Women's Narratives of Intergenerational Trauma and post-Apartheid Identity: The 'said' and 'unsaid'.

By

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i. Acknowledgements

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ii. Abstract

This research has focused on the concept of intergenerational trauma, elaborating on the post-Apartheid condition. Drawing on trauma theory, such as that provided by clinical and psychoanalytic approaches on the one hand, and on narrative and identity theory on the other, the project examines the long-term implications of Apartheid, particularly for the identities of post-Apartheid generations. The families who participated in this study all experienced a particular traumatic event, personally experiencing the political violence of Apartheid. However, the study focused on how this event has been integrated into and represented in family histories, how what is 'said' and what remains 'unsaid' within families functions and constitutes their identities in their ongoing lived experiences. Women's narratives, often considered secondary to the grand narratives of struggle and conflict, are drawn out to show the ways, as primary caregivers, they form the pivot for the (intergenerational) transmission of secondary traumatisation or for negotiating new versions of family history that make it possible for both them and their children to create meaningful lives in the shadow of their tragedies.

Utilising a narrative method which explores the interactional dynamics, structure and content of participants' stories, the narratives of these women and their children are analysed first for the ways in which what was said (and even what remained 'unsaid') was complicated by the 'interactional dynamics' of research and, in particular, research across a language divide. The second layer of analysis attends to the narrative structure or form in which the stories are told. The final phase of analysis focuses on the thematic content of the narratives.

In telling classic 'trauma' stories, of the political deaths of family members and partners under Apartheid, these women spoke of events which marked 'turning points' in their lives and which continue to leave their mark in their embodied experience. They also told of navigating a context of continued and pervasive violence, speaking of the violences of today, particularly domestic and sexual violence and HIV/AIDS, and they link these to their own embodied experiences after the political trauma event. Through intergenerational talk on relationships and sexuality, mothers attempt to navigate and

negotiate new versions of family history for their children, as they try to create lives for their children that are dissimilar to their own, particularly with regard to violence.

iii. Table of Contents

TABLES

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 A traumatic history

On the back of a long history of colonialism and racism, 1948 saw the official legislation of Apartheid with the rise of the National Party, whereby a long history of 'race' and racist practice became legislated though a dense architecture of laws and policies. In the years following, Apartheid ideology and the policy of 'separate development' were enforced by numerous state projects including the development of 'bantustans' or homelands for different 'race' groups, and bantu education. For the majority of South Africans these racist policies and projects meant forced removals, pass laws, inferior education, influx control, discriminating labour legislation and practices, detention without trial (Simpson, 1993). This systemic and pervasive 'structural' violence: "that is, physical and psychological harm that results from exploitive and unjust social, political and economic systems" (Gilman, 1983, p. 8), was intensified in the 1980s where violence orchestrated by the state became increasingly overtly brutal.

> "Many of the victims were very young and generally the families and activists also suffered varying degrees of harassment and direct physical harm. There was also violence between rival and political social groupings. As a result, South African society was placed under continual stress of potential violence, either through acts of sabotage as the liberation movement resisted state control, or more often was the case, living in dangerous, tumultuous and tightly policed townships" (Hamber & Lewis, 1997, p. 3).

The township within which I worked has such a violent and divisive history in which community members were manipulated by the state apparatus and neighbours turned against neighbours, most infamously in the campaign of violence waged by an infamous state sponsored vigilante group within the community. However, the township is a relatively 'old' established part of Durban and this history is of course also a proud history of participation in the struggle for freedom.

By the 1990s, and poised for transition ahead of the 1994 elections, South Africa experienced unprecedented inter-personal, inter-community and intra-community violence, often sparked by state sponsored 'third force' activity (Hamber & Lewis, 1997). 1994 heralded the first democratic elections in South Africa, the (official) end of

Apartheid legislation and the change over of political control from the National Party under FW De Klerk to the ANC (African Nation Congress) led by Nelson Mandela. 1994 also ushered in what has been popularly referred to as the 'post-Apartheid' era.

Shortly after the 1994 elections the Truth and Reconcilliation Commission (TRC) was established in the Preamble of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (1995) as a means to document and address the violences of the past.

> "Victims of gross violations of human rights would be allowed to 'report to the Nation' their painful stories. And so it was that, over two years, 22,000 South Africans engaged in a national project of sharing their stories of pain with one another, while the rest of the country, and much of the world, listened" (Andrews, 2007, p. 152).

One can observe collective memory in the making in this process of telling individual stories (Andrews, 2007) as South Africans try to understand our traumatic past and create our future.

1.2 The Post-Apartheid Generation

Jansen (2009) begins his book 'knowledge in the blood: confronting race and the apartheid past' by noting that there will 'never again' (p. 1) be a generation of South Africans who will (or can) know directly of the Apartheid past. Jansen (2009) begins to question the legacy of Apartheid precisely in light of this and explores the power of 'indirect knowledges' for the post-Apartheid generation. He asks:

> "How could young people, still young children around the time of Nelson Mandela's release from prison, recall so vividly events and experiences from the past? How did they know? Who told them? Where did they get this knowledge?" (Jansen, 2009, p. 51).

Possible answers to these questions may lie in theory that suggests that traces of a 'traumatic' past can move between generations. This theory of 'intergenerational trauma' is a relatively recent psychological and social focus, with most of the research elaborating on intergenerational (often used synonymously with multigenerational) trauma having

been established against the backdrop of Nazi Germany and the Holocaust (e.g. Danieli, 1998 and Hoffman, 2004). Although Jansen (2009) is cautious about comparisons between the Holocaust and Apartheid, he suggests parallels that provoke questions for thinking about the effects of 'received knowledge' on the second generation. Such knowledge passes, primarily, for both Jansen (2009) and Hoffman (2004) through the family. The questions of transmission of knowledges (and 'subjective states') within families, Hoffman (2004) suggests, are not new to the field of psychology. In fact she contends that they spark age-old questions about the transmission of any family legacy. In particular Hoffman (2004) refers to Freudian and Psychoanalytic concerns and questions, but these issues do resonate with wider developmental or parenting literature that suggests that socialisation accounts for the development of individual identity.

Further, Hoffman (2004) argues that not just talk or overt parenting practices, but *silence*, may be the primary vehicle for the transmission of trauma across generations, particularly where children have not directly experienced traumatic events themselves. For Danieli (1998) it is a "conspiracy of silence" that defines intergenerational trauma (p. 4), defining this as the marker of transmission, of trauma (and traumatic memory), between generations. Hoffman (2004) recognizes this within her own family and, using the term 'a cocoon' (p. 67) of silence, suggests that there existed a "prohibition on open disclosure, on touching through speech painful or shaming matters," and that this "was the one thing that was passed on-or rather included-in the Holocaust legacy" (p. 67). This suggests the ways in which it is in fact possible for traumatic 'memory' to be transmitted through what is left unsaid within families.

Ancharoff, Munroe and Fisher (1998) articulate that these silences within families also function as a way of communicating rules, myths and metamessages to which the family may unquestionably adhere. Here, family members may come to know (through silent, emotional and indirect channels) of the parent's distress and thus avoid engaging or raising difficult matters, offering a kind of protection against further distress (Ancharoff et al, 1998). Parents themselves may also work to actively close off discussion around sensitive or emotional areas (Ancharoff et al, 1998), often in an attempt at protecting their children precisely from the knowledge of what has happened to them (Hoffman, 2004). Thus, families are described as in some ways 'colluding' to maintain silences to protect both themselves and the survivor from post-trauma reactions. In this sense, as Schlant

(1999) writes, it is important to note that "silence […] speaks and is as risky [or as powerful] as speech" (p. 1).

At this point, thinking of the way that stories construct a legacy of the past, through what is (im)possible to say, we should also recognise, as Hoffman (2004) does, that "the generation after atrocity is the hinge generation - the point at which the past is transmuted into history or myth" (p. 198). Fassin (2007) too focuses our attention on this pivotal historical generation where "the past is not so far off; adults still remember it" (p. 169). Despite our post-ness to Apartheid, the past matters because it is implicated in our present and our future. In contemporary South Africa we continue to be faced with the enduring effects of 'gross human rights abuses' in South Africa which persist many years after the demise of the oppressive Apartheid regime. Van der Merwe and Gobodo-Madikizela (2008) consider the 'legacy of Apartheid' to be the enduring trauma of the majority of South Africans, as a result of the systemic and everyday violence of the Apartheid regime and locate their work, as a possible extension of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), as "the task of putting together the pieces of a society shattered by violence" in order to restore 'human spirit' (p. x).

1.3 A legacy of the past

Marx and Engels are famously quoted as stating "Men [sic] make their own history but not of their own free will; not under circumstances they themselves have chosen but under the given and inherited circumstances with which they are directly confronted. The tradition of the dead generation weighs like a nightmare on the minds of the living" (cited in McEwan, 2003, p. 739). This often quoted statement suggests not only the impact of social conditions upon individuals, but highlights a generational (temporal) dimension in the transmission of experiences.

Weingarten (2004) suggests that we look to families, as the primary sites where the transmission of experiences of 'trauma' can move or 'pass' between the generations. She writes that "understanding the mechanisms by which children may be exposed to legacies of political violence can help us make connections between current distress and political issues" (Weingarten, 2004, p. 47).

Unlike other theorists who talk about intergenerational trauma (such as Hoffman, 2004), she notes that these legacies within the family have the ability to move in multiple directions:

> "Although we typically imagine that transmission is vertical in a downward direction, from parent to child, vertical transmission can also proceed in an upward fashion, as has been described in South Africa against Apartheid, especially during the 1980 and early 90's, when politicised youth in townships created traumatized witnesses of their parents who, rightly, feared for their own safety" (Weingarten, 2004, p. 46).

What is clear is that the family is the "primary site for transmission of first knowledge, the intimate or fairy-tale knowledge that lays the foundation for any future understandings of self, of community, of history' (Jansen, 2009, p. 72).

Narrative theory tells us that as social actors we continuously fashion for ourselves, out of the cultural and linguistic resources available to us, stories that tell ourselves and others who we are and who we want to be. These stories bring together selected bits from our remembered past and anticipated future and weave them together to create an account of who we were, who we are and who we could possibly be. Kiekergaard offers us an exceptional insight: "We understand backwards… but we live forwards" (Crites, 1986, p. 165).

In South Africa, at a time when "many are urging their fellow South Africans to forget the past and look to a new future" (Nuttal & Coetzee, 1998, p. 1), it is important to interrogate how the past has been integrated into and represented in stories of the present and of the future. Archbishop Desmond Tutu likewise, in his introduction to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report (1998), notes the importance of the past for both the present and the future:

> "The past, it has been said, is another country. The way its stories are told and the way they are heard gyrates, exposing old lies and illuminating new truths. As a fuller picture emerges, a new piece of the jigsaw puzzle of the past settles into place […] And we have tried, in whatever way we could, to weave into the truth

> about our past some essential lessons for the future of the people of this country. Because the future, too, is another country. And we can do no more than lay at its feet the small wisdoms we have been able to garner out of our present experience" (p. 4).

In recognising the importance of the past for the present and for making a future, this project focuses on the concept of intergenerational trauma, elaborating on the post-Apartheid condition. Drawing on trauma theory, such as that provided within clinical and psychoanalytic approaches on the one hand, and on narrative and identity theory on the other, the project examines the long-term implications of Apartheid, particularly for the identities of the post-Apartheid generation, the youth. The families who participated in this study all experienced a particular traumatic event, personally experiencing the political violence of Apartheid. However, the study focuses on how this event has been integrated and represented in family histories, how talk and silence within families functions and constitutes identities in their ongoing lived experiences. Women's narratives, often considered secondary to the grand narratives of struggle and conflict, are drawn out to show the ways, as primary caregivers, they form the pivot for the transmission of secondary traumatisation or for negotiating new versions of family history that make it possible for both them and their children to create meaningful lives in the shadow of their tragedies. The narratives of these women and their children are analysed first for the ways that what was said (and even what remained 'unsaid') was complicated by the 'interactional dynamics' of research, and in particular research across a language divide. Second, analysis looks at the narrative structure or form of the interviews and lastly, turns to an analysis of the thematic content of the narratives.

2. NARRATIVE THEORIES OF THE SELF

2.1 Theorising the self

Crossley (2000) begins her book on narrative psychology by posing the question: "What is a self?" (p. 4). This 'age-old, perennial question' has captured the attention and imagination of researchers and philosophers across both time and space and yet seems as evasive to definition as it has ever been. Bruner (2002) remarks that:

> " 'Self' is a surprisingly quirky idea – intuitively obvious to common sense yet notoriously evasive to definition by the fastidious philosopher. The best we seem to be able to do when asked what it is, is to point at our forehead or our chest" (p. 63).

Bruner (2002) argues that "there is no such thing as an intuitively obvious and essential self to know" (p. 64). Rather, the 'self' that we know is the story we come to tell ourselves and others about who and what we are. Bruner (2002) writes that "self-making is a narrative art" (p. 65) whereby "telling oneself [or others] about oneself is like making up a story about who and what we are, what's happening, and why we're doing what we're doing" (p. 64). Crites (1986) too suggests that "being a self entails having a story" (p. 162). Here, the story (in both content and form) *is* one's self (Lieblich, Tuval-Masiach & Zilber, 1998). Thus, as the story of a life is created, told, revised, and retold through time, we come to know or discover ourselves, and reveal ourselves to others (Denzin, 2000, Lieblich et al, 1998; McAdams, 1993). McAdams (1993) puts it eloquently:

> "If you want to know me, then, you must know my story, for my story defines who I am. And if *I* want to know *myself*, to gain insight into the meaning of my own life, then, I too, must come to know my own story. I must come to see in all its particulars the narrative of the self – the personal myth – that I have tacitly, even unconsciously, composed over the course of my years. It is a story I continue to revise, and tell to myself (and sometimes to others) as I go on living" (p. 11).

This way of conceptualising life as a story/narrative has become increasingly visible in the social sciences over the last two decades. This turn toward thinking about the *storied self* as an object of social science inquiry is often referred to as 'the narrative revolution', viewed in part as a manifestation of the demise of the positivist and realist paradigms in

social science (Lieblich et al, 1998; Reissman, 2008a). Positivism positions the self as empty and lifeless "devoid of any sense of privacy, feeling or humanity" (Crossley, 2000, p. 7) emphasising the cause-and-effect relationship between the stimuli of the external world and human behaviour. By contrast, the interpretive tradition, affirms personal agency and interiority by focusing upon the individual "human 'experience and experiencing', 'uniqueness', 'meaning', 'freedom' and 'choice'" (Crossley, 2000, p. 8). Frosh (2001) has subsumed this increasing popular, storied method under *'the turn to language'* phenomenon that has impacted on both the form and practice of (critical) social sciences and writes that "discursive and narrative work has enabled enormous gains to be made in understanding the ways in which people make sense of their lives" (p. 28). This means that narrative explores the human condition from the position of focusing upon how life is lived, experienced and meaningfully interpreted in language. As Schiff (2006) argues,

> "If one of the goals of psychology is to understand persons, then, how can we ignore the way that persons put experiences into words and use language in social interactions? How can we ignore meanings and interpretations?" (p. 24).

Accordingly, the promise of the narrative approach is precisely to allow us to explore human meaning and intention (Schiff, 2006) and how such interpretations and meaning are drawn from the linguistic and moral resources available to us within culture (Crossley, 2000). Freeman (2001) contends:

> "The self, and narratives about the self, are culturally and discursively 'situated'…Simply put, 'my story' can never be wholly mine, alone, because I define and articulate my existence with and among others, through the various narrative models – including literary genres, plot structures, metaphoric themes, and so on – my culture provides" (p. 287).

Thus narrative theory recognises "an inextricable connection between 'self' and 'social structures', particularly the interrelationship between self and language" (Crossley, 2000, p. 9), and is marked by a move away from the dichotomy of 'self' *or* 'society'; 'agency' *or* 'structure' as sites of 'knowing' or being-in-the-world.

Recognising the central role of language, as a culturally shared resource, does not necessarily imply that "there's little (if anything) more to 'the self' than its multiple and shifting positions in discourse, or language. "… [This] postmodern take on the self is quite at odds with the kind of unified, coherent and continuing self that people often feel themselves to 'have' or be" (Day Sclater, 2003, p. 324). Narrative theory, though characterised precisely by the way that it interrogates language in the employ of human meaning-making, does so at the interface between the agentic individual and social forces. Crossley (2000) takes from postmodernist and discursive theorists the importance of language (as a social system) as formative of self- and person-hood. However, she is critical of the ways such perspectives tend to 'lose the subject' and writes that such an abstracted vision of a self; "of a fragmented, anonymous, dead self simply does not accord with the reality of how people contend with their experiences and senses of themselves" (Crossley, 2000, p. 41). The narrative approach takes seriously this 'experience' of the self and therefore asserts a kind of subjectivity that is erased by more thoroughly postmodern discursive approaches (Bradbury, in press). Day Sclater (2003) recognises both the discursive and structural constraints and the possibilities for agentic, reflexive experience in the making of the self:

> "I begin with a recognition of, on the one hand, the constitutive power of language. On the other hand, however, I acknowledge that social constructionism can deny, in important ways, the felt realities of agency and an experiencing self" (p. 320).

We are tasked then with steering a course within psychology that acknowledges both an 'inner' and 'outer' world, without sidestepping the complexities of either, enabling us to think about a human subject ('the self') "who is socially situated and culturally fashioned, at the same time as that subject expresses a unique individuality and an agency that makes the subject, at once, quite singular but also part of more or less local and global communities" (Day Sclater, 2003, p. 320). This approach requires that we problematise the articulation between selves and stories (Craib, 2000; Frosh, 2001). Can selves can be represented or constructed in stories in a way that allows us access to the self through the story told, or are 'selves' masked or concealed by the stories we tell? (Day Sclater, 2003). Here, we can differentiate between narrative theorists (such as Lieblich et al, 1998, above) who contend that the story *is* the self and those who argue that "selves are always more

than stories can express" (Day Sclater, 2003, p. 318). The latter position demands a recognition that which cannot be represented in story form. Frosh (2001) too asks, what lies outside of language? Day Sclater (2003) writes that:

> "a narrative self demands that we imagine aspects of the self that are, at some point at least, external to the story. A more complete conception of narrative self demands that we take account of the subject's moral agency, her embodiment and the force of unconscious fantasy, as well as the determinants of language, discourse and story. Crucially, too, selves are always relational" (p. 324)

Narrative conceived of in this fashion allows us to think of a 'self' that is at once a living, "breathing, passionate [being] in the full stream of social life" (Plummer, 1995, p. 16) and a linguistic phenomenon whose awareness of itself and choices are constrained by cultural resources available in language (Clegg, 2006; Day Sclater, 2003; Crossley, 2000). Clegg (2006) contends that "while there are discursively produced subjectivities, there is also an embodied sense of self continuous through the history of a particular life" (p. 318) and, thus, indicates a formulation of selfhood that is both discursive *and* embodied, rather than either/or. Sims-Schouten, Riley and Willig (2007) note that the discursive choices available to speaking subjects are at once, always, constrained or accommodated, by 'personal, psychological and social mechanisms' (p. 107) such as embodiment, institutions and materiality; which they, like Frosh (2001), call the "extra-discursive" (p. 104). Archer's (2000) conception of human agency recognises the centrality of the body and practices:

> "Our continuous sense of self, or self-consciousness, is advanced as emerging from the ways in which we are biologically constituted, the way the world is, and from the necessity of our human interaction with our external environment" (p. 50).

2.2 What is a Narrative?

To say that the self and story (or identity and narrative) are linked, begs the question: "what kind of thing do we have to imagine narrative to be in order for us to think about it as a primary locus for selfhood?" (Day Sclater, 2003, p. 319). Reissman (2008a) cautions us not to expect a simple, clear definition of narrative. Squire; Andrews and Tamboukoul

(2008) concur that although 'narrative' is increasingly being put to use in both popular culture and social research, narrative "refers to a diversity – of topics of study, methods of investigation and analysis, and theoretical orientations. It displays different definitions within different fields, and the topics of hot debate around these definitions shift from year to year" (p. 3). Despite the proliferation of this focus on narratives, stories are not the only way to express a life or represent events or experiences (Bruner, 2002; Reissman, 2008a). Bruner (2002) asks:

> "Why do we use story as the form of telling about what happens in life and in our lives? Why not images, or lists of dates and places and the names and qualities of our friends and enemies? Why this seemingly innate addiction to story?" (p. 27).

Reissman (2008a) likewise contends that not all text and talk is narrative. Rather, the conventions of stories (developing a sequenced storyline, specific characters, and the particulars of setting) are not in fact significant or necessary in many verbal and written exchanges, nor are they present in many visual images. Reissman (2008a) lists various discursive forms of oral communication, including chronicles, reports, arguments, and question and answer exchanges of which story-telling is but one form. Schiff (2006) differentiates narrative from other instances of expressive arts such as the visual arts, dance and music or even cultural rituals, suggesting these too in other contexts may be equally significant means for articulating selfhood and identity.

However, the critical distinguishing feature of the narrative form is that it offers not just a meaningful way to express experience, but a way to theorise and account for (and re-present) the temporality of life as it is experienced. Ricoeur (1984) contends that "narrative…is meaningful to the extent that it portrays the features of temporal experience" (p. 3). For Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001) such a complex and fleeting construction as human selfhood, the person in time, can *only* exist as a narrative construction.

Story-telling may not be the only way to re-present experience, but because of the way that it can tell of a meaningful self in time, story-telling becomes an inescapable and "fundamental way of expressing ourselves and our world to others" (McAdams, 1993, p. 27). Polkinghorne (1988) refers to narrative as a 'cognitive scheme', suggesting that

narrative is congruent with basic cognitive meaning-making processes. To say that narrative is 'fundamental' to the human condition appeals to those in search of universal theories of self and person-hood. Barthes (as cited in Reissman, 2008a, p. 4) writes that "narrative is present in every age, in every place, in every society; it begins with the very history of mankind and there nowhere is nor has been a people without narrative…it is simply there, like life itself".

2.3 Meaning and interpretation

The importance of narrative both for the narrating individual and the theorist interested in researching narratives has already been suggested, that is, how people make sense of and give meaning to their lives. Kearney (2002) takes this idea of meaning in human life very seriously:

> "Telling stories is as basic to human beings as eating. More so, in fact, for while food makes us live, stories are what make our lives worth living. They are what make our condition *human*" (p. 3).

Narrative theory assumes that people are 'storytellers' (Lieblich et al, 1998; McAdams, 1993) and that we enstory our lives to give meaning to experience that may otherwise be fragmentary and disconnected. We create out of this fragmentary and disconnected experience, a sense of coherence, a story of the life that brings together disparate and conflictual parts (Polkinghorne, 1988; Fivush, 1994; Polkinghorne, 1995). Ultimately narrative theorists contend that the human condition is meaningful, where "to be human is to *mean*, and only by investigating the multifaceted nature of human meaning can we approach the understanding of people" (Josselson, 1995). Freeman (1993) poses that this meaning, "the very act of existing meaningfully in time" is only possible in and through the fabric of narrative (p. 21).

Meaning-making (sometimes called sense-making) within narrative form involves generating an account of a life whereby events recalled contribute in an apparently causal way to a particular sense of self, present outcome and/or anticipated future (Polkinghorne, 1988; McAdams, 1993). It is precisely the connections and relationships (perceived or actual) between events that give them meaning and significance within the overarching story (or plot) under development (Polkinghorne, 1988). It is in this sense that Freeman

(1993) identifies narrating the life course as an interpretive and recollective task in which we (as personal narrators) "survey and explore our own histories, toward the end of making and remaking sense of who and what we are" (p. 6). We are involved in an agentic process of selecting from our remembered past experiences that support and foster our consistently developing narrative of who we are and who we might be. Bruner (2002) comments that such self-referent narratives:

> "have as their purpose to keep the two manageably together, past and possible, in an endless dialectic 'how my life has always been and should remain' and 'how things might have been or might still be' " (p. 14).

Meaning making in narrative thus is positioned as a "retroactive" (Polkinghorne, 1998, p. 21) process of selecting events from a life that support and allow a particular version of a self. As such "narratives are not records of facts, of how things actually were, but of meaning-making systems that make sense out of the chaotic mass of perceptions and experiences of life" (Josselson, 1995, p. 33). The active process of meaning-making in creating an account of a life is clearly very different to the simple listing of chronological events or chronicle (Polkinghorne 1988; Reissman, 2008a). For Freeman (1993) this sense-making activity is largely positioned as an individual venture, whereby the individual is made responsible for generating identity and sense through the life course. The individual narrator is responsible for the selection and crafting of the 'final' narrative produced. Generating meaning of a life becomes the 'task' of storytellers (Polkinghorne, 1988; Bauman, 1996).

Bauman (1996) writes that identity construction has been likened to having "the ontological status of a postulate or a project" (p. 19). In what he refers to as the 'modern' conceptualisation of identity, the metaphor of a 'pilgrimage' illustrates the purposeful 'journey' that the individual undertakes in this attempt at sense-making. The pilgrimage is a "sense-making story, such a story as makes each event the effect of the event before and the cause of the event after, each age a station on the road pointing to fulfilment. The world of pilgrims - of identity-builders - must be orderly, determined, predictable, ensured" (Bauman, 1996, p. 23). In this sense, the concept of narrative centres on the individual task of embarking on this 'journey' towards a 'destination', constructing a directional and meaningfully coherent life narrative

2.4 Plotting the life story in time

The primary narrative mechanism for sense-making to create a coherent self is the activity of emplotment. Crossley (2000) asserts that the personal narrative is a special kind of story that we construct to bring together different parts of ourselves into a purposeful and convincing whole and "like all narratives, the personal narrative has a beginning, middle and end, and is defined according to the development of plot and character" (Crossley, 2000, p. 64). Sarbin (1986) argues for the central quality of temporality in human experience, suggesting that "the familiar criteria of a story- beginning, middle and ending- could not be formed until there was a way of symbolising the time factor in human activities" (p. 14). The major dimension of human existence is time and the discourse on human action is pervaded by an awareness of the centrality of time and change (Polkinghorne, 1988). Narrative meaning-making is thus always tied with the concept of time and by the recognition that temporality is the primary dimension of human existence and experience. The causal links between events, made *in time*, are however, made 'retroactively' through the various processes of perception, remembrance and imagination (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 21). Ricoeur (1981) distinguishes between 'discourse-events' and 'events' as a way to think about how "[i]t is the meaning of the speech event, not the event as event" (p. 199) that is recalled in discourse and to think about the ways these (discursive) recollections are "always realised temporally and in the present" (p. 198). Labov (2006) argues for reversal of the recognised (linear, forward moving, and progressive) time order, to think of the way that memory structures narrative. Here, the narrator is said to be engaged in a process of working backwards from the present, or "initiating event" (p.41) to explain the causal events that preceded them. So that even when the story is told as the event was experienced (in a kind of chronological fashion), how the narrator makes sense of (and comes to narrate) these events is through the 'backward' processes of memory and introspection (Labov, 2006).

Plots thus function by imaginatively forming thematic and causal connections across and between complex and disconnected events (Polkinghorne, 1988). However, this need not imply that emplotment is the application of ready-made plot or thematic structures on an independent set of events. Rather, Polkinghorne (1988) describes a dialectic process that takes place between the events themselves and a theme which discloses their significance and allows them to be grasped together as parts of one story and suggests that "when a

human event is said to not make sense […] the difficulty stems from a person's inability to integrate the event into a plot whereby it becomes understandable in the context of what has happened" (p. 21). In the absence of some plot to give meaning to the life course, the narrator is left without a coherent sense of self. Traumatic events may create this loss of meaning, leaving the individual pathologically fragmented and unable to integrate the event into a narrative account.

Narrative theorists thus take the position that we "remember selectively, and perhaps conferring meanings on experience that did not possess these meanings at the time of their occurance…weaving these meanings into a whole pattern, *a narrative*, perhaps with a plot, designed to make sense of the fabric of the past" (Freeman, 1993, p. 8). McAdams (1993) writes that narrative is an "act of imagination that is a patterned integration of our remembered past, perceived present and anticipated future" (p. 12). Through sense-making across time we selectively fashion for ourselves an acceptable script that weaves together the past and the future. Mishler (1999) calls this the 'double arrow of time' whereby, "the present (and future) anticipations shape the past as well as the reverse" (p.2). Crites (1986) elaborates on the way in which narrative ties together the past and the future. He contends that the:

> "present is the pivotal point out of which the, 'I' who recollects retrieves its own self. But the present is not a static point, or some measurable duration. Presence is always leaning into that vast unknown that we call the future, projecting itself into the future, and that pro-ject in which it is engaged determines the way it is present" (Crites,1986, p. 163).

Thus, one's grasp and recollection of the past is determined and structured by one's imagined and pro-jected future. "I recollect the past out of my interest in the future" (Crites, 1986, p. 163). Thus Crites (1986) cites Kiekergaard who argues that "we understand backwards […] but we live forwards" (p. 165). It is this dual movement between the past and the future that is said to account for the I, the present, that we perceive ourselves to be (Crites, 1986). "The two movements are complementary, the dying of what is providing the nourishment for what shall be, but it is difficult to visualise both movements simultaneously" (Crites, 1986, p. 167). It is in this sense that we can speak of the continual process of constructing and reconstructing narrative.

Bruner (2002) contends that we do not (and cannot) construct these self narratives 'from scratch' each time we tell ourselves or others about who we are. Rather, as we encounter new events in our lives we are tasked with updating our stories to fit "new circumstances, new friends, new enterprises" (Bruner, 2002, p. 65). As time leans into the future we encounter new events that may confirm or disconfirm the narrative, our sense of self, which we have developed to tell ourselves, or others, about our self. Lieblich et al (1998) caution that because narratives are treated as 'text' they are often read as static products that reflect a stable, coherent, singular identity or 'self'. Rather, we need to recognise that identities are constantly in flux, "always in process" (Hall, 1996, p. 2). Similarly, Polkinghorne (1988) argues that "the realm of meaning is not a thing or substance, but an activity" (p. 4). While this process of construction produces a narrative *product* this apparent fixity should not conceal the highly active process that underlies it.

2.5 Living *and* Telling Stories:

Fay (1996) spends a whole chapter of his book: *Contemporary Philosophy of Social Science* precisely dedicated to the question: *'Do we live stories or just tell them?'*. Fay (1996) asks about the relationship between life and story, as he interrogates whether our stories simply represent or perhaps construct human experience.

> "That is the question of whether there is, on the one hand, such a thing as a pre narrative experience, an original experience that is the unemplotted material of memory, so to speak, a kind of raw material on which the structures of narrative are being imposed a posteriori; or whether, on the other hand, our experience is from the beginning organised in an inherently narrative fashion" (Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2001, p. 14).

Fay (1996) finds the argument for both positions compelling. However, like Bruner (2002), the argument moves away from the question of whether art imitates life or whether life imitates art, to explore life and art as a two-way street. Bruner (1994) asks "did the people involved actually *experience* their lives in this way, or is it just in the telling?" (p. 47). For the sake of clarity let us briefly look at each side of the argument before we explore Fay's (1996) merged position of *narrativism*. The questions of the

relationship between life and story necessitate an interrogation of how we come to validate 'true' stories.

'Narrative Realism' contends that life inherently and inevitably exists in storied form (Fay, 1996; Bruner, 2002). Here, life is already storied outside of our engagement or understanding of it. Narrative structures exist as natural entities in the world and are simply re-produced in the stories people tell, after the fact. Most notably narrative realism contends that the temporality we claim within narratives is reflective of (and not constitutive of) a 'real' movement of time in the world, where beginnings, middles and ends correspond to physical births, sequence of life events and deaths (Fay, 1996). Realists assume that the story produced mirrors the real-world (the life) as it was experienced. For those invested in a narrative realist position, the idea that the narrative may assign significance to an event that did not inherently contain such significance at the time it was experienced, is problematic. Mishler (1999) remarks on the conventional conception of the role of historians as retelling individual and collective stories, capturing and documenting the facts of lives led by real people. Here, a distinction is made between fictional narrative and 'true' or historical narrative, whereby narrative is interrogated as to whether it is an accurate description of human reality, or an artificial construction projected onto our existence (Polkinghorne, 1988). This distinction between what 'really' happened and the person's retrospective account of events informs some psychotherapeutic approaches which interrogate how individuals deceive themselves with the stories (or cognitions) that they tell themselves; or less consciously through the ways repression and dissociation work to split off unhealthy or unwelcome experience (Ricoeur, 1991).

'Narrative Constructivism' refutes the position of narrative realism and claims that life has no inherent structure but is rather a series of disconnected experiences that become organised and meaningful only through the stories attached to them. Even the argument for real-world temporal events of births and deaths fail to satisfy narrative constructivists who note that there are no clear beginnings and ends as stories extend before a person's birth and after their death. This position thus says that we impose a storied structure onto experience such that we produce experience that is narrative in character by the stories we tell (Fay, 1996). This is "the question of how fiction creates realities so compelling that

they shape our experiences not only of the worlds the fiction portrays but of the real world" (Bruner, 2002, p. 9).

As tellers of tales, from a narrative constructivist position, we are credited with creating out of fragmentary and disconnected experience, stories which give a sense of coherence to our lives. McAdams (1993) notes that:

> "we each seek to provide our scattered and often confusing experiences with a sense of coherence by arranging the episodes of our lives into stories. This is not the stuff of delusion or self-deception. We are not telling ourselves lies. Rather, through our personal myths, each of us discovers what is true and what is meaningful in life" (McAdams, 1993, p. 11).

Thus narrative here does not conform to models of 'truth' as providing access to objective reality but rather recognises that people create meaning which is assigned proactively and retroactively onto experience.

Fay (1996) attempts to "steer a middle course between narrative realism and narrative constructionism" (p. 194) with the position of *narrativism.* Narrativism does not understand stories as either/ or; either lived or told. Rather, "we might say that our lives are enstoried and our stories are enlived" (Fay, 1996, p. 197). Recognising that narratives both express experience and impose meaning retrospectively on events, suggests that new meanings may become possible in the telling of events and that these stories may then have the capacity to redirect future experiences.

2.6 Stories for others

The stories that mark our lives (and lives that mark our stories) are not however, as personal as we have thus far explored. It should be obvious that we do not only tell ourselves stories, in some kind of isolated universe, our lives are not monologues. Rather we spend a great deal of time telling stories of our lives to other characters that star in our lives, as we do in theirs. In opposition to the 'pilgrimage' whereby individuals negotiate the perils of the desert alone we would do better to think of a caravan of individuals negotiating a shared terrain. Kearney (2002) contends that:

> "no matter how distinct in style, voice or plot, every story shares the common function of *someone telling something to someone about something.* In each case there is a teller, a tale, something told about and a recipient of the tale. And it is this crucially intersubjective model of discourse which, I'll be claiming, marks narrative as a quintessentially *communicative* act" (Kearney, 2002, p. 5).

People have specific purposes or intentions for telling a story in a particular way, depending on the context of telling and the specific audience (Bruner, 2002) The story produced is undoubtedly affected by various factors in the process of narration, including the context of talk, understanding and interaction with an 'audience', mood of narrator and listener, to name a few (Lieblich et al, 1998).

Fay (1996) writes that people must engage in telling themselves and each other stories (particularly narrative accounts) about the nature of their interrelations as a way of ensuring continued membership in social institutions. Thus, "stories are thus not just about practices, but are of them" (p. 193). He therefore suggests that engaging in a narrative construction of identity is a necessary social endeavour that not just talks about (represents) social practices but is itself a social practice. In this sense individual (narratives) are connected to each other by the fact that they all draw from the same social designs and functions, in the narration of life. Bourdieu (1996) thus argues that through the collection of objective relations agents within the same social system become connected to the collection of other agents engaged in the same field and facing the same realm of possibilities. Bourdieu (1996) stresses that the individual seeks to "direct all his efforts to presentation of self, or rather, to production of self" (p. 301). In this sense, not just any arrangements of facts will tell a proper or acceptable story, not because the 'truth' of such accounts is necessarily questioned, but because the narrative forms, drawn upon in the development of the life narrative, need to be consistent with current intelligibility norms (Gergen & Gergen, 1986). Bruner (2002) remarks that even in the seemingly private spaces of narration for self, we are constrained by the cultural and linguistic tools available for describing self and other:

> "Telling ourselves about oneself is, then, no simple matter. It depends on what *we* think *they* think we ought to be like – or what selves in general ought to be

> like…It hardly requires a postmodern leap to conclude, accordingly, that self is also other" (p. 66).

Language is the primary means through which narratives are made available for observation or exploration. This happens through telling (speaking or writing) for others or through telling oneself about the self. Polkinghorne (1988) writes that "language is the factor that enables us to express the unique order of existence that is the human realm, because it serves as the medium through which we express the world as meaningful" (p. 23). Looking at the ways in which narratives function relationally, language allows us to explore the ways that individuals are able to present themselves (a kind of performative act) through the ways they choose to tell their story to particular audiences. In this way, it is pertinent to recognise language as a communicative tool where words and grammatical features are employed to express particular meanings. Polkinghorne (1988) notes that "meanings of words are social constructions, part of a language game one has learned to play and so linked to the following rules that allow members of a community to understand one another" (p. 26). As a communal 'game', language allows one person's individual 'reality' to be expressed and understood by another member of the same linguistic community. Carbaugh (2001) contends that:

> "To hear stories, in the first place is to be situated with a teller in a particular way. To understand the stories being told to us is to know something of the local world the story is about, and which it constructs" (Carbaugh, 2001, p. 123).

That is not to say that this understanding is complete. Merleau-Ponty cited in Polkinghorne (1988) comments that "there remains a gap between the categories of any language and those of objective reality. We are, then, caught in the prison-house of language with no break through to know extralinguistic reality itself" (p. 26). Frosh (2001) asserts that the possibility of breaking out of this 'prison-house' begins with the recognition that "what is most central to human subjectivity is non-discursive, in the sense that it explicitly resists symbolisation…where what is known in and by a person lies quite simply outside of symbolisation" (Frosh, 2001, p. 28-29). However, he continues in acknowledging that language remains the primary route to knowing ourselves and others: "we can only know people through language, but this does not mean that what is linguistic or discursive fully encompasses them" (pp. 44-45).

3. THEORISING TRAUMA

3.1 Psychological theories of Trauma

"Traumatic events, traumatic experiences – we know what they are: psychological blows, wounds to the spirit" (Hacking, 1995, p. 183). Trauma is broadly defined as "as event that overwhelms the individual's coping resources" (Hamber & Lewis, 1997, p. 1); an event which shatters the person's ordinary sense of him/her*self* (van der Merwe & Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008). Young (1996) writes that the "varieties of 'cruel and painful experiences that corrupt or destroy one's sense of self'" can be grouped together under the label 'trauma' (p. 89). However, these apparently clear definitions belie a heterogenous field of trauma studies, where what counts as a 'trauma' event and who can be called 'traumatised' are repeatedly called in to question and re-definition. The conventional conceptualisation of trauma in psychological theory and practice is the medicalised model of post-traumatic stress disorder, (PTSD), This formulation is questioned and extended in complex-PTSD as described by Herman (1992), and further, in the recognition of Intergenerational Trauma as described by Hoffman (2004).

3.1.1 Post-Traumatic-Stress-Disorder

The current and most pervasive way in which traumatic experience is represented and understood is in terms of the diagnostic idea of Post-traumatic stress Disorder (PTSD). The DSM (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual) IV, lists symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). These symptoms include a stressor which involves "actual or threatened death or serious injury, or a threat to the physical integrity of self or others," or a response of "… intense fear, helplessness or horror" (Turnbull, 1998, p. 25). Janoff-Bullman (1995) writes that in addition to a recognisable stressor, diagnostic criteria for classic PTSD include "(a) re-experiencing the trauma via intrusive thoughts, dreams, or memories; (b) numbing of responsiveness, demonstrated by constrictive affect, feelings of detachment from others, or diminished interest in important activities; and (c) the presence of at least two symptoms, including sleep disturbance, exaggerated startle response, guilt, memory impairment, trouble concentrating and phobias about activities triggering recollection of the event" (p. 74). The DSM thus provides a model for categorising and classifying traumatic experience (under the label post-traumatic stress disorder) and is the pervasive psychological 'tool' for engagement with trauma.

This 'diagnostic' approach to trauma is clearly underpinned by a broadly medicalised and pathology based model of 'illness' and 'healing' The medical model sees the work of psychology as the scientific development of professional diagnoses and treatment plans to address individual pathology or social ills (Painter, Terreblanche & Henderson, 2006; Wampold; Hyun nie & Coleman, 2001). This medical model holds sway within the professional domain of psychology. This dominant and powerful representation of individuality and human nature within the discipline of psychology is supported by a range of psychological theories and practices, which for Parker (1999) is termed the 'psy-complex'. These theories and practices speak of mind and behaviour so as to "divide the normal from the abnormal in order to observe and regulate individuals" (Parker, 1999, p. 62). The power of the medical model lies in its appeal to science, and professional status where the economics of practice are embedded in a health care delivery system (Wampold et al, 2001). Hamber and Lewis (1997) write:

> "current literature and clinical understandings consider post-traumatic stress a normal reaction to an abnormal event. However, the use of terms like 'disorder' and 'syndrome' may imply an over medicalised or pathological understanding of trauma. The medical paradigm tends to interpret trauma as abnormal, and instructs mental health professionals to identify and diagnose victims and treat the pathological responses … In reality, the response is normal and understandable one to an abnormal event" (p. 8).

3.1.2 Extending the Trauma definition: Complex PTSD

Judith Herman (1992) extends the classic PTSD definition of trauma and defines what she terms "complex PTSD" (p. 87). La Capra (1991) works to differentiate 'historical' and 'structural' trauma as a way to distinguish between 'kinds' of trauma that are preceded by a single event (historical trauma) and those that are the result of a pattern of prolonged series of events (structural trauma). In doing this Herman (1992) and La Capra (1991) suggest new ways of engaging with the concept of trauma, notably suggesting that a specific environment (which they label 'totalitarian') can have traumatic consequences. Herman (1992) shows how a prolonged experience of trauma, for example, "where the victim is in a state of captivity, unable to flee, and under the control of the perpetrator" (p. 87) creates symptoms that may vary from those in the DSM IV description and requires the reconceptualisation of trauma as *structural.* Here one can start to make links to South

Africa's systemic, legalized policies as being 'traumatising' of its citizens on a mass-scale, and suggests the need to take seriously the basic idea of critical psychology which argues that "psychology is always – even in its most everyday and mundane forms – *political*" (Hook, 2001, p. 3, emphasis in original).

3.1.3 Intergenerational Trauma

Recognising this systematic, structural notion of trauma, Hoffman (2004) directs us to the theory of intergenerational trauma, which was developed to account for the second-generation children of survivors, of the Holocaust in Nazi Germany during World War Two. Here 'trauma' is not bound to an individual sufferer but is transmittable to following generations (Hamber & Lewis, 1997). Hoffman (2004) writes "for of course, the conditions of the survivors' lives, their psychic states and scars, could not but affect or infect those around them, their children most of all" (Hoffman, 2004, p. 61). She goes on to elaborate the pathological symptoms that she has identified, where children of holocaust survivors attempt to control aspects of their lives through a need to achieve and perform in the world and simultaneously experience a lack of control in a world where they have had to confront the horror of what happened to their parents.

What is indicated by the theory of intergenerational trauma is the idea that "trauma clearly has a contagious effect" (Figley & Kebler, 1995, p. 84). Trauma can come to affect or be passed onto those who are near to and spend time with the 'original' sufferer, a kind of vicarious trauma. In particular the children of survivors are affected by immediate and invisible processes, and 'mental states' can pass between the generations through conscious and unconscious messages (Hoffman, 2004).

3.2 The social construction of trauma

Herman (1992) in her key text on trauma, 'Trauma and Recovery', begins to make sense of the development or genealogy of 'trauma' as a category for describing and acting upon particular kinds of experiences in the world. Together with the refinement of PTSD described above, her analysis alerts us to the fact that 'trauma' has not always existed in the same form. This allows us to recognise that what counts as 'trauma' is a socio-political construct:

> "Three times over the past century, a particular form of psychological trauma has surfaced into public consciousness. Each time, the investigation of that trauma has flourished in affiliation with a political movement" (Herman, 1992, p. 9).

The first shift came with Freud and his work on hysteria; the second was a response to World War One and incidents of shell-shock (or combat neuroses) experienced by soldiers; and lastly, spurred on by women's liberation movements of the 1970s, came a feminist call for inclusion of sexual and domestic violence within the categorisation of 'trauma' (Herman, 1992). These shifts speak of the ways that the concept of 'trauma' has developed in response to social and political movements that seek to address the marginalised and disempowered positions of *particular* members of society. 'Trauma', as a category, is then a tool to legitimise and address those who fall within the recognised boundaries of suffering within a particular social system.

> "[Trauma] is not timeless, nor does it possess an intrinsic unity. Rather, it is glued together by the practices, technologies, and narratives with which it is diagnosed, studied, treated, and represented and by the various interests, institutions, and moral arguments that mobilized these efforts and resources" (Young, 1995, p. 5).

We thus recognise that 'trauma' "is something created by psychiatry at a particular historical and cultural moment" (Bracken, 1998, p. 39). However, Hacking (1999) challenges us to think about what is 'real' and what is constructed about the constructs and categories that we use to define and 'describe' people. Hacking (1999) distinguishes between 'natural' and 'interactive' kinds in order to think about the ways that humans, unlike natural entities such as quarks, 'interact' with the categories that we (as psychologists or social scientists) develop about them. The categories and bodies of knowledge about human beings have the potential to act back on human lives, altering experience and perhaps even creating what the category claims only to describe. Hacking (1999) writes:

> "They [people/individuals] can make tacit or even explicit choices, adapt or adopt ways of living so as to fit or get away from the very classification that may be applied to them. These very choices, adaptations or adoptions have consequences for the very group, for the kind of people that is invoked […] the looping effect of

> human kinds (Hacking, 1995) […] interaction between the idea and the people, and the manifold social practices and institutions that these interactions involve: the matrix, in short" (Hacking, 1999, p. 34).

This idea of 'the looping effect' of 'interacting kinds' (Hacking, 1999) recalls Fay's (1996) discussion around 'narrativism'. Like Fay (1996), Hacking (1999) seems to be interrogating whether description derives from, or precedes and thus generates experience, and similarly resolves the question with a complex 'interaction' effect. For Hacking (1999) pure description is only possible for 'natural kinds' (such as quarks) who are unaffected by the descriptions given of them; for 'interacting kinds' the 'real' and the description are complexly interconnected. Bracken (1998) stresses that a recognition of the ways that trauma has been constructed does not mean that what the category of trauma is attempting to capture is fictional or not real. Rather, it is one particular way of categorising and defining experience (Bracken, 1998) that has implications for how people experience themselves and their world (Hacking, 1999). This might mean thinking about the limits of what is represented with the word 'trauma' and to perhaps take to using the word (to think of Derrida's idea) 'under erasure' (Sampson, 1989).

Each of these conceptualisations of trauma, that is PTSD, complex PTSD and intergenerational trauma, offer us a way to think about and work with traumatic experiences. Through interrogating each of these different conceptualisations we can ask about the relationship between the concepts we create to speak of trauma and the lived experiences of 'trauma', especially for the ways such concepts come to pathologise particular kinds of human experience. In this instance, the realisation that trauma may be systematic and structural rather than an individual psychological matter, suggests important links between social structure and individual narratives. Hacking's (1999) idea of the lopping effect suggests that narrative allows us to interrogate *both* the lived and constructed aspects of experience, in a complex 'interaction effect'.

3.3 Narratives of Trauma

Taking our cue from Hacking (1999), we thus turn to narrative and Fay's (1996) idea of 'narrativism'. Crossley (2000) is cognizant that in getting people to narrate life experiences (especially traumatic experiences), and in attempting to generate a sense of coherence in the accounts produced, one is making strong connections with

psychoanalytic and psychotherapeutic theory and practice. Crossley (2000) argues that therapists are "in the business of 'constructing' meanings through stories rather than 'discovering' meanings 'in' the mind" (p. 58). Crossley (2000) thus identifies therapy as pursuing a narrative task, in a sense 'reauthoring' the life story produced by the individual to produce a coherent and logical narrative. Polkinghorne (1988) likewise suggests that the task of psychoanalysis is to transform narratives into ones that are "more complete, coherent, convincing and adaptively useful than those they have become accustomed to constructing" (p. 120). Reissman (1993) writes that one of the primary ways that individuals come to make sense of experience is by casting it in narrative form. This is especially true of difficult life transitions and trauma. By their very nature narratives allow narrators to create an ordering of disordered and fragmentary experience, giving this experience a kind of unity or coherence that neither nature nor the past possesses so clearly (Reissman, 1993).

The Truth and Reconcilliation Commission (TRC), in South Africa, is recognised as a national process of doing just this, engaging at a collective, national level with the traumatic experiences and memory of apartheid. Individuals before the commission gave testimony and witness to the past, by narrating individual stories of past experiences and past abuses Van der Merwe and Godobo-Madikizela (2008) explicitly argue for the 'healing' potential of this public act of narration:

> "Narrating one's life is about finding structure, coherence and meaning in life. Trauma, in contrast, is about the shattering of life's narrative structure, about a loss of meaning – the traumatised person has 'lost the plot'. A fundamental issue concerning trauma is the regaining of meaning after trauma, the rewriting of one's life narrative to incorporate traumatic loss in the new narrative" (van der Merwe & Godobo-Madikizela, 2008, p. 6).

The commission sought to redress the violent past of a racially (and economically) divided country by creating a meta-narrative of reconciliation under the rubric of 'the new South Africa' and 'the rainbow nation'. Through providing opportunities for 'telling one's story' the TRC proposed that national and individual healing could be facillitated. By making this link between narrating and healing, the TRC makes particular links to

psychoanalytic processes of the 'talking cure' as well as religious (in particular Christian) notions of 'confession' (Motsemme, 2004). However, the TRC may also be understood as a communal space in which individuals, through acts of 'telling' the wider community of their trauma or transgressions, become simultaneously part of the process of 'taking responsibility' (Nadubere cited in Motsemme, 2004). Here 'taking responsibility', with the community as witness, is seen as an important aspect of communal justice systems, which elsewhere (Mazrui & Mamdani as cited in Motsemme, 2004) has been described as "African ways of solving problems" (Motsemme, 2004, p. 913).

Plummer (1995) reminds us, of the politics of telling stories. As much as stories can both account for events of the past, or recreate new versions, "stories are not just practical and symbolic actions: they are also part of the political process" (p. 26). Parker (1989) too writes that "what is spoken, and who may speak, are issues of power" (p. 61); the stories people tell, though seemingly private and individual, 'speak' of broader social, regulative and discursive mechanisms that allow certain kinds of stories to be told, but also constitutes the self through these processes. Using the example of a 'rape story' Plummer (1995) asks:

> "what allows a 'rape story' to be felt, to be heard, to be legitimised? When can a traumatised raped woman tell herself this story? When can she give public voice to it, and indeed to which public will she voice it: her partner, her child, her parent, the police, the media, the court, a rape hotline, the defendant? When will it be a credible voice [?]" (p. 26).

Plummer's (1995) questions raise important issues for thinking about the kind of stories that have been told about and in response to Apartheid South Africa. In particular, Plummer (1995) focuses on four broad area of story telling, that is, the nature of stories, making stories, the strategies of storytelling and the consumption of stories. These stories, as Plummer (1995) has already indicated, carry power to be legitimated and voiced or to be silenced.

3.4 The Paradox of memory and silence

For Herman (1992) trauma entails a conflict between what is simultaneously unspeakable and inarticulable and yet inescapable. Danieli (1998) writes that survivors attempt to balance "the compulsions to remember and to know trauma with the equally urgent needs to forget and not to know about it" (p. 22).

Motsemme (2004), writing about women's experiences during Apartheid, claims that silences are an agentic choice. More than serving to protect one's own and one's children's integrity from painful experiences, silences were an active part of the liberation struggle. Motsemme (2004) observes that the capacity and ability to survive in zones of oppression, especially for women, involved mastering the ability to hide and not being seen. This included maintaining home spaces despite having access to vital 'secrets' of the liberation movement. In this context of oppression, silence is pregnant with meaning and may speak louder than words! What is important is to recognise that, from this position, silences are more than just what is seen as "giving someone else the permission to inscribe and thus dominate you" (Motsemme, 2004, p. 917). Motsemme (2004) argues that silences may indeed provide spaces for reconstituting meanings, functioning as tools of enablement for the oppressed where, silence acts as a form of resistance to the invasive gaze of those who have historically held the power to interpret the speech (and silences) of 'the other'. In this sense, Motsemme (2004) identifies three ways in which silence, as an enabling strategy, can be 'read': Silence as resistance and courage; silence as illusion of stability; and silence as a site for coping and the reconstitution of self. Thus, through demonstrating how silences are 'present' and 'speaking', as opposed to 'absent' and 'voiceless', Motsemme (2004) indicates a space where silences can be regarded as a positive life strategy.

However, despite recognising that silence can be an agentic strategy for coping with trauma, there is something qualitatively different about the *refusal* to speak, and 'voiceless-ness' in the sense of a lack of opportunity for expression or the inability to speak produced by trauma. Godobo-Madikizela (2003) notes that silence can also refer to a failure of language, to explain and describe, that which is "outside the range of usual human experience" (Young, 1996, p. 96). This definitional category of trauma (as presented in early versions of the DSM), has been revised and challenged, most particularly, by Herman (1992) who suggests that some kinds of trauma are not especially

'unusual'. However, the kernel of the definition suggests that there are particular kinds of experience that a person cannot simply incorporate into their existing coping and life strategies (their narrative). Godobo-Madikizela (2003) argues that this is because we simply do not have the words to describe these events:

> "In other words, it was simply *indescribable.* She had no reference point against which to relate the experience. She was doing what many victims and survivors of trauma had done, which is to frame their testimonies in language that they themselves find inadequate to describe their experiences. And here lies the paradox. Language communicates. At the same time, it distances us from the traumatic event as it was experienced, limiting our participation in the act of remembering. We cannot fully understand what victims went through, in part because the impact of the traumatic event cannot be adequately captured in words" (Godobo-Madikizela, 2003, p. 85).

Das (cited in Ross, 2001) is clear that some horror is not and cannot be articulated. In this sense, what is argued is that silence comes to demarcate particular kinds of knowing and often this silence is gendered. In other words, what becomes critical is that women's silence is acknowledged as a legitimate 'discourse' on pain. Motsemme (2004) thus stresses that "we begin to read silences, just as we invest in reading speech and action in the social sciences. Reinterpreting silence as another language through which women speak volumes, allows us then to explore other, perhaps hidden meanings regarding the struggle to live under apartheid" (p. 910). Ross (2001) restates this when she says "we need carefully to probe the cadences of silences, the gaps between fragile words, in order to hear what it is that women say" (Ross, 2001, p. 273).

Derrida's work in deconstruction suggests that through 'difference' we can interrogate the traces of what is absent against what is present. Here we can 'read' what is said for the unsaid because "presence is always already inhabited by absence" (Sampson, 1989, p. 9). A deconstructive approach to interpretation recognises that what is present (particularly with regard to what is said) exists in language, as a system of differences. Further, meaning is deferred, that there is always a time lag between the event and the discourse (Sampson, 1989). Such a recognition suggests that we employ Derrida's idea of meaning

'under erasure' to think of how what is said also, simultaneously, refers to what is not said.

Despite the importance of the 'unsaid' or silences both agentically chosen or oppressively imposed, trauma survivors simultaneously have an urge or 'need to bear witness' (Herman, 1992; Danieli, 1998). Culbertson (1995) elaborates on this paradox, noting that silence inevitably strains against the "present but unreachable force of memory, and a concomitant need to tell what seems untellable" (p. 170). It is against this dual force of memory and silence; coupled with the politics of story telling, that we take up Plummer's (1995) task of thinking about what stories have been told? What stories are silent? And How? As well as the ways that the stories that can be told intersect with other stories and other aspects of identity?

3.5 Gendered narratives of Trauma

What Ross (2001) finds to be of particular interest in the TRC process is *the way* in which women's stories were told. By exploring women's narratives of the TRC process, Ross (2001) notes an emergence of the categories of domesticity and mothering in accounts produced, despite the explicit purpose of the hearings to focus on the experience of specific brutal physically violent events. Ross (2001) describes how a domestic metaphor encompassed accounts of family life such that stories told were not only concerned with the event being recounted but that these were intertwined with the contexts of daily life, through what was said and not said in the testimonies that women provided. Notably the 'linchpins' on which they structured their stories included making and maintaining homes as well as work and raising children (Ross, 2001).

The stories that women told before the Commission bear testimony to the complexities of managing daily life and of their attempts to create and maintain families. Key features of these stories included the separation of family units often over great distances where men left the home to become involved in the struggle and where demands for work and security divided mothers from their children. These stories told of the (silent) ways that politics and activism shaped the ways that women themselves were conscientised and how they could live their (everyday) lives and engage with their families (Ross, 2001).

In essence, Ross (2001) describes how domesticity and mothering formed the kernels of women's stories of their involvement and experiences of Apartheid. Motsemme (2003) likewise notes that women "intertwine their recollections with daily chores of family and work. This embeddedness in domestic and familial life becomes vital in organising their experiences and shapes their sense of self" (p. 234). This contextualising of violent events suggests that these women experienced this trauma as pervasive, as part of 'life' rather than a discrete event. Hayes (1998) contends that "in a sense everybody has a story to tell about our ordinary lives during Apartheid, not only the victims. The real horror of Apartheid is that for four decades its inhumanity and brutality were ordinary, were everyday" (p. 38). This 'everydayness' of our traumatic past also points to the fact that while the perpetration of specific violent acts by the state and other political actors may be in the past, Apartheid is not a closed chapter in South Africa's history but was and continues to be a vital thread in people's lived experiences.

Eckert and Jones (2002) put forward an argument for thinking about 'everyday' life, defining this concept as a "concern with the world of ordinary experience (as opposed to society in abstract" (p. 6). These authors contend that such a concern with 'ordinary' everyday experiences, is based on two important aspects of understanding. The first is the idea that life is meaningfully structured around logical and rational rules (Eckert & Jones, 2002). The second is a belief that "social practice creates social structures" (Eckert & Jones, 2002, p. 7) and not the other way around. Here, the individual is the centre of attention and an active author of experience (Eckert & Jones, 2002). In short, they refuse to accept the abstractedness of postmodern accounts of the human condition, but by looking at 'everyday life' acknowledge the multiple spaces of human agency and individual subjectivity (Eckert & Jones, 2002).

As a way of accessing these everyday accounts, Eckert and Jones (2002) suggest that "life stories, recounted or written down, rank high among the source materials relevant to the historical construction of everyday life" (p. 6). However, they point out that despite the implications of everyday narrations with regard to an active author, "it is always hard to capture the 'voices' of the oppressed, the 'ordinary', the exploited – and to find resistance in their voices, in order to produce agents out of structures" (Eckert & Jones, 2002, p. 9).

The difficulty of such an attempt, lies is what Ross (2010)[1] calls the 'ugliness' of "fulfilling everyday lives in conditions of humiliating impoverishment and contexts that can only be described as ugly" (p.4). In contrast to Eckert and Jones's (2002) idea that life is meaningfully structured around logical and rational rules, for those (past and present) facing poverty, and violence everyday life is not experienced as logical. Ross (2010) writes that:

> "predictability and routine in everyday lives are punctuated by violence and lack, where stability is limited and even the most strenuous efforts often secure only temporary well-being, and where interpersonal and structural violence sometimes intercept to render life in its crudest terms. While people are busy trying to make and live ordinary lives, they do so in contexts that lay bare social and institutional failures to support, transform and care. Reduced material circumstances and opportunities mean that people must make extraordinary efforts to achieve stability and routine in daily lives marked by ugliness and the slow erasure of hope" (Ross, 2010, p. 5).

Such 'raw-ness' of life (to use Ross's (2010) term) sits on the margins of what can be said, and who can speak. Ross (2001) comments on the ways in which talk of this kind of experience, or more aptly the lack of talk, was a critical feature of women's testimonies to the TRC. Ross (2001) thus argues that we should take note of what it is that women say, she makes a special plea that this should be complemented with a deep cognizance of what they do not say, of their silences. In this sense she advocates for context (within the formal and informal spaces for talk) where we not only exercise and excavate words as revealing of women's experience, but also where silences 'embody' meaning (Ross, 2001). Ross (2001) proposes that we need to shift our focus to attend to the effects of everyday, taken-for-granted experiences, especially where it is difficult for people to make sense of lives that do not cohere (temporally) to regular and predictable patterns, and where violence (both interpersonal and structural) puncture everyday life (Ross, 2010).

[1] I was able to access Ross' book, entitled: *Raw Life, New Hope: Decency, Housing and Everyday Life in a Post-Apartheid Community,* late in 2009 even though 2010 is indicated as the publication date.

Godobo-Madikizela (2003) questions how it is possible to do this, to 'read' or 'hear' that which participants cannot speak, but more strongly, that which they have no words for; especially where the 'facts' of traumatic experience are not linguistic but, rather, written on the victim's body and heart and as such remain "an indelible image of what the victim has suffered" (Godobo-Madikizela, 2003, p. 86). Fassin (2007) too writes that the body carries the past into the present; speaking its own kind of story:

> "The body is not only the immediate physical presence of an individual in the world; it is also where the past has made its mark. Or rather the body is a presence unto oneself and unto the world, embedded in a history that is both individual and collective: the trajectory of a life and the experience of a group. The mark of time is engraved so deeply as to be imperceptible: when perceiving ordinary objects and when going about one's daily business, in the wear and tear of the physical organism and the exposure to the risk of illness. In other words, it is beyond the separation of culture and nature. Often, however, history is obscured and the body, existing in the here and now, seems to the observer – or to oneself – like a presence without a past" (p. 175).

Blackman (2002) reminds us that that the complex workings of discursively and socially constructed aspects of, especially traumatic, experience, are also always already about the embodied experiences of distress, anxiety, fear, pain and so forth as implicated by pathology accounts of trauma; making "those who cannot 'speak' these stories intensely embodied subjects" (Motsemme, 2004, p. 916). In returning to talk about the body in this way we can begin to take seriously the ways that traditional (pathological) trauma theory offers a useful and important account of how the traces of the past are inscribed on the body, without reverting to an account that medicalises or pathologises individuals. Taking our cue from Blackman (2002) and Motsemme (2004) we turn back to chapter 2 to recognise that selfhood is both discursive *and* embodied, rather than either/or. Archer (2000) writes that:

> "The way we are organically constituted and the way in which the world is, together with the fact that we have to interact with the world in order to survive, let alone flourish, means that an important part of being human is proofed against language" (p. 3).

It is in the light of this that Van der Merwe and Gobodo-Madikizela (2008) can call the narrating of trauma 'healing'. Recognising such a link between the bodily experiences of trauma and narrative suggests that 'trauma' is best investigated through an exploration of the ways these experiences are integrated into stories that people tell themselves and others of their lives.

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1 Narrative methodology

Narrative research assumes that "people are storytellers by nature" (Lieblich et al, 1998, p. 7) and that, therefore, in a sense, one can 'know' people through the stories they tell of their lives. Reissman (1993) writes that "narrative analysis takes as its object of investigation the story itself" (p. 1). However, Lieblich et al (1998) alert us to the fact that a life story that is provided in an interview, is but *one* version of the life story. Here, the life story is a hypothetical construct that can never be fully accessed in research because of the ways that the life story develops and changes across time and space.

> "When a particular story is recorded and transcribed, we get a 'text' that is like a single, frozen, still photograph of the dynamically changing identity. We read the story as a text, and interpret it as a static product, as if it reflects *the* inner, existing identity, which is, in fact, constantly in flux" (Lieblich et al, 1998, p. 8, italics in original).

Moreover, the story produced is affected by various factors in the process of narration, including the context of talk, aims of the interview, understanding and interaction with an 'audience', mood of interviewer and participant to name a few (Lieblich et al, 1998). Recognising the importance of these contextual factors in the production of narratives in the research interview, narrative analysis entails exploring the diverse mechanisms that participants use to impose order on the flow of experience, to make sense of and give meaning to events and actions in their lives at a particular moment in time. Reissman (1993) writes:

> "[T]he methodological approach examines the informant's story and analyses how it is put together, the linguistic and cultural resources it draws on, and how it persuades a listener of authenticity. Analysis in narrative studies opens up the forms of telling about experience, not simply the content to which language refers. We ask, why was the story told *that* way?" (Reissman, 1993, p. 2).

Lieblich et al (1998) are aware that the work of analysis is not neutral but is always an act of interpretation as its 'truths' are personal, partial and dynamic. Wengraf (2001) notes that (research) interviewing is too easily credited as providing an unproblematic window

on psychological or social realities, suggesting that fixed or stable identities can be 'discovered' through the interview process and that the 'information' that interviewees give about themselves and the world can simply be extracted and quoted, as some kind of objective and unquestionable 'truth'. On the contrary, he asserts, the data obtained through research interviewing is "data *only* about a particular research conversation that occurred at a particular time and at a particular place" (p. 1). If narrative theory is to be believed and narrators are continually making and re-making themselves through the stories they tell, it is pertinent to recognise that the narrative account provided within the interview space is indeed a particular kind of story produced in the momentary interaction between the participant/narrator and researcher/audience.

Reissman (1993) similarly acknowledges that "investigators do not have direct access to another's experience. We deal with ambiguous representations of it – talk, text, interaction, and interpretation. It is not possible to be neutral and objective, to merely represent (as opposed to interpret) the world" (p. 8). For Reissman (1993), this means engaging with the issue of representation, especially with regard to feminist projects that assert the ability to 'give voice' to marginalised participants. If our work is an interpretation, how can we claim to represent our participants' voices? Reissman (1993) argues "we cannot give voice, but we do hear voices that we record and interpret" (p. 8). Instead of arguing for the ability of research to impart some newfound consciousness, or open up some theretofore closed opportunities for speaking, she suggests that it is *listening* that is facilitated. This interaction is what Reissman (1993) has come to consider 'a conversation' wherein "by talking and listening, we [as teller and listener] produce a narrative together" (p. 10). This approach thus critically recognises the interpersonal context of the interview, whereby the connections between teller and listener, which she feels to be the bedrock of all human interaction, are included in accounts of research interviews (Reissman, 1993). She writes: "interviews are conversations in which both participants – teller and listener/questioner – develop meaning together" (Reissman, 1993, p. 55). In recognising interviews as conversations one is obliged to note the reciprocal component implicit in the interaction between interviewer and interviewee. Rather than being a story that simply unfolds complete (as a pre-existing narrative) to be 'discovered' in the course of the interview, the listener plays a critical role in the development of the account provided through his/her interaction with the teller. Reissman (1993) writes of:

"the reciprocal actions of teller and listener in beginning and ending a story and the listener's need to encode and interpret it" (p. 41). In this sense Reissman (1993) does indeed link us to common sense understandings of a conversation, with its imagery of a kind of see-saw interaction between two (or more) people.

However an interview is not a symmetrical conversation and the interactive dynamics of the interview necessarily involve interpretation on the part of the researcher. This is not to say that participants words are erased or overlayed by those of the researcher, rather we need to think of research as a chorus of voices, "an embedded contrapuntal duet" creating a particular kind of harmony which involves both participants (Reissman, 1993, p. 16). The melodies that are produced are of course impacted upon by the researcher and the interactional dynamics of the interview event, as well as power relations and a different listener/interpreter might well have allowed other voices to emerge (Reissman, 1993).

By advocating narrative research as an act of interpretation that can produce various melodies, we are recognising that narrative "differs significantly from its positivistic counterpart in its underlying assumptions that there is neither a single, absolute truth in human reality nor one correct reading or interpretation of a text. The narrative approach advocates pluralism, relativism and subjectivity" (Lieblich et al, 1998, p. 2).

However, this is not to say that the work produced is merely a fiction but rather that we recognise different forms of 'truth'. The Personal Narrative Group (1989) contend that "[w]hen talking about their lives, people lie sometimes, forget a lot, exaggerate, become confused, and get things wrong. Yet they *are* revealing truths" (p. 261). These truths are not objective truths of the past 'as it actually was,' but rather alert us to a form of subjective truths and meaning in our experience, which are not to be evaluated by means of proof or evidence (Personal Narrative Group, 1989). Narratives are inescapably interpretive because they do not (and cannot) provide direct access to other selves, times, cultures, experiences and meaning (Reissman, 1993). Some would even argue that the narrator herself has no direct access to experience or to her own subjectivity and, therefore, even the *production* of a life story is an interpretive process. Josselson (2006) tackles the question of what this might mean for the representation we might produce of the speaking participant:

> "[D]oes the interpreter/researcher privilege the voice of the participant, trying to render the meanings as presented in the interview – or does the researcher try to read beneath – or, in Ricoeur's metaphor – in front of the text – for meanings that are hidden, either unconscious or so embedded in cultural context as to make them seem invisible?" (p.4).

The idea that the participants can be 'co-constructors' in the production of the data is appealing, but suggests that the power imbalance between the researcher and researched can be overcome or equalised. To make such a suggestion seems disingenuous, negating the framing of this project is as an *interpretive* endeavour. Henning et al (2004) caution that interviews are, by their very nature, 'asymmetrical' (p. 54). This unevenness, characteristic of the research relationship, has implications for the process of conducting interviews and analysing material, although these authors are quick to note that the typical standardised interview tends to overlook this "asymmetrical communication dyad of interviewer and interviewee", focusing rather on the content of the discussion (p. 56). Building on the idea that interviews are dialogic communicative acts, which follow particular conventions, Henning et al (2004) continue to liken the relationship of an interview to a conversational one, but insist that the process of interviewing is managed by the researcher. It is important to recognise that the power relations continue to be uneven, and we need to ask: "Who asks the questions and for what purpose?' (Reissman, 1993, p. 20). Reissman (2008a) asks "[h]ow is a story coproduced in a complex choreography – in spaces between teller and listener, speaker and setting, text and reader, and history and culture?" (p. 105). McCormack (2002) states that "[k]nowledge constructed through this process is recognised as being situated, transient, partial, and provisional; characterised by multiple voices, perspectives, truths and meanings. It values transformation at a personal level, individual subjectivity and the researcher's voice" (McCormack, 2002, p. 220).

Participants do, however, *speak*, and retain the power to choose how they speak. As the researcher, I have no 'say' in what my participants say, no power to choose the words that they use when they tell a story of their lives, or when they answer a question. Nor do I select which events to narrate, which stories to tell (or not to tell), or *how* to tell these stories. Unlike Spivak (1988) I do not hold that "there is no representable subaltern

subject that can know and speak for itself" (p. 285). Beyond the interviews, on an everyday level, these women tell stories of their lives to themselves, and those around them, interrogating and making sense of their lives, stories that are captured briefly in the course of our interview but which continue and change after it ends. Recognising that the lives and stories of the participants exist outside of the momentary space of the interview, allows us to acknowledge that the transcript that is produced is a fixed text, a snap shot of a life in motion. The stories they have told are of experiences that 'happened' to them and exist 'outside' of the project (even if we cannot access these in an unmediated form). Clegg (2006) writes: "so that while there are discursively produced subjectivities, there is also an embodied sense of self continuous through the history of a particular life" (p. 318). Sims-Schouten; Riley and Willig (2007) adopt a critical realist position in research and note that although:

> "[i]n critical realism, language is understood as constructing our social realities. However, these constructions are theorized as being constrained by the possibilities and limitations inherent in the material world" (p. 102).

Beyond their speaking, the participants have little power to direct the fixing of the interview into text or to re-present themselves and their stories in the manner of their own choosing. Thus I agree with Reissman (1993) that the central task of the researcher entails 'listening' as the first and critical step towards understanding. Krog, Mpolweni and Ratele (2009) note that:

> We *listen* to one another's stories so that we share carrying the truth. But we also listen to stories in order to become, for one brief moment, somebody else, to be somewhere we've not been before. We listen to stories in order to be changed. At the end of the story we do not want to be the same person as the one who started listening" (p. 19).

Listening entails *hearing and understanding*, something outside of oneself, rather than imposing ready-made criteria. Using the idea of 'appropriation' from Ricoeur (1981), I "make [my] own what was initially alien" (p. 185). However, this process inevitably occurs "at and through a distance" (p. 143) and it is the creative potential of the interpretive act to cross this distance, to engage that which lies outside of the familiar or

taken-for-granted. Ricoeur (1981) points to the possibilities for changing our understandings, not only of texts (or the lives of others) but also, of our-selves: "to understand is not to project oneself into the text; it is to receive an enlarged self from the apprehension of proposed worlds which are the genuine object of interpretation" (pp. 182-183). We know the feeling of getting lost or escaping into stories of characters who are dissimilar to ourselves, or of identifying with people who live in different times and places through fiction or biography. This act of "relinquishment is a fundamental moment of appropriation and distinguishes it from any form of taking possession. Appropriation is also and primarily a 'letting-go'" (Ricoeur, 1981, p. 191). Such distanciation from oneself becomes possible precisely when a story is unfamiliar, causing us to hesitate or shift position, to think about what we are presented with from a new perspective. Thus, as Andrews (2007) cautions "listening is hard work, demanding as it does an abandonment of self in a quest to enter the world of another; and it takes time" (p. 15).

4.2 Research Questions

Through the use of narrative theory and method my research explores the 'private' and familial spaces of remembering and telling about the past, looking at:

1. What stories do women tell of their everyday lives under Apartheid?
2. What is spoken about within families?
3. What are the implications of these stories, said or unsaid, for the next generation?
4. How are the stories that are told negotiated in relation to current lives and anticipated futures?

4.3 Participants

Accessing participants for any narrative research project requires finding a particular grouping of people who will be prepared to speak to someone they do not know about their lives *in-depth*, demanding time and a willingness to risk considerable personal exposure. The context of this study exacerbates these difficulties. Given the divisive history of the township[2] within which I worked, it was essential to find a way to work within the community that did not exacerbate divisions or possibly even endanger participants. We recognised that talking about the past necessarily means talking about politics and the lived outcomes of political decisions. Andrews (2007) writes: "For I am

[2] The township is un-named in the study to preserve the anonymity of the participants

convinced that there is a profound sense in which the personal is political, and the political is personal. It is through the minutiae of daily life that human beings access the political ripples, and tidal waves, of their times" (p. 2).

Using my supervisor's personal networks, entrance to an appropriate research community was negotiated through the current political structure in the township. This entailed a lengthy process and several rounds of meetings and negotiation. This route of entry means that the participants were identified by a particular political sector, the ANC led council and allied structures, e.g. the SACP. This overtly political route into the community had the disadvantage of framing the project as a kind of 'follow-up to the TRC', exacerbated by the fact that there were, at the time, unfounded rumours circulating about a further round of TRC compensations for victims. Extended discussions with the leadership and with participants entailed clarifying the nature of research, distinguishing it from the TRC process and trying to ensure that no unrealistic expectations were raised. Despite these difficulties, this process provided direct, sanctioned access to appropriate participants as the current 'status quo' political structures represent precisely those activists of the past that were targeted by the state.

Before embarking on the project, we (my interpreter, supervisor and I) were able to meet with the older generation participants in the community hall where both the project and the ethics were explained. At this meeting participants signed informed consent forms indicating their intention to partipate in the project (see Appendix 1, p. 156).

Subsequent to this, a member of the task team escorted the researchers (my interpreter and me) on a drive through the township to foster a general sense of familiarity with the place and providing a brief historical sense of the political events of the eighties, the context of the traumatic events of participants' lives. Road numbers (rather than names, a legacy of apartheid 'town-planning') which became key markers for place in the stories that were subsequently told, were thus not abstract identifications but drew up images, for both my interpreter and myself, of the places recalled.

The project engaged with participants in a cross-generational fashion, looking at a small number of families (six participants and their daughters/sons) and tracing their (historical) experiences across the generations. In total there were 17 interviews conducted, from 6

older generation women and 4 younger generation participants, across 6 families. All the participants' names and surnames have been changed.

Table 1: Profile of Participants

Participant	Age	Gender	Children	Occupation	Education Level	Trauma Story
Cele, Londisiwe	64	F	8	Cleaner; later dishwasher for catering company	"did not go to school"	Son/brother killed in outside room by special branch; husband/father killed by police
Cele, Mpumelelo	41	F	0	Manager at a local supermarket	Matric and post-school qualifications	
Sibisi, Nqobile	Late 50s/ early 60s	F	5	Domestic work	Grade 10 (standard 8)	Husband/father stabbed & killed; brother/uncle attacked by police & dies in hospital
Sibisi, Grace	31	F	2	Cleaning for a local business	Grade 11 (standard 9) and post-school qualifications	
Vilakazi, Millicent	45	F	2	Works for a local cleaning company (nightshift)	Between grades 8 & 11 (standard 6 – 9)	Brother/uncle killed by the vigilante group
Vilakazi, Lunga	17	M	0	Grade 9 (standard 7) student	Currently in grade 9 (standard 7)	
Nkosi, Mbalenhle	57	F	2	Mail order and now sewing projects; side-line small business	Grade 8 (standard 6)	Husband/father killed by vigilante group
Nkosi, Nhlanhla	30	M	0	Unemployed, piece jobs at the community centre	Grade 6 (standard 4)	
Radebe, Nolwazi	50	F	6	Collected metal, made tea and now a typist	Grade 11 (standard 9)	Son murdered in political assassination
Mkhize, Nobuntu	67	F	3	Domestic work, and now runs a small business	Grade 4 (standard 2)	Sons die – oldest son in vigilante group and police killing;

As seen above, the participants of this project were women and their adult children. The primary participants (older generation) were identified as having experienced a specific, direct personal trauma under Apartheid (usually the murder of a child or husband). The second generation were identified simply as being a child or close-relative of the first-generation participant. My interaction with the second-generation was not limited to girl children only, as this project seeks to explore family dynamics where relationships amongst siblings, particularly where children may have died in the struggle. Because of concerns of secondary traumatisation and out of respect for participants' own choices about inter-generational silences, I interviewed participants of different generations separately. This was complicated by the spaces available in which to interview but was the general rule for how the interviews happened. In some instances, however, the participating other family member was unavoidably in the same home at the moment of interviewing a particular participant. Of course, this means that they are implicated, in subtle (and at times more explicit) ways in the narratives that were produced.

4.4 Data Collection

As a way of accessing the participants' stories, I made use of narrative interviews that allowed the researcher (myself) to probe accounts provided and explore fully the concepts of memory and silence. In doing so, it is recognised that while this approach focuses on 'talk' and getting people to articulate their experiences, we are reminded that "we can only know people through language, but this does not mean that what is linguistic or discursive fully encompasses them" (Frosh, 2001, pp. 44-45).

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

At least two, one-hour long, interviews were conducted in isiZulu with each participant from the older generation, attempting to elicit information about the community and more collective forms of remembering, but most significantly to explore participants' own personal histories and narratives as well as intra-familial narratives. Given the difficulty of telling trauma stories, the first interview was designed as an open narrative interview with follow up interviews focused on probing both the trauma and family narratives as told (or in some instances left untold) in the first interview. This formed a rather general guideline for the themes and questions that directed the interviews, but often the cues for talk were motivated by the stories that the participant produced and the way in which the respondent responded (verbally and non-verbally) to questions. This neat distinction between the first and second interviews therefore belies the heterogeneous way in which each interview happened. Typically there were (often quite lengthy) lags between each interview, which enabled me to revisit the interview and, in some instances, review the transcripts, before proceeding with follow-up interviews. The younger generation, were interviewed once, for an hour, also primarily in isiZulu, and in all cases within the family home.

For the older generation a broader set of narrative questions comprised the schedule for the first interview:

- Tell me about yourself and your family and where you live.
- Tell me the story of your experiences living under Apartheid.
- Tell me any specific events that you recall happening to you / your family, people that you know or about the community specifically.

However, in most cases participants started telling about who they are by narrating their own specific trauma-story, possibly because this was how the interviews were set up but also possibly because this event was experienced as a pivotal defining moment in the life story. These stories unfolded quite spontaneously. As a way to attend to 'everyday' narratives and senses of self we probed broad themes of childhood and growing up, school and work, family life and romantic partners, mothering and grand-mothering, as well as community experiences.

Second and third interviews, served as a follow up to the first, but in most instances focused on probing the details of family narratives; as well as trying to elicit information about silenced aspects of identity:

- Do you talk about the past with your family (children)?
- What do you tell them and how? (if anything)
- Are there any parts of the past you do not want your children to know about?
- When and under what context does this talk happen? Who is present? (And conversely who is absent?)In what ways would you describe your experiences as similar/dissimilar to men within your family (your husband, partner, brothers) or community?
- Have opportunities for talk changed post-apartheid, or between being 'mother' /'grandmother'? Can you talk more with your grandchildren than your children? What has changed? How?

In a few cases, eliciting information about silenced aspects of identity meant re-visiting the trauma-story and trying to make sense of what happened (the event), but more importantly, its meaning for the narrator's version of her life story.

For the younger generation, much like their mothers, initial questions were directed at developing a narrative of who they are:

- Tell me about yourself?
- Tell me about where you grew up? What was life like?
- Talk to us about school and work?

The accounts provided similarly introduced a kind of trauma-story that was probed as a family and individual story. Much like with the older-generation we also probed everyday stories including the same set of general themes as described above. In addition we explored family-narratives:

- What do you know about the past (at a national, community and familial level)? In particular what do you know of your mother's past, but also your siblings' / father's experiences?
- What do you feel about the past? In relation to the present / future?
- Is there anything you feel is being withheld from you?
- What do you want to know? (And conversely what do you not want to know?)

Although all the interviews had been assigned an hour, as the interviews evolved we adjusted these times to suit individual participants. Many of the initial interviews with the older generation took less than an hour (around 45 to 50 minutes was the standard for the initial interviews), others took an hour an a half (standard second interviews with the first generation and first interviews with the second generation). An exception was a single first-generation participant whose initial interview was almost two hours long, owing to the fact that she had typed out her story prior to our meeting and then proceeded to read it to us as her interview. Most of the interviews happened in the participants' homes, although one interview was run in the community hall, and a small number were held in the office of a member of the task team assigned to the project by the community leadership.

4.5 Role of the researcher

All the interviews were done with the aid of an interpreter and transcribed into text. This means that all the interviews were conducted in the participants' home-language, isiZulu. This meant that although I, as the researcher, was the 'primary interviewer', much of the process was closed off to me. My interpreter, as a qualified clinical psychologist, played a very important role in the interviews. As a fellow psychologist, she was a very active research associate in the interviews as she understood the directions that the project was taking as well as being able to catch the psychological content in the discussion that another translator would not have been able to do. Although I was responsible for the overall direction and line of questioning of the interviews, much of the interviews were spent with long stretches of talk and probing solely between the interpreter and the participant. This fostered a deep sense of rapport between my interpreter and the participants. Their long tracks of 'natural' free-flowing talk, in a language foreign to me, also meant that I was excluded in various ways. I did not always know what was happening in the interviews, and consequently, some of my questions then seem irrelevant or misdirected because I had missed important aspects of the story. If we think of interviews as situated encounters, we need to shift the idea of who is the research authority when the interview is being translated. This suggests to us that we also need to insert the translator into the research and recognise her, not as a transparent or neutral tool for recoding language but rather as an active interpreter whose voice and subject positioning is added to the research mix. Reissman (2008a) is quite clear that the

interpretation and translation that happened in her own research had an impact on the dynamics and content of the interview process and has taken to referring to the three-way dialogue of interviewer, translator and interviewee as a 'trialogue'.

Before all of the initial interviews we (re)confirmed the standard and obligatory ethics of research (for both the first and second generation) and consent forms were filled in for those who hadn't already done so at the initial meeting with the task team. All the interviews were tape recorded and then transcribed and translated by an assistant. The dynamics of recording the interviews and of who would have access to the tapes produced formed a part of discussing the ethics of the project.

4.6 Data Analysis

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

However, this distinction may be unhelpful as the work of narrative analysts is rarely as clean-cut as presented above. In fact, the complex ways in which content and structure work together to produce a narrative of a life is far more interesting. Squire et al (2008) cite Wetherell (1998) when they propose a 'dialogic approach' that advocates doing both kinds of analysis (content and structural) at the same time as a conceivable and helpful solution to doing research, within the narrative tradition. As such, I have taken Reissman (2008a) up on her offer to combine the various stances of doing narrative analysis. She writes :

> "The […] approaches to narrative inquiry are not mutually exclusive, in practice, they can be adapted and combined. As with all typologies, boundaries are fuzzy. In these postmodern times of boundary crossing, I encourage students to innovate and transgress the borders created by my separate chapters" (Reissman, 2008a, p. 18).

In line with Reissman's own movement through her chapters; my analytic steps moved first through transcription and translation, is in itself a complicated layer of interpretation. I then move to think about and interrogate the structure of the narratives offered to me by my participants. I do this through the comparison of 'timelines' and 'interview lines'. Finally I focus on content by thematically coding the transcripts to make sense of 'what is said'.

4.6.1 Transcription and Translation

Given that the interviews were in isiZulu, this necessitated a third party transcriber and translator. For Reissman (1993) and Emerson and Frosh (2004), transcribing is more than the technical process of shifting spoken words into textual form, and is seen as an intensely interpretive process, such that Reissman (1993) contends "analysis cannot be easily distinguished from transcription" (p. 60). This interpretive nature of transcription is seen, on one level, through the choice of how to represent the participants' words. Transcription inherently involves the issues of selection and reduction, what to include in the text produced (what can be said) and what to exclude (left unsaid). These choices are acts of interpretation. Reissman (2008a) reconfirms this position in her later book by stating: "in constructing a transcript, we do not stand outside in a neutral objective position, merely presenting 'what was said'. Rather, investigators are implicated at every step along the way in constructing the narratives we then analyze" (p. 28). She writes "[a]uthors, for example, typically erase translation problems, assuming questions about equivalence of meaning are irrelevant. Like transcription, translation is often treated as a technical task, assigned to assistants" (Reissman, 2008a, p. 42).

Reissman (1993) argues that much of the work of analysis happens in the process of transcription. Here, a deeper engagement and familiarity with the participants' narratives

is fostered, and the beginning processes of organising and analysing accounts happens. Thus, Reissman (1993) writes that "in my experience, the task of identifying narrative segments and their representation cannot be delegated. It is not a technical operation but the stuff of analysis itself, the 'unpacking' of structure that is essential to interpretation" (p. 58). This process of transcription is further complicated in the instance of this project in that the initial transcription had to be conducted by an isiZulu speaker and then translated into English.

The sequence and layering of translation and interpretation in my own work included direct translation during the interviews, through an interpreter, as well as the verbatim transcription and translation of the audio-tape into text. Subsequent to this textualising process, was a process of back-translation (or blind-translation) whereby, a sample of 10 of the interviews, the English was translated back into isiZulu (without recourse to the original verbatim isiZulu) in order to validate the English translation. Numerous meetings were then held to check the original verbatim isiZulu (as transcribed and then translated from the tape) against the back-translated isiZulu. These meetings involved lengthy discussions amongst the various members of my translation team (that is my interpreter, transcriber/translators and back-translators) who debated translation both in terms of direct word equivalence and the difficulty of attaining such equivalence; as well as the intended meaning of tracks of talk (Baker, 1992). Of course, as Ricoeur (2006) contends "the only way of criticizing a translation – something we can always do – is to suggest another supposedly, allegedly, better or different one" (p. 22). Such a tradition of appealing to others for validation has a well recognised history in qualitative work.

Interpretation in this project is therefore a multi-layered experience, filtered through numerous interpreters before the final 'interpretation'. Does this strengthen the final interpretation or mute it? I am reminded here that "all investigators, no matter the kind of data – oral, written, and/or visual – lack access to another's unmediated experiences" (Reissman, 2008a , p. 23). Rather, the kind of 'data' that is available to me is the result of a 'trialogue', where my interpreter, transcribers and translators have played important roles in the construction of the accounts provided (Reissman, 2008a). Josselson (2006) wants us to reject taking up a modernist position where we treat interview 'data' as 'facts'. Rather, she calls for us to regard the results of our investigations to be "situated interpretation" (Josselson, 2006, p. 6). In doing so she wants us to recognise that our final

reports are reflections on ourselves as 'knowers', and to be aware of the limits to 'knowing' (Josselson, 2006, p. 6).

I am aware that these translations were necessitated by my own lack of knowledge, my inability to speak isiZulu. The stories may have in some sense been told to the interpreter, or through the translations but they were told *for* me. Fay (1996) writes "sometimes *not* being one can facillitate knowing one" (p. 21), and certainly at moments in the interview process, the interpreter and I were both aware that emotionally difficult or political stories were facilitated by my 'outsider' status. I was in some ways 'safe' precisely because I lacked connections, networks, or quite importantly political affiliations within the community. But I was also 'lost in translation' and this process alerts us to the round about ways that negotiation and meaning, across linguistic and cultural divides, might in fact be facilitated.

4.6.2 Narrative Structure: Life and interview Time lines

The focus of this section of analysis is to probe how the content, *what* is being said, has been told in the interview? Reissman (2008a) argues for shifting our attention to ask *how* and *why* an event is told in the way it is, what is achieved in the telling, and how is telling the story *like this* affected by the presence of the researcher/audience? Key analytic questions here include "[h]ow is [the narrative] organised? Why does an informant develop her tale *this* way in conversation with *this* listener?" (Reissman, 1993, p. 61). Reissman (2008a) extends these questions "[h]ow are narratives organised – put together – to achieve a narrator's strategic aims? How does a speaker attempt to persuade a listener that a sequence of events 'really happened' with significant effects on the narrator? Are different narrative styles heard, or are some more familiar, easily recognised as stories?" (p. 77). These questions shift attention from the 'told' to the 'telling' (Reissman, 2008a) or, in Wengraf's (2002) terms, from the lived to the told stories. The focus thus shifts from looking at the events of a life to the story that is produced to speak of (and to) such a life. Note that "[b]ecause it takes language seriously, structural narrative analysis provided tools for investigators who want to interrogate how participants use speech to construct themselves and their histories" (Reissman, 2008a, p. 103).

As a way to focus on the structure of the narratives, I have adapted Wengraf's (2001) model of Biographical-Narrative-Interpretive-Method [BNIM]. Like Wengraf (2002), I hinge my analysis on the production of two documents drawn out of and from the transcripts (see Appendix 2 and 3). The first is a chronological *timeline* which tracks the 'events' narrated of the individual participants life in chronological sequence as they occurred in the life. Second, is a record of the themes and topics of narration as they develop in the 'situated' context of the interview, which I have come to call the *interview-line* reflecting on the order, weighting and time afforded to each of these aspects of the story. These themes and topics are tracked against the questions that were asked by myself and my interpreter, so as to recognise the situatedness of the interview setting, as well as to think about the depth in which each question is covered (as tracked by interview time).

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

4.6.3 The Content of Stories: thematic analysis

This aspect of the analysis, which happened in parallel with both the active processes of translation and structural analysis described above, entails interrogating what is said, and what is not said. Based in a general thematic tradition, I have 'coded' the transcripts into themes that emerge most frequently across the interview participants as well as note the novel explanations that participants draw on in their stories. These novel explanations can be both accounts that 'don't fit' into the thematic structure common to the other participants or more emergent themes as compared to anticipated results. McCormack (2002) notes that:

> "[r]esearchers working within a narrative paradigm frequently engage in in-depth conversations with participants. Analysis and interpretation of these conversations

> often involves reducing long stretches of text to codes and recombining the codes into themes that move across stories, across people and across contexts" (p. 219).

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

Following from these three area of interpretation, analysis is organised accordingly, starting with an investigation of the interactional dynamics that informed what could be said or remained unsaid in the interviews focusing on the form of the interview as a 'situated encounter' and the ways that translation complicated these dynamics. Second, by looking at the narrative structure of the interview we can attend to *how* the participant constructed their narrative. Third, we engage with the content of the narratives in a thematic fashion to explore *what* was said in the interviews.

5. AN ANALYSIS OF INTERACTIONAL DYNAMICS

Access to my participant's worlds was only possible through the interactional dynamics of the interview encounter, including the necessary translation of the isiZulu conversation. Further layers of interpretation were entailed in the layered processes of translation and transcription, all of which allowed some things to be 'said' while others remained 'unsaid'. In this section of analysis I reflect on these layers of interpretation and the complicated ways they have alerted me to what a participant says and *how* they came to say it and how the research process interprets and generates meaning.

5.1 Interview dynamics: *doing* narrative interviews

The process of constructing meaning in the interviews is evident in the way that the participants constructed their accounts *in situ* as they navigated the interview dynamics.

To illustrate the ways in which the story teller and audience interact in the production of narratives, I will look at the narratives of two participants, the longest and shortest interviews. A brief comparison will show that the longest interview; Nolwazi Radebe's first interview, 1 hour 43 minutes and 8 seconds, with 14 tracked questions differs significantly from the shortest, Lunga Vilakazi, 35 minutes and 41 seconds, with 58 tracked questions. These differences allude to the ways that participants chose to narrate the events and stories of their lives, what they believed an interview should be like, as well as the kind of dynamics, between participants and researchers, fostered in the context of *doing* an interview. Although overtly very different both Nolwazi's and Lunga's interviews suggest the complicated ways that the dynamics of each interview grew out of the choices in direction of the participants and researchers. The interview impacted on what could be said by the participant, but the choices of the participant also impacted on the directions that the interview took. It is here that the idea of 'co-constructing' or 'co-authoring' research data holds sway:

> "All narratives are, in a fundamental sense, co-constructed. The audience, whether physically present or not, exerts a crucial influence on what can and cannot be said, how things should be expressed, and so on. We now recognise that the personal account, in research interviews, which has traditionally been seen as the expression of a single subjectivity, is in fact always a co-construction. Interviews now routinely seek reflexively to trace how, often in the most subtle ways, they

have jointly acted to construct the narrative which has emerged from the encounter" (Reissman, 2008b, p. 80).

5.1.1 Nolwazi: 'The story-teller'

Nolwazi Radebe is a 50 year old woman and mother of six who works as a typist for a local business. What is especially noteworthy about her interviews is that, unlike all of the other participants, her first interview and part of her second interview were essentially readings. She chose to spend her time with us reading pre-written 'chapters' (chapters because she had titled them as such) of her story. At our first meeting she asked her daughter to retrieve a box full of hand- and type- written texts which she proceeded to read to us as her interview; and at the end of this first meeting (after a 1 hour 36 minute and 30 second long interview) when her and our commitments compelled us to conclude, we were only half way through the allotted text. During our time with her, Nolwazi, 'the story teller', caught us up in long, detailed stories of her family, life, children and work, stories that had been thought out and written prior to our meeting and told in eloquent and beautiful isiZulu. Khanyisile, my interpreter, and I were assigned to the relatively passive role of listeners. The tracked questions found in the interview-line (refer to Appendix 3, p. 190) are questions that seek clarity as opposed to trying to probe and explore an idea that Nolwazi had raised or redirect the interview in our own directions. Nolwazi took the lead in these interviews and not until about half way through the second interview do I feature at all and even then my questions were answered with detailed and elaborate stories. One of the big differences between Nolwazi and Lunga's interview is with regard to the number of questions asked and the responses to them. I asked Nolwazi nearly fifty minutes into the second interview:

Tarryn: Okay, umm, I am going to start asking questions now. There is some stuff that I don't know about yet and I would like to ask questions to have some directions. […] Umm, what I want to know quite a lot about is about your children and you have told us about [second daughter] and maybe you can tell about when they were growing up[…] All other children [Nolwazi Radebe interview 2, p. 42, 48:38]

She responded with stories of each of her children in turn, not of their births and sequences of life but of single events that speak of them as individuals. She spends almost an hour and a half telling these stories, including detailed explanations of events. Nolwazi introduces us to her daughter's husband with the story of two boys who were their neighbours and she tells us small details of their life next door:

Nolwazi: Uma ngibuya emsebenzini ntambama sezihambile izingane. Kuthi nje ngabo 6 zibuye zizobuka angazi nokuthi kwakudlalani, zizobuka lana kithina iTV. Zithi eh, zicela ukuzoayina ngoba lapha ugesi ucishiwe. Ngangiqala ukuzwa mina ngazo ngangingazi, **(When I got back from work in the afternoon, I realized that they had gone. Just around 6 o'clock these kids came and they watched TV and I don't know which programme they were watching. They then asked to come and iron their clothes since the electricity from next door was not working, It was for the first time that I heard of the electricity not working)** [Nolwazi Radebe interview 2, p. 20]

Another feature of our interviews with Nolwazi was what happened off-tape. Our first interview was interrupted 4 times, as Nolwazi was called away by her family and neighbours, specifically regarding the payment of her daughter's school fees. In this context, we were then told the story of her daughter's experiences at a local high school in justification of the daughter being sent to boarding school, as well as an elaboration of the current situation in which the family's inability to pay meant that the daughter was now staying at home and not attending school. I am convinced that these discussions and negotiations would have happened regardless of our presence in her home, but certainly recognise the ways that these side conversations led to a particular kind of discussion that called upon our sympathies and might have implied a request to provide financial assistance to the family. Our roles as passive listeners and 'objective' researchers was challenged and we felt compelled to do something with what we heard. However, despite the pull to be more than passive listeners we chose to remain so out of concern for the effect of more active responses on the kind of research dynamics we might foster.

Similarly in the second interview, we are called upon to provide support. When we arrived at the participant's home, as scheduled, we discovered that she was still at the

hospital (after accompanying her neighbour). This allowed us the opportunity to approach her elder daughter staying at home with her about the possibility of interviewing her some time in the future. The daughter refused. After then deciding to fetch our participant from the hospital where she was waiting for a taxi, our interview proceeded with somewhat of a focus on the daughter we had approached. This focus was about explaining to us the daughter's reasons for not wanting to participate but also when asked about being a mother: "Kubenjani-ke ukuba umama kuwena? **(How has it been like being a mother to you?)** [Nolwazi Radebe interview 2; p. 73; 01:29:00] she responds with an elaborate tale of how difficult life has been financially since the death of her husband and how her daughter has been providing what little she can. The appeal (to us) is that the daughter is a very hard worker who just needs a job that can pay a little more.

Nolwazi: Ukuba angikholwa mhlambe ngabe sengashaywa istroke. Ngabe nje [Khanyisile] istroke sesangishaya. Sengithandazela nje ukuthi lona engathi angathola umsebenzi womunye,**(If I was not a child of God, I think I would have a stroke by now. [Khanyisile], I would have stroke by now. I am now praying and hoping that this one get a better job)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Nolwazi: Umuntu futhi obonayo ukuthi ukuba uyasebenza ngabe angicoshi phansi u[daughter].**(You see, a person that would have done wonders for me if she had a good job is [my daughter])**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Nolwazi: Uyabona [my daughter] [Khanyisile] ngendlela anenhliziyo enhle ngayo nangendlela angithanda ngayo, **(You see [my daughter] [Khanyisile], my child has got a good heart/she is very kind, she loves me whole heartedly)** [Nolwazi Radebe interview 2; p. 77 - 78]

Who we are and where we come from, seems to influence the way that Nolwazi narrates her story *for us;* but we can also see that these dynamics (who we are) in turn influences our reading of her narrative. These moments in Nolwazi's narrative, which seem specifically directed at us do not comprise the majority of her tale. For the most part her story is the reading of a text whose audience is unknown. It is unlikely that she wrote her life story in anticipation of our interview, especially since a number of 'chapters' were not read to us. It is possible that she wrote these texts for the TRC though the content of her

narrative seems to suggest that her focus is not on telling the 'political' trauma story but rather on her more 'private' traumas of being a woman who is attacked and raped, and the difficulties of raising children in a situation of poverty. Her story does not focus on the deaths of her husband and son in much detail at all. This means that we can only guess at her anticipated audience, perhaps it was anticipated for 'outsiders' such as Khanyisile and myself, perhaps she thought of us as a means for her story to be heard by another audience she did imagine. What is noteworthy however, is that in leaving us with the written version, (the only copy of her story, I believe) she is trusting us, as Andrews (2007) notes, "with one of the most important responsibilities someone can give you: not only to document the story of their lives, but to pass them on" (p. 19).

5.1.2 Lunga: 'The good-boy'

In contrast, the dynamics of the interview with Lunga, positioned us quite differently. Lunga Vilakazi is a 17 year old school going boy. He was interviewed immediately after his mother's follow up interview, in the home of his aunt. This very short interview, 35 minutes and 41 seconds, which he chose to do primarily in English, demanded that I was very active in the interview (and more so than any other of the interviews) as I asked many questions about his life. Certainly both the shortness of the interview and the demands upon myself to take the lead in the interview were directly related to the fact that the interview was in English; however Lunga also chose to respond to my questions with short answers with very little 'story-telling' and detail. I ask:

Tarryn:	Okay, umm, and what is school like for you? [Lunga Vilakazi interview, p. 4, 07:58,]
Lunga:	It like a big thing for me
Khanyisile:	It is like?
Lunga:	A big thing,
Khanyisile:	A big thing,
Lunga:	Ngeke ube nalutho uma ungafundile, ngisho kungathiwa kukhona into oyaziyo kodwa uma ungafundile nje. **(You can't have anything or have anything if you are not educated even if there is something that you are good at but if you are not educated it means nothing)**

Khanyisile: It's a big thing to him because you know going to school he's important because if you don't to school you won't be nothing for you to become someone you must go to school. [Lunga Vilakazi interview, p. 4]

After Khanyisile's translation for me I ask another question, and this kind of interaction (questions followed by brief answers) characterised our entire interview with Lunga, so that at one point I say: "okay um [Khanyisile] any questions" [Lunga Vilakazi interview, p. 11]. Lunga's choice of English as the medium through which to narrate his story impacted on the way that he could answer the questions I posed, and he did seem to struggle at times with understanding what I was asking or in finding the words with which to respond. It is interesting that when he must elaborate on what he means by 'a big thing' he switches to isiZulu and here he says much more than in English.

I am sure that this was in part about my presence as an 'outside' authority, his uneasiness about what we might want as well as his understandings of what a interview should look like. Lunga is a school-going boy whose experiences and expectations of interviews are likely connected to 'tests', and 'getting things right', and as a white, slightly older, university student, researcher and interviewer (even my gender may have placed us as very differently entangled selves at times) I likely called up the kind of authority role connected with school and tests, and this is certainly reflected in his choice of English when narrating most of his story.

More than this, however, the presence of his mother, who at a point during the interview moved into the room and stood over her son, had enormous implications for what Lunga could and could not say. Lunga spends a lot of time in his interview talking about the difficulties of growing up in a violent and disruptive township, and how soccer has allowed him to avoid drugs and violence.

Tarryn: What do you like about playing soccer? [Lunga Vilakazi interview; 09:46; p. 5]

Lunga: It is a good sport and everyday you go there, play soccer and you know you won't go and smoke drugs. It is easier for me to go and play soccer instead of going and smoke drugs.

Tarryn: Okay,

Lunga: I am keeping myself safe by playing soccer

This positioning of himself as the *good-boy* seems directly related to ours and his mother's presence, and is most evident when he chooses to refrain from talking about girls and relationships. What is also noteworthy, is the long and detailed discussion about the role of his alcoholic father in his sister's and his own life, especially given that the mother did not raise the father's drinking at all in her narrative. Although in raising this topic, he seems to undermine the mother's story, he does so in such a way that he continues to position himself as 'the good boy', who will not become like his father, and simultaneously to praise the mother for her role in providing for and raising him as well as telling him about things like HIV.

Nolwazi's and Lunga's interviews are in many ways unusual to the other interviews, particularly as Nolwazi's interview is in fact a written text and Lunga's interview, as the youngest participant and the only respondent without direct exposure to the family trauma event, is remarkably different in content and form to even the other younger generation participants. However both Nolwazi and Lunga confirm what Wengraf (2001) notes when he writes that 'data' from research interviews is "data *only* about a particular research conversation that occurred at a particular time and at a particular place" (p. 1). Nolwazi and Lunga told stories about themselves in ways that were directed to us as a particular audience. An analysis of such constructions highlights the ways that 'others' (audience) invariably influence the story or stories which are told or which remain untold (Andrews, 2007). Thus:

> "In order for us to makes sense of the stories which we gather, we have first to identify who the interviewees perceive themselves to be addressing. If we are the interviewers, this process will include an interrogation into how our respondents perceive us" (Andrews, 2007, pp. 16 – 17).

These questions of audience are evident in all of the interviews, and I will include a further brief example from Millicent's interview:

Khanyisile: sekubuza mina-ke manje **(Okay, it is now my turn to ask questions)**

Millicent: Uwundaba **(You are forward)** (Chukle) [Millicent Vilakazi interview 2, p. 13]

[…]

Tarryn: Ehm … sure. Ok I don't think I have any more questions to ask her unless you have

Khanyisile: Uyintombazane lomuntu omkhulisayo, ixhala lakho ngokukhulisa intombazane **(is it a girl that you are raising, what are your anxieties about raising a girl)**

Millicent: kubuza wena njalo **(It is you that is asking)** (Chuckle, laughter by all) [Millicent Vilakazi interview 2, p. 16]

Millicent guards who is asking the research questions and when Khanyisile switches near the end of the interview to introduce questions (as opposed to translating my questions and probing these) and this light hearted moment shows that I am her anticipated audience and that the stories she tells are for me.

This confirms what the analysis of Nolwazi and Lunga's interviews has already suggested, which is, that audience is especially pertinent to the stories they told and *how* these stories were told, thus complicating the kinds of claims that are possible with regard to thinking about the structure and content of participants' talk. Rather, we (my interpreter and I) are present in the 'said' and 'unsaid'.

5.2 Translation

A primary dynamic in the data collection process was the isiZulu/English language barrier between myself as the researcher and the participants. This barrier necessitated that an interpreter be present at each of the interviews and that the tapes were transcribed and translated by bilingual language users. The process of translation exacerbates the inherent uneven power dynamics of research and knowledge production and demands that we address ontological and epistemological questions of difference and speaking for another, particularly in 'outsider' research. Here, I reflect on the processes of translation to move beyond thinking about what is lost but also what is *found* in translation, in particular, for thinking about what is possible specifically in cross-linguistic research, or more broadly, research across different kinds of social distance. Like Fay (1998), I ask whether you need

to “be one to know one” (p. 9), a question tied into long debates within feminist thought regarding the possibilities of representing the worlds of others and the entailed pitfalls of othering those who we seek to represent or whose voices we seek to translate into academic discourse.

I am a young, white, middle-class, suburban, English-speaking researcher trying to understand the lives and experiences of (mostly) older, black, township, isiZulu speaking respondents, who have experienced very traumatic events. Krog, Mpolweni and Ratele (2009) caution us against smoothing over the ‘entangled’ identities of those we research: “they are, quite simply, not similar, globalised, rootless individuals” (p. 44). Rather, both researcher and researched carry the threads of gender, class, politics, age, history, race, language in entangled identity positions. And, though I share gender in common with most of my respondents, in other ways these threads of identity are very differently entangled. Faced with reflexive and ethical questions regarding these differences, and recognizing, as Lieblich et al (1998) have that the work of analysis is not neutral but is always an act of interpretation, I was forced to ask myself whether, and in what ways, I could re-present the words and worlds of others without misrepresenting them. In light of the ways that translation studies caution that as the means through which cultural meaning is carried and transmitted, any attempt to recode one language into any other necessarily requires a shift in the original meaning to make it accessible to another (Ricoeur, 2006; Baker 1992). The gap between the linguistic (and cultural) worlds of the speaker and the researcher, means that any attempts to bridge the gap inevitably deny or ‘betray’ the real, lived experiences of those speaking in another tongue. Translation, then, is said to *lose* the authentic ‘voice’ of participants precisely when, in feminist work, we seek to ‘give voice’.

5.2.1 Lost in translation

The idea that the participants’ ‘voice’ and meaning may be lost is a serious concern within work in translation. At moments in my engagement with the spoken and written texts of the interviews, the nuances and intricacies of making meaning in different languages are evident. The question of meaning is complex, entailing intention and meaning ‘behind’ the words that is not easily captured by simple word equivalence.

For example, Millicent's use of 'uyigwala' to speak of her son loses the linguistic frame which gives it meaning, and was initially translated as 'coward' in English', a very harsh and judgemental label.

Millicent: Kungcono noma athi uma ebona kwenzeka, athi uma ethi uyakwenza a kubone ukuthi kuwrong. Angikaze ngimxoxele. Ngoba futhi uyigwala. **(I think it is better for him to see it happening and if he tries to do it and realize that it is wrong. I have never told him. The other reason is that he is a coward)** [Millicent Vilakazi interview 1, p. 17]

For an English mother to call her child a 'coward' would be demeaning and derogatory reference and is very uncommon. The meaning in isiZulu however, and both the meaning and translation were confirmed more than once by my back translation team ('uyigwala' *does* mean coward), it is not unusual for a mother to refer to a sensitive child who avoids conflict with this term. For an isiZulu mother to say of child 'uyigwala' is not necessarily demeaning or derogatory in the way that it would be for an English mother to call him a coward. The *meaning* for 'uyigwala'/coward thus shifts across the contexts of use even though the translation of the word is correct.

Even in the interpretation occurring during the interviews, questions of meaning loss or reconfiguration occurred.

Nobuntu: Ehe, emafamu sahlala khona sifunda-ke ubaba wakhona waze wangenwa ukuhlanya, **(Yes, it was on the farm, and we stayed there studying until the father there went crazy)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Nobuntu: Sasingakakujwayele-ke ukuhlanya ngoba sasibancane, asithathe ebusuku abaleke nathi athi kukhona abantu abazofika bezohlasela. Asithathe-ke ebusuku abaleke nathi nomama wakhona abaleke nathi, **(We were not used to craziness because we were still young. He would take us in the night and run away with us, saying that there are people who will come and attack and the mother there would run away with us)** [Nobuntu Mkhize interview 1, p. 2]

[…]

Khanyisile: Okay, let me give Tarryn some information. She was born somewhere on the farm at [rural area outside of Durban], outside, in the outskirt of [rural area outside of Durban]. Her mother left them with the relative. She went to work in Durban. The husband of the aunty had hypnotism. So, he would run away and said that there were people that wanted to kill them. He later passed away [Nobuntu Mkhize interview 1, p. 8]

Khanyisile translates the 'craziness' of the participants' account into 'hypnotism', thereby losing the original meaning. These examples highlight the importance of the back-translation processes in an attempt to capture the meaning of the original speaker but also point to the difficulties that are inevitable in trying to access and reproduce the meanings of others.

The back translation process quite often produced challenges to the original translation, sometimes altering the English meaning in ways that were significant for the researcher's analysis. For example:

Nobuntu: Ngivele ngizihlalele, futhi ngalezo zikhathi yayingakabibikho naleyo mali yeqolo, **(It would be better not to get involved with a man, especially those days the value of the money was low)**
Kungaba ngcono ukungazihlanganisi nomuntu wesilisa, ikakhulukazi ngalezo zikhathi ngoba intengo yemali yayincane

Khanyisile: Yebo, **(Yes)**

Nobuntu: Kwakumele uzizamele, uma ngabe ungasebenzi, awusebenzi, **(You had to battle and struggle, if you were not working then it was hard luck on your side)**
Kwakumele ulwe uhlupheke, uma ungenamsebenzi kwakubanzima kuwena
[Nobuntu Mkhize interview 1, p. 37]

After a meeting to discuss the translation, and alerted by the back translations to the errors in the English we settled on a corrected English version.

Nobuntu: Ngivele ngizihlalele, futhi ngalezo zikhathi yayingakabibikho naleyo mali yeqolo, **(I would just sit, especially at those times, the 'child maintenance social grant' was not there)**

Khanyisile: Yebo, **(Yes)**

Nobuntu: Kwakumele uzizamele, uma ngabe ungasebenzi, awusebenzi, **(It had to be that you tried for yourself if you did not work then you don't work)** [Nobuntu Mkhize interview 1, p. 37]

The many 'back translation meetings' that we had to do this for only two of the transcripts (Nobuntu Mkhize's first interview and our interview with Mpumelelo Cele), were characterized by long discussions and sometimes heated debates about what particular words might mean. In this case 'mali yeqolo' seemed particularly difficult to translate to English. The phrase 'imali yeqolo' literally means 'money of the pelvis' which has a very rich metaphorical sense that is lost in the beauracratic language of English although it relates to a social grant that one receives in order to look after children.

The insertion of the phrase 'it was hard luck on your side' in the initial English translation is not justified by the original isiZulu and this is evident in differences in the back translated version. The initial reading of the English translation suggested a line of analysis around the question of 'luck', both good and bad, suggesting an experience of randomness and loss of control (Frankish, 2009). While this may be true, the data (Nobuntu's voice) do not indicate this and thus this line of analysis had to be abandoned.

In this sense, the back translation meetings introduced a way of thinking about how translation that is not only about finding equivalent words in another language but also about capturing *meaning* and the speaker's intention.

5.2.2 Translation beyond linguistics: finding cultural meaning

More than the processes of back-translation, the meaning possible in my listening to and reading of the narratives of my participants was possible because of a close relationship with my interpreter, Khanyisile. Although the kind of meaning that she facilitated is evident also in the transcription and back-translation, the situated interaction of the interviews demonstrate what is *found* within translation work.

Khanyisile and I were present at all of the interviews and worked closely together but it soon became obvious that working with an interpreter was complicating my questions of speaking for another. First, the practical dynamics of isiZulu interpretation within the interviews began to unravel 'typical' power dynamics between myself as the researcher and my participants. In part because of the urgency on the part of the participants to tell long, difficult stories about traumatic pasts, and in an attempt to foster some kind of 'natural' interview conversation, my interpreter, Khanyisile, managed and probed long tracks of talk in isiZulu before turning to me with a kind of 'summarised' version of the preceding talk. Although I did contribute to the interviews by asking questions at these points, in important ways I was almost entirely excluded from the interviews and as such some of my questions were misdirected. My exclusion and the 'natural' flow of the interview conversations between Khanyisile and the participants quickly fostered a strong sense of rapport and trust, with stories directed to Khanyisile; or as in this quote 'my child':

Nolwazi: Ngiyakutshela mina ngane yami ngiphuma kude kabi. Mina ngingaxoxa kuze kuyoshona ilanga. Mhlawumbe nani nizoze nihambe ngingaqedile. **(I'm telling you my child I have been far. I could tell you stories til the sun goes down. Maybe you'll even leave before I finish).** [Nolwazi Radebe interview 1, p. 37]

In many ways Khanyisile held a more powerful position in the interviews such that I have wondered if it would have mattered if I was absent from the interviews. This would have let Khanyisile focus solely on interviewing and probing as opposed to the simultaneous tasks of interviewing and interpreting for me.

During the interviews, I began to notice that at some points my interpreter was 'over-translating' for me. At moments in the interviews she would add something to what had been said or spend some time making sure that I understood the conversation 'accurately'. This would often be prefixed with: 'In *our* culture…'. This included giving me the meanings of the names of characters in my participants' stories. isiZulu names are chosen to carry figurative/metaphoric meaning for those to whom they are assigned and thus often came to feature in the stories that participants told of themselves, their children and other people in their lives. The names came to describe specific features of these

characters who seemed to be well or ill-suited to the names given to them. In her pausing to explain the meaning of these names, Khanyisile was introducing me to a way to view names as carrying particular kinds of meaning as opposed to arbitrary or aesthetic labels.

Tarryn: And your first child was born in 1974, am I correct, um a girl or a boy

Khanyisile: Ingane yakho yokuqala, umfana noma intombazane? **(Is your firstborn a boy or girl)**

Mbalenhle: Umfana, abafana bobabili **(A boy, both of them are boys)**

Khanyisile: Uh it's both boys.

Tarryn: Ok, what's your first son's name?

Mbalenhle: [Dumisani],

Khanyisile: [Dumisani]

Tarryn: [Dumisani], okay

Khanyisile: then noba? **(and who?)**

Mbalenhle: [Nhlanhla]

Tarryn: [Nhlanhla]

Khanyisile: [Nhlanhla] is [lucky] uh [Dumisani] is like [praise]. [Mbalenhle Nkosi interview 1, p. 7][3]

Another example of Khanyisile's 'over-translation' can be seen in this bit of talk:

Khanyisile: Oho, Okay, she wasn't here, she was at the aunt's place in Road [tt…]. This is her**….**angithi lana sekukwakho? **(Is this your house?)**

Mbalenhle: Ehe, kusemzini lana, **(It is my in-law's house)**

Khanyisile: Eyh, kodwa iliphi igama lesiNgisi elisho ukuthi kusemzini, **(Eyh, what is the English word that describes the Zulu word emzini)?**

All: Heh heh, laughing,

Khanyisile: There is a word in Zulu,

[3] The names and meanings of this participant's sons have been substituted with pseudonyms and their relevant meanings so as to maintain the anonymity of her and her children.

Tarryn: Hmmm,

Khanyisile: That says kusemzini, so when you get married you go to the in-laws, eyh, not necessarily the in-laws, like…this is your home …..her home not your home, oh my Goodness! When you get married you leave the house and you go to the person you getting married with, whosoever and that person creates a home for you,

Tarryn: Okay,

Khanyisile: Iya, yes and we say kusemzini, so that is where it is,

Tarryn: Okay,

Khanyisile: Because I am trying not to break the essence of emzini, because if I say this is her home in Zulu it is like something else, but if I say it is her home you will understand,

Tarryn: Okay, [Mbalenhle Nkosi interview 2, p. 29]

These conversations are interspersed through the transcripts but also took place when Khanyisile and I would drive into and out of the community, which means that a lot of this kind of talk happened off tape. During these conversations we would recall and debate various aspects of the interviews in which we were involved, and this 'emzini' example only gives us a glimpse into the kind of negotiating that happened between Khanyisile and me. In this example, Khanyisile takes great care to explain the concept captured by the word 'emzini' and although she does not find an English equivalent for the word she does speak of the essence of the word, and in so doing captures the meaning enabling me to enter a 'foreign' world of experience. This care, along with our other negotiations of aspects of the interviews might be a concern for thinking about the ways we represent another, particularly with regard to thinking about what is lost in translation. Khanyisile adds to and reflects on the participants' words, highlighting the ways that she is not verbatim translating word-for-word but trying to negotiate or interpret meaning and understanding for me. Khanyisile has also reflected that the trouble with translating 'emzini' specifically is also about her own troubling with the custom and the way she feels it might deny women the opportunity to own their own homes outside of marriage. This negotiation then says something about Khanyisile and not about the participant, adding another layer of cultural meaning making and again highlighting the active process of interpretation even where language is shared.

These kinds of negotiation of meaning can also be observed with regard to family structure. One of my participants adopted two children from close relatives into her family unit. Though I was aware of the different kinds of boundaries for families within Zulu tradition, particularly the ways that children referred to in English as 'nephews' and 'nieces' are referred to as simply 'our children' in extended families, the ways that these dynamics were negotiated (or translated) in the interviews was very revealing. This participant speaks of one of her children and we spent some time trying to figure out whether her niece and daughter had the same name or whether they were the same person and what the family dynamics behind our (my) confusion were.

Tarryn: So is [Mpumelelo] your daughter, the person I phone yesterday? [Londisiwe Cele interview 1, p, 10, 22:50]

Khanyisile: U[Mpumelelo] indodakazi yakho lena esiyifonele izolo? **(Is [Mpumelelo] your daughter, the one that called us yesterday)?**

Londisiwe: Ilo kadadewethu-ke ehe lo engimshoyo ukuthi useyahamba **(She is the one for my sister, yes the one that I mentioned that she is now going)**

Khanyisile: Oho no she is saying

Londisiwe: Lo engishilo ukuthi useyahamba **(The one that I mentioned that she is going)**

Khanyisile: Oh, u[Mpumelelo] kambe igama lakho **(Oh, is it [Mpumelelo] her name)?**

Londisiwe: Ehe useyahambe ehe **(Yes, she is going now)**

Khanyisile: Akuyena lo[Mpumelelo] wakho lo, ilo [Mpumelelo] wakho lo noma ilo [Mpumelelo] kadadewethu **(Is she not your [Mpumelelo] this one, is this your [Mpumelelo] or is this [Mpumelelo] for your sister)?**

Londisiwe: Angithi ubethe angibhale ngibale abantwana ehe, izingane **(She said that I must write, yes write the children yes, the children)**

Khanyisile: Yes [Mpumelelo] is this one [Londisiwe Cele interview 1, pp. 10 – 11]

Khanyisile seems to have the difficulty placing the daughter/niece in this text, providing an instance of how she would 'over-translate' these kinds of family dynamics in the interviews ***for me*** by confirming with the participant, of the like: 'oh so she is actually your cousin but in our culture she is your sister'.

However, these chunks of conversation and the negotiating of meaning evident in them, should not be read as detracting from a 'true' or authentic account or as a betrayal of the lived experiences of another as told in their own words. Rather, these dynamics of the research process allow us to start to think of translation as *able* to "re-speak something into another culture" (Palmary, 2004). Here I abandon the idea of 'betrayal' with which I was initially worried, and as such move away from thinking about what is lost in translation toward conceptualising the meaning that is *found* through work in translation.

First, these pragmatics of the interviews, reminds us that the translator is an active interpreter whose voice and subject positioning adds a layer of interpretation in the research process (Reissman, 2008a). Second, leading on from our recognition of the role of the interpreter (who straddles both linguistic and cultural worlds), we can start to see the *work* that is being done to bridge the linguistic and cultural gaps we have spoken about. As a bilingual isiZulu/English speaker Khanyisile works to mediate between different ways of viewing the world, checking and confirming for both researcher and researched that what she translates adequately represents what has been said and that these translated bits of talk are understood as she understands them, with all her dual insights into the linguistic and cultural realm of both the participant and the researcher. In fact, when I asked Khanyisile to reflect on the process of interpreting, she spontaneously spoke about her awareness that I was missing "the unsaid" and that because I was unable to access the underlying meanings which were not directly translatable she found it quite difficult not only to translate the direct speech of the participants but also simultaneously to convey the meaning and the emotion of participants' stories to me.

Interpretation entails not only constructing word equivalence but also cultural equivalence (Baker, 1992), and, in doing so, *works* to give *me* both the linguistic and cultural tools with which to bridge the language divide. Not recognising the role of the translator would mean that this work becomes effaced or concealed. Temple and Edwards (2002) take to referring to their interpreters and translators as 'key informants', thereby acknowledging

them not as neutral, ahistorical beings through whom objective translation is possible, but in recognising the social, political, entangled positions of translators and making visible the interpretive work of translation and by implication the inevitable interpretation that occurs in all research (Reissman, 2008a).

5.2.3 'Listening' to (translated) trauma stories

The difficulty of translation was not exacerbated by the nature of the stories told and listened to. I turn to a traumatic story, shared by two of my older generation participants, of the death of a group of boys in the township. This story tells of horrific events that are utterly foreign to me. The loss of a child in such traumatic circumstances is almost impossible for me to comprehend. This incomprehension coupled with the emotion that emerged in the telling often led me to re-direct the interviews precisely at the moments when Khanyisile, the psychologist, felt I should support and probe the trauma story.

As we were concluding an interview Khanyisile and I asked one of our participants if there was anything she would like to tell us that we had not already asked. To this she responded with a lengthy story about her son's involvement with a group of boys in the community and how by chance her son was absent when the group were shot and killed. What is interesting is that some parts of her story are identical to a story told to us by another participant a few weeks earlier. The first telling was by a participant who had lost a son in the incident and who described waking up and going to the toilet at 2am and hearing gun shots as she switched on the light.

Londisiwe: bavala emnyango! Abasaziniki izibhamu bazidubula, bazidubula, bazidubula, ubuchopho buhleli ngaphandle nje la, buhleli ngaphandle, bayidubula, ngithukeze mina ngoba ngangiye toilet ngo2 o'clock, phinde kuthi pha pha pha pha kuzamazame umhlaba kuthi **(They closed the door! They no longer giving them guns, they shot them, shot them, shot them, the brains were there out there, here, just out there, shooting. I was so shocked me because I was going to toilet at 2 o'clock, again there was this pah, pah, pah, pah sound and there was an earthquake)** [Londisiwe Cele interview 1, p. 2 - 3]

These same, personal, details are present in the second telling, indicating that this story is shared in a community of storytelling rather than being individual personal accounts.

Nqobile: Uthi-ke umama wakhona, sasinaye laphayana, **(The woman who is the owner of the house was saying because we were with her there).**

Khanyisile: Ehe, **(Yes)**

Nqobile: Umama wakhona uthi-ke, kwathi ebusuku uthi wayeya etoilet wakhanyisa, wezwa ukuduma ayengakaze akuzwe. Kusho ukuthi yizibhamu. Saya-ke kulowomuzi, **(The mother of the house said it was in the evening when she was going to toilet and decided to switch on the light and heard a sound that she had never heard before, which means that it was a sound of guns. We then went to this house).** [Nqobile Sibisi interview 2, p. 40]

This confirms the ways that participants' lives and stories overlap, and speaks of the ways they talk amongst themselves about the past as they make sense of what happened in the stream of their ongoing lives and stories. Further, my response to the telling of the story by Londisiwe is to completely re-direct the interview; to avoid receiving her story suggesting the difficulty of appropriating and listening across difference and how this is compounded by the traumatic nature of the stories we were being told.

Tarryn: Um, I want to do the same thing and you can advise me if I am going right

Khanyisile: Okay

Tarryn: Right back to when she was born, okay if you can tell us a little bit about where you were born, what your parents were like, um, so right back to when you were young uh [Londisiwe Cele interview 1, p. 5]

It is clear that the change in direction is about my own personal emotional reaction to the summarized accounts of horrific trauma and, although at times both the participant and Khanyisile thought my questions strange, they often moved with me following my direction as the interviewer. These 'strange' questions were often elicited by the trauma

story but were also compounded by translation as I trusted Khanyisile to probe and explore key topic areas and sometimes found that when I would try access finer details through my own questioning, Khanyisile often responded "Oh, I asked her that and…". This often meant that after a summary from Khanyisile, often after long stretches of talk, I would introduce a broad narrative area to explore such as childhood, work, the trauma story, mothering etc; and had to accept that my access to the talk would be delayed as I awaited translated transcripts.

A third telling of this same event was given by Mpumelelo (Londisiwe's daughter) as she witnessed it, and later testified to the killings in court.

Mpumelelo: So, kusho ukuthi masebehlangene, wayesebatshela ukuthi abahlale lana endlini, bayabuya bayobalandela izibhamu, kanti sebezophihliza iwindi bafake izibhamalana babadubule. **(When he had brought them together in that outside room, and told them he was going to get guns for them, he came back with his people, smashed the window, and pointed guns through the small window and shot them)** [Mpumelelo Cele interview, p. 7]

[…]

Mpumelelo: The time siphuma safika sakhanyisa, eish, into eyayilaphayana, **(The time we went out we then switched on the light, eish the thing that was there)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Mpumelelo: Ubuchopho obabugcwele laphayana kuceiling, abanye uyabona ubona ithambo, uyabona ngicabanga ukuthi leyagun yayikushaya ikudlavaze inyama kuvele ithambo ngaphakathi, **(Brain matter was all over the ceiling, others you could see bones, you see I think that the gun that they used would tear the flesh from bones, exposing the bones from inside)** [Mpumelelo Cele interview, p. 16]

I recently discovered the TRC transcripts for this event and went through a gamut of responses at reading this version in parallel to the story told to me by these women. Told by one of the perpetrators and the officer in charge of giving the orders, this different

version is very dissimilar to that told by the women both in style and content. The proceedings of the TRC took on a kind of legal format where evidence was presented in a formal manner so the transcript reads like a court document where respondents are questioned and then cross-examined as minute details of the event were explored. In doing so this version does however also offer a somewhat contradictory account of what happened that night, both between different speakers' versions but more notably, different from the story I was told by the women I interviewed, around the question of whether the boys were armed and who fired first. This inconsistency is raised at the TRC hearing and is attributed to why the court hearing was unable to be resolved.

My first and most overwhelming response in reading the TRC version of the event was that of sadness but I also experienced intense feelings of anger as I read the interviews of the perpetrators of such unimaginable violence. All three of the women who speak of this incident – Nqobile, Londisiwe and Mpumelelo – did not speak at the TRC, though Londisiwe and Mpumelelo did attend a court hearing[4] where Mpumelelo gave evidence. I was forced to acknowledge that the borders of difference between myself and my participants are not just linguistic boundaries but are also racialised, marked on my 'white' skin and aligning me with the racialised brutality of Apartheid.

The reading of the TRC transcripts with regard to the above story, and the resultant anger I experienced, could not but affect my readings of the story told by these three women creating a connection with the women's own anger with regard to the way that the case was handled.

Mpumelelo: So, kusho ukuthi babezitshela ukuthi yilaba, uyabona ukuthi they were trying to defend themselves ukuthi nalaba babehlomile, **(So, they were deceiving themselves you see, and they were trying to defend themselves that it was the boys who had the guns)** [Mpumelelo Cele interview, p. 13]

[...]

[4] Neither Londisiwe nor Mpumelelo indicate where or when these court proceedings happened.

Mpumelelo: Kwangiphatha kabi ngendlela nje njengoba sengike ngachaza ekuqaleni ukuthi nje ngendlela engabona kwenzeka ngayo nangendlela abangiphatha ngayo, **(It felt so sad as I have explained before that the way I saw things happening and the way they treated us)** [Mpumelelo Cele interview, p. 14]

Thinking about the ways that translation has happened within my project, has opened up new kinds of reflection for me, particularly for the ways it acknowledges both the translator and myself as active interpreters who listen to and make sense of the stories people tell. This acknowledgement does much more for thinking about the kinds of representation possible than a simple disclaiming checklist of subject positions (from whence I began), making available for investigation the process through which meaning across borders of difference, cross-linguistic, cultural and political is constructed in hearing another's story.

6. NARRATIVE STRUCTURE

The second framework for analysis focuses on the structure of the narratives told. The first step entailed constructing time lines (how the life was lived chronologically) and interview lines (how the narrative of the life was told in the interview) from the interview transcripts (see Appendix 2 and Appendix 3, pp. 158 - 190). In comparing these two lines we can explore the *form* of the stories and *how* they were told as an indication of the meaning participants give to aspects of their narratives. The analysis focuses on ordering, weighting, pre and post and intergenerational differences and similarities in the telling of life narratives.

The interview and time- lines, both focusing on time as the primary dimension for creating a narrative and living a life (Wengraf, 2001), are the source documents for this section of analysis. As described in the Methodology section, these lines (inspired by Wengraf, 2001) are:

Time-lines: The timelines trace the 'events' (or content) of the participants lives chronologically; tracing how life was *lived.* These time-lines were generated across the various interviews from each participant and represented in families, so that related participants timelines appear alongside each other. The marker for making sense of the events in these documents is place on a sequential list of dates (see Appendix 2).
Interview-lines: The interview-lines trace the way in which the stories are *told* (the form) in the interview. These interview lines were generated on an interview by interview basis, where broad 'themes' of discussion are tracked against the interview questions (primarily by myself; but also questions, and rarely probings, from my interpreter). The markers for making sense of the form of the interview are the page numbers and recorded interview times at which the questions of the interview are asked (see Appendix 3).

In comparing the time-lines and life-lines it seems clear that a central pivot within the narratives offered by many of the participants is that of the 'trauma story'. The ways that we and the community leadership framed the project from the beginning privileged these stories and Londisiwe Cele immediately asks:

Londisiwe: Ngingalandi ngempilo yodlame. **(I mustn't explain about violent life?)**

Khanyisile: Ake uchaze njengempilo yakho **(Just explain about your life)**

Londisiwe: Ngempilo yami **(About my life)**

Khanyisile: Ungake usixoxele nje-ke ma ukuthi wakhula kanjani uchaze nje **(Can you please talk to us how you grew up and just explain)** [Londisiwe Cele interview 1, p. 1, 00:10]

6.1. Older Generation:

For the older generation the trauma stories dominated the narratives that participants told. As seen in Table 2 below, which tracks the interview time spent on the key themes of each interview, participants spent a proportionally large amount of the interviews narrating 'trauma stories'. These themes and the times associated with them are drawn from the interview lines but in the telling are interwoven with other stories that overlapped and informed each other in interesting ways rather than discrete units of talk. This means that the calculated times should be taken as estimates and that each 'theme' should be read for the complexity with which they were told. These themes included the trauma story, stories of the victims and post-trauma responses, mothering, caregiving, work, place, relationships, the future and family.

Table 2: Interview time spent on key themes - Older Generation

Participant	Interview No.	Interview total time	Time and broad themes	Calculated time on topic
Londisiwe Cele	1	39:59	• 00:00 – 10:43 (trauma story: death of son) • 17:00 – 29:39 (mothering)	• 10:43 • 12:39
	2	51:22	• 00:00 – 09:59 (post-trauma) • 20:08 – 39:57(mothering)	• 09:59 • 19:49
Nqobile Sibisi	1	53:31	• 09:01 – 21:04 (trauma story: death of father) • 21:04 – 28:27 (trauma story and care-giving: death of two relatives) • 28:27 – 36:18 (trauma story and care-giving: death of grand-daughter)	• 12:03 • 07:23 • 07:51
	2	01:20:01	• 30:54 – 48:35 (trauma story: death of husband) • 06:30 – 22:05(mothering: especially Grace) • 01:07:09 – 01:12:28 (trauma story: death of group of boys)	• 17:41 • 15:35 • 05:18

Participant	Interview No.	Interview total time	Time and broad themes	Calculated time on topic
Mbalenhle Nkosi	1	42:59	• 00:00 – 05:03 (trauma story: death of husband) • 17:02 – 27:05 (victim: husband) • 37:08 – 42:59 (trauma story and post-trauma)	• 05:03 • 10:03 • 05:51
	2	41:06	• 06:08 – 20:00 (mothering and post-trauma) • 18:43 – 28:00 (grandchildren)	• 15:52 • 09:17
Millicent Vilakazi	1	40:48	• sister – 00:00 – 05:00 (trauma story: death of brother) • 05:00– 09:14 (trauma story: death of brother) • 09:14 – 21:46 (family: living arrangements) • 34:43 – 37:04 (post-trauma)	• 05:00 • 04:14 • 12: 32 • 02:21
	2	38:03	• 00:00 – 04:20 (trauma story: death of brother) • 14:32 – 21:47 (place)	• 04:20 • 07:15
Nobuntu Mkhize	1	36:03	• 00:00 – 15:37 (trauma stories: death of aunt, two son and husband)	• 15:37
	2	55:58	• 06:53 – 12:52 (trauma story: death of aunt) • 14:28 – 19:40 (trauma story: death of brothers) • 20:11 – 43:17 (trauma story: death of the fathers of her children) • 43:17 – 53:25 (mothering)	• 05:59 • 05:12 • 23:06 • 10:08
	3	53:06	• 10:41 – 40:51 (trauma story: death of youngest son) • 42:14 – 51:55 (mothering connected to trauma story: death of youngest son)	• 30:10 • 09:41
Nolwazi Radebe	1	01:36:30	• 23:11 – 01:09:28 (trauma story: attack and rape) • 01:09:28 – 01:14:33 (trauma story: family fight) • 01:15:18 – 01:25:08 (trauma story: husband's death) • 01:23:08 – 01:35:37 (work)	• 46:17 • 05:05 • 09:50 • 12:29
	2	01:43:08	• 00:00 – 04:09 (trauma story: son's death) • 04:09 – 01:29:00 (mothering) • 01:29:00 – 01:36:50 (mothering and post-trauma: death of husband)	• 04:09 • 01:24:49 • 07:50

6.1.1.Weighting

As illustrated in the table, the older generation participants spend a significant portion of their interviews on these stories. The times tracked in the table above indicate the weighting of the largest components of the participants' narratives, as indicated by the interview-lines. Each of the participants spends a significant amount of time talking about the deaths of those close to them (the 'trauma stories') as well as the aftermath of these

events. This time is calculated across each interview and combines talk of different traumas which happened at different moments in the interview.

Many participants spend about (or even significantly more than) half their interview time talking about trauma. Nqobile Sibisi likewise spends 28 minutes of combined time talking about the multiple deaths in her family, more than half of her 53 minute first interview. Mbalenhle Nkosi also dedicates half of her first interview (21 of 42 minutes) to talking about her husband, his death and the legal and emotional responses that followed his death, with a further 16 minutes of the 41 minute follow up interview dedicated to the same topics. Nobuntu Mkhize dedicates 15 (of 36) minutes in our first interview to talking about the deaths of her aunt, two sons and the father of two of her children; a combined total of about 34 minutes of her 56 minute second interview talking about the deaths of her aunt, brothers and the fathers of her children; and then in the third interview spends 40 minutes (of 53) speaking about her one son, his illness and death. Nolwazi Radebe spends just over an hour (of 1:36:30) of her first interview talking about her attack, family feud and the death of her husband.

Of those participants who did not spend half of their narrative on the trauma story, most still spent more than 10 minutes talking about various trauma stories. Londisiwe Cele spends almost 11 minutes of her first 40 minute interview talking about the deaths of her husband and son and a further 10 minutes of the second 51 minute interview on this story. Millicent Vilakazi's (and her sister who accompanied her to our first interview) speak for 11 minutes of our 40 minute interview on the death of their brother's and the responses to it. Nqobile's second interview spends around 24 minutes (of 1:20:01) talking about the deaths of her husband and a group of boys in the township.

What is noteworthy however is that Nolwazi only dedicates 4 minutes (of an hour and twenty minute interview) in our follow up to talking about the (political) death of her son. Nolwazi focuses us away from the political trauma story and rather speaks of the more 'everyday' traumas of the past and present, possibly because of what was possible in the narrating of a written version of her life story and our second interview attempted to move away from these planned texts (which had promised to tell us more about this specific event). Millicent likewise (when her sister is not present) in our second interview, speaks for 4 minutes (of her 38 minute interview) on her brother's death. In her first interview

with us Millicent delegates the task of telling about the trauma story to her sister and where she does talk about the death of her brother she is supported by her sister in subtle ways, so the absence of her sister in the second interview seemed to constrain options for talk about this event. This is also about the fact that the story had already been told in some form in the first interview so Millicent did not feel she needed to re-narrate the details of the event, as we followed up on the trauma story.

6.1.2 First story: trauma

These weighting of the trauma story, as they were told across the interviews, suggests that trauma stories featured most dominantly within the narratives told by the older generation, alongside 'mothering' as a strong secondary theme. This dominance of the trauma story is supported by the fact that these stories were also told first. For 5 of the 6 the older generation participants the trauma story featured immediately as the opening story of their first interviews with us. Mbalenhle Nkosi moves quite quickly from my opening narrative question to talk about the horrific death of her husband.

Tarryn: So as I was what was just said, we are wanting you to tell us about yourself so maybe you can start tell us a little bit about who you are and where you came from, ja explain who you are? [Mbalenhle Nkosi interview 1; p. 1; 00:00]

Khanyisile: Uzwekahle ma? **(Did you hear well, ma?)**

Mbalenhle: Uhhe **(Yes)**

Khanyisile: Awusichazele nje ukuthi ungubani, imvelaphi yakho? **(Can you explain to us who you are, your background?)**

Mbalenhle: NginguMamu (not clear). Ngizalelwe e[rural area outside KZN]. **(I was born in [rural area outside KZN])**

Khanyisile: UngumSotho? **(Are you Sotho?)**

Mbalenhle: Cha**.** Ngaphambili ngangihlala e[rural Eastern Cape town]. Lana ngeza ngahlala ka anti, e[a Durban township]. Ngangihleli kahle namanje ngisahleli kahle. Kwaze kwafika isikhathi sokuthi ngishade. Noma sengishadile ngahlala kahle kodwa. Umyeni wami washeshe washona. **(No. I used to live in [rural Eastern Cape town]. I lived with my aunt**

in [a Durban township]. I was living all right and even now I'm still living well until it was time for me to get married. Even after I was married that I was still alright but my husband died too soon)

Within a few short sentences Mbalenhle has moved through 35 years of life (cf. Mbalenhle Nkosi timeline, Appendix 3, p. 161) starting with her birth to talk about her husband's death. The force of telling the difficult and emotional story of her husband's death (who was brutally cut up and burnt alive by a vigilante group in 1986) seems to speak *not only* of the demands of the project with regard to telling traumatic stories. For Mbalenhle, like many of the other participants, these stories are told with a remarkable strength to narrate detailed and difficult accounts of losing people close to them and I can still hear Mbalenhle's tears as she wills herself to tell us of the violation and torture that her husband endured before he died.

Londisiwe likewise, after Khanyisile explained that we wanted her to talk about her life, says:

Londisiwe: Mina ngingu[Londisiwe] [Cele]. Ngingowakha [M…] isibongo, ngashadela kwa[Cele]. Sasishlala le e[rural area] sasuswa e[rural area] ngesikhati sobandlululo basisusa-ke basiletha la e[a Durban township]. Sahlala-ke la e[a Durban township] ngathola izingane, izingane eziwu seven. Ezinye eziwufive zahamba zaya koyise ngoba babahlukene oyise. Zabaleka ngesikhati sodlame. Ngasala-ke nalomntwana-ke lo u[son] owashona ngesikhati sodlame. Manje ngahlupheka kakhulu manje ngingasakwazi ukuzondla nobaba wezingane washona nayeke eh! Kwangenga amabhunu akhale la e em, kwangena amabhunu akhahlela-ke afika amgxoba la esifubeni, amgxoba, amgxoba, amgxoba wahlala engasenayo impilo kahle esehefuzela njalo esehlala ngokuhefuzela waze wagcina ngokushona. Manje ngangasezwa muntu lo mfana loyo obesesele naye **(Me, I am [Londisiwe][Cele]. I am [M…] by surname. I got married to [Cele] family. We stayed in [rural area]. We were removed from the [rural area] at the time of apartheid, they brought us here in [Durban township]. We stayed here in [Durban township]. I got**

children, children are seven. 5 Children went to their fathers because their fathers were different. They ran away during violence. I remained with this child. [son] that died during the violence time. I then suffered a lot now I could not maintain myself and the father of the children passed on him, eh!. The Boers came in he would cry here uh. The Boers came in, kicked and trampled on his chest, they trampled, trampled, trampled and stayed without a good health and was breathing badly all the time and was living like that breathing badly until he passed on. Now I was not hearing from nobody and the even the boy that has been left) [Londisiwe Cele interview 1, p. 1]

Londisiwe mentions her family before quickly moving to talk about the forced removal from the place of her childhood to the township where she continues to live, as well as the death of her son, the dispersal of her sons as well as the death of her husband (who suffered chest problems after being stood on by police who were looking for her sons). In doing so, Londisiwe summarises most of the major 'traumas' in her life within a short introduction. Although these events happened at about the same time (chronologically), Londisiwe's immediate choice to narrate this time period suggests the significance that she attributes to these events in telling about her life as requested by Khanyisile: 'just explain about your life'.

6.1.3 Pre- and post- formulation of the trauma story

All of the older generation participants construct their life story in terms of pre and post the traumatic event of their lives. Mbalenhle Nkosi's opening lines frame her life as pre- and post- the 'trauma' event; where life is framed as 'alright' before her husband's death and not after his death. She speaks of the time before her husband's death as 'alright' and 'simple':

Mbalenhle: mina ngiphile esikhathi … kusekahle kungekho lezinto esezikhona namhlanje bekuphilwa kahle, kodwa nje izinto zisabiza nokudla kusashibhile sisaphila kahle uyabona nje uma uhamba noma ungahamba ngisho ebusuku ukhululekile ungasabi lutho ukuthi hhayi kukhona isigebengu esithile besiphila kahle kabi. **(I lived in the times…the good**

> **time when things were simple, not like what is happening today, we did not have any troubles. Cost of living was not as high and food prices were cheap you see. You could even walk at night without anyone bothering you, we did not fear anything, we did not have criminals. We had a good life)** [Mbalenhle Nkosi interview 1, p. 2]

Mbalenhle's narration of the trauma story seems to serve as the break between when times were 'good' and afterwards when they were 'tough'. Although she does state that life is still okay after the death of her husband, due to the fact that she was working, the structure of her narrative suggests that she sees the time before and the time after his death as distinct periods.

> [Mbalenhle]: Kodwa-ke manje kusho ukuthi isikhathi esinzima yilesi-ke ngoba esengasekho-ke kwaba nzima kakhulu ngoba ngase ngizithwalele mina, **(But the most difficult time was when he had passed away, it became even more difficult because I was then on my own)**
> [Khanyisile]: Hmmm,
> [Mbalenhle]: Ngenza konke, **(I had to do everything)**
> [Khanyisile]: Hmmm,
> [Mbalenhle]: Izingane zifunda, kufanele kukhokhelwe irent, kukhokhelwa ugesi, namanzi, kodwa nje nokudla kubheke wena, isikole sibheke wena, nemali esasihola incane lana emafemini ngoba kwakungaholwa lutho, imali yayincane, kodwa ukuthi izinto zazingabizi kangaka **(Children were at school, I had to pay rent, pay electricity, water and had to see to it that food was there, and pay school fees. The other thing was that I was earning peanuts here in the factories and fortunately for us things were not as expensive as they are now)** [Mbalenhle Nkosi interview 2, pp. 2 - 3]

In narrating such a 'pre'- and 'post'- account of her experience Mbalenhle's story resonates with trauma theory which suggests that such events constitute a 'turning point' in individual lives, marking a break from life as it was experienced before the (traumatic) event (Herman, 1992). This feature of telling about oneself, with life narratives often

describing 'pre'- and 'post' trauma experiences was not uncommon. Typically what is tracked in this kind of before/after scenario is largely about financial concerns. Nobuntu Mkhize seems to track her life, not against a timeline as we have, but rather against her wages at the various places where she has worked. Although this is a specific feature of Nobuntu's narrative, the movement of events (specifically pre- and post-trauma) in time seems for all of the older generation to be marked primarily by changes in financial circumstances and primarily concerns with regard to providing for children.

Nobuntu: Kungiphethe kahle kakhulu manje ngoba ayikho into engisayicabanga eningi, into engiyicabangayo nje ngicabanga izingane lezi engihlala nazo. **(I am now very happy because I no longer think about the past, I only think about my grandchildren with whom I stay)**

Khanyisile: Yebo, **(Yes)**

Nobuntu: Kuphela nje, ngicabange ukuthi sizolala sidleni, **(That is the only thing that I now think about, what we are going to eat before we go to sleep).**

Khanyisile: Ehe, **(Yes)**

Nobuntu: Sikhokhela loku, sikhokhela amanzi, sikhokhele ugesi, sithenge ukudla, **(We pay these bills and those bills, we pay for water, electricity and we buy food)** [Nobuntu Mkhize interview 1, p. 37]

The two linked elements of poverty and children, position these women first and foremost as mothers, where their primary concern was (and continues to be) to provide for and raise their children. What is notable about all the (political) trauma stories is that they are all about the loss of men within these families. These men were husbands and brothers, and also often the breadwinners in the families. This speaks of the gendered divisions within the workforce during this particular time as well as the way that the armed struggle put the lives of men in danger. Thus, as Ross (2001) noticed with regard to the TRC, women's stories are underpinned by domesticity and mothering: "Women spoke of the absences of men, the diffusion of family over large geographies, […] the power of economies in shaping experience, the intrusion of the state. The stories bear testimony to attempts to create and maintain families against the odds" (p. 270).

These narratives of motherhood and poverty are not momentary responses to the trauma events but continue into the present as mothers talk about providing for growing families

as the women's children become parents, and emotional and financial demands are made on them to provide for grandchildren. As Mbalenhle has already suggested the 'cost of living' and 'crime' in contemporary South Africa has had implications for the kind of life she and her children can make for themselves, and the result of these (and other) social and financial constraints has meant that adult children continue to live at home and/or rely on parental support well into their own adulthood. This means that the older generation are tasked with the extraordinary situation of supporting adult children and their grandchildren financially for extended periods, as well as offering childcare for grandchildren when the parents go out to (or in search of) work. This suggests while the specifically violent traumatic events of Apartheid are in the past, these women continue to experience the difficult forms of systematic structural everyday 'trauma'.

Time after the trauma event seems to be narrated as relatively repetitive, in that the mothers continue to raise children (first their own and then their grandchildren) in situations of poverty. Time, within the older generation narratives, is organised around the trauma event. In fact almost unanimously the older generation's narratives of the present focus on their children and grandchildren. Note that mothering comprises a large component of what these women speak about in their interviews, with Nolwazi spending almost an hour and a half of her [01:43: 08] second interview talking about being a mother, and telling stories about her children. Nqobile Sibisi says in her second interview

Nqobile: Yimina engithwala lezingane, **(I am the one who carries these children)**
Khanyisile: Hmmm,
Nqobile: Yonke into ngishoni, ngishoni, ngishoni, ngoba phela ubaba wazo akazi noma zikhona noma azikho, **(Everything has to come from me, whatever, whatever, whatever, since their father doesn't even remember that the children exist)** [Nqobile Sibisi interview 2, p. 9]

For many of the older generation participants, the interview narrative moves in time to start with the trauma story, then moves backwards to the past and then forwards in time to the present and is tracked against finances with regard to providing for families.

Even though at first glance Nobuntu Mkhize's narrative seems to start in a different place, that is her life with her aunt when she was young, and subsequent move to stay with her

mother after her aunt's death, this should not be read as moving in a different sequence to the other older generation. Her life with her aunt and her death is placed alongside the deaths of her two sons and the death of the father of two of her children; events that happened across the course of over 50 years (cf. Nobuntu Mkhize timeline, see Appendix 2, p. 162).

Khanyisile: Okay, she said that the aunt was a very kind person like she would wake up, cook phuthu there is an English word of ….kukhona yini okukuphatha kabi? **(Is there something that is upsetting you)?** [Nobuntu Mkhize interview 2, p. 9, 08:02]

Nobuntu: (Crying), ngiyacabanga nje ngangike ngithi uma ngingakhula lowo aunti ngifuna ukumjabulisa, kodwa angizange ngimjabulise ngoba washona ngisemncane, **(I am thinking that I was hoping that when I am grown up I would get a chance to do something for my aunt just to make her happy, but I did not get that chance to make her a happy person and she died while I was still young)**

[…]

Nobuntu: Wanginika uthando lukamama, wayengithanda kakhulu, kakhulu. **(She showed me mother's love, she loved me very much, very much)** [Nobuntu Mkhize interview 2, p.10]

These four stories of death are narrated immediately after each other and seem to define these events as similarly traumatic for Nobuntu. She appears to be working to include her aunt's death, youngest son's death and the death of the father of two of her children alongside the more recognised vigilante group/police killing of her oldest son. Nobuntu's third interview is almost exclusively dedicated to her youngest son. When asked about her memory of her youngest son, Nobuntu contrasts her two sons:

Khanyisile: Kodwa izinto ozikhumbula ngo[oldest son's name] zincane, **(I have noticed that you have had [oldest son's name] for quite a long time but there are very few things that you remember about him)**

Nobuntu: Ehe, ukuthi angihlalanga naye kakhulu u[oldest son's name], **(Yes, it is because I did not stay with [oldest son's name])** [Nobuntu Mkhize interview 3, p. 48 - 48]

[…]

Nobuntu: Oho, akakaze asuke kimina **(He [youngest son's name] never stayed without me, never left me).** [Nobuntu Mkhize interview 3, p. 49]

Nobuntu shows that the weighting (she spends the greater part of her third interview exclusively talking about her youngest son) and order of her transcripts (that is narrating the 4 deaths alongside each other) is not without significance and that the death by illness of her youngest son (along with the other trauma stories she narrates in sequence) was an important moment equivalent to, or in some sense felt more personally because of their close relationship, than the political death of her older son.

6.1.4 Order

Time in narrative is not inconsequential and as Ricoeur (1981) reminds us with his distinction between 'discourse' and 'event' what is narrated in discourse always entails a reconfiguration of events into meaning. Narration is always a 'retroactive' (to borrow from Polkinghorne, 1988) and selective task which speaks of the way in which meaning is organised for the speaker in the present.

In the interview situation, the timing and movement in the narratives is often produced in response to my questioning:

Tarryn: In what other ways, you know apart from talking to us, do you tell your story, do you tell your children about the past at all? [Nqobile Sibisi interview 2, p. 44, 01:15:57]

This question, asked in some form of all the older generation respondents, links together mothering and the trauma event. However, this link is also about the ways that most of the younger generation were also present at the events. Mbalenhle notes:

Tarryn: Okay, um, children, did they see this? [Mbalenhle Nkosi interview 2, p.10, 12:45]

Khanyisile: Izingane mama zayibona yonke leyonto? **(Mama, did the children see all that)?**

Mbalenhle: Bayibona uma sekwenzakele, **(They saw it after it had happened)**

[…]

Mbalenhle: Babehlukumezeka ngoba angithi manje babesebancane, mabebona abanye abanye abantwana behleli nobaba babo, kubona bengasenababa bebancane yehle kabuhlungu. (**It was affecting them, because they were young and whenever they saw other kids with their fathers and their father was not around anymore. It hurts them.)** [Mbalenhle Nkosi interview 1, p. 9]

Each of the younger generation, except Lunga, were present or witnessed to the trauma events within their families: Grace loses her father whilst she is young; Nhlanhla (as described by Mbalenhle above) witnesses the loss of his own father; Mpumelelo testifies to the death of her brother.

In organising their narratives the older generation used the trauma story (which they narrated first) to move first backwards in time and then forwards in time to the present. I turn to Mbalenhle Nkosi's first interview. Mbalenhle starts immediately by telling us about her husband's death and at my prompting shifts to talk about her family, school and work, of meeting her husband and moving to the township. Each of these areas (as already indicated) are told in reference to the time after the trauma event. In sequence she then talks about her two sons, specifically with regard to the effect that losing their father had on them:

Mbalenhle: Babehlukumezeka ngoba angithi manje babesebancane, mabebona abanye abanye abantwana behleli nobaba babo, kubona bengasenababa bebancane yehle kabuhlungu. (**It was affecting them, because they were young and whenever they saw other kids with their fathers and they father was not around anymore. It hurts them.)** [Mbalenhle Nkosi interview 1, p. 9]

Mbalenhle follows this talk with talk about the present, and in particular her grandchildren and community before ending with a return to the trauma story in terms of the response to the trauma event. Mbalenhle confirms the movement backwards and then forwards in the narratives of the older generation, and even her return to the trauma event in conclusion can be read as a narration of the present.

Only Nolwazi Radebe's narrative structure seems to differ significantly from the other older generation participants. Her narrative is ordered somewhat differently from the other older generation participants and starts with long descriptions of her family and then moves sequentially through her life. Nolwazi's narrative is of course exceptional in that being pre-planned and written she was able to reflect on her life in a different way than an interview allows. This focus on her family history, the pride of her heritage and then stories of family feuds, assault and rape by people connected to the family and the stories of her children constitute almost her entire narrative. We must also take seriously that Nolwazi's interview is effectively *not* an interview and the kind of textual structure that her written account gives is very different to what is possible in the temporal and fluid interview setting, especially with regard to the fine details which are told so eloquently by Nolwazi. During the interviews, participants were faced with the demands of answering questions that they might not have anticipated, in real time, as well as their own interests to tell particular kinds of stories. Here narrators are confronted directly with an audience whose presence demands an immediacy of processing. This fluid movement within the temporal spaces of the interview are very unlike the planned, written text whose commitment was primarily to telling the story the way Nolwazi wanted and the anticipated audience is more abstract.

6.2 Younger generation

In the same way that I tracked the 'themes' which featured most prominently in the older generation interviews, I have tracked the same set of themes as I did with the older generation for the younger generation interviews and they are presented in Table 3 below. These themes included the trauma story, stories of the victims and post-trauma responses, mothering, caregiving, work, place, relationships, the future and family.

Table 3: Interview time spent on key themes - Younger Generation

Participant	Interview No.	Interview total time	Time and broad themes	Calculated time on topic
Mpumelelo Cele	1	59:05	• 14:37 – 21:01 (trauma story: brother's death) • 21:01 – 27:14 (post-trauma: witnessing) • 37:52 – 55:52 (relationship and future)	• 06:36 • 06:13 • 18:00
Grace Sibisi	1	01:01:02	• 05:58 – 12:19 (family) • 11:44 – 14:08 (trauma story: father's death) • 19:11 – 31:11 (trauma story: domestic violence) • 51:51 – 01:01:02 (relationship and mothering)	• 06:21 • 02:36 • 12:00 • 09:50
Nhlanhla Nkosi	1	52:46	• 0:00 – 28:01 (trauma story: father's death and post-trauma) • 28:01 – 39:21 (relationships and future) • 42:51 – 47:38 (place and post-trauma)	• 28:01 • 11:20 • 04:47
Lunga Vilakazi	1	35:41	• 00:00 – 07:58 (place) • 24:24 – 25:35 (place) • 30:19 – 34:22 (place)	• 07:58 • 01:10 • 04:03

6.2.1 Weighting

The younger generation typically approach the trauma story quite differently from the older generation affording it far less weight in the narration of their lives. Mpumelelo spends only 12 minutes of her 59 minute narrating the death of her brother and the events of the court case where she witnessed the killings. Grace spends just 2 minutes on her father's death and Lunga does not speak at all of the family trauma story, that is, the death of his uncle. The exception to this pattern is Nhlanhla Nkosi whose interview, like those of the older generation, is centred around the trauma story. Nhlanhla spends almost 33 minutes of his 53 minute interviewing talking about his father's death, his experiences after his dad's death and experiences within the community, with regard to the vigilante group. For the other younger generation participants other themes are more dominant but nonetheless they commit considerable time to talk about systemic traumas of contemporary life. Mpumelelo spends 18 minutes on talk about her HIV status, current relationship and the implications of this for her future (particularly with regards to mothering). Grace talks about an incident of domestic violence with her partner for 21 minutes of the hour interview, and the impact this has had on her relationship with the father of her children (who initiated the violence toward her), her mother and children. Lunga spends about 13 minutes of his almost 36 minute interview talking about the township, connected specifically to the violence of his community and a comparison to both the neighbouring white suburb as the ideal place and growing up on the farm.

6.2.2 First story: work and school

Unlike the older generation, the younger generation typically (except for Nhlanhla Nkosi) spoke about their school and work first and organise the chronology of life events in relation to periods of schooling and sequential employment. For example,

Tarryn: First of all may you please start by telling us who you are and where you were born. Just basically tell us about your life. [Mpumelelo Cele interview, p. 1; 00:00]

Mpumelelo: My name is (not clear) [Cele]. I was born at Kwa Zulu, uh, and then because my mother did not have girls and I have to come here to help her. And then I grew up here at [a Durban township]. I was schooling at [a Durban township] uh, until matric and then I studied few courses like Computer basic.

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Mpumelelo: And then I did Counseling and then I worked at the Supermarket as a cashier and at the moment I am working at [a local supermarket][5].

They also all spoke much more about themselves, their activities, schooling, relationships and futures that their mothers who emphasised the past and their families.

Tarryn: Okay, uh, where do you see yourself in 5 years time in terms of your work, do you imagine yourself doing the same work and …?

[Mpumelelo]: at the moment I was looking for a job to do counseling and I did not find anything at the moment and then I was…I saw one of my friends and then she told me that she was doing nursing although I was si … not and I was thinking what if I must leave work and do nursing next year.

Tarryn: Okay,

[Mpumelelo]: though it wasn't, you know to come out from that place, [Mpumelelo Cele interview, p. 25]

[5] Parts of our interview with Mpumelelo Cele was conducted in English. This text is the verbatim English transcript of the interview and is not a translation.

This line of talk was certainly introduced by my questioning, so that this distinction between the narratives of the older generation and younger generation is as much about my questioning (where I did not ask the older generation about the future so dominantly) as the way that each of the generations structures their narratives. Similarly I ask Grace:

Tarryn: Sure, uh, if you can imagine yourself in a little years' time, can you tell me what you will be doing? [Grace Sibisi interview, p. 28, 47:08]

[Grace] Kusho ukuthi la ngikhona kwa [LM], kukhona omunye umlungu engamthola nje, wangisiza wangilekelela ngahamba ngayokwenza icomputer e [Techikon], manje khona ngiyalibamba itoho, kukhona omunye umama engimrelivayo oyiswitchboard operator, ngenza neswitchboard khona, so ngiyamreliver-ke ngama lunch noma ngingaholi kodwa uma engekho uyangiholela iLion Match. Next year uyagcina uya kwi pension. So, ngiyathemba ukuthi bazongithatha-ke. Bangithembisile, angazi, heh heh, laughing. Kodwa nje yiwona msebenzi engiwenzayo, awenzayo. Mhlambe kuzoba ngcono-ke. Ngiyazi kuzoba ngcono uma kuwukuthi ngingena khona, izinkinga kuzolunga. Ngoba nemali yakhona ingcono. **(Where I am working, at [LM], there is a White lady that I get along very well with. She is very helpful to me and I was able to do Computer Course and Switchboard Operation at [Technikon]. So, I get part job in the company during her lunch break to work in her position, though I am not paid but it is experience. Next year she is going for pension and they have promised me that they will employ me in her place. I guess things will be better. I know it will be better because the salary is better than mine, as long as they keep their promise, my problems will be solved).**

Much like the mothers of the older generation, Grace, who is the only parent amongst the younger generation talks, about her children and their futures are woven into her narratives and she spends just over 6 minutes talking about her family (of an hour long interview) and a further 10 minutes talking about her relationships in relation to mothering. This area of her narrative thus features most significantly in her narration of her life. Both Nhlanhla and Mpumelelo speak of the 'future' connected to their romantic relationships, this includes for both talk about having and raising imagined future children and for Nhlanhla, his role in raising his brothers twins that stay with him and his mother.

6.2.3 Order

In contrast to the older generation, the younger generation tended to order their narratives starting with the present, with school and work, and worked backwards to speak of the trauma event and then childhood. The strong focus of their narratives was the present and the difficulties of making a life now.

As an example of the order of the younger generation's narratives I turn to Mpumelelo. She starts her narrative talking about her work. On our probing of her reference of her mother Mpumelelo then moves to speak about her biological mother and adopted mother (Londisiwe) and family. Talking about her family moves into talk about the death of her brother and she narrates his death from the perspective of the trial that where she testified to the event and Khanyisile and I probe this to explore what she had witnessed, the trauma event.

Tarryn: Okay, uh, explain, uh, I wonder why it was heavy for the boys, what were they looking for, were they looking for their brothers, were they looking for their companions? [Mpumelelo Cele interview, p. 18, 25:07]

Mpumelelo: Ngizothi kwakunzima because abafana babesabafuna besho vele ukuthi bafuna ukubabulala uyayibona leyonto? **(I would say it was difficult because they were still looking for the boys and they were still saying that they wanted to kill them, you see that)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Mpumelelo: Uyayibona leyonto, babefika bebuze ukuthi baphi abafana abahlala ngalana, uyayibona leyonto, obani abahlala lana, uyayibona yonke leyonto, **(You see that, they would come and ask where are the boys who stay around here, who is staying there, you see all these things)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Mpumelelo: So, kusho ukuthi njengoba babesababuza, kusho ukuthi still, basabafuna ukuthi bababulale ngoba bazitshela ukuthi banayo le information yokuthi bazokwazi ukusho ukuthi ngobani, uyayibona leyonto, **(So, it means that as they were still asking for them it means they are still looking for them in order to kill them because they are telling themselves that they**

had~~ve~~ the information that they would be able to say who they are, you see that thing) [Mpumelelo Cele interview, p. 18]

We turn then to talk about her family and then to talk again about school, her dreams and current experiences at work. Mpumelelo worked backwards from her work to talk about the trauma event and then returns again to the present and to talk about work. She spends a large part of her talk on her relationship with the partner with whom she broke off an engagement and the implications for her future. Her talk about the future includes an indication of desired children. A discussion of mothering ensues and we conclude with Mpumelelo reflecting on Londisiwe's current mothering of her:

Mpumelelo: Uh, ngingathini, njengoba kade ngisho ukuthi ngifisa ukuba… ngingathini ukuthi isikhathi esiningi usangitreata njengengane, ngithi uma ngibuya late, she scold me, (laughing) **(Uh, what can I say as I have said that I wish that… what can I say that, most of the time treats me like a child when I come late she scolds me)** [Mpumelelo Cele, pp. 38]

The way that Mpumelelo orders her narrative indicates the way in which the present dominates her account, as she starts with it and then traces the story retrospectively to the trauma event and then returns to talk about issues that concern her currently. Her conclusion about her mother is a response to a question about her 'memories' of her mother's parenting, and her response with regard to her mother's current mothering style supports the view that the present dominates her narrative.

6.3 'Inter-generational' stories: parallels and discrepancies

Turning to look at each of the family dyads (in comparison) allows us to think about the ways that the events of participants lives are shared intergenerationally, in particular the trauma story. The parallels and discrepancies in the sharing of the political trauma story (Hoffman, 2004) is indicative of the kind of talk that happens within the families regarding these events. However, these (dis)similarities across the generations are also elicited by the fact that all of the younger generation (except Lunga Vilakazi) were present and witnessed to these family traumas and 'know' of the events outside of any talk within the family.

6.3.1 Mbalenhle and Nhlanhla Nkosi

This dyad spend the greater part of their narratives speaking of the trauma event. The trauma story is the first and primary marker of narrative. For both of them, life after the event was difficult and marked by financial and emotional difficulties of losing a husband/father and provider as well as the subsequent departure of the oldest son/brother into exile. Nhlanhla writes:

Nhlanhla: Hhayi, ngahlukumezeka impela nje, ngoba uyabona, even nasesikoleni angikwazanga nje ukuqhubeka nokufunda. Angizange ngisakwazi ngempela. Ngoba emva kuka baba futhi kwakusaqhubeka kwenzeka nje nakwabanye nakweminye imizi. Miningi imizi eyenzeka leyonto. Manje ngabona ukuthi eyh, into engekho le. Uyabona nje nomfowethu omdala waze wakhetha uku crosa, ukuthi ke mina ngangisencane ngina 8 years. **(I was much traumatized because you see, even at school I could not continue to learn. I really couldn't. Because after my father's death these things continued to other families. There are many houses that experienced the same thing. Now I saw that this is ridiculous. You see, that is why my older brother decided to cross; I couldn't because I was too young at that time. I was only 8 years old.)** [Nhlanhla Nkosi interview, pp. 3 – 4]

For Mbalenhle:

Mbalenhle: Kwakulikhuni ngoba wawuthi kusekhona lokhu, **(It was difficult as it was one incident after the other)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Mbalenhle: Bese kuvela lokhu, **(Something else would come up)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Mbalenhle: Ungazi nokuthi mhlambe ukuhamba kwakhe uzobuya ephila noma uzozwa sekuthiwa washonela ngalena, **(I was not even sure that when he left he was going to come back alive or else I will get a message that he died on that side)** [Mbalenhle Nkosi interview 2, p. 13]

Talking about the death of their husband/father, Mbalenhle and Nhlanhla subsequently both move to speak of their son's/brother's exile, his return as well as the kind of lifestyle that he has experienced on his return which has allowed him to have a large family of his own and provide support for his mother and brother. Both use the word '(e)ziningi' **(a lot)** when talking about the number of children that he has [Mbalenhle interview 1, p. 7; Nhlanhla interview, p. 17]. And for this family the brother (who went into exile after the father's death) features quite largely, from his children staying with them, to the large photo of him which dominates the family sitting room; but also in the way he is positioned as the 'hero' in both his mother's and brother's stories.

6.3.2 Millicent and Lunga Vilakazi:

By contrast, Millicent and Lunga's telling of their family trauma story differs completely. Though the trauma story and post-trauma events constitute a large part of Millicent's story, they are absent from Lunga's story completely. Part of the reason is that Lunga was not yet born when his uncle was killed but Millicent also speaks of the censure of talk with regard to this story:

Tarryn:	Have you spoken at all to your children at all about your life and about that story of your brother? [Millicent Vilakazi interview 1, p. 17, 37:48]
Millicent:	Bengingakaze ngibaxoxele, **(I haven't told them)**
Khanyisile:	Hmmm,
Millicent:	Bengingakaze ngimtshele ngoba noma bengithi ngizozama ngimxoxele, ngimane ngibone ukuthi uzojika abe yileyonto. **(I have not told him because even if I wanted to, I just feel like he is going to change and just be aggressive or violent)**
Khanyisile:	Hmmm,
Millicent:	Kungcono noma athi uma ebona kwenzeka, athi uma ethi uyakwenza a kubone ukuthi kuwrong. Angikaze ngimxoxele. Ngoba futhi uyigwala. **(I think it is better for him to see it happening and if he tries to do it and realize that it is wrong. I have never told him. The other reason is that he is a 'coward'/'sensitive child')**

Millicent seems to be concerned about the 'morals' of her son, and speaks of the difficulty of raising a boy in a context where: "ngoba manje uyaba nabangani

mhlawumbe ababhemayo nabaphuzayo" **(You see sometimes the child get friends that smokes and drinks)** [Millicent Vilakazi interview 2, p. 17] and speaks of an intervention where she and her brother-in-law confront Lunga with regard to an incident where he is caught smoking. This seems important in light of the fact that she does not mention her husband's alcoholism and the resultant fact that her daughter is staying with her sister (the daughter's aunt) even though she spends more than 12 minutes (of the first 40 minute interview) talking about the family's living arrangements past and present. Lunga raises the discussion of the father's alcoholism whilst avoiding a discussion on the intervention in his life about substance abuse by his mother. Though the trauma event is silent in what is shared between Millicent and her son, her concern for violence carries across to impact on his current life.

In the context of morality, both Millicent and Lunga share talk about place especially regarding the township space in comparison to life on the farm, for the Millicent this is about where is best in raising kids whilst for Lunga it is about his own sense of place and the possibility of making a better future:

Tarryn:	where would you want to live? [Lunga Vilakazi interview, p. 10, 24:24]
Lunga:	[a neighbouring suburb]
Tarryn:	Why [a neighbouring suburb]
Lunga:	It is cooler than…you see here look now making a noise if you if you if you'll go and ask what why are you making a noise they won't tell you
Tarryn:	okay
Lunga:	ya
Tarryn:	and what do they do in [a neighbouring suburb]
Lunga:	aye its quiet there

Lunga spends the greater part of his narrative talking about place in relation to violence, about growing up on a farm and about moving away from the township, which speaks of issues of class and race in his wish to make a better future, though his reference to 'its quiet there' is directly about a neighbour playing his music loudly.

6.3.3 Nqobile and Grace Sibisi

The only events that Nqobile and Grace share in the narratives of their lives are the trauma story of the death of their father/husband and a current 'trauma' of domestic violence perpetrated by Grace's (the daughter's) partner. Though even in this sharing, Grace's knowledge of and talk of the political death of her father is limited. Grace's father died when she was quite young (approximately 11 years old) and Grace does not talk much about, nor seem to know about the death of her father (she spends two and a half minutes talking about his death).

Tarryn: Okay, you were still quite young and you remember uh, that your father passing away, what do you remember about it? [Grace Sibisi interview, p. 7, 12:19]

Grace: Iya, ngoba sasihlala lana sonke, kwakusekhona nogogo, sihlala lana sigcwele nje sonke sibuka iTV, kunetha, kwafika umuntu….bathi eh, ugwaziwe lapha ku Road [s…]. Ngagcina lapho nje kuhanjwa, oh … baphuma-ke lana ekhaya bayombheka, ngakusasa-ke umama wayeseyasho-ke ukuthi ushonile. Kwaphela kanjalo. **(Yes, because we all lived here, even my grandmother was still alive by then. We were all sitting and watching TV and it was raining. Somebody came and said that my father had been stabbed in Road [s…]. I only remember them going, oh … to look for him and they went out looking for him. And the following day my mother told us that he passed away. It ended like that)**

[…]

Tarryn: Okay, um, so you don't know why…why he was stabbed, you just know that he passed away? [Grace Sibisi interview, p.8, 13:11]

Grace: Yes,

Nqobile focuses her narrative (especially in our first interview) on the care she has provided (at different times in her life) for sick and dying people. Her children, including Grace, are a small part of her narrative and her story ends at about the year 2000 except for the domestic violence incident (cf. Nqobile Sibisi timeline, see Appendix 2, p. 160). That Nqobile should end her narrative when she does is very important for the ways that the past dominates her account of herself and the ways she distances herself even from the present freedoms:

Nqobile: Ngalena kodlame-ke akumile manje ukuthi sebayithola leyo, **(Beside violence, killing of people has never stopped even though they have achieved what they wanted)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Nqobile: Leyo nkululeko, **(The freedom that they wanted)** [Nqobile Sibisi interview 2, p. 43]

Grace's silences in contrast are about her siblings or extended family. When she does mention them it is to briefly discuss their present lives, in particular with regard to their current living arrangements, which seems important to her given that she is living with her mother in her mother's family along with her aunts and uncles and some of her siblings, as well as their and her own children. Although this issue of place is important her narrative focuses on her own schooling, work, relationships and children (cf. Grace Sibisi timeline, see Appendix 2, p. 160). This means that the events wherein her uncle, cousin and niece are killed are not present in Grace's narrative though they feature prominently in Nqobile's (to her it is her brother, nephew and grand-daughter).

6.3.4 Londisiwe and Mpumelelo Cele

Both of these women speak in some detail of the event where their son/brother died. However, the structures of their narratives vary dramatically. Londisiwe speaks first about this event and moves (in both interviews) into talking about mothering, and in particular a post- event kind of mothering since all of her children, except for Mpumelelo, permanently fled her home after the event. For Mpumelelo the trauma story comes some way into her narrative and is framed through her witnessing with regard to a court case into the death of the group of boys where their son/brother was killed. Both Londisiwe and Mpumelelo share a concern for the way the perpetrators' identities were concealed in the courtroom and the fact that the case remained unresolved.

Londisiwe: Uma lingena icala-ke, bangeniswe labantu bahenqiswe ngalena, **(When we went there, and also these people came but they were covered on the other side)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Londisiwe: Singababoni, sibabone lana emabhulukweni lana ngenzansi, **(We could not see them, we could only see their pants, so we could see their bottoms)**

Khanyisile: Oho, okay,

Londisiwe: Sithi uma sithi hawu vulani phela sibabone labantu ababulala izingane, **(And when we asked them to show them/to expose the people who killed our children)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Londisiwe: Bangavuma. Lithe lisuka ladlula laphelela emoyeni icala, **(We were denied the opportunity of seeing them. And then the case was postponed and then it was closed just like that).** [Londisiwe Cele interview 2, p. 7]

Mpumelelo notes similar details:

Mpumelelo: Bakhulume ngalena, kube khona into, **(They were hidden when they were talking as there was something like)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Mpumelelo: Enjengobhodi, bakhulume singababoni, **(There was something like a board, which made us not to see them when they talking)**

Khanyisile: Hawu,

Mpumelelo: Icase ayizange ize iqhubeke, asiyazi ukuthi yaphelelaphi, asazi ukuthi bagcina benzenjani. **(The case did not continue, we don't know what happened, we don't know the end of the case)** [Mpumelelo Cele interview, p. 9]

Though Mpumelelo speaks of the "brothers" who fled after the event this talk is limited to the period immediately post-event, whereas Londisiwe narrates their current lives, particularly with regard to the grandchild she is caring for and her engagement with his father (her son).

7. THEMATIC ANALYSIS

In this final phase of analysis the focus shifts from the form of participants' narratives to the *content* of their narratives. The primary focus of this study is on the ways in which traumatic events are integrated into life narratives and the communication of these stories across generations. As is already evident from the analysis of the structure or form of participants' narratives, these trauma stories are considered pivotal for the participants themselves; their stories begin with these defining events and they commit disproportionate lengths of time to talking about these events. The content focus on these stories here is therefore warranted by the data. As already suggested in the previous section of analysis (structure) participants *did* tell trauma stories. However, this thematic analysis is conducted within the broad narrative frame recognising that these 'thematic codes' intersect with other aspects of their lives and the complicated ways they are narrated together with or alongside other narratives. In particular, the political act of violence that each participant experienced and which forms the pivot for their stories, is woven together with two key threads or subthemes: mothering in the context of violence and the current systemic traumas of violent crime, poverty and health.

7. 1. Trauma stories:

Although the different generations structured their accounts in relation to these stories differently, all participants[6] included a recognisable 'trauma story' in the narratives that they told of themselves. These trauma stories document the kind of trauma *events* described by Herman (1992), whereby "traumatic events generally involve threats to life or bodily integrity, or a close personal encounter with violence and death" (p. 33). Each of the families I spoke to told of the deaths of people close to them (close family members and partners) and most of the participants witnessed these deaths.

[6] Lunga Vilakazi is the only participant who does not speak of the death of someone close to him (in his family this would be his uncle who died before he was born) and although he does speak of violence and a feeling of not being safe he does not narrate *an event* of threatened or actual violence towards himself or those close to him.

7.1.1. Political trauma stories

Participants told stories of violence and death within their families specifically as well as in their community which were initiated by the police, the South African Defence Force (SADF), the Special Branch, the infamous state-sponsored vigilante group that operated in the township during the 80's, conflict between groups affiliated with different political parties (in particular the IFP and ANC). These political trauma stories are often framed as happening at the time of 'violence', so that what characterises these deaths as political is not only about the specific politics that led to these deaths but also about the context in which these deaths occurred. Other systemic and structural forms of violence and death, but which do not occur during the final period of heightened resistance to the Apartheid state (1980's; early 1990's) are not narrated in the same way for these participants. Nobuntu for example differentiates the death of her eldest son from the deaths of her other family members in precisely this way when she says that his death occurred at a particular time:

Nobuntu: Ngesikhathi sodlame, **(during the time of violence)** [Nobuntu Mkhize interview 1, p. 8]

Mpumelelo likewise speaks of the death of her brother as happening at a *time* of *violence*, which she does not say in English but code switches at this point to use the isiZulu udlame.

Mpumelelo: And the one that passed away while there is this thing, ngesikhathi kwenzeka udlame **(…when violence happened)** [Mpumelelo Cele interview, p. 2]

These stories of political violence, which tell of violence at a specific time in the participants lives, dominate the narratives told by the participants. As demonstrated in the structure section of analysis these stories are told first by the older generation and are given a significant weighting in the stories that are told. Before we ask our opening question in our first interview with her, Londisiwe asks us to confirm whether we are there to speak of precisely such a period of political violence.

Londisiwe: Ngingalandi ngempilo yodlame. **(I mustn't explain about violent life?)** [Londisiwe Cele interview 1, p. 1]

Londisiwe immediately understands our interest in 'the past', and in her life, as being about *violence* and more specifically about the violence that she experienced directly at the height of the struggle against Apartheid. What is interesting is that this word 'violence' (udlame) is reserved, by participants, for the politically traumatic events of this period.

Nqobile tells us of the death of her husband.

Tarryn: Hmmm, Okay, what exactly happened, do you have any details, or was he just found stabbed? [Nqobile Sibisi interview 2, p. 25, 40:23]

Khanyisile: Ubaba wahamba kanjani, kwenzeka kanjani, kwenzakalani, uyazi? **(How did dad go, how did it happen, what happened?)**

Nqobile: Kusho ukuthi asazi kahlehle, kodwa umfana owafika lana ekhaya ukuthi ulele,**(We not exactly sure of what happened, but the boy that came to report, he said that he was lying down)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Nqobile: Ku Road [s…] eduze komgwaqo, uphakathi kokufa nokuphila, wathi lomfana ningasho ukuthi yimina engimshilo, **(In road [s…], near the road, and the chances of him surviving is 50/50, and he begged us not to mention his name)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Nqobile: Saphuma-ke sonke-ke salandela-ke, salandela-ke, saya khona, **(We then all ran to the spot, one after the other, and we went there)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Nqobile: Safica-ke elele lapha. **(And we find him lying there)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Nqobile: Kwadlu.....khathi siya lena thina kwadlula umfana lona engithi mina uhlakaniphile yena wayeshona eofisi eyolanda iAmbulance, **(As the time went on...and while we were going there, my young son the one that is**

very intelligent went past the office to report and phoned for the Ambulance)

Khanyisile: Oh!

Nqobile: Sathi sibona sisacabanga thina ukuthi sibize iAmbulance, nangu yena eseqhambuka ne Ambulance. Ngendlela engangigula ngayo kulezonsuku wahamba nalomfana omdala, **(Within a very short space of time, and while we were thinking of phoning the Ambulance, there he came with an Ambulance. The way I was sick that time, my older boy had to go with him in an Ambulance)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Nqobile: Waya esibhedlela ngoba inxeba, babemgwaze lana **(the wound was there, they had stabbed him here)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Nqobile: Base bethi....kwathi ngabo.....5 ekuseni kwafika ucingo lwathi inxeba leli lithinte inhliziyo, **(And then they said that early in the morning round about 5 o'clock, a message came that he did not make it because the wound was was stretched to the heart)**

Khanyisile: Ohhhhhhhhhh,

Nqobile: Ehe, kusho ukuthi uma besho-ke uma sekuzwakala umfana lona omdala ehamba esefuna naye ngesingaye ukuthi obani ngoba wathola ukuthi babewu 8, abantu ababemgwaza, ngoba, kusho ukuthi wayekwazi ukuvika yena, **(Yes, so as they say it, it is said that the older boy traced these people and find out that they were 8 people that stabbed him and it showed that he was tougher because he only got one wound)** [Nqobile Sibisi, pp. 25 – 26]

[…]

Nqobile: Ehe, ngoba kwatholakala ukuthi nabo laba ababe.....ababemhlanganyela angazi noma kwenze ngoba wayeyithanda ipolitiki,**(Yes, as they realized that these people that attacked him, they were involved in the violence think, as I feel that they had an argument around politics and as they were spies and then they attacked him) [**Nqobile Sibisi, p. 26]

7.1.2 'Re-living': the body's response

Nqobile's tale of her husband whose political involvement led to his death tells of her visceral and personal reaction to the senseless violence of his attack and death. She speaks of being sick at the scene and indicates parts of her own body in telling us where her husband was stabbed: 'the wound was there, they stabbed him here'. The detail with which she tells the story speaks of, what in trauma theory, is called 're-experiencing'. Herman (1992) writes that "reliving a traumatic experience […] carries with it the emotional intensity of the original event" (p. 42). Such reliving is about a re-experiencing of the traumatic event whether in dreams, actions, memories (Herman, 1992) or as suggested here, in narrating the event for others, experienced in vivid detail as if the events recalled were happening in 'real time'.

Londisiwe speaks of the death of a group of boys in the shack near her home, one of the boys is her son. In this event the 'Special Branch' rounded up a group of young men under the guise of giving them guns to use against the vigilante group in the community, and then shot repeatedly at them through the windows and walls of the small outbuilding, killing four of them.

Londisiwe: bavala emnyango! Abasaziniki izibhamu bazidubula, bazidubula, bazidubula, ubuchopho buhleli ngaphandle nje la, buhleli ngaphandle, bayidubula, ngithukeze mina ngoba ngangiye toilet ngo2 o'clock, phinde kuthi pha pha pha pha kuzamazame umhlaba kuthi **(They closed the door! They were no longer giving them guns, they shot them, shot them, shot them, the brains were there out there, here, just out there, shooting. I was so shocked me because I was going to toilet at 2 o'clock, again there was this pah pah pah pah sound and there was an earthquake)** [Londisiwe Cele interview 1, pp. 2 – 3]

Londisiwe too tells of the experience of losing her son, by recalling visceral details. Though Londisiwe does not give the day of the event (only that it was in June 1986) she can recall that the time was 2 o'clock because she had just gotten up to prepare for her day and was going to the toilet. This speaks of her daily routine (and the way that time was organised for her) but also of the intensely embodied experience of going to the toilet

accompanied by the other bodily sensations of the trauma experience: the sight of the boys with 'the brains out' (and the hand gestures to illustrate 'here' and 'there' in the interview), the sound of the guns 'pah pah pah pah' and the sensation of the 'earthquake'. Her repetition of "bazidubula, bazidubula, bazidubula' **(They shot them, shot them, shot them)** and 'pah pah pah pah' vividly captures the violent sound of the AK47 used in the attack and the way she must have experienced this.

Such reliving of the visceral details of these stories, in conjunction with the use of the word 'violence' (udlame), suggests a sense of bodily violation experienced by these women at this specific time, of an imposing and overwhelming (both in intensity and constancy) threat to bodily integrity. That is not to suggest that they were only concerned with threats to their own bodies, but rather that their experiences of assaults upon other bodies (particularly people close to them) were intensely embodied (see Fassin, 2007; Motsemme, 2007 & Godobo-Madikizela, 2003). This bodily response to events resonates with the responses outlined by trauma theory (Herman, 1992).

These embodied experiences, are in part, because the violence of the time was so consuming of their lives (La Capra's, 1991, suggestion of structural trauma) within the community and its presence was all around, at 'every corner' (see Hamber & Lewis, 1997).

Mbalenhle: Zibona kwenzeka ilokishi lonke, **(At that time the whole township was in destruction)**
Khanyisile: Yebo, **(Yes)**
Mbalenhle: Kuzamazama ngapha nangapha, kushonwa, **(Every corner there was violence and deaths)** [Mbalenhle Nkosi interview 2, p. 6]

It is hard to imagine such pervasive violence not being felt personally by those within the community. However, for these women, the violation was direct and personal. They lost people within their families. People they loved and cared for, and who cared for them. Londisiwe speaks of her 'illness', her trauma, after the death of her son:

Londisiwe: Ngahlupheka-ke lapho mntanami-ke ngigula-ke ngishaywa uvalo kakhulu manje ngiyabona nale ngane nayo ebingisiza ibamba amatoho isiphase ustandard ten ayisayi nasematohweni angisasizwa umuntu sengiyahlupheka. **(I suffered then my child, being sick, I got a fright too much, I see that even the child that has been helping me doing piece jobs has passed standard ten, no longer going to do piece jobs, nobody is helping me. Nobody is helping me any longer).** [Londisiwe Cele interview 1, p. 3]

[…]

Londisiwe: Manje njengoba ngashaywa uvalo kakhulu empilweni yami kwaba njani, ngathi mina ngiyagula. Base bethi angizame ukuthi ngiye e[local hospital], bazame nokuthi ngenze ngi applayele impesheni ukuthi ingisize mhlambe ngiholele, mhlambe kube khona imali enginikwa yona ngoba ngathuka kakhulu, **(Now since I was shocked and have had a very bad experience in my life, I felt sick. They then said to me that I must go to [local hospital] so that they I can apply for sick pension so that at least it helps me as I experienced a serious shock)** [Londisiwe Cele interview 2, p. 3]

Londisiwe's loss is carried in her body long after the death of her son, and she concludes our second interview with her by showing us a set of documents which describe the court case into the death of her son as well as her application for a special grant (as suggested to her after the event) which is still in process more than twenty years after the event. Although Londisiwe's illness is unusual in that she is (officially) able to make a connection between the event and her sickness, she is not the only participant who mentions such a bodily response to the violence they experienced. For example, Nqobile's narrative also tells of 'sickness':

Nqobile: Kusho nje ukuthi nje-ke emva kwaloko ayizange iphinde impilo i... **(So, after that my life was never the same, was never...)**

Khanyisile: Ilunge, **(A good one)**

Nqobile: Ilunge, akuzange nje kuphinde kulunge lutho. Nomama wabuye wagula-ke, wagula-ke eside isikhathi, washona-ke ngokuhamba kwesikhathi ngo

1991, **(It was never a good one, nothing ever went right. And my mother also became sick and was sick for a very long time and eventually passed away in 1991)** [Nqobile Sibisi interview 1, p. 19]

Nobuntu likewise refers to 'sickness' as a result of the family's experience of political violence, the death of her son:

Nobuntu: Yayingikhuba kakhulu ngicabanga ukuthi yikona nje ngangihlala ngigula yileyo ndaba leyo, **(It was disturbing me a lot, I think that is why I was always sick, it was because of that story)**

Khanyisile: Iyakugulisa? **(It made you sick?)**

Nobuntu: Ehe, iyangigulisa emzimbeni **(Yes, it made me sick in my body)**

Khanyisile: Iyakulimaza **(It hurts you)?**

Nobuntu: Ehe, **(Yes)** [Nobuntu Mkhize interview 1, p. 22]

It is interesting that the participants talk of what is clearly psychological trauma in these very bodily terms. Londisiwe links her own illness with 'stress' and speaks of her mother's death as pre-empted by the sadness and psychological trauma of her husband's violent death.

Tarryn: Okay, and is her mom still around, is your mom still around, or has she passed on, or

Khanyisile: Umama usekhona usaphila noma akasekho. Uma engasekhona ngabe wahamba kanjani emhlabeni… **(Is the mother still alive or no longer? If she is no longer alive how did she die)?**

Londisiwe: Usashona. (**She passed away**)

Khanyisile: Ungasichazela **(Can you explain to us)**

Londisiwe: Washona ngoba umuntu owayecabanga njalo kwazekwaqhuma ilento umthambo wenhliziyo ehe ecabanganjalo indaba yokuhlupheka ukuthi sesisobabili uyabona wathi udokotela ubulawa ukucabanga njalo uqhume umthambo wenhliziyo, ehe, usashona ehe **(She died because she was the person that was always thinking until this thing burst, the vein of the**

heart, yes, thinking all the time, because of suffering that we were the only 2 left, you see, the doctor said that she was killed by thinking all the time. The vein of the heart burst, yes, and she died, yes) [Londisiwe Cele interview 1, p. 7]

Londisiwe attributes her mother's heart attack to her 'thinking' and dwelling on her suffering, including the death of her husband, removal from her home town and death of her grandchild. Londisiwe certainly also implicates financial 'stresses' in her narration of her and her mother's illnesses. Like the other participants where the deaths of breadwinners and the financial difficulties that resulted was the key pre- and post- event marker, Londisiwe spends some time talking about trying to support herself after the death of her son, subsequent estrangement from her other sons and inability to work. Yet even these stresses and worries are a result of the trauma event, and so the causal link between the trauma event and the 'thinking' that causes illness remains.

This mother and daughter (Londiswe) indicate a complex intergenerational sharing of trauma, carried in the body and carried forward in time, making both of them ill. The implication is that the past is not dead and that even though the event is history it continues to leave its mark on these women's bodies (Fassin, 2007). This mark tells a story of the past which is not easily put into words (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2003) but which impacts on the interaction between mother and child (Hoffman, 2004).

Nobuntu says that no longer thinking about the past and concentrating on the present and the future as represented by her grandchildren, has allowed her a sense of happiness:

Nobuntu: Kungiphethe kahle kakhulu manje ngoba ayikho into engisayicabanga eningi, into engiyicabangayo nje ngicabanga izingane lezi engihlala nazo. **(I am now very happy because I no longer think about the past, I only think about my grandchildren whom I stay with)** [Nobuntu Mkhize interview 1, p. 37]

The pre- and post- formulation of the trauma event is supported as we note the retrospective organisation of which the present is understood by participants.

7.1.3 Structural trauma:

Participants do not however only tell of these specific politically violent 'political' traumas of the past but supplement these stories, often in as much (or greater) detail, with stories of loss and trauma that are not related to political 'violence' (udlame). For the most part this suggests (as Ross, 2001 does) that the lives of these women and their children are characterised by high levels of violence and death. Nqobile says:

Nqobile: He, ngangike ngikhulume ngedwa ngithi yena uNkulunkulu uma esegawula njena, esegawula njena, **(I would talk to myself and asked God why is he brutal to me and killing and killing)** [Nqobile Sibisi interview 1, p. 30]

Nqobile tells multiple stories of death, alongside her husband's political death, including the death of her father, the death of two relatives to HIV/AIDS, the death of her grand-daughter, shares the story of the death of a group of boys in the community, as well as of the more recent gender-based violence against her daughter by her daughter's partner. The inclusion of multiple trauma stories, which occur at various points in time, allows us to think of some kind of continuity *in time* with regard to traumatic experience. 'Violence' within the community, since the end of Apartheid (1994), is narrated as ongoing and pervasive. However, it is of a different kind to the 'violence' described in the politically traumatic stories.

Nqobile: Uh, ngoba akuzange kuphinde.....ngizothi akuphindanga kwaba khona ubumnandi ngoba nokubulalana kuyaqhubeka. **(Nice or good things never happened again, since killing of people is continuing)**
Khanyisile: Hmmm,
Nqobile: Akumile, **(It has never stopped)**
Khanyisile: Hmmm,
Nqobile: Ngalena kodlame-ke akumile manje ukuthi sebayithola leyo, **(Beside violence, killing of people has never stopped even though they have achieved what they wanted)**
Khanyisile: Hmmm,
Nqobile: Leyo nkululeko, **(The freedom that they wanted)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Nqobile: Kodwa still kuyaqhubeka, bayaqhubeka bayabulalana, **(But still killing of people is still continuing)** [Nqobile Sibisi interview 2, p. 43]

Nqobile uses the word 'violence' (kodlame) specifically to link the 'violence' of the past and the 'killing' which has continued after the 'freedom' achieved in the first democratic elections. Her suggestion that the 'violence' of the struggle is continuing is however not evident in the other transcripts, rather the 'violences' of today have different labels including (but not limited to) crime, taxi wars, domestic abuse, and HIV/AIDS.

In a scene remarkably reminiscent of his narration of hearing about his father's death (his father died in 1986); Nhlanhla gets news during our interview with him that an acquaintance has died (while making a sale of cigarettes for his mother's business run at home):

Nhlanhla: (speaking to the customer) Eyh …amatekisi bra wami, basalwa namanje?...U[S…], ushonile? …bamdubule nini manje? Ushonile? Ha! **(Eish the taxis my brother, …are they still fighting… [S…]? He's dead?...when did they shoot him, now?...He's dead? Ha!)**

Khanyisile: Sekushona bani manje? **(Who has passed away now?)**

Nhlanhla: Eish, labantu bayizinja babangi imgudu yamatekisi eLoxion. Sebedubule umuntu bambulala e[neighbouring community] **(Someone has been shot, it taxi wars, they are fighting over the location routes; they shot and killed him at [neighbouring community])**

Khanyisile: Hawu

Nhlanhla: Sebedubule omunye manje, ushonile. (**They've shot someone else now, he's dead**)

Khanyisile: Aaah that's sad there's a taxi war people from [a Durban township] are fighting with [neighbouring community] people somebody has just been shot dead now

Tarryn: Wow! [Nhlanhla Nkosi interview, p. 14]

It is not clear to us who [S…] is to Nhlanhla, perhaps just someone he knows from using the taxis, which would make this scene very different to that of hearing about his father as told below:

Nhlanhla: Ngangila ekhaya, sasihlezi nomama. Kufika nje omunye umfana ekuthiwa u[M…] omncane oyisihlobo salapha ekhaya, ohlala ngaphezulu ngalapho babamba khona. Uyena owafika lapha ekhaya egijima la, kushukuthi wahamba ngezindlela zesizulu. Wafika wasitshela ukuthi i [vigilante group] isimthathile ubaba. Ingekho into esasingayenza futhi ngaleso sikhathi, Ikhona nje ukuthi umama akhale. Sekuyaziwa nje ukuthi sonke siyakhala. Vele kuyaziwa ukuthi uma isikuthathile ngeke usabuya, usuke usaziwa ukuthi usuhambile emhlabeni. (**I was at home with my mother. There come a small boy [M…] who is our relative and lives up there by where they caught him. He is the one that came here running, he took a short cut. He came and told us that the [vigilante group] had taken my father. There was nothing we could do at that time, my mom just had to cry. We all just knew, we just all cried. Because it is known that when they take you, you are not coming back, you have died)** [Nhlanhla Nkosi interview, p. 2]

These two different stories both illustrate how news of violence and death travels within the community. On each occasion someone comes to the house and passes on information about events that are happening at that very moment. If we look back at Nqobile's story of her husband's death, she too received news that he had been stabbed from a 'boy' who came to her house to tell her. It makes sense that such news would move very quickly to the family members (in the case of Nhlanhla's fathers and Nqobile's husband's attacks and subsequent deaths) in order for them to get help and respond to the situation. However, the 'taxi war' telling suggests that this community news network does not stop there and one can imagine that the news of such events moves from house to house in a kind of intricate network of telling, facilitating a very rapid movement of stories through the community. It is against this context of a 'network of telling' that participants could say that 'everyone knows' their stories, and this is especially true for the traumatic and violent stories of the political past.

Both stories suggest the ways that death and violence were and continue to be expected within the community. Mbalenhle and Nhlanhla, in the story of their husband/father's death, battle to understand why he was killed and both note the kind of talk he might have participated in that would position him as a target of political violence.

Nhlanhla: Hhayi ubaba waye-right, wayephansi futhi wayengekho ke kulezizinto zemizabalazo. Ukuthi nje kushukuthi bona babebona ukuthi, ukhona kulezinto zomzabalazo ngoba igenge eningi, wayezibhemela insangu, Igenge eningi nje yayigcwala la ekuseni ngoba ibhasi babeligibelela la. Yonke legenge esebenzayo ifike la izobhema ekuseni before iye emsebenzini. Kushukuthi yizona izinto ababezibona lezo, mhlawumbe yilapho kuhlanganiselwa khona izindaba zepolitiki lapha. Ngokucabanga kwami kushukuthi yingakho kwanzeka. **(My father was alright, he was a good person, down to earth and he was not into politics. It's just that they thought that he was into politics because most of the gang, he used to smoke dagga. Most of the gang used to come here in the morning because they took the bus from here. All the gang that used to work would come here and smoke before going to work. Maybe these are the things that they used to see that made them think this was a place where political agendas are discussed. In my thinking, that's why it happened)** [Nhlanhla Nkosi interview, p. 5]

This indicates that they did not expect him to be vulnerable, and they were certainly surprised when the young boy came to tell that he had been attacked by the vigilante group in the area. However, their response to hearing the news is to resign themselves to his death. This is not a fatalistic response but tells us rather of how pervasive such attacks in the community were and they 'just knew' what such an attack meant. This 'knowing' suggests the network of telling wherein they could know of other similar events which were so pervasive 'at that time' despite news blackouts and state control of media, it is evident that the community of storytelling was vibrantly active and kept people informed and connected to one another. Similarly in the 'taxi war' incident Nhlanhla seems unsurprised by the violence and death that is reported to him, suggesting that such stories are not uncommon and that the pervasiveness of violence continues to be a feature of

community life. Certainly these expectations of violence and death do indicate a continuity of experience over time, from the period of 'political' violence into the present.

However, what is most dissimilar between the two events is the emotions and responses to them. Naturally Nhlanhla would respond more emotionally to the death of his father although it happened long ago. What is striking is not the emotion of his narration of his father's death but the complete *lack* of emotion in hearing about [S…]'s death. As I have suggested Nhlanhla's lack of surprise on hearing the story indicates that it was not 'unexpected' and he quickly dismisses it as he moves from selling cigarettes to the person who told the story to him back into the 'interview' where we immediately re-enter a rather light-hearted discussion about his relationship with two women. Unlike the politically violent story, this event is not taken as personal and seems to suggest a complete resignation to the inevitability of violence.

This resignation with and expectations of violence is picked up by Lunga who spends a large part of his narrative talking about his community as a site of 'violence' (in English).

Lunga:	Mina ngendlela engibona ngayo kuya ngokuthi ukhule kanjani vele, **(I the way I see things it depends on how you have been brought up)**
Khanyisile:	Hmmm,
Lunga:	Kodwa izingane eziningi sikhula njena zazazi ukuthi kumele uphathe isibhamu, uyabona, **(But most of the children when we were growing up they only knew that you must carry a gun, you see)**
Khanyisile:	Okay,
Lunga:	Uyabona uma sikhula asikhulanga ngokuthi sithengelwe ama puzzles, **(You see when we were growing up they did not buy us puzzles)**
Khanyisile:	Hmmm,
Lunga:	Ukuze sikhule umqondo uqaqekile, **(For us to grow with an open mind)**
Khanyisile:	Iya, **(Yes)**
Lunga:	Sikhula sazi ukuthi hayi kumele ngiphathe isibhamu, uyabona, uma sidlala nje nezingane sazi ukuthi uyiphoyisa, uma uyiphoyisa,nje **(We grew up knowing that you must only carry a gun, you see, when we were playing fantasy it was that you are a police and if you are a police),**
Khanyisile:	Hmmm,

Lunga: Siyizigebengu thina siyakujaha wena njengephoyisa, **(We are thugs and we must chase you being a police)** [Lunga Vilakazi interview, p. 1]

Lunga suggests that violence is an accepted part of being in his community, accepted as the 'standard' against which he must work to build a good life for himself. The continued expectations of violence noted by Lunga pervade games of 'cops and robbers' and 'guns'. The pervasiveness of violence within the community fosters a familiarity with weapons where carrying guns is something that children become accustomed to from young as violence is modelled for them in fantasy games as well as real life in which adult role models are 'respected' because they carry weapons and have power because of this.

Lunga: Siyibona kubona labantu abadala, ngoba sithi sikhula, vele ukhula uyabona ukuthi hayi usubanibani uyahlonishwa endaweni lana uyabona, **(We see it from adults because as we grow, you grow up seeing that so and so is being respected in the area, you see)**

Khanyisile: Ngabe kuhlonishwa abantu abanjani nje? **(What kinds of people are respected)?**

Lunga: Bona laba abashaya izibhamu angithi unemali vele, ngeke nimenze lutho ngoba noma amaphoyisa angafika ngeke baboshwe, uzowakhokhela kuphele kanjalo. Manje nathi njengezingane lento siyibuka ngenye indlela. **(The very same people that carry guns. He knows that he is untouchable to the police because he is going to pay them money)** [Lunga Vilakazi interview, p. 2]

Lunga suggests that this is something unique, not only to the township, but to being black.

Tarryn: okay so there's a kind of

Khanyisile: yeah

Tarryn: image of success

Khanyisile: absolutely

Tarryn: being connected to violence um but the fact that you talking about this means that you are aware of that connection, what has made you start to think about these things in that way

Khanyisile: Njengoba uyibona yenzeka (not clear) wacabanga izinto ezinjani emqondweni wakho, uyabona? **(As you have seen such thing happening, what are you thoughts and feelings about this)?**

Lunga: Emqondweni wami sengike ngacabanga ukuthi heyi, ukuba umuntu omnyama kunzima, **(In my mind I have just concluded that being a black person is a problem)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Lunga: Ngoba manje, uyabona, kufana njengalento yalana ematekisini, **(You see the same thing happens in the taxi industry)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Lunga: Uyabona into yomuntu omnyama ilanyulwa ngegazi, uyabona, **(You see the resolution of a black person lies in blood, you see)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Lunga: Uyabona umlungu kuhlalwa phansi kuxoxwe **(Whereas with a white man, you sit down and negotiate)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Lunga: Kumuntu omnyama kufanele kube khona ofayo, **(With a black person someone must die)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Lunga: Uyabo, manje uyabona ukuthi hayi kunzima. **(You see, now, you see how difficult it is)** [Lunga Vilakazi interview, p. 3]

Lunga's talk of race differentiates strategies for resolving problems across black and white, and this is also reflected in his wish to move to a white suburb, connecting violence both to the way that black people engage with the world but also their experiences of it. Lunga speaks of black people as perpetrators of violence, but what underpins his talk is also that they are victims of violence. This 'black' experience of violence is marked also by a sense of distrust of the police (and broader social systems) to resolve problems within the community, an idea shared across the different violent events narrated by the participants. In ironic ways, there is a continuity between the role of the police and other armed state agencies in the politically violent 1980's and people's current distrust of the police in the democratic state. Lunga's distrust speaks of corruption and the ways this works to undermine non-violent resolutions within the community.

Grace too illustrates her distrust of the police as she tells of opening a case against her partner and the father of her children after he had beaten her very seriously.

Grace: Odokotela ba..ngangilimele kakhulu, ngalelolanga nje bawalanda amaphoyisa kusho ukuthi athi eh ngeke aze akwazi ukulivulela esibhedlela icase ngoba yonke into yenzeke ngalana, kusho ukuthi ngingalanda amaphoyisa ngalana, kusho ukuthi ngaphuma esibhedlela ngaya-ke emaphoyiseni, ngavula icase. Wafika yena emva kwesonto, **(The doctors…since I was badly injured, that day they called the police but the problem was that it happened outside their jurisdiction and I could not open up a case at that time and since everything happened this side, I had to report to the police this side and when I came out of hospital I went and opened a case and he came on a Sunday)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Grace: Kwase kufonelwa amaphoyisa. Kusho ukuthi ayephuzile, ayezimele lena ehlezi lapha, wabaleka waphuma wahamba. Afika azombamba, waphuma wabaleka **(They then called the police**. **When the police came here, they were drunk and stood there while he was sitting there and he got out and he ran away, just walked out and ran away)** [Grace Sibisi interview, pp. 34 - 35]

Mpumelelo extends her distrust of the police to the justice system, speaking of the case where she testifies to her brother's killing, a case which remained unresolved and was later dropped in court. In particular her concern, which echoes her mothers concern, is that the (alleged) perpetrators were kept behind a screen during the proceedings.

Mpumelelo: Ngoba-ke umthetho ngaso sonke iskhathi ukuthi umuntu owonile makajeziswe, uyayibona leyonto, **(As a rule it is expected that every time when one has been wronged it must be punished you see)**

Khanyisile: Hmmmm,

Mpumelelo: And akuvamisile ukuthi, ngangiqala nokubona ukuthi umuntu kufanele afihlwe, ngangikwazi loko ukuthi umuntu uyafihlwa, **(And it is unusual, and it was my first time seeing that someone should be hidden, I didn't know a person should be hidden)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Mpumelelo: Ngoba uke umbone umuntu okhuluma naye ukuthi, nangu umuntu owenze icala, **(Because you usually see the person you are talking to, here is the person who is guilty)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Mpumelelo: And naye akubone, **(And they see you too)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm

Mpumelelo: Ngangiqala ukubona kwenziwa into enjengalena, **(But it was the first time for me to see something like this)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Mpumelelo: Impela kwangiphatha kabi, **(Indeed it made me feel bad)** [Mpumelelo Cele interview, pp. 14 - 15]

In thinking about the pervasiveness of violence, and the ways that it has come to be expected within the community, Lunga also introduces us to the ways that violence is also simultaneously underpinned by an expectation of the failings of the police and justice system to resolve these events. Mpumelelo precisely pins her disappointment against a set of expectations that are not met, that the courts should not hide those accused of crimes and that those who are guilty should be punished.

7.2 Mothering in the context of violence

In trying to maintain values of respect and community (which is a key concern for mothers), perhaps as a way to steer children away from lives of violence, Mbalenhle expresses a distrust for the methods 'of the state' and a kind of nostalgia for the way that she was brought up, calls up 'resolutions' from the more distant past.

Mbalenhle: Awu, Sakhula kahle, azikho izinkinga ezazikhona sasizingane ezilalelayo, singenzi noma yini, sikhuzwa, uma ngabe utshelwa ukuthi ungakwenzi ukuthi ungakwenzi. Ngoba ngeke namhlanje uma ingane uyithethisa inamalungelo, zenze noma yini eziyithandayo. Thina sakhuliswa kahle kabi. **(We grew up well, we were not troublesome. We were respectful kids, we did not do as pleased. You cannot say the same with kids today. You cannot shout at them, they have rights. They do whatever they like. We were brought up very well)** [Mbalenhle Nkosi interview 1, p. 3]

The lack of respect that the participants notice amongst the younger generation is a problem that is situated outside of the family, often about the ways that children's 'rights' (under the constitution) undermine discipline and foster children who disregard for adult authority and involvement in antisocial behaviour such as drugs, alcohol and subsequent violence. This view that children 'lack respect' is held even by the younger generation participants, especially Grace who has two of her own children, but also by Mpumelelo and Nhlanhla who imagine raising children in the future.

Tarryn: Okay, uhm, so what sort of things do you want your children to learn? [Grace Sibisi interview, p. 22, 37:45]

Grace […] uh, ngifuna bafunde-ke futhi. yiyona-ke into engifuna bayenze, ngifuna bafunde, bahloniphe bamazi umuntu omdala. babazi nabanye abantu ukuthi mhlambe omunye umuntu mhlambe angakwazi ukukusiza. Ungazitsheli ukuthi mhlambe ukhula…mhlambe, ukhula kahle mhlambe bafundisiwe njani, njani, besebezibona ukuthi bona bangconi hehe, nomunye umuntu wangaphandle angakusiza ngoba awazi ukuthi ikusasa likuphatheleni. ngifuna bafunde babe nenhlonipho kuphela. **([…] I want them to go further with education. I want them to especially older people and I also want them to bear in mind that other people may bring help to them. I don't want them to think that if they are educated they don't need other people. They will always need other people in their life. I want them to know that even an outside person, outside from your family may help you as one does not know what your future holds for you. I want them to study and to respect other people).** [Grace Sibisi interview, pp. 22 – 23]

The way to teach respect, however, is not understood as being about talk between the generations but rather is seen to be facilitated by corporal punishment; which is connected to the old way of doing things. In terms of time, respect is something that characterises the time before the period of political violence that ruptured their words and so mothers try to capture the parenting style of this time.

Tarryn: Do you think that it also happens with your grandchildren? [Mbalenhle Nkosi interview 2, p. 20; 26:22]

Khanyisile: Ucabanga ukuthi loko kuyenzeka nakubazukulu bakho? **(Do you think that this is happening with your grandchildren)?**

Mbalenhle: Hayi, mina ngiyabashaya, **(Not mine, I beat them)**

Khanyisile: Oh! Okay,

Mbalenhle: Ngiyabashaya mina, **(I beat them)**

Khanyisile: Alright,

Mbalenhle: Futhi angiboni ukuthi bangangibopha, uma ofuna ukungibopha nje ayithathe ahambe nayo, heh heh, laughing, **(And I don't think that they can take me to court, but if anybody wants to take me to court for beating them that person will have to take them and raise them)**

Khanyisile: Okay, heh heh, laughing,

Mbalenhle: Ngeke, ngiyabashaya mina **(No forget it I beat them)**

Khanyisile: Heh heh, laughing,

Mbalenhle: Awwu ngeke nje banenduku yabo nje, **(Well, that is impossible, I have a cane stick for them)** [Mbalenhle Nkosi interview 2, pp. 20 – 21]

Again Mbalenhle expresses her distrust for official systems, in particular, the criminal justice system in justification of her use of corporal punishment. Interestingly Nolwazi calls on this system precisely to implement corporal punishment when she wants to discipline her son. She tells us a long story about her son's arrest after holding a Telkom technician at gunpoint and then shooting and injuring him. During some point in the tale, and after her son has evaded the police, the police find him in her home and beat him up very seriously (at her request). Nolwazi says:

Nolwazi: Akashawanga kanjena. Udonga lwalugcwele igazi, **(They beat him nicely. The wall was bloody)** [Nolwazi Radebe intreview 2, p. 70]

The moral of the story was that after this incident her son learned to behave:

Nolwazi: Yingoba phela abazange bashaywe, baphinda bona ngoba abazange bashaywe. Yingakho benza lezinto, yingoba abazange bashaywe, bazofela ejele-ke ntombi. Kusho yena. Uthi bamshaya, bamshaya labantu bathi uyabona lelicala lakho lomuntu wakwa Telkom liphelile. Kodwa uma uqhubeka siyabuya. Hayi-ke bangabuya-ke ngendlela aziphethe kahle

> ngayo. **(He continued to say "it is because he has never been beaten up, that is why the are going to die in jail". Those were his words. He said people that were beating him up said that the case of the Telkom person has been erased as he has been beaten up but if he misbehave again it will be reinstated again and they will come for him. They haven't been back because he is well behaving)** [Nolwazi Radebe interview 2, p. 72]

Nolwazi here clearly sees 'corporal punishment' as a form of discipline which is able to teach her child acceptable behaviour. Neither she nor the other mothers consider this to be a form of violence despite the obvious violation that her son experienced from the police in this incident. In not including such incidents under the rubric of violence these mothers are able to assert corporal punishment as an acceptable strategy of discipline, with connections across time to the way that parenting happened historically, and evoking tradition in a kind of well intentioned and socially sanctioned violence.

7.2.1 Talk about violence

The expectations, suggested by Lunga that 'being black' means being tied to violence and violation, as well as the way that parents try to safeguard their children from this violence by offering alternative ways of behaving, can also be seen in the way in which parents talk about violence (both in the political stories of violence and in the more current stories).

Given the theory on trauma that suggests that silence is a key response to traumatic experiences, and marks the mode of transmission between generations (see Hoffman, 2004, Danieli, 1998), it is interesting that most of the younger generation did know the details of the political trauma stories. The stories of a politically violent past are carried within the community and are readily accessible. Some of my participants felt it unnecessary to commit to confidentiality and anonymity because 'everybody knows', through no doubt the network of community storytelling already indicated. What was interesting, however, was that the spaces for talk do not seem to happen in the families. Because 'everybody knows' mothers feel that they do not need to tell their children about the violent and traumatic aspects of the past and focus their talk differently. In other words, talk does not seem to be used therapeutically as in talking through events and

memories in an attempt to share the emotional burden. Within these silences, however, there are what I call 'moments of connection'. The moments within the silence suggest a kind of 'silent knowing' (see Jansen, 2009, Hoffman, 2004) whereby the older generation and younger generation both know of the trauma events and stories, and are aware that the other generation knows, but both silently agree not to talk about it together.

One such 'moment of connection' happened during our first interview with Nobuntu, as she tells of the policeman who confessed to killing her oldest son in the township:

Nobuntu: Ehe, wayesethi-ke uyena owambulalyo waze washo nesibongo sakhe wathi ungu [Smith], isibongo sakhe wayengowaka [Smith]. **(Yes he said it's him, who killed him, he even said his surname. He said I am [Smith], his surname was [Smith]).**

Khanyisile: Wayewu [Smith] isibongo sakhe? **(Was [Smith] his surname)?**

Nobuntu: Ehe, angithi [daughter]? **(Yes, isn't [daughter])?**

Daughter: Ma.

Nobuntu: Angithi lowamlungu kwakungu [Smith] isibongo sakhe? **(Isn't it, that white person, [Smith] was his surname?)**

Daughter: Ehe, **(Yes)**

Nobuntu: Ehe, wayengowakwa [Smith], washo wathi yimina engimdubulile, esho ehleka ejabula. **(Yes, he was from [Smith] family, he said it is me who shot him he said it laughing happily).** [Nobuntu Mkhize interview 1, pp. 11 - 12]

At the very moment of naming her son's killer; she calls to her daughter (who did not participate in the project) in the next room to verify his surname. Nobuntu makes no mistake when calling up the name of the person who has killed her son, and goes on to use it seven times in quick succession, so it is curious that she seeks out her daughter's confirmation. In doing so what is immediately clear is the fact that her daughter shares this knowledge of the event with her mother, and that the mother is aware of her daughter's knowledge. Despite Nobuntu telling us on a few occasions that she simply cannot remember when or how something happened, this 'moment of connection' with her daughter in the interview is clearly not about her inability to recall but rather speaks of

a more complex intergenerational understanding, or point of suture, with regard to the trauma story. What is most importantly implicated is the ways that the story is shared.

However, this way of sharing the telling of the story is about an acknowledgment of knowledge already shared between mother and daughter, rather than transmitting information between generations. By contrast, Grace alludes to an instance of talk in which her daughter tries to offer her support. Talking about her violent relationship with the father of her children (in the present) and the presence of a new partner in her and her children's lives, Grace tells the story of a cellphone text message she received from her own daughter.

Tarryn: Sure! Okay, your little girl, she is ten. She must have some idea of what is happening in the relationship, does she talk about her father and what the relationship is like with the new boy? [Grace Sibisi interview, p. 32, 53:52]

Grace: Akakhulumi kakhulu yena kodwa wake wangisendela umessage ngelinye ilanga ethi e…akachazanga, wavela wathi, uyazi ukuthi kuqhubekani, eh, kodwa uyamthanda ubaba wakhe nami futhi usangithanda. Angingaphatheki kabi yena uyazi ukuthi kuqhubekani. Wangasho lutho futhi nami angikaze ngimbuze ukuthi wayechaza ukuthini. **(She is not a talkative person but she once sent me a message saying that…but she did not say many things, or explain things, she just said that she is aware of what is going on between me and her father but she loves her father and she also loves me. She continued saying that I must not feel bad because she knows what is going on between us. She stopped there, and I have never asked her what she meant by that).** [Grace Sibisi interview, p. 32]

Grace's daughter (who is 10 years old) lets her know, through a text message, that she is aware of the violence and problems in her mother's relationship with her father as well as indicating her own thoughts about her father. Knowing that her daughter knows is constructed, even by the young child, as being able to ease Grace's own concerns about the relationship between her children and their father, especially where she fears separating her children from a father figure. However this 'moment of connection' is then

followed up by conscious and active silence (of the 'active' kind introduced by Motsemme, 2004), as Grace opts not to ask her daughter about what she meant. This silence is supported by a refusal, on the part of Grace, to disclose to her children that she is in another relationship and that negotiations for marriage had begun.

Grace: Lona akamazi, angikakafuni ukuthi mhlambe bahlangane ini, ini, kungcono mhlambe uma esekhokhile kuyimabehlangana, ngoba angifuni ukumconfuza noma azi, yena uyabona ukuthi akakhulumi kakhulu, kodwa nje lowo message, ngangingamazi ukuthi ucabangani, kodwa nje wabona ngilimele, yonke into wabona. Angazi, ngeke ngimazi kahlehle ukuthi kuyaye kuthini kodwa ngiyazi ukuthi uyamthanda ubaba wakhe yena, Angifuni futhi bahlukanisa noma ngingakwenza engikwenzayo kodwa angifuni ukubahlukanisa. **(She does not know this one, my new boy friend, and for now I have not arranged for them to meet because it is still early. Maybe after he has started paying lobola then I could arrange for them to meet as I don't want to confuse her, though she is aware that something is going on though she is not a child that likes discussing things, but from that message I could realize that she is aware of something though I don't know what she is thinking. She also saw me when I was injured by her father and saw everything. I don't know exactly what is going in her head but I know that she loves her dad and I don't want to come between them or to separate them)** [Grace Sibisi interview, p. 32]

Though it is not clear, even to Grace, what the daughter knows, and how much of what she knows is from seeing her mother after her hospitalisation (written on her body) or from what she may have found out elsewhere, it is clear she knows more than what her mother (Grace) has shared with her. Her knowledge does not come from her mother and, even when she confesses to knowing, her mother maintains her silent position 'so as not to confuse her'; to protect her from the knowledge.

Similarly Londisiwe speaks of her grandson's discovery of where she comes from. Her eight year old grandson had come to stay with her sometime between our first interview with her in June 2008 and our follow up interview in August of the same year. The event wherein she speaks of him discovering where she comes from is a community event organised around the

Christmas holidays and thus speaks of her special contact and relationship with this grandchild before he came to stay with her, especially given her estrangement from her children.

Tarryn: Okay, would you tell him about, uh, um, his family and where you come from and when you think he is old enough? [Londisiwe Cele interview 2, p. 35; 38:37]

Khanyisile: Wamxoxela mhlambe ukuthi umndeni uvelaphi, imvelaphi yomndeni uma ngabe mhlambe esekhulile? Ucabanga ukuthi ungakwazi, uyafisa ukumxolela lezozinto? **(Did you ever tell him about your family, where you are coming from or you will tell him when he is a little bit older; do you think that you are able to tell him about those things)?**

Londisiwe: Umndeni wami? **(Do you mean about my family)?**

Khanyisile: Yebo, **(Yes)**

Londisiwe: Oho, uke ezwe uma ngithi mina sasuka [rural area], **(Okay, he hears me when I speak about the fact that we moved from [rural area])**

Khanyisile: Oh!

Londisiwe: Ehe, ngoba ngesikhathi kukhona ukhisimusi laphana, kwakudanswa laphayana kwa [counsellor] ehholo, **(Yes, because when we had our Christmas party and we danced there at [counsellor]'s place at the hall)**

Khanyisile: Ehe, **(Yes)**

Londisiwe: Kushaywa ilokhuzana, irecord lana, **(They were playing this thing….a record)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Londisiwe: Kuthiwa abasukume abasuka [rural area], sasukuma-ke sayodansa-ke, **(They asked all people who moved from [rural area], we all stood up and danced)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Londisiwe: Wezwa-ke wathi "hawu gogo kanti nanidansa kanjena kanti [rural area]?" heh heh, (laughing), **(He heard about it and he said "gogo is that how you danced at [rural area]?"** (laughing**)** [Londisiwe Cele interview 2, pp. 35 – 36]

Again the knowledge of the past, to use Jansen's (2009) term, is 'indirect' and does not proceed from or lead into a substantive discussion within the family of the events of the past, and their significance for those who experienced them. This is noteworthy most especially with regard to Londiswe's experiences of the rural space as her memories of the place are more nostalgic and positive then those which tell of her experiences in the township. Here, even these pleasant memories of the past are silent. This suggests that talk about the past is also constrained by what possible to say and be known where Londisiwe's life before she moved to the township may be very foreign to her grandson. What is interesting, however, about the relationship between this dyad of grandmother and grandchild is the kind of relationship that is developed around spaces for talking.

Khanyisile: Okay, so kumnandi kuwena ukuba ugogo? **(Okay, so it is nice to be a grandmother)?**

Londisiwe: Kumnandi, kumnandi, uyangihlalisa, uyangixoxisa, kuze kubuye kuphele nestress, **(It is nice, very nice, he keeps me company and tells me stories until the stress goes away)**

Khanyisile: Ehe, **(Yes)**

Londisiwe: Ehe, **(Yes)** heh heh, (laughing),

Khanyisile: She says, no it is very nice, heh heh, (laughing), it is very nice because he laughs, and he talks with her, until she forgets all about these things that cause stress,

Londisiwe: Heh heh, (laughing), uma ngithule ngithe, athi "susa lana khuluma no Jesu wakho, iNkosi yakho, izokusiza, ucabangani gogo"? heh heh, laughing, **(If I am quiet he says "move your hand from your cheek, speak to your Jesus, your God, he is going to help you, what are thinking about, heh heh, laughing)?** [Londisiwe Cele interview 2, pp. 33 – 34]

Though he does not know the causes of Londisiwe's stress (which are certainly not only about the past) this young boy supports his grandmother through telling stories and calling on her to talk. Like Grace's daughter, this young boy takes the lead, a kind of intergenerational communication in reverse (Weingarten, 2004). Such a moment of connection between the generations is heart-warming and for Londisiwe is what makes being a grandmother enjoyable, and is clearly evident in her laughter. However, again we can see that the older generation response is one of 'silence' and she does not share her

'stresses' with her grandson, most likely to protect him from directly sharing in the worries.

This protective function of silence (Motsemme, 2004) is also evident in Millicent's statement with regard to telling her son about the death of his uncle, which because of his age, he could only know about through talk:

Tarryn: Have you spoken at all to your children at all about your life and about that story of your brother? [Millicent Vilakazi interview 1, p. 17, 37:48]

Millicent: Bengingakaze ngibaxoxele, **(I haven't told them)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Millicent: Bengingakaze ngimtshele ngoba noma bengithi ngizozama ngimxoxele, ngimane ngibone ukuthi uzojika abe yileyonto. **(I have not told him because even if I wanted to, I just feel like he is going to change and just be aggressive or violent)**

Millicent reflects on the idea that talk might create precisely that which it speaks of. Silence here works in a kind of disciplinary fashion to 'protect' (Ancharoff et al, 1998) or prevent children from becoming violent themselves. Even where (grand)parents indicate that they would be prepared to talk about the past to the *next* generation, their grandchildren, this is always told against a protective 'when they are old enough' and overlaps other areas of talk, including sexuality and HIV/AIDS.

Mbalenhle: Uma sekufika ukuthi nje ngibone ukuthi sebekhule kahle, **(When I feel that they are ready or old enough to grasp)**

Khanyisile: Ehe, **(Yes)**

Mbalenhle: Ngiyobaxoxela ngempilo, **(I will tell them about life)**

Khanyisile: Iya, **(Yes)**

Mbalenhle: Ukuthi thina sakhuliswa kanjani, **(How we were brought up)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Mbalenhle: Ngibaxoxele nempilo engayiphila sengisemendweni, nokuthi, **(I will also tell them about the life I lead in my marriage and also)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Mbalenhle: Nokuthi babenomkhulu wabo, waphila kanje, washona kanje, nokuthi nabo ngibakhulise ngokuthi ukuziphatha kufanele baziphathe kanjani emphakathini, **(And also that they had a grandfather, he lead this kind of life, and he died and that I have raised them like this, so they need to look after themselves and also how to behave in the community)** [Mbalenhle Nkosi interview 2, p. 6]

7.2.2 Sexuality and HIV/AIDS:

One of the key areas in which the older generation did speak to their children and grandchildren was with regard to sexuality. Here, talk is gendered and primarily happens between mothers and their daughters, and grandmothers and grand-daughters. This talk is disciplinary and parents and grandparents speak to girls about the dangers of relationships and sexuality (talk about the joys of sex or benefits of relationships is not narrated by participants).

Nobuntu: Ehe, ingane uyakwazi ukuthi uhlale nayo phansi ukhulume nayo kahle, kanti kubantabami kwakungelula ukuthi ngivele ngimtshele ukuthi ngimtshele ngezindaba zabantu besilisa ukuthi… (**One is now able to sit down with a child and talk or discuss about issues, I mean serious issues whereas before it was not easy to just talk to my daughter about men).**

Khanyisile: Ehe, **(Yes)**

Nobuntu: Kwakunamahloni, ukukhuluma ngako uyabona, **(We were shy to talk about those issues before)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Nobuntu: Kodwa manjena umzukulu wami ngiyakwazi ukuthi ngimtshele ukuthi uma umuntu ekubiza ethi ungasondeli kuyena, **(But now, I am able to tell my grandchild that she must not come anywhere near a man)** [Nobuntu interview 1, p. 33]

It is clear that this form of talk is 'new' and differs from the silences around sexuality in these women's own upbringing. Talk with girls includes information about the dangers of relationships, what to expect with regard to married life as well as advice on parenting. This talk warns against reckless choices in love and warns of relationships with men

where the excesses of drug and alcohol abuse put them at risk of contracting HIV/AIDS and of gender-based violence.

For Lunga this talk is limited to his sexual relationships in light of HIV, and the more relational element of talk that features in talk with girls is absent.

Tarryn: okay um can you tell me more about your mother what kind of mothering does she do, how does she teach you about life [Lunga Vilakazi interview, p. 8; 18:08]
Lunga: tells me everything like HIV things and ya tells me
Tarryn: okay do you sit down and talk about it
Lunga: yes we do
Tarryn: okay what does she tell you about HIV
Lunga: that I must not go sleep with no girls here outside
Tarryn: okay

As Nobuntu has suggested this kind of talk is 'new'. Mbalenhle's relationship with her own mother is characterised by silence around topics of relationships and sexuality:

Mbalenhle: Omama phela bekungabantu, **(My mother was the kind of person),**
Khanyisile: Hmmm,
Mbalenhle: Bakuqala, heh heh, laughing, **(From ancient)**
Khanyisile: Heh heh, laughing, ababekwazi ukuziphatha, **(they knew how to behave)**
Mbalenhle: Ababengaxoxi, **(She was old fashion, she won't talk to me about those things)**
Khanyisile: Hmmm,
Mbalenhle: Ehe, uyabona nje izindaba nje, babengaxoxi, **(Yes, you see such things, she won't discuss them with me)**
Khanyisile: Okay,
Mbalenhle: Babengaxoxi ehe, **(She won't discuss them)**
Khanyisile: Hmmm,
Mbalenhle: Wayengiphethe kahle noko, **(But she was very good to me)** [Mbalenhle Nkosi interview 2, p. 25]

This talk indicates that mothers are concerned that their children may become victims of violence within their relationships or experience an intimate violation of their bodies through contracting HIV/AIDS. This talk speaks of a context where HIV/AIDS and the threat of death is prevelant alongside threats of physical violence. The fact that this kind of talk is happening now reflects the desires of these women to tell previously silent stories, as well as the (new) pressures on mothers to speak to their children about sexuality in a context where HIV/AIDS is so prevelant. A local advertisement campaign calls on parents to 'love them enough to talk about sex'.

The scourge of HIV/AIDS is not an abstract feature of mother's talk, and participants are faced very directly with the pandemic. Confronting of the violation of people's bodies and death underlies mother's talk with their children about sexuality. Nqobile speaks of her uncle for whom she cared:

Nqobile: Kwaphela inyanga wayeseyangibiza-ke ngelinye ilanga, wathi senginawo yini umasingcwabisane, wathi ucela ngimjoyinele, ngimfakele ngoba unalesifo iHIV, **(After a month of his return, he called me aside and asked me if I had a burial scheme, and he asked me to join for him because he had this disease, HIV)**

Khanyisile: Oho, okay,

Nqobile: Ngase ngithi mina hayi akukhona ukuphela komhlaba ukuba ne HIV. So, hlala nje ukhululeke, ngizokwenza yonke into ngizozama ukuthi sikusize". **(I then said to him having HIV is not the end of the world. "So, you must just take it easy we are going to do everything and anything in our power to help him")**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Nqobile: Ngempela wahlala.Kusho ukuthi wayesengenwa imeningitis, **(He listened and stayed but as the time went on he developed meningitis)** [Nqobile Sibisi interview 1, p. 20]

This uncle and later her brother both passed away from HIV related infections, and again Nqobile and her family were personally confronted with death. The link between HIV and death is also referred to by Mpumelelo regarding her mother's reaction to confronting an HIV positive status:

Mpumelelo: She….well…ngingathini waphatheka kabi, **(She…. well… what can I say….she felt bad)**

Khanyisile: Iya, **(Yes)**

Mpumelelo: Kwasho ukuthi kodwa ayikho into angayenza, manje ngingathini, usenesibindi ngayo nangendlela abona mina ngiyithatha ngayo uyabona leyonto, naye njengomuntu ongafundanga, so, ngingathini wayezitshela ukuthi uma udiagnoswa ukuthi unayo, umane ufe ngalesosikhathi ngoba abantu abaning bazitshela lokokusho ukuthi naye wazitshela loko ukuthi uma uke wadiagnozwa uyafa ngaleso sikhathi, **(Well, it so happened that there was nothing that she could do now, what can I say, she is now brave about it and the way she sees me and how I take it, you see that thing, and her as a person that is not educated, so, what can I say, she told herself that if you get diagnosed that you have it you die at the same time because many people tell themselves that. That tells them that which means that also she was telling herself that if you are diagnosed you die at same time)** [Mpumelelo Cele interview, p. 32]

Both Nqobile and Mpumelelo refute the necessary link between death and HIV, both noting that HIV is more like a lifelong disease:

Nqobile: Samthatha-ke (not clear), ngathi uzothini uma uzibulala manje kuqhamuke ikhambi kusasa. **(I took him and asked him what if he commit suicide and just after that they find cure)?**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Nqobile: Ngamtshela nami ukuthi ungibona nje ngiyagula ngiphethwe iBP namathambo. **(I also told him that I am sick myself from BP and arthiritis)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Nqobile: Siyafana-ke nawe, **(We are in the same position)** [Nqobile Sibisi interview 1, pp. 23 – 24]

In their refutations, however, they suggest that the way in which people ordinarily understand HIV/AIDS is precisely by making this link. The fear of death and dying is also

visible in the way that the older generation felt a responsibility to teach their girl children and grandchildren 'survival skills'. These included cooking, cleaning and other domestic tasks.

Nobuntu: Angive ngingathanda bazi ngokuhlupheka kwami, kodwa ngike ngibatshele ukuthi baziphathe kahle**. (I don't want them to know that I went through hell, but I tell them that they must look after themselves)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Nobuntu: Uyabona nje lontombazane omdala uno 9, useyapheka futhi useyakwazi ukuziayinela ngoba mina angiphilile kanti nomama wabo ubuya ebusuku uphuma ngo 7 ufika ebusuku, **(Especially the older one that is 9 years old, she can now cook and is able to iron her clothes since I am not well and yet their mother comes home very late as she finishes work at 7 and comes home in the night)**

Khanyisile: Okay,

Nobuntu: Ngike ngimtshele ngithi "[…]ngizokufa mina ngoba sengimdala, ngizofa usale uhlupheka. Ngifuna ukuthi noma sengikushiya uba usukwazi ukuzenzela izinto, **(I tell her and I say "[grand-daughters name], I am going to die as I am old and you will suffer. I want to leave you knowing that you can be independent, do things for yourself")**
[Nobuntu Mkhize interview 2, pp. 49 - 50]

The concern for 'looking after yourself' seems to be a key theme in the older generation's mothering narratives, especially where adult children continue to live with their parents when they have their own children and where children rely on parents subsidies or old-age pensions to support themselves and their (grand)children. Faced with impending death and old age, this talk clearly attempts to address the finances of being a woman, and the way that these mothers are passing down to their own daughters and grand-daughters information about negotiating the difficulties of life, as women.

The continued financial and 'moral' demands on the older generation extends the role of these women as mothers into the present, even where this means continuing mothering with adult children.

Mpumelelo: Uh, ngingathini, njengoba kade ngisho ukuthi ngifisa ukuba… ngingathini ukuthi isikhathi esiningi usangitreata njengengane, ngithi uma ngibuya late, she scold me, (laughing) **(Uh, what can I say as I have said that I wish that… what can I say that, most of the time treats me like a child when I come late she scolds me)**

All: (laughing)

Mpumelelo: I don't know maybe she thinks I am going to do something wrong, I don't know, (laughing) she treats me like a small child. Ungi treate njengengane encane mhlambe ecabanga ukuthi ngizokwenza izinto eziwrong, uyayibona leyonto, **(She treats me like a small child and maybe thinking that I would do wrong things, you see that thing)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm

Mpumelelo: Mhlambe ngibuye ngibuye lage kodwa ngike ngimtshele uma ngizobuya late angikwenzi ngingamtshelanga, angazi noma isuke esekhohliwe yini, **(Maybe sometimes I come late but I tell her when I am going to come late, I don't do it without telling her, I don't know whether she forgets)**

Khanyisile: Hmmm

Mpumelelo: Ngoba mdala phela, **(As she is indeed old)** [Mpumelelo Cele, pp. 38 – 39]

As Mpumelelo has noted this interaction with the older generation, where women continue in their mothering role, means that the younger generation adult men and women are treated 'like children'. Grace too talks with her own mother after the incident of domestic violence against her:

Grace: Iya ngiyakhuluma naye, yize phela naye uyathanda ukuthetha sonke isikhathi, athi ehe, ngakutshela ngoba wayesho nasekuqaleni ukuthi uzohlupheka ekugcineni, **(Yes I do speak to her [Nqobile] though she likes shouting most of the time and would say "I told you so" because she warned me that I will suffer in the end).**

Khanyisile: Hmmm,

Grace: Angithi angikufuni-ke loko ngoba nami ngangingazi, **(And I don't like that because I did not know that things were going to end like).** [Grace Sibisi interview, p. 19]

Grace does talk to her mother about her experience and speaks of a relationship where she is able to talk to her mother about the events in her life. This talk however is seemingly characterised by her mother advising her on relationships and then reprimanding her for not heeding the advice given.

Grace: Ngoba kusho ukuthi wayebona before ukuthi lomuntu akalungile. Kodwa nje ayikho into engingakhulumi naye ngayo. yonke into ngiyakhuluma naye. **(I think she could see that this person was not a perfect match, but there is nothing that I don't talk to her about. I talk to her about everything and anything)** [Grace Sibisi interview, p. 24]

This kind of talk, linked into the ways these women narrated themselves almost exclusively as mothers, is exercised as a kind of regulator of behaviour specifically with regard to relationships; positioning mothers as 'knowing what is best' and demanding that their children recognise their authority. This positioning of the (adult) younger generation as 'children' is further exacerbated by their financial situations.

Tarryn: okay could you um what are the plans for your future do you see yourself getting married and having kids of your own? [Nhlanhla Nkosi interview, p. 14, 33:07]

Khanyisile: What amaplan akho ngekusasa ngabe uzibona ushada, mhlawumbe, uba nezingane nawe? **(What are your plans about your future, do you see yourself getting married and having children?)**

Nhlanhla: Ngifisa kabi eyh, uyabona nje **(I do wish for all of that)**

Khanyisile: Ngempela? **(Really?)**

Nhlanhla: Eyh, neLotto nje ngiydlala njalo, eyh.Ngifisa kabi ukushada **(You see, even the Lotto, I play it all the time. I really wish to get married)**

Nhlanhla's hopes for the future are tied to the random forces of the lotto. What remains unsaid is that his future will look very much like his present (living with his mother and brother's children) unless for a change in fortunes, whether that is a lucky windfall of some kind, or some kind of stable employment which would allow him to make other decisions regarding his life. For Lunga and Grace, likewise, their financial dependence on their mother locks them into the 'child' role and mobilises particular kind of

interactions with their mothers while precluding other more equal kinds of talk. This is not the case for Mpumelelo whose employment allows her a sense of agency and decision-making not afforded to the other younger generation participants, though she too comments that she is treated as a 'child'. Mothering, by and large, is positioned as disciplinary as mothers attempt to 'protect' their children from systemic violence, illness and death. The systemic violations of poverty in multigenerational households perpetuate the mothering roles of the older generation and the dependence of younger generation adults.

Women's stories of political violence, and which form the pivot for their narratives, speak of violent and traumatic events whose effects are felt as an embodied 'trauma'. These narratives are woven together with their narratives of mothering in the context of violence and the current systemic traumas of violent crime, poverty and health to indicate the ways that families navigate and make sense of a violent, political past in relation to the present and the future.

8. CONCLUSION

The women I interviewed in this project told of events in their lives that can be classically defined as 'traumatic'. These events speak of violence and death, of family members and partners. As defined by classic PTSD theory, such events speak precisely of a stressor which involves "actual or threatened death or serious injury, or a threat to the physical integrity of self or others," or a response of "… intense fear, helplessness or horror" (Turnbull, 1998, p. 25). These events, covered under the general rubric of trauma theory, are events which overwhelm individuals' coping resources (Hamber and Lewis, 1997) and shatter people's ordinary sense of them*selves* (van der Merwe and Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008). Young (1996) writes that the "varieties of 'cruel and painful experiences that corrupt or destroy one's sense of self'" can be grouped together under the label 'trauma' (p. 89). Herman (1992) writes:

> "Traumatic events are extraordinary, not because they occur rarely, but rather because they overwhelm the ordinary human adaptations to life. Unlike commonplace misfortunes, traumatic events generally involve threats to life or bodily integrity, or a close personal encounter with violence and death" (p. 33).

These traumatic events speak of the political deaths of men during the height of the struggle against apartheid, and participants reflect upon a *time* of *violence* (udlame) in their lives where they were faced with death and 'violation' very personally, and at 'every corner' (as Mbalenhle remarked). This reflects back on the systemic and pervasive political violence of the 1980s when violence orchestrated by the state became increasingly overtly brutal.

> "Many of the victims were very young and generally the families and activists also suffered varying degrees of harassment and direct physical harm. There was also violence between rival and political social groupings. As a result, South African society was placed under continual stress of potential violence, either through acts of sabotage as the liberation movement resisted state control, or more often was the case, living in dangerous, tumultuous and tightly policed townships" (Hamber & Lewis, 1997, p. 3).

The narration of these experiences of political violence, must be recognised within the situated context of the interview as being illicited by the way the project was framed both by the researchers and community leadership. This recognition is also underpinned by an acknowledgement that what could be said (and how it could be said), in the context of the research interviews, was complicated by questions of audience and translation.

The narration of the trauma event does, however, represent not only the pervasiveness of violence during this period but also the embodied sense of vulnerability and violation that these women experienced. While participants certainly spoke of *events* of trauma, they also produced accounts of 're-living' the trauma moment. This re-living is evident in the detail with which they narrated the trauma event and in their descriptions of the intrusion of psychological trauma that has left a mark on their bodies. Many of the older generation participants spoke of sicknesses that resulted from the trauma event, in particular deriving from their 'thinking' and the psychological energy invested in revisiting painful and difficult memories. Janoff-Bullman (1995) writes that in addition to a recognisable stressor, diagnostic criteria for classic PTSD include "(a) re-experiencing the trauma via intrusive thoughts, dreams, or memories" (p.74). Theses embodied responses to the trauma event also speak of the 'traces' of the past that are carried into the present by these women. As Fassin (2007) has noted "The body is not only the immediate physical presence of an individual in the world; it is also where the past has made its mark" (p. 175). Archer's (2000) conception of human agency, which recognises the centrality of the body and practices, reminds us that our sense of ourself is intimately and inevitably embodied. The study suggests that both the specific events and the participants' responses to them are aligned with trauma theory.

These stories of violence and violation dominated the stories that women told about themselves and feature significantly (in terms of weighting) in their interview narratives. These stories are told first and feature as a kind of 'turning point' in the narratives that the older generation tell as they weave their stories around the trauma event in a complicated pre- and post- formulation (a kind of 'emplotment' as Polkinghorne, 1988 would suggest) of the trauma event. These participants view their lives as distinct *across time* with the break between their nostalgia for their childhoods and current (financial) difficulties marked at the moment of the trauma event. This retrospective and selective organisation of time (Freeman, 1993) after the trauma event, for these women, is primarily about their

role as ‘mother’, and being able to provide for their children and grandchildren, in the context of poverty, especially as male providers have passed away (some in key traumatic events of the past) or are absent.

A comparison between the lived and told stories (through the use of the time- and interview- lines) indicates the ways that these women construct their narratives out of the experiences of their lives (in particular the trauma event) but also retrospectively to give new meaning to these events. These women most likely would have been able to anticipate some of the difficulties that lay ahead at the time of the political violence and deaths that they narrate but the depth of events that happened subsequent to these deaths and which has been attributed to them in the pre- and post- formulation of the trauma event has happened retrospectively, from the position of the present (Ricoeur, 1981) through the ‘backwards’ processes of memory and introspection (Labov, 2006).

Post- trauma event life is characterised by financial worries. Financial constraints have meant that adult children continue to live at home and/or rely on parental support well into their own adulthoods. This means that the older generation women are tasked with the extraordinary situation of supporting adult children and their grandchildren financially for extended periods, as well as offering childcare for grandchildren when parents go out to (or in search of) work. This interaction between the mother and child, well into their adulthoods, seems to undermine both the mother’s sense of themselves outside of the parenting role as well as the ‘children’s’ agency to make decisions about various choices in their lives, most specifically with regard to relationships.

The narratives of mothering, which brings talk into the present, speak of a variety of continuing structural or systematic violences. As illustrated by the younger generation, whose narratives focus more exclusively on the present and less on the political trauma story of the past, the violence of today is similarly pervasive in the community, as was the political violences of the 1980s and early 1990s. These ‘violences’ are categorised under different labels which include interpersonal violence such as those of taxi violence and crime but also include more structural forms of violence such as poverty, unemployment and HIV/AIDS. Ross (2010) reminds us that,

> "predictability and routine in everyday lives are punctuated by violence and lack, where stability is limited and even the most strenuous efforts often secure only temporary well-being, and where interpersonal and structural violence sometimes intercept to render life in its crudest terms. While people are busy trying to make and live ordinary lives, they do so in contexts that lay bare social and institutional failures to support, transform and care. Reduced material circumstances and opportunities mean that people must make extraordinary efforts to achieve stability and routine in daily lives marked by ugliness and the slow erasure of hope" (p. 5).

Participants' everyday lives are marked by violence, so that: "[o]rdinary social relationships are undercut by poverty's cruelty and by forms of violence – both structural and interpersonal – that shape and taint everyday interactions" (Ross, 2010, p. 4). This pervasiveness of everyday violence in the lives of these participants, refutes the notion that life is meaningfully structured around logical and rational rules (Eckert and Jones, 2002) or that "social practice creates social structures" (Eckert & Jones, 2002, p. 7). Individual agency within the different narratives is constrained as participants feel that bigger forces undermine their ability to live different, non-violent lives. For these people, much as under Apartheid, the state and its official apparatus does not appear to offer them protection. Violence has come to be an expected part of life for these participants and is coupled with an expectation that official systems, in particular the police force and justice system, meant to help will in fact actually support criminal and violent activity.

Even in their distinction between political violence which happened in a particular period of their lives, and the pervasive violence of the present, a significant similarity between these everyday violences and the violence of the past is reflected in the way that expectations of family life, social order and even death became structured. Ross (2001) writes that "[h]idden within women's words are narratives of the destruction of kinship, the alteration of times expected flow, the power of economies in shaping experience, the intrusion of the state" (p. 270).

Such expectations are also evident in the ways that mothers engage in raising their children (and grandchildren). Based on their distrust for official systems, particularly what they see as a failure of a rights based system to teach children values of respect and

community, women spoke of corporal punishment as a way to steer children away from violence toward 'respectful', moral lives. Mothers try to safeguard their children from the possibilities of either being perpetrators or victims of violence by very strongly disciplining their children into performing another kind of life, that is, the kind of life that they knew 'before all of the violence'. Talk about life prior to the trauma event is largely about parenting and family that tells this kind of story, of being raised with respect, at a time when parents were able to teach their children through the use of corporal punishment.

Though parents talk about the past as a way of 'teaching respect', talk between the generations with regard to the political trauma event is limited. This is largely because the younger generation were present at these events Silence is here poised against memory, the paradox of memory and silence (Herman, 1992, Danieli, 1998), as children 'know' through various sources (including direct witnessing and a community network of story telling) about the trauma event.

It is against this context of 'knowing' that 'moments of connection' between the two generations can be read for the ways that the violent events are constructed and shared intergenerationally. What should be clear is that this sharing is predominantly a silent activity with brief moments that link the two generations. In many ways these silences seem to take seriously the ways violence cannot be articulated, so that"[i]n other words, it was simply *indescribable.* She had no reference point against which to relate the experience" (Godobo-Madikizela, 2003, p. 85). Carbaugh (2001) interrogates language in narrative and notes that:

> "To hear stories, in the first place is to be situated with a teller in a particular way. To understand the stories being told to us is to know something of the local world the story is about, and what it constructs" (p. 123)

The failings of language to adequately describe and represent the traumatic and violent experience (or 'extralinguistic' reality itself as Polkinghorne, 1988 and Frosh, 2001 have argued), are however, also evident in the ways that Londisiwe is unable to tell her grandson about her life before the trauma event. We need to take seriously that talk between the generations, even with regard to positive stories, is difficult because it is

about putting into words something that is not directly accessible to the person who is hearing it. Even where experience can be put into words, hearing traumatic stories, as with hearing stories across a language divide, there is always the potential for something to get 'lost in translation'.

Londisiwe's relationship with her son, and Grace's relationship with her daughter, also suggests the complex and complicated ways that talk within families does not only happen in a top-down fashion (Weingarten, 2004). The affective states of all of the family members intersect with each other as families navigate the difficulties of life (of the kind of a caravan navigating a shared terrain as suggested in chapter 2 above, on narrative). This navigation of family talk recalls Ancharoff et al's (1998) suggestion that talk within families is closed off as parents and children attempt to 'protect' each other from the knowledge of and/or the distress of telling about a violent past.

In a context where children were witness to the events and deaths of those close to them, and where talk about trauma events within the community allows access to knowledge, this 'protective' function seems even more pertinent. Initiating talk about these events within the families would not be about passing on information but might attempt to address the distress of the events, a distress that children and their parents attempt to avoid. Contrary to the pervasive idea that talk is therapeutic, these participants seem to see silence as an effective psychological defence. In her justification for not telling her son, Lunga's mother (Millicent) calls up the protective function of silence (Motsemme, 2004) as she tries to prevent and protect her son from becoming violent himself. This kind of protective (and disciplinary) practice is inversely evident with regard to mother's (gendered) talk with regard to sexuality and HIV/AIDS. Here, the message that talking across generations about sexuality seems to have been accepted by these women. Perhaps talk of the past is seen as less powerful to effect change than talk of the future.

The difficult and 'ugly' (Ross, 2010) lives that these women face 'everyday' include navigating a context of pervasive violence, abuse and illness in the context of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. It also suggests the ways that women speak of the violences of today, particularly domestic and sexual violence and HIV/AIDS, and the links they make to their own embodied experiences after the political trauma event. Through navigating

talk on relationships and sexuality, mothers enforce a protective and disciplinary relationship with their children.

What this protective function of talk between the generations means for the younger generation is that mothers continue to enforce a regulatory and disciplinary role even with adult children, undermining their sense of personal agency (which is further exacerbated by financial constraints) as parents try to create lives for their children that are dissimilar to their own, particularly with regard to violence. Mothers *do* attempt to navigate and negotiate new versions of family history that make it possible for themselves and their children to create meaningful lives in the shadow of their tragedies, by protecting their children from narratives of a violent past, and creating narratives of a future.

One of the limits of this research, in trying to understand the ways that a violent past was represented for the next generation is that most of my younger generation were themselves present at the trauma events, even though they were quite young. This constrained what could be said across the generations. An important next layer of investigation would be to look at the *next* generation (as represented by Lunga), who are 'born free', especially given that my older generation indicated a willingness in the future to talk about the political trauma stories with their grandchildren, 'when they are ready'. In what ways would the past feature in the stories told for this generation, Hoffman's (2004) generation, and constitute and inform their futures?

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10. APPENDIXES

10.1 Informed consent form

Topic: Women's Narratives of Intergenerational Trauma and post-Apartheid Identity: The 'said' and 'unsaid'.

Researcher: Tarryn Frankish	
Contact numbers:	
Phone No.	:031-260 3542
e-mail	:203504236@ukzn.ac.za
Supervisor: Prof. Jill Bradbury	:031-260 3261

Institution: University of KwaZulu-Natal

I would like to thank you for taking part in this research project. The research project is about your life and life story as a woman/youth living in South Africa today. I would like to talk to you about your life and family. In particular I want to listen to the story of your life.

I would like us to talk for about one hour for three sessions. Before you agree to this, there are a few things that I would like to bring to your attention about your participation in this research.

1. Your participation in this research is voluntary.

2. You may choose to withdraw at anytime without any negative consequences.

3. I would like to tape-record the session for research purposes ONLY.

4. Your participation will be anonymous (any writing, presentation and publication from this work will respect your anonymity).

5. What you tell me will be treated with respect and confidentiality. Only Prof. Jill Bradbury and I will have access to this (raw) material.

6. Only if you understand and agree to the above points, can you sign and then take part in this study.

_____

PARTICIPANT'S INFORMED CONSENT

I, _____ volunteer to participate in this research to be conducted at _____. I understand that this means that I will be interviewed on 3 occasions for about 1 hour. I also understand that these sessions will be tape-recorded for research purposes although I will be anonymous.

_____ _____

Signature of participant Date

_____ _____

Signature of researcher Date

PARENT/GUARDIAN'S PERMISSION

I, _____ the parent/guardian of _____ hereby grant permission for him/her to participate in Tarryn Frankish's research to be conducted _____. I understand that this will involve 3 interviews on 3 different occasions for about 1 hour. I also understand that these sessions will be tape-recorded for research purposes although the participants will be anonymous.

_____ _____

Signature of parent Date

_____ _____

Signature of researcher Date

IMVUME YOMZALI

Mina,_____mzali/mphathi ka_____ nginika imvume yokuthi abambe iqhaza ocwaningweni luka Tarryn Frankish's, elizokwenziwa e _____. Ngiyaqonda ukuthi lokhu kuzobandakanya uku-inthavuwa kabili ngezikhathi ezimbili ezahlukene, kuthathe amahora acishe abemabili. Futhi ngiyaqonda ukuthi loku kuzoqoshelwa uwaningo kuphela kanti labo ababame iqhaza angekebaziwe ngumuntu.

_____ _____

Umzali Usuku

_____ _____

Signature of researcher Usuku

10. 2 Appendix 2: Timelines

Timeline: Millicent and Lunga Vilakazi

DATE	Millicent Vilakazi (45)	Lunga Vilakazi (17)
1960	• 1963 – Millicent born (one of 6 – 4 sisters and 1 brother) • Lived on the farm with her grandmother	
1970	• Standard 6 (High school) moved to Durban- to live with mother and their cousins who their mother was looking after (5 male cousins)	
1980	• 1981: Went to school at a school in [a Durban township]; husband went to school in [a township outside of Durban] – met during combined school sports event • 1981: he took her for 6 months before returning her to the family; paying lobola and getting married • 1987 – sister secured her work as a cleaner • 1989: New Years Eve - brother killed by vigilante group; after repeated searches; he was shot dead	
1990	• 1990 – Lunga born • work at a cleaning company (until now) as a cleaner based at a super-market (night shift)	• 1990: Lunga born
2000	• 2000 – daughter born • At three months daughter sent to farm to stay with aunt; returned age 5. • Lunga intervention about smoking • Received a disability grant for her husband – once off	• Sister moves to aunts home to protect her from teasing about alcoholic father • Lunga spends most time on soccer field or with friends • 2009: doing grade 9
2010		

Timeline: Londisiwe and Mpumelelo Cele

DATE	Londisiwe Cele (64)	Mpumelelo Cele (41)
1940	• 1944: Born [rural area]	
1950	• 1951: Father dies (age 7)	
	• Firstborn brother dies of asthma; second-born "butchered to pieces" • Mother builds and rents a cottage for income • Involved in politics in [rural area] – under ANC leadership and with various women leaders • Meets husband who helps mother and Londisiwe during clashes in community • Moved to [a Durban township] with husband and mother • 1959: evictions rural area where she grew up	
1960	• 60's and 70's: Has 6 children	• 1967: Born someplace in KZN (on a farm)
	• Adopts two children	
1970	• Mother moves to [a township outside Durban] - own 2 room house	• 1973: biological mother passes away (aged 6), moves to [a Durban township] immediately
1980	• June 1986: son killed group of 6 boys collected by Special Branch and shot – 2 survived • Husband assaulted at home and dies if injuries • 3 Sons leave home permanently immediately after violence	• studied high school in [a Durban township] • Went to [a township outside Durban] school to do her matric (after riots in [a Durban township] in 1983, 1984 and 1985) • In 1986 she witnesses the aftermath of her brothers murder
1990	• mother dies (stress) • Working as a dish washer	• after matric does computer course part time (Saturdays)
2000	• son jailed; • Another son visits for money for grandchildren • 2007: son who survived attack dies of HIV • 2008: Grandchild moves in to live with her (7 years old)	• testifies to the killing of brother/cousin • becomes engaged • 2000: discovers she is HIV positive • working for [a local supermarket] as a manager • does peer educator and counselling training at work • 2006: starts ARV treatment • 2008: Breaks off engagement
2010		

Timeline: Nqobile and Grace Sibisi

DATE	Nqobile Sibisi (?)	Grace Sibisi (31)
1940	• Born [rural area]	
..	• 4th child of 6 or 7 children at home	
.	• Father unable to work (epileptic and alcoholic)	
.	• mother worked piece jobs and brewed beer	
.	• Grade 1 – grade 5 in [rural area] school	
.	• Grades 6 – 7 school in the township	
1950	• Grade 8 – 10 – high school in the township	
.	• While at school worked piece jobs to support the family	
.	• Started working at shops after grade 10 (Working as cleaner)	
.	• Then working at nurses home	
.		
1960.	• 16 March 1966: first son born	
.		
.	• May 1972: second son born	
1970	• 22 September 1977: Grace and twin brother Born	• Born 22 Sept 1977 (in Durban township)
.		
1980	• 29 September 1982: fourth son born	
.	• childrens father killed in riots -stabbed; Murder case unresolved eventhough killers known to family	• grades 1 – 5 school in the Durban township • grade 3 – father passed away • grades 6 – 7 at a school in a township outside of Durban
.	• Brother attacked by police in the street; ill treated in hospital and dies	
.	• Nqobile harassed by police and makes a statement at local religious aid agency	
.	• 1986: oldest son escapes violent incident where the special branch kill a number of boys from the community	
.	• Two older sons went into exile and oldest son left a child for Nqobile to care for	
1990		• High school at [a Durban township] school
.	• Brother and nephew die of HIV/AIDS – the nephew (a twin) commited to activism about the illness	• Did not pass matric – went to a finishing school to complete
.	• 1991 – (grand)mother passed away after prolonged illness—related to stress of losing son	• work at a Bakery (cleaner)
.		• work at a cleaning company (cleaner)
.		• met the father of her children at a dance event (
.		• 1997 - gave birth to daughter
.	• Other grandmother removed granddaughter	• Moved to work at Lion Match (cleaner)
.	• granddaughter got sick and Nqobile took care of her	
.	• Granddaughter admitted to hospital after delivering a still-born child; granddaughter in grade 8; later dies in hospital of meningitis – Nqobile buries her with her pension	• went to stay at her mother's two room house in [a Durban township] with the father of her kids
2000		• Did Computer course and Switchboard operation courses (with the promise of promotion)
.		• Colleague at work (whose jobs she has been promised when she retires) pays for daughters schooling and has her over for visits regularly
.		• 2005: meets current partner
.		• 2007: gave birth to a son
.		• 2008: calls off the relationship with the father of her children; who returns and beats her so that she is hospitalised. She opens a case against him
..	• Daughter lives in her two room house in [a Durban township], is beaten by partner and returns to family home	• Receives sms from daughter about her father
.		
2010		

Timeline: Mbalenhle and Nhlanhla Nkosi

DATE	Mbalenhle Nkosi (57)	Nhlanhla Nkosi (30)
1950	• 1951: Mbalenhle born, first of 7 seven children—grew up on a farm outside of KZN. Dad worked temporary jobs; Mom ploughed fields	
1960	• Reached standard 6 • 1969: moved to [a Durban township] • starts working in for a mailing order company; stays with Aunt in the township and later works for a sewing project in the community • Meets husband in [a Durban township]	
1970	• 1974: first son born • 1978: Nhlanhla born (second son)	• 1978: Nhlanhla born
1980	• 1986: Husband passed away • 1986: first son leaves for exile	• 1986: Father dies and brother leaves immediately (brother is 12) • Tries to join his brother in exile but too young (age 8)
1990		• Shortly after brother leaves Nhlanhla drops out of school (standard 4) - maybe age 12? • Music group that he is a part of dissolves as members (even the girls) go into exile • On more than one occasion him and mom are called to airport to receive brother home but he does not arrive • 1992: brother returns—works at Pavillion for a time and then moves to a coastal town as a bodyguard • Speaks of a court case into the fathers death that comes to nothing
2000	• 1992: first son returns • Sometime in the 90's her sister passes away of a 'headache' • Son brings twins to stay with her—he pays for food and water and lights bills • Grandchildren (10) visit regularly—first son gathers them all and brings them to visit • 2008: twins are 9 years old	• Brothers twin girls come to stay with him and their grandmother • 2003: studied plumbing but did not complete • Currently in a relationship with two women • Works for the community centre doing temporary jobs • Practices and enjoys karate • Runs his mothers small business from home—selling icecream and cigarettes
2010		

Timeline: Nobuntu Mkhize

DATE	Nobuntu Mkhize (67)	-
1940	• 24 May 1941: Nobuntu born • Mother left her and three brothers with 'aunt' and her husband in a rural area • Father divorced mother and marries another woman	
1950	• 'aunt' and her husband both died and she went to stay with mother; mother alcoholic and she would runaway • 1954: eldest brother passed away; 'assassinated' • School til Standard 2 (wanted to be a nurse) • 1955: Working from 14 (paid R3) • 1958: second brother passed away	
1960	• Went to work in the suburbs, and then for a factory in the midlands • 1962: oldest son born (stayed in [a township outside of Durban] at the time) • After oldest son born separated from his father and went to a suburb to work; the father took her oldest son with him to his family • When oldest son 2 Nobuntu admitted to hospital with TB and learns that father of oldest son had died in a spear fight • Moves oldest son to [a Durban township] age 3 • 1968: job working at [...] husbands family	
1970	• 1976: September 23 – daughter born • October 19 1978/9: mother passed away • Before the birth of youngest son; the father of daughter and youngest son gets married to another woman	
1980	• 1980: December 28 – youngest son born • Children split up—oldest son lived with 'aunt' in the township; daughter lived with 'strangers' in a rural area and youngest son lived with Nobuntu in the suburbs • 1986: January – removed daughter from a friend's - whose family was connected to vigilante group - home • 1986: 28 May – oldest son died (age 25) - had been working as a security guard • 1990/1991: father dies	
1990	• Father to youngest children involved in a car accident; divorces wife and returns to Nobuntu. He is confined to a wheel chair. • Youngest son hospitalised and in a coma after a severe asthma attach; he recovers and Nobuntu buys him a new wardrobe • 1993: youngest son (age 12) dies of asthma in a government hospital; Nobuntu returns with cake	
2000	• 1998: moved to home in [a Durban township] (currently resides with daughter and 3 grandchildren) • 1999: daughter in grade 11 has first child • 2006—19 May: youngest children's father has leg amputated (after infection from injury); a month later 2006 – 19 June: he dies; on the same day (June 19 2006) Nobuntu is in hospital for a procedure on her eyes • 2008: third brother stays in a township outside of Durban • Involved in a community project for the elderly	
2010	• Sells sweets and chips to school children	

Timeline: Nolwazi Radebe

DATE	Nolwazi Radebe (50)	- events without dates
	Mother: – a dress maker	
1950		
	• Born 1958, eldest of 8 children • Stayed with uncle on a farm, in a house built and furnished by father—visited by parents • Father had three cars	• Two boys joined her home before returning to rural area– the [Radebe] link meant they became family • second daughter falls pregnant with [Radebe]'s child—big scandal in the community because the she shares a surname with the father of her child • He pays Lobola and damages and they move to the suburbs; they have a second child and he sends her to study (IT)
1960		
1970		
	• 1974: Standard 6 - age 16 – fell pregnant with first child child three months – returned to school • Standard 9 – fell pregnant again; June 16 1976 – gave birth to a daughter • When daughter 4 months – childrens father left her for another woman • She had the children's father arrested for theft of a 'wireless' • Met and became engaged to […] from the same place as her; father of children then kidnapped her and she escaped • husband fought father of children • Attacked; Raped and held hostage – by 'uncle' and others who had been causing strife in community for a while—baby 6 months old • Went to stay with father and step-mother — husband out of KZN working; and family home burnt during attack • Difficulty living with step-mother and step-siblings. • A fight broke out over food—father builds her and her full siblings a three bedroom house with a kitchen	• First daughter fails her virginity test—Nolwazi leaves her with the boys family. The boy returns and pays lobola and on the eve of their wedding, he is stabbed to death and oldest daughter is assaulted. She returns to stay with her mother. • Youngest daughter attends boarding school • Youngest son arrested, while awaiting charges and trial etc; she left him in prison for about a year
1980		
	• Started working – first collecting cardboard to sell, then making tea • 1988: typist (2008 – currently still working in this job).	
1990		
	• 1997– December 25: oldest son murdered by Inkhata people—sold out by cousin ('brother') • Oldest son buried January 6 1998. Soon after applied for house and left in a township outside of Durban • Occupied new home June 26 1998 • Husband died—December 18 1998 • Helped a stranger who was stabbed; he in turn brought her food and money	
2000		

10.3 Appendix 3: Interview Lines

Interview line: Millicent Vilakazi 1 (plus sister)	Page	Time	Millicent Vilakazi (and her sister) Interview 1 (18pp; 40:48)	1/1
	3	05:00	• T: Maybe we have to change it and you tell us what how you were feeling and what you remember about that incident.	• Brother's death (sister)
	5	09:14	• T: Both of you mentioned your mother when you were talking to me can you tell me more about your mother	• Brother's death (Millicent)
	6	11:51	• T: Okay, uhm, what kind of uh, woman was your mother, and I am trying to think if she was working, and I mean, I know you mentioned you grandmother but where was your mother, did you have a relationship with your mother?	• Mother • Living arrangements (farm)
	7	14:17	• T: Okay, umm, and you were staying there with your siblings? […] Can you talk to me about that and tell me more about your siblings?	• Family • Siblings
	8	15:28	• T: So, it was you, [sister] and your 2 brothers, 4 of you?[…] Okay four sisters and one brother, okay, and your sisters, what are their names? […] Okay, where are they and what are they doing now?	• Father • Current family structure
		16:48	• T:Umm, and your father can you tell me about your father? What kind of role has he played in your life?	
	9	18:30	• T: Okay, can you tell me about your family now, you said that your mother passed away, and your father, where is he and what is the family structure at the moment? You said [sister] is living with you. What is life like at the moment?	• Mothering (sister)
	10	21:09	• T: Okay, do you have any children? […] And then are they staying with you?	
		21:46	• T: Okay, sure, can you talk to me about how it is like being a mother? How is it like to be a mother? (to sister)	• Being a mother • House
	11	23:37	• T: How old is your child? […] Ten years? (to sister)	• Husband
		23:56	• T: Okay, if I can repeat the same question about being a mom?	• Finances
	12	27:14	• T: Okay, and are they living together, in her 2 room house, I am not quite sure about that?	
	13	27:35	• T: Okay, so they are living with their father at the moment? […] What is your relationship like with their father apart from finances?	• Relationship husband
		28:00	• T: Okay, can you tell me a bit more about him, things like where did you meet and the living status?	• Living arrangements
	14	31:12	• T: Okay, umm, the question of living in different spaces is that difficult to manage, or is that something that you enjoy living in different spaces? […] is she not living in her own 2 room now? […] okay, that was a misunderstanding. Umm, okay, uh, okay, you mentioned that you working as a cleaner and can you tell me how you got involved in that kind of work, (not clear about school) and when did you start working?	• Work
	15	33:33	• T: Now you can talk to me about your life and about your family and your work. (to sister)	• Work (sister)
	16	34:43	• T: Umm, you seemed to be upset, I am not sure whether it is the story about your brother, can you tell me about why, you might be upset and also maybe speak to me more about that incident and what anything….what happened there after the death of your brother? (to sister)	• Post event responses
		36:27	• T: Okay, umm, by nothing much happening do you mean, that uh, nothing was done about it by the community or by the police? (to sister)	
		37:04	• T: Okay, the story about your brother's death, do you talk to your children, particularly your son who is quite old or are planning to talk to your children about what happened at all?	• Family talk
	17	37:48	• T: Have you spoken at all to your children at all about your life and about that story of your brother?	
		38:52	• T: Okay, umm, what kind of things do you talk to your son about, just everyday kind of things?	

T: Tarryn Frankish (interviewer) K: Khanyisile Zulu (interpreter)

Page	Time	Millicent Vilakazi Interview 2 (17pp; 38:03)	1/2
1	00:00	• T: ok the last time you were talking to us quite a bit about your family and I am going to start there again. Ehm… with your brothers…ehm ... there ok.. you told us a bit about that. Can you tell us about your brother..ehm.. You spoke about us a bit about your sisters last time can you talk about your brother ehm…who was he.. why were.. people looking for him that particular time.	• Brother's death
	00:55	• T: Specifically I am wanting to find out why the police and the [vigilante group] were looking for him […]what was the connection?	
3	04:20	• T: Ok ehm what kind of political affiliation was he…Inaudible […] Was He Actively active?	• Politics
	04:57	• T: Ok and yourself were you also involved. […] before or after?	• 'Government'
4	07:11	• T: Ok, Ehmm…You mentioned, and I am not sure if I got this correct, I am gonna check, something about the government last time. I am not sure whether you were working for the government or….ehm if you can just clarify that for me. I kind of got the sense that you were working for the government or with the government I am not not quite sure.	• Relationship with mother
	07:53	• T: Ok it might have been connected to your mom, (You were right) that your mom was, she wasn't working […] Ok Ehmm…you, you spent a lot of time last time talking to us about your cousins were staying with your parents or with your mom, and that you were staying with your grandmother. Ehm can you talk to me a little bit about the eh your relationship with your mother was it difficult for you knowing that your mother was caring for your cousins.	• Cousins
	08:32	• T: Ehm her mom was looking after her cousins and she was then living with her grandmother on the farm […] ehm you and didn't tell us much about your mom or your relationship with your mom so I am wanting to try and find that out in connection to the relationship with the cousins […] Ehm Ja was the mom closer to the cousins or Ja.	
5	09:57	• T: Which was how?	
	11:06	• T: Ok, Ehm do you think that the way in which your mom treated you and your cousins is different to how you are raising your children.	
6	12:44	• T: Ok What are some of the difficulties of trying to be eh eh a mom	• Mothering
7	14:32	• T: Ok……ehm..can you tell me a little bit more about living in [a Durban township]. What is it like living in this space in [a Durban township] is it does that make being a mother easier or more difficult? […] Then in the farm where you grew up?	• Township community vs. farm
8	17:43	• T: Ok, ehm so there are things which children..ehm she talking about living on the farm but ehm, you are living in [a Durban township], what do you think is good about [a Durban township] what do you like about [a Durban township]	• Raising children
	18:19	• T: Ok ehm I wanted to find out if there is anything specifically that you like about [a Durban township] or are doing in [a Durban township] that you might not be able to do on a farm.	
	18:45	• K: Can I reve…. rephrase the question. I would like to ask, ok let me ask you, is it ok if I ask her to tell us why, how is raising children in [a Durban township] […] better then raising children on the farm.	
9	20:25	• T: Ok, that's fine… Ehm.. so thank you about the question you were wording but I will also like to ask you what do you like about being in this space so as a woman as a mother what about being in [a Durban township] is nice for you.	
	21:46	• T: Ok, Ok, I wanna get the sense of the kind of thing you do with your time so you, you working and your job is obviously very important to you. Are you involved in any other kinds of activities. Ehm, both with your family or with the community.	• Community activities
10	22:28	• T: Ok ehm can you tell me a bit more about your work you have said that you have been working for them for a long time whats it like, I am not sure, are you still working night shift? Eh, I think that's, that's the sense of what I got, but you can still round it up.	• Work
	23:02	• T: Ehm what I am wanting to try and find out is, the kind of things that you do whether the, whether the work is ehm, what are the kind of conditions that the work (Inaudible)	
	24:16	• T: HHmm, eh can you tell me what kind of things you do with your time. I mean, I know you work during the night and you obviously then sleep, I mean try to get sleep during the day. If I were to follow you around for the day what kind of things would I see you doing.	• Domesticity

T: Tarryn Frankish (interviewer) K: Khanyisile Zulu (interpreter)

Interview line: Millicent Vilakazi 2 continued

Page	Time	Millicent Vilakazi Interview 2 (17pp; 38:03)	2/2
11	25:48	• T: Ok..Ehm….. I want to talk some more about your husband you mentioned him last time and ehm , ehm it was a very moving story, and that you met at school and Ehm you are still with him in your home with your children ehm can you tell me where he works? […]He doesn't work (talked at the same time) Is He ehm on……does he get an unemployment grant or…	• Husband and his role as father
12	26:36	• T: Ok, so can you tell me what he does with his days how does he… spend his time…., does he look after the kids	
	27:23	• T: So he is eh you were saying a very good father […] Is he similar to your own father or is he di…different	
	28:49	• K: Ehm, Tarryn I want, I would like know, we did ask her this in fact, I want to know from her what are anxieties, her children she s got one child… the boy […] how her children being raised here and now in this situation, her anxieties, can I ask her that question	• Anxieties raising children
15	33:14	• T: Ok and how long has she been in [a Durban township]	
	33:35	• T: Ehm……sure… can you tell me a bit more about your daughter ehm what is she like, she what type of things does she do with her time, either than school.	• Daughter sent to farm
	34:47	• T: ok, what was it like for you when she was at the farm and you didn't see your daughter	
16	35:48	• K: I am asking her about raising a girl, she is raising a girl, I am sorry, lets talk about her raising a girl	• Raising a boy
	37:00	• T: Sure. How is that different to when you raise your son. Is it different raising a girl to a boy?	• Intervention with son

Interview line: Lunga Vilakazi

Page	Time		
1	00:00	• T: Okay, so my first question to you is just for you explain who you are and a little bit about your life.	• School
	00:15	• T: Okay explain to us why?	
	01:45	• T: Okay, so it is difficult in the the sense of….violence? Is that what you are trying to explain to me? […] Okay, can you talk to me a bit more about this idea of violence, can you and maybe can you show tell me how how it has impacted your life.	• Township community • Violence and safety • Harshness of life
2	03:18	• T: Okay, um what so there's obviously violence in the community that you, you, you are exposed to can you tell me about some of that stuff what's kinds of things happen everyday that create	
3	04:32	• T: okay so theres a kind of […] image of success […] being connected to violence um but the fact that you talking about this means that you are aware of that connection what has made you start to think about these things in that way?	
	06:02	• T: Okay um and that's obviously connected with being in [a Durban township] can you talk to me a little bit more about, about being in [a Durban township] especially if there's this violence, do you feel safe in [a Durban township], do you ya, talk to me about being in [a Durban township]?	
4	07:02	• T: Okay, um, what has it like moving around in [a Durban township], I know you said you go to [B…] High School, um, which is not in [a Durban township] as far as I know, um, so do you how does transport happen, how do you moved around in [a Durban township]? […] So, okay, um, what is school like, did do you feel um safer within school with your friends, when you walking to and from from school?	• School • Future plans
	07:58	• T: Okay, umm, and what is school like for you?	
	08:35	• T: Okay, umm, talk to me about your plans for the future. You have already mention that you need to that you focus on your education as a route to doing something as a route to becoming successful as opposed to um the violence that seems to be modelled in the community um what kind of plans do you have for your future?	
	09:09	• T: Okay, umm, explain to me why you want those choices why do you what about that appeals to you?	
5	09:46	• T: Okay, I take that you are a very good soccer player […] What, what position do you play? […] What do you like about playing soccer?	• Soccer • Friends • Family
	10:18	• T: Okay, and your friends, do your friends play with you? […] Okay, umm, do you play at school or do you have you are you part of a club for soccer? […] which club? […] Okay, that is very cool, talk to me more about that, how did you get involved in that?	
	10:51	• T: How did they select you did you go to a trials? Did you…	
	11:03	• T: okay very exciting um um what do your family think about your plans to play soccer	
6	12:02	• T: okay so two things there you practice very regularly so you very commited to your soccer also means you're not not at home very much is that […] okay, um what what's that like that you're away from home all the time	• Relationship with family
	12:32	• T: okay can you tell me a bit about your family um uh you just said you're not at home very much but when you are at home what whats it like whats your family like how do they what's your relationship like with your family	
	13:04	• T: okay, um talk to me about your family members what's your dad like what do you what do you think of your dad […] okay but what does that mean for you […] what kind of relationship do you have with him	
	13:34	• T: and your mom	
	13:45	• T: okay do you spend a uh any I know you said you don't spend an don't spend a lot of time at home um but do you spend a lot of time with your mom doing things together […] what kinds of things do you do with your mom	• Sister
	14:07	• T: okay um and your little sister	
	14:18	• K: why, why wouldn't you have… ungabi nobudlelwano obuningi no-dadewenu? **(Why do you not have a relationship with your sister)?**	
7	15:11	• T: okay um what about your extended family your family in this home your other family what kind of relationship do you have with with them	• Role of extended family
	16:00	• T: okay and your relationship with your aunts and cousins do you spend a lot of time with them […] okay and your aunts who live here	

T: Tarryn Frankish (interviewer) K: Khanyisile Zulu (interpreter)

Page	Time	Lunga Vilakazi Interview (15pp; 35:41)	2/3
8	17:13	• T: he tells us its just the same as being at home very similar. Can you tell in what ways is it similar do you do your aunts kind of act as like additional mothers or […] and what if your mom's cross with you do you do you maybe come here um because	
	18:08	• T: okay um can you tell me more about your mother what kind of mothering does she do, how does she teach you about life	• Mother and father (alcoholic)
	18:23	• T: okay do you sit down and talk about it […] okay what does she tell you about HIV	
	18:38	• T: sure, um she does sounds like she's doing the mothering and the fathering what do you think of that	
	19:10	• T: okay um was your father also a striker do you know	
	19:21	• T: um c can you tell me a bit more about being in [a Durban township] is there anything that you particularly like about living in [a Durban township]	• Township community
9	20:25	• T: okay um explain to me about about your friends uh who are they do you spend a lot of time with them either at soccer or out outside of soccer at school what kinds of friends do you have […] um and your friends did um you mentioned that some of your friends had have turned to can you ex can you talk to me about them a bit what what is become of their life	• Friends
	21:31	• T: Okay um and so so what kinds of things do you do with your friends other than playing soccer do you play um	
	21:50	• T: and do you have any time for girls in your life between soccer and school and friends family	• Relationships
	22:19	• T: okay uh okay what kinds of things other than girls do you get into trouble about	• In trouble with mother
	22:48	• T: okay um tell me I wanna ask again about school what kind of subjects are you taking at school […]okay which is your favourite subject […] why, explain to me	• School subjects
10	23:23	• T: okay if you were to try to go that route what would you need to do what do you think you would […] would need […] um so so what would you need to learn would you need to do a degree or a diploma or	• Tourism • Future
	23:57	• T: do you think, okay what so a a a tour operator where explain to me exactly what kind of of job you would imagine yourself doing	
	24:24	• T: okay sure um what other plans do you have for your future so is there any other kinds of things that you […] that you are imagining, would you still want to live in [a Durban township] if you had a choice […] where would you want to live	• Westville • Imagined space
	24:44	• T: Why [neighbouring suburb]? […] and what do they do in [neighbouring suburb]?	
	25:08	• T: So you don't like the noise then you don't like the music […] okay um do you have a go a good relationship with your neighbours do you know your neighbours very well	
	25:35	• T: what does he do […] okay do you join them in sometimes	• Alcoholic father
11	26:00	• K: oh um lets talk more about you and Dad uh maybe maybe I was outside when you were talking about it …ubaba, ubaba uchazile ukuthi unesifo sophuzo, **(About your father, you have explained that dad is an alcoholic) […]**Uh, ngaphandle nje kwesifo sophuzo yini enye oyibonayo ngobudlelwano bakho nobaba, bunjani nje, ungubaba onjani? **(Uh, besides him being an alcoholic, what do you see as a relationship with him, how is your relationship with dad, what kind of a father is he)?**	
	26:37	• K: Kusho ukuthi uma engadakiwe uba ubaba onjani? **(So, if he is not drunk, what kind of a father is he)?**	
	26:48	• K: Uma edakiwe awumthandi? **(So, you don't like it when he is drunk)? […]** Ngoba wena uyahlubuka? **(Because you get irritated)? […]** Bese wenzenjani uma umbona? **(And what do you do)? […]** Bese uphatheka kanjani? **(And how do you feel)?**	
	27:47	• T: what is it like […] making a noise okay what is it like do you think for your sister	• Sister living arrangements
12	28:37	• T: How do you think that does to your family to have your sister staying here and not with you on top	• Implications of being home alone
	28:57	• T: okay so sometimes its just you and your mom and dad at home okay is that is that hard for you is it hard for your mom sometimes	
	29:26	• T: okay um [I'm out of question at this part] if I was to follow you around everyday what kinds of things would I see you doing	• Everyday • Friends

Page	Time		
12	29:50	• T: sitting with your friends okay do you sometimes go home late because of your Dad? T:	
	30:19	• K: [Lunga] kube khona isikhathi esiningi lapho ukhula khona usisi engekho, benisema…(not clear),**([Lunga], there has been a time when you grew up when your sister was not there, and you were…. (not clear) […]** Ubengasi-chazelanga usisi, ngiyacabanga ukuthi kuke kwaba khona isikhathi esinjen-galeso, **(Your sister did not talk to us about it, but I think that there has been a time like that) […]** Bebunjani ubudlelwano bakho nomama nobaba ukhula nje? **(How was your relationship with your father and your mother when you growing back then)?**	• Growing up on the farm
13	31:25	• K: Mhlambe kungaba yimbangela yini yaloko ukuthi ubudlelwano bakho nosisi wakho bube nama cracks? **(Do you think maybe that is the reason why your relationship with your sister has got cracks)?**	• Relationship with sister
	31:40	• T: okay could you talk to us a little bit more about your childhood did you ever go and stay on the farm when you were a little boy were you always in [a Dur-ban township] […] and what was that like do you have good memories of go-ing to the farm […] and your family on the farm what were they like do do you know your gran very well	
14	32:15	• T: okay but what did they treat you well when you were there	
	32:22	• K: do you still go there	
	32:30	• K: Ngaphandle kokukha amanzi impilo yasemafamu injani? **(Beside the water issue, how do you find rural life)? […]** Ulandela laba abakhona? **(You follow after them)? […]** Yiziphi izinto abazenzayo? **(What are the things that they do)?**	• Farm vs township community
	33:06	• T: okay um do you think it's a different kind of life living on the farm to to living in [a Durban township] I know you said you want to go live in [neignbouring suburb] but uh	
	33:20	• T: why is it better	
15	34:05	• K: Bese ngishilo ukuthi indlela abakhuliswa ngayo indlela mhlambe izingane ezikhuliswa ngayo emafamu, ubona engathi zikhuliswa kanjani, ubona engathi zikhuliswa ngendlela engcono wena kunendlela abazali bakho abakukhulisa ngayo, uyayibona leyonto, **(I have said this, do you think that the way they are raised in the rural area is different from the way you your parents raised you do you see that)?**	
	34:22	• K: Izingane zakhona uma uzibuka uma uziqhathanisa nawe ungazibona kuyiz-ingane ezinjani uma ubuka wena ubusuziqhathanisa nazo? **(If you look at these children from the rural, how are they if you compare them with township children)?**	

Interview line Londisiwe Cele 1:	Page	Time	Londisiwe Cele Interview 1 (19 pp; 39:58)	1/1
	1	00:10	• K: she is asking if she shouldn't talk about the the times of violence I said she can start telling us about her life	• Death of son • Talk about son
	5	10:43	• T: um, I want to do the same thing and you can advise me if I am going right […] right back to when she was born, okay if you can tell us a little bit about where you were born, what your parents were like, um, so right back to when you were young uh	• Growing up • Childhood home—rural area
	6	13:50	• T: okay um what was her relationship with her mom like?	• Mother
	7	15:08	• T: okay, and is her mom still around, is your mom still around, or has she passed on, or	
	8	17:00	• T: okay, sure so if you can tell us about your children you said you have seven children can you tell us a little bit about all of your…	• Mothering especially Mpumelelo
	10	20:59 21:02 22:50	• T: which one, this one? • K: Angithi ma wawuthe kukhona [children's names] kusho ukuthi owesi 8? • T: so is [Mpumelelo] your daughter, the person I phone yesterday	
	11	23:20	• T: sure, um so some of your children are still alive can you tell me what they are doing?	
	12	25:40 26:14	• T: [Mpumelelo] when I phoned yesterday sounded like I phoned an office did she then come visit you did she phone you to tell you about todays meeting? • T: can you tell me a bit about [Mpumelelo] then?	
	13	26:35	• T: uh did what what shes like, where she works, what your relationship with her is like, um whether you happy or sad that she is getting married um those kinds of things […] ok, um, I want to know what shes like as a person, do you know where she works, um what is your relationship with her	
	14	29:18 29:39	• T: okay, um this sister she said that she was one of three so this sister is it [husband's] sister or • T: okay sure, uh, okay, okay, uh ca can you tell me a bit about where you have worked and the kind of work that you did while you were raising your children as well	
	15	31:30	• T: Okay, um and [husband] can sh… can you tell me a bit about your husband, um what he did what he was like as a person where you met	
	16	34:10	• T: okay, um, what did I want to ask, um the wedding can you tell us about how that happened with the family…	
	17	35:51	• T: um, I wanna ask a question about um being a mother and during during apartheid and trying to work and the loss of your husband how was what was it like being a mother	• Husband
	18	37:50 38:55 39:12	• T: um, you haven't told us much about your grandchildren do you have any grandchildren I know that you said that [son] came with a child um do you have any other grandchildren and if you do do you see them at all? • T: so she doesn't see them or really but does she know that they exist • T: is there anything else that you want to tell us uh, about about [Londisiwe]	• Children, especially the boys who disappeared • grandchildren

T: Tarryn Frankish (interviewer) K: Khanyisile Zulu (interpreter)

Page	Time		
1	00:00	• T: Uh, we are going to talk to you about some of the stuff from last time it is just a follow up and the first thing that I want to talk to you about is you spoke to us about the even in which your son was killed in here. Uh, what I want to know is what happened afterwards and I remember you telling us about people who were even coming to take photos and so you can explain to us what happened and how you felt about it.	• Responses to killings • Court case
3	03:18	• T: Okay, when exactly, what was the date of this? […] Okay, uh, and then in terms of the people who came and you have got the letters, what kinds of people that wrote those letters? I am trying to think about the people who came and took the photographs, what kinds of group of people were involved afterwards?	
6	06:32	• T: Okay, uh, in terms of longer term thing afterwards what kinds uh, of things happen, so, what I am talking about is was it reported and did you follow it up in any legal sense, what has happened since then?	
9	09:59	• K: Oho, kwase kuyinini mama, awusakhumbuli? **(Okay, and when was that mama, do you remember)? […]** Emva kwesikhathi/kweminyaka esinga-kanani? **(After how long mama, after how many years was that)?**	
10	11:08	• T: Were you involved in politics before all this happened and uh, and are you involved in politics now afterwards?	
11	12:14	• T: Okay, can you tell us a little bit more about what you did with these people, what kind of things were you doing?	• Political involvement • Life in rural area • Forced removal
13	14:19	• T: Okay, um, and this is I assume, after you were removed [rural area], was it after you were removed from [rural area] or what?	
	15:39	• T: No, she mentioned that she was removed from [rural area] and went to [a Durban township], […] And about that time, was she involved in politics by then?	
14	15:17	• T: Okay, um, can you tell us a little about being removed from [rural area] how was that like, how did the family feel?	
17	18:20	• T: um, can you please tell me a little bit about your family, um living [rural area] and then moving here, did you all manage to stay together?	
18	19:51	• T: Okay, so all of them being the seven kids, you and your husband […]?	
	20:08	• T: Um, and you mentioned you mother did your mother also?	
19	21:10	• T: Okay. Can you tell me a little bit more about your mother? I know we spoke a little bit about her last time. Um, what was your relationship like with your mom, um when you were growing up and also when you had kids of your own and you were living with your kids and your mom?	• Own mother • Mothering
20	22:12	• T: Okay. Um, can you please talk to me more about, uh, uh, you, okay ….first of all when you were growing what was it like being a child, being a young person, uh, when and as opposed to married being a young person today, I am trying to think, um, in particular the difference between the mothering, so, how was your mother a mother to you as opposed to you, um, what kind of things you want to do as a mother?	
22	24:40	• T: Okay, does she gets news about her family through other people?	• Her children
23	25:46	• T: Okay, um, your children that you have spoken a little bit to us about, I think [son] who died of HIV, can you maybe tell us when that was and what was that like and who survived the attack, if I remember correctly?	• Son who survived attack and recently died of HIV/AIDS
24	26:41	• T: Particularly to think that he survived the attack and you know passed away later, what was like being the mother?	
25	28:31	• T: Okay, and then afterwards when he was ill?	
28	30:48	• T: Okay. Um, the other child that she mentioned a little bit is [Mpumelelo], can you tell me…I know that we talk about her quite a bit last time, but what is the relationship like with her? I remember you mentioned that she is sick and so, um, can you tell us whether this feels very similar with [son] for you?	• Mpumelelo

Interview line Londisiwe Cele continued:

Page	Time	Londisiwe Cele Interview 2 (45pp; 51:22) 2/2	
29	32:18	• T: Okay, and then another person that we have not spoken about at all is the little boy with the gun that we saw last time, […] And how is he related to you and if he is your grandchild whose son is he, do you see him a lot?	• Grandchild living with her
31	34:09	• T: Can you please tell us what it is like to having a young child in the house again?	
32	35:46	• T: Okay, sure, uh, which school is he going to?	
33	36:08	• T: Uh, what it like to be a grandmother, do you think that is different being a mother, since you haven't been there a little while?	• Being a grandmother
34	37:13	• T: Heh heh, (laughing), uh, I know he is still small, but what kind of things when he is older if you know, he is still living with you, would you like to teach him, and skills, and also stuff that you might want to talk to him about your life?	• Talk
35	38:47	• T: Okay, would you tell him about, uh, um, his family and where you come from and when you think he is old enough?	
36	39:57	• T: Okay, you mentioned a Christmas Party at the…..at the Hall, and what other kind of community activities were you used to be involved in there?	
38	41:34	• T: Okay, um, is that is the kind of things….I am trying to think of um, being in [a Durban township], is that the kind of thing that you enjoy doing being in [a Durban township]? Uh, what are other things that you like about this place?	• Township community
39	42:32	• T: Okay, uh, you mentioned that you have diabetes that is when we came in, uh, can you tell us a little bit about your health and how are you dealing with being a mother, a grandmother and being sick at the same time?	• Illness
	43:35	• T: Okay, uh, the last thing I want to talk to you about and I have not spoken much about is your husband […] and you can tell us more about who he was and…iya, just tell us who he was?	• Husband
41	45:45	• T: So, we are talking about your husband and uh, when did you meet him?	
	46:48	• T: Okay, and then….I am trying to think, you mentioned how the police would come and stand on his chest and he was wheezing and after he passed away what was the time…I am trying to think of it being translated into his personality, did it happen before the son was killed or…?	
43	48:30	• T: So, did that motivate the boys to leave when they saw that?	
44	49:09	• T: So, you lost your sons and your husband? […] All together and it was like almost ten times? […] And what was that like?	• Post trauma event life
	50:03	• T: What made you to stay behind when the boys left, why did you not go with them?	

Page	Time		
1	00:00	• T: First of all may you please start by telling us who you are and where you were born. Just basically tell us about your life.	• Work
	00:56	• T: Okay, uh, tell me about your mother you mentioned her briefly	
	01:10	• T: Okay, uh, when did your mother passed away and when did you come here?	
2	02:16	• T: Okay, uh, you said here do you mean [a Durban township] or do you mean this house? […] This house? […] Okay, do you remember much from before you lived here, what do you remember much about your life before?	• Moving to Durban township and adopted family
	02:36	• T: Okay, when you came here what do you remember? […] When she came here what kind of thing can she remember being in this space?	
	03:07	• T: And so how was it like moving in town move to [a Durban township] and having a new mom and having a different/adopted family? Okay, maybe those kinds of things, going to school	
	03:33	• T: Who else was staying here when you were growing at that time? […] So this is the three of you? […] Okay, there was your brothers, your uncle and […] And your father, [Lonsisiwe]'s husband? […] Okay, and their children?	
	04:16	• T: Can you maybe tell me a bit about these people, okay start with all of them, [Londisiwe], her husband and her children and tell me who were they and how were they like, and did you get along with them?	
10	14:37	• T: How old were you when the shooting happened? […] Okay, do you know all of the boys who were killed?	• Trauma event • Witnessing in court
	15:12	• T: Were the other families, did they have the same response in the court case, in the sense that they were all sad that they did not see this people until it comes to the end?	
13	17:42	• T: Okay, uh, can you please tell me how it was being on the witness stand, what was the experience like be and when did it happen, did it happen after 1994?	
15	21:01	• T: Okay, uh, I am trying to understand, uh, where you were on this day and what the testimony that you gave was because you witnessed something and what did you witness and after the shooting what did you see that you gave a testimony to?	
17	23:25	• T: Hmmm, uh, that must have been very hard for you, what was like, like afterwards being at school, how did life happen after that? After having losing loved ones and one seeing that?	• Immediately after trauma event
18	25:07	• T: Okay, uh, explain, uh, I wonder why it was heavy for the boys, what were they looking for, were they looking for their brothers, were they looking for their companions?	
19	26:15	• T: Okay, how many, uh….I am just trying to get all the details so please help me to remember, how many of your brothers were killed in that incident?	
	26:41	• T: How many of your brothers/cousin however you refer to them so, it was brother and his friend that you know of? […] And then the boys the brother/ cousins who left who were they? […] Where did they go? […] So, outside [a Durban township]?	
	27:14	• T: And where are they now? […] Can you tell me about them a little more?	• Brothers
20	28:17	• T: So you don't see them anymore, did you have a good relationship with them before they left? […] Okay, and then, and then you spoke about the girl's coping, what kind of things did you do to cope, how did you deal with the grief?	
21	29:43	• T: Okay, Sure, and we spoke a little bit about school can you tell me a little bit about your experiences at school, you got your matric certificate and did a computer course and what motivated you to do that and to keep going at school?	• School and starting work
22	31:41	• T: Okay, what did you want to do?	
	31:56	• T: Uh, did you go and do computer course straight after school? […] Okay, what were you doing during the week, were you working?	
	32:12	• T: Okay, uh, tell me a little bit about your work, you mentioned something about counseling, what was that? […] OKay, uh, do you still do peer education at work even at [supermarket]?	
23	32:44	• T: Okay, uh, now I know you said that you did something that you did want to, okay is there anything that you like about your work and what don't you like about your work?	• Dreams

Interview line Mpumelelo Cele continued:

Page	Time	Mpumelelo Cele Interview (39pp; 59:05)	2/2
23	33:40	• T: Was that recently?	• Work
	33:45	• T: And it is better now is there a new manager as you obviously did not resign?	
24	35:49	• T: Okay, what position exactly is it, does it have a title?	
25	37:11	• T: Okay, uh, where do you see yourself in 5 years time in terms of your work, do you imagine yourself doing the same work and …?	
	37:52	• T: Okay, and then I hear you also getting married, is that true?	
26	39:09	• T: Okay, uh, can you tell us more about the chronic diseases?	• Relationship • Disclosure health status to fiancé
	39:48	• T:Yes, okay, uh, I want to go back to in talking more about the boy, what is he like as a person, and what is he doing, how did you meet and tell us about your relationship with him and then tells us what causes tension and what is going around.	
28	42:15	• T: I guess choose between the man and work or it means your health and relationship?	
	42:20	• T: Okay, when I heard that you were getting married I imagined some kind of engagement and perhaps lobola happening and am I correct to think of that? […] What does that mean if you stop the relationship?	
29	43:57	• T: Okay, so, uh, I am just thinking about lobola in particular, I don't understand it and what happens when you say that okay you are not going to get married and what happens with the values of that point?	
30	45:20	• T: Okay, uh, okay, I want to go back to the disease now I just want to talk to you about how it is like […]	• Health • Talk
32	47:43	• T: Okay, uh, you said that your mom took it badly as well you and how was that confession like?	
33	49:10	• T: Okay, so, she has been quite supportive to you and has he told anybody else besides your partner and your mother, anybody else knows?	
	49:49	• : Sure, so, that sort of scheme that you are getting at work as help?	• Relationship
	49:58	• T: Okay, I know you told us about your relationship with your partner and how it affected your stress levels and how has it affected the relationship as a whole has it changed or stayed the same?	
34	52:05	• T: At the moment? […] Okay, and what kind of treatment are you on at the moment? […] And how you finding that, is it hard to be on medication or is it fine or better?	
36	53:41	• T: Okay, how has that changed ….or… uh....I am trying to think a word, how has that changed her plans if it has at all?	• Future and plans re. Mothering
37	55:22	• T: Uh, certainly. Uh, I am trying to think….you said that you wanted to have children, are you still plan that for the future?	
	55:52	• T: (laughing), uh, I am going to talk about mothering now, we are going to change the topic and that is…you said you want to a mom? […] What kind of a mother you think you might want to be?	
38	57:25	• T: Do you think that your mother did that for you?	• Own mother
	57:36	• T: (laughing), uh, maybe to just finish maybe you can just tell us what you remember about your mother being a mom, just tell us a story that you remember.	

Interview line: Nqobile Sibisi 1

Page	Time	Nqobile Sibisi interview 1 (34 pp; 53:31)	1/1
1	00:00	• T: I want you to talk to us about who you are what is your name, where were you born, all those kinds of details	
	01:09	• K: Yebo. Wazalelwa [rural area]? **(Were you born at [rural area])?**	• Family • Rural area and township community
	01:17	• K: E Road [e...]? **(What about Road [e…])? […]** E Road [e...]? **(What about Road [e…])?**	• School
2	01:19	• K: Kodwa wena wazalelwa [rural area] kodwa ku Road [e…] ikubokababa? **But you were born at [rural area] and the house in Road [e…] is your father's family house)?**	• Work • Having Children
5.	06:12	• K: Wayengowesingaki yena **(Who did he come after)?**	
7	09:01	• K: Awume-ke kancane mama kewucacise lana khona lana othena khona wasebenza khona (not clear) wabe eseyashiya, okay, abazali bakho babengasekho ngalesosikhathi? **(Can you please stop for a minute, you mentioned earlier that you worked, and then stopped, okay, were your parents still alive by then)? […]** Okay, ubaba owayengasekho, **(Okay, your father had passed away)?**	• Death of father and life under Apartheid • Brother in exile • Death of brother
21	21:04	• K: Oh, wabuya uboy? **(Did the boy came back)?**	
22	21:23	• K: Emva komngcwabo, **(After the funeral)?**	
23	24:51	• K: Wayeyitwini? **(Was he a twin)?**	
26	28:27	• K: Okay, whilst in the meantime she had a nephew... Uyena lona owayeshaya ngamatshe? **(Is he the one that threw stones)?**	• Brother and uncle sick—HIV
29	34:36	• K: U [granddaughter]? **(Do you mean granddaughter])?**	
30	35:05	• K: Washonela khona esibhedlela? **(Did she die in hospital)?**	• Care for granddaughter, illness and death
31	36:14	• K: Ubaba wakhe wangaveza ngisho isenti? **(And her father did not give even a cent)?**	
	36:18	• Z: Akazange eze emngcwabeni? **(He did not attend the funeral)?**	
33	40:42	• K: Umntwana wakhe? **(Her child)?**	• Care for other grandchildren
	40:45	• K: Umzukulu wakhe?**(Her grandchild)?**	

T: Tarryn Frankish (interviewer) K: Khanyisile Zulu (interpreter)

Interview line: Nqobile Sibisi 2

Page	Time	Nqobile Sibisi interview 2 (46 pp; 1:20:01)	1/2
1	00:00	• T: You spoke to us quite a lot last time and you also mentioned your children, can you tell us more about your children and umm, things like when they were born and how many they are and iya….?	• Children
4	06:30	• T: Okay, umm, you mentioned that you have grandkids. How is you relationship with your grandkids like?	• Grandchildren and children especially Grace (domestic violence)
12	17:50	• T: Okay, umm, can you tell me when you were growing up, was it different compared how your grandkids growing up today?	
15	22:05	• T: Okay, can you tell me about your more about your mom and your dad, how they were like and what kind of work did he do?	• Mothering • Parents and rural area
20	30:54	• T: Okay, umm, the one other person that I would want to talk about in your life I want to talk about is about your husband. Umm, where did you meet him, who this person was and how was him?	• Husband • Husband's death
22	34:37	• T: Okay, can you please tell us more about umm, when he passed away, you mentioned that he was stabbed and what it meant for you to lose the person that you loved.	
24	39:28	• T: Who were the people that did that?	
25	40:23	• T:Hmmm, Okay, what exactly happened, do you have any details, or was he just found stabbed?	
28	46:16	• T: Okay, (unclear) and then you mentioned that your husband was involved in politics, would you talk about how he was involved in politics in any other way, how he was involved in politics?	
29	48:35	• T: Okay, you also mentioned that after the death of your husband your oldest child and as well as the next child both went to exile and they were also involved in politics those times, can you talk to me a little bit about that in politics, are they still involved in politics or?	• Politics
33	56:05	• T: Okay, can you please talk to me about your moving from [rural area] to [a Durban township] and how it was like for you and also in terms of the politics and….	• Rural area vs township community
38.	01:04:56	• T: Okay, umm, how was it like to be in [a Durban township] back then than now, did you enjoy being in [a Durban township] then?	
39	01:07:09	• T: Okay, I don't know whether you have a question, is there anything else that you would want to tell us that you have thought of?	• Death of group of boys in township, son escaped
42	01:12:28	• T: Umm, iya, umm,. I am going to ask you, this story that you have just told is obviously a very important story, what do you what do you think life in [a Durban township] would have like after this kinds of things, what was like being n that space at that particular time?	• TRC • Family talk
44	01:15:46	• T: Hmmm, would you have like to have been invited to TRC?	
	01:15: 57	• T: In what other ways, you know apart from talking to us, do you tell your story do you tell your children about the past at all?	

T: Tarryn Frankish (interviewer) K: Khanyisile Zulu (interpreter)

Interview line: Grace Sibisi

Page	Time		
1	00:00	• T: Uh, okay, so, like I said, we just want to find out who you are, so, maybe start telling us your name, where you were born and some of your details about your life.	• School • Work
4	05:58	• T: Okay, uh, okay. Maybe, um, let's talk about….I want to take you back a little bit uh, and maybe go to this question, uh, tell me about um, your family growing up, uh, how many siblings you have, um, what was your mother and father like and how was your relationship with them?	
6	10:11	• T: Okay, uh, tell me about your father, in the sense that what….as you said that life was difficult when….uh, before the new man, uh, was your father around, how was your relationship like with him?	• Family
7	11:44	• T: Okay, so, your parents, were they married? […] No? [...] Okay, so, they lived separately? […]Okay, uh, where is your father now? […]when did your father pass away?	• Father's death
	12:19	• T: Okay, you were still quite young and you remember uh, that your father passing away, what do you remember about it	
8	13:11	• T: Okay, um, so you don't know why…why he was stabbed, you just know that he passed away? […] Okay, um, what happened after that…I am trying to think what was life after that, like you being in school and your father has passed away?	• Siblings and making a life
	14:08	• T: Okay, sure, um, tell me about your siblings, where are they now and then you said your brother is here?	
	.14:38	• T: Okay, and what is your relationship like with your siblings? […] Is it always…?	
9	15:41	• T: The one you're scared of , why are you scared of him?	
10	16:21	• T: what kind of work does he do, maybe that's scary?	• New 'father'
	16:43	• T: Okay, um, you mentioned you mom find a new man and was this is after your father passed away? […] Can you tell us a little bit about him, how was it like having a new person in the house?	
11	18:16	• T: Hmmm, okay. Uhm, can you tell us more about school and uh, what type of things…..you went to [a finishing school], did you study anything in particular or just trying to get your matric?	• School
	18:42	• T: Okay, uh, and then straight after finishing from [a finishing school] you went to work?	
..	19:11	• T: Uhm, can you please telling us about having your first child, talk about the father, how the relationship was like especially that time and how relationship is like now and where did you meet and how was he like?	• Domestic violence (father of her children)
13	23:30	• T: Okay, why do think he changed?	
15	25:48	• T: left him in terms of breaking the relationship? […] and has he still been involved in the children's life after that?	
16	27:43	• T: Okay, uh, you mentioned that you and your mom lived in [a township outside Durban] in a 2 roomed house, did you…..? […] Oh, it was [a Durban toenship]? […] She moved to be near him, uh, why did your move? I don't understand…	• House in the township
17	29:03	• T: Okay, so what happened to the house? is the house now being…(not clear) […] Okay, uh, is … Okay, I want to ask you what is like with your mother, uh, and the relations between your mom and your kids?	
18	31:11	• T: Hmmm, I assume you have a very good relationship with your mother, do you talk to her about uh, stuff, for an example your relationship with the father of your children to, do you tell her these things?	• Talk mother

T: Tarryn Frankish (interviewer) K: Khanyisile Zulu (interpreter)

Interview line: Grace Sibisi continued	Page	Time	Grace Sibisi interview (35 pp; 1:01:02)	1/1
	19	32:18	• T: (laughing), okay, uh, okay, uh, what other things can you tell me about your mother,…. can you tell me the other things, what your mother is and what your mother does, like you have told us that your mother is very supportive towards you, uh, and is very involved in your life, but can you tell me about the other kind of section about your brothers, where does she work and the other kinds of work that she does for the community, and about the church, how she is obviously involved?	• Mother
	20	34:27	• T: Hmmm, uhm, about going to church, I am not going to ask many things but may I ask why are you not going to church?	• Church
		35:10	• T: Okay, uhm, you said that…..you have given us another positive thing about your mother and you said how supportive she is to you and also to rest of the family, what kind of mom would you want to be, do you want to be like your mother, what kind of a mother are you being?	
	22	37:45	• T: Okay, uhm, so what sort of things do you want your children to learn?	• Children • Future • Finances
	23	39:26	• T: okay, i am trying to think what kind of future you are imagining for your children, uh, I know that you said that when you were school you were dancing and you did drama, and is that what you would dream of your child, is that what you were imagining for yourself?	
	24	41:27	• T: (laughing), uh, you said that one of the things that made you think you could do was that you could do dancing, that is what you could think of and you could not aim high until you did dancing, […] And can you tell me a little bit about how you did dancing if it was after school or as an activity, did you do it with your friends and what did you imagine was possible with dancing?	• Own dreams
	26	43:53	• T: Uh, you said that the little one is madness and how old is he and ya, how old is he?	• Children, being a working mother
		44:41	• T: Okay, he is still very small. Who looks after him when you are at work?	
		44:51	• T: Uh, and, okay, and what is like being a working mom, can you tell us about that?	
	27	46:05	• T: And now?	
	28	47:08	• T: Sure, uh, if you can imagine yourself in a little years' time, can you tell me what you will be doing?	• Own future
	29	48:45	• T: you also said that you can imagine owning your own home, uh, what do you think it would be like, working, in this job, owning your own home and living with your kids?	
	30	51:15	• T: So you feel, the way you are saying that, were you looking after children, were you….while you were still at school, is that your life that you are talking about?	• Children's future
	31	51:51	• T: Okay, uh and then while we are talking anout the future, do you imagine yourself getting involved in another relationship with another man […] (laughing), okay, so you are already in a relationship? […]Tell us more about this man	• Relationships
	32	53:52	• T: Sure okay, your little girl, she is ten. She must have some idea of what is happening in the relationship, does she talk about her father and what the relationship is like with the new boy?	
	33	56:02	• T: Okay, did she say anything, what was her reaction to that event?	• Daughter 'sms' story • Talk
	34	57:41	• T: For you or for the girl? […] For the girl? […] Did she say anything?	
		58:13	• T: Hmmm, and what happened after that, did the hospital…. and uh, I am trying to think, did they encourage you to press, to lay charge, what was your reaction to that?	• Responses to violence
	35	59:50	• T: So there's nothing else that happened after that? It hasn't been followed up at all Okay I'm going to change the topic a little bit and ask you about [a Durban township] and this being your home and what kinds of things are you involved with you not going to Church, what other things do you do in the community? […] Uh, no groups with friends?	

Interview line Mbalenhle Nkosi 1:

Page	Time	Mbalenhle Nkosi Interview 1 (13 pp; 42:59)	1/2
1	00:00	• T: So as I was what was just said, we are wanting you to tell us about yourself so maybe you can start tell us a little bit about who you are and where you came from, yah explain who you are?	• Husband's death
2	05:03	• T: Um, I want to say thank you very much for telling us that story and I know how important that is to you I just like to to change the direction a little bit and to talk about um talk about um your was it in [coastal area outside KZN] before […] talk about your time in the [coastal area outside KZN] before you met your husband before you had your your kids talk to me about your mom and your dad and growing up as a young person.	• Family • Respect
3	08:19	• T: Um what do your mom and dad do? What kind of work did they do if any?	
	09:21	• T: Um what was her relationship like with her parents?	
4	11:37	• T: OK, um and your brothers and sisters what were you close to them and what are they doing now? Just talk to me in general about your siblings	
	13:33	• T: The one who passed away, how did she how did she die?	
5	14:18	• T: Um you said that you went up to STD 6 at school um what did you do when you left school, did you start working, did you meet your husband then?	• School • Work
	15:18	• T: Okay so you met your husband when you were working? […] What kind of work were you doing?	
	16:44	• T: What kind of work are you doing now? Because when I spoke to [community leader] he said that you are in [Durban suburbs] til 11 so are you working at the moment? […] No? […] Um when did you stop working?	
6	17:02	• T: Um when did you come to [a Durban township], did you come straight out of the [coastal area outside KZN] […] How old were you when you […] so you've lived here most of your life? […] most of your life […] and your children were born here?	• Township community • Husband
	18:35	• T: OK, we are going to back to your husband now, and I want you to tell me a bit about where you met, um what was he like, what kind of work he did, what kind of a person was he?	
	19:52	• T: Ok, uh did you get married, uh you said he's your husband. Was his family also from [a Durban township], um how did that happen?	
7	20:32	• T: And your first child was born in 1974, am I correct, um a girl or a boy	• Two sons, especially with regard to post-father's death
	20:46	• T: Ok, whats your first son's name?	
	21:32	• T: Talk to me about your sons, what are they like, what are they doing at the moment?	
	22:33	• T: And hes staying with you? […] What was it like uh when did their when did their father die your husband?	
8	22:41	• T: so your sons were still quite young when he passed away. What was it like being a mom by yourself?	
	23:48	• T: What was your relationship like with your sons, were you able to talk to them at all about their father's death um and about life in general?	
	25:20	• T: Very difficult, how? Um difficult emotionally, was there any kind of talk about it?	
9	26:40	• T: Um your older son who's staying whos living at e[Northern KZN coastal town], does he has a family of his own, is he married, does he have any children?	
	27:05	• T: How many children?	
	27:34	• T: Okay and do you know your grandkids very well?	• Being a grandmother
	27:55	• T: What do you what do you do with them? Just play, and …	
10	28:09	• T: Is being a grandmother different to being a mother?	
	28:31	• T: Okay um okay grandchildren what type of things do you want to teach your grandchildren about um about the past about your life?	
	29:19	• T: Okay um okay grandchildren what type of things do you want to teach your grandchildren about um about the past about your life?	• Domesticity • Community

T: Tarryn Frankish (interviewer) K: Khanyisile Zulu (interpreter)

Interview line Mbalenhle Nkosi 1 continued:

Page	Time	Mbalenhle Nkosi Interview 1 (13 pp; 42:59)	2/2
10	31:53	• T: Mmmm I wanted to see if she was going to respond um okay if I were to follow you around for the rest of the day what kinds of things would I see you doing? Just just you know your normal everyday kinds of things? What would I see you doing?	
11	33:00	• T: Do do you get involved in any kinds of community um projects, or work that is happening in the church maybe?	
	33:54	• T: Which includes what type of things do you do with the church?	
	34:40	• T: Do you know if there are any um community projects going on in [a Durban township]? Do you know of any?	• Husband's death and post -event
	35:22	• T: What do you love about [a Durban township]? You've lived here for a long time what is what is the thing that you love about the space you are in?	
12	37:08	• T: Okay sure I'm going to maybe spend the last little bit of our interview going back to where we started which was with your husband's death um and if you could tell me maybe a little bit more what happened after he passed away after you found him you said that you couldn't speak to the police because they were connected to the [vigilante group] um what what did you do after that um and by that I mean have you been to the police since um his death at all, um have you told your story to anybody um so those kind of things are um I want to find out about	
13	39:59	• T: So she hasn't told anybody other than friends and family before?	
	41:05	• T: Okay um one last thing what else from the story would you like to tell us? Is there anything else you want to tell us um about this story?	

Interview line Mbalenhle Nkosi 2:

Page	Time	
1	00:00	• T: Um, one of the things that I want to talk to you about this time is maybe start […] by talking about your children. If you can tell me about when they were born and your life of your children and how your life has been as a mother?
3	03:40	• T: So, it was you working, and you said you were working doing mail order, where, where exactly were you working?
4	05:05	• T: what was, your husband wasn't working um what kind of work has he done and was he looking for work, what was that like?
	05:33	• T: Okay, so what was he doing?
	06:01	• T: Okay, and children were at school?
5	06:08	• T: Okay, and how far did the get with school?
6	07:26	• T: Okay, were they both young when their father passed away, they were 10 and 12 right…8 and 12, […] Uh, how did they take that?
7	09:16	• T: Okay, um, because of the tape for last time can we talk about the story of your husband's death again and what happened and I know that he was killed by the [vigilante group], can you please just tell me some more of the details?
10	12:45	• T: Okay, um, children, did they see this?
	13:31	• T: Okay, uh, so he was buried here in [a Durban township]?
11	13:45	• T: Uh, what was life like after his death, I am trying to get a sense of chances trying to support the family for her, what was the life like for you?
	14:28	• K: She is saying that it was very difficult, so I am saying to her can she please try and recall what made things worse.
12	15:47	• T: Okay, and then the other boy left how long after his father's death did he leave?
13	16:41	• T: Okay, uh, what was like losing your husband and your son leaving as well?
	17:20	• T: Okay, and when did he return?
14	18:07	• T: Okay, and did he start working here or moved back to [a coastal KZN town] immediately, he didn't come home?
	18:43	• T: Okay, uh, and he said he has got 10 children that come and visit her, uh can you tell me about your grandchildren and how old are they?
15	19:27	• T: Okay, so twins are your little grandchildren? […] Okay, when, how long have the twins been staying with her?
	19:55	• T: Okay, how old are they?
	20:00	• T: And they go to school here in [a Durban township]?
16	20:19	• T: Okay, how is having 2 girls like in the house after having 2 boys in the house?
	21:12	• T: Uh, what do you think is different about when you were raised by your parents, the parenting that your parents did and the parenting that you have done now on your children as well as the parenting that you are doing on your grandchildren as well as the parent that your children do? Thinking about the different types ……
17	22:03	• T: Is it the same or different […] Okay, the question is just try and compare the parenting that her parents did, what kind of life that happened, that was possible […] And the parenting that she did, that was possible and the parenting that your sons did
19	25:21	• T: Why do you think it's different?
21	26:22	• T: Do you think that it also happens with your grandchildren?
	27:07	• T: Okay, uh, we spoke a little bit last time about…I mean we were talking about discipline and something that are using to teach your grandchildren but have you also talk to your grandchildren about other life and stuff?
22	28:00	• T: What kind of things will she talk to them about in future?

- Sons
- Husband's work
- Life with husband
- Sons and post-event life
- Oldest son (exile and return)
- Being a grandmother

T: Tarryn Frankish (interviewer) K: Khanyisile Zulu (interpreter)

Interview line Mbalenhle Nkosi 2 continued:

Page	Time	Mbalenhle Nkosi Interview 2 (32 pp; 41:06)	2/2
23	29:08	• T: Okay, did somebody talk to you about this when you were growing up?	• Family talk
24	30:17	• T: Did somebody do that for you?	
	30:32	• T: Okay, did mom talk to you a little bit about life and I am not sure whether I remember greatly what happened to your mom and where she is now?	
25	31:35	• T: Okay, last time you told us that you had a very good relationship with your mother, did you do things together and what kind of things did you do together?	
27	34:03	• T: Okay, you lived, I mean I assume that you lived with your mother in the Transkei most of your life and did you help her on the farm?	• Mother
28	35:00	• T: Okay, um, did you spend a lot of time with your father, what did your father do?	• Father
	35:30	• T: Okay, and then after standard 6 you moved to [a Durban township] to work, am I right?	
29	35:48	• T: Did you move here? […] this house?	• Township community
	37:04	• T: Uh, and you said you have been since 1969, what do you like about [a Durban township]?	• Church
30	37:42	• T: So you go to church every Sunday, you enjoy your church? […] what kind of activities do you do at church?	
		• T: Okay, and does she take the twins with her?	
	38:45	• K: Mama, mina bengisacela ukwazi umfana lona owahamba waya e Exile wabuya ngo 1992, uh, wase eya e....[a coastal KZN town] ngokusebenza, angithi? **(Mama, I just want to ask you something. Your son that went to Exile, and he came back in 1992 and went to work in [a coastal KZN town], is it so)? […]** But we don't talk much about the younger one	• Oldest son
	39:02		

Interview line Nhlanhla Nkosi:

Page	Time	Nhlanhla Nkosi Interview (22 pp; 52:46)	1/2
1	00:00	• T: As I've been explaining to you, what I want you to do is, just tell us who you are and a little bit about your life, where you were born um ya so just start talking to us about who you are	
2	03:59	• T: okay, um and where were you when this happened?	• Father's death and post-event experiences
3	05:09	• T: And what happened immediately after your father's death in terms of a funeral in terms of your life perhaps going to school those kinds of things, uh	
	06:58	• Z: so ya he says ya it was difficult but ya anyway they did bury him. Yayisiba njani-ke impilo yakho emva kwalokho? **(What was life like after your father death?)**	
4	08:13	• K: Babemhlalisa khona? **(Did they place her there?)**	
	09:03	• T: okay um I wa I wanna ask a lot of questions now but the one I want to ask first is can you tell me about your father, um what was he like what do you remember most about him?	
6	11:40	• T: um can you tell me about what it was like um having a father and then I mean in terms of what kinds of things did he do with you, what kinds of activities and then afterwards when it was just you and your mom because your brother had left	
	13:43	• T: okay can you tell me a bit more about your brother um he's a little bit older than you and uh I mean talk to me about what he was like when you were growing up and um what he's like now do you see a lot of him and what is he doing those kinds of things	
7	16:23	• T: Okay how how long after your father's death did you brother leave?	• Brother and his children
8	16:46	• T: okay and he came back how long ago? 92 so he's been back for a while [...] What was it like having your brother back?	
	18:00	• T: okay great okay and your brother has 10 children um what is your relationship with your nieces and nephews like? I know two of them stay here	
9	19:36	• T: and uh what grade are they in?	
	19:45	• T: very young still, uh can you tell me a bit more about your mom uh what was she like before your before your dad passed away and then um afterwards you said it was very hard financially but what kind of role did she take in your life	• Mother
10	21:53	• T: Hmmm okay um when did the twins come to stay with you and what was your Mom's um reaction to them coming here did she enjoy having them um as much as you have enjoyed them being here	
11	23:23	• T: okay can you tell me some more about you uh after your brother left did what happened to you um you stayed at home and you couldn't cross the border did you go to school what happened in your life after that event?	
	25:15	• T: um what happened after that you dropped out of school and then what did you do	
12	26:05	• T: okay um [Khanyisile], any other questions? Um tell me I mean it's been a long time since that 1986 its been about 20 years what kinds of things do you do to keep busy when you're not working	• Work • Activities
	27:07	• T: okay um what like like let's talk about non-work so you um what kinds of activities are you maybe involved in certainly involved in in running the home but any church activities, community activities what other kinds of things do you do with your time	
	28:01	• T: okay um do you meet up with friends regularly is there a special woman in your life?	
13	29:54	• K: ya he is telling us about them. Before we go further, I can see that you also have a business, you sell?	• Relationships • Future
14	33:07	• T: okay could you um what are the plans for your future do you see yourself getting married and having kids of your own?	

T: Tarryn Frankish (interviewer) K: Khanyisile Zulu (interpreter)

Page	Time		
15	34:11	• T: okay what kind of parent do you think you would be um would you do the same kinds of things your mom and your dad did um or would you raise your children differently	• Parenting • Future
	35:15	• T: okay um what kinds of things do you think I mean you would want to teach your children about discipline and those kinds of things but what other kinds of things would you want to teach your children?	
16	36:00	• K: Now, I'm saying to him what type of parenting would he have on his children? […] the types of values, is that the same thing that you want o […] because…	
	36:13	• T: values, or whatever kinds of things you might want to teach them, any kinds of skills that you might want to	
	37:32	• T: okay we were just the skill that you want to pass on to your children which you said maybe you would like to see them going into plumbing um because because there's business to be made in in plumbing um. Is it not why aren't you following that route? You're still quite young um what kinds of things are stopping you from doing that kind of stuff for yourself?	• Plumbing
17	39:21	• T: okay um so you are pursuing that the plan is to, to go that way yourself	
	39:30	• T: okay um anything else uh okay uh do is there anything else you will might want to tell us that we haven't asked about um	
	39:53	• K: Mina engicela ukukubuza nje ukuthi, se…sekwenzekile ke konke lokhu, ninazo mhlawumbe izihlobo ezanisingatha emva kokuhamba kukababa? Noma mhlawumbe ubudlelwane babanjani emva kokuthi ubaba ehambile? Kukhona mhlawumbe ongase usitshele khona esingazange sikubuze kona? **(What I would like to ask you is that after everything that had happen, did you have relatives which supported you when your father passed away?Or maybe how was the relationship after your father was gone?)**	• Relatives (support)
	40:53.	• T: and your mother's side?	
18	41:25	• T: and you have a good relationship with them […] what was their role in your upbringing? What what kind of I mean you might have seen them regularly what kinds of things did they do with you maybe um	
	42:51	• T: okay um where I want to continue is to ask you about [a Durban township] you you've been born and uh I think you were living in this house when you were born, and uhm so you've lived here your whole life what do you like about [a Durban township] what do you not like about [a Durban township] just put your home and your place around you	• Township community • Vigilante group • Responses to father's death
19	45:21	• T: um you mentioned the [vigilante group] uh and the fact that they're still around uh do you know who killed your father, have you had to encounter them since his death	
20	47:11	• T: would you like it to be spoken about? Would you like it to be dealt with either through some kind of communication or through some kind of legal um system	
	47:38	• T: um what kinds of things are do you and your mom do to try and maybe see if that happens, do you have you I mean you said you've laid a charge at the um and the case was opened um but are you involved in any other kinds of maybe political work, I know you said you worked at the offices here was that involved in any kind of political stuff or or just work that they had	• Politics
21	50:19	• T: okay um in what way is your brother involved in politics?	
22	52:02	• K: Uthe nawe wake wacula, kwase kwenzekalani? **(You said you also were a singer, what happened?)**	• Singing group

Interview line: Nobuntu Mkhize 1

Page	Time	Nobuntu Mkhize interview 1 (36pp; 36:03min)	1/1
1.	00:00	• T: So what we are here today to find about is who is [Nobuntu] can you tell us a little bit more about yourself, where did you grow up…	• Family, growing up in rural area • Stay with couple and move back to mother • Starting work • Son and his death • Husband's death
15	13:42	• T: Okay, uh, maybe let's move a step back. You had 3 kids, what was it like um having 3 kids and working and living in [a Durban township]. What was it like being a mom.	
17	15:37	• T: Okay um, uh, what about uh, I want to know what it was like kind of on an daily everyday kind of basis just living and being [Nobuntu] so wh what did did it mean to have your kids far away and being working um how did you put them into school how d wh, those kinds of things?	• Staying away from children
24	20:59	• T: Did you go to school and what standard did you do at school?	• Work and finances
	21:07	• T: What sorts of dreams did you have for youself at school, what did you think what did you think would happen after school?	• Own dreams
	21:31	• T: Um and what about now, whats it like being a mom and a grandmom now?	
	21:37	• T: ...is it different?	• Grandmothering
28	24:27	• T: Hmmm, talk to me about this home, when did you move in here? And what do you like about your home?	
29	25:30	• T: Okay very nice, and in being in [a Durban township], do you like being in [a Durban township]?	• Township community
30	26:06	• T: Okay, do you do any community are you involved in any sort of community activities um?	
32	28:02	• T: um, I am trying to think, what, you you taked a bit about the grandkids and why why why you like it so much, what is different about raising kids today than when you raised your own kids?	• Relationships
34	30:02	• T: So, um ya I'm not sure if theres anything else. Anything else you want to talk to us about being [Nobuntu], what is it like to be [Nobuntu] on daily basis, what do you do everday?	• Grandchildren • Talk
35	31:18	• K: I am asking her to relate to us when she was young okay she she, the father of, the first father went away and the she also had another one coming into her life and how did it impact on her self as herself […] as [Nobuntu] and now now that she is here if she looks back you know all those things, how does it impact her?	
39	34:43	• T: Okay, and your grandson, is it a boy, how are you raising him to be good man?	• Grandchildren

T: Tarryn Frankish (interviewer) K: Khanyisile Zulu (interpreter)

Page	Time		
1.	00:00	• T: What can you tell us around about your life and your children and (unclear) conversation to thank you again for that, uh, we will start by asking you a little bit more about your parents and when you were growing up, and you said that you were living in uh,……was it [rural area]	• Family • Brothers • Parents
	00:36	• T: Okay, uh, talk to me about your parents, will you remember your mom and dad, did you know them?	
5	04:00	• T: Okay, uh, where did your mom work, did your dad work?	
6	04:52	• T: When did she pass away?	
	05:24	• T: um …. How old were you when your mom passed away?	
8	06:53	• T: Okay, uh, when you left, when you were little, you went to stay with your brothers and your brothers and you went to stay with the couple that had no children […] When was that and how was the couple that you stayed with like? I remember you said the man you stayed with was mad	
9	08:02	• K: kukhona yini okukuphatha kabi? **(Is there something that is upsetting you)?**	• Aunt • 'mothers love'
11	10:54	• T: Sure, uh, what did her aunt do? Was she working?	
13	12:27	• T: Sure, okay, what was it like when your mom came to fetch from your aunt and to go back to stay with your mom, am I right?	• Mother
	12:52	• Okay, what was like going back to stay your mom?	
14	13:47	• T: How old were you when you were staying with the aunt?	
	14:04	• T: Okay, uh, remember you said you went to work when you were 14? […] Did you stay at home with your mom for a while before you went to work or….?	• Work
15	14:28	• T: Uh…when…you mentioned your brothers how was your brothers like, uh, all of you know when they were still alive?	
18	16:51	• T: Okay, how did he pass away?	
	17:28	• T: Okay, the first one you did talk to us about his death, uh, he was shot, who was he shot by?	• Deaths of two brothers • Surviving brother
20	19:18	• T: Did you…..what was your brothers doing, and what is your surviving brother doing, is he was working? […] Whether he 's a student?	
	19:40	• T: What work did he do before he went on pension?	
21	20:11	• Okay, uh, talk to me about the….father of your children, uh,	• Relationship with youngest children's father
25	24:10	• T: Okay, uh this was the father of [the youngest children]…	
36	34:43	• T: Was that [daughter's] father? MN: Yes Z: And when was that mama? Ushone nini ubaba **(when did the father die?)**	• His death
	35:07	• T: And [oldest son's] father	
39	39:36	• T: How did she meet [oldest son's] father?	• Relationship with oldest son's father
41	42:36	• T: Hmmm so what was [oldest son's] father's name?	• His death
	42:43	• T: And [youngest children] father?	
	42:50	• T: And what did they do, did they work?	
	43:17	• T: Okay, uh, let us changed and talk about [daughter], how was she like when as a little girl? When was she born, I think you said she was 2 years old in 1978 when […] Okay, how was she like when she was a little girl?	• work

Page	Time	Nobuntu Mkhize interview 2 (49pp; 55:58 min)	2/2

Interview line: Nobuntu Mkhize 2

42	44:45	• T: Okay, was she close to her brothers?	•Daughter •Her schooling •Her children
43	45:28	• Okay, where did [daughter] go to school?	
45	48:00	• T: Did she meet her children's father at school? [...] How long after finishing school did she have her first child, not long?	
	48:21	• K: Okay how many children does she have, we mama?	
46	48:35	• T: Okay, uh, did she work, what did she do after school, did she work, where was she staying because she was not here until 1998, was she staying with the child's father? Was she staying with you?	•Relationship with father of daughter's children
	49:32	• T: Is the father still in [coastal KZN town] or where is he now, working? [...] where is he working?	
	49:46	• T: Do you still see him often?	
	49:57	• T: Okay how is [daughter] like as a grown woman, as a mother, is she a good mom?	•Daughter's mothering and •Being a grand-mother
47	51:33	• T: So, do you sometimes feel that you their mommy?	
48	52:04	• T: Okay, uh, is it hard to be a grandmother, and a mother and at the same time trying to help [daughter] as a mother? Is it difficult?	
49	53:25	• T: Sure, okay, you've had a very long and lots of stories to tell about your life what are you going to tell your grandkids about your life?	• talk

Interview line: Nobuntu Mkhize 3	Page	Time	Nobuntu Mkhize interview 3 (48pp; 53:06min)	1/1
	1.	00:00	• T: It has been a little while since we talked, […] and we spoke last time a little bit about [your daughter] um […] so today we are going to spend a little more time talking about your two boys. Uh, [first son] and [second son] […] and I would like you to start maybe by telling us any sorts of memories you have of them as children and ya, if you can just talk about who they were.	• oldest son and daughter, • oldest son's birth • difficulty of raising children whilst not staying with them
	11	10:45	• K: and then waseyashona mama angithi? **(And then he passed away, isn't it so mama)?**	
		11:32	• T: Sure and [second son] […], [second son] sorry?	• youngest sons's death
	39	40:51	• T: How old was [second son] when he passed away?	
		41:00	• T: How old was [oldest son] when he passed away?	
		41:07	• T:Had [youngest son] been born when [oldest son] passed away?	• coutcase for oldest son
	40	41:53	• T: Is [oldest son] buried near […] Oh, so [two sons] are together	
		42:14	• T: What happened after uh, [two sons] died did in terms of did you with [oldest son's] death, did you go to the police at all and with [youngest son's] death, did the hospital talk to you at all? […] it was just the nurses?	• 'Cake story' • previous hospitalisation for youngest son
	48	51:55	• K: Mhlambe usazokukhumbula. U[oldest son] yena mama ngiyanothisa ukuthi u [oldest son], uphile naye isikhathi eside, **(Maybe you will remember some of the things).** Mama […] kodwa izinto ozikhumbula ngo[oldest son] zincane, **(I have noticed that you have had [oldest son] for quite a long time but there are very few things that you remember about him)**	• space • connection with youngest son

T: Tarryn Frankish (interviewer) K: Khanyisile Zulu (interpreter)

Interview line: Nolwazi Radebe 1

Page	Time	Nolwazi Radebe Interview 1 (50 pp; 01:36:30)	1/1
1	00:13	• K: Ehhe, uthe uzalwa intombi yakwa[family surname]? **(Yes, you said you were born by a [family surname] girl?)**	• Family
3	01:12	• K: Nanibangaphi kini naningu 5. **(How many were you at home, were you 5?)**	
8	03:50	• K: Ebafundisa ini isikole? **(She taught them what, school?)**	
11	15:08	• K: Waqala kwiboyfiend yakho?	• Husband
12	19:38	• T: So this is now the first man? You said you had trouble with your chidren's father?	
17	21:36	• K: Wayesebenza yini? **(Was he working?)**	• Family feud • Brutal assault • Repeated rapes • Eventual escape
19	23:11	• K: Nanihlala khona? **(Did you stay there?) […]** Kukhona nenye indlu? **(Was there another house?)**	
37	31:17	• T: Which guys were these now?	• Living father and step-mother and half siblings • Family fight
40	34:40	• K: Ngenkathi ubaleka ke ma wayekuphi ubaby lo ona 2 months? **(When you were running away where was the small 2 month old baby?)**	• Move to own home • Death of husband
41	01:09:28	• K: Udadewabo kababa? Uhlala nani? **(Your father's sister? Was living with you?)**	• work
45	01:14:33	• K: Ubaba akekho? **(Wasn't your father around?)**	
49	01:15:18	• K: Usuyasebenza ke manje? **(you are now working?)**	
	01:25:08	• K: Hhe? You are still working for them?	
	1:35:37		

T: Tarryn Frankish (interviewer) K: Khanyisile Zulu (interpreter)

Interview line: Nolwazi Radebe 2

Page	Time	Nolwazi Radebe Interview 2 (86pp; 01:43:08)	1/1
5	04:09	•T: and you were ANC?	• Son's death • Husband's death
33	38:25	•K: Ubani **(Who)? [...]** Unjani? **(What about her) […]** Kuphi mama? **(Where mother?)**	
37	41:40	•K: Umfana lona? **(Do you mean the boy)? […]** Akasahambi lana ekhaya? **(He doesn't leave this house)?**	• Care for strangers • Relationship with her second daughter
41	46:06	•T: And who is [second daughter]?	• Issue as they share a surname
42	48:38	•T: Okay, umm, I am going to start asking questions now. They are some stuff that I don't know about yet and I would like to ask questions to have some directions. […] Umm, what I want to know quite a lot about is about your children and you have told us about [second daughter] and maybe you can tell about when they were growing up[…] All other children	• Oldest daughter's relationship and engagement • Death of her fiancé
44	51:23	•K: Umuzi use[rural KZN area] mama? **(Do they have a house at [rural KZN area])?**	
50	56:35	•K: Oho, esho kumkhwenyana wakhe wamanje? **(Okay does she say that to the present fiancee)?**	• Estranged daughter
58	1:06:50	•K: Th little one? […] ungakanani? **(How old is the child)?**	• Youngest daughter
60	01:10:10	•K: Wayefunda kuphi? **(Where did he go to school)?**	
62	01:12:11	•K: Ubizwa kuphi manje? **(Who called you)? […]** Usadiniwe njalo? **(Were you still angry)?**	• Surviving son
74	01:29:00	•K: Kubenjani-ke ukuba umama kuwena? **(How has it been like being a mother to you)?**	• Finances
81	01:36:50	•T: Okay, can you tell me about being a grandmother? Is it different from being a mother?	• Oldest daughter in relation to work
85	01:40:48	•T: And you mentioned that you talk to them, what kind of things do you talk to them about?	• Being a grandmother • Domestic routine
86	01:42: 08	•T: Heh heh, laughing. They are still quite small and when they older will you tell them about your life and…?	• Family talk

T: Tarryn Frankish (interviewer) K: Khanyisile Zulu (interpreter)