reviewing the news shared by Human Rights Watch. These include government forces or non-state armed groups that have been implicated in abuses against civilians across the Democratic Republic of Congo, Cameroon, Mozambique, Mali, Burkina Faso, and South Sudan (Human Rights Watch, 2024). A more attentive review would reveal the widespread psychosocial impact of these violences, including its *battles on women's bodies* (Trenholm et al., 2011), including abduction, genital mutilation, gang rape and public rape (Vastapuu, 2018).

Examining a small part of the world's current state demonstrates that so much is silenced when structures of power conceptualise trauma as unique. Though the ideal may be for trauma to be an extraordinary and unique occurrence, available statistics dictate that it is not.

> *Traumatic experiences are a violation of basic human contracts about how we deal with one another.*
>
> *(Brown, 2017, p. 502)*

Reflecting on Brown's (2017) extract may therefore require an acknowledgement of the ubiquitousness of humanity's capacity to violate and perpetrate violence. Framing trauma as unique only serves to shield humanity from bearing witness to its own savagery.

4.6 THE TRAUMA CONCEPT AND VIOLENCE AS THE EXTERNAL EVENT

To attain a comprehensive understanding of the conceptualisation of trauma necessitates a recognition of violence as antecedent. The following sub-section will elucidate violence in its

various delineations, with a specific focus on colonial violence and its legacy within the framework of this research.

Violence as per the Public Health Approach is recognised as "*The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either result in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation*" (WHO, 2002, p. 5). Therefore, this definition of violence is not limited to physical force or harm and recognises the implications of enforcing power, and thus implicitly, subjugation. A further lens is, however, required in distinguishing colonial violence and the vicissitudes of cultural, structural, and systemic violence, given this study's focus on the intergenerational implications of colonialism and apartheid, as well as gender-based forms of oppression.

Colonial Violence comprises various elements, diverse in both complexity and pervasiveness. These include, but are not limited to physical, psychological, cultural, symbolic and structural violences (Balibar, 2015; Fanon, 1963, 1965; Kalman, 2010). Petitioning its relevance within contemporary times, the pervasive nature of colonial violence renders the landscapes of its original sins to systemic continuation into postcolonial and post-apartheid periods (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012). Despite the continued tension between colonial violence, remembering, history and denial (Kalman, 2010), any acts in service of limiting colonial violence to legacy, would feign ignorance to sustained coloniality, marked by gendered and racial biases, continued economic exploitation (Canham, 2023) and cultural dislocation (Tamale, 2020b).

Cultural violence positions the application of cultural criteria to legitimise violence, such as the promotion of a superior race (Galtung, 1990). Confortini, (2006) has contributed to the construct of cultural violence, highlighting how violence premised on gender is culturally embedded in unequal power relations. The production of violence, therefore, requires an analysis of the gendered forms of cultural violence, and how these contribute to the reproduction of violence (Standish, 2015).

> *Symbolic violence built into a culture does not kill or maim like direct violence or the violence built into the structure. However, it is used to legitimize either or both, as for instance in the theory of a Herrenvolk, or a superior race.*
>
> *(Galtung, 1990, p. 291)*

Cultural and symbolic violence practised through the legitimisation of a superior race has played a central role in validating apartheid and promulgating it into law, as both a racial and gendered project. However, beyond the promulgation of the law, cultural violence played a critical role in the daily practice of oppressing and subjugating black South Africans (Clark & Worger, 2018, 2022). The importance of acknowledging cultural violence as practice thus resides in its long-lasting implications in response to the destruction and displacement of communities, forced assimilation, and imposed racial ideologies of primitivism, as well as the suppression of culture (Kirmayer et al., 2014). Similarly, gendered forms of cultural violence are evident globally across patriarchal systems, though different cultural guises manifest depending on the context (Standish, 2015). A further significance of cultural violence is the function it serves to moralise direct and structural violence, thus validating its necessity (Galtung, 1990). Cultural violence, in turn, serves to legitimise and therefore pardon both individual as well as structural forms of violence (Confortini, 2006).

Structural violence represents a form of social injustice adapted and devised within a social structure that has both physical and psychological consequences (Galtung, 1969). The existence within a structure, therefore, facilitates the process of oppression to become both institutionalised as the norm by the collective, as well as internalised by the individual. Colonialist and apartheid systems can be explicated by applying Galtung's (1969, p. 171) emphasis on structural violence as *'unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances*. Fanon (1963) framed this structural violence as the Manichaeism of the colonial situation.

> *The colonial world is a world divided into compartments. It is probably unnecessary to recall the existence of native and European quarters, of schools for native and schools for Europeans: in the same way we need not to recall apartheid in South Africa.*
>
> *(Fanon, 1963, p. 37)*

The emphasis on unequal life chances highlights the potential of longstanding implications, including residual remnants beyond generations. This position remains evident in post-apartheid South Africa, where structural economic violence remains evident, and a lack of equitable distribution of resources is ongoing (Forde et al., 2021). Racially oppressed communities, therefore, continue to face apartheid remnants of inequality, poverty, and

continued social and spatial marginalisation (Evans, 2023; Forde et al., 2021). It may be argued that black women are particularly vulnerable given their disadvantaged position in the socio-economic landscape (Calitz, 2017; Eynon, 2017). This highlights Galtung's (1969) insistence to not underestimate the significance of structural violence or assume that it contributes to less suffering compared to direct violence. Galtung (1990) argues that the causal flow from cultural via structural to direct violence is identifiable if observed. This cycle and interaction between these forms of violence become repetitive, ritualistic, and definitively systemic. These, in turn, contribute to deficiency and deprivation, which ultimately contribute to trauma. These forms of violence are most often enforced on groups, thus resulting in collective trauma, with subsequent intergenerational implications.

Whilst the section above has provided a brief review of the various constructions of violence, its varied delineations demonstrate the importance of acknowledging the violent origins of psychic trauma (Dhanvantari, 2020). Abandoning violence as the external incident risks the vulnerability of naturalising violence, and within it conceal the systems accountable for exerting oppressive forms of power (Dhanvantari, 2020). This not only alleviates a longing for social justice but endorses a practice complicit with such violence.

4.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has been concerned with the construction of trauma as a psychological construct, elucidating the influence of its psychoanalytic roots on contemporary conceptualisations. This includes persistent remnants that may work in contradiction with social justice principles. Within the brief review of trauma, as conceptualised within the psychoanalytic thought, it is evident that theoretical construction has been subject to modes of silencing. This is particularly evident in the gendered biases evident in framing hysteria, as well as the silencing of childhood sexual abuse. Whilst not as explicit, careful analysis demonstrates similar race-based constructions. It is therefore evident that psychology’s tradition of silence is founded on a history of remaining responsive to political discourse, even when portraying apolitical naivety. This presents a complex task in recognising helpful psychological delineations and theoretical tenets relating to trauma, whilst prioritising social justice imperatives. Frosh (2013) suggests that perhaps because the psychoanalytic tradition holds colonialism at its core, it may provide a means of explicating the workings of the colonial mind and its legacy in the postcolonial world. In referencing Fanon's (1952) seminal application of expounding the construction of racism and the identity formation of the colonised mind, Frosh (2013) suggests that psychoanalysis may offer the necessary conceptual tools to formulate the subtle way

sociocultural processes construct and are in turn supported by psychic configurations. Frosh (2018) thereby contends that psychoanalysis has both colonial roots and the capacity to disrupt the operations of colonial assumptions and unconscious ideologies. As such, Frosh (2018) presents possibilities for understanding trauma that do not need to divorce itself from its psychoanalytic foundations.

The history of traumatic understanding, however, serves as a caution. Irrespective of intent, framing trauma in the absence of context and cognisance of political discourse may reproduce a violence of parallel traumatic capacity. This caution relates to the framing of intergenerational transmission as well, given its more frequent conceptualisation as a relational process. Drawing on Fanon and Mbembe, Njovane (2021) explicates the intergenerational transmission of historical trauma as manifestations derived from colonialism and apartheid, in which the primitive and immoral parts of white humanity were projected onto black bodies. Therefore, this study's application of an integrated theoretical framework serves to attend to trauma and its manifestation through a lens providing historical cognisance to colonial violence as an antecedent. A Fanonian analysis of colonial trauma, as a consequence of colonial violence will be explicated in greater depth in *Chapter Six: Integrated Conceptual Framework: A Humane Reformation Project.*

CHAPTER FIVE: THE SOCIOPOLITICAL CONSTRUCTION OF DISREMEMBERING WOMEN

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The following chapter serves to review the available literature focusing on the disremembering of women as activists, political change agents and combatants, and how this silencing constitutes violence. A review of the available literature guides an understanding of women's contributions and varied positionalities in conditions of conflict, whilst facilitating discernment of hegemonic discourses concerning gender and race. This emphasises how these discourses contribute to a culture of naturalising women into gendered positions, whilst discrediting their agency, voices and power. Extending on this argument, the available literature demonstrates that gendered discourse highlights women's positionality as victims, obscuring their capacity for agency and violence. Moreover, the literature demonstrates that when women's contributions are acknowledged, these are demarcated to marginal positionalities. This suggests an alteration and manipulation of women's contributions, which dictate limitations for possible roles they are qualified to occupy in post-conflict conditions. Attending to the intergenerational implications of these demarcated and disremembered positionalities, the closing sections of the chapter attend to the limited but available descendant voices.

This chapter hopes to convey that the sociopolitical construction of women's silencing is not a phenomenon isolated to the post-conflict condition. It is instead born from the roots that contribute to the need for activism, resistance or political conflict. Women are therefore subject to silencing across various historical landscapes, and whilst their service is needed during times of conflict, it does not shield them from the violence of silencing, which includes the silencing of gendered violence along with strength and agency.

5.2 GLOBAL VISTAS IN DISREMEMBERING WOMEN IN POST-CONFLICT CONDITIONS

Scholarship on women's positions in contexts of conflict and their post-conflict transition has offered new insights into the frequently concealed and disremembered contribution of women as activists, combatants and systemic agents of change (Enloe, 2000; Giri, 2021; Henshaw, 2020). Whilst the emphasis on conflict highlights an important area for scholarship expansion, it is important to note that discourses concerning women across various domains have historically been subject to alteration, distortion or silencing to align with dominant political discourse. The latter has demonstrated consistent alignment with capitalist and patriarchal

aspirations (Lerner, 1986; Shekhawat, 2015). Falling outside the lines of capitalist or patriarchal privilege, the practice of silencing is most evident among groups of people subjected to oppression (Segalo, 2012). This eliminates the potential for opposing narratives, whilst simultaneously sustaining the existing lines of power.

In the context of conflict, it is usually women who are silenced (Segalo, 2012), whilst man's consolidation of power designates men as central protagonists, leaders and heroes in post-conflict appraisals (Gilmartin, 2017). This is despite cross-national empirical research demonstrating that women across varied life stages were and remain active in civil conflicts, liberation struggles and resistance politics across the globe (Henshaw, 2020; Shekhawat, 2015). However, hegemonic discourse has conceptualised a gendered construction of activists and combatants within contexts of conflict, subsequently informing transitional justice and politics into post-conflict conditions (Darden et al., 2019; Thomas & Wood, 2018). This has included women's exclusion from disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration (DDR) efforts for combatants previously involved in armed structures (Henshaw, 2020; MacKenzie, 2012; Magadla, 2021a; Vastapuu, 2018).

Women in any form of combat or conflict have been considered an anomaly (Mann, 2015), despite the confirmation that women's participation in conflict related to liberation struggles, organised resistance, protests, and other forms of political violence is observed to be profoundly routine (Darden et al., 2019; MacKenzie, 2012). This gendered interpretation is attributed to the function of hegemonic masculinity aligned with the construction of conflict and violence (Mann, 2015). Women's engagement in conflict thus presents a challenge to dominant discourse and is perceived as a threat that may undermine the overall structure of patriarchal society (Mann, 2015). It is surmised that to dilute this threat, women's contributions are only acknowledged when framed within the boundaries of motherhood, wifehood (Darden et al., 2019) or victimhood (MacKenzie, 2009, 2012). Women's participation is thus demarcated as personal, divorcing it from political agency or determination (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015). As such, whilst scholarly discourse has demonstrated increased recognition of women's participation in liberation or political struggles, contemporary research remains confined to gendered boundaries (Vogel et al., 2014). This includes cutting off the threat of violence or death in service of collective political agendas when demarcating women's roles to support or auxiliary functions in comparison to armed conflict (Thomas & Wood, 2018). The latter subserviates the role of women as couriers, looters, messengers, propagandists, smugglers or spies within political movements (MacKenzie, 2009; Thomas & Wood, 2018).

The act of obscuring women's contributions is consistently evident, irrespective of the level of command or rank, thus hiding the occupancy of senior positions such as recruiters, trainers, medics, and arms experts, in a similar manner as women serving as labourers and captive 'wives' (Shekhawat, 2015). It is however contended that whilst most women are vulnerable to exclusion, women positioned outside of armed conflict experience the most neglect despite their substantial contribution to strengthening the overall movement (Thomas & Wood, 2018). Shekhawat (2015, p. 4) argues that this significance is prolific across and beyond Africa, with women becoming indispensable to political struggles, adding that most aspects of warfare are not fought *on battlefields, but around human habitations*. This argument is supported by various South African narratives that illustrate the role of homes and schools as sites of resistance, though not without the penalty of political struggle (Magadla, 2018, 2021a, 2023; Maringira, 2015; Naidoo, 2021). This penalty is evidenced by the occurrence of home bombings, as well as shootings within residential contexts (Bridger, 2021; Magadla, 2021a).

In an analytical review of the global literature available, Henshaw (2020) attributes the omission of women from disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration efforts to four exclusionary dynamics, namely (1) Agency, (2) Hierarchy, (3) Universalism, and (4) Patriarchy. Conceptualised on feminist principles, it is argued that these concepts demonstrate the ordering of power of gender in global politics (Henshaw, 2020). This patriarchal reordering not only serves to exclude women from dominant discourse but also ensures that masculine accounts are secured in historical records. To explore the global relevance of this supposition, the four exclusionary dynamics are examined in relation to relevant research studies.

The concept of **(1) Agency** represents the distortion of discourse related to women's commitment to their respective political movements, creating a gendered divide between the motivations of men and women (Henshaw, 2020). This misrepresentation facilitates reductive discourses that either infantilise or sexualise women, evident as a common practice in the construction of women during and post-conflict (Gutiérrez & Murphy, 2023). Gentry and Sjoberg (2015) underscore that recognising women's agency as political actors would not only threaten gendered biases but, more importantly, present a fundamental risk to the power structure of global political discourse that sustains raced, gendered and classed power hierarchies. It is surmised that this postulation is also relevant to interpersonal and intimate contexts, where normative discourses maintain relational hierarchical structures. These reductive discourses are sustained despite available literature that demonstrates women's agency and political conviction (See Barrios Sabogal, 2021; Darden et al., 2019;

Gentry, 2010; Henshaw, 2016). MacKenzie (2012) argues this distorted discourse that reassigns women's roles from political activists to either helpless victims or reluctant support is a form of violent reproduction. Of concern is how this violent reproduction in turn manifests into alternate forms of systemic, structural and physical violences, as is evident across various post-conflict contexts (Alison, 2009; Giri, 2021; Rai et al., 2019). A further concern is how discourse favours theories emphasising abnormality when arguments related to victimhood or resultant support cannot be substantiated. Sjoberg and Gentry's (2007) empirical study of women's violence in global politics conveys their analysis of biological, psychological and sexualised stereotypes that all align in conceptualising women's lack of agency across all spheres of life. As such, women's participation in political acts, including violence, is attributed to psychological abnormality (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015; Sjoberg & Gentry, 2007). The latter demonstrates that dominant discursive networks would rather conceptualise women's participation in political conflict as a sign of pathology than bear witness to their agency.

These constructions are linked to the **(2) Hierarchy** of roles in conflict, which dictates women's anonymity as agentic political actors (Henshaw, 2020). The conceptualisation of hierarchy contends that gendered categories apply to actions as well. The latter promotes a ranking that not only validates the *masculine*, but simultaneously attaches elevated importance to it, whilst the *feminine* is subject to disavowal (Henshaw, 2020). It is however argued that this conceptualisation should be subject to partial application, given that studies by MacKenzie (2009) and Gentry and Sjoberg (2015) demonstrate how particular actions attain either prominence or subjugation depending on whether it is practiced by a man or woman. This hierarchical structuring in turn contributes to deriving categories such as "combatant" and "noncombatant" (Henshaw, 2020), constructs which are often applied to validate or invalidate participation in conflict conditions. Contestation pertaining the validity of holding the title of combatant is a global concern, attributed to the politicised nature of the category (Langa et al., 2021).

Further support for the proposal of partial application resides in the construction of *masculine* and *feminine*, and how these constructs are subject to alternate readings when viewed through a race-based lens. Research has demonstrated that the principles of normative or hegemonic *femininity* are founded on whiteness (Cole, 2020; Coles & Pasek, 2020), given its rootedness in white patriarchal construction (Collins, 2004). The ideal *femininity* as represented by purity, innocence and non-violence, thus renders the ideal

masculinity without challenge or threat (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015). Black women are however not gendered in the same way as white women, whilst simultaneously not readily distinguished from black men, rendering them to intersectional invisibility instead (Cole, 2020; Coles & Pasek, 2020). As such, when referencing the concept of hierarchy and ranking, it is postulated that the black woman may be subject to exclusion entirely. Further critiques are applied in response to heteronormative and cissexist discourses and their construction of deviant sexuality (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015; Sjoberg & Gentry, 2007). As such, when women's engagement with violence is dislocated from the maternal motivations of motherhood, it can only be explained by discourse underscoring deviance. This includes attributing deviance to queerness, sexual inadequacy or promiscuity, thus explicating observations that fall outside stereotypical notions of womanhood (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015; Hagen, 2016). It is surmised that hierarchical ranking that permits the existence of women and their participation in conflict is subject to expounding deviance from accepted gender norms or minimising women's agency (Darden et al., 2019). These considerations demonstrate that aspects of the principles of exclusion may therefore be subject to critique given its feminist origins. However, it has presented some form of safeguarding with the inclusion of (3) Universalism as a reference point for intersectionality and its associations with Black Feminist Thought.

The inclination to collapse intersectional identities is scrutinised as the practice of **(3) Universalism**. Borrowing from Crenshaw's (1995, 2017) construct of intersectionality, this principle recognises the risk of neglecting the intersection of gender, and the relevance of race, ethnicity, class, and geography, including (neo) colonial considerations (Henshaw, 2020). The latter thereby challenges the notion of a universal category of women. Though research has historically assumed a uniform experience amongst women war activists and combatants, there is growing cognisance of the multiplicity of women's identities influenced by caste, class, education status, ethnicity, marital status, religion and geographical location (Giri, 2021). A review of available literature demonstrates the contrasting experiences among women in post-conflict conditions, such as Mozambique, Sierra Leone, South Africa (MacKenzie, 2009; Shekhawat, 2015), Columbia (Gutiérrez & Murphy, 2023; Thomas, 2024), Nepal (Giri, 2021; Shekhawat, 2015), Northern Ireland and Sri-Lanka (Alison, 2009). Though central components of the identified elements share similarities in marking women's exclusion, more in-depth nuances reflect how their unique intersectionalities influence their experience during the post-conflict transition period. MacKenzie's research

(2009, 2012) highlights how the transition to adulthood among many ethnic groups in Sierra Leone is dependent on cultural ceremonies that serves to educate members about cultural traditions, and histories, including knowledge essential for survival within the community. The disruption to these ceremonies during periods of conflict assigned women to an indeterminate state of seeing themselves as neither children nor adults. A status that profoundly impacts identity resolution and positionality. Elsewhere, research situating the post-conflict condition of Nepal highlights how power dictates the intersection of social inequalities and identities in shaping the experiences of women combatants (Giri, 2021). Given the complicit ways in which power is sustained within existing structures across periods of transition, social inequalities are permitted to reconfigure in subtle forms. As such, women may be allowed select liberties in maintaining an alliance with political structures, whilst burdened with balancing their gender-imposed positions (Giri, 2021). Africa-specific research emphasises the risk of security for women combatants in post-conflict conditions (Henshaw, 2020). MacKenzie's (2009) research highlights that there is no post-conflict period for women combatants in Sierra Leone, given the increased prevalence of different forms of gender-based violence, including sexual exploitation. Despite the latter, these women combatants' identity, as well as social and political preferences appear constrained by their remnant political ideology that demands the same loyalty as required during conflict. Taking into consideration the intersectionality of various positionalities, it may be important to consider to what extent the concept of militarised minds may hold relevance across these contexts. This includes an appraisal of the extent to which collective ideals founded on patriarchal principles are prioritised, thus leaving feminist or womanist ambitions in an ambiguous position.

The fourth and final element of **(4) Patriarchy** remains prevalent in post-conflict societies, thus reproducing patriarchal power structures (Henshaw, 2020). Holding various aligned definitions, patriarchy is recognised as the *"power of the fathers: a familial-social, ideological, political system in which men – by force, direct pressure, or through ritual, tradition, law, and language, customs, etiquette, education, and the division of labor, determine what part women shall or shall not play, and in which the female is everywhere subsumed under the male"* (Rich, 1986, p. 57). The etymology of patriarchy as discourse is attributed to Roman law and the construction of the family unit, where the father is identified as the head (Aoláin, 2009). In contemporary times, theorists have identified associations between patriarchy and masculinity (Aoláin, 2009). The state formation in the restructuring

of society post-conflict thus mirrors this system in which men are the legitimate leaders of family, community, and state (Henshaw, 2020). This formation is however not unique to post-conflict contexts and is a mere repetition of patriarchal processes that are adopted across most societies as standard, given its association with power. It is thus deduced to be a patrimonial process that forges the bonds between legitimacy, masculinity, power and violence (Henshaw, 2020). Of the four exclusionary dynamics presented, patriarchy is the construct most prevalent across research related to the exclusion of women in post-conflict contexts (Aoláin, 2009; Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015; Henshaw, 2020; MacKenzie, 2009; Moser & Clark, 2001). Post-conflict nations therefore share the commonality of crystallising conflict history as a masculine execution (Aoláin, 2009; Henshaw, 2020; MacKenzie, 2009). This suggests that patriarchal structures have infiltrated various nations and cultures globally, thus presenting patriarchal dominance as natural, rather than a historically informed and sustained political construction. These risks obscure the narrative that patriarchy is not inevitable (Garcia, 2021; Hudson et al., 2023), entrenching systems of exclusion (Henshaw, 2020).

The silencing and exclusion of women's contributions to activism, resistance and political conflict inadvertently sustains violence across gendered lines in post-conflict conditions. As such, despite undertaking roles that were agentic, powerful and defiant of oppressive political structures, post-conflict transitions offer women alternate structures of injustice (Gilmartin, 2018). These are founded on the continuity of gender discrimination, violence and insecurity. The latter challenges the discursive deployment of terms such as post-conflict, peace, and security in the construction of transitional justice, and an inclusive embodiment of humanity.

5.3 DISREMEMBERING WOMEN ACROSS THE AFRICAN CONTINENT

Despite the vastness of the African continent, it is unlikely to find a part of its geography untouched by political conflict. A frequently shared commonality of this conflict is the implication of European colonisation in political tension and violence when looking to the East, West, North, South or Central geographies of Africa. The enduring impact of this colonisation on *black humanity and black women, in particular, has been detrimental* (Ngcobo, 2024, p. 1). Though the construction of race was and remains integral to supporting the impetus of colonial power, it is argued that gender was equally central to promoting the colonial power project (Coetzee & Du Toit, 2018). Whilst Africa has demonstrated continued resistance to colonialism and coloniality (Mbembe, 2020; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012), it has at times been blind to how

coloniality has seeped into its own resistance strategies, which include post-conflict reconstruction and memorial (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). The latter has been particularly evident in the construction of gender, and the paradoxical adoption of colonial patriarchal structures in both political resistance and post-conflict remembering. The intent is not to absolve Africa from any form of violence or patriarchy before colonialism (Pankhurst, 2002), including violence in the service of subjugating black women. It is recognised that women occupied different positions across different African states, with diverse and at times opposing positionalities in terms of social, economic and political independence, political action and political agency (Amoah-Boampong & Agyeiwaa, 2021; Moagi & Mtombeni, 2021). Though most pre-colonial historical records have not been accounted for, available histories of early colonial times tell of Alice Lakwena as a powerful commander in Uganda and Nontetha Nkwenkwe as a powerful feminist symbol and leader in South Africa, with both featuring at the *forefront of the world of war* (Canham, 2023, p. 74). It is therefore contended that if pre-colonial Africa was not a timescape of gender parity, the colonisation of Africa entrenched gender disparity and women's subjugation across social, economic and political spheres (Akyeampong & Fofack, 2014). Despite the diverging tensions, understanding the influence of colonial patriarchy seeks to affirm the unsilencing of the oppression and suffering brought about by colonialism (Ngcobo, 2024), and its maintenance in the post-conflict transition (Segalo, 2012).

This section of this chapter thus seeks to interrogate the disremembering of women in post-conflict conditions across the African continent, whilst identifying possible learnings across contexts for further cultivating the expression of voice and action in service of unsilencing. There is, however, a dearth of literature that focuses on women beyond the lens of victimhood, or from a blanketed African understanding. Research focusing on Africa as a collective nonetheless indicates that women are indispensable within contexts of conflict, whether they are in service of occupying socially ascribed gender functions, or in defiance of gendered constructions by engaging in weaponised combat (Magadla, 2023; Shekhawat, 2015). This indispensability is seemingly forgotten in post-conflict remembering (Henshaw, 2020), with women pushed to the margins (Langa et al., 2021). Their experiences of violence and trauma during conflict are instead translated to nothingness, replaced by the violence of silencing. Shekhawat (2015) attributes the erasure and silencing of women in combat to the *'protection discourse'* that has legitimised this practice. This discourse is founded on the assumption that men serve as combatants to protect women, rendering it impossible for the women to be

combatants since *"the 'protector' and the 'protected' cannot be equal"* (Shekhawat, 2015, p. 5). It is contended that even this 'protection discourse" is mislabelled, given that any form of protection offered during conflict comes at a violent cost for women combatants. This argument is supported by research that demonstrates the threat of sexual or physical violence to both women civilians and women combatants (Vastapuu, 2018, 2023). Discourse emphasising protection is thus merely an alternate means of moralising the violence imposed by patriarchy. In the absence of patriarchal violence, the necessity for protection during periods of conflict is annulled, since women would be equal subjects in the face of violence, without the double jeopardy of gendered subjugation.

Langa and colleagues (2021, p. 152) contend that "*Victors define the history of warfare, in part by what they write but also by whom they silence*". Conveying that irrespective of which side of the conflict women find themselves in, they remain on the opposite end of victory. The experience of being forgotten has left many former women combatants confused and disappointed (Kama, 2008), whilst others demonstrate a continued sense of hopefulness (Matthews, 2008). Embodying personal agency, some former women combatants have not allowed national discourse to influence their sense of accomplishment in their political contributions. This includes the capacity to contest accepted public discourse and memory and convey their personal meaning-making (Bridger, 2021). Others have allowed this exclusion to fuel them towards further action to combat a world in which patriarchal states limit the potential for gender equality (Magadla, 2023). These varied experiences cannot be understood without context and intersectional implications. Drawing from different African contexts, the following section explicates the research presented by MacKenzie (2008, 2009) on Sierra Leone and the work by Leena Vastapuu (2011) in framing gender in post-conflict Liberia.

5.3.1 Megan MacKenzie[1]'s Research on the Reconstruction of Women in Sierra Leone

MacKenzie's (2008, 2009, 2012, 2016) work provides an understanding of women's positionalities in post-conflict Sierra Leone, West Africa, whilst drawing from both Feminist and Post-colonial traditions. The West African context provides an important site of enquiry,

[1] Megan MacKenzie is a feminist scholar who has published extensively on security studies and post-conflict recovery and reconstruction. MacKenzie's research has contributed to illuminating gender constructions in conflict and post-conflict conditions.

given its shared commonalities with South Africa, in terms of the colonial politicisation of indigeneity in Africa (Erasmus, 2011), and how it outs itself in conflict and post-conflict conditions. Despite these similarities, there is nonetheless cognisance of post-conflict transitional incongruities, such as the divergent Truth and Reconciliation Commission approaches, and South Africa's established democracy (Shaw, 2007). A key commonality is, however, the difficulty observed across both processes, South Africa (1995-2002) and Sierra Leone (2002-2004), in acknowledging and addressing gender issues as a core component of their respective truth and reconciliation processes (Sarkin & Ackermann, 2018). Both processes therefore had to be mandated to appropriately address gender concerns, with this difficulty to spontaneously include women in framing human rights contraventions still evident within both post-conflict conditions (Sarkin & Ackermann, 2018).

The challenge of the absence of inclusion and recognition is at the core of MacKenzie's (2008, 2009, 2012, 2016) work in making meaning of women's experiences in post-conflict conditions. MacKenzie's (2008, 2009) research provides a detailed review of women combatants and the reconstruction of women in post-conflict Sierra Leone. The research is based on seventy-five interviews conducted with female combatants in Sierra Leone in 2005, guided by an inquiry into the continued conflicts for women within Sierra Leone's post-conflict period. MacKenzie's (2008) initial analysis was founded on a conceptual framework emphasising Discipline and Development, borrowing from theorists such as Foucault (1972, 1978) theorising on power, discipline, punishment and sexuality. The central tenets of MacKenzie's (2008) conceptual framework were founded on four core assertions. These included development policy discourses as forms of regulations, or disciplines; post-conflict (re)development and the production of "legitimate" subjects, followed by development policies as mechanisms in manifesting and maintaining power relations and lastly, the relationships between sex and body to politics and power. A central argument of the initial analysis was that for women in Sierra Leone, violence against the body, and regulation of the body and the self, along with silence and fear is sustained (MacKenzie, 2008). This, in turn, contributed to questions related to these accounts of silences and their probable implications (MacKenzie, 2008). MacKenzie's (2016) later analysis draws on the theoretical contributions of Césaire (2000) relating to the discourses of civilisation, with specific emphasis on *In Discourse on Colonialism,* and Césaire's mapping of the historical roots of the concept of civilisation and its use by colonisers to justify oppressive and paternalistic actions and policies. This alternate analysis provides an examination of how discourse emphasising civilisation contributed to the

de-construction of the racialised object as human, presenting instead a discourse of savagery and barbarism. MacKenzie's (2016) asserts that it is this form of construction that later informs post-conflict ideology and its emphasis on creating peaceful and productive citizens. This however risks the implication that combatants are misaligned with civility, thereby divorcing their actions from both rational as well as political motivations (MacKenzie, 2016). This ideology emulates colonial practices in presenting the template for civilisation, presenting it as an imagery to reform the 'savage' to a state of normality. It is this articulation of normality that has considerable gendered implications for women combatants. Within the context of Sierra Leone, this return to normal for women combatants was linked to marriage and the security of family relationships. This however required a cutting off of the experience of violence and trauma in response to their involvement as combatants, given the expectation to adapt to the gendered expectations of their context. For some of these women, this included being encouraged to marry their rape perpetrators to prevent shame and exclusion (Shepler, 2002 cited by MacKenzie, 2016).

Emphasising the erasure and silencing of women in the post-conflict context in Sierra Leone, the research exposes the systematic and historical omission of women in the memorialisation of conflict. The research demonstrates how this practice is supported by demarcating women's contributions to support functions. This practice aligns with global practices as highlighted by Thomas and Wood (2018). MacKenzie (2009) recognises this as a practice mirrored by South Africa, Mozambique, Rwanda and Sudan. It is surmised that this boundary delineation offers a form of feminising, which not only dislocates women's service from their role in conflict conditions but also from power and agency. This dislocation facilitates an acknowledgement of women's participation that aligns with dominant social constructions of gender (Vogel et al., 2014). This is evident in the way women combatants' roles are illuminated as followers, rather than leaders. The term 'followers' is associated with the concept of 'camp followers', which inevitably gives rise to the tensions of sexualising women as either prostitutes (Enloe, 2000) or soldier wives (Henshaw, 2020). This is extended with the alternative of discourse of women as victims in long-lasting conflicts (Macdonald, 2008; Rehn & Sirleaf, 2002), specifically concerning sexual abuse and rape (Baaz & Stern, 2013; Leatherman, 2011; Nordstrom, 2010). This framing of victimhood is maintained in post-conflict conditions (MacKenzie, 2009, 2012), exacerbating women's dislocation from power and agency and facilitating gendered amnesia in post-conflict contexts of peacebuilding. MacKenzie (2009) emphasises how this categorisation has had a significant political impact on post-conflict gendered constructions.

This construction is facilitated by silencing accounts and narratives of conflict periods that contradict gendered stereotypes of men's and women's roles (MacKenzie, 2009, 2012). In contrast, voice, action and credibility are bestowed on narratives that support the construction of men as central protagonists, rendering women to depoliticised roles (MacKenzie, 2009).

Overall, this research provides valuable contributions to scholarship on women combatants and their experiences in post-conflict conditions. It is nonetheless acknowledged that this literature may at times be at risk of presenting an understanding of Africa from a Western gaze, despite alternate intentions. This may influence the extent to which gender and family relations, as well as traditional patronage networks, are structured in Sierra Leone (Vastapuu, 2015). It is suggested that MacKenzie (2012) addresses these concerns to some extent, given the explicit emphasis on grounding a theoretical critique of Western and patriarchal approaches, thereby challenging dominant gendered discourses on conflict (Hudson, 2013).

5.3.2 Leena Vastapuu[2]'s Research on Gender, Conflict and Post-conflict Reconstruction in Liberia

Vastapuu's (2018, 2019, 2021, 2023) research concentrates on girl and women combatants' life trajectories during periods of conflict and its aftermath. The research thereby introduces points of divergence, given its emphasis the girl child as combatants, as well as adult women combatants. Acknowledging these differences invites further complexity in understanding the nature of recruitment as well as the respective roles former combatants served. Despite concerns related to the role of abduction and coercion in the recruitment of some women combatants, Vastapuu steers away from being complicit with a discourse that only introduces women in alignment with themes of victimhood. The research instead offers a critiquing of dominant discourse, as practised through humanitarian, political, military, and even cinematographic lenses, and its efforts in illustrating the role of women through alternating lenses of sexuality – victim or lover. Vastapuu's research instead aims to provide a more holistic imagery, that does not neglect the reality of violence and trauma but interrogates it alongside the recognition of women as active combat supporters and combatants.

A review of Vastapuu's (2018, 2019, 2021, 2023) work thus demonstrates an engagement with gender, power and concealment, with recent research extending to both gendered and racialised

[2] Leena Vastapuu is a feminist researcher and scholar who has focussed extensively on gender, peace and security.

forms of othering. Tending to the ways in which discourse enables the erasure and the act of forgetting women combatants, Vastapuu's research attends to revealing those forgotten in response to gender construction in the context of conflict, as well as their experiences of trauma and challenges in post-conflict conditions. With the intent to reduce the risk of epistemic violence endemic to research, Vastapuu employed an ethnographic methodology with former women combatants between 2012 and 2014. This involved conducting exploratory interviews with one hundred and thirty-three women, which was followed by selecting key participants and providing them with cameras, asking them to take photographs guided by predetermined themes, and followed by twenty-five individual photo-elicitation interviews (Vastapuu, 2019). Theoretically, the research was guided by Curious Contrapuntalism as a representation of a postcolonial feminist worldview. Thus, comprising Curious Feminism, which dictates that curiosity evokes serious questions related to what is masculinised and femininised, and subsequently rendered as natural. This was followed by Contrapunctal Reading, which requires a continuous challenge of seeking out what has remained unwritten. The latter intends to expose power structures whilst underscoring the links between power and nationalism. Vastapuu (2023) posits Curious Contrapuntalism as intersectional, given its grounding in postcolonial and feminist theorising, whilst simultaneously likening its theoretical tenets to Galtung's emphasis on peace and humanity.

Vastapuu's research provides an in-depth analysis of the experience of former woman combatants who occupied varied positions within Liberia's conflict, ranging from positions of commanders to combat service support tasks. Though previous research assumed that a high number of young women in Liberia joined the ranks with 'feminist motives', such as becoming equal with men (Specht, 2013), Vastapuu's research findings suggest that women combatants did not seek to become equal with men in a Western feminist conceptualisation, but rather hoped to construct a renewed system in which both genders could have their particular rights and duties as women and men. The research however demonstrates these unmet aspirations, instead presenting the complex realities that girl and women combatants found themselves in conflict and its aftermath, and how these experiences marked significant turning points in the respective trajectories of these women combatants (Vastapuu, 2023). In addition to the experiences of subjugation in response to constructions of gender and race, Vastapuu (2023) describes women's post-conflict exclusion as a *double-othering* founded and nurtured by remnant colonial structures and practices.

Despite women's concealment in post-conflict Liberia, select women combatants' narratives described fighting factions where the gender composition was women-dominated. Within this women-dominated context, different ruptures came about given the power asymmetries that arose for a woman with a gun, versus a woman without a gun (Vastapuu, 2023). Within post-conflict Liberia, influenced by the involvement of the international society, these power asymmetries shifted from rank and weaponry to gender. With an emphasis on peace and security, the international community in Liberia focused on young men, perceiving them as the *primary threat* to peace and security. Thus, losing sight of women combatants, irrespective of the level of command or weaponry held during conflict. Constructions of masculinity and femininity are therefore evident in the practice of women's erasure. However, the research demonstrates that with reintegration initiatives, women were not only erased as combatants but were also erased as civilians who required restorative structures (Vastapuu, 2019).

Given its innovative methodology, the research provides a unique approach to understanding women combatants' experience of erasure and the sociocultural and sociopolitical dynamics that call for their continued concealment. Endicott (2018), however, wonders about the necessity of these complex intellectual concepts to narrate the experiences of former women combatants in post-conflict Liberia. Suggesting that Vastapuu's outcomes may have been more effectively achieved if the author allowed the participants' voices to speak for themselves (Endicott, 2018). It is difficult to disagree with Endicott (2018) given that a reading of Vastapuu's contributions evokes a longing for a reading beyond methodology, theory and analysis, seeking a deeper engagement of the women's lived experiences. This evokes questions, as with the work by MacKenzie, of the probability of a lens subject to Eurocentric interpretation. Despite the latter, it is challenging to fault Vastapuu given the author's evident practice of reflexivity (Vastapuu, 2019) and acknowledgement of outsider status, whilst working relentlessly to avoid the colonialist dangers of Western rhetoric (Vastapuu, 2018).

5.4 DISREMEMBERING WOMEN IN POST-CONFLICT SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa has observed considerable challenges in remembering women across its post-conflict landscape. This has been apparent in the masculinisation of the liberation struggle memory evidenced across historic records, the masculinisation of post-conflict nation-building (Puis Farrés, 2021), along with gendered memorialisation through monuments, memorials and statues (Marschall, 2010a; Miller, 2011). This absence signals a significant loss, given that the post-conflict transition presented a fertile temporal zone for the generation of new myths and symbols (Samuelson, 2005), as well as the unmaking of dominant myths and discourses. It is

surmised that this oversight has significantly influenced South Africa's capacity to recognise and address the continued human rights violations challenging women.

Despite dominant discourse and the propensity to structure a biased hierarchy of memory and remembering, various authors have facilitated some form of attendance to women as political agents and activists in the South African context. Jacklyn Cock is particularly renowned for her contributions to militarisation and the politics of gender in South Africa (Cock, 1989; Cock & Nathan, 1989). Her earlier writing, however, initially skewed towards white women's roles in the militarisation of South African society, recognising their material and ideological contributions (Cock, 1989; Cock & Nathan, 1989). The written works also attended to how a minority of white women served as a source of resistance to apartheid, with particular reference to the Black Sash (Cock & Nathan, 1989). The Sash (1988) highlighted some contradictions in Cock's analysis, emphasising the tensions of presenting white women as both agentic and manipulated by male militarist ideology. Cock's (1991, 1992) later contributions recognised the role of black women in anti-apartheid resistance. This included an acknowledgement of black women directly incorporated into MK, those who served as couriers, provided intelligence and gave refuge. Relevant to this thesis is Cock's (1992) recognition that these women gave the anti-apartheid resistance movement its mass character.

Authors who have facilitated a more inclusive lens have included Fatima Meer (1960, 1985, 1987) and Shireen Hassim (1991, 2002, 2005, 2014). As an anti-apartheid activist, academic and writer, Meer's earliest writings demonstrated an awareness of the political contributions of black women and youth. However, the extent of her initial influence was hindered by the political landscape of her time, with various sections of her journey as an activist unrecorded. Despite the boundaries placed on her contributions, Meer's (1985) writing evidenced her earliest awareness of the extent to which the apartheid system was reliant on the subjugation of black women. Similarly, Hassim's contributions as a feminist and political scientist demonstrate an engagement with the politics of gender across South Africa's apartheid and democratic landscapes, as evidenced across the earlier chapters of this thesis. Hassim's intellectual contributions initiated an interrogation of womanhood within the dominant, male-led resistance movements. Thus, facilitating an alternative lens to South Africa's anti-apartheid and political history by applying a fundamentally neglected feminist lens (Hassim, 2002, 2005, 2006). Her work provides a critical analysis of the contributions of women in political anti-apartheid organisations, as well as the reciprocal nature between women and the different movements they contributed to. This reciprocity is reflected in the way their feminist ideology

was influenced by the democratic and nationalist ideals at the time. In addition to Hassim's emphasis on the role of women in the anti-apartheid movement, she provides a distinct lens to interrogate the implications of the continuous gendered inequalities, as well as the role of violence (Hassim, 2014, 2018). Hassim has served a pivotal function in redressing the disremembering of women in the liberation struggle, as well as their challenges in occupying central positions within present-day South Africa (See Hassim, 2002; 2005; 2006; 2018). Hassim's theoretical postulations recognise the role of gender as a political resource, as well as the ways in which gender influenced the extent to which women have had to account for their acts of violence in the liberation struggle (Hassim, 2014, 2018). A clear contradiction is observed in how the roles of men and women were investigated in post-apartheid South Africa (Hassim, 2014). Whilst Nelson Mandela has been recalled from a virtuous lens in his pursuit towards liberation, his wife Winnie Madikizela-Mandela is renowned as the only anti-apartheid struggle activist who was called on to seek repentance for her acts of violence at South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) after the end of apartheid (Hassim, 2018). It is thus surmised that women anti-apartheid activists had to endure the different guises of marginalisation and oppression from both the apartheid state, as well as their comrades in the liberation struggle. Reviewing the theoretical contributions of Hassim (1991, 2002, 2005, 2014, 2018) it is evident that this marginalisation and oppression continues in the democratic era.

Shireen Hassim's analytics and theoretical foundations have made significant contributions to the tensions between gender and political engagement in South Africa. Hassim's use of archival and qualitative sources has facilitated a comprehensive understanding of gendered discourse, with its application and contributions evident across recent studies (See Bridger, 2021; Magadla, 2016, 2023). The sections that follow extend on these contributions by elaborating on empirical studies employed in service of remembering women in post-conflict South Africa.

5.4.1 Malose Langa[3], Godfrey Maringira[4], and Modiefe Merafe[5]'s Understanding of the Voicelessness of Woman Combatants and Comrades

The research by Langa and colleagues (2021) contextualises the concurrent existence and continued manifestation of both race and gendered forms of subjugation that have persisted beyond the apartheid state, into South Africa's post-conflict transition. Drawing from several individual interviews and focus groups conducted among former combatants between 2007 and 2018 (skewed towards male combatants), the authors elucidate the patriarchal foundation of the apartheid state, and how this has informed varied forms of gendered violence, ranging from displacement, and domestic violence to sexual assaults. A central argument of their research is that the liberation struggle mirrored this gendered subjugation by underscoring masculinity in the construction of the resistance movement.

Whilst the tension related to the discourse of 'combatants' was briefly addressed in an earlier section of this chapter, Langa et al., (2021) provides a contextually relevant appraisal to clarify the continued tensions in assigning the role of 'combatant' within the South African context. The authors' analysis unveils the extent to which political, legal as well as moral disputes inform the categorisation of former combatants. By attending to political tensions within the broader anti-apartheid struggle, the research not only locates the challenges evoked by gender and masculinity but highlights the dominance of the African National Congress (ANC) in the marginalisation of former combatants. As a consequence, excluding or even facilitating the

[3] Malose Langa is a psychologist and scholar with a particular interest in collective trauma, violence, masculinity and youth at risk. He has published extensively on masculinity studies, violence, and conflict within the context of South Africa. His contributions to understanding the construction of combatants in post-conflict South Africa, provides a valuable lens in critically examining the exclusion of women in response to masculinity.

[4] Godfrey Maringira is an anthropologist and researcher that has focussed extensively on armed violence in Africa with a particular focus on the military in post-colonial Africa. His research extends the boundaries of South Africa, with his award-winning contributions elucidating politicisation and resistance in the Zimbabwe national Army.

[5] Modiefe Merafe is a community developer and activist, who has worked extensively with communities in the pursuit of violence prevention. His work has predominantly focussed on South African former combatants, with further core interest areas on collective violence, gender-based violence (GBV), youth violence and state-sponsored violence.

criminalising of former combatants associated with competing paramilitary groups, whilst also ousting women from within their own movement.

Drawing on the voices of three former uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) women combatants, the research illustrates the simultaneous and multiple burdens of women combatants. These burdens extended beyond the race-based structures of the apartheid state, in service of uncovering the gender-based subjugation by fellow male MK combatants. This included undermining women's capacity to be involved in armed struggle, along with gendered expectations of domestic duties. The research findings align with global trends that demonstrate the designation of women to peripheral roles, emphasising caregiver roles to male activists (MacKenzie, 2009; Vastapuu, 2023). The exclusion evident during the liberation struggle has continued in post-apartheid South Africa. As such, most liberation histories hold men as heroes and martyrs, with glimpses of women activists only allowed to come through in their roles as wives or caregivers. This highlights the probability that whilst women combatants affiliated with the ANC may to some extent receive cognisance for peripheral roles, woman combatants associated with the PAC, AZAPO or other political movements may have been subject to absolute oblivion, along with their male counterparts.

The research mirrors much of the global and broader African trends, that emphasise the role of patriarchy and silencing of women as political change agents (Henshaw, 2016; Shekhawat, 2015). A core benefit is however the nuanced approach by the authors, by differentiating the varied militarised constructions across the different political movements involved in liberating South Africa. The research consequently highlights an important consideration in the silencing of former combatants, suggesting that in South Africa the silencing of former combatants is offset by varied intentional power structures. Whilst the silencing on a political party level demonstrates purposeful intent, it may be important to wonder to what extent gendered subjugation has become naturalised.

Though it is difficult to fault the contributions of this research, it may be argued that Langa et al.'s (2021), framing of their section heading concerning women combatants, namely *"Female Comrades Remain Voiceless"*, risks alignment with a discourse that emphasises passivity. The application of the term *"remain"* as a verb suggests an active *"voiceless",* dormant of agency and power, implying contentment in staying in the same place or the same condition. This is in contrast with the research extracts applied that demonstrate former women combatants' refusal and resistance to gendered constructions and intended subjugation within resistance

movements. It is therefore important to interrogate the difference between voicelessness versus voices that are active but intentionally silenced within national and political discourse. Despite the latter, the authors' recognition of the role of silencing is evident towards the end of their discussion, whilst simultaneously emphasising the implications this silencing has had for national discourse and the masculinisation of post-conflict memorialisation (Langa et al., 2021). This includes a critique of the post-apartheid ANC policy to increase the number of women in leadership positions in government structures, appraising this as mere rhetoric, since political praxis is mostly absent (Langa et al., 2021). The authors instead argue that women continue to be placed on the margins within ANC and government structures. Of concern is how this practice and discourse have seemingly set the scene across collective spaces, with the research demonstrating how political discourse on a community level mirrors the national paragon, demonstrating active resistance towards the possibility of women in positions of power. Therefore, the implications of the subjugation and absence of women combatants' public recognition are suggested to extend beyond concerns pertaining memorialisation but present a significant barrier to gender empowerment within South Africa's post-conflict society (Langa et al., 2021). Building on these findings, it may be argued that beyond the obstacles presented to empowerment is the implicit narrative conveyed of women's disposability across both macrosystemic as well as microsystemic domains. It is this disposability that lightens the gravity of violence and death, which presents a haunting on women's bodies.

5.4.2 Siphokazi Magadla[6]'s Analysis of Guerrilla Girls, Combative Mothers and the In-Betweeners in Post-conflict South Africa

Magadla's (2015, 2018, 2021, 2023) research is founded on a qualitative engagement constructed through life history interviews with 40 former women combatants, who participated in different military structures aligned with the national liberation movements. Amongst those interviewed, 22 former women combatants were members of the MK, 6 were members of APLA, 11 were members of Amabutho and 1 was a member of a Pretoria-based self-defence unit (Magadla, 2023). Whilst some of these women were formally trained in guerrilla warfare, others had no military training and were active in rural and township spaces.

[6] Siphokazi Magadla is an award-winning scholar and researcher, whose writing on war and militarism in Africa draws important intersections on African feminism, gender and citizenship. This includes extensive contributions to making meaning of the armed struggle in South Africa

Moreover, whilst the research focuses on women combatants, Magadla (2023) highlights the reality that many of the combatants were still young girls at the time of their conscription. The interviews were conducted between 2013 and 2014, with additional interviews conducted in 2018 and 2019. The life histories illuminate the varied motivations contributing to the construction of a woman activist and combatant. For many, this was not isolated to the liberation of the black majority subjugated under the oppressive apartheid regime but extended to attaining a non-patriarchal and non-sexist existence. For others, this motivation was born out of an intimate knowledge of gendered violence and sexual assault, a motivation that aligns with the reflections shared by other women combatants (Matthews, 2008).

Overall, Magadla (2021, p. 193) argues that *the majority of women in South Africa participated in the armed struggle without military training and that the internationally trained 'guerilla girls' are the exception, not the rule.* A further core tenet of Magadla's work is to deconstruct dominant discourses that associate women with conceptualisations of victimhood, as opposed to agency, choice and power. The deconstruction of victimhood thus directly opposes patriarchal discourses and its hold on political power. The articulation of women's agency and power is clear even within the context of recognising and resisting their silencing and erasure as active agents within the anti-apartheid liberation struggle. The research therefore amplifies and contributes to Thandi Modise's gendered resistance when she highlights this silencing as a '*deliberate brushing out of women in the armed struggle, out of the history of liberation in this country*' (Modise cited by Magadla, 2023).

Magadla's (2015, 2018, 2023) theorising emphasises the subject of Motherhood, a construct that has attracted substantial critique across other research exploring the role of women in contexts of conflict. However, this is a tension that Magadla (2023) is cognisant of, highlighting the continued strain between feminist ambitions and public motherhood. This extends to constructions of the patriotic mother, the militant mother, and the soldier mother. In line with Magadla's theorising, it may be suggested that abandoning the relevance of motherhood in response to select feminist constructions would be to risk silencing the history of public and symbolic motherhood, realising many of the liberation struggles objectives. Magadla (2023) explains that black women mobilised their collective identity as mothers as resistance to the threat apartheid imposed to the destruction and dissolution of the black family. Thereby arguing that women's militancy could co-exist in alignment with the maternal parts of their identity. This demonstrates alignment with Catherine Acholonu's *motherism*, which centres motherhood at the core of organising solidarity (Tamale, 2020b). This underscores the need to

critically appraise the relevance of the initial grievance asserted by feminism in the face of contextual application. It is argued that the tension between feminism and motherhood should be assessed by drawing on Afro-feminist and decolonial leanings instead.

Magadla's writing may therefore be read as a form of gendered resistance that occupies a dual function, given that it not only places a spotlight on women in their unsilencing but simultaneously allows the experiences of political change agents associated with the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) to be removed from obscurity. Given that many of these combatants were not formally trained, the research illustrates how women and young girls capitalised on spaces of domesticity. The gravity of this role is often undermined, especially in the context of South Africa, given that there was no physical terrain for war or conflict. The most significant form of resistance, therefore, rested in undermining the apartheid regime, efforts predominantly initiated within the domestic landscapes of homes and communities. The current study, in part, wishes to contribute to the implications of domestic landscapes as sites of political conflict.

An important contribution of Magadla's work is the emphasis on girls, thereby highlighting the role of young women during periods of conflict (Magadla, 2021b). Framed within a broader context, this includes the critical argument that the category of "child soldier" emerges distinctly in postcolonial conflict, where women and girls are forced into war. However, adolescent girls did not define themselves and were not defined as child soldiers despite their participation in liberation struggles (Magadla, 2021b). Despite this important illumination, Magadla (2023) asserts the need for more extensive research to elaborate on the role of young women in the South African liberation struggle. Partially responding to this need, the following section will provide a brief review of the contributions of Bridger (2021).

5.4.3 Emily Bridger's[7] Attendance to Young Women Against Apartheid: Gender, Youth and South Africa's Liberation Struggle

Bridger's (2021) attendance to the contributions of young women is located within the context of Soweto, Gauteng, South Africa. Drawing on an ethnographic approach, the research engages with twenty-eight life-history interviews conducted with former women anti-apartheid activists

[7] Emily Bridger is a social and cultural historian of gender, violence and memory. This includes a focus on South Africa, the apartheid state and its histories of violence.

associated with the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), United Democratic Front (UDF) or the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO). With the interviews conducted between 2014 and 2016, the work provides an oral history and retrospective gaze by the women anti-apartheid activists on their time as young comrades, meaning-making and reconstruction of their past. Bridger (2021) therefore refers to the work as a dialogue between the past and present. This allows an understanding of how the participants in this process situate their personal experiences within the collective memories of the liberation movement.

The narratives demonstrate defiance of gendered expectations and having to navigate family and community disapproval as a consequence (Bridger, 2021). This disapproval is not only linked to biased gendered constructions, but also assumptions associated with sexual deviance as well. Within the context of this research, this sexual deviance is associated with assumptions related to promiscuity. This demonstrates the badness projected onto being a woman comrade. The latter includes references to gendered barriers and concerns regarding safety, which in turn culminate in varied complex dynamics for the former women activists. Whilst a select few continued their allegiance with political work in post-apartheid South Africa, others temporarily stepped aside from politics. These departures were often framed with a focus on safety, whilst others highlighted the complexities of motherhood. This was articulated in a manner that expressed their return to primary caregiving responsibilities, whilst others attended to pregnancy. An important theme is, however, select participants' recognition for a period of healing in response to the physical and psychological harm endured during the struggle.

Though Bridger's (2021) book attends to *Young Women Against Apartheid,* with an explicit emphasis on women, the overall study included interviews with twenty men as well. This provided a comparative lens, given that the research was able to discern differences evident across the socially constructed gendered lines. This permitted distinguishing spaces in which select comrades in their positionality as men, also discounted the contributions of the woman comrades. Given the close network of activists with a confined geographical locale, it is difficult to assess whether this inclusion may have impacted transparency and disclosure of the varied forms of gendered oppression experienced within movements. Bridger (2021) acknowledges an initial romanticised form of response, illustrating an idealist context of gendered equality, later contradicted with a closer review of the narratives shared by both men and women. This includes discriminatory and exclusionary language applied by men, with the women participants more open about their rejection and unequal treatment as long as none of the men were present. The research demonstrates the complexity in acknowledging that the

meeting spaces between men and women comrades were sites of exclusion and silencing for women, whilst also risking the threat of sexual coercion (Bridger, 2021). Given the narrow geographical parameters of the interviews, it is therefore difficult to ascertain to what extent women participants may have felt free to express their concerns about their previous comrades. Especially given that an evident theme of self-preservation is evident among select participants. This is particularly with reference to the risks associated with 'outing' themselves. As expressed by a participant who moved from Pimville to Orlando East, "*They know me as a nice woman… I would never go around telling people that I'm a comrade*" (Bridger, 2021, p. 200). It is therefore surmised that, as a woman activist the violations of gender norms may have carried such a significant burden outside of the movement that speaking of controversial experiences with male comrades may have felt like a more significant violation of a space that provided some form of ambiguous belonging. Despite the historiographic presentation of the research, the absence of *cylindrical epiphenomenal temporality* risks a reading of the apartheid state, and the associated liberation struggle within a historical vacuum, vacant from its colonial wound and the broader colonial project. An example of this is Bridger's emphasis on women activists being more cognisant of criminal violence as opposed to political violence in the context of Soweto during childhood. This risks a silencing of the historical link that ties criminal and political violence and its associations with colonial violence and power.

5.5 DESCENDANT MEMORIALISATION: RESISTING DISREMEMBERED LEGACIES

In the wake of women activists' disremembrance, are the silenced traumata that remain remnant for their descendants (See Adonis, 2016, 2018; Hoosain, 2018). The erasure of women's contributions to political struggle is therefore not merely a historiographical oversight. For the generations that follow, this disremembrance continues to manifest into a complex *being* in the past, the present and the impending futures. Thereby bringing to life Viet Thanh Nguyen's (2013, p. 144) reflection that "*All wars are fought twice, the first time on the battlefield, the second time in memory*". Though this postulation is founded on the concept of "*secondhand memories*", the apartheid state ensured descendants' exposure to varied forms of direct traumatic experiences as well. It nonetheless provides a powerful imagery of the extensions of the colonial wound, along with the complexity of survival (Caruth, 2014). Moreover, it is important to hold in mind the extent to which memory recurs through embodied repetition, offering direct exposure to the traumatic elements. It may be suggested that this

embodied repetition produces emergent forms of violence that reconfigure the terms and conditions of survival.

Traversing temporal landscapes, the colonial wound has been carried forward through the violence of the apartheid state and has sequentially been guaranteed reincarnation through post-apartheid amnesia (Adonis, 2018). This complicity has enabled the maintenance of coloniality through the recurrence of systemic and structural violence. Structurally, this is embodied by continued social exclusion and economic marginalisation, both of which are particularly susceptible to intergenerational transmission (Adonis, 2018). Thereby, continuing the work of colonialist and apartheid structures by ensuring the intergenerational manifestation of *'unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances* (Galtung, 1969, p. 171). Further compounding the weight of physiological and physical survival is the extent to which economic marginalisation makes descendants increasingly vulnerable to the increasing levels of violence in South Africa. Especially as their social exclusion and economic marginalisation severely limit access to potential protective factors that might otherwise buffer against such violence (Frankish & Bradbury, 2012). Their increased vulnerability based on apartheid imposed capitalist subjugation is instead aggravated by their continued struggle against racism (Adonis, 2018). For women, this includes the added strain of patriarchally informed biases (Bridger, 2021) and gender-based violence (See Issel-Davids, 2008; Ross, 2008) that are sustained by the post-apartheid state.

Descendants have had to become the architects of their own historical reconstruction to resist this violence that threatens the possibility of restoration or repair. Thereby, realising Caruth's (2014) postulation that the necessity to survive is transmitted from one generation to the next, but that the mission to survive is faced with complexity, given that it is the unknown aspects of trauma that are experienced as most overwhelming. Scholarly focus requires further attention, though the research by Adonis (2014, 2016, 2018) and Kropiwnicki (2013a, 2013b, 2017) has provided valuable insights regarding descendant experiences. Whilst Adonis (2014, 2016, 2018) has predominantly focused on the experiences of descendants whose families remained in South Africa, Kropiwnicki's (2013a, 2013b, 2017) research focused on the experiences of second-generation exiles. This historical reconstruction has, in part, been facilitated by the growing number of memoirs published by descendants of anti-apartheid activists (See Hani & Ferguson, 2017; Mandela, 2013; Msimang, 2018b; Slovo, 1997). The sections that follow review these contributions, in an attempt to understand how the available body of work may facilitate an understanding of descendant experiences.

5.5.1 Memoirs: The Labour of Memory and Remembrance

Memoir writing in post-apartheid South Africa is conceptualised as a labour embedded in complex class, gender and power relations in terms of what is remembered and by whom it is remembered (Gillis cited by Roy, 2013). This section engages with the memoirs written by descendants of South Africa's most renowned activists (See Hani & Ferguson, 2017; Mandela, 2013; Msimang, 2018b; Slovo, 1997), which reflect the essence of Roy's (2013) postulation. Though not all these memoirs have necessarily centred women activists, the body of work has provided a peripheral view of women's contributions. The memoirs simultaneously provide a pivotal understanding of the different experiences among those subject to exile (See Hani & Ferguson, 2017; Msimang, 2018b; Slovo, 1997) as compared to those who remained in apartheid South Africa (See Mandela, 2013).

When Hope Whispers is a memoir penned by Zoleka Mandela (2013), the daughter of Zindzi Mandela and the granddaughter of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela and Winnie Nomzamo Madikizela-Mandela. Nelson and Winnie are arguably the most renowned activists of the anti-apartheid struggle, representing the first democratically elected president and first lady of post-apartheid South Africa. The memoir provides Zoleka Mandela's reflection on her exposure to violence, as well as her journey with loss, grief, trauma, and recovery. Though the memoir mostly focuses on her own journey and not that of the wider family, Mandela's memoir demonstrates the extent to which descendants of anti-apartheid activists are not necessarily the bearers of only "*secondhand memories*". Though her grandmother had to provide a reminder of her childhood experience, Zoleka Mandela (2013, p. 12) shares, "*I boldly offered to conceal a hand grenade in my school bag – even at the age of nine I knew that my bag would be the last place the police would look*". The extract provides an understanding of the extent to which apartheid compromised the black child and the traditional sentiment of childhood. A postulation supported by research that underscores the relevance of adverse childhood experiences for the black child in apartheid South Africa (Silove, 1988; Swartz & Levett, 1989).

Being Chris Hani's Daughter is a deeply personal and painful memoir by Lindiwe Hani, co-authored by Melinda Ferguson (2017). As the daughter of Limpho and Martin Thembisile 'Chris' Hani, Hani's memoir explores her painful sense of abandonment and loss of her father to exile, followed by the emotional aftermath of his assassination. Whilst Lindiwe's affection and continued longing for her father remain evident throughout, the

critical role of her mother, Limpho Hani, cannot be overlooked in the text. Her memoir conveys the deeply violent experience of being a child of activists, always aware of the constant threat to all their lives.

> *Although I tried to erase them from my thoughts, preferring to live in the rose-tinted land of my fantasy world, in the back of my mind my mother's fears played havoc, for I knew they were based on real evidence of how seriously the SADF wanted to see the destruction of Chris Hani's family…*
>
> (Hani & Ferguson, 2017, pp. 15-16)

Hani's reflection, as evidenced across her memoir, demonstrates the violence imposed on her throughout childhood, prematurely exposing her to her own vulnerability to both violence and death. This includes her everyday awareness of the family's plight for survival despite her acknowledged wish to escape through fantasy and selective memory. Though the traces of violence and trauma remain evident across Hani's journey, the closing chapters of her memoir demonstrate the potential for personal healing and relational reparation.

Always Another Country is a memoir poetically crafted by second-generation exile Sisonke Msimang (2018b). Msimang's writing represents a powerful integration of both the personal and political, authentically conveying stories of family, identity, class, race and disillusionment with the post-apartheid state. Despite being the daughter of Mavuso Msimang, Sisonke Msimang does not foreground her father's activism. Her memoir instead provides a balanced tapestry of her parents' contributions in sustaining their activism against the apartheid state. Though the reading of the memoir may be subject to the reader's interpretation, it is suggested that in the end it is her "Mummy", Ntombi Msimang, who is foregrounded, not for militarism but for providing her children with the experience of home, in the absence of a geographical reality.

> *In her own quiet and steady way, Mummy spent her whole life teaching us that it was having a map, rather than belonging to a country, that would make us free; that it was those we loved, and not where we lived, that would make us belong, and that it was open hearts, rather than closed fists, that would help us navigate the world.*
>
> *(Msimang, 2018b, p. 308)*

Every Secret Thing: My Family, My Country by Gillian Slovo (1997) explores the legacy of her parents, Ruth First and Joe Slovo, concerning the personal, as well as the political, and the extent to which both were plagued by silence and secrecy. Ruth First and Joe Slovo were amongst the most prominent anti-apartheid activists in South Africa.

> *In most families it is the children who leave home. In mine it was the parents. And especially her: we stood on the sidelines, watching as she, who had fought her own inhibitions to make a mark in the world, reached out, openly, for what she wanted.*
>
> *(Slovo, 1997, p. 4)*

Slovo (1997) writes of the complexity of becoming her sister's surrogate mother in the wake of her mother's activism. Thereby reflecting on the trajectory of her life in response to her mother, Ruth First's, life. A starting point and key emphasis of the memoir is Ruth First's assassination by a letter bomb in 1982, followed by Joe Slovo's role in the armed struggle and the emotional toll their activism took on their family, particularly their capacity to relate as a family.

> *We suffered together but at the same time the secrecy that ruled our parents' political activities contaminated our relationship. We had learned not to share experience but to hold it to ourselves.*
>
> *(Slovo, 1997, p. 16)*

The memoirs provide a profound anchoring to a timescape too often subject to obscurity. Thereby serving as its own form of resistance against the disremembering of legacies. Whilst memoirs serve as reminders of apartheid's violence, as well as the obscured accounts of the wounds left behind by those who challenged it (Roy, 2013), this collection of memoirs reflects the long-lasting implications for the descendants who have to tolerate the unaddressed wounds of South Africa, as well as the wounds carried by their families.

The realisation of these wounds was acknowledged by Nelson Mandela himself, as expressed in his engagement with Gillian Slovo.

> *... in the quietness of the day's dawning, he told another story. He told us how one day when he had gone to hug his grown-up daughter she had flinched*

away from him, and burst out "You are the father to all our people, but you have never had the time to be a father to me."

He let that last sentence hover before speaking again. This, he said, was his greatest, perhaps his only regret: that his children, and the children of his comrades, had been the ones to pay the price of their parents' commitment. There it was – the one against the other: their work, our needs, their commitment, our lives, there was no squaring the circle. They knew it somewhere, all their generation: as the state poured out its wrath, they had watched their children suffer. And yet, and yet- what else could they have done?

(Slovo, 1997, p. 214)

The descendant memoirs offer a painful realisation regarding the extent to which personal encounters and public legacies collide in working towards remembrance. These memoirs offer intimate insights into processes of memory and narrative reclamation, though they also illuminate the conditions under which 'unsilencing' becomes possible. Notably, the authors included in this review are descendants of prominent anti-apartheid activists. It may therefore be posited that, although such works provide a crucial foundation for intergenerational inquiry, there remains a relative paucity of literature exploring the intergenerational experiences of descendants of less publicly recognised activists. Msimang (2018b), a descendant of exile, remains authentically transparent about the extent to which prominence and class may serve to differentiate experiences in South Africa. In seeking a grassroots lens, *Knocking on… Mothers and daughters in struggle in South Africa* (See Gunn & Krwala, 2008) provides a valuable entry point into descendant narratives of women's political resistance. The section that follows explores these contributions with a focused engagement with mostly obscured voices.

5.5.2 Knocking On… Mothers and Daughters in Struggle in South Africa

Knocking on… Mothers and daughters in struggle in South Africa represents a life story initiative conceptualised by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation[8] (CSVR) and the Human Rights Media Centre[9] (HRMC). Edited by Shirley Gunn[10] and Sinazo Krwala[11], the book features the life stories shared by six mother-daughter dyads. The writing captures how activism in the anti-apartheid struggle impacted their sense of self, family relationships and life trajectories. The title *Knocking on* evokes not only the literal act of seeking entry or attention, which is symbolic for the call to remembrance, but also provides a linguistic gesture toward the notion of "*knock-on effects*", thereby foregrounding the significance of intergenerational transmissions. This dual resonance underscores the extent to which the mothers and daughters remain subject to particular systemic and structural transmissions, which require *knocking against* as continued forms of resistance against apartheid's enduring legacies.

The collection provides a nuanced understanding of the relational implications of women's involvement in South Africa's liberation and the extent to which women's experiences were intertwined with the limitations placed on their gendered valuation. This includes the gender-imposed familial and societal expectations. At times, fissures appear across the varied stories, demonstrating the extent to which the race-based practices of apartheid foregrounded their lived experiences, whilst other life stories were marked by racialised gender, and the evident implications of black women's violation when rendered as a nothingness. Though several themes emerged, the continued manifestation of systemic and structural violence, in terms of

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[8] The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation is an independent, non-profit organisation. As a multidisciplinary institute, it undertakes research, community-based interventions, policy development, service provision, and capacity-building initiatives. The CSVR is committed to understanding the roots and consequences of violence, facilitating healing and reconciliation, and promoting sustainable peace in South Africa, across the African continent, and globally.

[9] The Human Rights Media Centre is a non-profit organisation. The centre's mission is to document and disseminate South Africa's narrative history for human rights awareness, education, and activism.

[10] Shirley Gunn is a former anti-apartheid activist and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) member. She is currently the director of the Human Rights Media Centre, striving toward awareness, activism and reparations in South Africa.

[11] Sinazo Krwala is a research consultant and fellow editor of *Knocking On… Mothers and Daughters in Struggle in South Africa.*

economic exclusion, along with gender-based violence, remains at the forefront. This includes the expectation to maintain silence regarding these violences. The extract that follows not only shares the experience of being forgotten but also emphasises the multivarious losses experienced by the descendants.

> *Things aren't right yet. For all that happened in the past and the way my mom gave herself to the struggle she should be somewhere now, maybe in Parliament. The others she worked with back then are sitting there in the Parliament. They are eating gravy now but she is at home without work, without a proper house, without a salary to feed her children or send them to school, those children she left back then.*
>
> *(Kama, 2008, p. 126)*

The descendant narrative not only expresses the experience of being left by her mother for the liberation struggle, but also the extent to which this experience of perceived abandonment is aggravated by the continued experience of economic deprivation in the post-apartheid milieu. It may be argued that the extract conveys a sense that the women activists have been rendered invisible, raising the troubling implication that their and their children's sacrifices were for nothing. Though this thesis has employed the concept of nothingness in relation to women's exposure to sexual violence, the collection of narratives demonstrates the extent to which this concept applies to women's labour in the quest toward liberation as well. The experience of financial instability is supported by the overall collection of narratives, as well as an associated study by the CSVR "*One line, two line... Fathers and sons in struggle in South Africa*", which strived towards the memorialisation with father-son dyads (Adonis, 2014).

The overall collection conveys varied iterations of gender-based violence. The extract that follows, however, conveys the extent to which women activists, along with the descendants, were subjected to such violence at the hands of male activists.

> *He was beaten and tortured in prison, then he would come home and we would be beaten and tortured by him. […] That was crazy. Political freedom fighters were fighting oppression but when they came into their homes, they beat their wives.*
>
> *(Issel-Davids, 2008, p. 51)*

The extract provides an alternate understanding of gender-based violence as a manifestation of colonial and apartheid violence and black men's shame. Possibly representing an expression of

Govender and Cartwright's (2021) theorising related to the influence of colonialist and apartheid practices of power on black men's masculinities and the implications for black women. Nonetheless, these forms of violence are accompanied by expectations of silence (See Issel, 2008). An expectation echoed in Krog's (2001) work regarding the expectation for women to remain silent regarding the violence inflicted by men within the movement. It may thus be argued that women's experiences of violence and trauma are rendered secondary, subordinated to the imperative of concealing black men's shame. It is further posited that the denial of both wounds recurs in the present, presenting its own systemic intergenerational transmission, alongside the broader colonial and patriarchal remnants.

Overall, the intergenerational collective, *Knocking on… Mothers and daughters in struggle in South Africa* provides a valuable entry point into the narratives of women's political resistance. The life story methodology advocates for bearing witness to women activists and their daughters. Thereby foregrounding the intimate and often overlooked dimensions of activism, along with its systemic and relational intergenerational implications. However, while the collection contributes meaningfully to the recovery of these voices, it also underscores the broader silences that persist in the national historical record. These silences, unfortunately, surface in the body of the work as well. Despite its intentions to foreground women's voices, select narratives deviate to centre on the men or male activists in their lives (See Issel, 2008; Issel-Davids, 2008). It is argued that this is not a limitation of the work, but rather a discursive illustration of the extent to which men remain foregrounded in the expression of women's lived experiences. As such, whilst the life story approach at times decentred overt political activism, it is argued to have provided a pragmatic view of the layered complexities of what it meant to be a woman in apartheid South Africa. It simultaneously demonstrates women's susceptibility to being swayed by patriarchal practices that are normalised as culture and custom. Additionally, a core strength of this writing is the work done through naming both the activists and the descendants. Naming serves as a powerful act of unsilencing, though it is difficult to ascertain to what extent the absence of anonymity may have informed the boundaries of the narratives shared. Though perceived non-disclosure is assumed in the reading of select life stories, Mpakanyane (2008, p. 153) is forthcoming about what needs to remain unsaid; "*Those years are full of painful memories, I don't feel comfortable talking about them*." Beyond pain, unsilencing continues to be associated with possible violent retaliation, as evident when Seidman (2008, p. 249) states, "*I won't mention names because they didn't come up before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission*". This boundary is acknowledged in the introduction of

the book when addressing ethical concerns pertaining to *naming and blaming* (Gunn & Krwala, 2008, p. 10). In this regard, *Knocking on…* is an invitation, calling for a deeper engagement with the lives of women whose contributions have been disremembered, distorted and dismissed within dominant historiographies. There remains a critical need for further scholarly and narrative work that engages with the affective traces of women's activist histories, particularly those situated outside dominant discourses. The painful remnants of struggle, including the emotional, relational, and structural remnants, require sustained attention to fully attend to the gendered, racialised and intergenerational legacies of resistance.

5.6 CONCLUSION

This literature facilitated an understanding of women's contributions and their varied positionalities in conditions of conflict, as well as hegemonic discourses concerning gender and race. Demonstrating the dominant discourses prevalent globally that drive the naturalising of women into gendered positions, whilst discrediting their agency, voices and power. Moreover, the literature demonstrates that when women's contributions are acknowledged, these are demarcated to marginal positionalities. This marginalisation is most commonly practised in ascribing varied importance to armed versus non-armed political agents, with women positioned outside of armed conflict subject to neglect despite their substantial contribution. This is of particular relevance in the South African context, where in the absence of a battlefield, woman occupied an active position in the resistance from their homes and broader residential communities. Research specific to the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa similarly applied a closer lens on the experiences of activists more closely associated with the armed struggle. As such, whilst there is an awareness that the struggle movement was silently driven across residential spaces by a collection of mostly unnamed women, there is a dearth of research that has focused on the experiences of these 'ordinary' women. This absence of attendance has informed their transition into post-apartheid South Africa, which includes the experiences of those who have shared in the transition with them. By attending to the experiences of descendants, the chapter closes by highlighting the extent to which systemic, structural and relational intergenerational transmissions may be vulnerable to being overlooked. Beyond intergenerational transmission, the closing further underscores the extent to which descendants are not merely the bearers of their forebearer's memories and trauma, but carry the direct memories and traumata of their own exposure to apartheid state violence and persecutory retaliation as well.

CHAPTER SIX: INTEGRATED CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: A HUMANE REFORMATION PROJECT

6.1 INTRODUCTION

"Reality is always more complex than any theory can completely capture"

(Ravitch & Carl, 2019, p. xii)

An integrated conceptual framework underscores the overall research praxis. Thus, informing the applied literature, theorisation, and methodology, which includes researcher reflexivity, and consequently, analysis and reporting (Ravitch & Riggan, 2016). This chapter specifically provides an outline of the theoretical tenets that guided the conceptual construction of the research. This includes a motivation to support the application of an integrated conceptual framework in response to the overall research endeavour. The integrated conceptual framework comprises an overarching theoretical frame that integrates seminal and contemporary theoretical principles. This integration seeks to inform an intersectional lens that lends cognisance to an *African and Decolonial-centred* practice. The application of an integrated and intersectional frame intends to preclude the risk of distorting, neglecting or inadvertently silencing elements of the research initiative (Ravitch & Carl, 2019), whilst attending to a critical, humanist and social justice-orientated understanding, analysis, and response to the research aims.

6.2 AFRICAN AND DECOLONIAL CENTRED THEORISING THROUGH AN INTERSECTIONAL LENS

Speaking rationally about Africa is not something that has ever come naturally

(Mbembe, 2001, p. 1)

History, knowledge, discourse and ultimately theory are crafted in parallel with a process of either recognition or neglect (Trouillot, 1995, 2015), thus demarcating archives to be subject to either remembering or disremembering. An overview of liberation histories illuminates the persistent vulnerability of select sociopolitical or psycho-political concerns to be subject to abandonment in favour of prioritised struggles. This includes but is not limited to the othering of gender rivalled with race (Crenshaw, 2013a), or sexuality mediated against gender (Tamale, 2020b), concurrent with the wide-ranging disregard of class (Crenshaw, 2017; Tamale, 2020b) and disability struggles (Sheldon, 1999, 2014; Tamale, 2020b). Consequently, the collective

remains neglected across these struggles, thus always at risk of abandoning an *'other'*. Similarly, whilst occupying a paradoxical position (Shipley et al., 2010), Africa remains occupied across various challenges related to its histories, representation and discourses.

In parallel with Africa's geopolitical encounter, the assumed validity of knowledge and theory has been weighed per the geographical location in which it has been conceptualised and crafted. Consequently, Eurocentric and Western epistemologies are mostly uncontested as expert knowledges relevant to universal application (Adams et al., 2017; de Sousa Santos & Meneses, 2019), whilst the Global South is rarely acknowledged as a context for valid knowledge construction (de Sousa Santos & Meneses, 2019). A similar Eurocentric and Western-informed assessment have therefore been applied in the theoretical construction and representation of Africa, and African experiences (Canham et al., 2021; Keita, 2014; McDonnel, 2014), attributed to the relegation of African scholars in knowledge production (Lynch et al., 2020). In the guise of proclaiming the necessity of colonial violence, oppression, and exploitation, Eurocentric discourse on Africa as an inferior and uncivilised 'other' has been normalised and archived as global truth. Africa is subsequently viewed from a distorted lens, in which its culture mirrors savagery, and its beliefs are reduced to superstition (Biko, 1978). As such, neoliberal discourse continues to frame Africa with an absence of history, thus constructing a discourse of a troubled Africa, where colonialism, imperialism and slavery hold no blame (Tamale, 2020b). The absence of fault voids the occurrence of such injury, including the necessity to attend to such injury – through either memory, voice or reparation.

In the foreword of the 2008 edition of *Black Skin, White Masks*, Sardar reminds the reader that the white lie is excusable, attributed to its uncontested claim to justice and truth. This untruth endorses the global amnesia that guards against Africa's trauma memory or discourse, which includes the violence inflicted through colonial and imperialist violence by Europe onto Africa. This amnesia sustains European virtue, in the global wake of Africa's continued *uncivility*. Speaking of Africa is thus always blemished by the weighted duty of active resistance to what Africa *is not*. In applying the necessary defensive lens, little time is afforded to acknowledge Africa's wounds, trauma, or need for collective mourning and restoration. For those of Africa, the human experience is instead subjected to perception through a similar Eurocentric lens and thus always vulnerable to a negative interpretation (Mbembe, 2001b).

Beyond the risk of perpetuating the negative representation of Africa and those descendant of Africa, is the obstruction that dominant colonially informed Eurocentric and Western

theoretical constructions present to African emancipation from colonialist legacies (Cooper & Morrell, 2014). Defiant of these discourses, revolutionary intellectuals such as Fanon (1963, 1967, 1989), emphasised that freedom from colonial domination requires an interrogation and confrontation of the knowledge formations that provide the foundation for postcolonial societies (Adams et al., 2017). Despite the latter, the supersession of colonially informed knowledges maintains a practice in which scholarly contributions emanating from Africa remain subject to marginalisation within international knowledge canons (Crawford & Mai-Bornu, 2023). This demonstrates support for Canham's (2023) assertion that Manganyi (1973, p. 3) assurance that "*the most important contribution on the black experience will come from Africa*" has yet to be realised. Further decolonial intentions are thus required to enable conscientisation as a catalyst for liberation and revolutionary change (Adams et al., 2017). Contesting alternative realities as opposed to the universal representation of the Euro-Western world, Manganyi (1973) implores the need for reflection on *being black in the world*. In present-day Africa, this inquiry may be extended to contemplating the intersectional experience of being both black and African in the world. This inquest in no way serves to diminish African experiences to universally accepted generalisations, nor does it intend to detract from the black diaspora beyond Africa's borders. On the contrary, in borrowing from Mbembe's (2001) concept of 'entanglement' and working with Cooper and Morrell's (2014) recognition of Africa's multiplicity and dynamism, it is instead suggested that an African-centred approach and inquiry underscores an '*entangled multiplicity*'. Recognising this *entangled multiplicity* across the vastness of the continent is to embrace and seize its ruptures and returns, remnant from the human-made devastations of *slavery, colonial conquest, occupation, war, dictatorship, apartheid, and genocide* (Sanyal, 2019, p. 347). This conceptualisation meets Canham's (2023, p. 17) supposition of *cylindrical epiphenomenal temporality* that suggests a time that is always occurring in the present. Whilst Canham's (2023) construction emphasises a timescape that defies colonial time and its prescribed mythologies, both conceptualisations engage with the interplay of present, past and future (See Mbembe, 2001; Canham, 2023). Similarly, an emphasis on multiplicity contests the notion of universal truths and knowledges and instead encourages the diversity of the African content, the plurality and convergence of knowledges as well as the construction thereof (Cooper & Morrell, 2014). This acts in defiance of the Western gaze that has for centuries nullified the diversity of Africa (Tamale, 2020b) facilitated through the expunction of its histories and memories. These constructions facilitate a framework that engages the meaning-making of the interlocking threads when centering African and Decolonial theorising.

In response to this framing, applying an Afrocentric and Decolonial foundation is deemed non-negotiable within a research endeavour that aims to explore the intergenerational and collective traumatic implications of colonialist and apartheid oppression and violences. It brings to the fore both the intimate, systemic and structural violences and how these culminate with the fluidity and multiplicity of time, explicating why recovering silenced narratives is relevant to South Africa's present. Moreover, a decolonial presentation is premised on recognising that colonialist and political control branches across lines of power, including power within the production of discourse and knowledge (Tamale, 2020b). African and Decolonial-centred theorising thus argues for centring African and Decolonial tenets in service of understanding experiences in and of Africa. The intent towards an Afrocentric and Decolonial foundation serves to acknowledge the inadvertent ways in which colonialist Eurocentric and Western constructs may surface within the body of work. An imminent vulnerability, given the legacy of applying these knowledges as normative constructs. The emphasis on Eurocentric and Western knowledges is, however, not intended to read as a monolithic argument, which suggests that all forms of knowledges emanating from the North are colonialist (Tamale, 2020b). On the contrary, both the Global North and the Global South have surpassed geographical representation. In the present-day the Global North instead represents markers of capitalist, colonialist and neo-colonialist processes (Tamale, 2020b), whilst the Global South is framed as a response to ideological, intellectual, and decolonial political projects (Artner & Yin, 2023). An Afrocentric and Decolonial lens, therefore, aims to acknowledge the initial geopolitics of knowledge and discourse production, whilst also demonstrating its intent to disrupt imposed norms (Malherbe et al., 2021).

The urgency for decolonial disruption holds particular relevance within the scholarship of psychology, and its focus on trauma. Psychology maintains and manifests various Eurocentric frames, not only within the canons of knowledge production and dissemination (Adams et al., 2017), but also in response to framing an understanding and response to trauma. Invoking Fanon (1963, 1967, 1989) facilitates an understanding of trauma as a consequence of colonial violence, whilst simultaneously recognising psychology's political exploitation in emphasising individual pathology. Even greater emphasis is placed on the enduring imprint of trauma post-colonial rule and the continued complicity of the psychiatry and psychology disciplines (Gibson & Beneduce, 2017). Whilst psychology and psychoanalysis have been confronted as paradigmatic exemplars of Eurocentric social science, Fanon demonstrated how psychoanalytic framings could facilitate an analysis of the colonial gaze. Within this practice,

Gibson and Beneduce (2017) surmise that Fanon outlined a potential psychiatry demonstrative of both clinical and political intent, applying the learnings of ethnology, an uncovering of history, philosophical analysis, and psychoanalysis. The neglect of this potential has been elaborated on at a later stage of this chapter.

> *Fanon's idea of history as the valorization of collective complexes; that is, to the idea of history as embedded in and expressive of collective psychic life. In other words, normality is acting within history and alienation is the suspension of the existential link to time; thus, madness means removing oneself from history and renouncing action within it.*
>
> *(Gibson & Beneduce, 2017, p. 42)*

Fanon's (1967) emphasis on history in *Toward the African Revolution*, and the necessity to understand and provide an analysis of human experience in relation to context and time aligns with the tenets of unsilencing. Fanon (1967, p. 41) is explicit in making an irrefutable link between history and truth, stating, *"This is a psychological datum that is part of the texture of History and of Truth"*. In so doing Fanon centers the psychological consequence for the oppressed in the moment of reconciling with that which had been made inferior by colonial oppression. By recognising trauma as a manifestation of colonialist and apartheid violences, specific attendance is required of psychology concerning the historical study of trauma and its blindness to colonialist violence. This has in part been attended to in Chapter Five. Psychology continues to seek pathology within the individual, emphasising that health can be attained through individualist habits of mind (Adams et al., 2017). This endorsement of universal standards demands a disremembering of the violence produced by colonial individualist ways of being, and more fundamentally conceals the extent to which this colonial discourse reproduces the colonial present of violent dispossession (Adams et al., 2017; Crawford & Mai-Bornu, 2023). This echoes psychology's own experience of amnesia, disremembering and silencing. An African and Decolonial theorising through an integrated and intersectional lens therefore serves to acknowledge that whilst the study attends to the practice of silencing and disremembering within the contours of the research aims, it is doing so within a discipline and global discourse that itself embodies continuous manifestations of silencing and disremembering. Intersectional theorising therefore attends to a broader call for cognisance and accountability, so that this research endeavour does not inadvertently contribute to the practice of amnesia or silencing. Whilst an African and Decolonial praxis informs the overall theorising

and theoretical application, gender and race-specific frameworks are required in centring and re-centring the voices of black women. It is proposed that Intersectionality lends itself as an appropriate instrument within this African and Decolonial frame as a hegemonic construct and junction (May, 2015). Thus, mediating the expression of seminal and contemporary contributions associated with gendered race and racialised gender. Amenable to different discursive protocols, intersectionality allows for adaptation across continents, and alternative conceptualisations of race, gender, and other social categories (Cho et al., 2013). As a point of convergence, the construct consequently invites coinciding and conflicting dynamics of identity politics (Lykke, 2010), as relevant to this research initiative. Intersectionality is therefore introduced to bear cognisance of knowledge production and how these inform context, historicisation and memorialisation (Cho et al., 2013). Accordingly, seminal texts include the theoretical contributions of Afro-Feminism (Tamale, 2006, 2020b) in conjunction with Fanon's (1963, 1967, 1989) post-colonial and psycho-political contributions. These theoretical underpinnings serve to elucidate the intersections of gender and race, whilst recognising the implications of patriarchal colonialism as violence, and the implications on individual as well as collective trauma within a post-colonial African landscape. Afro-Feminist and Fanonian analyses share a commonality in the allegiance of what it means to be human and the meaning of humanity (See Fanon, 1963, 1967, 1989; Tamale, 2020b). In drawing on the contributions of both Afro-Feminist and Fanonian theorising, the research intent is to leverage the pivotal contributions that the respective theoretical frames promote in making meaning of an intersectional experience, informed by societal racial, gendered and patriarchal biases, relevant to the African landscape subject to neoliberal contention.

> *In the end, anti-black, anti-female, and all forms of discrimination are equivalent to the same thing—anti-humanism.*
>
> *(Chisholm, 2010, p. 178)*

Whilst an integrated conceptual lens, encompassing Afro-Feminist principles ensures that the multiple and simultaneous oppression of women is acknowledged, it also aims to facilitate the quest for the humanity lost in the guise of Eurocentric constructions of civilisation. A Fanonian analysis serves to facilitate an understanding of the trauma of the colonisation and violence imposed on women activists based on race, and the intergenerational implications on descendants. Whilst these seminal texts provide a pivotal structure for understanding the consequences of colonialist forms of violence and oppression, contemporary African-centred

and Decolonial consciousness underscore how these may translate across the timescapes of South Africa and maintain relevance for descendants from Africa. Especially for those occupying raced and gendered positionalities, and subject to the repetition of its violences and traumatic aftermath.

This chapter therefore seeks the conceptualisation of an integrated and intersectional lens situated in African and Decolonial praxis, whilst mediating the shifts, movements and overlaps of violences and the traumatic elements endured in response to both racialised gender and gendered racial subjugations within the colonial and post-colonial context of South Africa. It further seeks a conceptualisation that can facilitate an alternate reading of history (Canham, 2023) to what dominant colonially informed Euro-Western theoretical lenses may offer. Attending to centre 'human', with the intent to understand the experiences of being 'black', being 'woman', and being 'descendant' from Africa, whilst insisting on the attentiveness of all probable intersectional positionalities.

6.3 INTERSECTIONALITY: A DECOLONIAL AND AFRO-FEMINIST RESPONSE TO NEGLECTING THE COLLECTIVE

> *The histories of colonization, enslavement, and genocide mean that there are spaces where race has determined the course of life, and many of us consequently live deeply racialised lives. Scholars of intersectionality have however cautioned that race never operates alone and to invisibilize other identity categories is to misrecognise the constitutive nature of being and the complexity with which we live.*
>
> *(Canham, 2023, pp. 27-28)*

Research is often framed in response to attending to a single-axis phenomenon. Reality, however, presents much more nuance and complexity as presented by the human lived experience. In response to this complexity, Lorde (1984, p. 183) accentuates that "*there is no such thing as a single-issue struggle because we do not lead single-issue lives*". Given its positivistic aspirations, research epistemology and ontology have often struggled to engage with the complexity of this multiplicity (Rice et al., 2019). Intersectionality provides an opportunity to respond to this intricacy, whilst not entirely deviating from this ontological struggle. Intersectionality instead facilitates discourse that acknowledges the more nuanced reality of lived experiences, in that humans occupy a multitude of positionalities in ways that

defy rigid definitions or computational replicability. At the core of the conceptual and theoretical construction, it instead draws attention to how these positionalities are linked with systems of power and oppression (Collins & Bilge, 2020). Intersectionality's assertion to centre and expose dynamics of difference and sameness has therefore underscored an examination of constructs regarding axes of power (Cho et al., 2013). This includes but is not limited to social constructions related to gender, sexuality, and socioeconomic status, as well as constructions of contextual geography, and how these link with ethnicity and race (Phoenix, 2006). Analyses of these axes cannot take place in the absence of lending cognisance to structures such as colonialism, neocolonialism, geopolitics and the continued reconstruction and malleability of these constructions in the practice of power and oppression (Rice et al., 2019). Intersectionality instead argues that the effects of interacting social structures cannot merely be reduced to a function of the independent attributes of these social categories. Intersectional theory is therefore not merely centred on the intersection of these social constructions and positionalities, but more critically on the power associated with the relevant constructions, and thus the intersection of power relations (Collins & Bilge, 2020). Accordingly, whilst the concept of intersectionality was born from a context of understanding the multifarious experiences of being both *black* and *woman*, it is suggested that the intersectional theoretical lens can be applied in the analysis of being both *intersectionally marginalised* or *intersectionally privileged* (Weldon, 2008). The concept of intersectionality therefore differentiates itself from dual systems theory, or constructs referencing double or triple oppression (Weldon, 2008). Instead, intersectionality shifts beyond mapping identity only and instead frames this mapping within shifting social contexts and structures which also comprise intersecting delineations of power (Windsong, 2018). Almeida Junco and Guillard Limonta (2020) suggest that intersectionality has thus transcended its origins rooted in Black Feminist Thought, now featuring as both an analytic framework to address contemporary social inequalities, as well as a theoretical means that privileges the analysis of subjectivity in both the individual and social system. Notions of transcendence should be navigated with caution, given the probable risks associated with traversing too far from intersectionality's foundational history. This form of silencing and historical erasure renders the heuristic construct vulnerable to erosion from political intent (May, 2015). An attendance to the seminal contributions of Ida B. Wells (1892, 2014), Frances Beal (1969, 2008) Audrey Lorde (1977, 1984), Deborah King (1988), Barbara Christian (1988, 1996, 2000) and Patricia Collins (1990, 2004, 2015, 2020) highlights continued cognisance of simultaneous oppression across various positionalities. As such, whilst the term intersectionality has recently gained prominence since its application as a

metaphor, and later as a working term, by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1995, 2013b, 2017), a review of seminal theorising demonstrates the historical recognition of the multiple and simultaneous oppression of women as antecedents (See Beal, 1969; Collins, 1990; hooks, 1986; King, 1988). Conceptualised during a time less welcoming of Black Feminist Thought, constructs such as 'double jeopardy' (Beal, 1969, 2008) and 'multiple jeopardy' (King, 1988) failed to attain the recognition allocated to intersectionality. As highlighted earlier, the aforementioned authors are amongst many who have historically analysed lines of power and politics, whilst interrogating authoritative discourse, the valuation of racialised gender or gendered racialisation, class, sexuality and heteronormativity. The historical neglect of intersectional theorising illustrates the repeated refusal to take up the theoretical postulations presented by women of colour and to acknowledge the reality of matrix domination (May, 2015). Thus, as Collins (2015) attests, intersectionality is subject to the same power relations that it serves to examine. May (2015) highlights how these forms of erasure take place within discourse, thus indirectly and directly impacting what is accepted as dominant discourses. It is therefore argued that intersectionality should be reviewed within this historical landscape, rather than appraised as entirely novel. Understanding and applying intersectional theorising in accordance with this historical backdrop may also reduce the propensity to misuse intersectionality, in service of neoliberal agendas. This form of misaligned practice has ensured the attraction of considerable critique of Intersectional theory. Careful interrogation demonstrates that much of the critique is framed in response to intersectionality does not relate to its theoretical integrity, but is instead founded on its misapplication and its erosion from political intent (May, 2015). It is therefore suggested that despite the perceived acceptance of intersectionality as a prominent theoretical construct, it continues to be subject to various forms of erasure. A further concern therefore includes intersectionality as subject to the same colonial and neoliberal forces it serves to contest. This includes recent concerns of intersectionality's risk of *whitewashing* within European academic circles (Bilge, 2014). Bilge (2014) highlights the tendency to conceptualise intersectionality as a feminist project, thus divorcing it from its historical roots in Black Feminist Thought. As such, despite its acclaimed theoretical integrity rooted in a century of construction, intersectionality is instead vulnerable to being reduced to mediocrity, framed as '*buzzwords and fuzzwords*' (Mason, 2019). To make sense of these amendments, Collins (2015) applied Traveling theory to suggest intersectionality is influenced by the contexts through which it travels. This includes intersectionality's application from social movements into the academy that has enabled some dimensions of intersectionality to attain prominence, whilst others have been subject to expurgation. This erasure contributes to an increased risk of

the framework being misconstrued, thus rendering its tenets vulnerable to misapplication (May, 2015). Inclusive of this misapplication is the tendency to apply principles of addition or summation to identities, rather than recognise manifestations of power across social categories (Anthias, 2013; Windsong, 2018). As such, despite its multi-axial intent, intersectionality is often at risk of being applied in a manner in which either gender or race is prioritised, thus undermining its overall intent (May, 2015). This is in contradiction with Crenshaw's (1989; 2013b) central argument that stipulates that any analysis premised on a single-axis framework would render black women vulnerable to neglect and ultimately exclusion. The wish to prioritise a single position has however given rise to further critique, given the complexity of analytically attending to the plurality of positions that intersectionality appeals to (Meer & Müller, 2017). It is argued that this complexity would benefit from a more positive articulation since this flexibility aligns with postcolonial theorising. As such, whilst recognising the various critiques related to intersectionality, this research endeavour aims to recognise intersectionality as an analytic strategy, in service of identifying power and critiquing subordination (Collins, 2015). The uncovering of the histories of intersectional theorising facilitates an understanding of intersectionality as an epistemological project that has the potential to contest dominant discourse and knowledges (May, 2015). This enquiry aligns with the construction of cylindrical epiphenomenal temporality (Canham, 2021) as it examines historical silences and how its attendance contours political and social structures in both the present and future (May, 2015). Intersectionality thus comprises an ontological approach and radical political orientation appropriate *"for intervening in conventional historical memory"* and resisting collective memorialisation influenced by dominant political discourse (May, 2015, p. 12). This includes its theoretical value of bearing witness to experiential and structural complexity (Carastathis, 2014). Borrowing from Canham's (2021, p. 12) concept of resistance, the theoretical tenets of intersectionality align with the research intention to work "*against the production of forgetful subjects*" and instead insist on inserting the disremembered into history and memory.

> *As a critical heuristic, intersectionality offers many valuable tools and skills in this regard. For instance, in the interests of "deciphering" power, it directs our attention to gaps, inconsistencies, opacities, and discontinuities and insists that such omissions or silences be treated as (potentially) meaningful and significant, not just as obstacles to work around or anomalies to set aside.*
>
> *(May, 2015, p. 227)*

In uncovering these power structures, intersectionality thus simultaneously seeks to investigate and comprehend silences for censored meanings and implications (May, 2015). These inclusive and intersectional canons of intersectionality allow an engagement of viewpoints encompassing Sylvia Tamale's Afro-feminist contributions, as well as Fanon's positionalities within an African, post-colonial context. This may in turn facilitate a nuanced understanding of the manner in which discourse promotes the production and reproduction of patriarchal-structured race and gender-based violences (Fanon, 1967; Han & Meng, 2019) whilst promoting silence in response to its traumatic evinces. Whilst these frameworks serve to inform intersecting dynamics represented by the multi-axial frame of intersectionality, it is important to note that these frames serve to provide a contextually relevant lens of understanding, and in no way promote any hierarchy of oppression (Lorde, 1984). An integration of the separate frames instead intends to optimise its potential, whilst remediating for ways it may unintentionally contribute to othering and even subjugation. As such, an integrated intersectional approach may aid African scholarship from its bias toward race-based oppressive structures, whilst remaining either neutral or in support of gendered subjugation (Tamale, 2020b). Similarly, an intersectional approach introduces a possible course of remedy to address gendered identities which may have been subject to othering across more traditional feminist waves (Meer & Müller, 2017). In this way intersectionality represents both a theory and practice that aligns with a postcolonial exploration of the construction of power concerning context, identity and positionality (Meer & Müller, 2017).

In terms of empirical application, intersectionality has observed extensive uptake globally (Bauer et al., 2021; Bowleg, 2008). This includes its use as a primary theoretical and methodological tool across qualitative studies exploring intersecting identities, whilst navigating power and marginalisation (Bauer, 2014; Bauer et al., 2021; Bowleg, 2008; Cho et al., 2013). More recently, intersectionality has also observed increased application in quantitative research (Bauer et al., 2021), along with the emergence of mixed-methodological approaches (Grace, 2014). Similar expansive application has been evident across the sub-Saharan continent, seemingly driven by the uptake of the intersectionality across studies from South Africa (Lynch et al., 2020).

The sustained interest in intersectionality is attributed to its social justice priorities, in response to the focus on gender and other social inequalities in knowledge production (Lynch et al., 2022). Intersectionality is thus frequently applied to inquiries in service of dismantling the unitary construction of women to include various co-constructed identities, such as race and

class (Meer & Müller, 2017). This highlights intersectionality's potential to advance gender transformation in knowledge production (Lynch et al., 2020). A further strength is the manner in which intersectionality aligns with postcolonial frameworks and post-structural theorising that engages with power (Lynch et al., 2022; Meer & Müller, 2017).

Despite the extensive use of intersectionality – globally and locally, continued cognisance is given to the challenge of developing methods of empirical research that ensure appropriate alignment with its theoretical construction (Carstensen-Egwuom, 2014; Windsong, 2018). As such, when limitations are identified, these are frequently framed in relation to the overall research study and its design, rather than the limitations of the theoretical framework (Windsong, 2018). A further concern framed within the Global North includes the perceived resistance of psychology to recognise intersectionality's theoretical and methodological value (Warner et al., 2016), with some labelling psychology's propensity towards epistemic exclusion (Settles et al., 2020; Warner et al., 2016). Although similar concerns have not been raised within the African context, it is possible that the resistance may be concealed in alternative discourses. It is therefore argued that whilst psychology's resistance in Africa or South Africa may not be evident, it is likely to mirror psychology's silence in response to most human rights violations (Long, 2013; Pillay, 2016). In reviewing the research themes highlighted by Lynch et al. (2020), the themes highlight a focus on gender, race and sexuality, with no listing of psychology or mental health. The available literature instead suggests that scholars across the disciplines of Disability (Moodley & Graham, 2015) and Gender Studies (Gouws, 2017; Moolman, 2013) are most invested in highlighting social justice priorities in response to psychosocial concerns.

Despite increased application across scholarship, a review of available research demonstrates the tendency of African scholarship to employ intersectionality in a manner that represents race, class and gender construction in a manner that mirrors dominant international scholarship (Lynch et al., 2020). It is surmised that this critique suggests the adoption of Eurocentric and Western conceptualisations, which may not be too unexpected given the way in which coloniality has influenced our being and knowledge construction in the world. This critique nonetheless demonstrates the risks of application, rather than theoretical viability, given that intersectionality applies a social constructionist perspective that understands race and gender as social constructions that may vary across social contexts (Windsong, 2018). It is hoped that this research initiative can address this concern, given its rootedness in an African and Decolonial-centred framing. Despite this intent, it remains important to reflect on the

contradiction and tensions within race, class and gender construction in Africa, and South Africa, given its colonial inheritance of normative concepts (Tamale, 2020a, 2020b).

6.4 TAMALE'S AFRO-FEMINIST THOUGHT IN RESTORING GENDER IN THE DECOLONIAL PROJECT

Sylvia Tamale is an academic, lawyer, sociologist and feminist activist, hailing from Uganda. Whilst she is premised as an African writer who has theorised the black condition (Canham, 2023), it may be further suggested that she is a human rights visionary who has demonstrated the potential of merging academic rigour in the quest of realising political and polity change. The intricacies of her work reveal an intersectional acknowledgement of contributions across time and place that facilitates a decolonial project that promotes inclusion across a spectrum of marginalised conditions. As such, her positionalities as an Afro-Feminist, human rights activist, lawyer, and multidisciplinary scholar are anchored in the service of human rights. These include but are not limited to the rights of humans 'othered', oppressed or violated in response to their deviance from socially accepted gendered and sexual constructions (Tamale, 2006, 2013). These forms of active resistance and unsilencing have earned Tamale considerable disdain within the broader Ugandan political landscape and national discourse (Salo, 2013; Sherman, 2020). Despite censorious attempts, Tamale appears to have remained unyielding in her radical response to political struggles and resistance to patriarchal forces (Salo, 2013). It is therefore suggested that Sylvia Tamale's (2006, 2013, 2020a, 2020b) theoretical postulations provide a defiant contemporary lens, whilst simultaneously demonstrating a critical engagement with the temporal constructions of colonialism, patriarchy and power within and beyond the African context. As such, Tamale's conceptualisation and contribution to an Afro-Feminist lens is described as *"very much in line with Fanon's discussions of the colonization of the mind in The Wretched of the Earth"* (Kane & Archibald, 2023*,* p. 168). Whilst this comparison may be helpful in identifying shared foundational principles, it requires a cautious discernment to acknowledge the neoteric tenets Afro-Feminism presents relevant to our time and context.

In addition to the contemporary and critical lens provided by Tamale (2020b), Afro-Feminist thought is an appreciation of the way Tamale's theorising facilitates a process that underscores the contributions of seminal writings, whilst forging a contemporaneous path towards authentic inclusion. Similar to Crenshaw's (2013b, 2017) practice, Tamale (2020b) also cautions against a reading of Afro-Feminism as new news and instead highlights the urgency of recognising the conceptual theorising presented by African feminists over the past five decades. This reading

therefore frames that the opportunities to reconceptualising citizenship, as well as inclusive and transformative politics in response to the geopolitical position of Africa, have been available, but dismissed. Adding to these decolonial possibilities, Tamale's Afro-Feminist construction de-centres the Western tradition from African feminisms, offering a recentering of women's activism in Africa that predates colonialism (Coetzee, 2021b). As such, when Tamale advocates for an excising of 'feminisms' located within a Western paradigm, this includes the recognition of indigenous variants, rooted in African histories. These include, but are not limited to womanism, stiwanism, motherism, femalism and nego-feminism. Regardless of this emphasis on the need for an excising of 'feminisms' located within a Western paradigm, Afro-Feminism is not defensive of its susceptibility to Western influence, because of coloniality on knowledge systems. Though Western conceptualisations of feminism have attained extensive focus across literary and scholarly domains (Mekgwe, 2008), thereby attaining recognition as dominant discourse and knowledges, the theoretical contributions have attracted substantial critique for perpetuating 'othering'. In contrast, Afro-Feminism remains intentional in striving toward **re**conceptualising a contextually appropriate attendance to the subjugation of women in a manner that does not oppress the collective. This serves as an intentional deviation from the colonial project that promoted homogeneity, thus suppressing heterogeneity (Tamale, 2020b). Decolonial practice is instead motivated to be mindful of recognising the diversity of colonial oppressive systems and how these intersect across multivarious social positionalities. This stance challenges Western feminism's preoccupation with centering an alternative form of homogeneity, whilst highlighting Afro-Feminism's intent to deconstruct race and patriarchal ideologies that diminish humanity (Norwood, 2013). This infraction on humanity illuminates the repetition of violence maintained when applying a lens that frames gender inequality in a manner that marginalises on the bases of the racialised 'other' (Makama et al., 2019).

Mekgwe (2008) underscores Tamale's (2002, p. 7) emphasis that *'no African woman can shield herself from the broad negative and gendered legacies left behind by forces such as colonialism, imperialism and globalisation'.* Arguing that black women remain subject to the same histories that informed the violences invoked on Sarah Baartman, and her counterparts who remain unnamed within expunged histories. In reading Tamale (2020b), it is argued that our humanity cannot be reclaimed without venturing into our histories to assemble the scattered fragments, including that which has been reformed and repurposed to assimilate into dominant narratives. Explicit attendance is required of narratives silenced in service of discounting any evidence of our humanity. This framing underscores Afro-Feminism's alignment with

transformational feminism that recognises the essentiality of humanity. By centering '*Human*' and *'Humanity'*, Afro-Feminism is to succeed as a humane reformation project, in continued cognisance to resist any potential forms of apartheid (Mekgwe, 2008).

The priorities of Afro-Feminism extend beyond the boundaries of Western constructions of feminism, which centres advocacy for gender equality within economic, social and political systems (Humm, 2021). Whilst this framing admittedly presents a simplistic elucidation given the various waves and iterations of Western Feminist constructions, it has been suggested that pervasive forms of hegemonic feminism remain remnant within its core sociopolitical ideology (Carrasco Miró, 2020). Despite the latter, the intent is not to critique Western feminist constructions, given that select transformative intentions may remain relevant to different contexts. Additionally, expelling all feminist contributions may risk an enactment, very similar to the practice that Afro-Feminism wishes to counter. That is to expel coloniality, evident with the repeated fallacy of assuming universal application. The intent is instead to invoke African voices and meaning-making, rather than to remain subject to the meaning-making by those consciously or unconsciously oblivious to African experiences. It is thus the quest for relevance that necessitates that Afro-Feminism center Africa and its histories, and how these inform the lived realities, histories and struggles of those of Africa. As presented by Tamale (2020b, p. 2) decolonisation requires a return *"to the annals of history to find ourselves, to become fluent in our cultural knowledge systems, to cultivate critical consciousness and to reclaim our humanity."*

Demonstrating an attentive analysis, Tamale's (2006, 2013, 2020) writing veers away from being critical for the sake of criticality, always demonstrating a reflexive pedagogical engagement. Emphasis is instead placed on facilitating a frame that pursues epistemic justice through the framing of historically informed and contextually appropriate knowledges. Tamale (2020b) highlights that whilst the Decolonial project emphasises 'de'-centering colonialism, there is a need for caution given that its delineation remains vulnerable to centering colonialism. Central to Tamale's (2020) argument is the need to shift towards **re**claiming, **re**possessing and **re**constructing African existence beyond the boundaries of coloniality. Beyond the shift to reconstruction, further emphasis has been placed on delineating colonialist forms of Eurocentric knowledges. To oppose and deconstruct the colonial project, the decolonial project consigns to be assiduously attentive to the nuanced intersections of oppressive systems (Tamale, 2020b). This extends beyond gender, sexuality or race, but endeavours to be inclusive of all positionalities that render humans vulnerable to

marginalisation (Tamale, 2020b). An introspective analysis and critique subsequently review the ways in which Afro-Feminisms may have produced silences pertaining to sexualities and gender identities (Tamale, 2020b), though the framework addresses these concerns by borrowing from the contributions of indigenous variants, such as Womanism and its embrace of queerness. Moreover, whilst Womanism engages queerness as an intersection of sexuality, Canham (2023) elucidates the construct of 'queerness' within the Decolonial and African centred project. Canham's (2023) framing includes and moves beyond the boundaries of sexual attractions, highlighting the othering of humans who brave existence beyond the constraints of accepted modernity. Tamale (2020b) therefore presents Afro-Feminism as a critical reconceptualised activism in service of formulating a contextually relevant means of intervening in subjugation of women. Moreover, whilst the decolonial project and attendance to African forms of discourse are at the core of an Afro-Feminist examination (Mekgwe, 2008), Tamale extends this theorising by encouraging a decoloniality that facilitates epistemic, political, psychological, legal, and cultural conjectures (Coetzee, 2021a). This includes an interrogation of the decolonial neglect across feminist studies, as well as the neglect of gender and sexuality within resistant decolonial frames (Tamale, 2020b). In response to the probable neglect of these respective movements, Tamale's Afro-Feminist conceptualisation invites intersectionality as an analytical tool and transdisciplinary approach, as an attempt to further cultivate decolonial epistemology (Coetzee, 2021b). This intersectional endeavour simultaneously aims to remediate the exclusion of Afro-Feminism from decolonial efforts, whilst demonstrating ways in which hegemonic feminism can benefit from African ontologies (Wabuke, 2022). This affords an assembly of both activism and scholarship of women who have and continue to combat colonial and political injustices (Knowles, 2021). Additionally, the Afro-Feminist construction illuminates the significance of integrating gender into the decolonisation project, thereby facilitating an elucidation of the coloniality of sex, gender and sexuality (Wabuke, 2022). Tamale's postulations in this way demonstrate the dichotomous discourses and how these sustain colonial hierarchies that cultivates further forms of oppression (Coetzee, 2021b). Designated to remain relevant to African realities, Afro-Feminism is thus intentional in re-constructing theories and discourses (Mekgwe, 2008), whilst contesting normative discourses and knowledges in service of Eurocentric gatekeeping (Knowles, 2021).

6.5 SEEKING A FANONIAN ANALYSIS OF COLONIAL TRAUMA

> *The architecture of this work is rooted in the temporal. Every human problem must be considered from the standpoint of time.*
>
> *(Fanon, 1967, p. 5)*

The contributions of psychiatrist, liberation theorist, and political analyst, Frantz Fanon (1963, 1967, 1989) are considered critical in response to the aims of this research and serve to facilitate an understanding of the intersections of colonial subjugation and the subsequent psychological and systemic manifestations that risks maintaining and perpetuating colonial trauma across generations. Fanon's sociopolitical attendance to trauma as a consequence of colonial violence provides a necessary lens that shifts attendance from the individual to the collective. However, beyond Fanon's understanding of alienation and its manifestation of deep psychological distress, resides his understanding of resistance, revolt and struggle situated in action and thought (Gibson, 2011). Thus, providing necessary theorising, that extends beyond psychotherapeutic or psychiatric diagnosis and treatment, to emphasise the urgency to redress violent structures across generations. The need for restoration remains particularly relevant across contexts in the face of colonial remnants and ongoing coloniality, and its relevance to collective and intergenerational trauma (Masson & Smith, 2019). Fanon's (1967) contributions may however be best understood concerning his personal context, especially given his emphasis that he is *resolutely a man of his time*. Born in the French colony of Martinique, Fanon's earliest histories narrate that of a maternal descendant of mixed French lineage and a paternal descendant of slaves captured from Western Africa (Sardar, 2008). Consequently, despite enjoying a middle-class upbringing, Fanon's earliest beginnings were shaped by his existence in a racially segregated world marked by masked discrimination (Macey, 2012). Initially oblivious to these forces, Fanon engaged within this context that strived towards assimilation, rather than liberation (Pirelli & Love, 2015). Disrupting this assimilation, Fanon's personal conscientisation and unmasking of colonialist French subjugation was facilitated during his station in North Africa (Strickland, 1979). Exposed to his own racial humiliation at the hands of his fellow white soldiers, followed by further rejection on his return to France erupted this intention of French inculcation. Gibson and Beneduce (2017, p. 31) describe this conflicting awakening and how it left Fanon *"questioning everything, even himself"*. Despite this tension, Fanon's pursuit of education eventually led him back to France, where he studied medicine and psychiatry, laying the groundwork for his later intellectual endeavours (Gibson, 2019). It is however important to note that before Fanon embarked on a profession in psychiatry, he was already a fervent political activist in response to his voyages across North Africa and a wounded war veteran, whose expeditions and resolutions had been deeply inspired by the political doctrines of Aime Cesaire (Strickland, 1979). As such, Fanon's movement into medicine and psychiatry was always in the quest of being in service of the greater anti-colonialist revolution. Though this analysis of Fanon's actions may skew towards an altruistic

lens, it cannot foreclose on the possibility that Fanon's activism demonstrates a resolution and working through of the trauma of his own alienation and rejection by the French nation he was willing to sacrifice his life for. It is however surmised that Fanon was aware of his own injured psyche, evidenced by his reflection in *Black Skin, White Masks*.

> *This book should have been written three years ago. . . . But these truths were a fire in me then. Now I can tell them without being burned. These truths do not have to be hurled in men's faces. They are not intended to ignite fervor. I do not trust fervor. Every time it has burst out somewhere, it has brought fire, famine, misery. . . . And contempt for man. Fervor is the weapon of choice of the impotent.*
>
> *(Fanon, 2008, p. 2)*

The extract demonstrates an acknowledgement of the contentious feelings that accompanied the earliest stages of Fanon's conscientisation. His retrospective phrasing however demonstrates a calm and conscious theorising that invites reflexive, non-reactionary thinking. This is not only very different to the violence and vengeance Fanon is more often associated with, but the extract further provides a cautionary note on the possible implications of such dysregulated emotions. This reading may find some support in Wallerstein's (1970) assertion that Fanon was a man of rational action, focussed on analysis, rationalisation and change as opposed to unreflecting anger. This demonstrates, that whilst his scholarly approach included personal memoirs, it cannot be divorced from a reflexive psychological interpretation. The above extract reflects the 1967 translation, whereas the 2008 translation demonstrates the colonial and psychiatric link that will be argued in a later section of this chapter; "*At the time, the truths made our blood boil. Today, the fever has dropped.*" *(Fanon, 2008, 2021, p. ix).* In reading the 'truths' as the colonial violence presented by the colonial world, it is argued that the extract demonstrates Fanon's awareness of how the colonial world was the root of his distress and the absence of his wellbeing. Since 'fever' is a term most often associated with illness, Fanon may be alluding to his own liberation through conscientisation. As such, despite its initial rejection as a scholarly attempt, Fanon (2008) introduces *Black Skin, White Masks* as a clinical study. A less indifferent analysis of his manuscript may allow an acknowledgement of a psychoanalytic lens integrated within a social framework (Gibson & Beneduce, 2017).

In reviewing the life and work of Fanon, there is however a disconsolation in seeking the relevance of a Fanonian analysis in providing a lens of understanding to the disremembering of anti-apartheid women activists. Despite, his commitment to liberation, Fanon has also been subjected to disremembering in service of broader political discourse (Macey, 2012; Strickland,

1979). Though Fanon's contributions have attained prominence across most post-colonial contexts, it is suggested that Fanon has also fallen prey to disremembering in both Martinique and Algeria (Macey, 2012). Respectively, whilst Martinique has engaged in little efforts to facilitate Fanon's memorialisation, Fanon has been subject to disremembering in the historical accounts of the Algerian revolution (Macey, 2012; Strickland, 1979). Similar to South Africa's intent to forget its colonial, slavocratic and apartheid state – France's disremembering of Fanon, also serves to void its colonialist markers (Macey, 2012). This has, in turn, subjected Fanon's memory to marginalisation within French discourse (Guba Jr, 2017). This national amnesia of its colonialist inhumanity is reminiscent of the South African colonial condition. Beyond this, is recognising French memorialisation within the global political discourse that consistently manifests narratives vacant of colonial violence, serving as an amputation from traumatic harm. Remembering Fanon facilitates a conscientisation that hinders this amnestic orientation. There is, however, a vulnerability that even when remembered, Fanon's theorising may be subject to being misconstrued. In situating Fanon within this integrated framework, it is pivotal to emphasise that this orientation distinguishes Fanon as a theorist of humanity and not the theorist of violence that he is more often designated as. It will instead be argued that the insistence of viewing Fanon purely through a lens of violence is a continuation of colonial violence, framing a political discourse in which Fanon's intellectual scholarship is erased, and he is instead memoralised as a 'violent black man'. It is further argued that a discourse that emphasises Fanon as a prophet of violence, obscures Fanon's attempts to orientate the colonialist violence of the European world, including the violences of a colonial psychiatry.

In its place, Fanon's contentious postulations as presented in *Black Skin, White Masks (Peau noire, masques blancs) (1952)* and *The Wretched of the Earth (Les damnés de la terre) (1961)* introduce the potential for a new way of being. Commencing with theorising that facilitates an understanding of how the phenomenology of being in the world is altered through the racialised gaze (Gibson, 2017) and culminating with a call for the discovery of a new humanity for all (Fanon, 1963). Nonetheless, the integration of a Fanonian analysis is mindful of not favouring select Fanonian positionalities and thereby foreclosing other possibilities. Despite this intent, the execution of this task grows extensively, given that Fanon did not limit his contributions to select disciplines or spaces. Gibson and Beneduce (2017) highlight that this is markedly evident in reviewing the corpus of correspondence, Fanon's engagement with hospital newsletters, and the range of being capable of authoring tragic theatrical plays alongside academic publications. As such, whilst emphasising Fanon's liberatory and political endeavours to facilitate black

consciousness, his positionality as a psychiatrist is not discounted. Cognisance is therefore granted to Fanon's psychiatric contributions, thus signalling the intersection of his positionalities as a psychiatrist, social critic, and anti-colonial revolutionary. The latter includes his expansive commitment to the reform of the psychiatric interpretation and conceptualisation of mental health concerns, especially trauma (Gibson & Beneduce, 2017; Gibson, 2017). It is however acknowledged that these contributions have been neglected in dominant psychiatric discourse, thereby disregarding its potential to contribute to a contextually relevant psychic understanding (Gibson & Beneduce, 2017; Gibson, 2017). Though it may be argued that mainstream psychiatry has remained unmotivated in the quest for contextually relevant formulation and treatment, political agents of change have remained encouraged by Fanon's book publications across recent decades. Given the peripheral attention afforded to Fanon's psychiatric contributions, this framework will borrow from Gibson's (2021) attendance to Fanon as a psychiatrist in *Decolonizing Madness: The Psychiatric Writings of Frantz Fanon*, as well as Gibson and Beneduce's (2017) *Frantz Fanon, Psychiatry and Politics*. Thus facilitating a possible unearthing of Fanon's obscured theorising of radical social psychiatry, ethnopsychiatry and sociotherapy (Gibson & Beneduce, 2017). This includes his advocacy for a relational and personal practice that favoured *"the emergence of speech and the retrieval of fragments of histories suffered, silenced, forgotten, and especially censored."* (Cherki, 2017, p. x). Attending to Fanon's psychiatric contributions thereby underscores the significance of self-reflection and a consciousness of the implications of colonial subjugation to facilitate a healing of colonial trauma (Gibson & Beneduce, 2017).

It may be suggested that Fanon applied his own version of intersectional thinking in his conceptualisation of mental health and mental illness and that this in turn informed his understanding of colonial trauma. This included intersecting biological, cultural, and social approaches, whilst simultaneously recognising that power and politics could not be divorced from making meaning of psychic conflict (Gibson & Beneduce, 2017). Fanon's conceptualisation of mental illness was therefore intrinsically linked to colonial violence, thus advocating that only the end of colonial violence could restore mental health (Eromosele, 2020; Gibson & Beneduce, 2017). Providing an understanding of Fanon's conceptualisation of colonial trauma, can therefore not be done in the absence of highlighting his critiques of traditional, Eurocentric-driven psychiatry. In recognising that his writing was never in the absence of a psychiatric or psychological application, it is important to specify that this framework has not concluded Fanon postulations as anti-psychiatric. It is instead suggested

that Fanon's postulations confront traditional psychiatric frameworks by emphasising the sociopolitical dimensions of psychological distress and advocating for a decolonial praxis in attending to mental health - a decolonial psychiatric practice.

In demonstrating the sociopolitical dimensions, Fanon's theorising not only demonstrates the collusion between psychiatry and colonialism but further makes evident how their practices mirror each other when engaging with the 'other'. Eromosele (2020) cites the psychiatric paper by Fanon and Geronimi (2018, p. 497), which references the doctor-patient relationship as *"a minima master/slave, prisoner/gaoler dialectic"*. It is therefore suggested that power dynamic between the physician and patient is equated to the coloniser and the colonised.

Despite the crux of psychiatry in his writings, Fanon's psychological and psychiatric contributions in *"Black Skin, White Masks"* and *"The Wretched of the Earth"* is most often overlooked as philosophical and political rhetoric. This is despite the application of psychiatric case material, and Fanon's psychiatric and psychoanalytic analysis provided. Beyond this neglect, Fanon's psychiatric publications remain mostly unattended. Fanon's theorising concerning the impact of colonial violence on the impact on the black human's psyche is however initiated in *"Black Skin, White Masks".* It is in this primary thesis that Fanon stresses that *the violence of the colonial encounter is absolutely unprecedented, that the colonial moment of epistemic, cultural, psychic and physical violence makes for a unique kind of historical trauma* (Hook, 2005, p. 5). This historical trauma impacting the collective, is postulated to be transmitted intergenerationally (Masson & Smith, 2019).

Fanon (2008, p. 80) presents his clinical material, though always with an attempt to reconcile his *"findings into the context of the world".* The world in which Fanon's analysis takes place is a white world, where white and European culture dictates not only culture but the doctrine of human civilisation. It is, however, this doctrine that imposes an existential deviation on the black man (Fanon, 2008). In turn, this deviation imposes the impossible mission of striving towards attaining a humanity that can never be achieved, foreclosed because the black man will never be white. In *"Black Skin, White Masks",* Fanon (1986) presents a case of dream analysis. A patient conveys his dream, revealing an elaborate mission of climbing over fences and walls, only to arrive at an empty room. In becoming aware of the existence of a second room, there is some hesitation before finally entering and realising that *"In this second room there are white people, I realise that I too am white".* Though demonstrating therapeutic practices aligned with the psychoanalytic tradition, Fanon cautions about the usefulness of Freudian

analysis. Citing Fanon's theorising in *A Dying Colonialism* (1965, p. 19), Hook (2019) argues that Freud's conceptualisation of psychic conflicts and the formation of neurosis is of limited use in the clinical treatment of those colonised, if their lives have been made *"something resembling an incomplete death"*. This theorising is evident in Fanon's clinical practice when he heads the necessity of practising dream analysis within the context and timescape in which the dreamer exists. This facilitates an awareness of ways in which the patient's dream elucidate the colonial violence Fanon speaks of, and the ways in which the colonial violence risks psychic fragmentation and psychic collapse (See Fanon, 2008). Fanon's analysis elucidates how the context of the patient's world not only maintains his condition, but how the context of the world creates it, sustains it, and benefits from it. Fanon concludes that as a psychoanalyst, he must aid his patient through a process of conscientisation *"consciousnessize"*. Fanon's attention to the individual and the collective is evident from the onset. In contradiction to the psychoanalytic tradition, Fanon's attendance does not remain with the individual work of recognising the internal shifts required for the patient but extends to a cognisance of the importance of addressing the social structure. He urges an extension of this supposition, stating that in some circumstances, the *socius* (science of human society) is more important than the individual (See Fanon, 2008). This fuels his focus on 'sociogeny', thus deviating from Freud's ontogenic approach. Fanon explains that whilst Freud insisted that individual traits be accommodated through a psychoanalytic frame, *the black man's alienation is not an individual question* (Fanon, 2008, p. 4). Fanon's diagnostic deviation from the notion of neurosis in favour of epidermalisation as the psychological internalisation of oppressive social and economic realities, thus requires cognisance of the sociopolitical circumstance incorporated in treatment (Hook, 2019). Despite this deviance in both diagnosis and treatment, it is suggested that Fanon theorising is not dismissive of psychoanalysis or the psychiatric tradition (Hook, 2019) but introduces the potential of an interpolated application within a social framework (Gibson & Beneduce, 2017).

> *The effective disalienation of the black man entails an immediate recognition of social and economic realities. If there is an inferiority complex, it is the outcome of a double process: —primarily, economic; —subsequently, the internalization—or, better, the epidermalization— of this inferiority.*
>
> *(Fanon, 1967, p. 4)*

As Fanon's initial thesis, *Black Skin, White Masks* demonstrates an attendance to the psychological violence of alienation through colonisation, and how it threatens being human

in the colonial world. Fanon expands this psychopolitical analysis in *The Wretched of the Earth* within the context of the anticolonial struggle, contending that violence becomes both a symptom of colonial trauma as well as a means of liberation from colonial violence. Whilst the text demonstrates significant continuities, it may be suggested that *The Wretched of the Earth* demonstrates both a continuation and a development of Fanonian thought – specifically the Manichean perspective implicit in *Black Skin, White Masks*. Though Africa is prominent in Fanon's construction of the black experience in *Black Skin, White Masks,* Fanon's central analysis is centered in the Martinican experience. *The Wretched of the Earth* and its emphasis on the North African experience therefore presents a deviation in geographical context, though the psychological world remains subject to the white European world. The emphasis of the book elucidates the colonial world as a Manichean world, a world divided in two. White versus black, virtuous versus villainous, and therefore human vs non-human. Revisiting his text, Fanon (1963) depicts colonial violence as a *genuine genocide* and with it its associations with mental pathology. Attending to the physical expressions of violence through torture, rape and murder, Fanon (*1963, p. 92)* conveys how cheap African life is in the white colonial world; "*When the native is tortured, when his wife is killed or raped, he complains to no one.*" The extract however moves beyond race and African-centricity, but highlights intersections of gender as well. Though Fanon emphasises being theoretically bereft concerning the black woman in *Black Skins, White Masks* (1986), *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963) places considerable emphasis on the black man's experience in response to the black woman's torture. Whilst Fanon's understanding of colonial violence on black life is evident, his understanding of the gendered implications requires further explication later on in this chapter.

6.5.1 Fanon's Relevance to the South African Context of Colonialism and Apartheid

> *What is South Africa? A boiler into which thirteen million blacks are clubbed and penned in by two and a half million whites.*
>
> *(Fanon, 1986, p. 64)*

In reading *Black Skin, White Masks*, *A Dying Colonialism* and *The Wretched of the Earth* it is evident that Fanon's thoughts are never too far away from Africa. His thinking demonstrates an attentiveness to the ravages of West Africa where the *"Negro is an animal"* (p. 85), followed by his conceptualisation of the racial distribution of guilt based on his learnings' from North Africa. Similarly, the experience of the black human in South Africa is evident across Fanon's thinking and theorising.

I said just above that South Africa has a racist structure. Now I shall go farther and say that Europe has a racist structure.

(Fanon, 1986, p. 68)

In reviewing the extract above, it may even be suggested that Fanon's analysis of Europe's racist structure is rooted in his meaning-making of the African experience. As such, whilst much of Fanon's (2008) initial analysis in *Black Skin, White Masks* vacillates between his personal experiences, and his analysis of Martinican men or women in response to omnipotent whiteness, reference to Africa, including South Africa appears to serve as empirical support for his central thesis centering the racist project. The latter is extensively evidenced in *The Wretched of the Earth*, where Fanon (1963, p. 37) continues in framing parallels between colonial Europe and apartheid South Africa; "*It is probably unnecessary to recall the existence of native quarters and European quarters, of schools for natives and schools for Europeans; in the same way we need not recall apartheid in South Africa."* Fanon highlights how this segregation is not merely a geographical or structural construction, but how its continuity is supported by the omnipotent force of subjugation. This theorising, however, extends beyond Fanon's intricate understanding of South Africa's economic subjugation, and geographical displacement, including its culmination of economic exploitation and extreme levels of deprivation. Instead, Fanon's interpretation transcends these systemic and structural violences and attends to the psychological violation that culminates in the black human's internalised consciousness of alienation and inferiority.

In South Africa there are two million whites against almost thirteen million native people, and it has never occurred to a single black to consider himself superior to a member of the white minority.

(Fanon, 1967, p. 68)

Fanon's analysis of the internalised inferiority experienced by the black man references the Martinican experience, followed by the South African experience. His framing serves to illustrate the hold the white minority has over the mind of the black human, despite the disproportions in population size. Fanon therefore provides a theorising of how exposure to the white world, and its occupation with superiority creates the inferior other (Fanon, 2008). This alienation and inferiority are posited to be at the root of every neurosis endured by the black human (Gibson & Beneduce, 2017). Whilst Fanon (1963) elucidates the role of government agents as the intermediaries of this oppression in the colonial worlds of Europe and South

Africa, this elucidation may be enhanced by Michel Foucault's (2019) conceptualisation of the Panopticon effect. Bentham's Panopticon references the architectural prison surveillance structure that induces in the prisoners a state of consciousness of their permanent visibility, and thus their vulnerability to punishment (Foucault, 2019). This in turn ensures the automatic functioning of power to sustain obedience. It may however be suggested that this obedience may hold different requirements across colonial Europe and apartheid South Africa. Whilst Fanon describes colonial France as a context that demands assimilation, it is argued that the apartheid South African context demands the perpetual slave. Deviating from the demarcations of colonial obedience risks death, as elucidated in Fanon's analysis of the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960, demonstrating his deep awareness of the penalty of disobedience for the black human in apartheid South Africa. Moreover, in the progression of Fanon's work evident in *A Dying Colonialism*; his attendance to the African experience becomes more resolute – emphasising the legacy of colonial France in Algeria. In attending to the Algerian experience, Fanon becomes more explicit in contending South Africa to be its homologue (Fanon, 1965). In framing the relevance of a Fanonian analysis and theorising however does require continued cognisance, that the framing of similarities across contexts does not risk a reading of a homogenous experience. This may deter the realisation that Fanon's learnings are of relevance across geography and timescape. Thus, extending beyond the systemic and structural violences set within a particular period informs the enquiry of psychological violence and trauma that transcends beyond generations.

Whilst this reading of Fanon's seminal contributions demonstrates the relevance of a Fanonian analysis to colonial and apartheid South Africa, integrating these learnings beyond limited timescapes requires a response to Homi K. Bhabha's (2005) question. This may be most appropriately surmised as questioning whether Fanon's contributions are lost to his time or whether they can find renewal in post-apartheid South Africa. This theoretical integration posits that despite Fanon's insistence on being a man of his time, his thinking, analysis and motivation toward a new humanity have yet to be optimally taken up. Moreover, whilst many read Fanon as a philosopher of violence, this violence is read as a possible mirroring of the genocide and war manifested and maintained by the colonial world. It is instead suggested that Fanon speaks fundamentally, though not only, about the inevitable probability of the violences in all its vicissitudes. It is suggested that, foremost, this emphasises the inevitability of the psychological violence imparted through the process of decolonisation.

6.5.2 Questioning Fanon's Understanding of Being Both Black and Woman

In reading Fanon's contributions there is little question about the analytical and theoretical value presented by his theorising in understanding the colonial experience on black consciousness and the violence presented by colonial trauma. It is, however, more difficult to ascertain to what extent Fanon may have understood the experience of being both black and a woman. As such, whilst Fanon may be renowned as a revolutionary, he has been equally disparaged for framing his work within a heteronormative context, his use of hyper-masculine language, and his perceived misconception and misinterpretation of black women (Wane, 2010). Similarly, whilst his theoretical postulations make direct contributions to war and violence, it has been suggested that his theoretical summations on the experiences of black women and political conflict remain mostly lacking (White, 2007). Theorists like White (2007) contend that Fanon's omission of race-gendered psychopolitical factors exacerbates the detrimental implications of post-conflict reparation for black women combatants. This exclusion and neglect of black women have contributed to considerable contestation regarding the implications of applying a Fanonian analysis to the understanding of black women, particularly in framing the experience of a black woman activist. These theoretical conflicts have been exacerbated, given that Fanon's conceptualisations emerged in a milieu convergent with the beginnings of Black Feminist Thought (Wahl, 2021). Fanon has therefore been critiqued for applying a misogynist approach in the plight against colonialism across the various feminist movements (Brewer, 2019). Similarly, hooks (2015), critiqued Fanon for facilitating sexual oppression whilst talking the language of liberation. The dominant neglect of black women in Fanon's groundbreaking contributions, therefore, highlights Crenshaw's primary concerns that women are at risk across liberation struggles. This is supported by arguments suggesting that despite the significance of Fanon's contributions pertaining to race, the Fanonian framework fails to adequately address the intersecting layers of oppression relevant to the lived experiences of black women (Wahl, 2021). Fanon (1986) however acknowledged that his understanding of racialised women was mostly inadequate. As such, whilst Fanon's (1963, 1967, 1989) texts are inclusive by frequently referencing both "*men and women*" when exploring phenomena or events, it is their placement and analysis that come under contentious critique. Despite the latter, several other theorists, including (Brewer, 2019) have argued that whilst Fanon has not applied a lens that recognises the process of simultaneous oppression of women, his work has much to offer the praxis of progressive Black Feminism. Similarly, Sharpley-Whiting (1996, p. 161) defends Fanon's significance to an anti-racist

feminist praxis, explicitly contending that "*To dismiss Fanon as anti-feminist because he does not fit post-structural feminist paradigms undermines intellectual and pragmatic integrity, leaving instead a postmodern mythology - Fanon as a misogynist*".

These arguments may be reviewed in relation to Fanon's own texts, which suggests that whilst he may not have demonstrated cognisance of the dichotomy of gender and race and its implications for the Black Woman, he was opposed to the conflict presented by patriarchal systems.

> *Guard against the danger of perpetuating the feudal tradition which holds sacred the superiority of the masculine element over the feminine. Women will have exactly the same place as men, not in the clauses of the constitution but in the life of every day: in the factory, at school, and in the parliament.*
>
> *(Fanon, 1963, p. 202)*

Fanon's possible limitations are thus recognised, whilst his revolutionary contributions towards the understanding of colonialism and decolonialism are deemed fundamental to the experiences of the oppressed. This is further supported by research that has demonstrated the relevance of a Fanonian analysis in the various expressions of violence against women (See Kiguwa & Stevens, 2021; Nicholls, 2012). It is further surmised that Fanon (1986) provides a framework to facilitate an understanding of the trauma of colonialised oppression and how it may be transmitted across generations. A Fanonian analysis is therefore deemed relevant in providing a critical contribution towards understanding the colonisation and violence imposed on women activists, and the intergenerational implications on descendants. This assessment is supported by Fanon's recognition of the role of women in the Algerian revolutionary struggle, which in many ways mirrors the experiences of South African woman activists.

> *The Algerian woman is at the heart of the combat. Arrested, tortured, raped, shot down, she testifies to the violence of the occupier and his inhumanity.*
>
> *(Fanon, 1965, p. 66)*

The extract demonstrates Fanon's intent to acknowledge the black woman's repeated exposure to violence and trauma. Nonetheless, an extensive analysis of his theoretical texts more strongly supports Fanon's (2008, p. 138) previous admission about the black woman. Translated as "*I know nothing about her*" suggests an acknowledgement of inadequate knowledge, rather than

a lack of interest. It is therefore suggested that Fanon himself may have been agreeable to the argument presented by Intersectionality. That as an anti-racist theory, even a Fanonian analysis, subjects the black woman to exclusion and invisibility on a theoretical level. Applying a Fanonian lens in isolation may therefore risk a framework that perpetuates the exclusion of black women concerning liberation and resistance from oppression (Wahl, 2021).

This framing however is not made in alignment with traditional Feminist postulations that label Fanon as misogynist – but instead reads Fanon's admission within context. As if Fanon, (2008, p. 6) could foreshadow any future critiques of his work, he unashamedly stated "*I belong irreducibly to my time*". Fanon's context and time are therefore represented as the respective psychiatric and Algerian contexts through which Fanon's framed his experience. The one presented a colonialist French world in which Fanon consulted with white women, whilst the other focused on the trauma experienced by black men. It is instead argued that reading Fanon outside of this context would aid complicity with Western Feminism, which has been overly invested in critiquing the contributions of black male scholars in their emphasis on liberation politics. As such, although Fanon's limitations in his analysis of gender are acknowledged, his contributions are assessed to facilitate an understanding of the intersectionality of race and gender, in response to colonialist forms of oppression (Dei, 2010). It is surmised that a Fanonian analysis embedded in the integrated intersectional frame will appropriately facilitate the intended social justice approach and the recognition of the intersectionality of gender, sexuality, and race.

6.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has served to motivate and outline the application of an integrated conceptual framework, in response to facilitating an analysis and understanding of the ways the women descendants of women anti-apartheid activists may have made sense of their forebearer's experiences with apartheid acts of race-based human violations, as well as gender-based forms of oppression, and its probable contributions to intergenerational trauma. The criticality of theory in guiding the analytical, epistemological, methodological and philosophical schema of the research initiative cannot be sufficiently underscored. Nevertheless, framing an understanding and analysis of silencing, disremembering and trauma invites complexity. The latter, in concurrence with colonial constructions related to gender, race and geography across varied timescapes adds further perplexity for consideration. This chapter has therefore motivated for the application of an integrated and intersectional lens, aligned with an African and Decolonial-centred praxis. Harnessing the principles invoked by intersectionality

addresses the silences manifested by the multi-axial intersection of gender and race and geography. Inserting Tamale (2020b) Afro-feminist theorising allows for an in-depth analysis responsive to an intersectional understanding of being woman, black and from Africa, whilst also attending to the overall African and Decolonial-centred foundation. A Fanonian (1963, 1967, 1989) analysis, in turn, allows for an understanding of trauma in response to its violent origins in colonial oppression. These constructions of theory-based principles facilitate a framework to make meaning of the interlocking threads when centering African and Decolonial theorising. It is surmised that the application of this integrated and intersectional framework appropriately engages the intersectionalities presented by a research focus demarcated across multivarious junctures of consideration.

CHAPTER SEVEN: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter extends on the rationale, research aims, and research questions edified in the earlier chapters of this thesis. This includes demonstrating the links between the philosophical tenets outlined in the integrated conceptual framework, and how these intersect with the epistemological and ontological framing of the research process. Whilst aspiring towards African and Decolonial intentions, this chapter nonetheless attends to the Euro-Western and colonial tensions embedded within methodological structures. In striving toward the decolonial intent, this chapter underscores the ontological, epistemological and axiological perspectives that informed the research process. The rationale intertwined with the tensions and repercussions of engaging with research within a context of silence and silencing invites further cognisance of the centrality of discourse. At the core, the chapter serves to outline the research design, whilst also demonstrating how it has informed, and in turn been informed by the overall thesis and its respective components. This includes an embeddedness within the various discursive networks it intends to expound. This chapter therefore commences with an overview of the research paradigm, methodology and design, which includes a motivation of the bricolage approach employed in the text analysis. This is followed by the methodological praxis, which represents how the theoretical and philosophical principles have been embodied in the applied processes throughout the research inquiry. This comprises a review of the gathering instruments, procedure and process. This includes an understanding of the researcher as the primary research instrument. In closing, the chapter attends to ethical considerations to safeguard the research participants within the overall research process.

7.2 THE RELEVANCE OF QUALITATIVE DESIGN AND INQUIRY TO THIS STUDY

A bricolage, informed by critical, social constructivist and heuristic phenomenological frameworks guided an attendance to the research aims and questions, within a qualitative research design. Qualitative research was deemed most appropriate to gain a nuanced and contextualised understanding of how people interpret and assign meaning to experiences (Povee & Roberts, 2014). Reinforcing its relevance, qualitative design and inquiry have observed continued transition and transformation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). This transition has in part been informed by the nexus of global and technological innovations on a process and procedural level (Creswell & Poth, 2016; Willig & Rogers, 2017). Concurrently, fundamental political shifts in research and academic movements have informed how politics

are methodologically negotiated within and outside knowledge production (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). This includes a philosophical turn in the motivation of qualitative research to advance in response to the decolonial, transformative and social justice agendas of select theoretical paradigms (See Denzin, 2017, 2018; Denzin & Lincoln, 2018; Parker, 2004). This potential is attributed to qualitative inquiry's inherently political position (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). Despite these revolutions, a significant catalyst remains the methodological push to safeguard the perceived rigour of qualitative inquiry and thereby circumvent academic indignity (Morse, 2020). It may be suggested that this tension is embedded in the colonial roots of methodology.

Qualitative research has therefore maintained a precarious position in response to different waves of scientific movements and its declaration of what constitutes evidence-based research (Denzin et al., 2006; Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). Subsequently, qualitative research consistently requires a defensive framing in response to debates querying its merits compared to quantitative research. This may be attributed to the dominant status sustained by positivistic paradigms and quantitative methodologies in Social Science research across the 19th and 20th centuries (Creswell, 2014). This dominance may be attributed to the allegiance of positivistic paradigms with experimental sciences and its association with Western 'civilisation' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). As such, whilst quantitative approaches ordinarily advocate for a scientific inquiry, embedded in value-free and objective epistemology, qualitative approaches work in defence of the possibility of epistemological objectivity. It instead advocates for the absence of a single interpretive truth (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018), contending that the influence of context, culture, ethnicity, gender, and language is always of relevance (Yakushko et al., 2016). This includes the possibilities of interpretation and meaning-making within contexts subject to dominant discourses. Qualitative research in conjunction with the analytic bricolage thereby attends to extract narratives previously designated to silence and silent discursive networks or spoken, yet obscured and unacknowledged positions within the realm of dominant discourses. This includes the possibility of interdiscursivity and allowing attendance to resistant and dominant discursive networks (Meyer, 2001).

The qualitative defence is thus two-fold, given that it holds both procedural and political dimensions. It is suggested that whilst qualitative research has attained criticism in response to procedural grounds related to methodology, the overall resistance is driven by its embeddedness in discourse (Denzin et al., 2006). From a methodological perspective, it has been helpful for qualitative researchers to consider a different set of criteria as opposed to the constructs of generalisability, rigour, reliability and validity promoted in quantitative

approaches (Morse, 2015). Qualitative research has instead increasingly attended to the trustworthiness of the research, emphasising competence, integrity and benevolence (Pratt et al., 2022). In response to this enquiry of trustworthiness, Lincoln and Guba (1982) introduced the concepts of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. Adding to these, reflexivity has attained growing recognition as an integral researcher-driven process. Though it may be presented as one of the markers of qualitative research's journey of transition and transformation, reflexivity remains vulnerable to neglect and thus at risk of possible superficial application. Though the praxis of reflexivity will be revisited towards the latter end of this chapter, it remains critical to acknowledge that reflexivity calls for the acknowledgement that whilst ethically assuring the trustworthiness of the research process and findings, it remains difficult to contest that any research finding is the product of the researcher's interpretation (Jootun et al., 2009). Qualitative research designs and approaches thereby serve to acknowledge this subjective framing, which is informed by philosophical principles. This includes the possibility of multiple realities, depending on the strategies of inquiry employed. Thus, embracing the potential for qualitative research to uncover the intricate idiosyncrasies of humanity within the socially constructed world and in response to the constructed social system (Shaw et al., 2019). This includes contextual, cultural, historical, structural and systemic considerations, underscored by an *'entangled multiplicity*' across varied timescapes. As such, whilst qualitative research is often distinguished based on its application of language as opposed to numerical representations of data and information (Creswell, 2014), a more critical evaluation is encouraged. The emphasis on language as opposed to the capacity for statistical computation continues to evoke debate about the relevance, reliability and validity of qualitative research (Denzin, 2017). These deliberations however pose the risk of minimising the potential of qualitative research in elucidating important historical and social constructions (Creswell, 2014), especially when these are at risk of concealment through language as discourse. It is postulated that it is this potential that sustains scientism re-emergence and resistance. Whilst qualitative research is critiqued based on its emphasis on language, deeming its use as unreliable and thus lacking validity – the appraisals detract from language as discourse and discourse as political. It is argued that this depreciating discourse projected onto qualitative framings is driven by systems of power that recognise that language – in either text or voice, risks an unsilencing that may produce contested or previously silenced knowledges about the world. This is particularly relevant within the context of this research, which serves to extend beyond the relevance of spoken and written language and instead emphasises probable implicit constructions associated with language in relation to silencing.

There is thus a need to be mindful of debates that risk foreclosure of a hegemonic paradigm, suggesting that only select research paradigms hold legitimacy (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). Given that no research method can claim sole authority (Jootun et al., 2009), the central research framing should instead emphasise the appropriateness of the method in response to the research aim and question (Creswell, 2014), whilst also bearing cognisance to history and context. A qualitative design and inquiry were thus deemed most appropriate in response to addressing this study's attendance to the silencing of women's trauma through descendants' reflections of disremembered women anti-apartheid activists. This approach allowed for increased appreciation that research needs to be critical and reflexive, whilst also supporting decolonised epistemologies, the ethics of social justice, and transformative inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). The latter aligned to the application of an integrated conceptual framework that promoted an African and Decolonial understanding, whilst also emphasising gendered-race and racial-gendered intersectional priorities. This demonstrates an attendance beyond approach and procedure, with increased consideration of how both process and findings could possibly contribute to the literature and the necessity to attend to social action. Attendance to social justice priorities thus required adherence to social action and transformation in applying a critical qualitative inquiry perspective (Creswell, 2013). It would however be precarious to assume that qualitative research is innately responsive to these decolonial and integrity-focussed standards (Lyons et al., 2013). Any research procedure, irrespective of design or application warrants attentive deliberation and consistent reflexivity to ensure that the social justice and transformative principles are sustained. Attendance to silence and reflexive practice was at the core of this research initiative. Silence was in attendance throughout the research process, in various constructions and presentations. The practice of reflexivity was therefore central to making meaning of these silences, whilst also attending to the praxis of unsilencing.

To further support a qualitative research design and inquiry in response to this research initiative, it is important to highlight that despite the challenges faced by qualitative research in occupying a respectable place in knowledge production to inform social action, it has attained growing levels of acceptance and application. A review of the literature demonstrates the value of qualitative research in providing insight and a deeper understanding of the complexity of humanity within a socially constructed world, which includes how humans experience and make meaning of this socially constructed world (Creswell, 2014; Creswell & Poth, 2016; Lewin & Glenton, 2018). Denzin and Lincoln (2018) extend this argument, stating that qualitative research has the capacity for a radical form of democratic practice. This

references the application of qualitative findings to inform policy and praxis, as well as support guidance and guideline development. This includes its use by institutions such as the World Health Organisation to assess the acceptability and feasibility of different interventions and the impacts of these interventions on equity and human rights (Lewin & Glenton, 2018). The research paper by Lewin and Glenton (2018) provides a valuable demonstration of qualitative research in service of social action, decision-making, whilst also demonstrating ameliorative and transformative action within the context of the World Health Organisation. Qualitative research within the domain of psychology has demonstrated similar reach by means of innovative and diverse approaches. An augmented awareness and acknowledgement of women's oppression, driven by the 'second wave' feminism is considered to have been a key driver in facilitating these methodological shifts (Parker, 2004). To unveil underlying mechanisms of power, feminism was one of the first theoretical orientations to demonstrate that knowledge is different for the powerful versus the oppressed (Parker, 2004). Research has supported its capacity to practice activism, whilst simultaneously influencing policy and praxis (Willig & Rogers, 2017). This has promoted the merits of qualitative research globally, with continued uptake across geographies – including South Africa (Willig & Rogers, 2017).

7.3 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH AND PSYCHOLOGY IN SOUTH AFRICA

> *Qualitative research opens a space inside psychology to do something radically different to link human experience with social action*
>
> *(Parker, 2004, p. 1)*

Qualitative research and social justice are conjointly deemed the "fifth force" in psychology given their efforts in challenging conventional norms (Lyons et al., 2013). Psychology in South Africa, and specifically psychologies across community, critical and liberatory paradigms have demonstrated consistent efforts in attending to social action and social justice priorities, from different epistemological fronts (See Adams et al., 2017; Cooper & Morrell, 2014; Mbembe, 2020; Ratele, 2019). These efforts were evident at the height of anti-apartheid resistance in the 1980s, despite the opposition of many in mainstream Psychology in South Africa who were concerned about the *"contamination" of scientific psychological research through any involvement in politics* (Hayes, 2023, p. 1). This was represented by the establishment of the Organisation for Appropriate Social Services in South Africa (OASSSA) and the Psychology in Society (PINS) journal in 1983 (Foster, 2014). OASSSA was formed as a body of resistance to the Institute for Family Therapy and its conference at Sun City in a Bantustan (Foster, 2014;

Vogelman, 1987). Since the Bantustan policy was responsible for the disintegration of families, the intention of discussing family dynamics and therapy within a homeland setting responsible for the dissolution of black families was deemed inconceivable (Foster, 2014; Vogelman, 1987). OASSSA represented a coalition of psychologists, social workers, and other mental health professionals committed to opposing apartheid, and their efforts continued until 1993 when it was incorporated into a larger health and social service structure. In practice, its activities disappeared after PsySSA was formed early in 1994 (Foster, 2014). PINS, in turn, was established as a forum to critique the theory and practice of Psychology in South Africa, whilst simultaneously advancing thinking about how Psychology might positively contribute to overcoming the crippling inequalities inherent in apartheid society (Hayes, 2023). Whilst the efforts of PINS continue, the post-apartheid milieu has required a shift away from its initial emphasis to *"critically explore and present ideas on the nature of psychology in capitalist society"* (Hayes, 2023, p. 1), to defining its core feature as engaging with critical theories in its psycho-social analyses. Despite these efforts, it is important to caution that psychology and social justice are practices that continue to mostly exist independently of each other. Rendering prominence to social justice efforts, risks remaining blindsided to psychology's continued complicity with oppressive ideologies that work against social justice principles (Ker, 2013; Long, 2013; Settles et al., 2020). The potential for points of convergence is nonetheless appreciated, particularly in response to its capacity to facilitate transformative change. Lyons et al. (2013) caution that actions to converge social justice into psychological intervention must be driven by conscious intent. This intention has been particularly evident in the select contexts of South Africa, where individual and collective efforts have demonstrated the potential for research to motivate change. During apartheid, this was evident in the activism of psychologist Sathasivan Cooper, who was instrumental in conceptualising Black Consciousness along with Steve Biko (Gibson, 2008). The paper ***Some thoughts on a more relevant or indigenous counselling psychology: Discovering the socio-political context of the oppressed*** by Anonymous (1986), now known to be Shaun Whitaker and Anthony Naidoo, provided a means to analysing and intervening in the oppressive sociopolitical context of South Africa (Naidoo, 2000). In present-day the Apartheid Archive, the Centre for the Study of Violence (CSVR), Sonke Gender Justice and The Centre for the Study of the Afterlife of Violence and the Reparative Quest (AVReQ) are evidence of instruments of commitment. The work on violent histories and transgenerational trauma by South African psychologist and researcher, Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela, initially started during her involvement in the TRC. Gobodo-Madikizela's publications and continued focus on this work through AVReQ further

demonstrate this potential within the realm of trauma and post-conflict contexts (See Gobodo-Madikizela, 2012b, 2016, 2023). It may be suggested that the extensiveness of South Africa's contentious backdrop has been a key driver in informing critical psychological research that demonstrates an awareness that the political is personal, and that the personal is political. These forms of praxis are needlessly strenuous, given that mainstream psychology remains mostly resistant to decolonial and African-relevant construction.

7.4 RESEARCH AIM

In response to the silencing of women anti-apartheid activists that have facilitated a continuation of the original colonialist project of gendered subjugation, this study attended to a qualitative inquiry of unsilencing. Thereby examining the accounts provided by 20 women descendants of women anti-apartheid activists, through 18 individual interviews and two family case studies. Whilst the research aim was initially introduced in *Chapter One: Introduction, Rationale, Scope and Structure*, it is deemed necessary to reiterate the research aim, and how it aligns with the qualitative approach, along with the philosophical tenets presented by the modes of analysis.

This study aimed to attain an understanding of the consequences of apartheid as a colonialist force and its unacknowledged forms of human violations, the unacknowledged vicissitudes of trauma, as well as how these wounds may manifest intergenerationally. The research aimed to do this by engaging with the experiences shared by women descendants of women anti-apartheid activists, in terms of what the descendants experienced as memories shared and remembered, in relation to what they experienced as memories silenced.

The primary aim of this research was to explore the ways in which the women descendants of women anti-apartheid activists may have made sense of their forebears' experiences of apartheid acts of race-based human violations, as well as gender-based forms of oppression, and its probable contributions to intergenerational trauma.

7.5 RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Overall, the interactions with twenty participants informed the analysis and final reporting process. The research inquiry comprised eighteen individual in-depth interviews and two-family processes that comprised a combination of individual family member interviews and family dyad interviews. Subject to intersectional forms of oppression, it is argued that the experiences of women anti-apartheid activists are unique. Women anti-apartheid activists not only faced their plight to oppose the racial practices of the apartheid regime, but also gendered

and patriarchal discriminatory mindsets within liberation and resistance movements (Meintjes, 2011). Adding to the argument that women anti-apartheid activists experienced an alternative version of apartheid resistance, is the contention that this, in turn, translated into an alternative history of trauma and survival (Lee, 2009). It was thus important to understand how the violent oppression of women may have translated into the transmission of trauma across generations, given the multiple roles women occupied in defending, protecting, and guarding not only themselves but also their husbands, children, and families (Healy-Clancy, 2017b). Given the study's focus on the intergenerational implications of gendered racialised and racialised gendered forms of oppression, the research included **women descendants** of anti-apartheid activists, specifically descendants who identified as **black women**.

7.5.1 Conceptualising Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Specific inclusion and exclusion criteria were emphasised in response to the overall research aim. This required cognisance that with the research call, a specific discourse was released into the world, employing select socially constructed constructs. It is therefore recognised that discourse was not only at work within the narratives shared by participants but also in the initial research call shared by the researcher, and later with the accompanying Participant Information Sheet and Consent Forms. The framing of inclusion criteria relied extensively on the Afro-feminist contributions of Sylvia Tamale, given that the social construction of gender and race has had profound implications for what it means to be *Black* and *Woman* in terms of being *Human* in this world (Tamale, 2020b), and particularly within post-apartheid South Africa. In framing the economies of exploitation of black and gendered bodies, it remains important to engage with the representation of these constructs. Specifically given the extent to which 'race' and 'gender' have been privileged within discourse as universal and normative constructs (Tamale, 2020a).

Though this research employed social constructions of race and gender, it in no way implies an acceptance of the various ways these constructions may have been normalised within public discourse.

Inclusion Criteria: Given the interest in the role of gender in the disremembering of women anti-apartheid activists, the research served to attain the views of individuals who identified as black women. Moreover, whilst this research inquiry focussed on the experiences of black women, it simultaneously recognised the intersections of identifying as both a woman as well as black. It is however acknowledged that both gender and race are socially informed

constructions. Moreover, the social construction of race in the South African context was artificially and differentially segregated into various categories during South Africa's period of segregation and later formalised through apartheid legislature. Whilst the application of these artificially constructed race categories is still consistently applied in post-apartheid South Africa, this does not imply widespread acceptance of various essentialised races.

Further inclusion criteria were that the participants should be descendants of women anti-apartheid activists and that these women anti-apartheid activists were exposed to a form of political harassment during the time she was an anti-apartheid activist. Given the oppression of gender within movements, the women anti-apartheid activists were not required to have been part of a specific anti-apartheid movement.

The conceptualisation of the inclusion criteria is outlined as follows.

Being Black in the World: This section elucidates the motivation for applying the term 'black' as a social construct, rather than assuming that a coherent delineation is possible. The impossibility of a delineation resides in the knowledge that *"virtually all terms used when discussing race are imprecise because race is an imposition, not a biological reality"* (Hamad, 2020, p. 9). Speaking of being-black-in-the-world recognises the implications of this imposition. It is important to recognise this distinction and follow Manganyi's (1973) caution that it is not racialism, but instead a way of relating within the temporality of the past, present and future. This elucidation simultaneously serves to motivate for its own necessity, in response to the possible query of whether there is a need to delineate the experience of being-black-in-the-world. Manganyi's (1973) theorising expounds on the extent to which the black human develops both an individual and sociological schema, which includes the way the latter dictates a societal standard in which the black body is unwholesome. Constructing varied malign possibilities, ranging from indecent, and destructive to subversive. This informs the experience of being-black-in-the-world, which includes the weighted burden of eradicating the negative sociological schema projected onto blackness as prescribed by whiteness (Manganyi, 1973).

Being-black-in-the-world requires an understanding of its construction by the South African apartheid state, followed by its construction by the Black Consciousness Movement (Biko, 1978), and finally the continued application of racial categories by the post-apartheid government (Erasmus, 2012). It is important to note that whilst racial categories are widely associated with the apartheid administration, a review of South African archives demonstrates that racial classification had been in practice throughout South Africa's colonialist era (Mason,

2003). This practice thereby predates the racial order of segregation between 1910 and 1948 that preceded the apartheid state (Dubow, 2014; Evans, 2023). It is, however, postulated that racial classification under apartheid was different, given that it had specific Afrikaaner nationalist, capitalist and political intent (Breckenridge, 2014; Dubow, 2014). Despite the speciousness of apartheid ideology, the apartheid state was aware that their framing of race could not be supported by scientific definitions (Posel, 2001a). Nonetheless, whilst apartheid was introduced in 1948, the Population Registration Act No 30 was introduced in 1950, and by the end of the 1960s, the population register had classified all South Africans into one of four racial categories (Posel, 2001a). These racial categories were framed in terms of hierarchy, with only one racial category ranked as superior, whilst the remaining three were rated on varying levels of inferiority. The 'superior' 'white' category represented purity and civilisation, whilst people categorised as either 'coloured' or 'Indian' were rated as inferior, supported by arguments related to their propensity for deficient behaviour. The final category of 'native' represented the group deemed most inferior, classified as uncivilised and associated with the persistent discourse of 'black peril' (Biko, 1978; Dubow, 2014; Posel, 2001a). Although the term 'Native' was replaced with the term 'Bantu' in 1960, and the term 'Bantu' was replaced with the term 'Black' in 1980 (Christopher, 2002), the colonially informed rhetoric about black people as dangerous remained consistent. The irony of the apartheid project is that the conflicting laws indirectly confirmed that race was not a biological concept.

Given this emphasis on black people, the racial categories of 'black', 'coloured' and 'Indian' were deemed both different and unequal per apartheid ideology (Posel, 2001a). This ideology informed national discourse and ultimately guided the social constructions formed amongst the collective subjugated races. As such, despite sharing a history of community and solidarity, some 'coloured' and 'Indian' people yielded to the ideology that despite their designated partial humanity, they were superior to 'black' people (See Evans, 2023). This psychological augmentation of apartheid serves as an exemplar of Fanon's (1986) postulations pertaining to the racial distribution of guilt as presented in *Black Skin, White Masks*. Thereby, demonstrating that oppression breeds further oppression amongst oppressed groups. Instead of strengthening their solidarity in their shared burden of oppression, a process of scapegoating was cultivated, with one oppressed group seeking a false sense of superiority, by making another experience inferiority (Hook, 2004a). This may most likely be one of the greatest feats of the apartheid state - imparting an internalised oppression onto black people and bearing witness to how black people projected and continue to project apartheid ideology onto each other.

Steve Biko (1978) was aware of this projection and recognised that its undoing could be the most significant antithesis to apartheid. Therefore, Biko (1978) advocated for cohesion, solidarity, and unity to protect against fragmentation that may weaken resistance and the goal of a non-racial society. Racial distinction was thus contested by the Black Consciousness Movement that framed 'Black' as a global political identification premised on resistance to oppression in contexts of white supremacy (Erasmus, 2012). Biko (1978) therefore argued that being black is not a matter of pigmentation, but instead a reflection of mental attitude. Thereby stating that *merely by describing yourself as black you have started on a road towards emancipation, you have committed yourself to fight against all forces that seek to use your blackness as a stamp that marks you out as a subservient being (*Biko 1978, p. 52). Biko was nonetheless decisive in noting that black was not all-inclusive, emphasising that aspiration towards whiteness *ipso facto* a non-white. These conceptualisations do, however, require further interrogation within a Fanonian framework, given Fanon's analysis of the experience of blackness in the colonial white world, and the violence enacted on the human psyche. Understanding the term 'black' may thus be subject to continued tensions as a social construction.

Framing an understanding of being black requires further interrogation within the current context and timescape. Post-1994 government policy and institutional practices in and out of government apply various combinations of constructions of 'Black' and 'black'. The South African government conceptualises *"black people" as a generic term which means Africans, Coloureds and Indians (i) who are citizens of South Africa by birth or descent; or (ii) who became citizens of South Africa by naturalization before 27 April 1994; or (iii) who became citizens of South Africa by naturalization on or after 27 April 1994 and who would have been entitled to acquire citizenship by naturalization prior to that date* (The Presidency, 2014).

The inclusion criterion of 'Black' is based on Biko's conceptualisation and aspiration for Blackness in terms of unity and solidarity, while simultaneously recognising the historical construction of race within South Africa's political milieu. More holistically, however, Black Consciousness is understood in relation to its humanist roots, in alignment with Fanon's revolutionary humanism (Gibson, 2008).

In Being Woman: Explicating the societal interpretation of 'woman' is dependent on the social construction of 'gender' as both a construct and social practice. The term 'gender' is often positioned and applied from a universalist perspective, risking a depoliticised or ahistorical

interpretation (Tamale, 2011). The social construction of gender should instead be viewed through a sociopolitical lens, remaining cognisant of both time, context and power. Tamale (p. 2020, xiv) cautions that the term 'gender' transcends *"cultural-specific masculine/feminine identities and power relations and is complicated by racial markers. As a colonial/modern institution, gender "functions to limit the range and scope of possibilities for what it means to be" a "man"/ "woman"/ "human" in this world"*. The construct of 'woman' can therefore not be read in the absence of associated markers and how it dictates being in the world. A reading of 'woman' is therefore subjected to a different analysis when linked with other markers, with particular emphasis on race as applied in the context of this study.

The social practice of being a 'woman' within the apartheid state carried different interpretations and expectations, the remnants of which remain evident within post-1994 South Africa (Gqola, 2021, 2022). Being both 'black' and 'woman' presented the contradiction of being both infantilised, as well as sexualised (Abrahams, 1996a; Baderoon, 2018). The construct of 'woman' paired with 'whiteness' in South Africa, however, aligned with concepts of purity, and nationalist expectations to sustain nationalist purity (Ratele, 2013a). Thereby aligning with the white patriarchal construction of hegemonic *femininity* (Cole, 2020; Coles & Pasek, 2020). For a white woman, this alignment with femininity and purity could be placed at risk when placing the apartheid project in jeopardy by engaging in sexual acts with a black man (Ratele, 2013b). The construction of 'woman' in South Africa was thus linked to constructions of power, subjugation and obedience to the nationalist project. For black women, this obedience entailed the role of raising racialised and subservient sons and daughters. For white women, this required obedience to the apartheid regime's concept of racial purity.

Beyond contextually relevant constructions of womanhood, reside tensions in discourse related to the construction of 'woman' versus 'female'. Mainstream discourse dictates that the category *woman* is a social category, whilst *female* has historically represented a sexual construction (Byrne, 2020). Whilst theorists have generally assumed 'gender' and 'sex' as equivalent, this has oftentimes been met with disagreement from feminist factions who have endorsed a distinction between gender and sex (Byrne, 2020). Tamale (2011) however argues that both constructs represent social constructions, especially for black women. Whilst terms such as 'man' and 'woman' are linked to constructions of humanity, constructions of 'male' and 'female' apply across living beings – not necessarily human (Lugones, 2010). In borrowing from the work of Lugones (2010), constructions of 'male' and 'female' were historically applied to colonised people as deviants of male perfection. In their deviance from the normative

conceptualisation of man, colonised men were deemed *not-human-as-not-men*, and colonised women *not-human-as-not-women* (Lugones, 2010, p. 744). This deviance included the overly sexualised construction of colonised people.

In citing Gqola (2009), Tamale (2011) highlights constructions of sexual deviance associated with South African black women. This practice embedded in colonial myths is shared across Africa, where women are construed in terms of sexual excess, which pardons the degeneration of the *female* body (Tamale, 2011). Within the construction of this research, the researcher therefore reads '*female*' as a colonial construction, thereby privileging the construct of *'woman'* in response to the intentions of the framework presented by the human reformation project. This thinking guided the application of the construct *'woman'* as opposed to the *'female'* in the research call.

In Being a Descendant: The emphasis on descendants was important given the focus on memories shared and remembered in contrast with memories experienced as silenced. This is in turn linked to the possibility of intergenerational trauma. However, this importance is obscured by the complexity of the mostly universal adoption of Western constructions of family, thereby neglecting delineating family in the South African context.

This criterion therefore has multiple implications in the context of research with families, as is relevant in the context of this research inquiry. The research call emphasised the term 'descendant' in its title, with various constructions of the research call emphasising terms such as 'relative', 'daughter' or 'granddaughter'. Whilst these terms were applied to facilitate clarity, it is acknowledged that these terms apply familialist discourse, which risks an interpretation of family that legitimises the Western construction of family form. This in turn risks reinforcing the construct of the family as natural, thereby perpetuation Western conceptualisations of civilisation (Parker, 2014a). Parker (2014) further cautions that by analysing the discourse of the family, there is a risk of disconnecting cognisance of history. This vulnerability is of particular relevance in the South African context, given the varied constructions of family and motherhood (Maqubela, 2016). Though the implications of the wording as applied on the research call are acknowledged, it is important to highlight that once initial contact was made by prospective research participants the researcher was cognisant of engaging in response to South African conceptualisation of family and kinship. This included recognition of multi-generational families, as well as extensions beyond consanguinity (Makiwane et al., 2017).

Political Harassment: In framing an understanding of political harassment, it is important to recognise the contextual realities of women involved in resistance politics. This includes the ways in which apartheid violence distorted the distinctions between battlefront and home front, as well as combatant and civilian (Magadla, 2015). In citing the work of Marks (2001), Magadla (2016) elaborates that people in townships involved in resistance politics were aware of the risks of being arrested, detained, harassed or murdered. Political Harassment was a key repression strategy applied during apartheid against anti-apartheid movements. Homes were a direct target of attack during periods of political conflict, thereby damaging the integrity of families, homes and communities (Sideris, 1998). Political violence was typically carried out by varied security forces and police structures, using their legislative powers to harass through threats of detention, banning, and restricting. Additionally, political harassment was managed through Third Force elements, which comprised covert and clandestine networks (Ellis, 1998; Sideris, 1998).

The widespread prevalence of political harassment was evident across all participant narratives. However, as clarified in the chapters expounding the *Findings and Discussion*, the boundary violations of political harassment in family and community settings were so extensive and routine, that it risked being normalised outside the parameters of violence and trauma. This is attributed to the absence of safe spaces for black people in apartheid South Africa. Homes, schools, and churches (including funeral services), as was true for most residential and community settings, were spaces in which either civilians or anti-apartheid activists could be targeted with little distinction (Dubow, 2014; Magadla, 2018).

Exclusion Criteria: Restrictions were placed on the gender and race of the research participants, in response to the research aim, and as motivated by the rationale. Additionally, only women descendants older than 18 years were eligible to participate. Age restrictions were applied to safeguard the younger population of descendants who may not have had the opportunity to process some of the thoughts and questions concerning remembering, silencing and taboos when reflecting on their relatives' experiences as women anti-apartheid activists.

No exclusion criteria were applied to geographical locations. Anti-apartheid movements extended across varied geographical boundaries, given the wide creep of apartheid's security forces. Many anti-apartheid activists were therefore in exile, either to escape the possibility of being jailed or murdered or to seek out military training and alternate solutions to the struggles presented by the apartheid project (Naidoo, 2021; Ngcobo, 2012).

The researcher's enquiry regarding pseudonyms gave rise to varied dynamics and responses in the earlier stages of the study. Given the diverse requests and its probable conflict with the ethical clearance parameters of the study, the researcher excluded this question from the remaining interviews. The researcher also eliminated the possibility of electing pseudonyms. This elimination was in part founded on the supposition that renaming has psychological implications for participants as well as the narratives shared (Allen & Wiles, 2016; Itzik & Walsh, 2023). More importantly, the selection of pseudonyms would risk the repetition of the colonial practice of giving black people names through a process in which they have limited choice (Mason, 2003). As a compromise, the term 'descendant' was applied, followed by a number that reflects the sequence of the interviews. It is nonetheless recognised that there is no optimal resolution to representing participants appropriately, without compromising anonymity and confidentiality.

The participant extracts are therefore accompanied by descriptions that highlight the participant as a descendant (Descendent), the sequence of the interview (1-20), whether the participant engaged in an Individual Interview (II), or one of the two dyadic Family Interviews (FI-1, FI-2), followed by transcript page (1-27) and line number (1-784). The transcript pages and line numbers were continuous. An example of a label accompanying an extract would therefore read "Descendant 1, II, page 2, line 34" or "Descendant 19, FI-2, page 20, line 345". An example is shown in **Table 7.1.**

Table 7.1

Exemplar Profile of Research Participant Extracts

Participant Descriptor	Interview Sequence	Individual Interview	Family Interview	Page Number	Line Number	Extract Example
DESCENDANT	1	II	-	2	34	Descendant 1, II, page 2, line 34
DESCENDANT	19	-	FI1/FI2	20	345	Descendant 19, FI-2, page 20, line 345

7.6 A METHODOLOGICAL BRICOLAGE

A research paradigm represents a conceptual lens through which to examine the methodological aspects of a research initiative, whilst guiding the application of the research methods, as well as the data analysis (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017). Informed by a philosophical stance, the paradigm presents particular beliefs about the nature of the world, which in turn

informs the epistemological, ontological, and methodological foundations (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000), including axiological assumptions (Creswell, 2013). In response to the complexity of this research, it would be unreasonable to deny how various paradigms informed the overall methodological approach. This includes but is not limited to, acknowledging borrowed tenets from critical, transformative, postcolonial and decolonial paradigms. The application of a methodological bricolage is thereby acknowledged, rather than intentionally constructed. Represented as both a concept and practice, methodological bricolage was introduced into the realm of qualitative research design by Denzin and Lincoln (2000), whilst further conceptualised by Kincheloe (2001, 2007, 2011a, 2011b). Though the term bricolage is borrowed from Levi-Strauss' use of the French term as a metaphor to reference 'making do' (Yee & Bremner, 2011), a concrete interpretation risks losing sight of its alternate possibilities of extending knowledge beyond scholarly métiers. In arguing for an alternate understanding, it is suggested that the divergent intricacy of human experience requires new forms of rigour in the research process. This includes the potential associations or intersections between scientific knowledge and its capacity for action (Levi-Strauss, 1966). According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000, 2018), a bricolage approach responds to this need by encouraging interdisciplinary integration, as well as theoretical and methodological integration across discourse analysis, and perspective-changing theories such as feminism and postcolonialism. In addition to emphasising various methods of inquiry, it thus accentuates the varied theoretical and philosophical theorising encountered throughout the research process (Kincheloe, 2001). This multiplicity includes confronting difference, whilst simultaneously drawing insight from knowledge previously relegated to the margins (Kincheloe, 2011b). The core of a bricolage is therefore intrinsically linked to the axiological, epistemological and ontological premises of this study. However, whilst Kincheloe (2011a) presents the practice of bricolage as both a methodology and a form of rigour, the construct is not without criticism. Instead, the bricolage practice is assumed to be a declaration of disciplinary deficit, whilst risking the possibility of misinterpretation. As such, caution has been heeded pertaining to its application in doctoral studies (Kincheloe, 2011a; Yee & Bremner, 2011). Whilst heeding this caution, the researcher deemed it imperative to acknowledge how theoretical and philosophical reciprocating intersections informed the researcher's thinking process throughout this research approach.

This study's psychopolitical emphasis, and observance of African-centered psychological, social justice and decolonial principles embedded in an intersectional conceptual framework is in many ways representative of a critical and theoretical bricolage, thus making a

methodological bricolage mostly inexorable. It is proposed that humans, their experiences and constructed discourses cannot be understood in isolation, but requires cognisance of the inevitable interconnection (Kincheloe, 2011a). Whilst acknowledging the Euro-Western roots of this thinking, it is proposed that this theorising can find alignment with relational ontology, and the connections human beings have with other beings, the land and the earth (Kovach, 2016). This relational ontology should therefore be reflected across the research process, informing a relational ethical framework that invites researchers to *see "self" as a reflection of the researched Other, to honor and respect the researched as one would wish for self, and to feel a belongingness to the researched community without feeling threatened or diminished"* (Chilisa, 2012, p. 22). An acknowledgement of the construction of concepts, knowledge and discourse in response to the social world requires delineating meanings within both its contextual and cultural circumstances and the epiphenomenal temporality of time. As such, the research is critically guided by the grounding principles of a Discourse Analysis given its cognisance of psychopolitical and power structures. However, in underscoring silence, unsilencing and voice, it was deemed imperative to provide a Hermeneutic Phenomenological platform to the lived experiences of the research participants.

> *The bricolage exists out of respect for the complexity of the lived world and the complications of power and privilege or the lack thereof. Indeed, it is grounded on an epistemology of complexity.*
>
> *(Kincheloe, 2011b, p. 324)*

The Critical Paradigm: The critical paradigm was born from intersections of various epistemic and ontological turns across disciplines and movements, particularly movements encouraging activism in search of social justice. As such, the critical paradigm represents a consolidation of core critical analyses and action, rather than a singular paradigm founded exclusively on theory. Critical race, gender and queer studies and movements were therefore at the forefront of highlighting the role of power and how it is both negotiated and maintained within and by the social world (Leavy, 2022). More recently, themes focussing on intersectionality studies and efforts to decolonise research have contributed to this critical turn (Creswell, 2013). This highlights that the social world not only informs the political world but that these worlds are in fact indistinct. The critical paradigm has thus developed as a response to this dogmatic dominant social and political structuring of the world. This includes the intent to understand how power operates across systems of discourse (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018), and

ultimately how to use this understanding to challenge the systems of power, privilege and inequality that risk the subjugation of those who have been othered (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

As highlighted by research (Crenshaw, 1995; Forgiarini et al., 2011; Shefer, 2012, 2019; Trawalter et al., 2012), the risk of marginalisation is heightened in response to class, race and gender disparities (Creswell, 2013). A critical paradigm is presented in response to this vulnerability and is applied as both a liberation philosophy and a tool that is committed to examining the consequences of deprivation, racism and sexism (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). It is further suggested that a critical paradigm is presented at the core of facilitating new discourses and political narratives, that not only has the capacity to frame social action but also the pedagogical potential of healing and reparation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). Whilst the aforementioned aligns with the central tenets of this research inquiry, illuminating the intersecting role of power requires an analysis of how it is likely to intrude within the research process itself. This requires exposing and critiquing the assumptions of existing research orientations as well as revealing probable ideological implications (Kincheloe, 1991). This highlights the necessity for the researcher to interrogate their own identity, positionality and positions of power within the social and political world, and how these may inform engagements within the research process. An attempt to address these concerns is provided later in this chapter with an emphasis on reflexivity.

The Discursive Turn: Designated as the 'discursive turn', social studies, including psychology, has become increasingly interested in the function of language in the construction of what comes to be accepted as the universal standard and reality (Bhatia et al., 2008; Parker, 2013, 2014b). This has contributed to the multifarious expansion of Discourse Analysis into different frameworks and methodologies across diverse interdisciplinary fields of inquiry (Bhatia et al., 2008; Johnstone & Andrus, 2024). These include, but are not limited to critical discourse analysis, discursive psychology, interactional sociolinguistics and narrative analysis (Johnstone & Andrus, 2024). Whilst it is recognised that discourse analysis does not refer to a single approach or method, many of the frameworks share areas of overlap. Whilst different theorists place differing emphasis on the significance of language, this research aligns with the tenet that whilst discourse studies may have its foundations in linguistics, the analysis of discourse extends beyond language as a construct.

> *Calling what we do "discourse analysis" rather than "language analysis" underscores the fact that we are not centrally focused on language as abstract*

> *system. We tend instead to be interested in what happens when people draw on the knowledge they have about language, based on their memories of things they have said, heard, seen, or written before, to do things in the world.*
>
> *(Johnstone & Andrus, 2024, p. 3)*

There is an appreciation that in the discipline of psychology, Discourse Analysis provides a range of conceptual and methodological resources for thinking critically, whilst also reorientating practitioners from a pathologising individualised perspective to cognisance of social contexts (Parker, 2013).

7.6.1 A Critical Approach to Discourse Analysis

Discourse Analysis is aligned with a Social Constructivist approach, its theorising is related to the construction of being in the world and the influence of historical and cultural context in the production and reproduction of discourse (Parker, 2014c). This alignment demonstrates cognisance of science as a social construction, including psychology as a discipline and even the practice of discourse analysis as socially constructed (Parker, 2014c). With this Parker (2014b, p. 6) thereby suggests that *there* is no '*discourse analysis' as such, only historically constituted forms of close reading, reinterpretation and rewriting, forms that either serve to embed our understanding of language in certain dominant cultural practices or enable us to open the way to a transformation of language*.

The practice of Discourse Analysis thereby requires careful reflexivity and continued cognisance of the boundaries of application. Despite the latter, there is an appreciation of the varied conceptual and methodological tools offered by Discourse Analysis for critical conceptualisation and deliberation in Psychology (Parker, 2013). Aligned with the critical paradigm, these tools motivate a reorientation from individual psychopathology, to seeking the complicity of social contexts in constructing human understanding (Parker, 2013). Applying a foundational perspective, it is deemed to represent the application of language as acquired and understood based on memories of previous experiences in the social world (Johnstone, 2018). These experiences may be influenced by structures of inequality and power, including historical, social and socio-cultural contextual considerations. Holding these in mind, discourse involves reciprocal interaction, given that it is both influenced by these issues, as well as an influence on these issues (Johnstone, 2018). Given the possible purpose of associated interpretations and meanings guided by the aims of this study, the research follows principles orientated to a critical analysis within psychology. The emphasis on language in research has

taken on varied forms, and discourse analysis is thus employed with great variation across disciplines (Parker, 2013). There is thus no consensus about the explication of the broader term *discourse analysis*.

Amidst the varied negotiations related to Discourse Analysis, is the debate about a critical approach to Discourse Analysis, Critical Psychology, Critical Discursive Psychology and Critical Discourse Analysis. Each of these approaches applies a critical lens, with alternative shared commonalities. There are however continued debates about key differences and tensions. Critical Discourse Analysis as a representation of Critical Discourse Studies has gained particular prominence in recent years (Wodak & Meyer, 2015). As an analytical practice, it presents a critical perspective prevalent in discourse studies, attending to the practice, normalisation, maintenance, and manifestation of power and oppression by means of discourse (Van Dijk, 2015). In line with the African-centered and Decolonial intent of this research, it is however critical to recognise the coloniality of power (Ahmed, 2021).

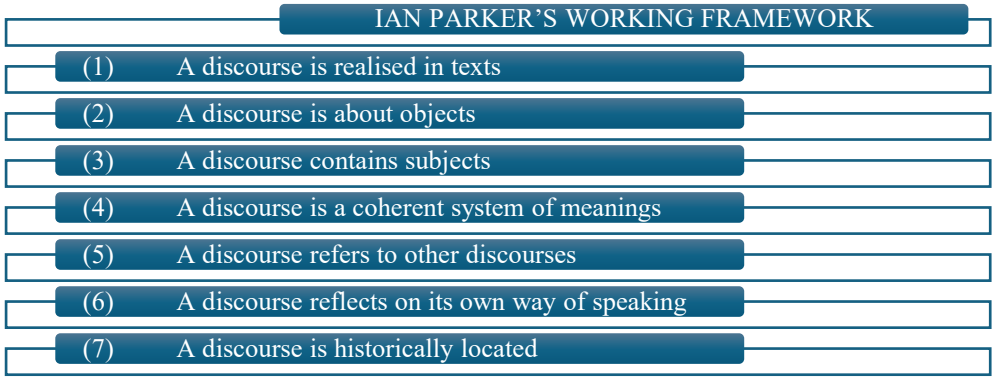
Moreover, as a relational form of research, Critical Discourse Analysis emphasises social relations, whilst demonstrating the complexity thereof given the relationship between discourse and objects in the physical world (Catalano & Waugh, 2020; Fairclough, 2013). This includes engaging with the reciprocal nature of systemic concerns, whilst examining both cause and consequence (Mogashoa, 2014). There are various dimensions pertinent to Critical Discourse Analysis, and it provides an interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary form of analysis (Fairclough, 2013). As such, Critical Discourse Analysis emphasises a detailed account of the relationship between communication media, culture, and societal considerations (Mogashoa, 2014). This form of analysis further serves to critically examine the relationship between ideology, language, power, and social structures (Catalano & Waugh, 2020). Given Critical Discourse Analysis' focus on discourse as a form of social inequality and social practice (Catalano & Waugh, 2020; Fairclough, 2013), it provides powerful learnings for research related to incidents related to violence, trauma, memory, and forgetting. Critical Psychology and Critical Discursive Psychology have shared commonalities. Critical Psychology provides a platform to examine power structures, whilst drawing on the principle of social constructionism that argues when the root and manifestation of a structure are uncovered and understood, it is subject to the potential for change (Parker, 2014b). Critical Discursive Psychology introduces a discourse-orientated Critical Psychology.

Parker (1990, 2002, 2014b) has extended the varied debates within Discourse Studies, evident in theorising related to both Critical Psychology and Critical Discursive Psychology. This has included Parker's (1990) presentation of a definition of discourse derived from the post-structuralist theorising of Foucault, Barthes, and Derrida, whilst also conceptualisation this into a working framework. Whilst holding in mind the various constructions of a critical approach to Discourse Analysis, the application of Discourse Analysis in this study was primarily guided by Parker's (1990, 2002, 2014) framework that introduces seven necessary and three supplementary criteria to approach different levels of discourse analysis. Whilst both the initial and most recent versions of the criteria informed an understanding of the critical approach to discourse analysis, the criteria as highlighted in Parker (1990, 2002) are illustrated and explicated in **Diagram 7.1.**

It is important to highlight that whilst **Diagram 7.1** provides a linear review of the seven criteria as presented by Parker (2014), the criteria do not hold a linear structure and have been presented in different formations across Parker's (1990, 2002) theorising. Additionally, the tenets of this research inquiry locate context, time and history at the core of framing an understanding and analysis of discourse. The seventh criterion, therefore, holds particular importance within the context of this study.

Diagram 7.1

Ian Parker's Working Framework: The Initial Seven Stages

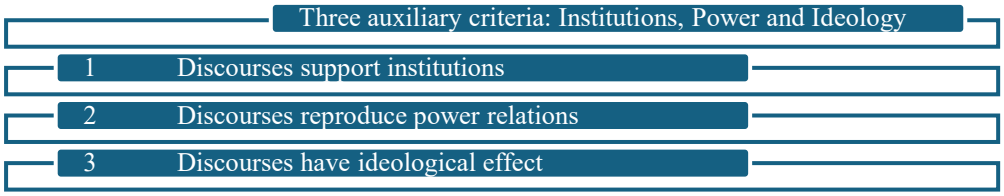


The first criterion informs that *(1) discourse is realised in texts,* which emphasises the extent to which discourse is found as 'fragments' within texts. It is further argued that whilst texts have limited boundaries, these texts can be subject to endless interpretations, given that different discourses are relevant to different audiences (Parker, 2014b, p. 6). Morison and Macleod (2014) caution that the texts generated within the research context are co-produced

scripts by both the researcher and participants. This aligns with the narrative discursive viewpoint that emphasises the researcher's role as a collaborator in the creation of the texts, which notably includes silences (Morison & Macleod, 2014). This invites the necessity of reflexive practice to reflect on the silences which are unlikely to be realised in texts. The second criterion, *(2) A discourse is about objects,* which implies that analysis comprises some degree of objectification. This first layer refers to the layer of reality that discourse refers to. The second layer of reality of objectification that a discourse sometimes refers to is that of the discourse itself (Parker, 2014b, p. 8). The third criterion, (3) *A discourse contains subjects,* calls for cognisance that the object that a discourse refers to may have an independent reality outside discourse, but is given another reality by discourse (Parker, 2014b, p. 9). Macleod and Wilbraham (2006) caution against assigning reified discourses in South Africa along with objects and subjects in narrowly demarcated textual fragments. Thereby risking severing the text from its historical and institutional conditions, and discursive practices, from the context in which they are created and consumed (Macleod & Wilbraham, 2006). The fourth criterion is represented by *(4) A discourse is a coherent system of meanings,* which draws explicitly on Foucault's work. The criterion emphasises that whilst the metaphors, analogies and pictures represented by discourses of construction can be distilled into statements about that reality, cognisance is required of culturally appropriate understandings as to what constitutes a topic or theme (Parker, 2014b, pp. 10-11). The fifth criterion highlights that (5) *A discourse refers to other discourses*, arguing that discursive systems are not isolated but rather embed, entail and presuppose other discourses (Parker, 2014b, p. 13). Parker (2002, 2014) attends to the implications of the researcher's expression of reflexivity, given that reflexivity itself should be understood as the application of available discourses. The sixth criterion, *(6) A discourse reflects on its own way of speaking* and builds on this by attending to different layers of meaning. Hermeneutics is suggested as an attempt to recover these meanings, thereby recognising that a hermeneutic style of inquiry is applied at varied points in discourse analysis (Parker, 2014b, p. 15). The final of the initial seven criteria, *(7) A discourse is historically located,* brings to the fore the realisation that discourses are located in time, and that discourse analysis needs to locate its object in time to ensure appropriate application. This requires cognisance that discourses are located in history, for the objects they refer to are objects constituted in the past (Parker, 2014b, p. 15). Parker (1990, 2002, 2014) introduced three further auxiliary criteria, which are particularly focused on power, institutions, and ideology. These are outlined in **Diagram 7. 2**, and briefly explicated in the section that follows.

Diagram 7.2

Ian Parker's Working Framework: The Three Auxiliary Criteria



The first auxiliary criterion, (*1) Discourses support institutions* entail the extent to which discourses are implicated in the structure of institutions (Parker, 2002, p. 154). Within the context of this research inquiry, this could include political structures, political organisations, commissions, as well as the state. The second auxiliary criterion, *(2) Discourses reproduce power relations* suggests that communication through language and narratives maintain and reinforce existing structures of power in society. In this way, psychology's increasing institutionalisation will increase its power over those outside and those inside it (Parker, 2002, p. 154). Parker (1990, 2002, 2014) insists that it should not be assumed that discourse and power implicate each other, as it may risk losing sight of the relationship between power and resistance. The third auxiliary criterion, *(3) Discourses have ideological effects*, emphasises that whilst not all discourses are ideological, ideology has progressive political effects. Recognising ideology as a description of relationships and effects, facilitates its application to describe relationships at a particular place and historical period (Parker, 1990, p. 200). This promotes engaging and challenging socially structured power and ideological systems of meaning (Parker, 2013).

In assessing the relevance of Parker's framework, it has been appropriately applied within postcolonial and decolonial settings – with specific attendance to South Africa (Macleod & Wilbraham, 2006; Pavón-Cuéllar & Parker, 2013). Varied contributions have illustrated direct alignment with South Africa's resistance against colonialism and apartheid, thereby demonstrating its relevance at societal, institutional, inter/subjective and textual levels (Macleod & Wilbraham, 2006). Despite the latter, it is nonetheless imperative to emphasise the necessity of applying a decolonial stance in applying a critical approach to discourse analysis. Whilst Parker's work has attained widespread appreciation for providing a working framework for a critical approach to discourse analysis, critics have highlighted Parker's limited direct engagement with colonialism and post-colonialism, and postcolonial theorists, suggesting that considerable analytical labour is required to ground Parker's framework within context

(Macleod & Wilbraham, 2006), and specifically the African-centered and Decolonial project. This endeavour cannot be compromised given that a *decolonial analysis enlarges the scope of critical discourse by weaving into the analysis coloniality of power a central theme in all postcolonial nations* (Ahmed, 2021, p. 140). Thus, highlighting the need for a decolonial epistemic shift from the usual analysis of political discourse in Africa (Ahmed, 2021). Parker's framework has been applied with cognisance of the recommendations presented by Macleod and Wilbraham (2006) in heeding the vulnerabilities of applying Discourse Analysis without appropriate contextual, cultural, colonial or post-colonial consideration.

Parker's (1990, 2002, 2014) working framework as represented by the seven key criteria were aligned with the twenty analytic steps outlined and explained by Parker (2002) in *Critical Discursive Psychology*.

Parker's (2002) first step in the analytic process is founded on criterion *A Discourse is Realised in texts*, which requires **(1) turning the data into words**. In the context of this research inquiry, this required transcribing the audio recordings of the in-depth interviews into text. This process is briefly outlined in the section below.

Transcription facilitates accessing discourse realised in texts. The interviews were transcribed verbatim but excluded identifying information. This included, but was not limited to names of people, places, objects and dates. The transcripts appropriately illustrate shifts between English and vernacular languages, colloquial speech, and other verbal expressions. The transcripts also included filler words such as 'uhm', as well as nonverbal brief breaks in speech '…', including pauses and silence. Further vocal acts of nonverbal expressions included giggling and laughing. The transcripts do not provide an annotation for moments of tearfulness, but these are observable through the transcription of the researcher's response to the participant's affect.

The corpus of transcripts formed the raw data for analysis, though there were incidents when **Discourse NOT Realised in Texts.** In the context of a study emphasising the criticality of silence and silencing, it is important to note that whilst the corpus of text informed the data analysis process, various interactions and narratives did not form part of the raw data but were consistently in the researcher's awareness during the analysis phase.

Given the focus on silence, it is not unexpected that more in-depth revelations were shared once the audio recordings were stopped. It may therefore be suggested that there is an assumption of safety in silence and secrecy. I have had secrets whispered to me in doorways

after individual or family interviews had concluded and I have had resistance to select questions explained via WhatsApp messages and emails shortly after individual interviews. The silence includes requests to have select parts of participants' accounts excluded from the research. All these requests for silence have been respected in the transcription process, and as such not all discourse has been realised as text. This demonstrates that as much as this research is an effort to uncover discursive networks of silencing, the research in many ways became entangled within these networks.

The second step in discourse analysis provided a continuation of criterion one, and to some extent provided a resolution to discourse that could not be realised in texts. This required **(2) creative free association to explore possible connotations** to the text. In psychological terms, free association is most often associated with accessing unconscious thoughts and feelings. However, within the context of discourse analysis, it refers to tracing symbolic connections in cultural material (Parker, 2002). Parker (2002, p. 208) however extended this understanding, by advising that *it is not only the addition of material through a variety of free association, but also the omission of certain bits of text that might be significant to the 'final' reading.* With this note, Parker (2002) makes allowance for the silenced texts, thereby providing them with a platform for potential unsilencing through symbolic connections.

It is also important to recognise that whilst the transcripts provide the corpus of texts, the analysis process involves the selection of texts by the researcher. Allowing a process of selection and omission, which Parker cautions should require reflection during the analytic process.

The third step aligns with Parker's second criterion, namely, *A Discourse is about Objects*, which required **(3) itemising the objects in the text**. Parker (2002) suggests that focusing on simple nouns and implicit objects produced by word combinations and adjectives is helpful. This was then followed by the fourth step, which required **(4) treating the text as the object of the study**. The fifth step aligned with the third criterion *A Discourse contains Subjects*, and required **(5) a listing of the subjects available in the text**. The following steps address the fourth criterion: *A discourse is a coherent system of meanings*. This includes the sixth step which requires some level of hypothesising, regarding **(6) what these subjects may infer about a system of discourse**, followed by the seventh step which require cognisance of the **(7) networks of relationships** implicated within these systems. Following Parker's (2002) guidance, this required giving thought to conjuring some imagery of the network of

relationships, whilst simultaneously implementing the eighth step **(8) by imagining how the networks of relationships may be preserved if confronted with a possible attack**. Drawing on the fifth criterion, *A discourse refers to other discourses*, the ninth step required drawing on **(9) patterns of discourse at play in the texts by identifying points of contrast**. Highlighting the sixth criterion, *A discourse reflects on its own way of speaking,* aligns with the tenth step required **(10) seeking points of overlap between different ways of talking about the same object**. The eleventh step promoted giving thought to **(11) how the different discourses may speak to different audiences**. The twelfth step requires **(12) identifying labels for the discourses identified**, whilst bearing cognisance that our surrounding context influences our reading as an interpretative process. Highlighting the seventh criterion, namely *A discourse is historically located*, the criticality of timescapes emerges with the thirteenth step which encourages **(13) an understanding of how discourses emerged historically**, whilst simultaneously holding in mind and applying the fourteenth step, which emphasises how **(14) discourses weave their own story of origins and in so doing conceal historical nature**. This step is deemed particularly valuable in this research context – given the ways histories have been subjected to distortion and myth in service of coloniality. This facilitates the application of the first auxiliary criterion *Discourses support institutions*. The application of the fifteenth step serves to expose **(15) institutions that are being reinforced**, whilst simultaneously addressing the sixteenth step by uncovering **(16) which institutions are subverted**. The second auxiliary criterion *Discourses reproduce power relations* is addressed with the seventeenth step and its focus on **(17) which categories of persons gain from these discourses**, followed by the eighteenth step in recognising **(18) persons who would either support or oppose these discourses**. In uncovering the ideological functions of texts, as per the third auxiliary criterion *Discourses have ideological effect*, the nineteenth step uncovers **(19) how these discourses interlock with other oppressive discourses** and how these may in turn **(20) justify the present**, which is at the core of the twentieth and final step.

Despite its linear presentation, the analysis phase was a cyclical process and was not approached with a rigid structure. The initial analysis phase comprised listening to the audio recordings, followed by a reading of the transcribed interviews. Given the iterative nature of the analysis, respective phases were revisited consistently throughout the analysis and review of the thesis. This included reading and re-reading the transcripts in alignment with the working framework presented by Parker (1990, 2002, 2014). This facilitated the process of identifying possible discursive themes in the data, in response to the research aims outlined at the onset of

the research inquiry. This was followed by collapsing themes that shared commonalities, with possible sets of subthemes where applicable. The final discursive themes were defined and named based on the discursive networks presented within the analysis process.

7.6.2 Hermeneutic Phenomenology: Decolonial Aspirations

It cannot be contested that methodology has its roots in colonial framings of knowledge and that whilst this research inquiry has decolonial aspirations it remains subject to various risks associated with Euro-Western coloniality of research. The African-centered and Decolonial project is burdened by the weight of framing the methodological underpinnings in alignment with its decolonial aspirations. As such, whilst the theoretical underpinnings of hermeneutical phenomenology were deemed important in making meaning of lived experience, it has included the theoretical intent of seeking the tensions and alignment with Fanonian analysis.

A hermeneutical phenomenology is a form of phenomenology in which research is oriented toward interpreting the "texts" of life (hermeneutical) and lived experiences (phenomenology) (Van Manen, 1990). Citing the work of Husserl (1859-1938), Heidegger (1889-1976) and Gadamer (1900-2002), hermeneutic phenomenology is concerned with lived experiential meanings and understanding *being*, from an ontological perspective (Dibley et al., 2020; Suddick et al., 2020; van Manen & van Manen, 2021). Emphasising the criticality of history and context, hermeneutics foregrounds how this foundation renders text subjective to the interpretative processes through which individuals make meaning of their social world. Hermeneutic Phenomenology is grounded in the Phenomenological Tradition of Husserl, and the argument for the superiority of lived experience in all its complexity (Dibley et al., 2020; van Manen & van Manen, 2021). This pertains to all phenomena related to the lived experience, including that which is known to us, and that which is hidden (Dibley et al., 2020). The latter is of particular relevance to contexts where the text of lived experience is woven with discourse subject to obscurity, veiled through concealment, secrecy or taboo.

The emphasis on hermeneutics and the rise of the Hermeneutic Phenomenological Tradition is grounded in the contributions of scholars such as Heidegger (1889-1976) and Gadamer (1900-2002). Heidegger introduced an ontological approach to facilitate an exploration of meaning-making related to 'being', centring the experience of 'being in the world' and the dynamics of the past, present and future (Lauterbach, 2018). Postulations that align closely with key principles of the integrated conceptual framework, and its emphasis on human reformation and

the concept of '*entangled multiplicity*' – founded on Canham's (2023) concept of *cylindrical epiphenomenal temporality* that suggests a time that is always occurring in the present.

It is nonetheless recognised that whilst Heidegger is renowned as one of the foremost European philosophers of the twentieth century and his formulation offers a re-articulation of the question of *Being*, Heidegger's political affiliations have cast a dark shadow on his philosophical contributions (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). The latter highlights the tension evident in Heidegger's thought and colonial discourse (Weidler, 2023). Maldonado-Torres (2007), however, posits that Heidegger's analyses of *being-in-the-world* present as a starting point for understanding some key elements of existential thought, a tradition that has made important insights into the lived experience of colonised and racialised peoples. Suggesting that revisiting Heidegger's theorising may provide intimations about how to articulate a discourse on the colonial aspects of world-making and lived experience (Maldonado-Torres, 2007).

Heidegger's (1962) theorising in *Being and Time* explores the representation of both 'being' and 'time', though his primary focus is to address the 'question of being'. Heidegger's application of discourse demonstrates a conceptualisation of 'being' that cannot be separated from 'time'. This is surmised from his use of the term "Dasein", which references 'being-in-the-world'. This suggests that being and consciousness do not occur in a contextual vacuum separate from the world but are instead a formation of historically lived experience. Building on this theorising and "Dasein', Gadamer's (1975) conceptualisation of language posits that it is not independent of the world but instead suggests that the world is represented by language and language is only real because the world is represented within it. Moreover, Gadamer (1975) illustrates the construction of language and the process of revealing 'being'. A core contribution of Gadamer's work that is of particular importance in the context of his research is his theorising related to the 'Other' and its contributions to understanding bias and prejudice (Lauterbach, 2018). Maldonado-Torres (2017) explicates that whilst Gadamer refers to a hermeneutics of texts, Fanon engages in a hermeneutics of lived experience. The author nonetheless acknowledges that both Gadamer and Fanon, struggled with the tension between truths that emerge through "description" and the knowledge obtained and preserved through methods, leading them to different types of hermeneutics and an appreciation of language and literature (Maldonado-Torres, 2017).

Both Heidegger (1962) and Gadamer (1975) make extensive use of Hegel's theorising, by integrating and adapting Hegel's postulations related to the phenomenology of spirit and

consciousness of being in divergent ways. It is important to highlight how Hegel may have influenced Heidegger's (1962) and Gadamer's (1975) thinking, given that Hegel's theorising sits in tension with Fanonian analysis. Whilst Fanon engaged extensively with Hegel's theorising, Fanon demonstrated the varied ways in which Hegel's thought, particularly Hegel's master-slave dialectic, may demonstrate misalignment in his conceptualisation of colonialism and racism (Bird-Pollan, 2014). Despite these concerns, Fanon does not disregard Hegel's theorising and instead frames the contributions in a manner that appropriately informs *The Negro and Hegel (1967 translation)*, *The Black Man and Hegel (2008 translation)* as presented in *Black Skin, White Masks*. Reading Hegel through a Fanonian lens, whilst holding cognisance of the influence on Heidegger (1962) and Gadamer (1975), therefore has the potential to provide a deeper interpretation of the text (Bird-Pollan, 2014), thus affirming the possibility of enabling a decolonial turn.

Given that the study focuses on a historical datum marked by intergenerationally transformative human rights violations, it was important to apply an analytic process that would bear cognisance to the lived experiences of the participants while allowing a personalised interpretation in context. The context is of particular relevance as meaning is derived from historical incidents (Ramsook, 2018). A hermeneutic phenomenological approach therefore informed the research initiative from the onset, in planning the research questions and framing an understanding of the prospective research participants. The hermeneutic phenomenological analytic process shared considerable overlap with the initial stages of a critical approach to discourse analysis. This included the importance allocated to researcher reflexibility by both approaches. Within the hermeneutic phenomenological tradition, this is in part guided by Gadamer's philosophy as framed in *"Truth and Method"* (McBride, 2023). Reflexivity is thus deemed a hermeneutic practice that facilitates the researcher in attaining an understanding of their own experience as well as the participant's experience within a historical, cultural, and social context that recognises the primacy of history (McBride, 2023).

A further overlap with a critical approach to Discourse Analysis included the requirement to transcribe the audio recordings into written word. Despite the need for transcription, Gadamer, (1975, 2004) cautioned the necessity to return to the spoken word. The analytic process was thus guided by a cyclical and simultaneous review of the transcripts and the audio recordings of the interviews. Whilst transcription facilitates the analytic process, it is not deemed comparable to the spoken word in terms of illuminating the manner of speaking, the tone of voice, the tempo, and the circumstances in which the words are spoken (Gadamer, 2004).

The emphasis on the spoken word is attributed to its association with dialogue. For this reason, select participant extracts are presented in dialogue with the researcher - where deemed necessary for the reader's understanding. Holding in mind the role of the researcher within the dialogue was therefore important throughout the analytic process. In borrowing from Gadamer (2004), Alsaigh and Coyne (2021) posited that dialogue does not only reference the interaction between the researcher and participant but also presents the dialogue between reader and text. Holding this inference in mind was therefore pivotal in the way the researcher chose to convey an understanding of the participant narratives, and the analytic lens applied.

7.7 GATHERING INSTRUMENTS, PROCEDURE AND PROCESS

The following section provides a brief description of how the application of the bricolage guided the instruments, procedure and process.

7.7.1 Semi-structured In-depth Interviews

Semi-structured In-depth Interviews were applied to facilitate optimal engagement between the interviewer and the participants. The purpose is to elicit in-depth information or insights in response to the research aims and objectives (Guest & Fleming, 2015). This aligns with the tenets of hermeneutic phenomenology and the focus on experiences of past events (Ramsook, 2018), whilst also attending to the discursive networks emerging from the individual narratives of the women' descendants. These interviews contributed towards the greater part of the text corpus since most participants only engaged in an individual interview.

The use of a semi-structured interview schedule facilitated an approach that promoted adaptation. There was nonetheless an assurance that the process was guided by context and relevance, whilst also allowing for more appropriate and considered engagement (Lune & Berg, 2017; Morris, 2015). The latter had a considerable impact on the researcher-participant dynamic, which in turn contributed to rapport building and the potential to engage authentically and openly. Whilst the semi-structured in-depth interviews facilitated more textured accounts, it also enabled a process where possible hierarchies of power between the interviewer and participant could be held in mind. It is nonetheless acknowledged that not all power hierarchies may have been accounted for and addressed.

The individual interviews aimed to facilitate a contained space in which personal information could be shared, discussed and explored. This included details that were perceived to be closely linked to the participant's individual self and lived experience (Johnson & Rowlands, 2012)

and how these may be associated with their positionalities as descendants and their forebearers' experiences. The extent to which this was possible had to be navigated differently across interviews given diverse contextual dynamics.

Eleven of the individual interviews took place in person, whereas seven of the individual interviews took place online via the MS Teams platform. These online engagements were all synchronous sessions. This refers to sessions that are 'live', which allows participants to engage with the researcher in a more direct manner (Lune & Berg, 2017). Of the seven individual interviews that were administered online, the researcher had the opportunity to meet one of the participants in person before the online interview and facilitated an in-person debriefing session with another participant after the online interview. Of the seven interviews that took place via the MS Teams platform, five were conducted online due to geographical constraints. The application of technology for research purposes has shown to be effective in addressing geographical barriers (Lo Iacono et al., 2016). One interview was initially scheduled to take place in person, but the participant requested an online interview on the day due to protest action in the areas surrounding their residential area. This further demonstrates the usefulness of technology to address unforeseen difficulties. Lastly, one online interview was scheduled to occur online based on the participant's preference, not due to geographical constraints. Previous research has indicated that online interviews are often more appealing to prospective participants given the convenience, efficiency and flexibility (Archibald et al., 2019; Lo Iacono et al., 2016). Given that it took some time to schedule the interview due to various participant-related reasons, it is surmised that these factors were particularly important to the participant.

7.7.2 Family Interviews

Family interview processes were applied in response to the research aim and questions focussing on the discursive networks emerging from the collective narratives of the women descendants of women anti-apartheid activists. The family is an important entity on which this research is premised, given the emphasis on the intergenerational transmission of trauma. Families are considered to be the most traditional example of a group, given the assumption that the members of the family have defined relationships with each other (Brown & Pehrson, 2019). Whilst this description may be contested given the fluidity of contemporary family constructs, families are still regarded as groups irrespective of the clarity or lack of clarity of their relationships (Brown & Pehrson, 2019). Beyond the dynamics presented by contemporary constructs, it is also important to conceptualise family in response to context and culture.

Family interviews are surmised to produce information that is qualitatively different from those in individual interviews (Voltelen et al., 2018). Family records typically emerge from interviews with one or two family members (Donalek, 2009). It is suggested that a more inclusive approach would require interviewing more members, though it is common to interview each member separately, or at most a dyad (Donalek, 2009). The latter reflects group processes that provide a social context in which ideas and language can emerge reciprocally (Brown & Pehrson, 2019). These processes facilitate the generation of insights as participants hear, respond, and reflect on what has been shared. It is suggested that the interactive process of the group facilitate the production of information differently from what may be anticipated in a one-on-one encounter (Guest & Fleming, 2015). There is also an awareness that select participant responses may be modified due to the presence of others (Donalek, 2009). Whilst there is an appreciation for the ways in which family interviews may stimulate interaction, and enrich insights and disclosures, the analysis requires cognisance that the participants respond as a member belonging to a family, and not as an individual (Donalek, 2009).

As previously discussed, interviews can be conducted with one or more members of a family, individually or as a collective (Van Parys et al., 2017). It is most common to interview each member separately, or at most a dyad (Donalek, 2009). The initial research design suggested including individual and family interviews per family process. However, this was not easy to execute given the difficulty to recruit participants who were willing to engage in family interviews. The ethics protocol also prohibited engaging participants to recruit fellow family members who would be willing to participate in a family interview. This process was therefore dependent on participants motivating this process.

Two multi-family member interview processes are presented. The first family process presents individual interviews with two family members across two generations and the second family process presents an individual interview and two-family dyad interviews across three generations.

Family Member Interviews across Two Generations: This family process was intended to comprise two individual interviews and one family interview. The family interview however never took place as intended. Ultimately, this family interview process comprised individual interviews with a daughter and a granddaughter of a women anti-apartheid activist. The relationship between these two descendants is a ‘mother and daughter’ dyad. The family processes comprised an initial interaction with both descendants present, followed by two

individual in-depth interviews and a final interaction with the granddaughter and her extended family. All processes took place in person. The individual interviews took place in the same setting and on the same date. The setting was the home of the late woman anti-apartheid activist since both the daughter and granddaughter reside in the family home. The first individual interview included the granddaughter of the anti-apartheid activist. The second individual interview included the daughter of the anti-apartheid activist. A second visit was scheduled for the family interview, but separate informal conversations were had with both the daughter and granddaughter since it was difficult to facilitate the family interview process due to a collective gathering. The second interaction took place at the home of a different anti-apartheid activist, given family ties. The applied dynamics demonstrate the fluidity of conducting research in family settings.

Table 7.2 Family Member Interviews Across Two Generations

Process	Relation to Women Anti-apartheid Activist	Relation to Each Other
Individual Interview		
	Granddaughter of a woman activist	**Daughter**
Individual Interview		
	Daughter of a woman activist	**Mother**

Family Member Interviews across Three Generations: This family process comprised two separate family dyad interviews that took place in person. Both interviews took place at the home of the late woman anti-apartheid activist. Though neither of the descendants' primary residences, it was clear that the choice of venue was intentional. There was a spoken wish for the researcher to be present in the forebearers' home, to not only bear witness to its place within the community but to fully immerse in the memories represented in the photographs and documents shared during the interview process.

As illustrated in **Table 7.3**; the first family interview included the daughter and granddaughter of the anti-apartheid activist. The relationship between the two descendants is aunt and niece. The second family interview included the granddaughter and great-granddaughter of the anti-apartheid activist. The relationship between these two descendants is mother and daughter. An individual interview was conducted with the granddaughter in a different setting, as well as brief telephonic check-ins after the family interview process. The setting of the individual interview was the participant’s home. The individual interview process was initially scheduled to take place first, but the actual order of the processes demonstrates the fluidity of conducting

research in family settings. The granddaughter invited her aunt to participate in the interview, and the researcher only became aware of this when arriving to the interview.

Table 7.3 Family Member Interviews across Three Generations

Interview Process	Relation to Women Anti-apartheid Activist	Relation to Each Other
Family Interview		
	Daughter of a woman activist	**Aunt**
	Granddaughter of a woman activist	**Niece**
Individual Interview		
	Granddaughter of a woman activist	**-**
Family Interview		
	Granddaughter of a woman activist	**Mother**
	Great-granddaughter of a woman activist	**Daughter**

The family member interviews allowed an understanding of the different levels of sharing and unsilencing across generations. This will however be extended on in the chapter focussing on the findings and discussion. Nonetheless, it acknowledged that the family member interviews cannot fully reflect the family's collective experience.

7.8 RESEARCHER POSITIONALITY AND REFLEXIVITY

An interrogation of reflexivity constitutes part of a broader debate concerning ontological, epistemological and axiological components of the self, intersubjectivity and the colonisation of knowledge (Berger, 2015). All forms of research are initiatives constructed from human ideas and thought, and it is argued that no research can be entirely objective. Nonetheless, this argument is contingent on how intersubjectivity and objectivity are conceptualised and understood. Objectivity is commonly referenced as a fundamental ideal of sound research, to assure the absence of the researcher's possible biases, prejudice, and values in the research process and findings (Weston & Sanders, 2021). Scheman (2015) however offers a re-definition of objectivity as trustworthiness that recognises the complexity of the relationship between researchers and participants, thus promoting cognisance of the political and social justice implications. This research initiative aligns with the aforementioned definition, thereby adopting strong objectivity. This allows for acknowledging personal biases and feelings (Harding, 1991; 1995), including the probable implications of researcher identity and positionality. As such, whilst traditional definitions of objectivity may embrace the concept of value-free research (Cresswell, 2014), this research initiative recognises its social and political agendas, thereby promoting a value-laden approach instead.

This strong objectivity and value-laden approach promotes the practice of researcher reflexivity, given the fundamental role of the researcher as the primary research instrument (Rosendahl et al., 2015). As the primary research instrument, the researcher is at the core of administrating and formulating the research process. Moreover, the researcher's thinking and meaning-making of the theory, literature and participant narratives ultimately contribute to the analysis and synthesis of the research outcomes. As the primary research instrument, the researcher enters the process not only as their professional selves, but with all the other facets that contribute to the different personas of the self (Denzin & Lincoln, 2017). This draws attention to the importance of researcher positionality and how it may impact the various processes of the research initiative. Given the role of positionality throughout the research process, the pursuit of reflexivity is promoted as an iterative practice (Ibrahim & Edgley, 2015). Reflexivity is conceptualised as observing continual internal dialogue, comprising critical self-awareness and self-evaluation of the researcher's positionality (Berger, 2015). Reflexivity therefore encourages a sense of consciousness, while simultaneously necessitating an openness to acknowledge how the researcher's positionality may affect the research process and outcome (Berger, 2015). This practice offers researchers the needed reminders of how meaning-making may contribute to the construction of knowledge in the research process, the possible lived experiences of research participants, and subsequently, the meaning-making that contributes to research findings. This promotes assurance of the quality and rigour of the overall research initiative (Teh & Lek, 2018) in addition to facilitating ethical practice.

7.8.1 Researcher as The Primary Research and Analytic Instrument

Bearing cognisance of the researcher as the primary research and analytic instrument, a review of the researcher's reflexive praxis is needed. This allows for an interrogation of the researcher as the main research instrument and the considerations required in response to the researcher's positionality and identity within the psychopolitical landscape of the research inquiry. As such, whilst providing an extended section on researcher positionality and reflexivity may risk an appearance of self-indulgence, it is argued that the researcher's interpretations cannot be separated from their background and history (Creswell, 2013).

The researcher may be regarded as the single most important component that informs qualitative research in terms of process and outcome (Merriam, 2009). This argument demonstrates that whilst cognisance of researcher positionality and reflexivity is critical across all research practices, it is often assumed to hold relevance solely within qualitative research

inquiries (Jamieson et al., 2023). Similarly, reflexive practice holds importance across research contexts, irrespective of aims or objectives. Research focusing on trauma, interlinked with legacies associated with race and gender, may invite further complexity. It is surmised that the latter is particularly applicable within the South African context and the varied ways the nation embodies its colonial wound. This includes the continued widespread application of racial categorisation and how this continued separatist ideology impacts the psyche of the collective. Explicated by Wahbie Long's (2021) *Nation on the Couch,* it is therefore not too exaggerated to state that democratic South Africa *aggravates the psychological torture of its citizens* (p. 49). Despite the continued tensions evoked by racial categorisation, Gqola (2010) argues that the heed to move beyond race markers is premature given the continued ways in which race informs social, political and economic structures in South Africa.

Despite speaking the language of constitutional reform, too much of South Africa's praxis remains embedded within colonial ideology. Thereby standing in contradiction with Fanon's (1963, p. 147) emphasis on praxis, surmising that *without that knowledge of the practice of action, there's nothing but a fancy-dress parade and the blare of the trumpets.* Recognising the reality of this dress parade in post-apartheid South Africa was critical to the researcher's reflexivity in response to her positionality and identity. This included recognising that post-apartheid South Africa has in many ways failed to translate into meaningful change for the majority of South Africans, and how this may influence the varied ways the research participants may have experienced the researcher, as well as how the researcher may have experienced the research participants and made meaning of their narratives. This includes this researcher's intersectional presentation in terms of race, ethnicity as well as class distinctions in response to the researcher's positionality as a psychologist and doctoral student.

> *After decades of apartheid's racial reasoning, the idea that South African society comprises four distinct races – 'whites', 'Coloureds', 'Indians' and 'Africans' – has become a habit of thought and experience, a facet of popular 'common sense' still widely in evidence*
>
> *(Posel, 2001b, p. 51)*

This component of the thesis proved to be challenging to pen down, despite extensive reflexive praxis concerning my lived experience of race and racial categorisation before, throughout and beyond the research process. Articulating these reflections has in many ways been exacerbated by the experience of living in the shadow of colonialist South Africa's continued racial

labelling. Whilst this experience has been more wide-ranging, it has consistently been present in the various stages of this research. This has included comments on my assumed white identity in my reader's proposal feedback, responses to the research call and participant engagements.

> **** reached out to inform me that she had shared my research call with her colleagues and that one of her colleagues was enraged. *** explained that her colleague assumed that I was white and stated that I was trying to gain a PhD from black suffering. I was grateful to *** for reaching out as I had silently assumed that this was the experience of many. I wondered about the anger and the pain my research call may have evoked amongst many people already experiencing a sense of pain and loss.*
>
> *Researcher notes*

Born during apartheid South Africa, I am racially classified as 'coloured'. The Population Registration Act legitimised that a *"(iii) coloured person" means a person who is not a white person or a native"* (p. 277). Hailing from Cape Town, South Africa – this classification is often extended to 'Cape coloured' (Christopher, 2006). Within the broader context, this racial category has observed continuous malformation since the colonial era, with the initial category ominously designated as "Other" in the South African Census 1865. The ambiguity presented by people of multi-ethnic heritage is presented in the varied adaptions across the successive colonial census registers. From colonial ideology, these have ranged from "Mixed and Other" dated 1875 to 1904, "Mixed and Other Coloured" in 1911 and finally just "Coloured" from 1951 to present-day South Africa (Christopher, 2002, 2006).

I am however aware of my grievous tension with being labelled 'coloured'. This tension is however not unique to my experience, given that coloured identity has been the subject of ideological and political contention since its political construction in the late 19th century (Adhikari, 2009). This tension continues to be widespread across post-apartheid South Africa, thereby creating a fissure amongst those legally designated as 'coloured'. This divide is attributed to the contrasting levels of acceptance of this category. Though many people of colour experience a deep sense of belonging and pride in their identity as 'coloured', others have rejected this racial categorisation (Adhikari, 2009; Nilsson, 2016). These rejections have multifarious roots, with some including efforts towards non-racialism and identification as Black as inspired by the Black Consciousness movement (Nilsson, 2016). Further resistance

may be associated with assumptions that frame coloured categorising as a product of miscegenation (Adhikari, 2009). This resistance may be attributed to the psychological weight associated with an acknowledgement of miscegenation and the uncertainty of whether this is associated with sexual trauma. Thereby resisting the act of looking back to our own Krotoa-Eva's, and reinserting our own fears and words into Yvette Abrahams' (1996b) question; *"Was Eva raped?"*. Thereby calling into question Bhabha's (1992) conceptualisation of hybridity and its vacancy of interrogating colonial violence and power and the subsequent sexual and political exploitation of the colonised. Thus, contributing to the neglect that for people of colour, an acceptance of coloured identity may demand an acceptance of the traumatic history of rape.

It is surmised that the weight of this historical trauma is further burdened by the colonial discourse applied by apartheid racial categorisation. As previously highlighted, the Population Registration Act legitimised that a *"(iii) coloured person" means a person who is **not** a white person or a native*" (p. 277). **'Not'** as a lexical item has various uses, though it is most frequently applied to indicate negation. It is therefore surmised that the ambiguity and tension of coloured identity are situated in the continuum of non-being. It may be suggested that this emphasis on 'not' is aligned with colonialism's refusal to look back. Thereby denying both the sexual marauding of women and "*Denying the coloured mother"* (Distiller & Samuelson, 2005). Thereby manifesting a discourse and identity embedded in the written word 'not', which expunges being and humanity.

> *The coloniality of Being is therefore coextensive with the production of the color-line in its different expressions and dimensions. It becomes concrete in the appearance of liminal subjects, which mark, as it were, the limit of Being, that is, the point at which Being distorts meaning and evidence to the point of dehumanization.*
>
> *(Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 257)*

Liminal subjects, specifically humans who are seemingly culturally ambiguous and can therefore not easily be classified into colonially constructed categories, highlight the demarcation of coloniality of Being (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). Thereby creating a tension of being situated outside the boundaries of being in its entirety, risking alienability and the construction of the non-human. It is therefore surmised that 'coloured' identities have been set up to be subject to this tension since colonial times. This illuminates the relevance of Fanon's

attendance to the legitimacy of belonging to the human community (Gordon et al., 2013). Extended by Bhabha (1992) in referencing coloured existence as the unspoken 'totem' of the taboo, representing an unhomely world. The latter not only provides an articulation of Bhabha's (1992) application of hybridity in response to coloured in-between existence but also the alienation embodied. It is thus questioned to what extent people of colour sit at the extremes of acceptance and rejection in the plight of seeking an affirmation of their humanity.

The tensions associated with humanity, extend beyond the complexity of race, comprising the intersections of class and gender. Speaking directly to gender is the not-so-silent stereotype of the perception of coloured women as 'sexually loose', which has created a fissure between women who can embrace their sexuality versus those who are pushed into silenced sexuality and shame to align with the cultural ideology of respectability (Marias, 2022). This is proposed to be an intergenerational inheritance from Koatoa Eva and her alienation and banishment for being labelled as promiscuous (Miller, 2024). Kylia Marias has recently initiated research to shift this stereotype through her membership in the Pleasure Project and her work towards unsilencing women's sexualities (Marias, 2019). The themes of sexuality, shame and silence demonstrated consistent relevance across the various narratives. Thereby demonstrating how cumulative deviance can find allegiance when women step outside patriarchal boundaries. This specifically relates to how women's deviance as activists is frequently aligned with discourses of promiscuity (Bridger, 2021). A discourse that appears to be most spontaneously assigned to the existence of black women.

Beyond my perceived positionalities in terms of race and gender sits the inevitable category of class. In the context of this research, many participants were the daughters and granddaughters of domestic workers[12], rendering their narratives particularly evocative in terms of my own intersubjectivity. The experiences of domestic workers were in many ways crafted by slavocratic ideology and supported by the capitalist structure maintained by apartheid. As such, domestic workers existed in a legal vacuum within a coercive structure that emphasised their disposability during apartheid (Cock, 1981). In post-apartheid South Africa, it is difficult to ascertain to what extent there have been adequate shifts in terms of oppressive practices towards meaningful transformation (Dawood & Seedat-Khan, 2023). As the granddaughter of

[12] The term 'domestic worker' is applied, as used by the research participants included in this study. This does not imply an absence of awareness of the tensions associated with the term domestic worker.

a domestic worker or rather a 'char'[13]– as per my grandmother's preferred term, I grew up with the discourse of 'meester' (master) and the implicit implications it had on the construction of my grandmother's family, as a live-in 'char'. This included the valuation of 'coloured' lives in relation to 'white' lives. It is proposed that domestic workers occupy a very particular position in the South African condition, given their intimate exposure to the Manichaeism conceptualisation of humanity. The Manichaeism boundaries outlined how belonging founded on race (Fanon, 1963, 2018) subjected domestic workers, especially live-in domestic workers, to the lived experience that consistently marred their humanity as less than. I am uncomfortably aware of how this construction aligned with the valuation of white existence as superior, and how this may in part have informed my resistance to any association with assimilation politics and its association with coloured identity.

> *Coloured assimilationism together with the insecurities engendered by their intermediate status meant that the most consistent, and insistent, element in their expression of identity in daily life was an association with whiteness, and a concomitant distancing from Africanness, whether it be in the value placed on a fair skin and straight hair, the prizing of white ancestors in the family lineage or taking pride in their assimilation to western culture.*
>
> *(Adhikari, 2006, p. 479)*

Beyond this, I must admit that my conscientisation, political awareness and identity as a black woman were borne through the church, despite the existing tensions between coloniality and Christianity. This is primarily attributed to my early exposure to anti-apartheid activist and theologian Allan Boesak. Despite the varied allegations and controversy that surround him today, for many people, Boesak represented a *theological anthropology in which the complete humanity of all people- regardless of race, culture, colour, origin, status or class-were freed* (Plaatjies-Van Huffel, 2018, p. 9). This early conscientisation and identity as a black woman created significant tension living in a context that had been socially constructed to label me as 'coloured'.

[13] It is difficult to assume to what extent my grandmother's preference for the term 'char' may be an indication of her discomfort with the term domestic worker. This includes the possibility of wanting to distance herself from the term domestic worker, along with its associations with Blackness.

My tension with coloured identity is further encumbered by ambiguity given my absence of intent to facilitate any form of historical erasure. My ancestry and its impact on my family of origin have contributed to a deep resonance with the complex history associated with people of multi-ethnic heritage. This is specifically related to the history of slavery in the context of South Africa, the dissolution of families with multi-ethnic ties in South Africa, as well as the impact of oppressive power dynamics on individual, interpersonal and family well-being. Consequently, I associate much of the violence exposed to whilst growing up in a historically coloured township with the inevitable eruption produced by the daily subjugation of people of colour by white *'masters'*, specifically the influence of colonialist and apartheid practices of power on black men's masculinities.

Rather than implying my capacity to provide reflexive clarity, my interpretation instead affirms the difficulty associated with thinking or writing about coloured identity, without increasing the vulnerability of alienating people that either fall within or outside identification with the racial category labelled 'coloured' (Forbay & Mnguni, 2024). As such, in acknowledging my tension with my assigned coloured identity, I neither assume knowing the boundaries of the varied conceptualisations of coloured identity nor do I aim to police how people choose to identify in terms of race, ethnicity, or culture. Similarly, I acknowledge tensions that may be evoked for others in response to my identification as a black woman. This includes navigating the tension of my identity whilst acknowledging the varied experiences of blackness and how the *looseness of a curl, and the hue of 'Black' skin* continues to temper a world of cascading access and acceptance (Ndlovu, 2023, p. 1). Reflection on this is likely to be an ongoing process. Navigating this absence of clarity in my psychologically orientated debriefing space allowed a re-articulation of my discomfort and exploration of the possibility of shame; "*That's why it is so difficult to separate yourself from the participants - the shared feeling of shame, even though it is experienced differently."* This included the shame of the privileges afforded by colourism and education.

Gqola's (2010) argues that South Africa's oppressive timescapes suppressed a more authentic engagement with heterogeneity, thereby silencing certain different experiences of Blackness. This included the neglect of gender, sexuality, class, ethnicity and geographical location (Gqola, 2010). Within the context of this research inquiry, and my everyday existence in South Africa, I deem it necessary to reflect on my positionality in different spaces, what I may represent to others, and what my physical presentation may evoke. Adding to my physical presentation, I am aware that my assumed existence on the periphery of whiteness is

exacerbated by my surname, which, along with my language, exists as colonial markers. And although the surname "Goldschmidt" may not have been mine since birth, its colonial ties are no different from the Brand or Abrahams' lineages I hail from. Reflecting on my positionality within my chosen profession as a psychologist, I am consistently aware that as a psychologist, I am more consistently perceived on the periphery of blackness. In stating this, I am not referring to my political consciousness and my identity as a black woman. I am instead referring to the colonial violence projected onto blackness as expressed by Fanon (1986) in his observations and theorising chaptered *The Fact of Blackness, Black Skin, White Masks*. When clients of colour seek out a psychologist of colour, I believe it is often with the wish of being 'seen' by someone who may understand their lived experience of colonial violences and its projection of otherness and unbeing onto blackness. Conversely, the colonial tensions of my surname invite consistent reminders that psychology is a profession that provides me admission with significant reluctance. With insufficient desktop research by prospective clients, I am frequently at risk of not being the psychologist that the client expects to see, whether the anticipation is for a white or white Jewish practitioner.

Psychoanalyst Faghry Davids (2022, p. 373) cautions that the *clinical encounter is a meeting between two human beings and the demand that one party's subjective thoughts and feelings be totally excluded from it smacks of omnipotence.* As a dynamically orientated psychologist, I believe that irrespective of the racial identities represented by the psychologist-client dyad, race is always in the room and therefore in the therapeutic encounter. My thoughts are supported by research in alternate contexts that suggest cultural mistrust, low assimilation attitudes, and strong internalised Afrocentric attitudes influenced clients' preference for a therapist of colour (Archer, 2002; Goode-Cross & Grim, 2016; Townes et al., 2009). Research in the South African context contends that race in the room may influence the clinician's experiences of transference, countertransference and the working alliance (Mbele, 2010). Research by Goode-Cross and Grim (2016) speaks of *an unspoken level of comfort,* which offers improved therapeutic alliance, whilst simultaneously presenting the need for increased cognisance of professional boundaries. Aware that these postulations have held for me on various occasions, I must admit that the most liberating relational encounter in therapy was a black client's spontaneous verbal expression of surprise, exclaiming, *"you're not white!"*. A liberty provided by his own blackness, which provided a relieving alternative to white resistance and the assumed internal reaction that may be likened to Fanon's '*Look a negro*!' An exploration of Black, Asian and minority ethnic counsellors' experiences of

working with white clients in the United Kingdom by Spalding and colleagues (2019) explicates the experiences of encountering client reactions, including visible surprise, judgement and negative perception. A retrospective analysis of the client's chosen articulation of *"you're not white!"*, however, once again reveals the tensions of coloured identity, given that the exclamation did not reveal an appraisal of blackness either.

Holding this positionality within my daily practice was contradicted by the research encounter, which skewed my perceived positionality towards whiteness, class and privilege. Though it is difficult to assess to what extent the colonial markers of my surname may have influenced potential participants' responses to the research call, the extract below demonstrates a participant's concern concerning my proximity to whiteness. This concern may have remained subject to silence amongst other prospective participants.

In the context of speaking about fear and its influence on the capacity to trust in response to white subjugation, a participant shared the following.

> *I saw the name and everything, you know, what came to me was, uh, what if I am opening up myself to danger?*
>
> *(Participant 13, II, page 7, line 185)*

Comparable to a therapeutic encounter, this researcher-participant interaction allowed an engagement that could pursue the implications of colonial violence within the research encounter and the dangers presented by my surname. This, however, required a recognition of my embodiment as the coloniser and the threat of black exploitation. Whilst holding cognisance of this positionality elicited discomfort, a denial of this experience would have risked an alternative silencing and denial of the hierarchical schism crafted by the colonial construction of coloured and black categorisation. My positionality was therefore never static, always shifting in response to the parameters of race or class, perceived belonging or otherness and assumed insider versus outsider status. I recognised that my comfort or discomfort within the spaces of belonging or otherness was subject to a psychopolitical analysis of what these spaces implied. Practising consistent reflexivity was therefore critical to facilitating some form of stability and clarity, given that I, in many ways, felt like I was a continuous pendulum. The application of this metaphor is intentional, given that my own identity had to provide a fixed point of containment as I felt myself swinging back and forth under the influence of the gravity presented by colonial remnants. As explicated in the sections that follow, these were crafted in

response to the colonial remnants of geographical segregation and racial division across the boundaries of language.

7.8.2 Researcher Positionalities in Response to Geographical Location as Racialised Context

As highlighted in an earlier section of this chapter, the inclusion and exclusion criteria did not specify geographical location, and prospective participants were therefore eligible to participate irrespective of their geographical location. Whilst select interviews took place online, many of the interviews were conducted in either the Gauteng or the Western Cape Provinces of South Africa. The interviews in the Western Cape took place in geographical locations historically characterised by the apartheid state as either black or coloured townships. Similarly, the interviews in Gauteng also took place across geographical locations historically characterised as either black or coloured townships, though it also included areas previously zoned for 'whites only'. Despite the eradication of racial zoning legislation with the demise of apartheid, it is important to note, that the spatial legacy of apartheid remains active within post-apartheid South Africa's landscape. These continuities are attributed to South Africa's neoliberal policies which tend to reinforce race and class segregation, rather than challenge the apartheid urban landscape (Maharaj, 2020).

Social engineering was a critical component of the apartheid project. As such, it was not entirely unexpected that the relational implications of this spatial engineering impacted the shifting of my positionality as the researcher. The Western Cape have observed more incidents of racism reported than in any other province. This is according to statistics from the South African Human Rights Commission SAHRC. The Western Cape received 123 racism-related complaints from April 2022 to January 2023 (SAHRC, 2023). The Gauteng province was ranked third with 73 reported complaints. Of increasing concern, is that according to the 2020/21 SAHRC annual trends analysis report, the Western Cape had the lowest number of finalised complaints. During the same period, it had the highest number of cases carried over (SAHRC, 2023). This inability to resolve cases suggests continued tensions between and within racial groups that remain neglected at best and a manifestation of racism festering at worst.

Given that the interviews were conducted in both the Gauteng Province and the Western Cape Province interchangeably, it was easy to observe the divergent ways in which I was most likely experienced and perceived across the respective provinces. Within the Western Cape, I was initially more overtly aware of my positionality as an *'other'* or an *'outsider'*. This experience

was consistent across historically categorised black and coloured townships. As such, whilst these interactions increased my awareness and reflexivity concerning my positionality concerning race, it further highlighted undeniable class distinctions. This included a heightened awareness of my positionality as a doctoral student and what this may have conveyed in terms of my level of access, privilege, and possibly power. In recognising this divergence, I was aware that my efforts towards rapport building were intersected with discomfort (later identified as shame) – therefore manifesting an interchange that felt intentional, rather than unconstrained. I feared to what extent this may have impacted an authentic empathic engagement and the overt practice of wearing my 'researcher hat' to facilitate the interview processes. Reflexivity on the 'researcher hat' elicited further discomfort, given my awareness of traditional research positionality and its representation of colonial practice. Reflexive practice was therefore critical in facilitating cognisance of my internal processes in response to some of the initial interviews, and in turn, contributed to my capacity for meaningful engagement whilst bearing cognisance of my position as an outsider.

7.8.3 Reflexivity on Gender and Being *Woman*

As illustrated by the sections above, race and class occupied a dominant space in my reflexive praxis. Thereby, unintentionally falling into the trap of emphasising assumed differences and permitting them to overshadow spaces of sameness and belonging. In retrospect, I realise that my reflexive praxis may initially have been skewed towards safeguarding participants against harm, rather than recognising protective factors in the researcher-participant relationship. This may in part be driven by feminist concerns that woman-to-woman interviewing does not necessarily guarantee a mutually beneficial experience (Archer, 2002). This is of particular concern when the researcher-participant relationship is subject to positionality differences related to privilege, class and power.

A partially retrospective praxis, however, facilitated a realisation that across most of the interviews, there were often intimate disclosures that took place pre- or post-interviews. As such, the transcripts may not necessarily convey the more intricate researcher-participant dynamics which were appropriately silenced with the absence of an audio recording. These included authentic yet unexpected pre- or post-interview revelations ranging from menses, motherhood, marriage, menopause and mourning. This included the painful ways in which gender-based violence and femicide had infiltrated the intimate spaces of their lives.

My reflexive practice mostly neglected the privileges of these intimate admissions, as if creating an invisible boundary of the relational encounters when the audio recording was off versus on. I am unsure whether there may have been an unconscious split in terms of the spontaneous conversational interaction versus the interview process, or whether I was resisting a therapeutically framed encounter. This is a process that may require further thought in response to Chilisa's (2019a, 2019b) theorising on the role of conversational elements in decolonial interviewing, as opposed to the structured rigidity promoted by Euro-Western interviewing guidelines.

In presenting my positionality on gender, it is important to share the experience that prompted my delayed reflexivity. In applying Gqola's (2021) words, this may be best described as an encounter with the *Female Fear Factory*. This experience fell outside of the interview process but within the research logistics. For the interviews in Gauteng, I was independently mobile and given my familiarity with the different geographical areas, I moved across these spaces with an absence of effort or concern. Langa and Graham (2011) have written about the experiences of supervising postgraduate community praxis and the fear of violence and crime experienced by many students entering black townships for the first time. However, beyond living in a historically coloured township in Cape Town until young adulthood, most of my personal, research and psychological engagements have taken place in historically black and coloured townships in Gauteng. As such, whilst this fear may have escaped me in Gauteng, I cannot claim to have been untouched by these concerns in the Western Cape. This may in part be attributed to my dependence on ride-hailing services to the respective communities. In one community, I was accompanied by a community liaison recommended by my supervisor, who accompanied me on my walks to and from the various participant homes. One afternoon, after a few interviews in this community, I was verbally assaulted by a driver of a reputable ride-hailing service as I was getting into the motor vehicle.

In replaying the incident in my mind, I struggled to find the fault in my actions that could have served as a trigger. The moment the car stopped, I attempted to get into the car, which is when the sudden verbal assault commenced. Before this incident, I never anticipated this type of encounter. I am aware that this comfort was attributed to my privilege, which allowed me to use a ride-hailing service that was considered more expensive but also claimed safety measures (Giddy, 2019). To remove myself from the driver’s verbal assault, I immediately got out of the car. However, the community liaison waiting with me immediately started speaking to the driver to question his frustration and calm his anger. Though I was initially determined to book

a different driver, the community liaison assured me that it had been resolved, and I should proceed with the trip. Speaking of the making of the *Female Fear Factory*, Gqola (2021, p. 43) describes this interaction between masculinities as patriarchy's enduring logic and men's investment in patriarchal privilege.

My initial meaning-making of this encounter was that my presence in the township represented a transgression. It was difficult to locate whether this transgression was premised only within the realm of race. Even though this was a historically black township, it was a space in which people who identified as coloured also resided. However, my initial reflection on this engagement as a consequence of my assumed positionality and belonging in response to geographical location as a racialised context quickly shifted. As I was forced to sit and reflect on my emotional experience and actions, the interaction instead highlighted my positionality as a woman. A positionality that was mostly neglected in my reflexivity, given the unrecognised experience of sameness with my research participants. The verbal assault by the driver, as well as the interaction between the driver and community liaison, promoted further thoughts on the place of voice in contest with the dominance and power assigned to masculinity. I wish I could share that I responded differently in the situation and that I was more assertive and empowered. Instead, I was and still am left with the discomfort that I allowed two men to negotiate the boundaries of safety for me. A negotiation and outcome that left me feeling unsafe and voiceless, frozen and divorced from my own agency.

Reflecting on this experience emphasised a somewhat neglected part of my positionality as a woman and the vulnerability of this position. Though the vulnerability of women is not solely located in the use of e-hailing services in South Africa, it is noteworthy to emphasise the recent surge in media attention (Duba, 2024; Hlati, 2024; Tshwete, 2024) and studies that have expressed the relevance of safety and security concerns (Duri, 2023; Giddy, 2019). These have explicated varied destructive behaviours from drivers, with confirmed incidents of harassment and assault specifically directed at women (Duri, 2023; Giddy, 2019). These incidents included the economic exploitation of women with drivers taking extra-long routes and ignoring the voice of women passengers (Duri, 2023). The economic exploitation of women presents a bitter irony given their already compromised position. The primary reason for highlighting this incident is therefore not in service of merely reflecting my thoughts about my positionality as a woman. Instead, the concern around ride-hailing services is a mere example of how simple daily interactions present the risk of infringing on women's safety in South Africa. Ride-hailing services are intended to represent freedom, mobility and access to education and work

opportunities (Giddy, 2019), especially in a context like South Africa where independent transport is a luxury and privilege. This incident provided a reminder of the varied other ways in which spaces and systems in South Africa offer women reminders of the presence of threat, violence and the demand for their submissive obedience. The varied implications extend across women's freedom, mobility, and psychological and physiological well-being.

7.8.4 Reflexivity on Researching Trauma

Processing the reality of trauma, devastation and loss contributes to the daily realities within my role as a psychologist. My therapeutic work has therefore continuously developed within the holding environment of a consistent therapy supervision space. Therapy supervision has served a relational and containing function that has not only facilitated continuous learning, reflexivity and meaning-making but has simultaneously elicited a deep sense of gratitude. Though the importance of a psychological holding space is widely recognised within the realm of psychotherapy (Scharff, 2018), less emphasis has been placed on a holding space for researchers studying trauma. It is suggested that this neglect is most likely driven by overt cognisance of ethical considerations and the dominant efforts placed on safeguarding research participants. Recognising the ethical concerns of research concerning participants may further evoke concern that too much attendance to the researcher and extensive self-reflexivity might seem indulgent (Drozdzewski & Dominey-Howes, 2015). The emotional implications of conducting research across sensitive domains may therefore be vulnerable to neglect (Fenge et al., 2019). It is, however, argued that whilst extensive reflexivity may appear self-indulgent, it has a shared purpose across therapeutic and research encounters. Whilst therapeutic supervision provides a holding environment for the psychologist, the ultimate purpose is to ensure competent and ethical practice that provides an appropriate holding environment for the client or patient (Scharff, 2018). It is therefore argued that the purpose of reflexivity in research is to ensure competent and ethical practice not only within the research encounter with research participants but also within the analysis, theoretical integration and writing.

Within the context of this research inquiry, reflecting on the implications of researching trauma commenced unexpectedly in the earlier stages of the research process, prior to the actual engagements with research participants. An immersive reading of the life stories shared in Shanthini Naidoo's "*Women in Solitary*", Lauretta Ngobo's "*Prodigal Daughters*" and many other written works evoked a deep sense of anguish, which often left me feeling somewhat

immobilised in terms of thinking, writing and making analytic meaning of the readings. It was easier to sit in a space of reflection, immobilised in navigating a means of written expression.

The earliest phases of the research study, therefore, demonstrated the importance of ensuring a psychological debriefing space in which the complexity of my thoughts, feelings and sense of inertia could be explored. This was of growing importance once my engagement with possible research participants commenced, and the earlier emotional evocation ensured an appropriate level of preparedness in the research encounter. This allowed an understanding of my varied positionalities, with attendance to the boundaries involved in the researcher-participant relationship (Fenge et al., 2019). Concerns regarding my positionality as a psychologist were in some way eased by the conversational approach promoted by African and decolonial methodologies (See Chilisa, 2012) thereby ensuring that my positionality as a psychologist did not present a vulnerability in terms of blurring the lines of research and psychotherapy. However, a review of the audio recordings and transcripts did, at times, illicit some thoughts about the extent to which enforcing the therapeutic-researcher boundary felt somewhat withholding.

It is hoped that I have appropriately and as much as possible in terms of my conscious awareness, applied the researcher lens back onto myself as advised by Berger (2015), and appropriately interrogated the varied ways in which my positionality within the research may have informed the questions, data, interpretation and subsequent knowledge production.

7.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

> *There is a necessity for remembering the horror, but of course there's a necessity for remembering it in a manner in which it can be digested, in a manner in which the memory is not destructive*
>
> *(Morrison, 1994, pp. 247-248)*

The necessity to reflect on *doing research ethically* is intensified when conducting research in the wake of trauma. The emphasis, need and significance of ethical regulatory considerations in research emerged from the various ways in which research has historically been complicit in enforcing violence and trauma (Barrow et al., 2020, 2024). It may be suggested that adherence to ethical regulation and review is in some way an act of remembrance, in addition to serving as a protective measure against possible harm.

The National Health Act (Act No. 61 of 2003) safeguards the protection of research participants included in the research. This includes health research that contributes to the generation of knowledge about psychological and social phenomena and processes (South Africa, National Health Act, 2004). To align with these principles, research ethical clearance was attained from the Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical) under the auspices of the University of the Witwatersrand. Please see **Appendix L.** Moreover, the researcher also abided by the ethical guidelines outlined by the association of which they are a member, namely the Health Professions Council of South Africa (HPCSA), as well as the regulations stipulated by the Health Professions Act, 1974 (Act No. 56 of 1974).

7.9.1 Ethical Considerations on Apartheid and Trauma

Apartheid was officially declared a crime against humanity by the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of apartheid (Apartheid Convention) in 1973. It was however only officially recognised as a crime against humanity in 1998 by the South African Truth and Reconciliation Committee (Slye, 1998). Despite the demise of apartheid, various forms of racism are still prevalent in post-apartheid South Africa (Satgar, 2019), beyond the systemic and structural violences that inform the everyday lives of South Africans. It is argued that the continued prevalence of these violences serves as continued reminders of apartheid and the absence of appropriate memorialisation of anti-apartheid activism. Considering these ongoing reminders, it was acknowledged that the research had the potential to be evocative and as such present a risk to participants. The research process ensured the availability of a Distress protocol and referral resources for debriefing and counselling.

7.9.2 Autonomy, Beneficence, and Non-maleficence

Ethical considerations were guided by a principlist approach, which acknowledges and adheres to participants' autonomy, whilst also aiming to uphold the principles of beneficence and non-maleficence. Beneficence and non-maleficence ensure that participants' well-being and safety are safeguarded (Barrow et al., 2017, 2020, 2024). The focus of autonomy precludes any form of coercion or persuasion, to ensure that consent to participate in the research is provided voluntarily. The latter includes being informed of the right to withdraw consent to participation at any point of the research process, without any fear of penalty or prejudice (Barrow et al., 2017, 2020, 2024). Autonomy about consent, also requires that consent is based on the participant being appropriately informed about the research, the research process, and the likely research publication intentions.

7.9.3 Anonymity, Confidentiality, and Limits to Confidentiality

To facilitate participant autonomy, participants were appropriately informed of the research process and the implications of anonymity, confidentiality, and limits to confidentiality. The research process comprised both individual and family interviews. As such, neither anonymity nor confidentiality could be assured amongst the research participants participating in the family interviews. Anonymity and confidentiality are however upheld in the reporting process given that no identifying information is used in the research findings (Morris, 2015). Additionally, the application of direct quotes is implemented in a manner that cannot be linked to specific participants.

7.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter provided the complex intersections of applying decolonial research praxis, within the inevitable colonial tensions. The focus on research methodology, approach and practice attends to the relevance of a qualitative design in response to the aims of this research inquiry. This includes an explication of how qualitative axiology has demonstrated efforts towards a critical and justice-orientated practice. In framing the relevance of the qualitative design, the chapter revisited the research aim and research questions. In response to understanding how the research practices aimed to respond to the research aim, the chapter follows with an explanation of the inclusion and exclusion criteria and how these aimed to align with the African and Decolonial aspirations, specifically within South Africa as a post-conflict setting. To attend to processes focused on meaning-making, the chapter follows with a motivation for methodological bricolage, underscored by both Discourse Analysis and Hermeneutical Phenomenology. This provides specific attention to the ways in which the theoretical underpinnings informed research praxis, as well as methodological and analytic output. Given the colonial roots' behest to research, the chapter addressed points of colonial contradiction and tensions, as well as possible means to resolve these discontents. The chapter concludes by underscoring the criticality of ethical considerations.

SECTION B

REPORT ON ANALYSIS, FINDINGS, DISCUSSION AND CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The initial chapters of the thesis explicated the varied conceptual, theoretical, philosophical constructions and empirical records that facilitated an understanding of the overall research thesis, thereby guiding the applied approach towards the research inquiry. The chapters that follow comprise an account of the findings and discussion. This includes ***Chapter Eight: Meeting the Descendants***, which attends to the descendants' intersectional positionalities, and how these may have been structured across the varied timescapes, along with how these may have informed their political positionalities. ***Chapter Nine: Descendants' Recollections on The Disruption of Home***, which explicates the experience of pseudo exile and exile in response to the disruption of home. ***Chapter Ten: Discursive Networks in Framing Silencing*** explores the implications of sustaining silence as resistance on the individual and collective, as well as the extent to which it is informed by broader discursive networks of silencing. ***Chapter Eleven: Learning From Women Anti-Apartheid Activists Through Descendant Memories*** attends to African and Decolonial centered knowledges, and how reframing women's activism may facilitate restoration in the present. ***Section B*** is concluded by ***Chapter Twelve: In Closing*** which reviews the implications and limitations of this research inquiry.

CHAPTER EIGHT: MEETING THE DESCENDANTS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The structuring of human identity is facilitated through the intersectional context of a socially produced world. Lived cultural, historical, linguistic and political experiences are therefore embedded in the social construction of the self (Flores, 2020). This includes the added necessity to reconstruct identity in the aftermath of political trauma and transition (Volkan, 2001). As in the case of South Africa's apartheid and post-apartheid conditions, this comprises intersectional matrices, representing intersecting systems of oppression as informed by Collins' (1990, 2022) conceptualisation of matrix domination. The historical and political landscape of this oppression and its collective reach further implies that individual identity and reconstruction in the aftermath of political trauma occur alongside the collective's capacity for meaning-making of shame and mourning of dignity, people and land (Volkan, 2001). Whilst the political and race-based criteria of apartheid represent a more evident system of oppression, the gendered project is often overlooked, suggesting the probable neglect of a collective reconstruction. It is surmised that the absence of collective reconstruction has informed the maintenance of the gendered goals of the original colonial project. This in turn illuminates a threat to the overall decolonial initiative given the inability to move beyond race and attend to complex intersections of racialised gender and its associated systems of oppression (Tamale, 2020b). ***Meeting The Descendants Across Intersectional Positionalities*** required an awareness of these tensions, and how these informed perceived positionalities across age, gender, sexuality, ability, cultural affiliation, ethnicity, sustained apartheid racial categorisation, language, citizenship, geography, education, employment, housing, and socio-economic status. The intersection of these constructions held various possibilities based on the descendants' unique perspectives of their positionalities, always bearing cognisance of it within the apartheid legacy. Thus, recognising that intergenerational transmission is not confined to familial processes, but is subject to systemic repetitions. A specific focus is placed on the intersectional experience across varied apartheid and post-apartheid milieus and how these may have informed the descendants' intergenerational intersectionality of identity and positionality construction. This is attended to with the subtheme ***Positionalities Structured Across Colonialist and Apartheid Timescapes.*** This is followed by how the descendants' intersectional identities and positionalities, alongside their forbearers' experiences, may have shaped their ***Intergenerational Political Positionalities.***

8.2 MEETING THE DESCENDANTS ACROSS INTERSECTIONAL POSITIONALITIES

Dominant discourse has consistently regarded race, gender, sexuality and other identity categories as a means to exclude those who are considered different (Crenshaw, 1995). This difference has facilitated *othering,* which has been central to the broader colonial project (Tamale, 2020b). Given the extent to which coloniality is sustained within post-conflict South Africa, it was important to ascertain the descendants' varied intersectional experiences. Meeting the descendants revealed varied intersections of descendency, ethnicity, racial identity, gender identity, age ranges, disability, language, geography and socio-economic positionalities. A brief profile of each descendant is provided in **Table 8.1**, illustrating the descendants' self-identified identity categories.

Table 8.1

Profile of Descendants as Research Participants

Participant Descriptor	Sequence of Interview	Relationship with Activist	Ethnicity/Racial Identity	Gender Identity	Age
DESCENDANT	**1**	Daughter	Mixed Race	Female / Woman	44
DESCENDANT	**2**	Daughter	South African	Female	66
DESCENDANT	**3**	Granddaughter	Person	Female	27
DESCENDANT	**4**	Daughter	Black	Woman	49
DESCENDANT	**5**	Daughter	Black	Female	45
DESCENDANT	**6**	Daughter	Black	Female	55
DESCENDANT	**7**	Daughter	Black	Woman	80
DESCENDANT	**8**	Daughter	Black	Female	38
DESCENDANT	**9**	Daughter / Granddaughter	Xhosa	Female	65
DESCENDANT	**10**	Daughter	Black	Woman	80
DESCENDANT	**11**	Daughter	Black	Woman	52
DESCENDANT	**12**	Cousin	Black	Female	53
DESCENDANT	**13**	Daughter / Granddaughter	Black	Woman	54
DESCENDANT	**14**	Granddaughter	Black	Woman	43
DESCENDANT	**15**	Granddaughter	African	Female	40
DESCENDANT	**16**	Granddaughter	African/Black	Woman	43
DESCENDANT	**17**	Granddaughter	Human	Woman	51
DESCENDANT	**18**	Daughter	Coloured	Female	68
DESCENDANT	**19**	Great Granddaughter	Other	Woman	19
DESCENDANT	**20**	Granddaughter	South African	Female	53

Though a more extensive profile of each descendant was possible, additional information may have risked breaching anonymity. This includes the deliberate exclusion of the descendants' disability status, geographical location, their pseudo-exile versus exile status and professions. Any positionality or extracts related to whistleblowing have also been excluded to safeguard the descendants. Recognising that the researcher has been complicit in acts of silencing, irrespective of how this may have been rationalised. In reviewing **Table 8.1**, the linear structure of its presentation should not void the intent to convey a multi-axial understanding. Reviewed through an intersectional lens, the descendants' identities and positionalities should instead be recognised as inseparable and non-hierarchical. Thus, defying the allure of reading their experiences from either a race-based or gender-based perspective, whilst excluding inevitable associations with socio-economic status. A reading from an intersectional lens emphasises the interconnected and multi-axial systems of oppression that are enmeshed and mutually reinforcing (May, 2015). Aligned with an Afro-Feminist and Decolonial understanding, these systems of oppression do not void the presence of agency and power.

8.2.1 Descendants' Meaning-Making of Gendered Race and Racialised Gender

Recognising the intersectional experience of being both black and a woman motivated the inclusion of questions of ethnicity and gender, which evoked varied responses amongst the descendants. The construct of 'ethnicity' was interchangeably understood in terms of race. It is acknowledged that this response may have been a consequence of the wording applied on the research call, though the interchangeable use of ethnicity and race is not uncommon globally or nationally (Lewis et al., 2023). As such, whilst it is accepted that ethnicity and race are distinct sociopolitical constructions, the varied responses of *'person'*, *'human'*, *'African'* or *'South African'* evident in **Table 8.1** should not be read as a possible indicator signalling misunderstanding. On the contrary, these reactions may be observed as intentional forms of resistance to the question enquiring about ethnicity, possibly assuming the research inquiry's potential complicity with the requirement to identify with apartheid race categories. This is evident with Descendant 2's (II, page 2, line 39) expression; *"I don't like being boxed. I always tell people I'm South African and that's it".* Similarly, Descendant 17 (FI-1, page 3, line 76) expressed similar frustrations; *"I'm not so much into the colour thing, I'm more into being human, right?* The resistance observed is affirmed by recent findings that have demonstrated many South Africans' disagreement with racial identification and racial categories (Horowitz, 2023). This resistance appears somewhat different from the tensions ordinarily associated with identity politics. The tensions most frequently referenced include the regard of race, gender,

and other identity categories as receptacles for domination in dominant discourse (Crenshaw, 1995). The liberatory objective is therefore to void categories of any social significance (Crenshaw, 1995). However, in South Africa, a critical analysis of the varied impetuses in favour of non-racialisation is required. Especially given the risk that select motivations may be in service of colonial silencing, along with a silencing of complicit engagement since the social construction of race continues to inform social, political and economic structures (Gqola, 2010). Nonetheless, the descendant responses should not be read in alignment with apartheid race categories but as the descendants' self-classification.

Attending to gender identity, this research inquiry favoured the term 'woman' as clarified in Chapter Seven. Based on the responses received, it is inferred that whilst there were different reactions to the question of ethnicity or race, the construct of gender initially appeared much less evocative among the descendants. Yet, it is difficult to know how this criterion may have been received by non-participants exposed to the research call. Responses included reference to being a 'woman', whilst select participants identified as 'female'. These responses may be associated with descendants' conceptualisation of 'female' as a biological sex (Byrne, 2020), or the interchangeable use of female in association with being a woman. Drawing on the work of Tamale (2011) this is understood to suggest an application of gendered positionality from a universalist perspective, void of political or historical interpretation. This in turn risks the possibility of neglecting broader intersectional struggles. Descendant responses revealed different levels of awareness of global tensions related to gender identification as evident in the interaction between Descendant 18 and Descendant 17 (FI-1, page 2, line 48). The extract demonstrates a difficulty in understanding the question of gender identity alongside a willingness to engage with the multiplicity presented by the construct.

> *Interviewer: ***. And how do you describe yourself in terms of gender identity?*
>
> *(very long pause)*
>
> *Descendant 18: ...gender identity?*
>
> *Descendant 17: Because others are lesbian, others are just…*

Select responses however risked expressing a discourse of exclusion, evident by Descendant 3 (II, page 1, line 24) with the response *"full-on female"*, followed by Descendant 5 (II, page 3, line 48) including *"maybe these are fake boobs (laugh)"* in response to the question on gender.

The statements reveal discourses that may risk applying deviance to persons whose identification with womanhood may not align with dominant gendered discourse. This highlights a tension with one of the core objectives of intersectionality. This includes avoiding exclusion, whilst appreciating the complex ways the gender/sex system is shaped (Tamale, 2020a). It is, however, important to acknowledge how the descendants' discourses are informed by the ubiquitousness of coloniality and its production of normative concepts such as sex, gender and sexuality (Tamale, 2020a). The sequence of the discourse production must, however, be assessed within the researcher-participant interaction, and how the research design may have contributed to the formation of the discourse of exclusion. This demonstrates that even research designed to strive towards social justice imperatives can illicit other forms of human violations. Though the inclusion criterion of *'Identify as a black woman'* was conceptualised as important in response to framing intersectional gender-specific oppression, Tamale's (2020b) Afro-feminist framework cautions against the liberatory potential of limited framing. This concern is heeded in response to the liberatory intentions of the broader Human Reformation Project and will be extended in the concluding chapters of this thesis.

In attending to the construction of identity and positionality, an analytic understanding of the descendants' intersectional experiences required embracing the tensions of the varied social constructions of 'blackness' and 'womanhood'. A consensus of black women's vulnerability to violence was evident across narratives.

> *... we are not safe. We are not safe in South Africa. Women are not safe.*
>
> *(Descendant 4, II, page 13, line 393)*

Several of the descendants' narratives expressed the multiplicity of their experiences of being both black and women. While concurrently making meaning of their forebearers' subjectivity in a world in which both white and black masculinity superseded the valuation of black women's humanity. The descendants' narratives concerning the intersectional experience of being both black and woman were, however, not solely dependent on their understanding of their forebearers' oppressive experiences but were simultaneously founded on their own traumatic experiences catalysed by interlocking structures sustaining racialised gendered oppression. The descendant narratives demonstrate the extent to which the matrix of oppression permeated the descendants' childhoods during apartheid. Thus, illuminating that the violation of black women's bodies did not lie dormant until womanhood.

I come from the background where for many years I was abused, sexually abused, for many years it was people that my parents knew, happened in our neighbourhoods, you know.

(Descendant 15, II, page 8, line 237)

I had been kidnapped, I was almost raped, I had been beaten up. There is my teeth here, they have caps, they just came off two, three years ago, no medical aid anymore. But those were beaten out of me at age 13 by these uhm… at that stage, you couldn't say it was political per se, but the legacy of it you could tell that it was envy, it was, it was "who do you think you are" sort of thing.

(Descendant 16, II, page 4, line 99)

Girlhood and its intersection with race during apartheid provided increased vulnerability, given the denial of adequate access to medical and social services (Silove, 1988). The descendant extracts suggest that whilst their lived experiences are embedded within the political circumstance, their exposure to violence during childhood was not understood as political by the descendants. This suggests an inability to recognise the violation of women's bodies as a consequence of coloniality, patriarchy and power. This may indirectly imply that the social ills within communities are understood to have existed within a unitary system, cut off from the broader political milieu.

The descendants' narratives highlight the absence of a single story, given that their experiences are not solely dependent on them being descendants of women anti-apartheid activists. Many black children did not survive childhood during apartheid, with an infant mortality rate six times that of their white counterparts (South African Institute of Race Relations cited by Silove, 1988). Though infant mortality does not directly speak to the forms of political violence black children were subject to (Silove, 1988), Galtung (1969) argues that in a society where uneven life expectancy is evident across classes, structural violence is exercised even when there are no easily identifiable actors. As recipients of this structural violence, it may therefore be suggested that the descendants not only sit with the complexity of their forebearers' survival but also with the complexity of their own survival. As highlighted by Caruth (2014), trauma resides not only in the uncontrolled re-living of the traumatic event but also in the complexity of survival.

Beyond the descendants' vulnerability to varied forms of violence, there were also discourses emphasising their resistance towards it as they grew into womanhood. Descendant 17's narrative described a childhood during which she had to bear consistent witness to her mother's experience of domestic violence with several partners. Thinking back to her own experience of domestic violence as a young woman, Descendant 17 emphasised her resistance to it.

> *Nee, hy wou my geklap het. As ek my nie gedraai het nie, het hy my vol geklap. (No, he wanted to smack me. If I didn't turn myself, he would have smacked me fully). Ek het nie geworry – gaan hy dood vandag, more of volgende week nie. (I did not worry – whether he was going to die today, tomorrow or next week). For me it was. I'm not going that way.*
>
> *(Descendant 17, II, page 3, line 68)*

Similarly, whilst Descendant 8 spoke of her exposure to gender-based violence within her community, she also emphasised her resistance to her personal experience of it;

> *... it didn't last because I ended up taking an interdict out against him.*
>
> *(Descendant 8, II, page 20, line 584)*

The narratives demonstrate that despite their increased vulnerability to subjugation and violence, the descendants' narratives suggest that they have meaningfully engaged with their agency to counteract such violence. It is therefore surmised that the continued vulnerability of women cannot be ascribed to the absence of women's resistance to it, but rather the absence of broader political will to serve as allies in women's resistance. In the absence of this political will, select descendants elaborated on their resistance as extending beyond their own experiences, holding the collective in mind as either community partners or activists.

> *... what I'm fighting for is to get justice for all my survivors in these cases and then to make sure government is putting more resources on gender-based violence.*
>
> *(Descendant 4, II, page 10, line 306)*

Though many of the narratives emphasised either black women's experiences of or resistance to the varied systemic, structural, physical or sexual violences imposed on their bodies, Descendant 2's extract speaks to a core concern that contributed to intersectional thinking. Whilst conveying her experiences of living in a historically white neighbourhood, Descendant

2 (II, page 15, line 421) states that *"racism is alive and thriving, and especially in ***"*, whilst conveying examples of how black people remain susceptible to criminal suspicion under the white gaze. One of these examples focused on a group of young black women who were experiencing motor vehicle difficulties but were instead suspected of having stolen the vehicle.

> *... one night I remember a mayday came over the radio about some car being stolen and what. So, I left my yard, I drove out and went up, only to find it's a group of black girls – she went onto a hump at high speed and then the sump fell. Now, whoever saw that thought they were stealing a car. So, I went there, more to protect this black kid.*
>
> *(Descendant 2, II, page 16, line 430)*

The extract illustrates that whilst black women's vulnerability to experiencing violence goes unseen, the ease with which black women are associated with criminality is distinct to their racialised gender. Removed from the vulnerability most frequently associated with femininity, they are instead evaluated based on the peril projected onto blackness. Within South Africa and elsewhere, this black peril has historically been associated with black men (Biko, 1978; Dubow, 2014; Posel, 2001a). This demonstrates the extent to which black women become invisible in criminal racial profiling (Crenshaw et al., 2015). In this invisibility, black women are positioned as black men, which renders them at an increased risk of police brutality, which is a particular remnant of South Africa's apartheid legacy. Removed from vulnerability, the descendant narratives demonstrate the extent to which their existence as black women fails to attract assistance. As emphasised by Descendant 16 (II, page 4, line 126) when describing an incident of vulnerability, *"nobody came to help, including the police"*. Black women's simultaneous association with 'black peril', however, attracts police brutality. Beyond the brutality addressed across the descendant narratives when reflecting on their forebearers' exposure to assault and torture, both Descendant 8 and Descendant 16 reflected on encounters with post-apartheid police related to housing insecurity. Descendant 8 *(II, page 5, line 127)* described *"My mother was assaulted and tortured by the police just three years ago in modern-day post-apartheid South Africa. So, if you still believe that '94 was a revolution, then I think you are deluded."* Demonstrating the increased vulnerability, when gender and race intersect with class.

Black women's vulnerability to police brutality is well documented in American literature (Crenshaw et al., 2015; Lett, 2023; Ritchie, 2017). It is argued that South African literature's

focus on black women and police brutality is poorly aligned with its prevalence. It is suggested that this neglect is not only based on the intersection of their racialised gender but is a particular indictment based on class. Interrogating the prevalence of coloniality and police violence across different geographies, Pillay (2022) meaningfully asks, *"Where do black lives matter?"*, thereby introducing the relevance of geography as well. Given the political, psychological and academic silences (Pillay, 2022), the unsilencing of these violences is dependent on its brief mention by the media. A litter of newspaper articles notes "*Malmesbury detective arrested for alleged rape of woman in police custody*" (Ludidi, 2024) and "*Cop in court for allegedly raping woman in holding cell*" (ENCA, 2024). The initial outrage appears to have no longevity, with the continued assaults by police demonstrating the absence of consequence. Additionally, the threat presented by police provides a sound understanding as to why gender-based violence remains under-reported in South Africa.

Despite the evident matrix domination of oppressions, the descendants' narratives demonstrate that their engagement with everyday struggles in South Africa is often viewed through a lens that most often emphasises race, followed by gender-based violations. An awareness of the intersectionality of their experiences may therefore not always be at the forefront. Descendant 8's narrative was one of the few that demonstrated an understanding of the intersectionality of age, gender, race, social class and disability in her being in the world. Her commentary as a *"young woman, uhm…being a woman, black, from the township, with a disability" (II, page 2, line 44)* demonstrates an awareness of her intersectional positionality.

It is surmised that given the dominant discourse that emphasises race in South Africa, even the descendants remain vulnerable to single-axis thinking regarding their experiences. Across movements and protests, the language of class remains largely obscured by racial language (Holmes, 2012, p. 12). This includes recent movements such as *#FeesMustFall,* which demonstrated that even younger generations remain susceptible to foregrounding race as the central identity construct (Gouws, 2017). It is surmised that this vulnerability is a direct consequence of political discourse that continues to recall apartheid as solely a race-based project, with the exploitation of gender obscured within the broader colonial project. This aligns praxis with dominant political discourse that silences subjugation and enjoys multiaxial exploitation. The risk of promoting race as the central identity construct is only illuminated when black women become victims of assault in the absence of male solidarity (Gouws, 2017). The structural location of sexuality, ability, and class within South Africa's patriarchal context is, therefore, most often overlooked, with even less attention drawn to the intersectional

vulnerability presented based on *othering* (Reygan et al., 2022). As an activist who emphasises disability and class in the obscurement of human rights in South Africa, it is surmised that Descendant 8's subjectivity rendered her less susceptible to single-axis thinking.

> *There's a lot of my peers, older or younger, will always say I'm being political and everything but, um, it's like in…particularly this, this uhm season or chapter of my life, I've had to fight to access, right.*
>
> *(Descendant 8, II, page 9, line 241)*

This supposition is supported by research that has demonstrated the extent to which age, race, gender and disability intersect with particularly negative outcomes for black women with disabilities (Moodley & Graham, 2015). Though race remains of considerable significance in South Africa, given that *"racism is alive and thriving"* (Descendant 2, II, page 15, line 421), highlighting a single axis of oppression as in the national liberation struggle will inevitably allow other human violations to thrive. Given that identities and positionalities are intertwined across the matrices of oppression (May, 2015), any single-axis-oriented liberation will leave the majority of people behind. As evident across gender, sexuality, class and disability, the absence of liberation implies uncontested subjugation. Beyond the abandonment of other matrices of oppression, neglecting select struggles leaves all structures vulnerable to repetition. Racism, sexism, homophobia, ableism and classism have all proven to be interconnections of the same wound embedded in patriarchy, capitalism and power. Healing is unlikely when only one part of the wound is attended to. This illuminates why South African history has always formed a consistent part of the present and why systemic repetition is prevalent.

8.2.2 Class as A Systemic Inheritance of Intersectional Economic Exploitation

By framing apartheid as primarily a race-based project, post-apartheid liberation has similarly placed race at its core. Thereby overlooking the capitalist and patriarchal foundations that historically underpinned the broader colonial project. An intersectional approach, as advocated for by Tamale (2020b), cautions against challenging capitalism and patriarchy separately, but to recognise their entanglement as capitalist patriarchies. Single-axis intervention has had varied implications, which have worked against undoing capitalist systems, with unequal life chances still prevalent across post-apartheid generations. Structural economic violence has therefore remained mostly undisrupted, with inequitable distribution of resources still ongoing (Forde et al., 2021). Black women are particularly vulnerable given their disadvantaged

position in the socioeconomic landscape (Calitz, 2017; Eynon, 2017). Considering the immense responsibility borne by black women in financially sustaining both present and future generations, their economic exploitation and vulnerability pose a profound intergenerational threat. Therefore, the prominence of structural economic violence in the descendant narratives was not unexpected, especially among descendants of activists who remained in South Africa.

> *... we are still backyarders, we still have people that are staying at the back. They don't have houses.*
>
> *(Descendant 9, II, page 9, line 214)*

Most narratives expressed socioeconomic deprivation by expressing housing insecurity, followed by education insecurity. It is surmised that housing emerged as a pivotal issue, not only because it is a basic human need essential for survival, but also due to its profound connection to South Africa's subjugating timescapes. In framing their current socioeconomic circumstances and housing insecurities, the descendant narratives therefore shifted between the apartheid past and the post-apartheid present. Demonstrating the extent to which the past is implicated in the present. Housing insecurity also provided a lived experience through which descendants could easily access the intersectional implications of being both black and woman.

> *Obviously, men had more… even in families, a lot of the women were booted out of houses also. Because they were prioritising men. And also, her being a single mother stood her in a weaker line because she doesn't have a family, the normal structure of a family according to them. They would have had more reason to chase her out. So, in their minds, a man of with a family or a family structure was more prioritised.*
>
> *(Descendant 14, II, page 11, line 322)*

As evident in the narrative shared by Descendant 14, the intersection of coloniality and patriarchy not only prioritised and normalised material ownership to men but also assigned deviance to family structures that sat outside Euro-Western construction. This, in turn, increased women's economic vulnerability when they risked constructing their existence in isolation from male partnerships. Women's economic security was therefore always tied to men and could thus be lost in response to the loss of the partnership. For some women, this necessitated the decision to remain within contexts of physical violence or forego the basic necessities required for survival. The possibility of loss was maintained irrespective of whether

the woman had dependents based on that union, as evident by Descendant 7's experiences. Whilst describing her current home as "*my shack*", Descendant 7 (II, page 13, line 346), described her experiences after her father's death. This loss left her mother, as well as the descendant as a girl child, vulnerable given that apartheid laws dictated that black women could not own homes. Disrupting the possibility of mourning the death of her father, Descendant 7 was instead exposed to the threats of her uncle.

> *"... he said, I'm coming after you, I will kick your family out of the house. So we were being traumatised."*
>
> *(Descendant 7, II, page 6, line 157)*

In the absence of any restorative or transitional justice to remedy the consequences of these patriarchal laws, many of the descendants continue to contend with the implications of housing insecurity in the present. This extends beyond patriarchal rule and includes race-based land appropriation and dislocation. Speaking of the obscurity of restorative justice in the aftermath of land appropriation and the loss of homes, Descendant 3 and Descendant 5 shared the following relevant to the post-apartheid timescape.

> *I think for five years; both my grannies used to go to these meetings and in town at housing, fighting to get what is rightfully theirs, even if it's a portion of money, because we were chased out of our homes, our houses. [...] I mean this house and that other house was not fixed by our grandparents, it was fixed by us, or by their daughters and sons. So, what was the point of them fighting for the struggle, if nothing changed in those women's lives.*
>
> *(Descendant 3, II, page 15, line 439)*
>
> *... she died knowing that there's still people who were robbed, and they never got back what belonged to them.*
>
> *(Descendant 5, II, page 4, line 85)*

The absence of restorative justice of both race and gender-based appropriation has left descendants with the systemic inheritance and responsibility of providing housing security. Speaking of the impossibility of homeownership for women during apartheid, Descendant 14 (II, page 9, line 254) spoke of extending her grandmother's home "*I mean my grandmother's house, I only renovated it in 2006*". This practice often extends beyond immediate family

members, at times including financial responsibility for the extended family. For Descendant 6 (II, page 5, line 131) this responsibility started at a young age after the bombing of their home. Her responsibility to provide shelter and care continues into her present day; *"I've got my two unemployed brothers – up until now, the one was an APLA member. He's got his room here".*

Although none of the participants applied the term *'black tax'*, the practices mentioned across the descendant narratives reflect their financial responsibility of providing care for immediate and extended families. The absence of *'black tax'* as discourse may be attributed to the tension associated with speaking of it within a context aligned with Ubuntu (Mhlongo, 2019), rather than aligning with discourse situated within a capitalist ideology. Irrespective of whether this practice is experienced as a blessing or burden, it remains important to acknowledge its necessity and the extent to which it limits the descendant's capacity to establish financial stability within a capitalist society. Thereby adding to their distress and dislocating their psychosocial well-being. This highlights Galtung's (1969) insistence on not underestimating the significance of structural violence, or assuming that it contributes to less suffering compared to direct violence.

Housing insecurity is painful in and of itself, though the compromises to maintain this basic necessity have left descendants in a state of mourning. The descendants' narratives demonstrate the extent to which colonial and apartheid structures dictate their post-apartheid realities. Njovane's (2023) attendance to post-colonial realities presents the extent to which the "house" may qualify as a colonial artefact, given its embodiment of temporalities and memories. Applying Njovane's (2023) logic, it may be contended that every geographical space marked by systemic inequalities in post-apartheid South Africa, including residential communities and school structures, represents a colonial memorial site. This contradictory memorial and mourning laments the possibilities of unfulfilled futures. This includes its association with educational insecurity. Canham's (2023) cylindrical epiphenomenal temporality speaks of the fluidity between past, present, and future, though the descendant narratives demonstrate the existence of an alternate timescape that remains subject to unhealed mourning.

> *Because to me that was very very painful. Up until now, I didn't go to school, I left school in Grade 11. But it was standards then. Up until I was still doing a domestic work. I still had that regret of, if maybe they didn't did that I would have been… But it is fine, I did work, we did survive, we've build this house like this, with our*

own money that we - you know. No one helped us, we did manage to keep that – this is our family house, this is where we grew up in, we are not gonna leave it like that.

(Descendant 6, II, page 5, line 121)

Then we fought for nothing, because we were the ones that we were fighting for the struggling, for that we must get free. But we don't. We don't! There's a lot! And we are not educated. We are not educated because of struggling.

(Descendant 9, II, page 9, line 217)

I didn't have time to study. I wanted to study. I wanted to go back to school because my mother passed away when I was still young. I was 19 years when my mother passed away. My younger… my brother was 12 years and the other one was 8 years old, and my younger brother was only five days. So, I was a mother when I was still young. Looking after them.

(Descendant 4, II, page 16, line 465)

Though elucidated through the lens of housing insecurity followed by education insecurity, the descendant narratives speak to the broader implications of apartheid and the continued barriers it presents to building intergenerational wealth within the post-apartheid landscape (Mhlongo, 2019). As illuminated in the descendant narratives, many have carried the financial responsibility of maintaining housing security for their families. It is therefore not too far-fetched to surmise that even though the descendants' narratives focused on housing, it is probable that they carry a multitude of other financial responsibilities within their families. This postulation is supported by research that has demonstrated that financial support is required for a substantial portion of monthly expenses (Mangoma & Wilson-Prangley, 2019). Whilst Mhlongo (2019) speaks of intergenerational wealth, a more appropriate understanding may be the extent to which living under the continuous strain of financial insecurity compromises physiological, psychological and psychosocial well-being (Alloush, 2024; Makgetla, 2020). This is aggravated by the contentious supposition of the bi-directionality between psychological and economic well-being, which implies that the extent of the psychological shock may contribute to an extension of poverty (Alloush, 2024). Although Alloush (2024) is not alone in their recommendations concerning psychological attendance in poverty-alleviation programs (Haushofer & Fehr, 2014), it does risk the neglect of political accountability. Whilst Fanon (1963) also recognised the capacity of the colonised to stagnate

due to poverty, his analysis always took place within both the psychiatric and political realms. Thereby arguing that the colonised's condition is the compromise for Europe's well-being and progress. Applied within the context of South Africa as one of the most unequal societies in the world (Makgetla, 2020), this rule assures that the greatest wealth is surrounded by the greatest poverty (Fanon, 1963). Gibson (2011), therefore, attests that South Africa, with its opposing extremes, is a precedent of Fanon's continued relevance and his plea to create another world. This includes cautioning on how race-based boundaries can give way to capitalist boundaries. The descendant narratives demonstrate their cognisance of the extent to which class serves as a new form of segregation in post-apartheid South Africa. There is however an added frustration in noting that the capitalist boundaries are in many ways attributed to failures of the post-apartheid government.

> *I will pay – every month I will pay so much, so that I make my house a better home for my kids and for myself. So, there is no survival out of what is happening today, there is no survival, it is only the few that are benefitting out of the sweat of our people.*
>
> *(Descendant 12, II, page 12, line 349)*

> *...she would be so angry at these houses that were being built. And this. Well, I'm not even sure she called them houses, […] and she just felt that it was so undignified. Is this what we fought for? Is this what what we are now? Is this how we're going to restore people's dignity by building them worse structures than what the white man built them?*
>
> *(Descendant 20, II, page 16, line 402)*

> *... their children to go to school. And they are walking still in pitch-black. Can you see young children starting school, and they are leaving their homes – winter or not winter – like 6 o'clock or half-past five [...] And they have to cross some forest, and they have to cross rivers. Can you see that? No one is following the budget that has been distributed.*
>
> *(Descendant 10, II, page 10, line 273)*

The descendant narratives may therefore appear to speak of housing insecurity or education insecurity, though an alternate reading conveys a world in which black life exists within a

consistent struggle to survive. The narrative shared by Descendant 10, highlights that this survival is not limited to specific life stages but is particularly relevant to black children. This suggests a continued failure of the state to provide children with the necessary care, safety, and protection even in post-apartheid South Africa. Allowing capitalist boundaries to divorce children from access to services is in direct opposition with the need to protect the rights of children as promulgated in the UN Declaration of the Rights of the Child (Omarjee et al., 2023). Demonstrating that the state is directly accountable for the neglect of children's wellbeing (Omarjee et al., 2023).

> *People who never worked for this democracy, they are just all in the offices and all that. They are benefitting, they are tenderpreneurs. They are even messing up the good work that was done. Because we never said we want democracy to cripple South Africa, to make all this corruption that we see, where people are still starving. But we are in democracy, we are having the people's government. This is not what we thought we will have in the new South Africa. We are looking for the better.*
>
> *(Descendant 12, II, page 10, line 299)*

> *Now, I am so disappointed at the same time. Because I was thinking that by now we are gonna have a better life – by now. But there's a lot that is happening in parliament. There's a lot of corruption. We didn't fight for that.*
>
> *(Descendant 9, II, page 8, line 204)*

The narratives reveal the disappointment experienced when faced with the realisation that *"exploitation can wear a black face"* (Fanon, 1963, p. 145). This awareness, however, fractures what was previously known about the world, with truth now representing its limitations and instability. The most terrifying is the extent to which truth reveals the limitations of liberation, given that both the oppressor and the previously oppressed are capable of partaking in the praxis of dehumanisation. This manifests an alternate version of distress as a remnant of colonial violence, with alienation and dehumanisation now demarcated in alignment with neoliberal ideology. However, with a similar rhetoric that moralised colonial violence in its goals towards civilisation, the post-apartheid state has showcased capitalism and democracy as tools all South Africans can prosper from (Gibson, 2011). Thereby, nullifying any arguments that the state has any part in the suffering of its people and that the people – if they choose to - have the freedom to liberate themselves. Galtung (1990) argues that the causal

flow from cultural via structural to direct violence is identifiable if observed. This demonstrates that it is not only the structural and systemic failures that impose violence through material deprivation. The falsehood deployed through the discourse of democracy imposes further violence, which echoes colonial rhetoric by insisting that black people are responsible for their own suffering. This cycle and interaction between these forms of violence become repetitive, ritualistic, and definitively systemic (Galtung, 1990). These in turn contribute to deficiency and deprivation, which ultimately contributes to trauma. These forms of violence are most often enforced on groups, thus resulting in collective trauma, with subsequent intergenerational implications.

As previously cautioned by Freire (1996), it is evident that the post-apartheid government, as the previously oppressed, have confused freedom with the maintenance of the world as crafted by the oppressor. *"The oppressed, having internalised the image of the oppressor and adopted his guidelines, are fearful of freedom. Freedom would require them to eject this image and replace it with autonomy and responsibility."* (Freire, 1996, p. 47). Constrained by the limits of capitalism, the previously oppressed presume that a human face mirrors that of their oppressors, given that that is the only memory they have of humanity. Though Gibson (2011) contends that Fanon's humanism through action and thought can serve as a central instrument to battle this ideology, it is argued that a return to disremembered African knowledges can provide an equally appropriate remedy. This extends beyond the ways concepts like Ubuntu are applied as misappropriated rhetoric, but to seek out the counter-narratives that appropriately reflect African philosophy. Seeking a return to African-centered praxis that appropriately acknowledges the importance of the collective is however fraught with the realisation that all people are subject to internalised colonialism given its structural and systemic omnipresence (Tamale, 2020b).

Though all exposed people are victims of this internalised colonialism (Tamale, 2020b), it is suggested that those who remain economically impoverished are free from the shackles of capitalism and as the remaining oppressed, they are free to observe the limitations of the constrained liberation. The descendant narratives mirror these postulations by signalling that resistance in the national liberation movement came at a personal cost which continues to translate into their economic vulnerability in the absence of justice and an exploitative capitalist system.

8.2.3 Meeting the Descendants Across Boundaries of Language

It was inevitable that language would emerge in the interviews given the relationship between language, coloniality and apartheid, despite not being an explicit focus area. As explained in Chapter Three, language and discourse are central to framing and analysing this research inquiry, so it is important to highlight possible tensions. Most participants were bilingual or multilingual, and English was not their dominant language. Although English was not the researcher's dominant language either, it allowed a platform of mutual engagement given the application of *Anglonormativity* within South Africa's post-colonial education (McKinney, 2016). The interviews were therefore primarily facilitated in English, though Afrikaans, Xhosa, and to a lesser extent Zulu expressions were evident across various interviews. Though the tension with English is explained in *Chapter Three*, the descendants did not express frustration with English, though tensions with Afrikaans were highlighted. This is likely to be attributed to the way coloniality and the introduction of English have been naturalised in South Africa, whilst Afrikaans and Afrikaner nationalist ideology is intertwined with apartheid aims (Ndlovu, 2006). This includes the centrality of Afrikaans in the Soweto uprising of 1976 and the violence that ended the lives of several protesting young people (Ndlovu, 2017). This tension is evident across narratives emphasising the Soweto uprising.

> *We are now fighting for whatever that they were fighting for. I think it's them being taught in Afrikaans…*
>
> *(Descendant 3, II, page 13, line 366)*

Whilst the tension with Afrikaans was evident, a preference for English was expressed as per the narratives shared by Descendant 10 and Descendant 20:

> *But if it is in English, it is just a paragraph. But in Xhosa it is going to be a full page. Like, I don't mean I was pleased with apartheid. No, something- like I am telling you that the English was quite very well for us Africans. We were learning it quite easily. More than Afrikaans. Afrikaans was too much. Although I've been bred here in Cape Town, but uuh! Okay sorry! But I don't know Afrikaans, only a few words.*
>
> *(Descendant 10, II, page 3, line 59)*

*…. where we grew up in the north at the time only had Afrikaans schools. My grandmother was very adamant that we were not going to be educated in Afrikaans, so we had to travel to a township called ****

(Descendant 20, II, page 7, line 171)

The physical violence and death associated with Afrikaans may therefore distract from the systemic and structural violence impeded through the coloniality of English. Therefore, the dominance of English in South Africa may be accepted without bearing cognisance of its colonial origins. Hurst (2016) presents this dominance as a manifestation of the 'colonial wound', whilst simultaneously maintaining Indigenous languages as underdeveloped. This internalisation seems apparent in the extract shared by Descendant 10 and her critique of Xhosa. The descendant narratives therefore demonstrate how an overt focus on apartheid, facilitates the concealment of the expansive colonial project, thereby facilitating its covert continuance. Additionally, the critique of Xhosa and the preference for English bring to life Fanon's (2008) postulation that colonised people position themselves with the *civilising* language. Recognising that language has a dual character, given its use as a means of communication and a carrier of culture (Thiong'o et al., 1986). The promotion of English as a dominant discourse assures the undoing of indigenous culture. Increased assimilation assures deviating from blackness in favour of whiteness and with it the possibility of *becoming a true human being* (Fanon, 2008, p. 2).

Culture embodies those moral, ethical and aesthetic values, the set of spiritual eyeglasses, through which they come to view themselves and their place in the universe. Values are the basis of a people's identity, their sense of particularity as members of the human race. All this is carried by language. Language as culture is the collective memory bank of a people's experience in history.

(Thiong'o et al., 1986, p. 389)

Attaining humanity as conceptualised through the Euro-Western lens, therefore, comes at a cost. As explicated in the extract by Thiong'o (1986), this cost is memory, not only for the individual but also for the collective. Thereby compromising their own meaning-making of identity and belonging to the human race, presenting an alternate expression of alienation. It may be this compromise that contributes to Fanon's (2008, p. 1) statement that a *black man behaves differently with a white man than he does with another black man*. If what Fanon

suggests is true, it is important to reflect on what this may have meant within the context of this research inquiry, specifically in spaces where the researcher was perceived to exist in the proximity of whiteness, not only in terms of race but also in terms of class and power. This presents the possibility of participant discomfort in expressing any frustrations with English. Especially since all written and verbal communication by the researcher was in English, thereby foreclosing the possibility of introducing any other language into the researcher-participant relationship. Additionally, the researcher's inability to converse fluently in either Xhosa or Zulu may divorce the researcher from black identity, confirming perceptions related to the proximity to whiteness. This separation is attributed to the complex relationship between race and language use as well as to the shifting relationships between race and performing identity in South Africa (McKinney, 2007). The maintenance of the colonial co-naturalisations of race and language (Rosa & Flores, 2017) and the repetition of apartheid linguistic ideology that matched ethnicity with language (McKinney, 2007, 2019) can therefore not be dismissed in the research process, or the researcher-participant relationship. Returning to Thiong'o's theorising (1986), this may have implications for what has been remembered and shared by the descendants, as well as the extent to which it is representative of the collective memory bank of their forebearers' experience in history.

8.3 POSITIONALITIES STRUCTURED ACROSS COLONIALIST AND APARTHEID TIMESCAPES

Cognisant of the criticality of South Africa's timescapes, age is presented with context and time, whilst holding in mind Fanon's generationally-ordered child (Burman, 2017). This includes the positional analysis of descendency, as per Fanon's application of generational relationships in family relationships (Burman, 2017). The descendants' respective age ranges facilitated an understanding that lived experience does not take place within a contextual vacuum. The participants' ages ranged between 19 and 80 years old, with a mean age of 51 years old. This broad age range is attributed to the focus on descendants, thereby allowing the inclusion of different generations. This varied age range provided an opportunity to understand the implications of discourse production in context and within cylindrical epiphenomenal temporality. The interviews across generations highlight the implications of living primarily within an apartheid state versus a post-apartheid state or differently framed - within a conflict society versus a post-conflict society. The concept of cylindrical epiphenomenal temporality (Canham, 2023) however suggests a collision of these states, which exists in full dependence

on and in association with the other. South Africa embodies this collision given the continuance of conflict with its increased prevalence and incidence of violence (Stats SA, 2019).

It is nonetheless important to distinguish that the lived experiences of the descendants occurred across diverse timescapes of South Africa's political histories. **Table 8.2** illustrates the periods during which the participants were born and their respective ages at the end of the apartheid regime.

Table 8.2

Profile of Descendant Lifespan across the Colonialist and Apartheid Timescapes

Datum	1652-1930's	1940's	1950's	1960's	1970's	1980's	1990's	1994 -
Political Context	Colonialism and Segregation	Policy of apartheid in 1948					End of apartheid in 1994	Democracy
Period of Resistance		Silent Resistance	Non-violent Resistance	Armed Struggle	Protest and Uprising	Violent Resistance		
Participant Birth		2	3	2	7	4		2
Age in 1994		51	44	26	24	14		Born Free
		51	37	25	23	14		Born Free
			36		23	11		
					22	9		
					20			
					16			
					16			

Bearing cognisance of the descendants' diverse experiences required an understanding of their probable exposure to colonial and apartheid violence, whilst not discounting the remnant systemic and structural violences sustained in post-conflict South Africa. The profile indicates that two of the descendants were born during the period of racial segregation, and therefore before the legal institution of apartheid. This suggests that these two participants, along with most of the remaining participants, lived a significant part of their lives under the oppressive apartheid regime, which included periods ranging from silent resistance and non-violent confrontation to varied incidents of political protest and uprising and ultimately violent resistance. The concept of intergenerational trauma stresses the weight of the forebearers'

trauma on descendants (Knight, 2019). However, specific cognisance is required of the apartheid and post-apartheid processes that may have rendered the participants vulnerable to direct exposure to collective aggression and racial hatred (Volkan, 2009a). The profile of the descendants' lifespan across the colonialist and apartheid timescapes demonstrates that, along with acknowledging the intergenerational transmission of trauma, the analysis must bear cognisance that the descendants were also intentional recipients of direct colonial violence and are therefore also the bearers of their own traumatic memories. This extends beyond the intimate experience of violence in their home associated with their forebearers' resistance politics, but the political violence widespread in historically black communities (Dawes, 1990, 1990; Silove, 1988; Swartz & Levett, 1989). The reach of the violence and the systematic maltreatment of children was not incidental but was intentional for political ends (Silove, 1988). Additionally, political violence continued to thrive in post-apartheid South Africa. This initially comprised continued political unrest during the 1990s, though now concealed under the insidious guise of class. It is argued that the prevalence of continued political violence may be more recognisable if society's understanding of political violence acknowledged the implications of cultural, symbolic and structural violence.

Conceding that post-apartheid developments are complicit in psychic alienation across an intersection of positionalities requires an awareness of how this may facilitate the transmission of trauma across generations. This is important, given that two participants are considered part of the *'Born Frees'* generation. *'Born Frees'* are considered the first generation of South Africans who have lived a significant part of their lives in post-apartheid, democratic South Africa (Malila, 2015). Frankish and Bradbury (2012) similarly acknowledge the typical, yet contested conceptualisation of the *'Born Frees'* generation as a generation of South Africans who are "free" from directly experiencing the violence of apartheid through state oppression, as well as the psychological violence of racism. These are assumptions and discourses conceptualised and projected onto those born in post-apartheid South Africa, without appropriately considering to what extent these assumptions represent lived experience. Njovane (2021) interrogates this experience by underscoring the continuity of violence through poverty, especially because those born in post-conflict South Africa may not fully comprehend the historical knowledge that informs their socio-economic position. Interrogating the "*experience of embodiment, violence, and trauma*", Njovane's (2021) work recognises the collective traumas of colonialism and apartheid on both young peoples' bodies and subjectivities in framing their sociopolitical meaning in the contemporary moment. Alongside

the continuation of socio-economic deprivation, race categorisation has remained commonplace in post-apartheid South Africa. This is an often-overlooked violence, threatening a sense of identity and belonging.

In response to questions pertaining to ethnicity and race, Descendant 19, a "Born Free", is pushed into a space of an unknowing "other" and must acknowledge her sense of not knowing.

> *I would say other. I don't know. A mixed breyani pot – everything. For all my applications…*
>
> *(Descendant 19, II, page 1, line 14)*

The end of Descendant 19's extract "*For all my applications…*" confirms that this violence is not merely repeated within the research process, but serves as a repetition of various South African legal processes that require identity categorisation based on gender and race. Sauti (2019) highlights this as a systemic failure and reproduction of racial divisions remnant of South Africa's apartheid and colonial legacy. Articulating the extent to which the reproduction of "otherness" distorts identity and positionality. This reproduction of racial division and othering simultaneously sustains the reproduction of racism. This is evident in the reflection shared by Descendant 3, speaking of her experiences of discrimination and racism in the workplace in post-apartheid South Africa.

> *Like she is shoving it in our faces; that you are black and you don't deserve to be here.*
>
> *(Descendant 3, II, page 17, line 473)*

Beyond racism, any form of othering highlights difference, which is interpreted as inequality (Tamale, 2020b). This leaves anyone labelled as "other" to bear a sense of inferiority (Tamale, 2020b). The conceptualisation of *'Born Frees'* is therefore contested, given that South Africa continues to be plagued by colonial remnants, including racial tensions and socioeconomic division. Similarly, the argument of state oppression remains relevant, given how state governance and policing mimic apartheid forces. These have, in recent years, been confirmed by the *echoes of apartheid police brutality in the 2012 Marikana Massacre* (Nasson et al., 2023, p. 211) as well as the violent consequences observed in response to the FeesMustFall Movement (Godsell et al., 2016).

The FeesMustFall Movement provides a further reminder that social inequality and class divisions serve as the new barrier in terms of access, replacing the apartheid "whites only" discourse with belonging based on economic power. The limits to access are, however, not restricted to tertiary education but apply to safe housing, health care, safe recreational spaces, as well as primary and secondary education (Chikoko & Mthembu, 2021; Makgetla, 2020; McConnachie & Shackleton, 2010). In a context where the role of coloniality is dismissed in building this unequal foundation, the 'Born Frees' are perceived as lazy, demanding and entitled (John et al., 2015). It may be argued that these discourses are founded on the traumatic experiences of apartheid, and a nostalgic fantasy of what living the experience of youth could epitomise in a post-apartheid era. Older generations may therefore assume 'Born Frees' to be emancipated from the constraints they experienced, discounting that *'many Born Frees face the same, if not greater, levels of unemployment, poverty, inequality and hopelessness as their parents'* (Mattes, 2012, p. 8). Their experience of violence and trauma remains unseen, despite the intensity of their protest. Dominant discourse is therefore vulnerable to labelling these youth as politically apathetic (Malila & Garman, 2016). Demonstrating the extent to which voice can remain silenced despite political will and agency. It is thus argued that despite the label's emphasis on 'free', the *'Born Frees'* generation is surmised to be under particular strain, given their subjugation under resistant coloniality, as well as accountability to facilitate the process of decolonisation (Oyedemi, 2021). Neglected by the current state and subject to continued forms of colonially informed violence, the term is therefore applied with significant caution and etymological disagreement.

Reflecting on the conditions in Chile, Rajevic (2019a), highlights how movements catalysed by post-conflict generations provide new critical events to be remembered. Within the South African context, the quality of the newness requires interrogation. Despite their presentations as new occurrences demanding remembrance, both #FeesMustFall and the Marikana Massacre serve as hauntings within the post-apartheid timescape that mirror the Soweto Uprising and the Sharpeville Massacre. Applying Rajevic's (2019a) postulations, it is suggested that the political expressions by the "Born Free" generation, specifically through student movements, provide a renewed opportunity to reconstruct unattended memories. This includes the silenced aspects of the past (Rajevic, 2019a), whilst realising Canham's (2023, p. 17) supposition of *cylindrical epiphenomenal temporality* that suggests a time that is always occurring in the present. It may therefore be surmised that the "Born Free" generation is subject to reliving the silenced yet haunting remnants of South Africa's history, whilst having to attend to it in the present.

8.4 INTERGENERATIONAL POLITICAL POSITIONALITIES

The preceding sections provided an understanding of how the descendants' identities and positionalities may be shaped by their own intersectional experiences, as well as those of their forebearers. **Table 8.3** provides a profile of the women anti-apartheid activists.

Table 8.3

Profile of Women Anti-Apartheid Activists

Women Anti-Apartheid Activists			
	Political Affiliation	**Political Harassment**	**Activist Status**
Activist	**Affiliation Unclear**	Harassed	Deceased
Activist	**Affiliation Unclear**	Harassed	Deceased
Activist	**Affiliation Unsure**	Harassed	Deceased
Activist	**Affiliation Unclear**	House bombed	Alive
Activist	**ANC**	Arrested, Tortured, House torched	Deceased
Activist	**ANC**	Harassed	Deceased
Activist	**ANC**	Arrested Detained	Deceased
Activist	**ANC**	Harassed Severe Physical Assault	Deceased
Activist	**ANC**	Harassed	Deceased
Activist	**ANC** **Later PAC** **(Guided by husband's political affiliation)**	Harassed House bombed (Husband wanted for arrest)	Deceased
Activist	**ANCWL** **ANC**	Harassed Arrested	Deceased
Activist	**Across Movements** **UDF** **ANC**	Harassed Arrested Detained Tortured	Deceased
Activist	**BCM**	Harassed Arrested Detained	Deceased
Activist	**BCM**	Harassed	Alive
Activist / Courier	**CAYCO** **UDF** **ANC**	Harassed	Alive
Activist	**PAC** **Azanian People's Liberation Army**	Harassed House torched	Deceased
Activist	**UDF** **ANC** **Later Affiliation Unclear**	Harassed Arrested	Deceased
Activist	**UDF** **ANC**	Arrested House bombed	Deceased
Activist	**No formal affiliation** **(Husband was an ANC member)**	Harassed Husband arrested and poisoned after release Harassment continued	Deceased
Activist	**No formal affiliation** **(Husband was a PAC member)**	Arrested (Husband wanted for arrest)	Alive

Given the enduring political milieu of South Africa, the descendants' experiences extend across the apartheid and post-apartheid landscapes. This includes bearing witness to their forebears' differential treatment within liberation movements, followed by their experiences of neglect in the shadow of democracy. Whilst most of the descendants presented themselves as politically conscious, they conveyed varied expressions of their political involvement. To facilitate an understanding of the descendants' possible engagement with political consciousness, **Table 8.3** presents the political affiliation of the descendants' forebearers, which includes their experiences of apartheid harassment. To remove the possibility of matching identifying information, the descendants and the associated women-anti-apartheid activist profiles are presented separately, and in a disarranged sequence.

Whilst **Table 8.3** demarcates the women anti-apartheid activists' political affiliation and the extent to which this influenced their exposure to political retaliation, it is important that their affiliation not be read without context or as clear-cut responses. As per the table, select descendants appeared unsure of their forebearers' political affiliation, whilst a select few understood their forebearers' political affiliation in relation to the political affiliation carried by their forebearer's husbands. The responses should however be observed as a consequence of a direct question that assumed the possibility of a clear answer. Very few of the responses, however, provided a clear response. For example, whilst the table may suggest that Descendant 12 provided a clear response to the question, her extended response provides greater clarity as to why a question of political affiliation risks providing skewed imagery.

> *… a civic movement was born. A very strong civic movement, because in the 80s, it was not like the ANC was that powerful. Remember, the ANC was banned. There was no ANC. But it was communities through students, the efforts of *** and others who mobilised everybody. So, that history is not reflecting very well to say; these are the group[s] of young people who made it sure that community become conscientised, the workers in the factory. Because that was when COSATU was born as well.*
>
> *(Descendant 12, II, page 10, line 283)*

This sentiment is echoed by the narrative shared by Descendant 9.

> *You know what, that time we didn't even have ANC, uh… PAC, we were one that time. We were into one. We were fighting the one struggle that time, you know.*

Then when Mandela came out, then we did know that there is ANC, there is PAC – you know.

(Descendant 9, II, page 8, line 189)

The researcher incorrectly anticipated that lines of affiliation would be clearer where political involvement included mentions of arrest, detention or torture. However, the absence of clear political affiliation remained evident irrespective of whether the forebearers underwent threatened or actioned arrest. This is noted with Descendant 1, whose forebearer was harassed, arrested, detained and ultimately had to flee South Africa to avoid further imprisonment.

But she was very active as I understand it, not necessarily a member of the ANC.

(Descendant 1, II, page 2, line 37)

Descendant 20's forebearer was arrested on several occasions and spent many months in detention alongside more well-known anti-apartheid activists. It is therefore important to note that during apartheid, political activity, detention and arrest did not necessarily have to be associated with a particular political body.

Uhm. She was active across movements. She was active as an activist, […]. Although she did officially join the ANC afterwards (post-apartheid) as a card-carrying member.

(Descendant 20, II, page 2, line 44)

This absence of specific political affiliation was most likely attributed to the fact that the ANC and PAC were banned during the period of heightened political activity (Clark & Worger, 2022). A possible postulation is that even if their political activity was associated with a particular political organisation, it may have been difficult to acknowledge this – even to themselves. It noted that many of the women anti-apartheid activists applied a discourse of community engagement, rather than a political discourse.

She has always been busy and well, I remember I think in the 80s, she said, "I didn't know that what I'm doing was political. I thought it was life".

(Descendant 17, FI-1, page 4, line 97)

It is however also possible that the absence of clarity pertaining to political affiliation merely signals an absence of clarity between the descendants and their forebearers. It is possible that the responses may have been different if communicated directly by the women anti-apartheid activists. The descendants' understanding of the women anti-apartheid activists' political activism and affiliation nonetheless informs to what extent their understanding may have influenced the descendant's own political consciousness.

Table 8.4 illustrates the descendant's own political involvement and affiliation. Once again, the table provides brief descriptors, absent of an in-depth understanding of the complexity underlying these political associations. This complexity may in many ways mirror the feelings of descendants who appear to be more politically removed.

Table 8.4

Profile of Descendants' Political Activism and Affiliation

Participant Descriptor	Sequence of Interview	Relationship with Activist	Descendant Political Activism	Descendant Political Affiliation
DESCENDANT	**1**	Daughter	Politically conscious	-
DESCENDANT	**2**	Daughter	Politically Active	ANC
DESCENDANT	**3**	Granddaughter	-	-
DESCENDANT	**4**	Daughter	Politically Active	ANC
DESCENDANT	**5**	Daughter	-	-
DESCENDANT	**6**	Daughter	Intentionally Politically Inactive	-
DESCENDANT	**7**	Daughter	-	-
DESCENDANT	**8**	Daughter	Politically Active	Affiliation Undecided
DESCENDANT	**9**	Daughter / Granddaughter	Politically Active	Affiliation Unclear
DESCENDANT	**10**	Daughter	Politically Active	Affiliation Unclear
DESCENDANT	**11**	Daughter	-	-
DESCENDANT	**12**	Cousin	Politically Active	Affiliation Unclear
DESCENDANT	**13**	Daughter / Granddaughter	-	-
DESCENDANT	**14**	Granddaughter	-	-
DESCENDANT	**15**	Granddaughter	Politically Active	PAC
DESCENDANT	**16**	Granddaughter	Politically Active	Affiliation Unclear
DESCENDANT	**17**	Granddaughter	Politically Active	Affiliation Unclear
DESCENDANT	**18**	Daughter	-	-
DESCENDANT	**19**	Great Granddaughter	-	-
DESCENDANT	**20**	Granddaughter	-	-

The "-" provided in **Table 8.4** shouldn't be read as an absence or silence but should instead invite a reading seeking to understand what underlies the absence of political activism and affiliation. In knowing the narratives located within the "-", there is an understanding that it presents varied permutations of loss, pain, and trauma. It is thus postulated that there may be some level of political dissociation among those who did not report any form of political activism and affiliation. The narratives revealed the extensive losses all the descendants experienced, though the implications were varied. None of these losses were simple, with each loss having a myriad of intergenerational implications. Though some of these intergenerational transmissions were relational, all comprised some form of systemic intergenerational inheritance.

For Descendant 7, the murder of her father as a suspected *impimpi* (police informer), not only resulted in the loss of her father, but also the symbolic loss of her uncle and brother given that apartheid granted them hierarchy over her mother. This in turn resulted in housing insecurity and family rupture which significantly impacted the trajectory of her life.

> *Sometimes I do blame myself, being what I am today. I did destroy myself with liquor. I was overdrinking. Or I was overstressed. I don't know. I was in a new world. I didn't care for food, I just cared for liquor. If I can just have a sip of liquor.*
>
> *(Descendant 7, II, page 9, line 219)*

Descendant 7's self-blame may be associated with her inability to have saved her father, and therefore her family. Her narrative expressed a foreboding dream.

> *After two months, he was out of prison. I had a dream, I was with my grandmom here in ***, *** – I saw there is a friend, my father's friend putting a bottle of Bols on the table. But now something was wrong. No, no daddy! It's me now, it's in my dream. Daddy don't drink this, don't drink that, there is poison in there. They've sent that best friend, my father's best friend with that Bols. That was… I thought it was a dream.*
>
> *(Descendant 7, II, page 3, line 69)*

Mainstream psychology understands dreams as individualistic mechanisms focusing on the intrapsychic, and whilst this remains of significance, the African psychological perspective

recognises that the individual can dream on behalf of others (Nwoye, 2017). Whilst dreams can link people to both futures and pasts (Canham, 2023), it is evident that within the colonial encounter, Descendant 7's foreboding was ignored. It is surmised that this was most likely attributed to her gendered positionality, with racialised gender playing a central role in how the implications of this dismissal impacted her life.

Descendant 6 shared a different narrative, though the influence on her life remained equally evident. Although Descendant 6 has family members who remain politically active, she attributes her political inactivism to the lack of assistance her family received after their home was bombed, along with how her mother was treated as a woman in the political party.

> *But I am not gonna lie to you, after I realise that there was no case, there was no one helping us, I was like; no, I am not belonging to any party now, let me be myself.*
>
> *(Descendant 6, II, page 4, line 116)*

A closer reading of her narrative, however, suggests a myriad of losses in conjunction with the extracts shared above. This includes her father dying of *"a painful heart"* in the aftermath of the loss of their home. An evident loss, however, included how the bombing of their home impacted her own life, requiring her to end her education to become a domestic worker to provide for her family. For others, such as Descendant 3 and Descendant 5, the absence of their political activism appears to be attributed to the disremembering of their forebearers' and the pain this caused, but also the extent to which it impacted their meaning-making of how their forebearers' political involvement influenced their childhood in terms of education, kinship care and overall stability. The narratives shared are therefore not intended to provide an all-encompassing understanding but serve to inform that the absence of political activism and affiliation should not be understood as political apathy or indifference but as an alternate expression of trauma and loss in the absence of healing and restoration. Intergenerational and transgenerational research focusing on descendants of victims of apartheid-era gross human rights violations describes the descendants' experiences as forms of secondary traumatisation (See Adonis, 2016, 2018). This research instead argues that the descendants were direct recipients of the systemic and structural violences, with direct and long-lasting implications on their lives.

Although these descendants' traumatic experiences appear to be directly associated with their political inactivism, it does not imply that those who have chosen to be politically active have not been exposed to their own violences and traumas. This is particularly evident with Descendant 4, who remains politically active despite being subjected to political torture as an adolescent given her direct political involvement, alongside her mother's activism.

> *I will never stop. But I'm still living under the poverty. […] People would like, they see me like I'm a stupid, or I'm a fool. That look at others they are driving big cars, she's walking around, she doesn't have nothing but she's busy spreading this ANC gospel...*
>
> *(Descendant 4, II, page 15, line 451)*

Illustrating that individual experiences have guided alternate means of meaning-making. Though certain descendants remain faithful to the political parties their forebearers were affiliated with, their commitment to these political parties is not without its complexities.

> *I guess like abused wives, we don't leave the party despite […] Ya! But I stayed on. As I say, like abused wife I kept on to the ANC despite…*
>
> *(Descendant 2, II page 18, line 489)*

Others like Descendant 15, have, however, shifted political allegiance. Although Descendant 15's family were members of the ANC, she became a member of the PAC.

> *I come from a background of being politically involved, first with SRCs, you know, then with was ANC Youth League, you know, from there to the ANC, from there community development, from there to the PAC, which I've now rested my head at, in terms of aligning myself politically. But I still feel that I've taken a step back in terms of politics and said that, you know, it is not, it's not a home ground for women.*

Despite this transition, Descendant 15's (II, page 2, line 62) narrative reflected a dissatisfaction stating *"I was hit by tribalism, I was it by factionalism. I was hit by sexism"*.

Others, like Descendant 8, remain politically active without political affiliation. However, despite the absence of formal political affiliation, it is evident that these descendants may still be seeking a political movement that aligns with their own political values.

> *I've taken a…a big liking to the EFF […] …the spirit of the EFF now is the spirit of the ANC when I joined the ANC when I was 16. […] it's magical man, because it's like, the ANC has become this black hole, uninspired, there's just no inspiration.*
>
> *(Descendant 8, II, page 26, lines 772, 779)*

The multivarious experiences of the descendants demonstrate that there is no clear reason why select descendants may choose to remain faithful to select political parties. However, those who have explicitly announced their political inactivity have attributed this to their deep losses and the extent to which they had to bear these losses on their own.

8.5 CONCLUSION

Meeting the descendants across intersectional positionalities and varied systemic intergenerational inheritances demonstrates the significance of social and politically informed constructions in informing identity and positionality. Race, gender, sexuality, class and language may appear to hold uniform meaning across global discourse, given the widespread acceptance of colonial rhetoric. However, the descendant narratives demonstrate how intersectional categories are deeply informed by contextual and historical milieus. Whether speaking of race, language, citizenship, housing or socio-economic status, the descendant's expressed positionalities were firmly intertwined with both the apartheid and post-apartheid milieus. This entangling demonstrates the way the past remains alive in the present. This includes the systemic intergenerational inheritance of sustained systemic and structural violences that have informed their lived experience and therefore the bearers of their own trauma, alongside that of their forebearers'. This trauma appears saturated with black loss and its production of black mourning. Whilst simultaneously noting the colonially informed capitalist world's refusal to contain or recognise black mourning and the necessity for systemic repair and structural reform. Thereby confirming that black mourning is manifested and maintained as a maddening outcome of oppression (Canham, 2021, 2023). Adding to this intersectional complexity and alternate expressions of loss, was the designated insider versus outsider positionality held concerning descendants born in exile compared to those born in South Africa. Demonstrating an alternative form of othering as a consequence of colonial

trauma, whilst discounting that each positionality echoes its own incumbrances. The geographical and psychological alienation caused by exile has generally undergone extensive theorising, given the extent to which detachment from place of origin has been associated with sustained suffering. Much less has, however, been interrogated about second-generation exiles (Kropiwnicki, 2013a). A similar neglect is evident in understanding the plight of the majority of black people occupying a displaced pseudo-exile position in South Africa (See Caraivan, 2017). These intersectional tensions will endure further interrogation in the chapter that follows, and its focus on the disruption of home.

CHAPTER NINE: DESCENDANTS' RECOLLECTIONS ON THE DISRUPTION OF HOME

9.1 INTRODUCTION

... the loss of land, the loss of belonging and the loss of identity

(Mellet, 2020, p. 7)

The meaning of 'home' has occupied a dominant space in literature across several decades (Benjamin, 2024; Carroll et al., 2009; Després, 1991; Fried, 2017; Graham et al., 2015; Moore, 2000; Sixsmith, 1986). This is largely attributed to the psychological tenets ascribed to home as a place of belonging. Similarly, 'home' has consistently been featured as a central 'space' or 'symbolism' in the colonial encounter (Bhabha, 1992; Fanon, 1967b; Gibson & Beneduce, 2017). Fanon's (2018, p. 320) psychiatric postulations emphasised the importance of home, referencing it as a site of longing; "*You can never say enough about the painful feeling that patients endure when, from one day to the next, they are deprived of their home"*. Among the many intimate meanings ascribed to home include the valuation of security and control, permanence and continuity, serving as a space of refuge from the outside world (Benjamin, 2024; Després, 1991; Price, 2002). These meanings appear relevant irrespective of whether the home is appraised from an ideological, material or symbolic perspective. Thereby recognising that the term home is also applied more extensively to communities, cultural landscapes and homelands (Benjamin, 2024). Though a concrete reference may most easily be applied to a physical structure or geographical location, Fanon (1967) emphasises that *home* is not a room or a building. Fanon (1967) instead necessitates the need for *human* work in making meaning of home. This *human* work bears the necessity to undo alienation and seek restoration. Thereby recognising that home may represent an emotional space reminiscent *of our earliest psychological experiences and exerting a ripple effect throughout our lives* (Rubenstein, 2001, p. 1). Whilst holding this in mind, finding analytic expression will simultaneously draw on Foucault's conceptualisation of heterotopia. Foucault (2008) speaks of heterotopia as spaces that serve as counter-sites that may be represented, contested, and inverted. Within the context of this research, the heterotopia may not be linked to one geographical reality, but rather the intersubjective implications of an inaccessible home. The inaccessibility of home is therefore not solely based on geographical distance but is argued to apply to the alienation assigned to blackness given the ways in 'being black' sits outside the prescribed social norms of South Africa's enacted apartheid utopia. This concept is therefore proposed to hold relevance for those in pseudo-exile and those in exile.

Applying a psychopolitical lens, Fanon (1967) explicates expatriation as the experience of being cut off from both origins and ends, bowed beneath the law of inertia. Leaning towards a decolonial understanding evokes the question of how this may be experienced within a context such as South Africa, where the homeland has been transformed by coloniality and is physically inaccessible for many, despite the absence of expatriation. This inaccessibility was marked by alienation facilitated by the *dompass* and segregation legislation during apartheid (Dubow, 2014) and maintained by class and economic deprivation in post-apartheid South Africa (Canham, 2023; Mellet, 2020). Thereby necessitating a deliberation on the collective psyche of black South Africans and the intergenerational undulations left in the wake of land appropriation and displacement. The meaning of home therefore requires a psychopolitical analysis within colonised landscapes where nation, land, homes and people have been subject to political acquisition, displacement, occupation and control. ***The Disruption of Home*** further explores the intergenerational inheritance of the *"dynamic between those who stayed and those who left" (Descendant 1, II, page 17, line 505)*. This exploration commences with explicating ***The Production of Psychic Alienation Through Pseudo-Exile***, followed by ***The Experience of Being when Born into Exile.***

9.2. THE PRODUCTION OF PSYCHIC ALIENATION THROUGH PSEUDO-EXILE

South Africa has been marked by forced removals, land acquisition and occupation for more than four hundred years (Mellet, 2020), with segregatory practices predating the Natives Land Act 27 of 1913. These 'more recent' practices, however, facilitated the legislative processes of the apartheid regime and the enforcement of the Group Areas Act of 1950, which abolished racially integrated areas (Maharaj, 2020). It is, however, important to highlight that this disruption was not without resistance. Mellet (2020) speaks of nineteen wars between 1659 and 1879 arising in response to resistance to land appropriation and its associated crimes against humanity. The wake of colonial land appropriation, however, left the Indigenous peoples of South Africa divorced from all resources associated with land and water (Mellet, 2020). This is a socio-spatial apartheid that continues into the present day, though legitimised through a capitalist and classist lens since the fall of apartheid (Maharaj, 2020). As the most unequal and unevenly developed country in the world (World Bank, 2018), South Africa's legacy bears the repetition of structural violences that maintain the Manichean world. The extent to which this colonial trauma dehumanises the black human should not be underestimated, specifically given the significance of structural violence and its influence on suffering (Galtung, 1969). Galtung (1990) argues that the causal flow from structural to direct

violence is identifiable and that the interaction between these forms of violence is repetitive, ritualistic, and systemic. Enforced on groups and resulting in collective trauma, it risks both relational and systemic intergenerational implications. Though the systemic implications of these structural violences regarding social infrastructure and unequal life chances have attracted attention, the production of psychic alienation and unbelonging through pseudo-exile on the collective intergenerational psyche requires further attendance. Fanon's recognition of history as embedded in and expressive of collective psychic life (Gibson & Beneduce, 2017) highlights the criticality of seeking representation of this psychic alienation through descendant narratives. It is suggested that Kropiwnicki's (2013a) concern about the neglect of second-generation exiles carries equal merit for generations born into pseudo-exile. Fanon's conceptualisation of children and childhood aids in understanding descendants' traumatic alienation in colonial representation and the implications of living in direct engagement with the struggles of emancipation (Burman, 2017).

9.2.1 Physical Dislocation and Psychic Rupture

Most of the descendants included in this research inquiry came from historically black and coloured townships, designated for those displaced after the forced removal of people from Sophiatown in Gauteng, District Six in the Western Cape, and Cato Manor in KwaZulu Natal. The original, racially integrated suburbs were systematically and structurally destroyed by the forced removals dictated by the Group Areas Act (Erlank, 2015; Maharaj, 2020). This suggests a blurring between personal and collective displacement and its inextricable link (Thiranagama, 2011). Framing an understanding of the descendants, therefore, required a grounding of how this displacement informs their psychological heritage and being.

> *People form deep and lasting attachments to the places in which they live and such attachments are rooted in emotional association with homes, temples, churches, mosques, schools, burial places and with neighbours—years of friendship, the passing on of homes from generation to generation.*
>
> *(Maharaj, 2020, p. 44)*

Many of the descendant narratives exposed the continued socio-spatial apartheid that informs their daily existence in post-apartheid South Africa. The reflections shared by Descendant 3 however reflected on her grandmother's life and her experience of being displaced to the racially designated black community where she became a political stalwart. Speaking from her

late grandmother's home where she continues to live, Descendant 3 expressed the following concerning her grandmother's dislocation to a racially segregated township;

> *They used to stay at BoKaap, with her mom and herself and the brother. And then came a time where, I don't know which year was that; they were now told; you guys are blacks, you don't belong in the BoKaap…*
>
> *(Descendant 3, II, page 7, line 184)*

As Descendant 3's narrative continued, it became evident that her grandmother's physical dislocation not only deprived her of the physical and geographical aspects associated with home. The narrative instead offers a reminder that the displacement of black people from geographical land and structure also separated them from their loss, their spaces of mourning and their spaces of remembrance. Canham (2023, p. 11) advocates that *land and water are central to how people die, live, and order their live*, and it is evident how displacement enforces a rupture with African tradition and being.

> *… sometimes she would cry, it is so emotional because this one time she went to this place where she thinks it was the place she buried her two babies. There was a big building on top of that. So, now there is this… you know when someone dies, you make a tombstone for remembrance where you can go back, and you can - now there's this big building, where do I start? So, now it's a thing of, okay I just need to cut off with that and continue with my life.*
>
> *(Descendant 3, II, page 9, line 237)*

The narrative shared by Descendant 3 demonstrates the extensive psychological trauma of physical displacement as a barrier to remembrance, healing and mourning. The choice of words *'to cut off'* demonstrates further systemic violence in the void of non-remembrance. Demonstrating an inflicted severing from personal history and suspension from an existential link to time. An imposition Fanon not only postulates as alienation but solicits as a sense of *madness* when acting outside of history and renouncing action within it (Gibson & Beneduce, 2017). Thereby recognising the role of colonial violence and its imposition of psychic conflict onto black bodies. Drawing specifically on the imposition on the practice of bereavement, grieving and loss, it may be wondered to what extent this psychic alienation may be likened to the enforcement of the necropower of necropolitics. Understood as an extension of Foucault's concept of biopower, necropower and necropolitics speak to how power is applied to dictate

how people may live and how they may die (Mbembe, 2020). The descendant extract extends on dictating how black life may be mourned, signifying that despite the shift from the apartheid to the post-apartheid era, the imposition of *deathworlds* remains evident. This is supported by research that posits that the loss of land dispossession extends beyond the material, land or burial spaces, but encompasses ancestral connection, identity, heritage and belonging (Skosana, 2022).

It is therefore unsurprising that physical displacement is at the core of Fanon's theorising on the colonial experience. A critical divergence is, however, Fanon's emphasis on the displacement of black people to foreign lands and their fate to be permanently 'homeless' (Gibson & Beneduce, 2017). The descendant narratives illuminate South Africa as a unique locale where *landlessness* and *homelessness* were imposed on black people despite their Indigenous status with the land. In exploring various worlds, including that of apartheid South Africa, Bhabha (1992, p. 141) contends that to be unhomed is not to be homeless. Bhabha (1992) instead applies the term unhomely as the trauma of acknowledging *the-world-in-the home, the-home-in-the-world,* which may be argued to carry a similar sentiment embodied by psychopolitics. This association is posited based on the influence of politics and power on the external world and how this can be drawn into the personal domain (Hook, 2004b), as represented by the home and its inextricable link with the psychological and the psyche.

Though the memory recalled by Descendant 3 provides insight into the timescape linked to dislocation strictly in response to apartheid legislation, many of the remaining narratives expressed experiences of 'home' holding distinct meanings. For those whose families escaped to exile the construct of 'home' represented South Africa, whilst for those whose families remained in South Africa, home represented a space for political gathering, secreting political agents, which in turn presented homes as possible political war zones in the face of political retaliation. The latter includes narratives of loss in response to homes lost to bombings along with its enduring implications on family and personhood. The assessment of home across themes of disruption thus requires cognisance that contexts of violence disrupt traditional sentiment and meaning (Price, 2002; Woodhall-Melnik et al., 2017).

A global lens focussing specifically on gender-based violence represents the home as a space of danger and terror (Price, 2002; Woodhall-Melnik et al., 2017). In contexts of political violence such as Palestine, research highlights an inherent tension in conceptualising home. Expressing the contradictory experience of home as a castle to centre individual and collective

identity, whilst simultaneously experiencing home as a cage - confining the family as its prisoners (Akesson, 2014). Reflecting on disrupted lives in the wake of political violence in Sri Lanka, Thiranagama's (2011) writings on *In My Mother's House* reveal how homes become tombs of secrets, attracting terror and brutality as retaliation to liberation struggles.

The descendants conveyed comparable accounts, providing the sociohistorical background of narrative and discourse production within the context of this research inquiry. Thereby drawing attention to previously disremembered colonial violences and traumas. This includes the weight of intergenerational trauma in response to the loss of ancestral homes, whilst painfully bearing the uncertainty of not knowing where their loved ones are buried. This enforced severance from ancestry and ancestral knowledge (Lephakga, 2015) demarcate the coloniality of Being (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). Whilst it may be easy to focus on the implications of this dislocation on the living, Canham (2021), draws attention to the disruption of the ancestral ecosystem and that those who have passed are entombed in foreign lands and severed from their loved ones. Thus, emphasising the extent to which even the dead are subject to alienation, exile and nonbelonging. Risking the inaccessibility of ancestral guidance for generations that follow. Colonial violence therefore distends beyond how people may live and how they may die (Mbembe, 2020), encroaching on death and the afterlife. The dislocation, disruption and destruction of home therefore takes on new meanings, explicating an attack on personhood, family as well as the African ancestral collective. Leaning on Fanonian theory facilitates an understanding of how colonial violence not only encages the home but also informs this experience of personhood, being and collective (Gibson, 2011). This mirrors Bhabha's (1992) postulation of *the-world-in-the home, the-home-in-the-world* and the disorientating experience of civic and intimate phenomena becoming part of each other.

It is surmised that the experience of collective disruption and trauma requires attendance through collective mourning and restoration. Retaliation by the apartheid state was however always responsive to disrupt any form of collective gathering (Clark & Worger, 2022; Dubow, 2014).

> *My stepmother told me that when my brother was born, that was in 1982, two security officers came to the hospital and were questioning her about my dad.*
>
> *(Descendant 11, II, page 1, line 6)*

Then preparations for funeral. It was so hectic, we couldn't move – he is in the mortuary – but the way the white policemen were ill-treating us badly – they were just moving around in the house.

(Descendant 7, II, page 4, line 95)

The descendant narratives reveal that there were no spaces considered too sacred or intimate by apartheid security, enforcing its violence both at the beginning of life and at its end. This disruption influenced considerable fragmentation of the family, across processes of mourning and relating. This infringement on black mourning has been well recorded given that the cycle of violence was sustained at funerals with further police action (Clark & Worger, 2022; Dubow, 2014).

In response to this disruption and the absence of safety across all spheres of life, women anti-apartheid activists either found themselves fleeing South Africa or having to send their children away into family kinship care. Mirroring the disruption and violence projected onto family as observed by Fanon (1965) in *A Dying Colonialism,* whilst noting colonialism's central aim of fragmenting people from each other and making cohesion impossible.

*When she fled South Africa, boys stayed with their dad, and she had no contact with them until they were ***, once apartheid came to an end.*

(Descendant 1, II, page 8, line 105)

Like in 1985 my father suggested that she must take us to Eastern Cape to his family, because of the struggles in our streets and the riots. They used to have those big trucks with boers coming to our townships, doing whatever, the teargas, the everything. So the schools were not operating the same way they were supposed to. […] It was hardly two years, and then we were back. Because there, no one really loved us. We suffered; emotionally, physically. I think I was only 7 years old then, but they treated us like slaves.

(Descendant 5, II, page 7, line 178)

…then my grandmother take us to Eastern Cape. Then when I was doing standard 5, then I came back. I came back.

(Descendant 9, II, page 6, line 148)

Though the research sought to identify possible associations related to intergenerational transmission trauma, the narratives revealed the complexity of many of the participants' own lived experiences in a context informed by colonial violence and trauma. The participant narratives demonstrate that in the face of the women activists' involvement, the descendants lived through their own traumas embedded within resistance politics.

> *… whenever someone was on the run and was hiding at home, I'd be fetched from the kiddie's bedroom, and my bed would be made on the floor. So, naturally when the police come and here is a child sleeping, there can't be anybody hiding*
>
> *(Descendant 2, II, page 3, line 76)*

> *You know how many times the police would come and raid the house, and drop by the house and then tomorrow morning you have to go to school and not talk about it and pretend like as if nothing has happened. You can't even tell the teacher. The police was there, or I can't write this paper…*
>
> *(Descendant 17, FI-2, page 14, line 372)*

Despite their divergent childhood experiences, disruption was evident among all the descendant narratives. For select descendants, this disruption was represented by having to become intimately involved in the resistance movements themselves, whilst others were subject to family dissolution in a quest for safety. The disruption of the family is an evitable adverse childhood experience. Bringing to life Burman's (2017, p. 1) emphasis that the child can represent a site of resistance to colonialism as much as the raw material for colonial exploitation or as vulnerable to the distortions of the brutalities of repression and war.

9.2.2 The Destruction of Home and the Attack on Personhood

Research across Africa has demonstrated that most aspects of conflict are focused on contexts of human habitats and not battlefields (Shekhawat, 2015). Earlier sections of this thesis conveyed the extent to which the absence of a designated battlefield earmarked the home as a primary site for political conflict in South Africa (Bridger, 2021; Magadla, 2021a). However, since political conflict is ordinarily associated with battlefields and war zones, literature often neglects the way homes are usually drawn into a political attack. In South Africa, this was only true for townships historically designated for black, coloured and Indian people, most likely because resistance politics emanated from these spaces (Maharaj, 2020). Since families and

children were the main targets on these battlefields, the term genocidal occupation seems more appropriate. Referenced within spaces of political conflict, associations with home appear bound with gendered associations. As such, when political conflict and war are masculinised (Cock & Nathan, 1989; Mann, 2015), it neglects that women and children are among the worst victims of war (Lamb, 2020). Political conflict attracts inevitable danger for women whether based on their relation to political adversaries, their positionality as political leaders, or *simply because they were at home when the soldiers arrived* (Rehn & Sirleaf, 2002, p. 11). Portraying home as a space of safety thus seems like a wilful illusion.

The absence of safety was relevant to the broader geography containing the home as well, as evidenced by the widespread mention of both the 'mello yellos' and the 'hippos' by the descendants. Associating both with state violence and murderous intent.

> *But obviously hippos and the yellow cars – the yellow-mellows. We used to call them yellow mellows, the police vans. Used to come. So, all the strikes and the marches used to pass by that road. And also, all the shootings and the chasing would be there. So, people would disperse.*
>
> *(Descendant 14, II, page 3, line 62)*

> *…the small boys they take them and put them to the hippo. On top of dead bodies. You see! And then take them to the police station.*
>
> *(Descendant 9, II, page 4, line 103)*

Fanon (1963) elucidates the role of state agents as the intermediaries of oppression in the colonial world of South Africa. 'Mello yellos', the notorious canary-coloured South African police truck (Bozzoli, 2019; Crush, 2002), along with khaki armoured vehicles labelled the 'buffel' and the 'hippo' served as the external symbols of the *apartheid war machine* (Peffer, 2007). Represented by the constant and unpredictable presence of the raids, the mello yellos and hippos are thereby reminiscent of Bentham's Panopticon, the architectural prison surveillance structure that induces in the prisoners a state of consciousness of their permanent visibility, and thus their vulnerability to punishment (Foucault, 1995). The community, and by extension the home and the families it contained therefore became permanent prisoners encased by the colonial gaze. It is further proposed that the black body that requires continuous surveillance has badness projected onto them. This in turn ensures the automatic functioning

of power to sustain obedience. Though this postulation may have been relevant for some, the practice of resistance demonstrates defiance of this suggested internalisation.

Attacking this resistance through the banning of the ANC and PAC, however, designated underground mobilisation as a key driver in political resistance (Clark & Worger, 2022; Magadla, 2023). Most of these activities required the home to serve as the primary site to conceal political actions. Given their gendered association with home as a site of domesticity (Tamale, 2020b), women occupied various roles in underground political activities throughout the 1960s until the demise of apartheid (Magadla, 2023). It was therefore unsurprising that most of the descendant narratives conveyed images of their forebearers as political agents in their homes.

> *... the young men and women who would like to join the struggle, who would go up. They would come and stay at our home, for whatever period of time, two, two to three weeks, until they find their way through where they would go, they'll stay with us at home, and it was my mother's responsibility.*
>
> *(Descendant 13, II, page 11, line 301)*

> *So her role - she played two main roles in supporting, providing support to the boys and the girls, that, by providing shelter specifically and hiding those boys.*
>
> *(Descendant 14, II, page 3, line 65)*

Given that the threat of the colonial gaze was sustained, the demands of secrecy and the risk of political retaliation within the home were evident across participant narratives. It is suggested that the secrecy and silent components were not necessarily new, only differently aligned with domestic versus political risk in terms of deviance. This argument is founded on domesticity as an ideology of coloniality that requires women to perform their duties in private (Tamale, 2020b). Given women's 'naturalised' duties within the home (Tamale, 2020b), not all descendants identified these actions as distinct within their homes or even as political[14]. As

[14] The women anti-apartheid activists' participation in underground activities within the home made it difficult for some descendants to identify their forebearers as politically significant. It is likely that, as per dominant discourse, 'real' political activity may be associated with physical combat and firearms. This may also have contributed to the difficulty experienced with participant recruitment.

such, whilst descendants were aware of activities in their homes, its conceptualisation as underground political action only developed as they grew older.

> *We didn't know that there was soldiers that were staying here. We didn't know about them. That was 1985. But we didn't know. And then we just take them like brothers and sisters.*
>
> *(Descendant 9, II, page 2, line 46)*

> *Our home in ***, ***, I remember one of my earliest memories was, always in the middle of the night, they'd be cooking and (makes frying sound) and having something, and it would be a matter of only later I realised that we were housing, we were a halfway house of exile, either leaving the country or coming back. So, they'd come in the middle of the night, sort of, meetings were held at home, and they sleep for a few hours and leave.*
>
> *(Descendant 16, II, page 2, line 40)*

Depending on the descendants' understanding of their homes as sites of underground political activity, they applied different terms to describe their homes as a place to provide shelter to other political activists. These terms ranged from a safe house, a refugee house, and a halfway house, whilst others struggled to name it more directly. Despite the latter, the need for secrecy was overt, with the risk of the home and its capacity to transform into a burial chamber evident. The terms safe house, refugee house, and halfway house are ordinarily associated with safety, protection and support, with varied levels of secrecy. Despite an alignment with secrecy and silence, these constructs were misnomers with the descendants' lived experiences in their homes. The descendant narratives illuminated their increased vulnerability to colonially informed violence, as exercised through retaliation by the apartheid state.

> *… whenever something went wrong or was suspected, the police would raid. And they'd turn the house upside down, looking for god-knows-what.*
>
> *(Descendant 2, II, page 3, line 64)*

> *I mean, she was incarcerated twice, uhm, arrested on another occasion, but had a suspended sentence. Because we lived with her, we also had regular raids at home.*
>
> *(Descendant 20, II, page 3, line 54)*

However, just as some perceived their forbearers' actions as normal domesticity, they conceptualised the political violence in their own lives as normal as well. Though Descendant 2 referred to her home as 'safe' house, this description was contradictory to her experience growing up, given the retaliation experienced at the hands of apartheid security. It is therefore important to consider that despite the descendant's description of being raised by seemingly mindful parents (II, page 8, line 216), *"Nothing was off limit, we were quite a democratic family",* it is undeniable that Descendant 2's home was a space subject to violence. Colonial and apartheid state violence was therefore not boundaried to public spaces, its physical manifestations of malicious injury to property and harassment entered the intimate spaces of home, family, childhood and being.

> *So, those were some of the things that we had to go through. But the raids were really bad. When they came in, just pulling everything apart…*
>
> *(Descendant 2, II, page 4, line 90)*

Although Descendant 2 initially appeared defensive of the possibility of trauma, she ultimately provided a spontaneous response confirming the implications of her childhood experiences, within a political context that didn't provide appropriate safeguarding.

> *Interviewer: I can't help, but in my mind think about the research you chose to do when you were studying, and I wonder…*
>
> *Descendant 2: Maybe, I was healing myself. Maybe I was healing myself. [laugh] Ya.*
>
> *Interviewer: To focus on children and their pain*
>
> *Participant: Pardon! Yes, I think I was healing myself in a way. […] And remember back then we didn't have the likes of you to go to for therapy. [laughs]*
>
> *(Descendant 2, II, page 11, line 297)*

Descendant 2's narrative not only provides a 'sentence completion' explicating her trauma, but also the necessity for healing. Her narrative suggests that intervention for healing was absent, and she therefore had to find a means to facilitate healing for herself.

The narrative shared by Descendant 9 demonstrates how this trauma in the home elicits fear in anticipating further boundary violations, as presented by the infringements by the apartheid police.

> *And we didn't trust anyone, because we were waiting for the boer to come and search the house. Because they used to come here and search the house all over. […] Yes. They used to come and search the house. They used to come and search the house.*
>
> *(Descendant 9, II, page 5, line 110)*

The following extract by Descendant 17 speaks to her experiences of the frequent raids in her home and the extent to which it became a commonplace experience of her childhood.

> *I used to feel it's a way of life. I, I used to see it – that's just the way it is. We all have our different paths – and this is my path. Not as – this isn't supposed to be – this is abuse of whatever. Cause you get so used to it.*
>
> *(Descendant 17, FI-2, page 15, line 404)*

Peffer (2007) suggests that black people may have internalised or domesticated these violences to shield themselves from the reality of living under siege. The extract demonstrates the extent to which the colonial world forces black people to accept the abnormality of violence and trauma as normality. Speaking of black madness, Canham (2023) reminds us that "*As black people, we are all interpolated into madness by the maddening conditions of an antiblack world."* Borrowing from Pickens's (2019), Canham (2023) elucidates the extent to which those at the intersections of blackness and madness are severed from the normative parameters of humanity. Rather than identifying this pathology within the internal world, Canham (2023) offers a reminder that black madness is an imposition of the maddening conditions of the external world.

> *My idea of police was hulle moet my plek uit mekaar uit ruk (they must pull my place apart). They would scratch in your things. But we still didn't know what they were scratching for. You you know as a child, you don't know.*
>
> *(Descendant 17, FI-2, page 14, line 376)*

The violence predominantly practised through raids seems reminiscent of the slavocratic timescape given that white men occupied patriarchal dominance over another's household across both timescapes. This includes the possibility of displacing the parental position of forebearers as agents of safety and power for their descendants. In citing Dinnerstein, hooks (2000) reflect on the internal conflict evoked when a little boy learns that his powerful mother, who controls his life, has no power within the patriarchal system. The displacement of the parental position serves as an attack on the parent-child relationship, robbing the parent of the opportunity to serve as a space of safety for their child, whilst also robbing the child of the experience of safety. This rupture may impose an internalised experience of inadequacy on both the parent and child. Within a context where both patriarchy and race are at play, this may align with Canham's (2023) theorising related to black madness as a consequence of the maddening conditions of a world that distances blackness from humanity. As such, beyond the legislative dogma associated with the raid, it also carried the risk of conveying an acceptance of white patriarchal hegemonic power. With patriarchy and masculinities at play, there was a particular threat given the skewed practice of nighttime raids across the participant narratives. This nighttime practice was confirmed by research conducted by Bridger (2021), as well as the experiences shared by Hani and Ferguson (2017). The memory shared by Hani speaks of the disruption of sleep and the dread of waiting for an attack in the dark (Hani & Ferguson, 2017), demonstrating that even on nights when the raid remained physically absent, its psychological torment remained active.

Insufficient research is, however, available on the psychological trauma caused by these raids, especially on the children. Research by Shmukler (1990) towards the end of apartheid, however, indicated that 92.3% of children were worried about being questioned by the police. The research demonstrated that the anxiety caused by police presence superseded the concerns associated with traditional childhood stressors. The sentence completion schedule further specified that 75% of children indicated that having their house raided was the most frightening thing (Shmukler, 1990). The dearth of research during the height of apartheid demonstrates this violence in the home of the black family and the black child as if a mere nothingness. Demonstrating mainstream psychology's complicity and apathy for the black child as fully human. This absence of perceived humanity was confirmed by the legal structure of the state, given that the political violence and its associated trauma were not deemed criminal. As recognised by Swartz and Levett (1989), apartheid South Africa represented a discrepancy in the concept of childhood for black children.

Caught in this double bind, the families subject to these raids had to maintain their resistance in silence, remaining mute on both the violence and its trauma. Failure to maintain the silence of resistance would ultimately result in punishment.

> *I remember I was five years old when she was incarcerated in 1976 and it was very difficult for us because we didn't understand it. I think she was gone for about four months, and when she came out, it just got worse.*
>
> *(Descendant 20, II, page 5, line 112)*

Women activists were simultaneously punished for failing in their tasks as black women. Thus assessed based on apartheid ideology's concept of womanhood (Krog, 2001). This included motherhood, and women's task in raising racialised subjects that would be compliant in occupying the roles set for them within the sociopolitical and socio-economic landscape ascribed by white men (Healy-Clancy, 2017b). The extract below demonstrates the severity of this punishment and its direct enforcement of violence and trauma across three generations.

> **** [she] was taken to detention, while she was pregnant because of the mother's involvement, and she gave birth to her son in detention. And *** [she] was not part of all these things. But because they wanted to make the mother to feel that pain, they harassed the entire family and all that.*
>
> *(Descendant 12, page 9, line 253)*

Other forms of penalty were evidenced by the occurrence of home bombings, as well as shootings within residential contexts (Bridger, 2021; Magadla, 2021a).

> *So, we'd see them burning our shelters, shooting our people…*
>
> *(Descendant 4, II, page 3, line 73)*
>
> *But the most poignant in terms of where history has placed me, 19**, I was five years old. Our home, because of my gran's involvement and my mother's, but mostly my grandmother, was petrol bombed.*
>
> *(Descendant 16, II, page 2, line 49)*

The narrative shared by *Descendant 13* not only confirms the implication of home as the site of political conflict and terror but also introduces the rippled implications of this disruption on the dislocation of family.

> *The first bomb blast that erupted in ***, it was at our home. They did get to us, they did get to us… (pause)*
>
> *(long pause)*
>
> *… and after that, we had to separate again. I went to boarding school, my elder brother went to old boarding school, I've been to another school, I went to another school, all my siblings were taken to different schools for our safety. And my father went to hiding. My mother went to hiding with smaller children. Until South Africa gained independence 1994.*
>
> *(Descendant 13, II, page 4, line 144)*

As expressed through the memory shared by Descendant 13, the account not only speaks to the moment of the bombing *"They did get to us, they did get to us… (pause)"* but instead represents anticipated violence and injury that the family feared and hoped to prevent through secrecy, cautious mistrust and intentional isolation. As such, when their silence failed to keep them safe, they had to pay a double penance. This was represented not only by the loss of their home but also by the loss of each other through the physical fragmentation of the family. The dislocation and dissolution of the family were evident across various descendant narratives, though expressed in varied ways.

> *…we were very comfortable in who we are as a family, my grandmother, my siblings, for the first time in their life, they were together and this house, when it was petrol bombed, they've never recovered. I know for a fact that my mother has never recovered, the instability of our family, memories…*
>
> *(Descendant 16, II, page 3, line 72)*
>
> *I can say my father was depressed about the situation, because every time he used to say, if my house wasn't burnt, maybe we could have done more now, because we had to start from the beginning. My mom was a domestic worker, my father was a truck driver, and they were not earning much. So, it was me, my sister – my eldest sister and me.[…] So, we had to support our family. I don't regret it, but sometimes*

I am not gonna lie, I feel like; if maybe that didn't happen, I could have been somewhere else.

(Descendant 6, II, page 3, line 73)

As expressed through the above narratives, most of the descendants had direct exposure to colonial violence and therefore experienced their own trauma. It is, therefore, surmised that the descendants may be living with the effects of their forebearers' trauma exposure (Williams-Washington & Mills, 2018), in addition to their own. This demonstrates the extent to which both the concepts of historical trauma and collective trauma may be of relevance to their experiences, given the cumulative emotional and psychological wounding experienced across generations (Heart, 2003). These are surmised to stem from their forebears' initial exposure to the collective's aggression and racial hatred, along with their own exposure (Volkan, 2009b). Noting the intergenerational ripples of the destruction of home, magnifies these violences as an attack on personhood as well as the collective.

9.2.3 Silence, Isolation and Nonbelonging

The previous section highlighted the neglect of home as a battlefield, the equally neglected potential to construct the home as a tomb of secrets and when uncovered, a target for political retaliation (Thiranagama, 2011). This includes the impact it had on children, as recipients of political conflict. Similarly, the apartheid state ensured various restrictions to ensure that the outside world was unaware of the varied ways its army and security police were turning on children. As such, the narratives suggest that the home and its intent to convey an experience of security and control, as well as permanence and continuity (Benjamin, 2024; Després, 1991; Price, 2002), has the potential to represent a tomb of secrets instead (Thiranagama, 2011). Though some of the descendants were privy to these secrets, select descendant accounts demonstrate an existence outside the boundaries of knowing. It is surmised that the dual meaning of home and the assumed divergent experience of home by the descendants required living 'undercover' lives. The restrictions of home thereby required a concealed existence of personhood in the world.

The extract by Descendant 4 implies alternating between names, which may imply a sense of shifting personhood and identities as well. Slovo's (1997) memoir depicts the extent to which women activists' work required different lives with different identities. This reflected the extent to which even descendants may be left confused regarding the different personas represented

by their forebearers. Descendant 4's narratives demonstrate the extent to which the women activists' masked personas as acts of surveillance may have imposed alternate identities on descendants as well.

> *Others were calling her ***, those were with the names. We had to have hidden names, we would not use your real name. So, we used different names.*
>
> *(Descendant 4, II, page 4, line 100)*

Though Descendant 4's narrative conveys a concrete example of alternate identities through naming practices, a more internalised conceptualisation of identity requires consideration. This may be facilitated through Descendant 16's narrative, reflecting a sense of living two realities despite her delayed realisation that their home was used to hide political agents. The descendant's account brings to life Bhabha's (1992) description of the home turning into another world, presenting the descendant with an alternate reality that disorientates her.

> *I felt like I always grew up in an environment where there were two lives, two realities. You have a during the day, everything's normal, and then when it gets nighttime…*
>
> *(Descendant 16, II, page 2, line 46)*

The disorientation may be attributed to the necessity of living undercover lives, whilst having to contend with the challenges this presented to identity formation and meaning-making of personhood. The necessity for living undercover lives was evident across the narratives shared by Descendant 2 and Descendant 17 as well. Whereas Descendant 2 expressed the necessity to hide her realities of home from the apartheid police, Descendant 17 expressed the instructed requirement to conceal the realities of home from everyone in the outside world.

> *…we were also trained as kids to be assertive-aggressive. Because we were told that if a policeman comes and ask you; were there any people here, you must say; I don't know. And then if they repeat another question, you say; I said I don't know.*
>
> *(Descendant 2, II, page 2, line 88)*

> *That time I didn't know it was trauma, all I knew was – hou you bek – (keep your mouth shut) what happened here is our business. You don't talk out there.*
>
> *(Descendant 17, FI-2, page 15, line 394)*

Living undercover lives places limits on belonging to a collective. Without a sense of belonging or a sense of community, it is inferred that the descendants experienced various layers of existing in pseudo-exile. Beyond the reality of residing in dislocated geographical areas, and under a panoptic gaze, the descendants also experienced a sense of unbelonging. In addition to their required silence, this unbelonging is associated with the way the panoptic gaze fuelled fear in the neighbouring collective. Therefore, producing a further projection of badness onto those associated with liberation politics. This perceived badness is evident in the narratives below.

> *You know when the police comes to you regularly – when you watch a movie – and the police comes to your house, then you're in trouble. But I could never understand, what trouble are we in. Because my granny used to go to church.*
>
> *(Descendant 17, FI-2, page 16, line 425)*

The reference to "church" demonstrates the confusion Descendant 17 must have experienced as a child. She may have had to confront the external projection of badness onto her grandmother by holding on to the fact that her grandmother was a churchgoer and, based on religious doctrine, could therefore not be bad.

> *Actually, we didn't understand what it was. We just know. We just know that it was painful when, because remember, a kid will say to you exactly what's been said to him. So, play with some kids today and tomorrow you'd be told we can't play with you. My mom says we can't play with you because there's all these k's coming to your house all the time, and we don't want problems with the police.*
>
> *(Descendant 20, II, page 6, line 152)*

Both Descendant 17 and Descendant 20's narratives reveal a ***Discourse of Confusion*** evident across many of the other narratives as well. Though others experienced it as the disorientating experience of multivarious realities, the aforementioned descendants experienced confusion in response to *not knowing*. Moreover, Descendant 20's narrative not only speaks to her traumatic alienation within the personal realm of community, but it also speaks about the reproduction of racism within historically coloured neighbourhoods. Demonstrating the implications of apartheid race categorisation and the hierarchical construction that placed coloured people above black people. The extract '*there's all these k's',* is reviewed with Fanon's (2008, p. 91) experience with the white child's *"Look a negro; I'm scared!"* The child racially categorised

as coloured and raised to identify with the coloniser's version of humanity is at risk of internalising and reproducing racism, therefore ensuring the transmission of colonial relations (Burman, 2017). Children like Descendant 20 who are raised to identify with Black consciousness are therefore vulnerable to contain the badness projected onto blackness. Beyond this, the conflicting tension with identity requires the child to forego any possibility of a sense of community and belonging.

> *I'm glad you didn't question or focus on the fact that she was coloured. It's a term she hated. It's an identity she hated. And so do I.*
>
> *(Descendant 20, II, page 20, line 528)*

As evident with the visible remaining racial tensions in post-apartheid South Africa, Fanon (2008) warned that no viable resolution is possible when colour prejudice is maintained. Understanding the hidden significance of childhood and how the child is then used as a vessel in shaping and sustaining white supremacy is a critical task (Burman, 2017). This includes the extent to which badness may remain internalised and relationally transmitted in black subjectivity.

Descendant 17 (FI-2, page 13, line 355) shared similar sentiments about family, family friends, as well as children in their neighbourhood. She explained how family and family friends stopped visiting her grandmother's home because they would complain that shortly after their visits *"our houses get searched"*. Similar concerns must have been shared by the parents of children in the community, given that children at school would mockingly refuse to play with her, stating that *"I'll catch a gun"* – in a similar way people maintain social distancing to prevent themselves from contracting some form of illness. Descendant 17's experience therefore speaks to a pathologising gaze, that projects a deviance that confines her to both badness and madness.

> *It used to hurt me. […] Some people's children didn't want to play with us in the 80's and the late 70's, because they used to see us as terrorists.*
>
> *(Descendant 17, FI-2, page 16, line 422)*

Whilst Thiranagama (2011) speaks of the home as a tomb of secrets, the descendant extracts suggest the risk of the individual psyche being subject to a similar crypt-like state. However, interrogating the disruption of identity formation and meaning-making within the realm of

cylindrical epiphenomenal temporality draws on the varied timescapes of slavocracy and colonialism that exist alongside the period of anti-apartheid resistance in the "now". Thereby dislocating a singular lens on resistance politics as the root of identity interference. Whilst the extracts suggest the aetiology as the requirement to live undercover lives, Bhabha's (2015) attendance to Fanon draws on the original psychic violence and alienation imposed on identity by coloniality on the consciousness of the colonised. Any identity formation in the colonised world as represented by the apartheid state, has already been subject to epistemic violence of splitting and racial othering. In observing Bhabha's (2008, p. xxix) caution that *"identity is never an a priori, nor a finished product; it is only ever the problematic process of access to an "image" of totality"*, it is surmised that for the descendants, the backdrop of coloniality would always provide the burden of an unconscious mourning of dislocated and silenced parts that have been temporally deferred.

9.3 THE EXPERIENCE OF 'BEING' WHEN BORN INTO EXILE

Against the backdrop of apartheid, many South Africans in exile constructed 'home' as a transitory sojourn centred on an ideological belief of returning to a liberated South Africa (Kropiwnicki, 2013b). Bernstein (1994, cited by Marchetti-Mercer & Roos, 2006) argued that the experience of South African exiles might be deemed as different, given that many considered themselves to be part of the ongoing and escalating struggle back 'home' in South Africa. Kropiwnicki (2013a, 2013b, 2017) has raised concerns about the extent to which the descendants born into exile are more often deemed as invisible actors or silent bystanders, rather than interrogate the implications of being born into this transient ideology. Whilst South African literature has more recently engaged with the concept of heterotopia within the context of post-apartheid's spatial and capitalist politics (Gibson, 2020; Hook, 2007; Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002), the complexity of "originating from" and "speaking of" an unknown yet real place requires a psychopolitical interrogation of what it may mean to be born into the world of nonbelonging. Said (2013) describes exile as an unhealable rift between the human and their true home. Reflecting on Said's (2013) theorising of exile as a sadness that cannot be surmounted evokes a pondering about the descendant experience and subjectivity of being born into a space that is consistently articulated as not home.

The Experience of Being When Born into Exile interrogates the construction of 'home' and its implications on identity and positionality amongst descendants born to South African anti-apartheid activists who had to flee their homelands to escape arrest. Within this sub-theme sits ambivalence and ambiguity, representing expressions of nostalgia whilst simultaneously

contending with the despair of dislocation. Both nostalgia and dislocation are reviewed across expressions of silence and secrecy as practised by the descendants' forebearers. Bearing witness to the nostalgia and longing for an unseen home, the experiences of descendants may mirror Foucault's (2008) conceptualisation of heterotopia. This represents a counter site located in reality - but one that occupies a contested or hidden position within a particular timescape, or rather a heterochrony, as framed by Foucault. The heterotopia is, however, not linked to one geographical reality; it is instead positioned as the descendant's experience of exile intertwined with the ideology of a real, untouchable, and unreachable home.

Bearing witness to their forebearers speaking fondly of a space that holds enigmatic ambiguity, simultaneously frames the heterotopic South Africa into a discursive site, demonstrating the duality of heterotopia as an analytical term (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002). The descendants' geographical separation from South Africa as a site of colonial violence, does not divorce them from being intergenerationally drawn into South Africa as a discursive site. This includes the discursive networks of embodying power and politics, as well as the experience of colonial alienation and otherness. Descendant 1's statement provides an emotional expression of bearing witness to the nostalgia expressed by her parents.

> *...my parents were refugees, there was always very fond talk of home and a very nostalgic attitude...*
>
> *(Descendant 1, II, page 6, line 155)*

It is argued that whilst the concept of heterotopia is most applicable to the experience of exile, the nostalgic reminiscence of forebearers may be likened to Foucault's (2008) explication of utopia. Whilst not likening apartheid South Africa to a society in a perfect form but rather applying the utopian fantasy of the unreal space to lessen the necessity of mourning. Thereby highlighting the descendants' experiences of bearing witness to a fantasy of South Africa representing homecoming and liberation, rather than bearing witness to the traumatic rupture of apartheid violence and dislocation.

Descendant 11's extract illuminates the complexity cultivated in the realm of constrained knowledge. Echoing a similar ***Discourse of Confusion*** reflected in the narratives of descendants born in pseudo-exile.

That is a very strange one to be honest Lynne, because you grow up not knowing what it is that is happening. There's just an overarching cloud over – well we can't go to South Africa.

(Descendant 11, II, page 4, line 86)

It may be suggested that many of the forebearers in exile were awake to their own fantasies, which is why the end of the apartheid regime and the opportunity to return home may have left many caught off guard, presenting a further unanticipated rupture. This may explain why only approximately 15,000 to 17,000 former exiles returned to South Africa between 1990 and 1995 despite the estimated 40,000 to 60,000 South Africans who were exiled (Kropiwnicki, 2013b). Bernstein (1994) attributes this in part to some activists growing old in exile.

Descendant 1's reflection suggests the possibility of creating a new home and possibly reconciling with the possibility of never returning to one's home of origin.

I think my parents always imagined that they would never get to go back in their lifetime. So, the options of being able to go back were a bit blindsiding?

(Descendant 1, II, page 6, line 158)

Beyond the possibility of the unexpected, it is also surmised that many forebearers recognised that their nostalgia was linked to a utopian fantasy, and that the demise of apartheid, did not necessarily translate into a trusted space.

… in 1994, that was the first time we came to South Africa. My mother did not trust, she didn't want to come, she said "ah, what if they catch us on the way"

(Descendant 13, II, page 8, line 212)

Returning to South Africa from exile may therefore be more appropriately expressed through the words of Sisonke Msimang (2018, p. 95) when she expresses *"Mandela has guaranteed us a safe entry into South Africa, even though apartheid is still alive. They do not smile or welcome us but they let us in".* For the descendants born in exile, there was therefore the necessity to release themselves from the fantasy of their forebearers' utopia, whilst recognising the reality of South Africa. An experience mirrored in the research by Kropiwnicki (2013b) and referenced as the meeting of myths and realities.

The realities extend beyond the fragile utopian fantasies and the disruption and dislocation from the new geographical home but demand renewed recognition of unattended loss and the necessity for mourning, as evidenced by the account shared by Descendant 13.

> *…the experience, it was, it was not a joyous moment. Everybody was weeping and very emotional. It was very hurtful. And going there alone, the first years it was painful but now I'm okay. I'm okay and it's very exciting every time when I go there. I feel I'm going home. That feeling of going home because everybody is there. Though my parents, my parents have passed on, everybody's there. All my aunts are there, my uncles, my cousins, everybody's there, and they are giving us all the support and they are trying to fill the time that we spent apart, so it's fine.*
>
> *(Descendant 13, II, page 8, line 225)*

Though Descendant 13's expression of mourning and loss is not unique among those born in exile, her experience of family reconciliation is markedly different from other descendant narratives. Descendant 13's narrative expresses not only the restoration of relationships but also her family's efforts to facilitate a reparation of the loss experienced by exile and dislocation. It is surmised that their reparation was possible because of their capacity to acknowledge the pain of colonial rupture. Thereby refusing to be lulled into forgetting the severity of their loss. Noting that *"Everybody was weeping"* indicates that their loss was both witnessed and validated, as per Ahmed's (cited by Canham, 2023) contention that loss requires a witness to hear and validate its declaration. The act of bearing witness, therefore, unsilences that which had previously been sustained in secrecy.

Contradictory descendant experiences were shared in the research conducted by Kropiwnicki (2013b), explicating themes of nonacceptance, hostility and blame. Whilst the descendant' experiences shared in this research inquiry did not necessarily echo these themes as explicitly, their experiences spoke of an awareness of the absence of a shared history. This was evident across interpersonal experiences with family, as well as on a broader collective level.

> *I carved quite a British identity. I met members of my mom's family, but I was much closer to my dad's family. […] As I sort of tried to navigate and understand, um, and trying to understand my own racial identity, being mixed race, having a white dad, and being very close to the white side of my family, not being as close*

to my mom's side, because there was a lot of dysfunction in that family, and I think I personally found that quite confusing…

(Descendant 1, II, page 6, line 161)

Whilst Descendant 1 speaks to the absence of a shared history within the family context, Descendant 11's narrative describes a sense of disconnect on both a family and societal level.

And we must remember somebody like me is not going to experience a whole of the same things – like I have this loud English voice, I am confident, I am light in complexion, I am tall. So I am not gonna experience the same things as a whole lot of other women. And even in our families, I didn't grow up there. So - but I did notice that in my family, the men were – I don't wanna say treated better, but there was some sort of hierarchy going on in terms of who should get their food first. And I don't mean in my immediate family, I mean in my dad's family, when we visited. The people that lived in the rural areas. So, it was noticeable.

(Descendant 11, II, page 12, line 328)

Being born into exile and into a state where 'home' was unattainable, therefore, extends beyond geographical and spatial dislocation – it represents estrangement from culture, community and family. It is suggested that this estrangement was an imposed violence onto South Africans in exile, given that they were politically restrained from making contact with their families, unlike other exile experiences (Bernstein, 1994 cited by Marchetti-Mercer & Roos, 2006). In referencing the work of François Tosquelles, Gibson and Beneduce (2017) underscore the significance of exile on the body and the psyche. It is surmised that this is a burden carried by those born in exile given their awareness of the *'atmosphere of permanent insecurity'* – as emphasised by Fanon (1963, p. 279). Descendant 11 and Descendant 1's narratives demonstrate the extent of this enforced estrangement and imposed losses – which includes the tension of belonging. Descendant 11 spoke of her mother's role in facilitating contact between her father and his mother, since the threat of the apartheid police forced their separation until her death.

The only other thing that she used to do was write letters to my gran and my dad's sisters. Because he wasn't - letters that came from him would maybe have been destroyed or investigated. And also may have led back to him. So, she used to be

the one who wrote letters. And she was the one who sent a wreath when my grandmother died. The funeral wreath. Because it couldn't come from him.

(Descendant 11, II, page 9, line 224)

Though Descendant 11's narrative emphasises her father's disconnection from his family, even in death, Descendant 1's narrative speaks to the experience of loss in the absence of death. In reviewing the extract shared by Descendant 1, it is evident why she would describe her mother's experience with having children as "*quite traumatic experiences*".

When she fled South Africa, the boys stayed […] and she had no contact with them until […] apartheid came to an end.

(Descendant 1, II, page 4, line 108)

Linked to Caruth's postulation concerning the burden of survival mentioned in Chapter Eight and the vulnerability of childhood in South Africa, it may be suggested that in many ways Descendant 1 was also speaking to her own traumatic experience – though experienced differently from her brothers in pseudo-exile.

… the privilege that I experienced by comparison to my siblings. And it's probably not the words that I would have necessarily known growing up, but I have maybe you'd call it survivor's guilt or some other word, but essentially, a huge sense of self-conscious guilt that I had so much.

(Descendant 1, II, page 4, line 108)

The extract shared by Descendant 13 bears witness to the reality of her own inheritance of family dislocation. She clearly articulates *"We didn't have family",* whilst the remainder of her narrative speaks of an existent unreachable family dislocated through a panoptic gaze.

We didn't have family. It was only us, and our mother and father. We couldn't visit our grandmother. When we call them because they had a telephone at home, the phones were tapped and the moment they hear that, because their phones were tapped, the moment they hear that we are calling they would, uh, they would, uh… my grandmother would drop the phone and she would make means to call my father in another area and he would tell my father that "our phone is tapped".

(Descendant 13, II, page 5, line 131)

The threat of the panoptic gaze is nonetheless evident across the descendants' experiences. It may therefore be surmised that the descendants' heterotopic experiences posit them to be directly implicated in the threat of colonial violence, and the extent to which it not only informs their existence of being born into exile but sustains their experience of being cut off from their homeland and their heritage, but more painfully – their families. Fanon's (2018) psychiatric writings in *Alienation and Freedom* align the experience of being deprived of home, family and friends as comparable with internment. The psychiatric implications on the political therefore become evident as Fanon (2018) articulates the criticality for an individual's place in society and family to be maintained through writing and receiving news. For the descendants in exile, the continued efforts of apartheid security obliterate Fanon's most significant recommendation for the individual dislocated from their home and people. The heterotopic condition thereby frames an alternate experience of colonial alienation, represented by a loss of belonging with its infringement on identity and positionality. This infringement is however subject to degrees of silencing, facilitating alternate forms of assimilation.

The descendants born into exile were subject to a further level of silencing and alienation, given that they were in many ways excluded from any communication that could provide them with a greater sense of home.

> *So there were always people coming around for dinners and things like that. And the conversation would usually turn to what was happening in South Africa, in the politics of South Africa. Not necessarily what was happening because if I think back, they never spoke about this happened or that happened, they spoke about the politics of the time, and what their opinions were about things.*
>
> *(Descendant 11, II, page 4, line 101)*

> *So, I was present for lots and lots of these conversations, but very much in the background. […] a bit of hub for lots of visitors, people who were passing through, and artists, and people from various organisations that, you know, were fighting, and… the anti-apartheid movement, and so, that was very much their identity, exiles who were a hub.*
>
> *(Descendant 1, II, page 3, line 79)*

The emphasis on 'they' by both descendants attends to the experience of bearing witness, mirroring the concerns shared by Kropiwnicki (2013a, 2013b, 2017) about the extent to which the descendants born into exile were more often deemed as invisible actors or silent bystanders. Similarly, Kropiwnicki's (2013b) research suggests the prevalence of secrecy and silence in the intergenerational communication between activists and their descendants and the extent to which descendants often attributed this to African culture. Though Descendant 11 (II, page 5, line 133) attributed secrecy and silencing in her family to an amalgamation of African culture and masculinity "*I mean he was an African man. Some African men are not so good at expressing their feelings, or they don't see that as important in a relationship.*", it wasn't a shared sentiment across narratives. Though Descendant 1, did not highlight African culture, there was a similar dynamic of associating secrecy and silence with gender politics.

> *I wonder if the fact that she didn't speak directly to me about her experiences is because, maybe because of that culture of children were seen and not heard, partly because there was generally some secrecy around areas of her past. Um, and I think it was very difficult because part of her struggle was how difficult it was to be a woman in South Africa without abortion, without the contraception and the responsibility of, you know, falling pregnant, being left, and so there was a lot of shame associated with aspects of her past which, I think, may have been a bit slightly tied up with her struggle story.*
>
> *(Descendant 1, II, page 5, line 123)*

It is difficult to ascertain to what extent the country of exile influenced the descendants' experiences. Descendant 13 did not share similar experiences of secrecy and silence within her family, though there was an explicit emphasis on ensuring secrecy and silence from the world outside of the family. As such, whilst there was a sense of belonging within Descendant 13's family, the necessity for silence ensured isolation from the community she resided in. Therefore, hindering any possibility of authentic belonging.

> *We were made aware of our status. Our parents did tell us all about our status. And my, the, the greatest fear that my mother had was, maybe they would abduct us and that would force my father, maybe, they would force my father to come back. So, we, we were made aware of that, and we were taught not to trust everyone.*
>
> *(Descendant 13, II, page 6, line 163)*

It is surmised that Descendant 13's contrasting experience may be attributed to the increased vulnerability of those in exile in Southern African countries. This vulnerability is associated with the accessibility of the apartheid security to facilitate raids or bombings in neighbouring Southern African countries in defence of the apartheid regime (Hanlon, 1986). As such, there was an absence of dinners, friends, and bearing witness to adult conversations in Descendant 13's narrative. This was replaced instead with immense isolation, necessitated by a veil of mistrust to safeguard the family. Thereby echoing the radical isolation in the making and unmaking of individual and collective life in Thiranagama's (2011) reflections on the civil war in Sri Lanka. Leaning in on the concept of making rather than unmaking, however, illuminates how Descendant 13's narrative echoed a sense of family unity, despite their continued exposure to disruption and dislocation. Thereby defying the conceptualisation of trauma and its attack on the capacity to connect relationally (Phillips, 2015).

> *I do have children, and fortunately, I do share. I did share with them everything. They know everything. They know my past. They know my pain. They know everything. They know everything. There's nothing that they, they don't know, they know everything. They know how much, um, everything, even about our grandmother, they know everything.*
>
> *(Descendant 13, II, page 9, line 276)*

It is surmised that whilst Descendant 13's overall narrative included multiple references to mistrust and secrecy, these were not necessarily practices repeated within the family. Descendant 13's experiences are therefore contradictory to the experiences shared by Descendant 1 of "secrecy" and "unanswered questions", along with Descendant 11's expression of how this secrecy extends into the present and becomes "unmentionable" within the family – even as an adult. It is suggested that the absence of silence across the varied family relationships facilitated Descendant 13's capacity to share with her children and boldly state "*They know my past. They know my pain. They know everything.*" It is proposed that it is the capacity to acknowledge the pain, and the losses associated with colonial rupture that has facilitated a level of healing and restoration within family relationships. It is nonetheless noted that Descendant 13 has acknowledged a continued difficulty in translating this trust within the broader world.

9.4 CONCLUSION

There was a wilful seeking to conclude the chapter with the dominant discourse of home and its associations with hope. To conceivably draw on Canham's (2023) cylindrical epiphenomenal temporality and seek a timescape that defies the colonial and slavocratic timescapes rather than recognise it as part of the *now*. Or to alternatively apply Mbembe's (2001) articulations to demonstrate defiance of theorising on social death. After much contestation, the seeking of home and hope is tentatively paused, to more authentically commemorate the voices of the descendants and to bear witness to the reality of their pain. Emphasising their lived experiences as remembered – with full recognition of how their implications are repeated in the present. As edified in ***The Disruption of Home*** the descendants' narratives extended beyond the disremembering of women anti-apartheid activists and instead emphasised the silencing of their own childhood traumas and the longevity of its implications into adulthood. Marking not only the disruption or destruction of home but also the disruption of the self, personhood, identity and sense of belonging in the world. The disruption or destruction of home is therefore not merely located in the maintenance of socioeconomic inequity in response to the systemic inheritance of geographical dislocation. It occupies a psychic alienation that struggles to evade the continued imposition of either black madness or social death. Though experienced and expressed differently among those in pseudo-exile and those born in exile, the panoptic gaze remained fixed on their being in the world, irrespective of their geographical location. In bearing witness to the descendant narratives, it became evident that their trauma was silenced along with that of their forebearers. The descendant narratives have therefore exposed colonial wounds obscured from the necessity of healing. The silencing of their trauma and its compromised healing reflect the continued disruption expansive across black life in post-apartheid South Africa. Building on the contributions of Mbembe (2020), who speaks of the slave condition as a triple loss evident in the loss of a "home," the loss of rights over their body, and the loss of political status, it is surmised that black life in many ways continues to mirror the slave condition. Mbembe (2020) equates this triple loss with absolute domination, alienation, and social death – surmised as an expulsion from humanity altogether. There is however an added pain of remaining bound to the slavocratic condition in the farce of discourse proclaiming freedom and liberation. It is instead argued that colonial violence is not a once-off occurrence, but the consequent trauma constitutes elements of ongoing traumatic experience (Cypress, 2021). Evident across the narratives is how the exposure to or the threat of colonial violence has violated the descendants' expectations of humanity, society, and the world. This aligns with Aydin's (2017) theorising

that these forms of trauma present such a significant breach that nothing can be authentically known or anticipated of the world.

The chapter that follows intends to extend on this, whilst applying the proposed analogy of *the-person-in-the-home-in-the-world* and *the-world-in-the-home-in-the-person* and the understanding of how political discourse infiltrates the intimate spaces of home and psyche, only to be extended back into itself. Confirming the recurring and reciprocal nature of political discourse.

CHAPTER TEN: DISCURSIVE NETWORKS IN FRAMING SILENCING

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Silence has direct implications for memory, while extending beyond memory, to the functioning of individuals and the collective (Pasupathi & McLean, 2010). The vulnerability of dislocation and silencing of identity and personhood is aggravated since women anti-apartheid activists had to advocate for silence and secrecy in service of the liberation struggle. This undermines the role seemingly espoused by women in keeping memory alive (Fanon, 1963) as the custodians of family narratives (Zasiekina et al., 2021). Silence and secrecy were, however, a necessity to sustain life in conflict conditions, since voice and disclosure risked detention, torture and death (Naidoo, 2021). Though silence concealed the violence of the apartheid state, it was concurrently employed as a strategy of power and resistance. This demonstrates the double bind projected onto the women anti-apartheid activists, given that they were forced into unintentional complicity with the violence of silencing. There is nonetheless a need to resist the duality of silence within the present timescape. Instead, promoting the necessity to interrogate how silence shifts beyond reinforcing or resisting power, whilst constituting self and collective (Ferguson, 2003). Moreover, it is argued that whilst the coloniser holds the privilege to control and produce historical discourse, the secretism lived by the colonised through their silenced resistance produces an alternate history and collective ritual in which secrecy becomes embedded in both the archive and living (Gibson & Beneduce, 2017). The silence and secrecy demanded by the resistance movement are sustained beyond the apartheid timescape, remaining as a systemic and relational intergenerational inheritance. The descendant narratives revealed the extent to which ***The Double Bind of Silence as A Discursive Strategy of Resistance*** is employed and transmitted within the family system, and how this belief informs a further ***Discursive Silencing of Experiences of Violence and Trauma***. The chapter concludes by exploring how these discursive strategies may be informed by the broader political ***Discursive Networks of Disremembering Gendered Activism***.

10.2 THE DOUBLE BIND OF SILENCE AS A DISCURSIVE STRATEGY OF RESISTANCE

The family is most commonly regarded as the archetypal community, with the added assumption of affinity. This is despite the fact that a family comprises disparate individuals, with often conflicting beliefs, commitments and interests (Ferguson, 2003). These variances are nonetheless regarded as secondary, and the family is therefore assigned as the starting point when assessing an individual's view of the world (Fanon, 2008). Speaking from a

psychoanalytic frame, Fanon (2008, p. 6) explicates the analyst's task to uncover "*infantile elements, a repetition, a duplication of conflicts that owe their origin to the essence of the family constellation. In every case the analyst clings to the concept of the family as a "psychic circumstance and object."*. The focus on the family should, however, be assessed in its relevant position within this timescape, context and cultural practices. As cautioned by Foucault (2013), the contexts of emergence are not shared across diverse societies, across distinct aeras and different forms of discourse. Fanon (1965, p. 99) himself expressed that the experience of living through both conflict and resistance provides each family member with new individuality in the place of what may have been lost in belonging to a world of confusing values. It is important to consider what this means in South Africa, as a context initially founded on the collective.

> *The disruption of family life is one of the important legacies of South Africa's colonial and apartheid history.*
>
> *(Hall & Posel, 2019, p. 2)*

The disruption and dissolution of the family have attained extensive attention within post-apartheid scholarship (Hall & Posel, 2019; Ramphele & Richter, 2006). Focus has primarily been placed on apartheid policies and its intentional focus on family dissolution through migratory practices and gendered hostels in cities or the compounds of the mining industry, accompanied by legislation that criminalised cohabitation (Budlender & Lund, 2011; Collinson, 2010; Hall & Posel, 2019; Hosegood et al., 2009). In trying to understand the aftermath of apartheid, research is frequently framed in response to understanding family dissolution as a consequence of apartheid. However, framing the research within the broader colonial project reveals how the intent to fracture and separate the collective has been at the core of colonial violence. This has been evident across micro and macro settings, with the apartheid regime signalling any form of black collective as a threat. This is evidenced by the apartheid state's practice of proclaiming a state of emergency in response to any form of black collective gathering (Dubow, 2014). The attack on the family illustrates that even as a small collective, families symbolised a threat and thus the demand for dissolution. Apartheid strategies would therefore continuously be activated to undermine black family life. Undermining black family life undermines black life itself.

As expressed in a previous chapter, the use of raids was a prolific form of harassment and disruption by the apartheid state. The unpredictable use of raids as a form of surveillance is evident across the descendant narratives, demonstrating the extent to which this form of

surveillance expanded across all spaces occupied by black people, offering no escape from the punishing policing gaze. In response to the narratives shared by the descendants, *the-world-in-the-home-in-the-person* analogy seems particularly suitable. Holding this analogy in mind, it remains important to recognise that colonial violence is not a once-off occurrence, but the consequent trauma constitutes elements of ongoing traumatic experience (Cypress, 2021). Evident across the narratives is how the exposure to or the threat of colonial violence has violated the descendants' expectations of humanity, society, and the world. Signifying a significant betrayal that nothing can be authentically known of the world (Aydin, 2017) or the people in it. The descendant narratives emphasise these tensions of vulnerability and trust, which confirm the extent to which their earlier experiences have contributed to a world in which safety and security are not possible. This highlights the extent to which a focus on disrupting the physical collective has attacked relational connection. This disruption and attack facilitate a discursive means through which colonial violence maintains silence about violence. A Foucauldian (1972) lens illuminates the extent to which this silence is constructed by power, constructs power and sustains power. Childhood and the child provide the ideal platform for this production, with adverse childhood experiences being at the core of the black child's lived experience in apartheid South Africa (Silove, 1988; Swartz & Levett, 1989). Speaking of the disruption of family thus requires speaking of the disruption of childhood.

Holding in mind the proposed concept of *the-world-in-the-home-in-the-child*, it is evident that for the descendants, home did not align with the general discourse and symbolism associated with home. This is attributed to their absence of shelter from the reality of South Africa's patriarchally informed violences and political conflict. Though white children were also included in the system that enabled political violence, they were actively shielded from the physical violence of apartheid. Conversely, Silove and Schweitzer (1993) described black children as direct witnesses of the apartheid system. To frame black children as witnesses' risks displacing them as full humans in theorising, and neglecting the implications of land dislocation, home demolitions, segregation and the unmaking of the black human. It is instead argued that black children share a similar fate as black women in terms of erasure. Just as black women are subject to intersectional invisibility (Cole, 2020; Coles & Pasek, 2020), black children are conceptualised as misaligned with the patriarchal and colonial hegemonic constructions of humanity and the discursive networks ordinarily applied to childhood. In interrogating a Fanonian analysis of the child, Burman (2016) attends to childhood as a relational category, emphasising the transcendental potential across generations. The term

'witnesses' may thus be more suitably replaced with the term 'recipients', since black children were not spared from colonial subjugation and oppression. Despite being direct recipients, their experiences were shrouded with confusion, given the way silence informed how politics and resistance were acknowledged in the home. Fanon's analysis therefore draws attention to these varied traumatic stressors and their implications, including the psychological consequences of alienation and depersonalisation for the black child. Holding in mind the emphasis on childhood as a relational category (Burman, 2016), the descendant narratives demonstrate the absence of trust in response to the trauma evoked by apartheid violence and how this has impeded the capacity to connect relationally (Phillips, 2015). This postulation is supported by the extract that follows, emphasising a silencing of violence, trauma, as well as the self.

> *...my mother said is, you, you, you don't tell anybody about yourself. You don't tell anybody about anything about yours, you keep yourself... you keep your life very secret so that nobody knows anything about you.*
>
> *(Descendant 13, II, page 12, line 343)*

Descendant 13's narrative of silencing is applied to the outside world, whereas many descendant narratives reflect the silencing and secrecy within their homes. As such, though ***Silence as A Family Discursive Device to Persevere*** was identified across many of the descendant narratives, there was not necessarily alignment in terms of what was being silenced, given the multiplicity of its application. The descendants' narratives, however, demonstrate the extent to which these practices have been sustained as habit by the descendants. Thereby aligning with Motsemme's (2004) analysis of the SA-TRC testimonies, and the extent to which the necessity of secretism transformed ways of relating within families. As cautioned by Labanyi (2009), the practices of silence as a chosen strategy for survival and protection appear to have transformed into a relational custom and tradition within the present.

> *Um, so maybe I take some responsibility for not knowing, because at the age where I could have asked, I didn't.*
>
> *(Descendant 1, II, page 6, line 180)*
>
> *So, all those three times when she mentioned those things, I felt like; oh no, I can't now go on and ask more questions.*
>
> *(Descendant 3, II, page 12, line 348)*

Select accounts reflected tensions evident in the relationships with their respective forebearers, whilst other themes were also evident in terms of silencing. A commonality was the intent to sustain silence to avoid confrontation, conflict, further loss or trauma.

> *…we sometimes have had a bit of a gentleman agreement not to talk about my mom*
>
> *(Descendant 1, II, page 16, line 487)*

> *I mean these things that we are talking about now. Probably I wouldn't have raised them, but maybe I wouldn't have raised them, especially as an adult because it is just not spoken of.*
>
> *(Descendant 11, II, page 8, line 204)*

Select participants have, however, demonstrated their efforts to unsilencing, though talking without conflict seems difficult.

> *… and I remember screaming matches that we had saying, where I said to my mom that, that I don't understand how you can "toyi-toyi" on the streets and talk about class and the working class must be united and they'll never be defeated, but here we are…but you can't address the class issue in our home, in our family.*
>
> *(Descendant 8, II, page 14, line 421)*

Both the silencing and the resistance to unsilencing may be attributed to what Blix and colleagues (2021) refer to as the consequence of a lack of possibilities to tell a different story.

> *I'm always in therapy somehow, even if I'm not physically going to her, all this sort of self-help, jumping at opportunities like these when I can learn more and see how, 'cause I don't want to hurt anymore, and I know my family, and my mom, I organised a, uh, family therapy, my mom just cannot, she cannot bear, she loses her mind...*
>
> *(Descendant 16, II, page 10, line 292)*

Facilitating an understanding of Descendant 16's account, Blix and colleagues (2021) postulate that an insistence on "a" truth to disrupt silences is particularly difficult given the complexity and shame embedded in select lived experiences. This is of particular relevance to the experiences of Descendant 16's forebearer, given her varied traumas experienced within and

beyond the apartheid circumstances. Moreover, research has demonstrated the dynamics impacting readiness to disclose experiences of violence, including fears about how disclosure may impact family relationships (Ahrens & Aldana, 2012; Scoglio et al., 2022). Research specific to post-apartheid South Africa associates silence and shame as rooted in gender discourses motivated by the collective's complicity in silence (Fleming & Kruger, 2013). This is further supported by research by Rober and Rosenblatt (2017) that explains how silence may be employed to protect forebearers as well as their families from the pain of their past.

Discourse on remembering and silencing in the collective narratives of the descendants does not intend to apply family as a metaphor for a larger community. Especially since this would risk the assumption of commonality and agreement (Ferguson, 2003). The findings, synthesised and integrated with available literature, do, however, suggest that ***Silence as A Discursive Device to Persevere*** is applied by families, as well as various parts of the broader South African collective. South Africa's feigned national amnesia may be understood as an intentional practice of silencing to sustain epistemological and political discourses and silences. Building on Ferguson's (2003) postulations on silence in politics on continuity and discontinuity, it is suggested that within South Africa's post-conflict transition, this may have been considered a constructive strategy to enable national continuity in the face of the radical discontinuity of apartheid. Like many families, the South African collective appears to have chosen silence to avoid the more difficult conversations. However, as in families, select South Africans carry the burden of silence while other members continue life without interruption.

10.3 DISCURSIVE SILENCING OF EXPERIENCES OF VIOLENCE AND TRAUMA

The following section serves to explicate how the burden of silence has extended intergenerationally through discursive networks of silencing trauma. It is advocated that the meaning assigned to past experiences relies on the extent to which it has been communicated and reconstructed through discourse (Pickering & Keightley, 2009). This implies that the practice of silencing disables the opportunity to process the experience of violence. This does not simply imply an absence of interpreting the violence but presents a vulnerability for experiences to be subject to dominant discursive networks. These may be misaligned with the initial intent of silencing and disremembering trauma by women anti-apartheid activists.

Many of the descendants understood this initial intent through the ***Discourse of Protection***.

She was overprotective

(Descendant 6, II, page 10, line 286)

…She was very, very protective

(Descendant 1, II, page 8, line 222)

... to protect them and to shield them from what was going on

(Descendant 14, II, page 18, line 519)

The ***Discourse of Protection*** may be read differently when reviewed in the context of the interviewer-descendant interaction.

> *Interviewer: Do you think that there is anything they ever felt they couldn't talk to you about? Whether there was something that had to be kept secret about their time in the struggle?*
>
> *Descendant 9: No. But they were protecting us.*
>
> *(Descendant 9, II, page 10, line 253)*

Descendant 9's understanding of her grandmother and mother represents a tension evident across several of the descendant narratives. Advocating for the absence of taboo, whilst simultaneously recognising that there were possibly many secrets in service of protection. Descendant 5's narrative expands on this by illuminating how increased information aligned with an increased vulnerability to death.

> *Interviewer: Do you think that there is anything your mom hasn't shared with you? Do you feel like there are things that were taboo about her role in the struggle?*
>
> *Descendant 5: Ya, I feel like there is because they were avoiding the dangers. That time, the more information you've got, you are more vulnerable to be like – you would be found dead – or in a hit and run or whatever.*
>
> *(Descendant 5, II, page 9, line 246)*

Descendant 17, however, countered the ***Discourse of Protection***, understanding her grandmother's secrecy more in response to the fear that the descendant may "talk" to others outside of their home. Though the research by Frankish and Bradbury (2012) recognises the

use of this discursive device to protect one's own and one's children's psychological integrity from painful experiences, it is also recognised that silences were an active strategy of the liberation struggle. This realigns with ***Silence as A Discursive Strategy of Resistance*** to oppression, possibly indicating the liberation struggle as a priority. Irrespective of how the descendants constructed the meaning of the secrets and silencing within their context, the hidden colonial power structures still appear to have had a traumatic impact. This introduces the conflict of differentiating between silencing as a form of oppression and silence as an act of resistance against oppression (Roberts, 1999).

In speaking of her grandmother's various experiences in detention, Descendant 20 reflects on the psychic implications of silenced experiences.

> *I feel almost as if knowing bits and pieces, uhm creates your own full story. So maybe if you had heard the full story, you wouldn't go there with your own perception of how bad it was. Maybe it wasn't as bad as you now imagine it to be.*
>
> *(Descendant 20, II, page 18, line 464)*

> *My mom doesn't want to talk about… My memory, I don't have, I've blocked it out. I've only got one memory before the age of 12 and it's, I don't even think it's a new memory, it's a made-up, uh, escape.*
>
> *(Descendant 16, II, page 7, line 203)*

The descendant narratives suggest that despite the ***Discourse of Protection***, the state of not knowing offers no relief from the presumed undisclosed violence and trauma. The silence causes further aggravation, demonstrating the extent to which silencing can also translate into violence (Emerick, 2019). This violence may be aggravated by the descendants' uncertainty of whether silence was in service of their protection or in service of protecting the struggle. As such, in the same way, silence is constructed by power, constructs power and sustains power; the praxis of silence as discourse sustains and maintains trauma. Speaking of a context of frequent raids, but with the demand to keep this violence a secret, Descendant 17's narrative exposes the confusion created for her.

> *Up till today, I still ask myself – was it really that bad? I don't even know was it that bad. All I know is it wasn't good for me.*
>
> *(Descendant 17, page 16, line 429)*

It is surmised that although her words expose the absence of a clear memory, the experience on her body remains the only reliable witness. Her narrative brings to mind the work of Bessel van der Kolk (2014) as expressed in "*The Body Keeps the Score*", where he ties together the contributions of psychoanalysis through the lens of neuroscience and societal contributions. Leaning into a psychoanalytic perspective, it is posited that traumatic events require acknowledgement, and as per Freud's (1914) "*Remembering, repeating and working through*".

Though Descendant 20's (II, page 5, line 125) forebearer eventually provided further disclosure when she considered them *"old enough to to be able to cope with that kind of information"*, most of the other descendants remain in a space of uncertainty. The implications extend beyond the individual, impacting the capacity to engage as a collective across the family as a whole.

> *Which also overshadowed any development of speaking about things within the family. Because you're just too afraid to mention them. It becomes unmentionable.*
>
> *(Descendant 11, II, page 8, line 211)*

The extract suggests that when narratives remain unspoken in families, the potential for intergenerational transmission is maintained (Pine & Haukanes, 2021). Suggesting the manifestations of habit, family culture and taboo that merge beyond the original secret that most likely no longer holds a political threat.

The family member interviews allowed an understanding of the varied dynamics which may have informed the transmission of silence in the family. The family processes suggest that the forms of silencing may have declined as the forebearers grew older, with increased transparency evident across the generations. It is postulated that this change may primarily be attributed to the difference in the political landscape. Research suggests that family accounts of narratives considered private and conceived as unsayable may become enmeshed with broader discourse (Pine & Haukanes, 2021). Considering the different political milieu that each generation existed in, it is suggested that select dialogues may have been perceived as less taboo with the *"Born Free"* generation, given the absence of apartheid-specific threats.

> *Interviewer: If you think about, you know, your time with your (Descendant 17) gran and with your (Descendant 18) mom, do you think that there was ever anything that she felt was taboo? It seems like there was a lot that she did share with you, but does it feel like there were ever things that she chose not to discuss?*

Descendant 17: I discovered a lot of things. She always used to lock her room, that was her space. There's a lot of things that I've discovered that she didn't share with us. But I also realised that as she got older, there was things that she shared with my daughter that she never shared with me. There's some things that I've learned from, from my daughter, of my granny. Because when my daughters tell me that Ma said this and Ma said, and now - then I put the puzzle together, I'm like, Okay she only told me from the knees upwards, not from the toes, you know.

Interviewer: (Descendant 18), do you, do you feel the same way? Do you sometimes feel the same way, you know, just listening to (Descendant 17) speaking. Do you sometimes feel like, you know, as her children, that maybe not as much was shared with you?

Descendant 18: They know more than I do, because they have the privilege of living with her growing up here. […] So, there's a lot of things that I also hear from her (Descendant 17) that my mother told them that I don't know.

(Descendant 17 and Descendant 18, FI-1, page 19, line 563)

The family interview with Descendant 17 (granddaughter) and Descendant 18 (daughter) speaks of a silence between the women anti-apartheid activist and her daughters, as well as a slow unsilencing across the generations with her grandchildren to great-grandchildren. Descendant 17 speaks metaphorically "*from the knees upwards, not from the toes",* about not being the recipient of her grandmother's complete narratives. The use of a metaphor may have provided the descendant with the space to find a voice from another discourse (Parker, 2014a). It is surmised that the use of metaphor suggests the need to distance the act relationally, to enable an expression in reality. It is surmised that the metaphorical expression into reality is helpful. A reading through a mainstream psychological lens may find fault within the mother-daughter relationship. However, a reading of the unsilencing within the political context free of political retaliation suggests the forebearer's slow release of silence as a discursive strategy of resistance.

The opportunity to explore remembering and sharing across three generations allowed an opportunity to explore the extent to which the descendants remained obedient to the requirements of secrecy and silence. Especially since select generations were directly exposed to both silence and the instruction of silence during childhood, with limited exposure to their

forebearer's undoing of this silencing. The following extract provides a brief glimpse of engaging with Descendant 17's memory of childhood trauma caused by the apartheid violence and police raids, and to what extent she has been able to share this with her own daughter.

> *Interviewer: Have you (Descendant 17) ever shared with her (Descendant 19) how you felt about the police raids?*
>
> *Descendant 17: Hmm… What did I tell you (Descendant 19)?*
>
> *Descendant 19: The stories are mainly just like stories, not like how they affected people. It's more like – this happened – Not this happened, and I felt like…*
>
> *Descendant 17: The only place … How can I say… It hurt me… It used to hurt me…*
>
> *(Descendant 17 and Descendant 19, FI-2, page 16, line 418)*

The family narrative demonstrates the capacity to move beyond silence, though the difficulty with disclosing the pain associated with these violences remains clear. "*Not this happened, and I felt like…*" suggests that even though the detail of the traumatic event is shared, the trauma evoked has remained silenced. Research by Frankish and Bradbury (2012) confirms that stories of politically violent incidents are shared more broadly within community settings. Descendants may therefore have access to the information, despite the absence of a one-on-one disclosure. This absence was evident among many of the descendants, who were either sent away during a *"meeting in the house"* or were *"very much in the background"*. Moreover, the research corresponds with the neglect of the psychological implications and continued trauma of these experiences (Frankish & Bradbury, 2012). The extract nonetheless demonstrates that descendants are most likely willing to engage in an unsilencing of their traumas, but that a conduit may be required. For Descendant 17, this requires a meaning-making of remaining ambiguities; *"was it really that bad?".* This is an ambiguous space that others find themselves in as well. It is surmised that the descendants may have hoped to clarify these ambiguities with their forebearers, but this presents an unattainable task for many. Either due to the passing of their forebearers or the extent to which trauma has disabled connection. This is aggravated by the national state of amnesia, which further denies an affirming response to the confusion of *"was it really that bad?".* Thus leaving descendants in a state of confusion, rather than aiding a process of healing and restoration.

The descendant accounts demonstrate that applying silence as a discursive device serves in favour of maintaining some form of family relationships and is not indicative of an absence of memory. This is supported by Pine and Haukanes (2021), who assert that in families, silence is often more about remembering than forgetting. Although the practice of silence served different functions across the descendant narratives, select themes were evident. This included ***Silence as Protective Device*** to possibly spare the women anti-apartheid activists from memories deemed painful from their past. Silence by some of the descendants, however, appeared to be in service of sustaining either relationships with their forebearers or maintaining the memories they had of them. It is nonetheless proposed that ***Silence as A Discursive Strategy of Resistance*** would have sustained limited endurance in the present if it were accommodated by an unsilencing of apartheid-based traumas through national political discourse. It is instead surmised that the private discursive strategies are in many ways an imposition of broader discursive networks that maintain silence pertaining to women's activism, as well as their trauma.

10.4 DISCURSIVE NETWORKS OF DISREMEMBERING GENDERED ACTIVISM

Post-apartheid South Africa has demonstrated an absence of memory of apartheid traumas. Regrettably, the national liberation movement has expressed similar amnesia in recognising the prominent role of women in the struggle, along with its associated exposure to violence and trauma. Women anti-apartheid activists are therefore subject to multiple forms of disremembrance. This includes the intersectional invisibility of their physical, economic and sexual exploitation by the apartheid regime, supplemented by the silencing of their bravery and agency by the post-apartheid state. This pain of being forgotten is exacerbated by the various levels of exclusion experienced by most of the women anti-apartheid activists, their families and descendants in present-day South Africa. These levels of exclusion are poignantly highlighted in the extract below in expressing the experiences of a young woman activist who was recruited into politics at a young age, but subject to painful disremembrance during both the apartheid and post-apartheid timescapes.

> *She suffered as a young woman during the days that she was just taken from prison, while she was supposed to be at school. She suffered when she was ill, not receiving proper medical attention, and <u>not getting support from those she believed were to support her</u>. And ya, she suffered until to her grave. So, may her soul rest in peace.*
>
> *(Descendant 12, II, page 12, line 366)*

A central argument of this thesis is that mainstream political discourse in South Africa has been resistant to remembering women across its post-conflict landscape. This is evident in the masculinisation of liberation memorialisation, as reflected in historical records, the masculinisation of post-conflict nation-building (Puis Farrés, 2021), and the gendered nature of memorialisation through monuments, memorials, and statues (Marschall, 2010a; Miller, 2011). The ***Discursive Networks of Disremembering*** are enabled through discourses of masculinised liberation or masculinised militarisation, promoting narratives that have sustained women as support actors. As evident across global contexts, this has involved voiding women's actions from the threat of violence or death in service of collective political agendas (Thomas & Wood, 2018). This has in part been done by forgetting the absence of a battlefield, as is relevant in most contexts of conflict, and the reality of home as the central space for underground political activity. This subordinates the role of women as couriers, looters, messengers, propagandists, smugglers or spies within political movements (MacKenzie, 2009; Thomas & Wood, 2018). There is an irony that the hidden nature of women's activism as underground political activists has been weaponised in securing their erasure in the present.

The discursive networks evident across the descendant narratives demonstrate a strong awareness of this erasure. This erasure has been communicated through the ***Discursive Networks of Disremembering,*** informed by redacted remembering through the ***Discourse of Insignificance.*** As such, when remembering is permitted the discourse is altered to ***Discourse of Supplementary Support*** of the masculinised liberation movement. Many descendants attributed this to the naturalised patriarchal state - *"Patriarchy! Patriarchy was still moving on, it didn't move out" (Descendant 10, II, page 9, line 245), "Yes, there's that patriarchy. Something like that, where men believe that it is about them, it is them – and women are lesser and all that" (Descendant 12, II, page 8, line 236).* The descendant extract below demonstrates a realisation of the patriarchal intentionality of women's erasure.

> *...it inspired me to e-mail you because we were thinking about misremembering, and whether that meant actively dismissing or just not convenient to remember.*
>
> *(Descendant 1, II, page 16, line 481)*

Whilst Descendant 1 attributed her mother's disremembrance to the *"old boys' network, you know, ANC"*, Descendant 3 demonstrates the threat associated with women's strength.

This one is too strong, she is just – when she walks in the room, she takes over, so we need to eliminate her somehow. So they started doing meetings behind her back, and those are the things that added to her being like; this is it!

(Descendant 3, II, page 5, line 141)

Irrespective of whether an underlying driver was identified, many of the descendant narratives demonstrate that the women anti-apartheid activists experienced a sense of being forgotten.

… a certain lady who used to run taxis between Jo'burg, Soweto and Lesotho. And the number of kids she helped to cross over and go into exile, and nobody ever [...] But sadly she just passed on, also without having due recognition. Because she also risked, not only her business, but her own life as well.

(Descendant 2, II, page 14, line 376)

The capacity to disremember and forget implies an absence of significance. This significance not only labels the activists' actions as insignificant but also invalidates the sacrifices that the whole family had to bear. This disavowal implies that any experience of trauma that occurs in the absence of an empathic witness is read as fiction. Thus, impeding witnessing and remembering as possible conduits of validation, healing and restoration. Though many of the descendants appear to have conceded to their forebearers' being disremembered, a few demonstrated their efforts to memory and memorialisation.

I want my granny's story to be told. It's one of many. But I'm not gonna leave it like the others that doesn't acknowledge what was done.

(Descendant 17, II, page 1, line 12)

I even approached one of my comrades to say; hey man why don't you nominate my mom for 1,2,3. But it came to nothing as well.

(Descendant 2, II, page 14, line 381)

The ***Discursive networks of Disremembering*** alternated with the redacted remembering through the ***Discourse of Insignificance*** or ***Supplementary Support***, are proposed to have alleviated the threat presented to patriarchal dominance. Confirming that discourses concerning women have historically been subject to alteration, distortion or silencing to align with dominant political discourse and its allegiance with capitalist and patriarchal aspirations

(Lerner, 1986; Shekhawat, 2015). The ***Discourse of Insignificance*** was evident from the onset of the research inquiry. Many of the descendants who reached out to the research call were often tentative about their forebearers' contributions and were careful to ascertain whether their participation would be relevant. The ***Discourse of Insignificance*** highlights the inevitability that much of this research inquiry remains laden with silences. Not only because the ***Discourse of Insignificance*** highlights the absence of non-participants, but also the probable untold stories that may have been considered irrelevant to convey. This irrelevance influences the extent to which these stories may have been shared within families, as evident in the narratives below.

> *But I don't think they saw their contribution as significant. It was mostly as a way of surviving, and a way of being safe, keeping yourself and your family.*
>
> *(Descendant 14, II, page 7, line 203)*

> *I guess because it was maybe all about him, and his role in it. Ya! She probably, none of us, probably saw it as such a massive supporting role in whatever she was doing or feeling.*
>
> *(Descendant 11, II, page 7, line 169)*

> *Like I said, she was a silent activist. She was, she is, she has been remembered as a woman who suffered with her husband, and nothing more.*
>
> *(Descendant 13, II, page 13, line 390)*

It is surmised that this silence obscures the dominance of this discourse. Much of MacKenzie's (2008) research and conceptual framework is founded on this production of "legitimate" subjects. This includes the extent to which the roots of this discourse in civilisation, humanity and gender ultimately dislocate women's associations with legitimacy, with the closest permitted demarcation identified as women's contributions to support functions to men. The narratives demonstrate this entanglement with gendered discourse. Some descendants realised that their forebearers' actions were overlooked because their actions were masked with what was expected concerning women's duties, whilst others noted how women's contributions were overshadowed by their male counterparts. Thereby highlighting the ***Discourse of Supplementary Support.***

Literature has demonstrated that remembering and acknowledging women's participation in liberation or political struggles is confined to auxiliary or support functions (Macdonald, 2008; MacKenzie, 2009; Vastapuu, 2023). These types of functions are constrained within gendered boundaries (Vogel et al., 2014), emphasising motherhood or wifehood (Darden et al., 2019). Women's participation is thus demarcated as personal, divorcing it from political agency or determination (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015). While many of the descendants demonstrated their frustration with this demarcation, a few of the descendants were also vulnerable to being drawn into these discursive networks.

> *... the girls were following after the boys. The boys were the real leaders. They were the real leaders.*
>
> *(Descendant 10, II, page 9, line 238)*

> *So her role - she played two main roles in supporting, providing support to the boys and the girls that, by providing shelter specifically and hiding those boys.*
>
> *(Descendant 14, II, page 3, line 65)*

> *... she is the type of person who would want to support or protest about some injustice, she probably got involved from the standpoint of, let me do the little that I can without being a full member of any organisation.*
>
> *(Descendant 11, II, page 2, line 41)*

The literature demonstrates the way discourse emphasising women in support functions does so by articulating their participation away from armed conflict (Thomas & Wood, 2018). Thereby distracting from the fact that even within contexts of armed conflict, most aspects of warfare are not fought on battlefields, but around human habitations (Shekhawat, 2015). In doing so, women are expunged from memory despite their substantial contribution to strengthening the overall movement (Thomas & Wood, 2018). The power of this dominant discourse is noteworthy within the South African context because homes and schools were the main sites of conflict and resistance (Magadla, 2018, 2021a, 2023; Maringira, 2015; Naidoo, 2021).

Moreover, it is interesting how some of the descendants were drawn into these dominant discourses, given that they demonstrated an awareness of the risk associated with their forebearers' political activities. This contradiction is especially evident when reviewing

Descendant 10's narrative. Despite observing the men or boys as the real leaders, her narrative below demonstrates her understanding that when faced with police retaliation any conceptualisation of possible femininity or childhood construction is erased. Both women and children are enveloped in the threat of black peril.

> *... he can see women – he doesn't think that it is a woman, which means I can't hurt her. If he sees a child, a boy or a girl, he just knows that these are not my children. If they riot, I will shoot at them, I will kill them. I'll kill them. I'll shoot them, I'll kill them.*
>
> *(Descendant 10, II, page 6, line 164)*

> *I mean the police would come and they would ravage your house and beat people up. You understand. And also by virtue of you hiding someone – you are putting your life in danger, and you could have been jailed. Your family could, your house could have been set on fire. So your resistance was quite – a matter of life and death in a way, because if you are found you would pay severely.*
>
> *(Descendant 14, II, page 8, line 205)*

> *And she did this poster posting on the offices of ***. And actually got arrested for doing that. And appeared in court for doing that.*
>
> *(Descendant 11, II, page 2, line 45)*

There is a complex contradiction given that women and children can bear equal punishment due to resistance, but are compartmentalised in terms of memorialisation. It is argued that whilst punishment is severed from power, memorialisation and history construction are aligned with power. Memory and history are, therefore, subject to the ordering of power in global politics, which dictates the hierarchical placement of gender (Henshaw, 2020). This patriarchal reordering subjugates women within dominant discourse to ensure that masculine accounts are secured in historical records.

The following section serves to illustrate how this practice remains relevant to interpersonal and intimate contexts, where normative discourses maintain relational hierarchical structures.

Though this research never set out to ascertain the presence of a male activist in the lives of the women activists, male presence appeared to impact the extent to which the women activists

could remain at the forefront of the descendant narratives and the descendants' capacity for meaning-making of their forebearers' experiences. The descendants of the women activists who were married to partners who were not politically active or who had no partners had little to no difficulty focusing their narratives solely on the women activists. However, among descendants where a male activist was present, the narratives initially conveyed the women activists as having a support function. Though the interviewing process mostly aimed to allow spontaneous storytelling, these interviews required increased adherence to the interview schedule to allow appropriate focus on the women anti-apartheid activists.

Although the research call, the participant information sheet and the consent form highlighted the focus on women anti-apartheid activists, the vulnerability of masculine or paternal dominance was evident at the onset of the research interview with Descendant 13 (II, page 2, line 49).

> *Interviewer: Okay. And ***, the person you hope to speak about today, who was that? Who is that relative to you?*
>
> *Descendant 13: The relative is my father.*
>
> *Interviewer: Ya (pause)*
>
> *Descendant 13: My mother.*
>
> *Interviewer: So, both your mom and your dad?*
>
> *Descendant 13: Both my mom and my dad, and my grandmother.*

Similarly, an extract from the interview with Descendent 11 (II, page 11, line 285) demonstrates the difficulty in consistently holding the woman activist in mind.

> *Interviewer: ... given what your **mom** has been through and your own experiences really. How do you make sense of all that your family has been through, looking at post-apartheid South Africa today?*
>
> *Descendant 11: When I look at the situation today, I'd say that my dad – he would be turning in his grave right now.*

Though the inclination to emphasise the male activist experience was only observed across a few interviews, it suggests that women activists are vulnerable to being sidelined even within

family contexts and discourse. This raises the question of whether women activists can only be fully seen and remembered in the absence of a competing memory of the male activist. Thereby suggesting that memory in intimate family spaces may be vulnerable to similar historical erasure and political discourse evident in the national memorialisation and the masculinisation of anti-apartheid archives. This is a political discourse that has grown to dominate historical documentation in post-conflict settings, as evident across the work produced by MacKenzie (2009), as well as Thomas and Wood (2018). This demonstrates the ways in which power and patriarchy inform discourse, which ultimately eliminates agency and power in both personal and collective memory. The supremacy of patriarchy through the pervasiveness of coloniality not only informs broader political discourses but may inform internalised constructions of the internal world. These may emanate beyond the individual, informing the dialogue of the collective psyche. This includes the risk of internalised colonisation and the subsequent internalised construction of the supremacy of men in contrast with the inferiority of women (Tamale, 2020b).

It is additionally important to note that the ***Discourse of Masculine Protection*** was evident across narratives where there were no male activists' stories to draw on. As such, though expressed differently, a similar articulation of masculine dominance was evident amongst descendants of the women activists who were married to politically inactive partners. Most of these partners were conveyed through a discourse of paternal protection. However, a careful assessment demonstrates conflict in response to the positionality of a women activist. Descendant 2 (II, page 9, line 232) shared, *"He was not so keen, hey. He was not so keen. I guess afraid of the repercussions, what would happen to the family. He was not so keen".*

The descendants' narratives revealed that they experienced their fathers and grandfathers as protective, rather than emphasising the absence of support provided to the women anti-apartheid activists. This suggests a possible ***Discourse of Deviance*** in response to the women's activism, whilst underscoring the ***Discourse of Masculine Protection.*** This is further evident in the extract Descendant 3 (II, page 11, line 312):

> *What I took out from my grandfather was that he was very proud of my granny, but he didn't want to say it out loud. He didn't really give her the credit that she needed to hear. […] I think it was more of, "I am scared". This is my wife, this is the mother of my kids, she is a woman, it's a cruel world out there, it's a cold world out there. You know. So, for him it was a thing of, if he could, could she just stop*

being an activist, and just stop everything, because not that he felt as though you're just a drop in the ocean, but it was more of fear.

It is apparent that rather than seeking out patriarchal discourse and a gendered frame for political activism, the partner's disobliging expressions or actions were reframed in a paternal and protective manner. This may signal the internalisation of a patriarchal culture or construction within the family dynamic. The application of a protective discourse therefore conceals narratives of how women anti-apartheid activists may have experienced attempts of silencing in their homes and intimate relationships as well.

The sentiment shared by Descendant 18 and Descendant 17 during their family interview was somewhat different.

*Descendant 18: Her husband, Mr. ***, he used to tell her, Los die boere, die boere gaan jou toesluit (leave the boere, the boere will lock you up) […] But he used to tell her, "Los die boere, they going to lock you up in jail. Stop all this". But she didn't stop, she continued. And when he passed on, it was even worse*

Descendant 18 and Descendant 17: laughs

Descendant 18: Because, okay, you know, nobody's going to tell me "Die boere gaan my toe sluit nou" (the boere are going to lock me up now)

Descendant 17: "and I can come home whenever."

The tone of engagement between Descendant 18 and Descendant 17 demonstrates a jovial celebration of their forebearer's increased political agency and freedom after the death of her husband. It is surmised that their ability to express their forebearer's experience of freedom in the absence of her husband was facilitated by the fact that their forebearer's husband was not their father or grandfather, with some distancing evident in the formal articulation when referring to him as Mister *** (Surname). Their engagement is also marked by an absence of re-articulating the partner's intentions from a frame of paternal protection, as evident in the other narratives. On the contrary, their humorous expression of *"nobody's going to tell me"* and *"and I can come home whenever"* provides an understanding of patriarchal power and its influence on agency. Reflecting on the humorous engagement in the family dyad, it is known that South Africans make use of humour to defend against many of their traumas (Rose, 2016). It is suggested that humour allows criticism without acknowledging the difficult feelings

associated with the acts of violence at the root of such trauma. It may be surmised that whilst the descendants feel comfortable providing a humorous narration of the patriarchal constructions that informed their forebearer's experience, they appear to have experienced some difficulty in addressing it as a more controlling act on her personhood. As evident elsewhere, Descendant 17 later acknowledged the prevalence of intimate partner violence during an individual interview that took place after this family interview.

Drawing on the ***Discourse of Masculine Protection*** as opposed to considering the probability of patriarchal enactment may be assessed as the women descendants' capacity to be complicit with patriarchal discourse. Thereby affirming that both men and women can be complicit in revering man's supremacy, not only in the family but also in broader society (Lewis, 2011). This discourse demonstrates the overlap between patriarchy and paternalism, confirming the family as the formative site for patriarchal cultivation. This aligns with Rich's (1976, 1984, 2021) conceptualisation of patriarchy as the power of the father within a familial-social system. The father is thereby identified as the head of the family (Aoláin, 2009). These constructions cannot be considered without acknowledging the associations between patriarchy and masculinity (Aoláin, 2009), and how these serve to reconstruct and reinforce gender roles. It is consequently surmised that this symbolic framing of patriarchal power to protect outweighs the capacity to perceive paternal figures as having the capacity to practice toxic forms of masculinity. Lewis (2011) argues that the symbolic meaning of their authority is far more important than their capacity to be unjust. It is therefore meaningful to assess the extent to which the engagement in the dyadic interview between Descendant 18 and Descendant 17 deviates from this discourse. It is surmised that this deviation is facilitated by the absence of a unitary family unit, given that the partner they are discussing is not the paternal head of their respective families. Eliminating the forbearer's partner as the family head, therefore, disrupts the power of the father, and thereby the potential for patriarchal power to dislocate and amend narratives to align with dominant gendered discourse.

It proposed that familial, gendered or patriarchal discourses require disruption to appropriately uncover discursive networks centring the possibilities of women's functions stringently in response to their positionalities as activists and change agents. Thereby opposing the dominant state formation that structures men as the legitimate leaders of family, community, and state (Henshaw, 2020). This may, over time, elicit the possibilities of negotiating family histories that foster restoration in the wake of trauma (Frankish & Bradbury, 2012).

Recognising that women's disremembrance is an action facilitated to preserve patriarchy requires the necessity to recognise the violence of this silencing. This includes the necessity to realise that patriarchy is not a harmless form of discrimination, but an intentional human oppression. The practice of disremembrance, despite the significance of women's labour, simultaneously contributes to human exploitation. This is important given that select descendants expressed that their forebearers weren't disremembered based on gender, but due to capitalist interests. Thereby highlighting the ***Discourse of Capitalist Patriarchies***

> *... we'd lost that humanity, people that were at the forefront of the struggle were now just common greedy politicians.*
>
> *(Descendant 20, II, page 15, line 393)*

> *People who never worked for this democracy, they are just all in the offices and all that. They are benefitting; they are tenderpreneurs.*
>
> *(Descendant 12, page 10, line 299)*

> *Now, I am so disappointed at the same time. Because I was thinking that by now we are gonna have a better life – by now. But there's a lot that is happening in parliament. There's a lot of corruption. We didn't fight for that.*
>
> *(Descendant 9, page 8, line 204)*

The same sentiment comes through strongly in Bridger's (2021, p. 198) research, *"I'm sad that we fought for, I don't think we did get it. It's like we fought for corruption. We fought for more hardship for the poor of the poorest"*. As explicated in an earlier chapter of the discussion, many of the descendants remain subjugated in terms of their socioeconomic status. An intersectional lens facilitates a reading that recognises that these are coinciding practices, along with the necessity to not challenge capitalism and patriarchy separately but to raise awareness of its practice as capitalist patriarchies (Tamale, 2020b). Recognising these interconnected practices draws on the ***Discourse of Labour*** and Enloe's analysis of 'labour made cheap' (Vastapuu, 2018).

> *So, you know, women are honestly, they were downplayed in the, the struggle and but they… they played a very, very, very, very big role and played a very big role.*
>
> *(Descendant 13, II, page 13, line 368)*

And sadly, the ladies did the most work. The ladies took the most risks.

(Descendant 2, II, page 12, line 312)

Segalo's (2012) postulations demonstrate how the maintenance of class distinctions sustains the practice of silencing given that black women's voices fall outside the lines of capitalist or patriarchal privilege. This eliminates the potential for opposing narratives, whilst simultaneously sustaining the existing lines of power. The accounts demonstrate the women anti-apartheid activists' experiences of being displaced in the liberation history. The disremembrance of gender activism has proven to be a common practice across most post-conflict societies (MacKenzie, 2009, 2012; Vastapuu, 2018, 2019). This displacement mirrors the exclusion black women are ordinarily subject to in association with their intersectional invisibility. Vastapuu (2023) explicates this practice as gendered and racialised othering of black women in contexts of conflict, specifically in its aftermath. The descendants' expressions are supported by research highlighting the prevalence of social, economic and political exclusion experienced by former women combatants in post-conflict South Africa (Langa et al., 2021). This redacted liberation history preserves existing lines of power, whilst maintaining the extent to which violence and trauma remain permissible on black women's bodies.

The ***Discursive Networks of Disremembering*** women activists have therefore not merely erased and redacted women's contributions to the liberation movement, it has succeeded in its main task of the broader colonial project. This cost extends beyond maintaining political and capitalist power within a patriarchal framework and requires the continued subjugation and exploitation of women. Violence against women is a global issue, and literature has demonstrated that no society has managed to escape this violation, most likely due to global patriarchal dominance. However, the escalating incidence of gender-based violences impacting women in South Africa (African Health Organisation, 2021) raises the question of whether apartheid, along with the single-axis priority of the liberation struggle, in some way distracted and delayed South Africa's fight against gender-based human violations. This question is asked, along with the recognition that the slavocratic era and colonisation disabled society's capacity to observe these violences against black women as violences. This requires cognisance that whilst gender-based violence is a global concern, the manner in which it is appraised is skewed within the South African context, especially for black women.

10.5 CONCLUSION

The discursive networks explicated across this chapter demonstrate the extent to which these networks are activated across different social and political structures, ultimately implicating the family and individual. Whilst not exhaustive, this chapter specifically explicated discourse emphasising silencing and disremembrance. The various themes clarify the extent to which silencing indirectly facilitates the sustainability of dominant discourses with unintentional complicity in silencing colonial violence and trauma. In this respect, silence as discourse functions in service of political, social, and cultural aims (Dénommé-Welch & Rowsell, 2017). Foucault (1978, p. 27) highlights in his declaration, *"There is not one but many silences, and they are an integral part of the strategies that underlie and permeate discourses."* This was evident when the ***Discourse of Protection*** and ***Silence as a Discursive Strategy of Resistance*** appeared to run parallel. Discourse is therefore applied across varied micro as well as macrosystemic contexts, thus influencing interactions on individual, community, societal, as well as systemic levels. Given this intersection, discourse not only informs the social realm, but it is suggested that its existence within the political realm sustains a cyclical process that informs the interaction of discourse in the social world.

It is therefore evident that the silencing of women's trauma as anti-apartheid activists, and the silencing of the trauma endured by the families and descendants, are not only silenced in response to the convenience of dominant political discourse. It is clear that the silence once required for resistance and protection informs a familial culture of silence in the present, which has been transposed to the collective. Thereby inadvertently adding to the centuries of silencing advocated by colonialism in the construction of global discourses (Lorenz & Watkins, 2001). The intergenerational implications of the impasse were superseded by the race-based liberation project, overlooking the risk of how the practice of silence and silencing as a chosen strategy for survival and protection may have been transformed into custom and tradition over time (Labanyi, 2009). This includes simultaneously working against the Afro-Feminist project that promotes solidarity and amplifying the voice of women (See Tamale, 2020b). This supersession was common practice across anti-apartheid strategies given that gender concerns were abandoned in favour of prioritised race struggles (Meer, 2005).

CHAPTER ELEVEN: LEARNING FROM WOMEN ANTI-APARTHEID ACTIVISTS THROUGH DESCENDANT MEMORIES

11.1 INTRODUCTION

Memory, re-memory, and remembering are pivotal landscapes for meaning-making within intergenerational narratives and relationships. Guided by the Hermeneutic Phenomenological tradition, the following chapter expounds a reflexive meaning-making of the descendants' retrospective accounts of their disremembered forebearers as women anti-apartheid activists. A central focus of this research inquiry was to engage with the experiences shared by the descendants, regarding what they experienced as memories shared and memories silenced. Descendant memories hold the potential to negotiate family histories, fostering the possibility of restoration in the wake of trauma (Frankish & Bradbury, 2012). Moreover, it is surmised to hold more extensive restorative potential, given that the reconstruction of traumatic memory by women may facilitate reconstructing post-trauma identity at both personal and collective levels (Rajiva & Takševa, 2021). This includes the potential to challenge familial or gendered discourse and reveal discursive networks aligning the possibilities of women's functions stringently in response to their positionalities as activists and change agents. It is nonetheless recognised that this potential is subject to the extent to which the descendants are themselves subjects of internalised colonialism, and how this may hinder the reconstruction of history.

> *Silence can be confused with forgetting only if we equate memory with narration. But a memory does not have to be narrated to exist: silence offers the possibility of reflecting on what is remembered, and memories are transmitted not only through words but also through the body and material culture.*
>
> *(Labanyi, 2009, p. 23)*

Whilst appreciating the possibilities presented by memory, re-memory and remembering, the heeding of Labanyi (2009) is not lost. Although the intent is to facilitate a meeting and understanding of the women anti-apartheid activists, the analysis recognises that memory is not solely represented through narration but is subject to expressions of silence as well. Thereby acknowledging its constraints and the possibility of what may remain unknown beyond the boundaries of spoken word. This was particularly evident across descendant narratives when navigating the ambiguous tension between agency and gendered violence when recalling their forebearers' lived experiences. Thus, signaling the descendants' vulnerability to be constrained by dominant discourse that suggests that these realities cannot co-exist. Whilst observing the

influence of patriarchy and Western hegemonic thought in the conceptualisation of women as activists, the chapter explored how women and their activism may be understood differently when read through an African and Decolonial lens. The chapter therefore commences with cognisance of the sociopolitical landscape that has crafted a systemically volatile context for women anti-apartheid activists, followed by a re-conceptualisation of their political actions.

This chapter therefore seeks to explore how understanding the women anti-apartheid activists' praxis through an African and Decolonial centered lens may facilitate collective restoration and healing. This will be done by firstly understanding the ***Recurring Systemic Intersectional Inheritance of Gender, Sexuality, and Violence*** that has been at play across South Africa's timescapes, and how this may be undone by ***Shedding the Sexualising Gaze in Promoting Black Love and Ubuntu.***

11.2 RECURRING SYSTEMIC INTERSECTIONAL INHERITANCE OF GENDER, SEXUALITY AND VIOLENCE

Violence may be regarded as a systemic inheritance across any landscape subject to human experience. Women are nonetheless increasingly vulnerable to violence given the biased social and political constructions and power imbalances associated with gender, sex and sexuality (Tamale, 2020b). Whilst this assertion holds relevance across most societies, it is of particular concern in societies subject to conflict and human rights violations (Baaz & Stern, 2013; Leatherman, 2011). The South African context mirrors this concern, with gendered subjugation central across its political epochs, including the present-day (Baderoon, 2018; Gqola, 2022). Reflecting on memories shared and remembered, the descendants were able to engage on their forebearers' vulnerability to subjugation, without a single narrative untouched by some form of racialised gendered violation. This included an awareness of how the apartheid project positioned black women as subordinate to white and black men, divorcing them from rights and legal safeguarding (Bridger & Hazan, 2022). Avoiding the bias of single-axis thinking, the research analysis encompassed associated positionalities relevant to the forebearers' identities as anti-apartheid activists. As such, matrix thinking of power dynamics informed the analysis of intersectional experiences of racialised gender and gendered race, along with other intersectional positionalities. For the women anti-apartheid activists', this included occupying the roles of daughters, mothers, wives, domestic workers, nurses or teachers in union with their focus on activism, while simultaneously occupying vulnerable positions of class and economic restrictions. This extends beyond the absence of legal or legislative safeguarding in white workspaces (Cock, 1987), and patriarchal authority that extended women's exploitation within

their marriages and their subservience to any male relation (Ngcobo, 2012). As such, whether speaking of the vulnerability of black women as domestic workers in white homes or as 'support actors' in family homes that could never fully be considered their own, the threat of exploitation and subjugation was evident across all descendant narratives conveying their forebearers' lived experiences.

The threat to women's safety across these varied contexts is evident in the extracts below.

> *... a white man rapes you, the next thing when you are serving them food, they would be so disgusted in you, even spit on the floor...*
>
> *(Descendant 3, II, page 8, line 204)*

> *Nee, dis die arm waar dad my met die vyf pond hammer gekap het ("No this is the arm where dad [her husband] hacked me with the five-pound hammer")*
>
> *(Descendant 17, II, page 6, line 153)*

> *... after my father passed on, my uncle changed drastically. My mother was doing everything for our uncle; paying rent, doing this for him.*
>
> *(Descendant 7, II, page 6, line 135)*

The descendant narratives illustrate black women's sexual, physical and economic exploitation based on patriarchal customary succession legislation as decreed by apartheid legislation. This supports the assertion that black women experienced a version of apartheid that not only centred race but simultaneously marginalised based on gender (Lee, 2009). Research by McCleary-Sills et al. (2016) suggests that women's agency is restricted whilst silenced by gendered social norms that not only accept intimate partner violence but normalise it. Borrowing from Fanonian analysis on the naturalisation of violence in colonial contexts, Kiguwa and Stevens (2021) suggest that the *travelling social ordering function* is at work in the collective psyche in the aftermath of violence.

Many of the women anti-apartheid activists worked as domestic workers, which rendered a vulnerability across all the mentioned forms of exploitation. This is attributed to the constraints placed on their educational and occupational opportunities, whilst the role contained the colonial demarcation as *naturally predetermined 'women's work* (Gaitskell et al., 1983).

Despite the sustained silence and its contribution to an absence of clarity, Descendant 3's narrative speaks directly to the intersectional experiences of black women, with specific emphasis on the sexual violence of black women by white men (Baderoon, 2018). Whilst this highlights women's social, political, and economic status within the patriarchal landscape (Lerner, 1986), the forebearer's positionality as a domestic worker highlights a further central feature of race and class oppression. The extract and its association with the positionality of domestic workers is reminiscent of Bridger and Hazan's (2022) analysis that black women have a shared inheritance with South Africa's disremembered enslaved women, given that any violence inflicted on their bodies are *'for nothing'*. The nothingness maintains the white man's civility, whilst his reaction confirms the black woman as an object that cannot be raped. The rape of the black woman therefore remains a (non) transgression of patriarchy (Abrahams, 1996a), reinforcing women as transactional objects. Given the extent to which apartheid laws designated black women as perpetual minors, the (non) transgression of patriarchy were translated to black masculinities as well. Black women's being in the world was however not only consistently measured across white and black masculinities, but also with white femineity.

The research by Cock (1987) focussing on the experiences of black women in domestic employment, explicates their positionality in relation to white women. The black women included in Cock's research did not only explicitly convey their working lives as a form of slavery but also emphasised their erasure as women. Speaking of their white madam, one of the participants included in Cock's research (1980, p. 90 cited by Cock, 1987) emphasised "*She does not see me as a woman*". Though the house rule of "*African invisibility*" (Ginsburg, 1999), may suggest that domestic workers were not seen as human at all. Cock (1987) revealed the precariousness of black women's lives, given their vulnerability to instant dismissal by their employers who often fail to observe the common law provisions. The extract by Descendant 6 conveys the extent women had to go for basic survival in response to the limited options outside of domestic servitude.

> *... when I speak about her I feel a bit emotional ...because my mom was selling fruits and veg for us to survive when she lost the domestic job. She used to wake up at 4 a.m. Sometimes I think it was 3 a.m. to go to Grabouw to get apples. It is very far. I think it is like 2-3 hours' drive. To get the fruits there, the apples and whatever for her to sell.*
>
> *(Descendant 6, II page 5, line 137)*

It is surmised that it may have been this precarious existence that contributed to the following activist's plight to tolerate a continued day of work, despite enduring a night of parturition and a loss that persisted beyond that night.

> *She couldn't make a noise. She had to keep quiet. Because if the boss would hear that she is giving birth and she is making noise, it would be a war. And then she said, it started late at around about 19:00, it lasted around like, 5 am in the morning. And eventually, when the baby came out, the baby was no more. It was a stillborn. […] She had to be strong, bath herself, bath the baby, fix the baby for whatever, and then go to work…*
>
> *(Descendant 3, II, page 8, line 228)*

Enduring despite the impossibility of the life altering loss, may in part be attributed to the legal vacuum that circumvented domestic workers' humanity. Evident through the absence of laws stipulating minimum wages, hours of work, unemployment, maternity insurance or other benefits (Cock, 1987; Sideris, 1998). As hidden figures within the private realm of white people's homes, domestic workers experienced their subjugation in isolation, compared to those working within the public sector (Sideris, 1998). It is suggested that this isolated suffering aggravated the weight of their experience. Borrowing from Fanon's (2018) theorising, it is surmised that isolation within the context of an already alienating and isolating apartheid context would be like administering a second layer of imprisonment with inevitable negative outcomes. Possibly sensing the maddening encroachment of this secondary level of captivity, many of these women started seeking out the collective through political engagement.

> *When we started politics, my mother was a domestic worker. […] … they kept us in their house in Bellville, her name was Mrs ***, and when we grew up, uh, I didn't know about politics and all of those, but my mother used to go out every night, not knowing where she's going to, she is going to meetings.*
>
> *(Descendant 4, II, page 1, line 16)*

Political meetings were a core feature across the descendant narratives, surmised to be a plight to seek out the collective. Given the extensiveness of internalised colonialism, political conscientisation was often a solitary praxis. In addition to the race and gender-based violences shared across the narratives, the theme of alienation within residential communities was particularly evident. The experience of alienation reported by the descendants included in this

research inquiry is supported by the participants included in Bridger's (2021) research who continues hide their former activism in fear of alienation. It may be suggested that moving beyond the risks presented by their absence of belonging during apartheid, the women anti-apartheid activists were not only acting from a space of resistance but were simultaneously addressing their own healing. Their practice of collective gathering heads the words by bell hooks (2000), that healing is not an isolated practice, but rather an act of communion.

The need to seek an external community for this communal practice of healing was therefore motivated by the absence of safety many women activists experienced in their own homes or residential spaces. This was evident in different ways across the descendant narratives, with select violences occurring within the women activists' homes, whilst others took place in the broader community. All violences however suggest that whilst apartheid limited black men's political and economic power, the narratives reflect the extent to which it promoted their power over black women as perpetual minors (Ngcobo, 2012). Whilst this power and control dictated the boundaries of women's economic and political power, it also promoted the insignificance of their vulnerability to violence and sexual exploitation.

Though select narratives spoke of kind and nurturing paternal figures, many either emphasised the absence of a paternal figure within their homes or the presence of patriarchal violence.

I had to heal from that, of "Where are men?"

(Descendant 16, II, page 19, line 554)

I can only ask myself what went through her life, because I think Ma wasn't white enough to be her father's child.

(Descendant 17, FI-1, page 4, line 85)

Though their experiences may be rooted in alternate expressions of apartheid legislation, it translated into similar experiences of parental loss and the confusion of this betrayal. Different disorientating feelings existed among those who experienced violence from paternal figures who stayed. Though some of these were understood under the guise of discipline, others were recognised as abuse.

...that old man is very strict, and he was very fast at hitting a child.

(Descendant 12, II, page 6, line 178)

Coloured, I believe, but actually thrown out of the police force for being too brutal. And his response to having a very, very dark-skinned child was internally, very racist.

(Descendant 1, II, page 5, line 141)

She was sexually molested by her cous…her uncle. Something that she only spoke about now, like what, five years ago, uhm…

(Descendant 16, II, page 7, line 223)

Though the violences narrated took on different forms, a commonality shared across the varied forms of violences is the violence of silencing. An extensive array of research has demonstrated the expectation of silence associated with childhood sexual abuse (Chandran et al., 2018; Díaz, 2018; Reid et al., 2014; Vaillancourt-Morel et al., 2019). Though research demonstrates that silencing is promoted across various structures (Birchall & Choudhry, 2022; Knickmeyer et al., 2010; Towns & Adams, 2016), the descendant narratives specifically implicate the family and the community. This is evident when Descendant 8 (II, page 6, line 171) shared about her grandmother's response to her mother's rape, *"my grandmother denied, up until …up until now denied that that happened".* In speaking of her own experiences, Descendant 15 (II, page 11, line 351) however implicates the community as a whole in concealing childhood sexual abuse; *"Sexual assault is not an issue in my community, it's not an issue, these things happen, and it's not an issue in coloured communities, these things happen, people are being told, whatever you experience is part of your experience, part of life, these things happen. It's not normal, we've normalised the abnormal".* The descendant's words *"we've normalised the abnormal"* mirrors the sentiment of rape as "*for nothing*". Shame and silence are counterparts in gender-based violence (McCleary-Sills et al., 2016; Murray, 2017).

Reporting an act of normality is therefore highlighted as deviance, which will attract shame. Similarly, it may be argued that South Africa's incidence of gender-based violence and femicide may be attributed to the lack of support from family, community and religious society (Rasool, 2012). Women's accounts mirror wider socio-cultural discourses that endorse intimate partner violence, reinforcing women into marginalised positions. Unsilencing, is most often met with anger and exclusion by family members (Rasool, 2012). This hostility extends to the broader social and legal structures (Gqola, 2021), affirming that silencing is embraced as individual and collective culture in response to patriarchal forms violations and violence.

Bearing cognisance that this culture is an implication of all South African timescapes active in the present, cautions a reading of gender-based violence that observes its contingency on intersecting configurations of power that are tied to historical, political, and material fractures of our colonial legacies (Kiguwa & Stevens, 2021). Tamale (2020b) advocates that violence is fuelled by Africa's sociopolitical order and that such cultures can only be shifted through a radical transformation of the gendered social structures. Extending on Fanon's conceptualisation of psychopolitics, Kiguwa and Stevens (2021) argue that the trauma, racial alienation, and toxic gendering of society within coloniality are manifested in a neurotic construction of the psyche. Though Fanon (1963) applied *"the only violence is the settler's; but soon they will make it their own"* in the context of the coloniser and the colonised, it is important to interrogate its gendered manifestation within the psyche of the colonised in the present timescape. The attendance to violence can, however, not be explored in the absence of interrogating the epistemic silence that accompanies gendered violence as a dehumanising historic encounter (Segalo & Fine, 2020). Most of the narratives focused on the prevalence of violence experienced within the broader community. Select descendant narratives suggest that this vulnerability may, to some extent, have fuelled the women anti-apartheid activists' motivation to engage in resistance politics.

> *... the fact that my mom was raped and sexually assaulted as a teenager, and somehow her recovery became a catalyst to her involvement in the movement…*
>
> *(Descendant 8, II, page 6, line 166)*

> *I think it was very difficult because part of her struggle was how difficult it was to be a woman in South Africa without abortion, without contraception and the responsibility of, you know, falling pregnant, being left, and so there was a lot of shame associated with aspects of her past which, I think, may have been a bit slightly tied up with her struggle story.*
>
> *(Descendant 1, II, page 5, line 126)*

In a socially constructed world that is seemingly framed on racial difference, the descendant narratives speak of struggles frequently discounted during apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa (Bridger & Hazan, 2022). The prevalence of childhood sexual assault is evident across several of the descendant narratives, though Descendant 8 specifically associates her mother's political involvement as part of her recovery. It may be suggested that her mother may have

sought the necessity to seek out agency and control through activism to rebel against the patriarchal system that deemed her as safe to violate. In reading the available literature on women anti-apartheid activists, it is evident that physical and sexual violence was unexceptional across their lives (Bridger, 2021; Magadla, 2023). As per the narratives shared in this research, this was evident irrespective of life stage or occupying the position of young scholar or comrade (Magadla, 2023). It is therefore not surprising that women anti-apartheid activists were motivated towards intersectional activism, beyond anti-racism. Thereby introducing abortion, childcare, contraception, domestic violence, maternity, sexual harassment, and campaigning against rape and violence against women into political discourse (Meer, 2005). It is, however, contended, that whilst women may have sought out political activism through a collective to enable both justice and healing, patriarchal and colonial ideology was not absent in the respective liberation movements. Noting the descendants' recollections on biased treatment within political structures, it is unsurprising that research has documented the disapproval of gender-based initiatives in the broader anti-apartheid movements, prioritising race-based emancipation (Hassim, 1991; Meer, 2005).

> *... they would be with the men on everything that was supposed to be done. But when it is time for women to also go in leadership, and all that, men would always see themselves going first and leaving women aside and all that. And they would just pick which women must come in, and they would just cause instability amongst women, to say; I am being preferred and all that.*
>
> *(Descendant 12, II, page 9, line 242)*

> *... she used to say, their voices were not like - they used to - if they've got a suggestion – they can suggest something, but sometimes you would see that that suggestion was not taken seriously, just because it came from a woman.*
>
> *(Descendant 6, II, page 7, line 177)*

> *Men were not ready in terms of acknowledging women as intellectuals, acknowledging women as their equal, not even like you know, in the sense of being a comrade, but just being intellectually equal, they were not prepared at that stage to do that.*
>
> *(Descendant 15, II, page 6, line 201)*

The descendants' extracts support postulations regarding the conditional acceptance of women into political movements and the extent to which it compromised their politicised gender identities (Bridger, 2021; Ramphele, 2013), as well as gendered solidarity. While affirming that many leaders who opposed racial oppression have tended to ignore or reinforce the institutions of gendered oppression (Tamale, 2020b). The widespread political requirement to prioritise resistance against the race-based project facilitated the maintenance of patriarchal domination and women's subjugation in decision-making processes (Hassim, 1991). The narratives suggest that the expectation to mobilise was concurrent with this patriarchal expectation of silencing and subservience. These are sentiments echoed by the participants included in Bridger's (2021) research, where men framed women as ignorant, and women felt silenced. Thereby supporting the associations between gender, silence and power (Guzana, 2000; Knowles, 2015), which maps women's silence within a patriarchal landscape (Kitch, 1987). It is suggested that these interlocking dynamics inform the "*instability amongst women*" as suggested by Descendant 12, or as *"retarding the process because they fall into, they fall into the trap"* as expressed by Descendant 15 (II, page 7, line 231). This demonstrates the double bind imposed on women (Gaunt, 1990), leaving them at consistent risk of demotion, with resistance to demotion promoting possible rivalry.

Whilst an initial reading of available literature suggested the practice of erasing women's contributions in the aftermath of conflict, resistance, or liberation politics (Henshaw, 2020; MacKenzie, 2009), the descendant narratives suggest that silencing is not a post-conflict phenomenon. The descendant narratives instead expose the patriarchal expectation for women to remain silent enough to attain some form of adequacy. This suggests that women's adequacy can only be found in a form of social death, in which their existence is only measurable in response to patriarchal expectations. To speak would draw attention to deviance, whilst silence accepts social death. Both options culminate in a diminished humanity. It is therefore surmised that women anti-apartheid activists were not simply disremembered in the aftermath of the liberation struggle. It is contended that they were consistently challenged with the requirement of silencing and exclusion in their mandate as activists. The disremembering of women anti-apartheid activists in the present is therefore a mere repetition of the silencing many endured as comrades. Thinking specifically of young black women, given that *"children were being killed, children were being detained*" (Descendant 12, II, page 10, line 279), raises the question as to what extent women's gendered positionalities posited them as disposable objects. Especially in light of their diminished humanity. Holding in mind Descendant 12's (II, page 9,

line 242) statement that "*they would be with the men on everything that was supposed to be done*" conveys a sense of labour, which without equal recognition may be regarded as exploitation. This postulation is supported by Descendant 6 and Descendant 15's extracts that convey a disregard for women's voices or intellect. This may suggest that drawing women into action was most likely founded on the need for human resources (Enloe, 2000), rather than a recognition of women's political agency and capacity.

Inconvenienced by these additional constraints, it is unsurprising that the women's mobilisation did not challenge the patriarchal relations of domination (Hassim, 1991). Given that the national liberation struggle was misaligned with gender-based violations (Hassim, 1991), it is not implausible to surmise its alignment with the colonial tenet ascribing the disposability of black women's bodies. Bridger (2021) further contends that even when speaking the language of gender equality in public, the beliefs voiced and actioned countered these declarations. Bringing to mind women's disposability as slaves during slavocracy and domestic workers during apartheid evokes concerns about womens' valuation as activists and combatants. Deemed as an unnecessary surplus by the colonial gaze (Baderoon, 2018), it is suggested that black women may have been considered expendable by both the white male gaze and the black male gaze. The male gaze and its panoptic power are, however, not solely focused on evaluating the potential of feminine goodness based on women's capacity to be '*silent enough*' but also sustain women's sexualisation. Reflecting on Descendant 3's (II, page 8, line 204) previously mentioned recollection of memories shared of rape, and its extension "*after you slept with me, I am all of a sudden dirty again*" (II, page 8, line 209) epitomises the sexualising white male gaze. Drawing attention to the sexualisation and its violence projected onto black women's bodies, whilst preserving the moral and racial superiority of the white man (Sharpley, 1994; Sharpley-Whiting, 1999). Borrowing from Fanon for an analysis of Sarah Baartman as the iconography of the excluded black female body, Sharpley-Whiting (1999) describes this as the precarious position of being a *seen invisibility.* It is argued that this *seen invisibility* was adopted by the black male gaze in the liberation movement, given the disregard of women's intellect and voice whilst projecting sexual desires onto them.

> *She said, you know sometimes men they can be abusive. Once they see that you've got that thing, they can even - because they do harassment they can try to even sexually harass you, just because you want a position.*
>
> *(Descendant 6, II, page 10, line 284)*

> *The only thing about a woman that was respected and I'm sorry if I'm blunt, it's the thing between your legs, that's the thing you were respected for, what you can offer me as a woman, not what your, not you, opening your mouth and voicing your opinion. No matter how good your opinions were, no matter how many times you made sense politically, you were still not respected.*
>
> *(Descendant 15, II, page 6, line 187)*

Whilst Descendant 6 speaks of the risk of sexual violence, Descendant 15 suggests a sexualising male gaze that confines women's value to sex. The descendant narratives are reminiscent of women's exploitation and the expectation of sexual services to secure employment in agricultural or factory spaces during apartheid (Cock, 1987; Groenmeyer, 2011). Echoing transactional sex practices rooted in slavocracy. This reinforcement of women as transactional objects has been translated across race, with the extension of patriarchal authority over black women extended to black men (Morrell, 1998). The narratives therefore demonstrated that the risk of gender-based violences existed across liberation movements during apartheid and has been sustained post-apartheid.

The prevalence of gendered subjugation or sexual violence within political movements has nevertheless been contested by select political actors, including women activists (Graybill, 2001; Magadla, 2015). Similarly, select descendants denied the possibility of any form of gendered biases or violations within movements, emphasising that their forebearers were *respected* as leaders. Despite these contestations, contradictions ultimately surfaced within these narratives. The exposure of these contradictions aligns with Bridger's (2021, p. 96) findings, where both women and men activists initially described a *"utopian space of gender equality"*. Despite the initial resistance, Bridger's (2021) research ultimately uncovers not only the male activists' discriminatory views but also exposes political spaces as sites of women's exclusion, silencing, sexual coercion and violence. Speaking specifically of the ANC and MK, Magadla (2023) reports that women dreaded the possibility of being identified as "traitors" if they reported sexual assault. Magadla's (2023) research findings provide clarity as to why select descendants included in this research inquiry may have been defensive in emphasising their forebearers as *respected* leaders rather than acknowledging any form of gendered experiences. It is surmised that initial defensive narratives served to detract from a discourse that may undermine the political significance of their forebearers' contributions. Silencing "sex", "sexuality" and shame aligns with the cultural ideology of respectability (Marias, 2022),

thereby requiring a silencing of the accompanying assault. This imposition confines women to single-axis identity politics, denying the possibility of intersecting interpretative truths across intersecting systems of oppression (Carastathis, 2014; Kobo, 2019). It is suggested that these phenomena contribute to the silencing of women's trauma, represented by the belief that women's exposure to gendered assault and women's power as political change agents cannot co-exist within one reality. Thereby, requiring women to choose between representing an imagery of agency and power, or being restrained to the shame most often associated with sexual violence or gendered violations (See Fleming & Kruger, 2013; Murray, 2017). The descendants may therefore have hesitated against contributing to a discourse of victimhood and risk further silencing their forebearers' contributions. This fear may have been heightened given that several of the descendants expressed their existing frustrations about the disremembrance of their forebearers' contributions. It is therefore proposed that the descendants' initial resistance was a means to protect their forebearers from shifting from a space of disremembrance to a space of recollection grounded exclusively in victimhood.

Political discourse has in this way benefitted from pathologising women's oppression. Socialising women to experience a sense of shame in response to the power exercised over women by men (Rush, 1996). Sharpley-Whiting (1999) clarifies black women's subjugation as objects of the male gaze and their reconstruction into the masculine system of representation. This remains a mostly uncontested practice, given the ways Western knowledges, which includes Freudian psychology, has theorised sexual violence and trauma. Seeking fault in the individual woman, rather than in the systemic violence, has encouraged women to adapt to the gendered expectations of their contexts. Translated within contexts of conflict, such as Sierra Leone this has included women marrying their rape perpetrators to prevent shame and exclusion (Shepler, 2002 cited by MacKenzie, 2016). Within the South African context, this has included a defensive denial of sexual assault and an assurance of consent by former women combatants "*even if you were young*" (Magadla, 2015, p. 396). These narratives are, however, contested by forms of unsilencing, which include the narratives shared by Thandi Modise (Modise & Curnow, 2000) and Nita Nombango Mazibuko (Graybill, 2001; Oboe, 2007) as former MK members. Conveying not only narratives of sexual violences but also processes of successful intentional silencing (Graybill, 2001; Krog, 2001). The threatening silencing experienced by Nita Nombango Mazibuko after her testimony at the TRC suggests that even though women may grasp that they can hold multifarious positionalities as political change agents, as well as humans who were sexually violated, the power structures facilitating political

discourse disable the full realisation of intersectional positionalities. This sustains and strengthens gendered discourse that constrains women to socially constructed hierarchies within activism, conflict, and the post-conflict setting. The latter not only serve to inform a redacted historical archive but have translated into a systemic intergenerational inheritance that promotes physical and sexual violences against women as a nothingness.

Despite these barriers, the systemic intersectional inheritance of racialised gender constructions in response to the patriarchal male gaze, and its interlocking association with sexualising and violence is not immune to disruption. This has been evidenced by a multitude of women across all timescapes, including Aurora, Andy Kawa, Sheila Masote, Thandi Modise and Nita Nombango Mazibuko, as well as the descendants who were able to engage the complex duality of their forebearers' agency and power in addition to their exposure to violence. It is posited that promoting an intersectional lens of multivarious positionalities may facilitate shedding imposed pathology and shame, whilst encouraging a realisation that experiences of violence and trauma, can coexist with power and agency. Women's power and agency are instead subject to erasure and silencing to safeguard 'protection discourse' that portrays men as the protectors of women (Shekhawat, 2015). Patriarchal dominance is thereby sheltered from bearing witness to women's capacity to be the protectors of men and future generations. The descendant narratives however confirm the fallacy of 'protection discourse" across most interactions. Highlighting this fallacy presents a further threat to patriarchal dominance, given that gendered violences are likely to have increased restrictions within contexts that refuse to contain it in silence. It is hoped that it may ultimately be recognised that one truth does not need to be taboo and remain compliant with discursive expectations of gendered respectability, but that its unsilencing has the potential to rupture dominant subjugating discourse and practice.

11.3 MOTHERHOOD: SHEDDING THE SEXUALISING GAZE IN PROMOTING BLACK LOVE AND UBUNTU

> *Desire for knowledge, and thus mastery of blacks and women, led to the creation of racist-sexist ideologies, images (sexual savages and prostitutes), and institutions (slavery and motherhood) to produce and sustain the illusion of realism, of absolute truth, thereby effecting mastery of otherness.*
>
> *(Sharpley-Whiting, 1999, p. 6)*

Motherhood is the most common position assigned to women within discursive networks related to war and conflict (Coulter, 2011). This has included extensive interrogation of its

constraints within political discourse (Coulter, 2011; Hassim, 1991, 1993; Magadla, 2023). An area in need of further interrogation is the extent to which motherhood as a political discursive construction is founded on a dominant discourse that conceptualises women in association with biology and sexuality. This includes the extent to which the positionality of motherhood has been constructed as an extension of gendered and sexualised identity. In search of alternate possibilities, this interrogation promotes the decentring of Western hegemonic ideology on race and gender, whilst recentring and repossessing African Ubuntu philosophy (Tamale, 2020b). This includes the potential of Ubuntu/Botho as an Afro-Feminist Decolonial pedagogy (Freire et al., 2024), given that the embedded Afro-moral traditions hold the capacity to address black women's subjugation (Tamale, 2020b).

In heeding Tamale's call, this subtheme sought to appraise women's political resistance through the lens of *Black Love* and Ubuntu/Botho. Women's roles in political resistance have been sporadically explored across various contexts and frameworks. The colonially informed gendered construction of conflict, politics and power has evoked varied tensions in trying to make sense of women's agency and role in political resistance. This has in turn contributed to wide-ranging tensions and critiques. These have included contested presentations of women in auxiliary or support functions or through the lens of motherhood (Healy-Clancy, 2017b; Magadla, 2023; Thomas & Wood, 2018). Additionally, recent literature has drawn attention to the neglected recognition of women's capacity for violence (Shekhawat, 2015). However, the earliest mythologies of women and political conflict have embedded women's violence as an afterthought - bound to the political ideals of men, particularly men of sexual interest (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015). Over time, this has been coupled with mothering instinct as a "stronger motive" and therefore surmising any form of women's political violence as emotional and irrational (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015). It is suggested that these arguments and tensions are evoked in response to interrogating women's agency with dominant colonially informed discourses underscoring masculinity or patriarchy. As such, understanding and remembering women's political resistance is at risk of being assessed predominantly through lenses reiterating opposition to coloniality, patriarchy or hegemonic masculinity. Thereby risking the neglect of an understanding underpinned by African-centred knowledges and philosophy, appropriate to the South African context. Ubuntu epitomises one of the most resonant Indigenous moral concepts to encourage meaning-making of the complexities of identity in the aftermath of colonisation (Peterson, 2019). This is despite the increased tensions surrounding Ubuntu as a misappropriated construct in South African public and political discourse since its

use by the TRC (Peterson, 2019). Thus, *Black Love* is introduced as an ally of Ubuntu and its association with Peterson's quest to recover Black intellectual and cultural legacies, as presented by Kiguwa (2024). The emphasis on *Black Love* leans into the "*recovery of marginalized, distorted, and erased histories and biographies*" (Kiguwa, 2024, p. 2), which represents the focus of this thesis and its attendance to the disremembering of women anti-apartheid activists. This *Love* defies the gendered conceptualisation of emotion and fantasy in public discourse, which confuses cathecting with loving (hooks, 2000). A distortion promoted by the capitalist world (Che Guevara cited by Freire, 1996). It instead represents a combination of praxis that mirrors Ubuntu as a moral philosophy that requires defiance of the greed of patriarchy, capitalism and power. Limited to a brief elucidation within the boundaries of this thesis, love is articulated as the work of "*care, affection, recognition, respect, commitment, and trust, as well as honest and open communication*" (hooks, 2000, p. 5). Similarly, the scope of this discussion will not encompass a defence of Ubuntu and its roots in African ontology; it will instead borrow from Peterson (2019) in promoting that the claims and meanings related to Ubuntu are less significant than the work it encourages. Centring black women anti-apartheid activists' voices gives a clear expression of their work in the national liberation struggle, its misalignment with the male gaze and its alignment with the axiological, epistemological and ontological principles of Ubuntu.

Motherhood, and its iterations of symbolic or public motherhood, were embraced by many women anti-apartheid activists in the history of the national liberation struggle (Healy-Clancy, 2017a). Though select authors have labelled this as collusion with patriarchy (Walker, 1995), an alternative possibility is that some women activists may have experienced some form of reparation in owning constructions related to motherhood and *Black Love*. This argument is founded on the possibility, that as with this research inquiry, many activists may have been domestic workers and confined to ideologies of their domesticity and roles as surrogate mothers to the white children residing in the households they served (Carby cited by Gaitskell et al., 1983). Occupying a maternal function towards black youth, in service of the national liberation struggle may have alleviated the tensions associated with their prescribed surrogacy in service of apartheid. It is nonetheless recognised that although "*Motherhood provided the enabling framework to draw masses of women into various forms of collective action"* (Hassim, 2018, p. 898) it was not founded on recognising women's political agency and capacity. This is evident with the application of maternal discourse emphasising caregiving, as opposed to the discourse of masculinity in association with militarism as applied to motivate

men's involvement (Enloe, 2000). This infers *othering* women from the onset of their positionality as political agents. Given that motherhood in its association with political conflict is often associated with care work (Vastapuu, 2023), its conceptualisation as an extension of the male sexualising gaze is often overlooked.

> *… realistically, it's a man's world, you know, and, um, women have either been seen to fulfil a certain role, um, in terms of, and that is still in the kitchen behind counters, you know, with the aprons on, and whether you like it or not, when you become part of political movements, you will see it…*
>
> *(Descendant 15, II, page 2, line 53)*

Research demonstrates the extent to which motherhood in contexts of conflict extends beyond the care of young combatants to the care of male combatants across a range of domestic and sexual obligations (Coulter, 2011; Vastapuu, 2023). Applying the term "motherhood" may therefore be in service of concealing the gendered and sexual construction of being a woman in conflict. A similar risk was evident in the analytic reading of the transcripts. Normative discourse risked a lexical demarcation of thematic representations splitting mentions of childhood sexual abuse, the male sexual gaze and symbolic motherhood as opposed to recognising discursive networks. Recalling the theoretical contributions by Rush (1996) draws the links between these practices in socialising women into the positions of wives and mothers. The recollections of women activists' exposure to gendered and sexualised constructions should therefore not be absent in the contextual reading of extracts demarcating motherhood.

As evident in the narratives shared below, the discursive network worked towards the production of the symbolic mother, irrespective of biological motherhood. Thus, producing an alternative obligation to having children. Within the context of conflict, this translated into the patriotic mother and her obligation to the public collective.

> *… the young men and women who would like to join the struggle, who would go up. They would come and stay at our home, for whatever period of time, two, two to three weeks, until they find their way through where they would go, they'll stay with us at home, and it was my mother's responsibility. And in most cases, you would find that they will just come with nothing, just themselves. And she would buy them clothes, food, everything and treat them as, […] she would treat*

them like their own and give them that love and everything, and she would, until they, they moved on.

(Descendant 13, II, page 11, line 301)

But she welcomed them, because she knows there is something - that maybe he don't have a place to stay, or maybe he doesn't have money, something to eat, then she used to cook with a big pot there, for the children and the people that [were] walking around in the house. We didn't know that there was soldiers that were staying here. We didn't know about them. That was 1985. But we didn't know. And then we just take them like brothers and sisters.

(Descendant 9, II, page 2, line 43)

The descendant narratives demonstrate that despite being situated in scarcely resourced communities based on their race and occupying the most economically vulnerable position based on their racialised gender, the call for public motherhood required women to fund the anti-apartheid movement, irrespective of their financial constraints.

The call to provide care extended beyond the home and community settings, extending into the field of conflict and detention, as per Descendant 1 and Descendant 20's narratives below.

****, who had been an 18-year-old girl in prison with *** (mother), and I think *** (mother) had looked after her in a really maternal way. I guess something I hadn't quite mentioned was that *** (mother) had a lot of young people, um, that she took under her wing and mothered, and, but as long as it was at a distance. Real emotional intimacy she couldn't cope with. So, there were a lot of young people who were very much like her children, that is quite funny actually, but had become her protégés, I suppose.*

(Descendant 1, II, page 17, line 518)

Everyone called her Ma, and I know in '86 when she was incarcerated with a whole lot of other people. Um, we've often been told what a mother she was and what a support structure she was to the ladies [in detention] at the time.

(Descendant 20, II, page 12, line 292)

Given that Descendant 1's narrative emphasises the absence of emotional intimacy, it is wondered whether the political mentorship provided was spontaneously appraised through a discursive lens dictating motherhood based on gender, rather than considering alternate political positionalities. This may suggest a systemic internalisation of political discourse that constrains black women to political objectives framed solely on their gender. An expectation of emotional intimacy suggests discursive alignment with mainstream psychology's valuation of the bad mother (Gibson & Beneduce, 2017; Parker, 2014c). Psychological discourse informs political discourse by imposing motherhood as a representation of the morality of society and the state (Skott-Myhre, 2015). This includes the ambiguity of maintaining respectability in terms of sexuality, whilst remaining sexually available to the 'right' man (Nagel, 2019). Possibilities of either delinquency or virtue therefore reside within the competence and morality of the mother. Within the South African context, the apartheid state expected the good black mother to raise compliant racialised children (Healy-Clancy, 2017b), whilst the national liberation struggle expected a good black woman who aligned with the patriarchal ideals of public motherhood (Hassim, 2018). It is suggested that political discourse such as symbolic motherhood, public motherhood and the patriotic mother projected an expectation for women to be responsible for the race-based project, rather than prioritise gender-based struggles. It is however contended that a true race-based project would have encompassed all associated intersectional positionalities. Demanding the necessity to recognise that race is inseparable from gender and sexuality, and the "*colonial constructions of a binary, hierarchical, sex/gender system, incorporating all "women" into one "racialized" group or another*" (Tamale, 2020b, p. 6). In the absence of acknowledging the intersections of capitalism, patriarchy and power, it is contended that the national liberation movement may possibly have been a mere struggle between black and white masculinities. Thus, providing clarity on why gender-based violence and femicide continue to thrive in post-apartheid South Africa.

As such, whilst public and symbolic motherhood facilitated various political ends (Healy-Clancy, 2017a), South African feminist concerns were not without merit. Though motherhood should in no way be conceptualised as submissive or passive (Walker, 1991), especially given the different constructions of motherhood (Hassim, 1993) it is posited that it has not translated into collective action towards gendered concerns in post-conflict South Africa. It is suggested that a hegemonic political framing founded on motherhood may have placed limiting constructions on black women activists' political identities and positionalities in a way it would not have done for constructions of fatherhood. The construction of motherhood elicits tensions

because of the dominant discourse projected onto it, which espouses colonial and patriarchal meaning and an assignment to the construction of gender. Subsequently, motherhood does not elicit the same discursive symbolism evident in literature emphasising fatherhood, founding fathers – and 'Father of a Nation'. Literature across various political contexts has focussed considerably on the 'Father of a Nation' (Christiansen, 2007; Hearn, 2002; Koch, 2016; Nagel, 2019). A review of this literature demonstrates an absence of tension in aligning patriarchal, paternal, or masculine discourse with fatherhood, instead suggesting synergy in the discourse related to politics and militancy (Nagel, 2019). As such, 'Father of a Nation' is adopted as normative within political terrains. Koch (2016, p. 331) highlights the extent to which *"Fathers are nationalistically remembered"*. It is therefore surmised that motherhood becomes problematic because its construction coincides with an acceptance of embedded patriarchal assumptions. Interrogating motherhood within the constraints presented by Euro-Western knowledges is likely to consistently demarcate the limits applied to political motherhood, eliciting a necessary reframing within African and Decolonial discourse.

Beyond the intent to embed this research inquiry within an African and Decolonial frame, rests an emphasis on encouraging a Humane Reformation project. *Ubuntu* represents the closest counterpart as a guiding principle of African notions of social justice (Tamale, 2020b), and restorative justice in the wake of colonialism (Peterson, 2019). Fanon advocated for Indigenous participatory formations and their capacity to encourage transformation against colonialism, in contrast with Euro-Western knowledge (Gibson, 2011). Endorsing that Indigenous cultures carried values other than colonial cultures and that these values should be incorporated by those who bear them (Fanon, 2018). Beyond its sociopolitical emphasis on 'humanity' resides the opportunities it provides to interrogate the experience of alienation and its potential to disrupt and displace colonially informed discourses and knowledge (Peterson, 2019).

By leaning into the descendants' understanding of their forebearers' motivation in the liberation struggle the emphasis on humanity, morality and social justice comes to the fore. This includes an absence of concern or desire for power or prominence.

> *Yes, well my granny didn't see it as politics. She saw it as community work – fighting for your rights. I don't know – but a lot of people saw it as politics. Ons staan net op vir ons regte. Wat reg is is reg, en wat verkeerd is is verkeerd. (We are merely standing up for our rights. What's right is right, and what's wrong*

is wrong). […] I'm no leader, I'm no leader – I'm no community leader – I'm a servant of the community.

(Descendant, 17, FI-2, page 8, line 199)

She didn't do it for the fame, she didn't do it - she did it from the goodness of her heart, and for humanitarian reasons.

(Descendant 2, II, page 14, line 383)

She wasn't a politician. She was an activist. She believed in justice and peace and equality and and, and that's a lifelong fight.

(Descendant 20, II, page 16, line 411)

The extracts above reflect the core values of communitarianism, humanness and egalitarianism as embedded in Ubuntu as praxis (See Tamale, 2020b). Though communitarianism is not intended to work towards the neglect of the individual (Oelofsen, 2018), the extract below suggests some imbalance in maintaining individualism and communalism. Concerns regarding the neglect of individual freedom have attracted considerable critique regarding Ubuntu (Metz, 2011), which may be attributed to the central position occupied by the individual within the context of Africa's adopted modernity.

...you admire the will but at the same time, she's not taking care of herself. So, that continued selflessness that may in some small way benefit others but at the same time, it's just like, she's not taking care of herself. […]

(Descendant 8, II, page 8, line 215)

Reading the above extract through the lens of Ubuntu relies on its varied constructions and the associated proverbs. In this regard, it is suggested that within the Ubuntu humanist proverbs, "*I am because you are*" or "*A person is a person through other persons*" the balance of individualism is maintained given the interconnected philosophy (Tamale, 2020b). Whilst simultaneously rendering the necessity for balance between individualism and communalism a false dichotomy (Oelofsen, 2018). By applying Heidegger's ontological approach concerning the experience of *'being in the world'* Oelofsen (2018) emphasises the interdependence between the individual and the collective. Extending on this interdependence, it is postulated that the willingness to sacrifice on behalf of another is possible in the presence of love and is

only compromised in the face of the greed promoted by capitalism and patriarchy (hooks, 2000). The willingness to sacrifice should however not be observed as a consequence of communality, but as an active choice given that individuality and agency are not compromised.

> *She was one of those who - she did what she had to do, it had to be done. She wasn't expecting anything in return.*
>
> *(Descendant 2, II, page 9, line 252)*

> *But this is in my heart, this is what I wanted so much. Although I know that I am not getting a cent out of this, but I am still gonna stay and fight for what is right.*
>
> *(Descendant 5, II, page 11, line 295)*

Situated at the lowest tier of humanity, it is surmised that in a world in which black women were deprived of economic participation, home or land ownership, as well as outside the boundaries of patriarchal participation, they were free from the covetous ties associated with patriarchy, power and capitalism.

Reflecting on the positionality of the forebearers in the memories shared by the descendants, the humanitarian acts of service appear to have been activated despite the absence of communitarianism, humanness, egalitarianism and love, within their external worlds. To choose to practice love despite the reality of an unloving world accentuates a sense of agency and courage (Freire, 1996), moving against fear as the primary force that sustains subjugation and realises dehumanisation (hooks, 1986; 2000). As such, whilst love does not work in the interest of power, the labours of its work can be powerful (hooks, 1986). In so doing the praxis of love moves against alienation and separation, advocating instead for connection within the collective (hooks, 2000). The forebearers' acts of love and Ubuntu further represent their assurance that colonial times can be defied, given that their practice demonstrates confidence in a future absent of an unloving systemic inheritance. Appreciating the reality of these sacrifices threatens dominant political discourse, given the prevalent rhetoric that *Ubuntu/Botho* represents an idealistic impossibility. It is therefore necessary to interrogate the probability of such extreme altruism since even hooks (2000) contends that those who practice love do so with the hope that love will be returned to them. The emphasis on "*I am*" or "*A person*" in select proverbs suggests that whilst the practice of Ubuntu may not be for materialistic or financial gain it may have facilitated women activists in their journeys in search

of confirming their own humanity. Metz (2011, p. 537) contends that *"one can be more or less of a person, self or human being, where the more one is, the better. One's ultimate goal in life should be to become a (complete) person, a (true) self or a (genuine) human being".* Attaining assurance of humanity may therefore have presented a possible existential reward for many of the women activists.

For some women activists, this reward appears to have been associated with their religious beliefs. Referencing Boesak (1984), Peterson (2019) highlights the use of Ubuntu philosophy by Black Theology during apartheid South Africa. Though Ubuntu represents a moral theory rooted in African spirituality, the intersection with imported Christianity and its colonial tensions is not unexpected, given that Tamale (2020b) highlights the complexity of an entangled history. As such, whilst apartheid South Africa mobilised Christianity to support segregation by applying the story of the tower of Babel as a hermeneutical tool, Black Theology mobilised the teachings of Steve Biko (1996) and Black Consciousness (De Gruchy, 2006). The descendant narratives conveyed that the church was instrumental in mobilising political involvement across select women activists, as evident in the extracts below.

> *She spoke about her involvement and influence that the Christian student movement in her days had on her political consciousness.*
>
> *(Descendant 8, II, page 3, line 78)*

> *… we were conscientised about the country – that we are living in an unjust country, and as the Bible - and God doesn't want an unequal society.*
>
> *(Descendant 12, II, page 5, line 124)*

Providing clarity on the perceived altruism, select descendant narratives addressed how religious beliefs were associated with their forebearers' meaning-making of their political involvement.

> *Ma was never a person for accolades. Her thing was, I'm gonna get my thing from the Almighty.*
>
> *(Descendant 17, FI-1, page 14, line 431)*

> *Ek gaan my beloning in die hemel kry (I will receive my reward in heaven)*
>
> *(Descendant 18, FI-1, page 14, line 433)*

Also something I forgot to tell you is that she was, she was very religious, she loved her church, she was Catholic. And just her fairness in everything, her love for people, her love for what was right her love for fighting always, for what was right and fighting for everyone, not just for herself.

(Descendant 20, II, page 16, line 422)

Reading the extracts within a contextual vacuum may misalign the forebearers' political consciousness with Christianity. Consequently, disregarding that the Black Theology that informed their thinking was underpinned by the ethical and moral values of African tradition. This presents a further example of undoing African knowledge systems, whilst privileging colonial normativity. It is instead argued that any format of Christianity practised in apartheid or post-apartheid South Africa that focuses on an interconnected and common humanity is founded on the principles of African philosophy and Ubuntu. Shutte (2019) states that Christianity ordinarily occurs in a specific cultural context embedded within that respective worldview. Coloniality in South Africa however impeded this process intending to assume a Eurocentric application (Biko, 1996; Shutte, 2019). This included a violent attack on African Tradition as pagan and animalistic (Tamale, 2020b), under the guise of civilisation. Given the wide-ranging colonial ideology that emphasised African tradition as primitive, the role of African philosophy may have been a concealed discourse within liberatory Christian practice. Similarly, Black Theology as informed by Steven Biko's Black Consciousness facilitated a moral obligation to respond to black people's oppression. It is nonetheless noted, that even within this motivation, the emphasis on Black Consciousness, as opposed to Ubuntu, centred blackness at the core of the oppression. The extent of this neglect remains evident in South African Christian practice permitting a reading in which men hold authority over women (Nicolaides, 2015). This implies that although the women anti-apartheid activists' actions may have been informed by the ethics of care of Ubuntu, this has not been reciprocated within the broader liberation movement. Although the late Archbishop Tutu was one of the most renowned proponents of Ubuntu's embeddedness in the meeting of Black Theology and African Tradition, much of his focus appears to have been on reconciliation and the recognition that apartheid dehumanised the oppressor as well (Shutte, 2019). Given the race-based reconciliatory efforts, the unique platform provided to Ubuntu fell short of addressing social justice priorities related to both Afro-Feminist Decolonial pedagogy and black women's subjugation. As such, despite being avid implementors of Ubuntu, the myth of a single struggle ensured that women anti-apartheid activists continued to be neglected recipients of this practice.

Despite this neglect, the descendants' reflections demonstrated a certainty that their forebearers would have persisted despite experiencing this neglect and disremembrance in post-apartheid South Africa. The descendant narratives demonstrate that despite their disremembrance in post-apartheid South Africa, the women anti-apartheid activists were not concerned about themselves and were instead readying themselves to focus on the unchanged systemic and structural violences.

> *I think she did the right thing for who she was. And if she was here today, she would probably still be fighting.*
>
> *(Descendant 20, II, page 16, line 414)*

Recalling her mother's words, Descendant 5 shared the following.

> *I know the only thing that I am fighting for is for our country to be in excellent position when it comes to everything. Our land, our schools, jobs for our kids, without looking at them – because of the colour and all. So, if I know I am fighting for those things what is the point of changing an organisation, because I am still remaining – my reasons is that, it is not because I want a position.*
>
> *(Descendant 5, II, page 11, line 288)*

Women anti-apartheid activists' continued resistance in post-apartheid South Africa demonstrates a disinterest in personal acclaim, self-enrichment, and power. This further attests to their own internal drives and moral and political convictions rather than being persuaded by political party or capitalist agendas. Their continued actions in the political aftermath confirm that these women were not naïve in their initial pursuits for social justice. Their interests however lay elsewhere given that they were never in service for themselves as individuals, it was always clearly for the collective. Though it seems necessary to re-emphasise that the neglect of personhood or individuality is not a requirement of Ubuntu praxis, despite its emphasis on the collective (Oelofsen, 2018). It is however contested that the narratives do not imply individual neglect, but a recognition that the work of disalienation remains incomplete, which renders an exploration of the self-futile in the absence of human restoration. Within African philosophy, humanity encompasses the self, in terms of identity, experience in terms of history as well as the need to preserve our moral goodness (Peterson, 2019). Attending to the self may therefore be deemed an impossibility within a context that remains displaced and disrupted. In borrowing from Ngubane (1977), Peterson (2019) states that with African

philosophy good health extends beyond a healthy body and necessitates a harmonious context. Wellbeing can therefore not be attained before restoring order, where there has been disorder (Peterson, 2019). This understanding of African knowledge and Ubuntu, aligns with Fanion psychiatric teachings, along with more contemporary community and critical psychology orientated praxis. The latter theorising deviates from mainstream psychology in seeking pathology in the individual, by recognising that wellbeing is deeply informed by context. Ubuntu however extends beyond this, as evidenced by the women activists' actions, recognising that individual wellbeing cannot be sought in the absence of addressing the healing relevant to the collective. This healing is not restricted to the psychological domain of the intrapsychic or unconscious worlds but necessitates attendance to the neglected psychological realms borne from capitalism, patriarchy, politics and the abuse of power. It is surmised that the women activists' praxis mirrors the *Black Love* project emphasised by Kiguwa (2024). Demonstrating an enduring commitment to "*reclaim dignity and healing from traumatised histories*", whilst setting an example of the potential of African ontologies and epistemologies in seeking restoration and healing (Kiguwa, 2024, p. 13).

Understanding Motherhood through the African epistemologies of *Black Love* and Ubuntu, provides an alternative analysis of the descendants' recollections shared at the onset of this subtheme. In doing so, it detracts from the dominant discourse of "Motherhood" but attends to the construction of "Humanhood". Though the forebearers' genders attracted the classification as "Mothers" aligned with hegemonic discourse, it is evident that their outward gaze and praxis were consistently focused on humanity, emphasising dignity and social justice. Whether providing shelter, clothing and food to young combatants or endowing encouragement to younger activists during detention, their actions provide an understanding of a love praxis free from gendered construction. The lens of motherhood is therefore not one that all women activists may have chosen for themselves. It has nonetheless been projected onto them, with the assumption that they present a homogenous group. It is a projection that carries various constructions, which obscures the significance of their contributions to the national liberation struggle. This includes silencing the reality that in the absence of a battlefield, homes served as one of the most significant sites of resistance, and women optimised their gendered placement in service of political action.

11.4 CONCLUSION

The promotion of *Black Love* and Ubuntu does not argue for a single perspective and instead posits that all arguments are likely to hold relevance contingent on context, timeframe and

positionality. It should therefore not be mistaken as a blanket application, but rather an African-centred lens to the multiplicity of women and their experiences in and post-conflict. Thereby cautioning a reading of *Black Love* and Ubuntu that promotes a reading of women as inherently peace-loving and incapable of violence. Neither love nor violence are obedient to hegemonic gendered constructions. On the contrary, *Black Love* and Ubuntu serve to provide an understanding of women's agency divorced from hegemonic constructions of womanhood and motherhood. The argument towards multi-axial possibilities remains particularly relevant given that the current South African context remains subject to coloniality. Thus, recognising that hegemonic patriarchal lenses represent a more prevalent praxis and that a praxis founded on love does not ensure an avoidance of conflict or betrayal (hooks, 2000). As such, where the praxis of Ubuntu continues to exist it remains threatened, particularly in terms of capitalist assimilation and exploitation.

> *When anyone thinks a woman who serves "gives 'cause that's what mothers or real women do," they deny her full humanity and thus fail to see the generosity inherent in her acts. There are lots of women who are not interested in service, and even look down on it. The willingness to sacrifice is a necessary dimension of loving practice and living in community. None of us can have things our way all the time. Giving up something is one way we sustain a commitment to the collective wellbeing. Our willingness to make sacrifices reflects our awareness of interdependency.*
>
> *(hooks, 2000, p. 142)*

Though separated by context, hooks' (2000) teaching on love, humanity, collective well-being and interdependency aligns with the ethos of Ubuntu. Affirming love as a neglected construct in political discourse, despite its potential to move against domination and oppression, whilst moving towards freedom (hooks, 2006). Recognising that women activists' service as political agents embodied the ethos of *Black Love* and Ubuntu, simultaneously highlights the irony that their efforts towards disalienation and restoring humanity have been met by gendered alienation and a redaction of their humanity. The lens of *Black Love* and Ubuntu presents a possible conduit for remembering women's political resistance and its possibilities for systemic intergenerational restoration.

CHAPTER TWELVE: IN CLOSING

12.1 INTRODUCTION

This research inquiry served to gain an understanding of the consequences of apartheid as a colonial violence and its unacknowledged forms of human violations, the unacknowledged vicissitudes of trauma, as well as how these wounds may manifest intergenerationally. An African and Decolonial framing was critical to ensure a knowledge production positioned within a contextual and historical construction. In concluding this research inquiry, this chapter reviews the key research findings along with the surmised implications. In reflecting on the research outcomes, an assessment of the identified limitations is outlined, followed by postulations on how these may be overcome by future research endeavours.

12.2 SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

South Africa has been lulled into a state of national amnesia since the inception of the post-apartheid state. Processes such as the TRC-SA have entrenched this loss of memory in its mandate towards amnesty and reconciliation, accompanied by its neglect of truth. It may be contended that this loss of memory is a mere farce to avoid collective memorialisation and may be more accurately presented as a silencing to favour the avoidance of transitional justice and disruption to coloniality and its accompanying capitalist neoliberalist structures that continue to dictate black life. When remembering is permitted, it is distorted through a Euro-Western and patriarchal lens.

In the wake of this colonial continuity, an overarching theme of this research inquiry has revealed the relentless disruption across various spheres of the descendants' lives. This includes the disruption of home, family, womanhood and childhood, thus demonstrating the extent to which colonial violence emanates across black lives. The systemic and structural intergenerational implications are also conspicuously evident across locales specifying education, class and deprivation. Whilst the overarching theme is represented as ‘disruption,’ the application of a cylindrical epiphenomenal temporal lens suggests that the disruption of black life exists on a continuum. Borrowing from Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012), it is thus maintained that violence has disrupted black people's lived experiences across colonial and postcolonial milieus. The remnants of this continued disruption have subsequently evinced great intergenerational significance. This continuity has been immune to disruption, demonstrating the extent of colonial violence across the temporal in cultivating a unique historical trauma (Fanon, 2008). Hence, there is a recognised tension in presenting disruption within a context where disruption has existed as an unremitting continuity. Canham (2021) reflects on this

continuity and its implications on perpetual mourning, whilst this thesis serves as an appeal to attend to the perpetual colonial trauma circumventing the collective psyche and its implications across generations. Thus, reflecting an *entangled multiplicity* remnant from South Africa's vast historical landscape of colonial violence, occupation and subjugation.

Cognisant of psychopolitical subjectivities, the disruption explicated should not be read as a consequence of resistance politics, but rather as an evitable continuation of colonial violence and its systemic and structural derivatives. This includes the extent to which the disruption caused by colonial violence ruptures not only sociocultural and sociopolitical structures but also manifests psychopolitical repercussions. These have been vast, with colonialism and apartheid's violent ruptures evident on a fractured historical arc and the consequent inaccessibility of family narratives (Canham et al., 2020). The absence and erasure of individual and collective histories disrupt memory (Canham et al., 2020), promoting an enduring silence. The disruption of memory facilitates the erasure of colonial sins, whilst simultaneously hindering mourning, healing and reparation for the colonised.

Meeting the descendants facilitated an unsilencing of memories that remain accessible within this timescape. The narratives of the descendants demonstrate the extent to which apartheid, the anti-apartheid activism of their forebearers, and its associated penalties and losses, remain not only at the forefront of their minds but at the core of their meaning-making of their present-day lived experiences. The descendants meaning-making is however burdened by the South African context that appears to feign amnesia and promote political and national discourse that obligates them to process their trauma, loss, and mourning in silence. The descendants' trauma, loss, and mourning do not only extend to the experience of their women anti-apartheid forebearers and the neglected spaces they occupy in their post-apartheid timescape, but encompass losses of their own old childhood, identity, and sense of belonging. Their loss introduces an unreachable timescape that is only accessible through black mourning. Their black loss and black mourning represent appropriated opportunities in the wake of their disrupted childhood and education, and how this disruption has sustained their socio-economic and sociopolitical positionalities. While many of the women anti-apartheid activists have passed, the descendants remain behind to contend with the losses suffered by their forebearers alongside their own disappointment and loss. This includes sole accountability to resolve and repair the psychic inheritance of intergenerational trauma alongside their own traumatic experiences. Their narratives reflect that whilst some of this intergenerational inheritance is relational, the greater part of it remains systemic. This inheritance is aggravated by the matrices

of oppression attracted by their intersectional positionalities. Thereby emphasising that healing and restoration requires systemic and structural reform, rather than individual attention.

12.3 IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

Translating the research findings in service of memorialisation, restoration and healing is weighted by the necessity for a collective mission. There has been both ease and comfort in conceptualising trauma from an individualised pathological and biomedical paradigm, thereby requiring an individualised and biomedical intervention. Diverting from an individualised lens mandates recognition of psychosocial and psychopolitical aetiological underpinnings in the manifestation and maintenance of colonial violence and the trauma embedded within the colonial wound. Emphasis on the elimination of apartheid legislation has detracted from remnant coloniality, including, but not limited to the gendered project and its reciprocal collusion with Euro-Western patriarchal and capitalist hierarchical structures. Understanding both trauma and its aetiology as political, however, requires recognition that this can only be addressed through political will. The post-apartheid milieu has however observed consistent social, psychological and political resistance, attributed to an acceptance of internalised colonialism and its individualistic capitalist rewards.

Proposing possible interventions in the face of the apparent absence of political will is obscured given that it exists alongside power and capital – arguably the world's most resistant forces. The post-apartheid timescape has however evidenced that the community psychology concept of small wins (See Weick, 1984) has not been sufficient in addressing the myriad of psychosocial concerns existent in the aftermath of apartheid. This critique is offered despite the acknowledgement that South Africa presents a plethora of wicked problems (Niskanen et al., 2021). These are inclusive of violence, specifically gender-based violence, femicide (Enaifoghe, 2019; Enaifoghe et al., 2021) and racism (Maylam, 2017), as well as a multitude of systemic inequalities. This argument does not intend to undermine the varied ways select segments of society, including non-governmental originations have tried to facilitate community healing through collaborative arrangements and participatory action. It is nonetheless evident that much more is required. It is argued that any form of intervention would need to be founded on a contextual understanding and how this cultivates dual wickedness (Niskanen et al., 2021). Conceptualised as *"wickedness within wickedness"*, the concept of dual wickedness delineates how addressing psychosocial concerns requires a thorough understanding of history, politics, and power dynamics (Suleiman & Khakee, 2017). Relevant to both governmental and non-governmental organisations are concerns about how dual

wickedness is aggravated by external donors as an extension of colonialism (Suleiman & Khakee, 2017). An example of this aggravation was discussed earlier in this thesis in framing how the SA-TRC failed to explicate the role of colonial ideology in manifesting and maintaining the overall apartheid project, and the extent to which this presented a vulnerability to its mandate and practice being subject to colonial structuring (See Park, 2022; Roberts, 2020). Demonstrating the extent to which mourning and restoration are hindered when the initial processes of dehumanisation are not considered (Njovane, 2021). Despite the controversies associated with the SA-TRC, there have been limited efforts to revisit these processes, not disregarding the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR). Truth commissions elsewhere have demonstrated the possibilities of revisiting these processes and the extent to which it can aid unsilencing, memorialisation and reparation (See Rajevic, 2019b). Demonstrating that political will can act in the service of transitional justice through truth and memorialisation (Rajevic, 2019b). Political will, therefore, presents a particular risk, both in its absence and with biased intent. Specific to commemorative interventions presented by the state, opposition parties have charged the ANC with exploiting its power within the government to preserve its preferred version of history in the official memory archive (Marschall, 2010b, 2025). Dislocating truth by cultivating alternate forms of erasure.

Reflecting on the necessity for varied forms of symbolic and structured memorialisation, awakened the realisation that post-apartheid South Africa has mediated various forms of action. There has therefore not been an absence of interventions, but rather a difficulty in ridding coloniality in their conceptualisation and construction. For example, even though post-apartheid South Africa introduced various public holidays as a form of commemoration – these are phrased in mostly generic ways. It is therefore difficult to ascertain to what extent future generations are likely to easily verify the historical relevance of South Africa's Human Rights Day, Women's Day or Youth Day. Though these are mere ponderings, rather than proposals, it is noteworthy to observe the practices of other post-conflict or post-genocide societies. Though initially subject to its own silencing (Frie, 2017), Germany has in recent decades sought constant renewal of Holocaust remembrance whether in the form of national remembrance days, museums, or monuments (Harris, 2010). Of relevance is that the country has been more deliberate in its naming practices, with January 27th recognised as the official *Day of Memory/Remembrance of the Victims of National Socialism*, the anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz (Büttner & Suszkiewicz, 2016; Jikeli, 2020). Similarly, Rwanda has been precise with the presidential order determining April 7th as *Genocide perpetrated against*

the Tutsi Memorial Day. Beyond commemorating the day, Rwanda memorialises the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi for 100 days from April 7th to July 13th (Kayiteshonga et al., 2023). It is evident that the way national remembrance days and other forms of memorials are introduced through discourse can inform political practice. South Africa's attempts demonstrate a generic use of language, absent of perpetrator, violation and victim, and therefore absent of remembrance. To elucidate, Human Rights Day voids the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960, voids the PAC as the exclusive organiser to protest against pass laws (Marschall, 2010b, 2025) and discounts the human lives sacrificed. In applying Foucault's (1972) conceptualisation of discursive formations, which conceptualises discourse as "*practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak*", this argument is founded on the absence of specificity as well as the absence of the conditions of its specific existence. This demonstrates the extent to which discourse has the power and potential to crystalise practice into reality (Parker, 1990). The absence instead provides a silencing and blank screen onto which dominant political discourse can be projected. Marschall (2010, 2025) cautions that in promoting apartheid as a race-based project this political discourse erases class and gender from the official memory landscape. In so doing, even commemoration initiatives isolate, edit, and facilitate extensive gendered disremembering.

Whilst national remembrance days, monuments, or museums do not provide an overall response, they may serve as a critical starting point for collective memory. It may, more importantly, catalyse collective acknowledgement, which may provide the necessary validation for individual memory and mourning. The research findings alongside public discourse demonstrate that South Africa is not necessarily struggling with memory, but rather with acknowledgement. These two practices are entwined given that avoiding memory facilitates an absence of acknowledgement. There is therefore no denying that South Africa hosts a vast array of memorials, commemoration monuments, museums, and public statues (Marschall, 2010b, 2025). Whilst this cannot guarantee collective societal introspection, it is asserted that state practice and political discourse hold a hierarchical position that can serve as either a direct or indirect guide. The question is however to what extent these have been implemented with a similar ideology evident with the SA-TRC and the naming of national remembrance days. It is argued that this absence of thought and provocation has contributed to hate remaining unhindered and translating to overt violences associated with race, gender, sexuality, class, and other intersectional identities and positionalities. Racism remains alive, well, and thriving in South Africa, whilst gender-based violence and femicide continue to escalate. Ranging from

micro-aggressions to deadly hate crimes (April, 2021; Jidoun, 2024; Onishi, 2019), the prevalence of this violence demonstrates that the elimination of apartheid legislation did little to facilitate the admission of black life as fully human. Establishing that black people in South Africa remain the intentional recipients of collective aggression and racial hatred (Volkan, 2009b), which is aggravated when the perceived deviance of race, intersects with gender and sexuality. Applying the research findings in service of intervention, whilst acknowledging existent initiatives, would therefore draw on Tamale's (2020) recommendation of **re**claiming, **re**possessing and **re**constructing beyond the boundaries of coloniality.

Drawing on an understanding of the women anti-apartheid activists' actions through the lens of *Black Love and Ubuntu*, demonstrates the extent to which praxis may hold different meanings when understood through African philosophy. It also calls into question the extent to which post-apartheid memorialisation has remained aligned with Euro-Western practice, which divorces it from contextual relevance. Though remembrance days and monuments serve as a mere illustration for an amended approach to intervention, it remains critical to note that transgenerational and intergenerational transfer of memory relies on active practices of commemoration and remembrance (Marschall, 2010b, 2025). This implies intentional practice and symbolic ritual that can find full integration into the collective's patterns of commemoration (Marschall, 2010b, 2025). The concept of symbolic ritual is reminiscent of African practice and the use of ritual to pass down Indigenous wisdom (Simpson, 2017). Moving forward, only the collective can inform how this may be appropriately applied within the current timescape where African tradition and social patterns have suffered disruption in the wake of coloniality (Tamale, 2020b). This demands a participatory approach where the collective is included in consultation, decision-making, and administration processes.

12.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Section B: *Report on Analytic Process and Findings* represents an analysis of the data set in response to the research aim and questions. The in-depth individual interviews and family processes generated a large corpus of texts that presented varied themes that had the potential for further exploration. Although the thesis responded to the research aim and questions, the findings present a partial analysis of the available text. An exhaustive analytic process would have fallen outside the scope of this research inquiry.

The family interview processes spanned three generations and allowed for three different interview opportunities with the same descendant across different settings, along with varied

forms of communication between scheduled interviews. The opportunity to build rapport over an extended period significantly influenced the level of disclosure and unsilencing across various research-related interactions. The interactions with this descendant demonstrated the depth and breadth facilitated by a long-term researcher-participant relationship. This was one of the initial intents of this research inquiry, though it was difficult to facilitate additional family processes that would permit engagement over an extended period. Similarly, additional individual follow-up interviews may have been valuable. This may have provided an opportunity to reflect, as well as build rapport and trust within the researcher-descendant dyad. However, there was initial difficulty in reaching descendants and ensuring follow-through with confirmed interviews. The logistics of pursuing additional family interviews or individual follow-up interviews would have extended the duration of the study extensively.

The implementation of the inclusion criteria evoked questions related to exclusion throughout the research process. This includes an awareness of the exclusion experienced by women anti-apartheid activists and select people of colour in response to the research call. This was however dependent on the reading of the term 'black'. This has been discussed in Chapter Seven and its explication of the Research Methodology, though it remains important to acknowledge that the research excluded select voices of people who expressed interest in participating in the study based on the inclusion criteria. The delineation of race in terms of 'blackness' may have benefitted from a more extensive framing in the research call and participant information sheet. Similarly, whilst there is no awareness of people who may have experienced a sense of exclusion in response to gender identity, the construction of 'woman' may have required further clarification. Concerns of exclusion are of relevance to the overall Humane Reformation project. A more extensive application of the intersectional lens may have encouraged a more expansive interrogation of the conceptualisation of being 'woman'.

12.5 CONCLUDING REMARK: IN RECLAIMING OUR HUMANITY

The *entangled multiplicity* of South Africa's colonial violence and its recurrent coloniality in the present advocates for an urgent inquiry into remaining disremembered histories. Accompanied by this urgency is the necessity for this attendance to be informed by African and Decolonial informed knowledges, whilst recognising possible neglected intersectional experiences. This includes specific emphasis on how these neglected histories contribute to neglected memorialisation, healing, and reparation – thereby inadvertently contributing to the systemic intergenerational inheritance that informs the lived experiences of present-day South Africans and future generations. So much of South Africa's history presents a lost archive

amalgamated with distorted historical discourse. Neglecting the opportunity to attend to memory, memorialisation, and remembering across lived experiences and spaces already subject to national amnesia presents a vulnerability of elevating select human lives in favour of subjugating overall humanity.

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SECTION C

ADDENDUMS: DOCUMENTS AND DATA RELEVANT TO THE RESEARCH INQUIRY

The following section lists the respective information sheets and consent forms provided to prospective participants and participants for review. This section additionally includes the interview schedules and distress protocols employed by the researcher. The final document provides details regarding the ethical clearance received for this research inquiry.

APPENDIX A - PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET – INDIVIDUAL IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW

The silencing of women's trauma: Descendant's reflections on disremembered women anti-apartheid activists'

Dear Prospective Participant,

My name is Lynne Goldschmidt. I am a PhD student in Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. My supervisor is Professor Malose Langa. I am conducting a research study about the disremembering of the role of women in the anti-apartheid struggle. The study title is '*The silencing of women's trauma: Descendant's reflections on disremembered women anti-apartheid activists*'.

I am inviting you to take part in an interview. If you decide to take part, your participation in this research study will last about 60 minutes. The interview can take place either in person or online. The place and time of the interview will be agreed with you in advance.

With your consent, the interview will be audio-recorded. Recordings and transcripts will be saved on a password-protected laptop and will only be accessed by my research supervisor, Professor Malose Langa, and me. Both the recordings and transcripts will be destroyed approximately six years post the research.

During the research activity, I will need to ask for some personal information about you, including about your thoughts and experiences about your relative's involvement in the anti-apartheid struggle and its impact on the extended family. This will include your reflections on the memories shared with you by or about your relative as a woman anti-apartheid activist, as well as your thoughts about possible untold stories.

The interview will be confidential and anonymous. When I share the results of the research study, I will not include your name or anything else that could identify you. If you decide to take part in the research study, it should be because you want to volunteer. You do not have to take part. You can stop being in the study at any time. You do not have to answer any questions if you do not want to. You will not get any direct benefits if you choose to join the research study. You will not lose any services, benefits or rights you would normally have if you decide not to join. Taking part

in the research study will not cost you anything. You will not be paid for being in this research study.

Some of the questions asked may make you feel sad or upset. If this happens, I will stop the interview and continue another time, if you agree to this. If you need counselling services following the interview these are available free of charge at LifeLine (011 422 4242 / 0861 322 322) and SADAG (011 234 4837 / 0800 456 789) or the following registered psychologists can be contacted for an in person or online debriefing session: Esther Chunga (076 545 4138), Nicky Dawson (072 224 3988), Hayley Haynes-Rolando (082 816 8540) and Ruby Patel (082 045 0620).

This research study will be written up as a research report and associated publications. The report will be available on the university library website. If you would like to receive a summary of this report, I will be happy to send it to you.

If you have any questions during or afterwards about this research study, feel free to contact me or my supervisor on the details listed below. If you have any concerns or complaints about the ethical procedures of this research study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za.

Yours sincerely,

Lynne Goldschmidt

Researcher:
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APPENDIX B - PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET – FAMILY INTERVIEW

The silencing of women's trauma: Descendant's reflections on disremembered women anti-apartheid activists'

Dear Prospective Participant,

My name is Lynne Goldschmidt. I am a PhD student in Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. My supervisor is Professor Malose Langa. I am conducting a research study about the disremembering of the role of women in the anti-apartheid struggle. The study title is '*The silencing of women's trauma: Descendant's reflections on disremembered women anti-apartheid activists*'.

I am inviting you to take part in a Family Interview. If you decide to take part, your participation in this research study will last about 90 minutes.

The discussion can take place either online or in person. The discussion will be scheduled at a time and place convenient to all members of the family group. As descendants of a woman anti-apartheid activist, and as a group of family members, you will be asked to reflect on your relative's experiences in the anti-apartheid struggle and the possible intergenerational implications thereof on your extended family. This will include your collective recollections and reflections on the memories shared by or about your relative as a woman anti-apartheid activist, as well as your thoughts about possible untold stories

With your consent, the group discussion will be audio-recorded. Recordings and transcripts will be saved on a password-protected laptop and will only be accessed by my research supervisor, Professor Malose Langa, and me. Both the recordings and transcripts will be destroyed approximately six years post the research. Participation in the study is voluntary, and you have the right to withdraw, without penalty, at any time should you no longer wish to participate. You will in no way be advantaged or disadvantaged by choosing to participate or not participate in this study.

During the family group discussion, you need not answer any questions you consider to be too personal. Given the nature of a group process, your responses in the family group discussion will not be confidential. All members of the group will however be asked to agree to maintain the confidentiality of the process, though this cannot be guaranteed by the researcher.

When I share the results of the research study, I will not include your name or anything else that could identify you. Your identity will at no point be evident, other than to the members present at the family group discussion. If you decide to take part in the research study, it should be because you want to volunteer. You do not have to take part. You can stop being in the study at any time. You do not have to answer any questions if you do not want to. You will not get any direct benefits if you choose to join the research study. You will not lose any services, benefits or rights you would normally have if you decide not to join. Taking part in the research study will not cost you anything. You will not be paid for being in this research study.

This research study will be written up as a research report and associated publications. The report will be available on the university library website. If you would like to receive a summary of this report, I will be happy to send it to you.

If you have any questions during or afterwards about this research study, feel free to contact me or my supervisor on the details listed below. If you have any concerns or complaints about the ethical procedures of this research study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za.

Yours sincerely,

Lynne Goldschmidt

Researcher:
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APPENDIX C - PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET – INDIVIDUAL IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW POST FAMILY INTERVIEW

The silencing of women's trauma: Descendant's reflections on disremembered women anti-apartheid activists

Dear Prospective Participant,

My name is Lynne Goldschmidt. I am a PhD student in Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. My supervisor is Professor Malose Langa. I am conducting a research study about the disremembering of the role of women in the anti-apartheid struggle. The study title is '*The silencing of women's trauma: Descendant's reflections on disremembered women anti-apartheid activists*'.

I am inviting you to take part in an interview. If you decide to take part, your participation in this research study will last about 60 minutes. The interview can take place either in person or online. The place and time of the interview will be agreed with you in advance.

With your consent, the interview will be audio-recorded. Recordings and transcripts will be saved on a password-protected laptop and will only be accessed by my research supervisor, Professor Malose Langa, and me. Both the recordings and transcripts will be destroyed approximately six years post the research.

During the research activity, I will need to ask for some personal information about you, including about your experiences as a descendent of a woman anti-apartheid activist, you will be asked to reflect on your meaning making of your relative's experience in the anti-apartheid struggle and the possible intergenerational implications thereof on you and your extended family. This will include your reflections on the memories shared with you by or about your relative as a woman anti-apartheid activist, as well as your thoughts about possible untold stories.

The interview will be confidential and anonymous. When I share the results of the research study, I will not include your name or anything else that could identify you. If you decide to take part in the research study, it should be because you want to volunteer. You do not have to take part. You can stop being in the study at any time. You do not have to answer any questions if you do not want to. You will not get any direct benefits if you choose to join the research study. You will not lose any services, benefits or rights you would normally have if you decide not to join. Taking part

in the research study will not cost you anything. You will not be paid for being in this research study.

Some of the questions asked may make you feel sad or upset. If this happens, I will stop the interview and continue another time, if you agree to this. If you need of counselling services following the interview these are available free of charge at LifeLine (011 422 4242 / 0861 322 322) and SADAG (011 234 4837 / 0800 456 789) or the following registered psychologists can be contacted for an in person or online debriefing session: Esther Chunga (076 545 4138), Nicky Dawson (072 224 3988), Hayley Haynes-Rolando (082 816 8540) and Ruby Patel (082 045 0620).

This research study will be written up as a research report and associated publications. The report will be available on the university library website. If you would like to receive a summary of this report, I will be happy to send it to you.

If you have any questions during or afterwards about this research study, feel free to contact me or my supervisor on the details listed below. If you have any concerns or complaints about the ethical procedures of this research study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za.

Yours sincerely,

Lynne Goldschmidt

Researcher:
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Supervisor:
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Email: Malose.Langa@wits.ac.za

APPENDIX D – CONSENT FORM – INDIVIDUAL IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW

Title of project: ***The silencing of women's trauma: Descendants' reflections on disremembered women anti-apartheid activists***

Name of researcher: Lynne Goldschmidt

I, ……,

…….., agree to participate in this research project.

I agree to the following:

(Please circle the relevant options below)

The research study was explained to me. I understand what this study is about.	YES	NO
I understand that I can volunteer to take part in the study	YES	NO
I agree that the interview may be audio recorded	YES	NO
I agree that direct quotations from my interview may be used by the researcher in their research report and associated publications	YES	NO
I agree that my participation will remain anonymous (my name will not be used by the researcher in their research report or associated publications.	YES	NO

Participant name: ……
Signature: ……
Date: ……

Researcher name: ……
Signature: ……
Date: ……

APPENDIX E – CONSENT FORM AND CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT – FAMILY INTERVIEW

Title of project: ***The silencing of women's trauma: Descendants' reflections on disremembered women anti-apartheid activists***

Name of researcher: Lynne Goldschmidt

I, ……,

…….., agree to participate in this research project.

I agree to the following:

(Please circle the relevant options below)

The research study was explained to me. I understand what this study is about.	YES	NO
I understand that I can volunteer to take part in the study	YES	NO
I agree that the discussion may be audio recorded	YES	NO
I agree that direct quotations from the discussion may be used by the researcher in their research report and associated publications	YES	NO
I agree that my participation cannot be anonymous given the inclusion of other members in the family interview.	YES	NO
I understand that my name will not be used by the researcher in their research report or associated publications	YES	NO
I agree to treat the family group discussion as confidential and I will not disclose any content discussed by my fellow family group members, outside of the group.	YES	NO

Participant name: ……
Signature: ……
Date: ……

Researcher name: ……
Signature: ……
Date: ……

APPENDIX F – CONSENT FORM – INDIVIDUAL IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW POST FAMILY INTERVIEW

Title of project: ***The silencing of women's trauma: Descendants' reflections on disremembered women anti-apartheid activists***

Name of researcher: Lynne Goldschmidt

I, …….,

…….., agree to participate in this research project.

I agree to the following:

(Please circle the relevant options below)

The research study was explained to me. I understand what this study is about.	YES	NO
I understand that I can volunteer to take part in the study	YES	NO
I agree that the discussion may be audio recorded	YES	NO
I agree that direct quotations from the discussion may be used by the researcher in their research report and associated publications	YES	NO
I agree that my participation cannot be anonymous given the inclusion of other members in the family interview.	YES	NO
I understand that my name will not be used by the researcher in their research report or associated publications	YES	NO

Participant name: ……
Signature: ……
Date: ……

Researcher name: ……
Signature: ……
Date: ……

APPENDIX G – IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Dear Participant,

Thank you for your willingness to participate in this interview. I'm going to be interviewing you about your experiences as a descendent of a woman anti-apartheid activist. You will be asked to reflect on your memories and experiences in response to your relative's experiences in the anti-apartheid struggle and the possible intergenerational implications thereof on you and your extended family, as well as your thoughts about possible untold stories. This will include your reflections on the memories shared with you by or about your relative as a woman anti-apartheid activist.

This interview may take approximately 60 minutes.

Section A: Biographical Information

Date of birth: ……

Place of birth: ……

Province of residence: ……

How would you describe yourself in terms of gender identity? …….

How would you describe yourself in terms of ethnicity? ……

Name of relative / woman anti-apartheid activist: ……

Can you confirm whether your relative was active in a specific movement? ……

Name of anti-apartheid movement: ……

Can you confirm whether your relative was exposed to any form of political harassment during the time she was active as an anti-apartheid activist? ……

Relationship with relative (example: daughter, granddaughter, niece):……

Q1. Can you start by telling me about yourself?

Relationship Status: ……

Children: ……

Education Status: ……

Employment Status: ……Occupation: ……

Section B: Woman Anti-apartheid Activist

Q2. Can you tell me about your relative?

Probe: To ascertain whether the relative is alive or deceased

Q3. What is your understanding of her involvement in the anti-apartheid movement?

Probe: Age, means of entry into the movement, role in the movement

Q4. How do you know about your relative's involvement in the anti-apartheid movement?

Q4.1 Was your relative's involvement in the anti-apartheid movement something she spoke about openly and often?

Probe: Amongst family members only / Beyond the family

Probe: Known in the community

Q4.2. Were there ever any topics about your relative's involvement in the anti-apartheid movement that couldn't be spoken about or wasn't necessarily spoken about?

Q4.3. Why do think some of these incidents could be spoken about, whereas others couldn't?

Q5. What are the memories that have been shared with you, that come to mind now?

Q5.1 Why do you think these are the memories that have come to mind?

Q6. What are the questions you have been left with in your mind, but felt couldn't be asked?

Q6.1 What made you feel you couldn't ask about it

Q7. Do you think there were any secrets / anything that was taboo to talk about or ask about?

Q8. Based on some of the memories that have been shared with you, did it ever seem that any of her experiences as an anti-apartheid activist were influenced by her identity as a woman?

Q8.1 In which way do you think being a woman may have influenced your relative's experience of being an anti-apartheid activist?

Section D: Being a descendant of a Woman Anti-apartheid Activist

Q9. Tell me how you experienced being a descendent of a women anti-apartheid activist?

Q10. Do you think that there have been any unique experiences based on your being a descendent of a woman anti-apartheid activist?

Q11. Do you think being a descendent of a woman anti-apartheid activist may have influenced how you relate with women and men?

Q12. Tell me how women and men relate in your family?

(Probe: In private spaces / In public spaces)

Q13. What do you think may have become implicit to your family culture based on your relative's experiences?

Section E: Being a descendant of a Woman Anti-apartheid Activist in Post-Apartheid South Africa

Q14. How have you made meaning of your relative's contributions to the anti-apartheid movement in post-Apartheid South Africa?

Q14.1 Do you think that your relative's role as an anti-apartheid activist has been appropriately acknowledged?

Section E: Closing off

Q15. Do you think any aspects may be of relevance to your experiences as a descendant that I may not have asked about?

Q16. Are there any experiences or memories that came to mind today that you didn't anticipate thinking about?

APPENDIX H – FAMILY INTERVIEW

Introduction:

1) Researcher to introduce herself and the research.
2) Researcher to assess whether her understanding of the research is aligned with the expectations of the family members present.
3) Researcher to confirm the use of an audio recorder.
4) Researcher to introduce the possibility of different perspectives, and that alternative views may be difficult to hear, but may also be helpful.
5) Family members to introduce themselves
    - *Perhaps we can start with everyone (5.1) introducing themselves and (5.2) describing their role in the family, as well as (5.3) their relationship with the relative/woman anti-apartheid activist*

Transition:

6) What comes to mind when you think about your relative?
    - 6.1 How would you describe her role in the family?
    - 6.2 When you think about your relative, does her role as an anti-apartheid activist ever come to mind?

      If yes:

      In which ways?

      No:

      Why do you think that is?
7) Is this a new experience of sitting together as a family and discussing the experiences of your relative as an anti-apartheid activist?

      If new:

      Why do you think you haven't discussed it as a group before?

      If not new:

      What are the things you usually discuss about your relative's experiences?

      How often do you have these conversations?

Key Questions:

8) What is the family's understanding of your relative's involvement in the anti-apartheid movement?
9) Was your relative's involvement in the anti-apartheid movement something she spoke about openly and often in the family?
10) What are the most impactful memories that have been shared with you, that come to mind now?
11) Were there ever any topics about your relative's involvement in the anti-apartheid movement that couldn't be spoken about or wasn't necessarily spoken about in the family?
    - Does anyone else have any different perspectives?
12) What are the questions the family has been left with?
13) Were there any secrets / anything that was taboo to talk about or ask about
14) Based on some of the memories that have been shared with you, did it ever seem that any of her experiences as an anti-apartheid activist were influenced by her identity as a woman?
15) In which way do you think being a woman may have influenced your relative's experience of being an anti-apartheid activist?
16) How do you make sense of your relative's role in the anti-apartheid struggle in post-apartheid South Africa?
    - How do you think your relative experienced the transition from apartheid to post-apartheid South Africa?
    - Do you think there was anything particularly difficult for her about the transition?
    - Do you think that your relative's role as an anti-apartheid activist has been appropriately acknowledged in post-apartheid South Africa?
    - Do you think that your relative's role as an anti-apartheid activist has been appropriately remembered in post-apartheid South Africa?
    - In which way do you think about her contributions in post-Apartheid South Africa?

- In which way do you think your relative's role in the anti-apartheid movement may have influenced the role of women in post-apartheid South Africa in particular?

Family/ Intergenerational Dynamics

17) What do you think have been the most significant implications of your relative being an anti-apartheid activist on the family overall? In which ways do you think it has impacted the family overall?
    - Why do you say that
    - Does anyone else have any different perspectives?
    - 'X' what are your thoughts about what has been shared thus far?
18) In which ways do you think your family may have been different if she wasn't an anti-apartheid activist?
19) How have you experienced talking about your experiences as a family of descents?
20) How have you experienced talking about your experiences as a family of women descendants?
    - Do you think your narratives may have been different with family members present who identify as male?
    - Why do you say that?

APPENDIX I – IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW SCHEDULE POST-FAMILY INTERVIEW

Dear Participant,

Thank you for your willingness to participate in this interview, and the research process overall. Today, I would like to do a follow up with you regarding the recent family group discussion.

During the recent family group discussion, you had the opportunity to engage with and discuss your collective recollections as a family as descendants of a woman anti-apartheid activist. Today, you will be asked to reflect on the family group discussion, and how this may have influenced your understanding of your relative's experience in the anti-apartheid struggle and the possible intergenerational implications thereof on you and your extended family. This will include any new reflections on the memories shared by or about your relative as a woman anti-apartheid activist.

This interview may take approximately 60 minutes.

Section A: Family Interview

Q1. Can you start by telling me a little about your experience of the family group discussion and your thoughts or impressions in response to what was shared?

Q1.1. Were there any memories shared about your relative and her experiences as an anti-apartheid activist that you were surprised to hear about?

Q1.2. Are there any ways in which talking about your experiences or memories in a family group has influenced your meaning-making of being a descendant of a woman anti-apartheid activist?

Q1.3. Why do think some of these memories and recollections could be spoken about, whereas others couldn't?

Q1.4. What do you think are some of the memories or recollections that felt more difficult to speak about?

(Probe: Why it may have been experienced as more difficult)

Q2. Thinking about the family group discussion, are there any perspectives or opinions shared by your family members in response to these memories shared that surprised you or was in contradiction to your understanding?

Q3. Thinking about the family group discussion, do you think there is anything significant issues we have not yet discussed?

Q4. What was your overall experience of the family group discussion?

Q5. What, if anything, do you wish could have been different?

Section B: The Spoken and Unspoken

Q6. A lot has been written about the movements in recent years in terms of how women were treated, or sexual harassment, or women activists' oppression by men.

Q6. 1 Does any of this resonate with you at all?

Q7. What has been your experience of talking about yourself and reflecting on your experiences as a descent of a woman anti-apartheid activist?

Section C: Closing

Q8. What do you think motivated you to participate in this research study?

APPENDIX J– DISTRESS PROTOCOL – INDIVIDUAL IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW

The following steps will be followed in the context of an in-depth interview:

Step 1: Observe	Researcher to observe for any non-verbal or verbal indicators of emotional distress Non-verbal cues: uncontrolled crying or trembling Verbal: Participant expresses their distress	
Step 2: Stop	Researcher to stop the interview process	
Step 3: Assess	Researcher to assess the emotional wellbeing of the participant	
Step 4: Action	**Proceed** Researcher to resume with the interview if the participant indicates that they feel able to continue and if the participant remains willing to continue.	**Stop** If not, arrange to reschedule an appointment to resume with the interview. Researcher to encourage the participant to contact the counselling service provider indicated on the information sheet if they experience increased distress in hours/days following the interview.
Step 5: Follow Up	Follow up with a courtesy call to the participant (if the participant consents).	

APPENDIX K – DISTRESS PROTOCOL – FAMILY INTERVIEW

The following steps will be followed in the context of an in-depth interview:

Step 1: Observe	Researcher to observe for any non-verbal or verbal indicators of emotional distress by any of the participants Non-verbal cues: uncontrolled crying or trembling Verbal: Participant expresses their distress	
Step 2: Stop	Researcher to introduce a break and remove the distressed participant from the group setting. Researcher to provide immediate support.	
Step 3: Assess participant	Researcher to assess the emotional wellbeing of the participant	
Step 4: Action (Re: Participant)	**Proceed** Researcher to resume with the family interview if the participant indicates that they feel able to continue and if the participant remains willing to continue. Confirm with the participant whether they consent to receiving a courtesy call.	**Stop** If not, excuse the participant from participating in the remainder of the family interview. Researcher to encourage the participant to contact the counselling service provider indicated on the information sheet if they experience increased distress in hours/days following the interview. Confirm with the participant whether they consent to receiving a courtesy call.
Step 5: Follow Up (Re: Participant)	Follow up with a courtesy call to the participant (if the participant consents).	
Step 3: Assess group	Researcher to assess the wellbeing of the remainder of the group and ascertain whether they would like to continue with	

	the family interview or whether they would prefer to reschedule.	
Step : Action with group	If the other participants indicate that they would like to continue with the family interview, resume family interview.	If the other participants indicate that they would like to reschedule, the researcher will stop the family interview and reschedule. The researcher will encourage the participants to contact the counselling service provider indicated on the information sheet if anyone of them experience increased distress in hours/days following the focus group.
Step 5: Debriefing:	After the family interview has ended and the content summarised to participants, key issues around confidentiality and anonymity will be reiterated. Potential sensitive issues that were raised during the interview will be clarified and contextualised where it was not appropriate to so at the time. Participants can then be invited to share their reactions to such matters. The researcher will stay in the room at the end of the family interview and make themself available to give individual participants an opportunity to share their reactions.	

APPENDIX L – ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Goldschmidt

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: H22/08/07**
PROJECT TITLE	The silencing of women's trauma: Descendant's reflections on disremembered women anti-apartheid activists
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Mrs L Goldschmidt
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Human and Community Development/
DATE CONSIDERED	19 August 2022
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved Risk Level: Low
EXPIRY DATE	13 October 2025

DATE 14 October 2022 **CHAIRPERSON** _____
(Professor J Watermeyer)

cc: Supervisor : Prof M Langa

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

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 submit an amendment of the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a regular progress report. For Minimal and Low studies, this is due annually on 31 December. For Medium and High Risk studies, this is due twice annually on 30 June and 31 December.**

_____ 17 / 10 / 2022
Signature Date

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES