Intergenerational shifts and continuities in children's play within a rural Venda family in the early 20th and 21st centuries

By

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DEDICATION

To the children of South Africa

ABSTRACT

This research involved studying the childhood play of three generations within one family based in the Venda region, Limpopo Province, South Africa. Two main questions were asked:

1. What is the nature of intergenerational shifts or continuities in children's play within one Venda family?

2. What are the factors that bring about the shifts or continuities?

The Gudani family was studied as a single case. The case study was approached with an understanding proposed by Stake (1998, 2008) and supported by others like Flyvbjerg (2006), who regard it not always a research method, but also the object of study. Handling the family as a bounded system, information was gathered from multiple sources, situating the case within its context. Interviews were conducted with a grandparent, the parents and children in order to gain an understanding of their childhood play, foregrounding participants' own view of what constitutes play. In addition, an ethnographic lens was used to investigate the third generation's everyday culture, with specific attention to their play.

Three main themes emerged from the study, namely:

1. Persistent elements in play across generations;

2. Shifts in play across generations; and

3. Complexification of the play rhetoric.

The third theme highlighted that the story of childhood play across the three generations in this family is the story of family, and that it describes interwoven sense making. Due to rapid social change during the third generation's upbringing, children and adults within this family were suddenly rendered unable to share collectively in orchestrating and authoring the family's unfolding play narrative. This left the adults only able to judge the third generation as no longer engaging in real play, and essentially 'lost'.

The important role played by family, school, the church and traditional structures in what becomes of children's engagements over time became apparent. Persistence in some elements of play, particularly in games across the first two generations, could be attributed to intact social structures during the first and second generations' childhoods. Discontinuation of the powerful influence exerted by these institutions (except for schooling) as a consequence of rapid social change, played a crucial role in the diminished presence of structured games in the third generation. At the same time, while play is certainly not dead in the third generation, it has become increasingly varied and idiosyncratic, and hence more ambiguous.

The main finding of the thesis therefore is that across the three generations, the rhetoric of play shifted from being mainly about collective identity to being about idiosyncrasy, and variation, and has thus become more complex. Boundaries that define what counts as play have become increasingly blurred, with technology and the media appearing to be the most influential agents of change.

In this study occupational consciousness emerged as a concept holding potential within an occupational justice approach for health. This concept highlights the need for individuals and communities facing occupational injustices to find their own interpretations for their situation, based on an understanding of how cultural domination operates, and how they may be sustaining hegemonic influences themselves through their own actions, particularly in relation to technology and the media. Occupational consciousness seems to call for complementary action by occupational therapists as they educate communities on the relationship between what they do and their own health.

The single case study examined here served as an exemplar, from which much was learnt about how change occurs in children's play across generations in one family in the context of rapid social change, and how the family as a whole might experience this. The outcomes of this study also provide recommendations for future research, for occupational therapy practice and for occupational therapy education.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Why Research the Evolution of Children's Play? Motivation for this study

This section outlines why the researcher thought and felt it was important to research intergenerational shifts in childhood play within one particular indigenous group in South Africa. It will not include a discussion on how children's play ought to be researched, nor why the researcher approached the study of play in a particular way in this research. These aspects are tackled in Chapters 3 and 4. Owing to the fact that a considerable amount of what is shared in this chapter of the thesis is grounded on personal experience, the researcher's voice will be reflected in the first person: 'I' as opposed to 'the researcher'. The language used in this chapter is also mostly colloquial, to match the narrative format followed. This chapter does not, however, give a full account of the researcher's personal stances, and how these informed the lenses she wore in her exploration of children's play. These are described more comprehensively in Appendix I.

1.1.1 The 'Secure the Future' Project

In 1999, I got involved as a paediatric occupational therapist in an outpatients' clinic at Groote Schuur Hospital, Cape Town. The clinic was set up to provide follow-up care for children living with HIV/Aids. This was at a stage when anti-retroviral treatment was not generally accessible in South Africa, and parents of children living with HIV/Aids were often told that their children would not live beyond the age of 5 years. Paediatricians' initial interest in having occupational therapy involvement at the clinic was for the therapists to investigate and plot the children's developmental profiles. This was seen as important since it would provide baseline data for documenting evidence of progress or deterioration in the children's health over time.

It did not take me long to realise that even though important, documenting the developmental profiles of these children could not be the only emphasis of my contribution in the clinic. This realisation came as I noticed how little the children in the clinic appeared to be playful. They would make limited effort to engage with their environment, and received mostly no encouragement from the caregivers - especially those children who were with their biological mothers. Exploring reasons for this, and getting involved as required to enable play engagement, became the focus of my contribution as an occupational therapist.

The initial reason I was invited to the clinic continued to concern me that I was not doing what was expected of me. However, one of the mothers in the clinic helped lessen this concern when she said: "*I get it. When my child plays, she looks happy. And when she is happy, I am happy."* At this point, I started wondering about children living with HIV/Aids and their caregivers who were not able to access services such as those provided at the clinic. Appreciating play as children's main occupation (Parham & Fazio, 1997), I worried that these children faced possible play deprivation. This concern led to a project in the communities of Gugulethu, Nyanga and Crossroads in the Western Cape of South Africa, geared at exploring caregiver-child interaction and play. This project was funded by Secure the Future of Bristol-Myers Squibb. The impetus to pursue this issue was further affirmed by a mother in this project, who said at one point: "*Seeing my child play has helped me find my son again, and has helped me rediscover my role as a mother."*

The main element of the project involved workshops that explored and enabled play within caregiver-child interaction. Seventy-four caregivers attended these workshops. My research partner, Peliwe Mdlokolo and I facilitated the workshops, during which I became aware of the different ways caregivers of different ages viewed play.

The first workshop involved participants sharing their own experience of play as a child. What was interesting to note at this point was how older women, especially caregivers who were grandmothers to some of the children, readily spoke about their experience of play. When there were opportunities to act out certain play activities, it was again these older women who seemed to have more and varied experiences of

play to draw from. They also appeared to have a broad notion of play, pointing out that it was not necessarily about displaying motor skills, but also the ability to laugh at oneself.

Older caregivers also saw themselves as having an active role in enabling play in a child. When asked whether a child that is ill should play or not, there were again differences that related to the age of the caregiver. The older caregivers voiced the opinion that it was important for a child to play, regardless of level of sickness. One grandmother indicated that the body, just like that of an adult, knows when to lie down - so that if a child who had been lying down from not feeling well suddenly wanted to join others in play, it was an indication that the body could cope with it. The adult had no right to stop the child.

In contrast, younger caregivers - who were mostly the biological mothers to the children - were often adamant that a child who was sick should not play, stating reasons that included "*The child needs to be protected from bad winds*" and *"The child needs to rest*". I wondered about the emotional factors that could play a role for a mother who often feels blamed by society for having 'infected' her own child with the virus (Bond, Chase, & Aggleton, 2002), compared to those of a grandmother who may not carry such a 'burden', making her less restricted in interacting with the child. However, I was not convinced that this alone could explain the difference.

Younger caregivers also seemed to value what they called 'school-related' games, and saw toys as crucial for play to happen. This observation in the way play is viewed differently across the two generations sparked an interest in pursuing this research on the evolution of play across generations, exploring factors that may influence the possible changes. From an occupational science and justice approach, and as an occupational therapist in paediatric practice, I felt that knowledge about what was changing about children's play, and the reasons for this, would have important implications for practice.

1.1.2 Everyday observations: Attending to my personal emotions

Someone reading this may say, "Of course children's play will change over time, just like any other thing in the world. We should expect it to change. Why dedicate specific time to it?" For me the answer lies in the emotions I experience when, now and again, I see almost graphic indications that children's play is no longer, what it was like when I grew up. If it were only nostalgia and sadness that I felt, I think I could manage it differently. (The same way, perhaps, that I handle the fact that I no longer bob my head to Lionel Ritchie's 'All Night Long' as I did in the 1970s.) However, what I feel is a deep sense of anger - bordering on rage - as if there is some level of injustice to the disappearance of play as I knew it. I feel angry at different levels, and I am not too certain about when this anger started. I know, though, that it seemed to increase at different stages of this research. At the point that I wrote this exact paragraph, I had completed collecting information for this research. I had transcribed most of it and taken a broad approach at analysing the findings. It could be that the preliminary findings influenced my increasing sense of disquiet.

However, the concern over what changing children's play might mean for certain communities must have started before fieldwork. One incident that comes to mind, that saddened me incredibly while filling me with a deep sense of injustice, was not even part of this research. It happened in December 2004 while visiting in London. Needing to have my dreadlocks washed and re-twisted, I asked a friend to take me to someone she said knew how to do this. The hairdresser turned out to be a woman whose country of birth was Nigeria. She and her husband had moved to London 6 years before, in search of work. They lived in a flat in London, on the third floor of a high-rise building, with their two children. The eldest child was about 5 years old, while the younger one was 9 months old.

My friend and I arrived at their house at about 7 o'clock in the evening. When we entered the house, the 9-month-old baby was placed in a baby highchair, with toys to play with on a lap-tray attached to the chair. What struck me immediately about the child was that even though she seemed healthy, her face did not register much emotion. She looked at us with interest as we entered, but soon displayed an almost

'blunt' facial expression. She was also not playing with the toys put on her tray. After about 20 minutes, my friend went and picked her up from the chair, and placed her on her lap. Very soon after this, the baby loosened herself from my friend's hold and slid down onto the floor. She started moving about, sliding backwards on her tummy – a very basic manner of mobility, but getting around nonetheless. She seemed to enjoy this considerably.

On seeing the baby on the floor, the mother picked her up, and placed her back into the chair. At this point, my friend seemed to have noticed the unfairness of all of this, even though we did not talk about it. As soon as the mother went to the bathroom to fetch something, my friend went back and 'rescued' the baby. Promptly, as before, the baby got onto the floor and 'wormed' around. The mother, who placed her back into the chair, again swiftly responded to this. At one point, it was the father who placed the baby back into the chair, on finding her yet again on the floor. Probably thinking that the child was bored because she was too far from us, where the mother was twisting my hair, the father even brought the baby's chair closer to us, saying to the baby, "*Watch closely, one day you will be doing this as well."* In an attempt at encouraging the child to engage with the toys, the mother pressed a switch on one of them, starting the nursery rhyme 'Old Macdonald had a farm' - to which the child responded with the same indifference that had been consistent on her face except for when she was on the floor.

It was 2004 that this incident played out in front of me, but it is almost as if the non-descript facial expression of the baby is still etched onto my mind. One cannot but wonder why the parents could not have been aware of what may seem apparent to the reader: 'Get the child out of that chair!', 'Let the child move around!' One may even be tempted to accuse these parents of being insensitive to the child's needs. However, are they intentionally unaware of the child's obvious need to be on the floor? I have asked myself many questions about this incident and continue to do so. As a guest for the first time in their house, I could not set about rearranging how they lived their lives, or bombard them with intrusive questions. From the physical health of the two children, the toys that were abundant in the small lounge, and the loving way the parents picked the baby up and placed her into her chair, it would be wrong to deduce

that the 'inappropriate' response to the toddler's need to move about was due to neglectful parenting.

Questions that have come to my mind include wondering about the circumstances in which the parents grew up in Nigeria. Did they also grow up in a high-rise building? Do they remember the nursery rhymes they grew up singing? Were these in their mother tongue? How do they feel about rhymes such as 'Old Macdonald had a farm'? Who decides which nursery rhymes are recorded in the toys that are sold worldwide? Who markets these, and how? Who benefits financially from the sales of these toys? I doubt if many parents spend time actively reflecting on these issues. I also wonder if it is perhaps just easier to do what everybody else seems to be doing.

One other question I have asked myself is whether, if indeed children's play in that Nigerian family had changed from how the parents played in their country of origin, the same had happened to another family based in London for the last three generations. Are English families also singing different nursery rhymes, just one generation later? Do these changes happen as quickly if families never leave their country of origin? To what extent are different cultures pressured to transform faster than others do? What happens when a generation no longer recognises itself in the children it bears? What is the cause of this? How is the 'known' undermined, replaced by the foreign, and bought?

Barnes & Kehily (2003) cite a personal account by Wheelright wherein she reflects on the meaning of Halloween, relying on her childhood memories of participating in this activity, as well as its contemporary meaning, as reflected in activities her daughter and peers engage in. I have taken the last three paragraphs of the account:

> "Now that I live in England with my two young daughters, I am conscious that Hallowe'en has an entirely different meaning. The biggest single influence over my daughter's excitement about Hallowe'en is her general infatuation with witchcraft and wizardry, inspired by J. K. Rowling's Harry Potter series. Hallowe'en themes are with us all year through television programmes like Sabrina and Buffy the Vampire Slayer. When we had a Hallowe'en party last year, all the girls turned up dressed up like witches, and 'playing Harry Potter' is a favourite after-school game.
>
> The idea of trick or treat however, seems alien here. The children who call on my South London home on Hallowe'en are rare and, even in those neighbourhoods where children fill up loot bags, the process is orchestrated by parents. Other friends report that Hallowe'en on

> the street runs a definite second to private fancy-dress parties and certainly to Guy Fawkes night.
>
> But when I watch my daughter getting dressed for her party, donning false fingernails and taking up her home-made magic wand, I realise there is an eternal magic to Hallowe'en that transcends cultural boundaries. For one night at least, the children, like ancient Celtic fairies, are in control."
> (Barnes & Kehily, 2003: 12)

Although the meaning of Halloween and certain aspects of it are experienced here as having changed with time, the excitement around it has not disappeared. In fact, the excitement has actually been accentuated by dominant socio-cultural phenomena - J.K. Rowling's *'Harry Potter Series'*, and *Sabrina and Buffy the Vampire Slayer* - that play out in social instruments like books and television. These social phenomena help sustain shared participation of parents and children in common activities, seen here in a Halloween party that appears to have been planned with the participation or at least the blessing of the parents.

I cannot help but experience warm and fuzzy feelings when recognising this mother's connection with her daughter through experiencing aspects of related activities that have survived time. I can imagine that human adults have a general need to connect with their offspring through shared childhood memories, albeit experienced during different temporal realities. The question, however, is whether this possibility of sharing in the same cultural and traditional activities across generations exists more for only some societies.

Barnes and Kehily invite the reader of the above account to reflect on his or her own contemporary experience of Halloween as an adult, and recollections of this particular time of the year as a child. They also add that if this activity does not make up the reader's recollection of past playtime activities, he or she could substitute this with another equivalent practice involving children from the reader's particular heritage.

As requested by the authors, I tried to recollect my own childhood playtime activity. It was not Halloween, as this was never part of my childhood. I could think of many childhood activities. These include *Tshidimela* (See 1.4 for note on terminology), *Masikitlane*, drum majorettes, hide-and-seek, playing 'movies', 'house' and 'wedding', ball-games, *Ndode*, as well as folklore, tales and riddles while sitting

around the fire in the evenings. I do not have any childhood activity that includes dressing-up or is imbued with magic that could be an equivalent to Halloween. As an adult however, I am familiar with Halloween. I have been invited to one Halloween party, and two fancy-dress parties. In each case, I did not dress up, but went out of curiosity as well as to avoid disappointing whoever invited me. I have heard of children in my city, Cape Town, participating in Halloween, and that fancy-dress parties are a usual activity there. Upon growing up, I am certain that my daughters, who are presently both under three, may participate in many Halloween and dress-up parties.

I have not seen any of my childhood activities played in Cape Town. I am almost certain that if my daughters grow up primarily in Cape Town, they may never play any of the games that I grew up playing. On the few occasions that I have gone to visit my first childhood home in Mamelodi, Tshwane (see Appendix I) as an adult, I have not seen any of the games that I played there as a child. When I visit my second childhood home in Venda, I notice that around my immediate neighbourhood, there are some games that seem to have disappeared completely, while others are still there, with varying levels of adaptation.

Some of the games that seem to have disappeared completely are *Tshidimela*, drum *majorettes*, playing 'movies' and 'wedding', and folklore, tales and riddles around the fire. Hide-and-seek, *Masikitlane*, ball games and playing house still happen, although they have changed in differing degrees. *Ndode* seems somehow to have survived the best in form, over all the years.

Commenting on Wheelright's account, Barnes & Kihely (2003, p. 13) point out that "activities that children engage in around Hallowe'en have a long history in ancient ritual and religious observance and their spread can be traced through significant population movements – in this instance the nineteenth-century emigration of families from Ireland to North America." Well, it seems that the spread of this ritual has even reached Cape Town, South Africa. One wonders whether this spread can only be attributed to human movement. Should I also hope that as humans move back and forth across the expanse of South Africa, one day there could be games that I played

as a child reaching my present neighbourhood in Cape Town? Are there other factors other than human movement that come into play here? To what extent do phenomena like the Harry Potter series and other television programmes prohibit the influence of more local socio-cultural systems on children's activities?

1.2 Statement of aims

1.2.1 The research aim

The aim of this thesis was to explore and understand the nature of shifts and continuities in children's play across three generations within one Venda family in Limpopo Province, South Africa.

1.2.2 Main research questions

The main research questions were as follows:

i) What is the nature of intergenerational shifts or continuities in children's play within one Venda family?
ii) What are the factors that bring about the shifts or continuities?

1.2.3 Objectives

These were the objectives of the research:

- Describe the nature, roles, and meanings of childhood play within each of the three generations.
- Identify and outline shifts in childhood play across the three generations.
- Identify and outline continuities in childhood play across the three generations.
- Describe factors that could have played a role in bringing about the shifts.
- Describe factors that could have played a role in ensuring continuities.
- Describe first- and second-generation participants' thoughts, feelings and perceptions associated with the shifts.

The nature of play in this research referred to its presence, essence as well as the structure it takes within each of the three generations investigated.

1.3 Outline of chapters

The next chapter outlines the context of the study by providing an overview of Venda history, juxtaposing local developments and trends against South Africa's political landscape. This chapter situates children's play in the broader context of colonisation, cultural dispossession and the legacy of apartheid. Chapter 3 reviews the literature on the study of children's play across disciplines, with specific focus on theorists who have looked at trends across generations. This chapter shows that an analysis of change in children's play in South Africa must look at rapid social change in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. The role of rhetoric in how children's play is studied and used in practice is also reviewed, highlighting the particular contribution that occupational therapists taking an occupational justice approach may bring to the understanding of play within families, especially its evolution.

In Chapter 4, several theoretical strands are interwoven in mapping the theoretical framework of the study, which has been primarily informed by critical theory rooted within a postmodern paradigm. A critical stance taken by the researcher was to uncover and challenge often taken for granted meta-narratives that underlie the understanding of children's play. Accepting that there are many voices that can inform what is understood of children's worlds, alongside those of the participants, the researcher sought to make explicit her own process of sense-making. Included in this chapter is a narrative detailing how this research started as a collective study involving three families, and ended up as a single case study.

The next three chapters allow for the Gudani (Pseudonym) family, as a case, to tell its own story as much as possible: first an account of who constitutes the Gudani family, and their childhood circumstances; second, the play portrait for each of the three generations; and lastly three themes emerging from analysis of the play portraits are described.

Chapter 8 discusses what appears to be the main statement of what has occurred during children's play within the Gudani family: 'Complexification of the play rhetoric'. Relevant theory is used extensively to explain how across only three generations, children's play may have become so complex in the Gudani family, highlighting possible implications for individuals within the family, the family as well as society. The final chapter draws together the entire thesis, reflecting on the contributions of the study.

1.4 A note on terminology

Family

Sociologists have been concerned with the concept of family for some time, with the assumption of the universality of this notion increasingly being re-examined. What has become generally accepted is that from one society to another and even across the same society, what constitutes family may be varied (Haralambos and Holborn, 1995). In this research, what constitutes family involves mainly individuals who live together in one household, even though some members may stay elsewhere part of the time. Also included are those older members who may have their own separate household but are significantly dependent on the main household for support. Support in this regard is evidenced by regular overnight visits between households and an unconditional expectation that resources will be shared in times of crisis or celebration.

Games

While play in this research refers to anything that participants, either before or during dialogue with the researcher, defined as such, games (although part of what constitutes play) were seen as having definitive features. As propounded by Garvey (1977), games are more formalised, institutionalised forms of play. They are "characterized by explicit rules that must be clearly articulated, understood, and accepted by all participants for the event to 'work'" (Schwartzman, 1978, p. 327). Separating games from play, it is also important to emphasise the ambiguous, spontaneous and flexible nature of play (Schwartzman, 1978; Sutton-Smith, 1997).

Non-English terminology

Several non-English words are used in this thesis. Many of these are in Tshivenda, owing to the setting within which fieldwork was conducted. Only those words that could not be explained adequately in text are addressed in the Glossary (see Appendix II).

Occupational justice

Wilcock (2006) defines occupational justice as "An approach to health as the promotion of just socioeconomic and political conditions to increase individual, population, and political awareness, resources, and opportunity for people to participate in doing, being and becoming healthy through engagement in occupations that meet the prerequisites of health and every person's different natures, capacities, and needs" (p. 248) .

CHAPTER 2

AN OUTLINE OF THE CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Early Venda History

The area known as Venda lies at the northernmost part of South Africa. It is separated from Zimbabwe by the Limpopo River, historically known by the local people as Vhembe. It is scenic countryside with a typically subtropical climate: summers are long and hot, while winter (June to August) is exceptionally mild. The east and southeastern sides of Venda border the Kruger National Park and Gazankulu, where mostly Tsonga-speaking people live currently. On the south and western sides it borders what during colonial and apartheid eras became - and remain - mostly White-owned farms. The Limpopo or Vhembe River was not always a border between Zimbabwe and South Africa, becoming a political border between the two countries only after 1895 when Cecil John Rhodes defeated the Shona and Ndebele and became Governor of the region north of the Limpopo, subsequently renaming it Rhodesia after himself (Farwell, 2001). Declaring Limpopo a geopolitical border undermined relations and genealogical links between people across this divide, demarcating them into separate tribes (Rakhadani, 2006).

While there is general agreement among historians on the distinctive and cultural status of Vhavenda, there are disparate and highly contested views on the origins and political history of these people (Loubser, 1991). In the main, there are two opposing hypotheses postulating the origin of Vhavenda (L'abbe, 2005): an earlier school of thought emphasises migration (Loubser, 1991), while the most contemporary view propounds local development (Loubser, 1991; L'abbe, 2005). Early ethnographers based their interpretations solely on Singo oral traditions (Loubser & Dowson, 1987). Singo is the totemic or clan name of the ruling dynasty among Vhavenda, and as such they have been considered by current theorists as possibly biased in their narration of history, tending to distort facts in order to favour their politically dominant position (L'abbe, 2005).

Singo accounts claim an East Africa ancestry of Vhavenda. Most theorists agree on migration during AD 1200-1500 from a homeland north of the Zambezi River, but are vague on the exact location (Loubser, 1991). Some commentators located the origin as the region adjacent to the Great Lakes of Malawi (Lestrade, 1932; Stayt, 1931;Van Warmelo, 1932; Wilson, 1969), while others, influenced by the *Singo* oral traditions, alluded to trails that started in the Congo (Loubser, 1991).

In addition to inconsistent views regarding the origins of the dominant branch of present-day Vhavenda, little has been documented about the other, less dominant branch, generally known as Vhangona. Most of the early ethnographers, persuaded by the *Singo* accounts, denied the Venda identity of all non-Singo groups, simply putting them all into one collective known as Vhangona (Loubser, 1991).While those who may regard themselves as Vhangona also currently self-identify as Vhavenda, they also claim that they are indigenous to the region, and are associated with the emergence of Vhavenda as a distinct group in South Africa with its own distinct language and cultural mores.

A recent publication by Rakhadani, a Mungona, makes a bold claim that Vhangona are actually the true Vhavenda, and that the group that later infiltrated, progressively took over the political structure of the local people by adopting the local language and traditions (Rakhadani, 2006). Having more sophisticated and hierarchical political structures as well as weaponry, this migrant population successfully conquered the local inhabitants of the Soutpansberg area (L'abbe, 2005). Vhangona are believed to have had a relatively flat political system (Loubser, 1991; Mudau 1940a, 1940b), with the highest political position being that of the chief, chosen for his ability to communicate with ancestral spirits and capacity to protect burial sites and places of ancestral worship. Rakhadani's analysis of how Vhavenda came to be is consistent with archaeological evidence (Huffman & Hanisch, 1986; Fish 2002; Loubser, 1991) and accounts by historians such as Moller-Malan, (1957); Van Warmelo, (1940); Mudau, (1940a); Mutenda (1940); and Beach, (1984). Recent research has also shown that in the 1870s the first missionaries came into contact with people whose ancestors had been inhabitants of the region since at least the Early Iron Age

(Kirkaldy, 2005; Loubser, 1991), or 1800 years ago (South African History Online, 2008).

Supported by archaeological evidence and linguistics, Loubser and Dowson (1987) and Loubser (1991) add substantively to the theory of local development for Vhavenda. He established that the distinct culture, language and traditions of these people could be explained through centuries of alliances and trade between Shona, Ngona, and Sotho-Tswana groups in Southern Africa. Studying ceramic styles depicted in excavated pottery pieces from archaeological sites in the Soutpansberg region, Loubser also identified three periods of political and economic domination during the last millennium. The earliest evidence of political activity and trade was found at Mapungubwe Hill (AD 1250-1290). Shona people are believed to have traded in gold and ivory from this site with Egypt, India and China (South African History Online, 2008). At the decline of this ancient kingdom in the 13th century, segments of this population moved east towards the Soutpansberg Mountains (Loubser, 1991), possibly closer to the Ngona population already in that region. This marks the first phase: an early Shona (Mapungubwe) and Ngona (Eiland) period. (The names in parentheses describe ceramic styles associated with the periods in question.)

During AD 1500 a number of the Shona chiefs moved into the Soutpansberg region and established themselves in one of the valleys. This settlement is credited to a decline in trade at Great Zimbabwe (Mitchell, 2002). These chiefs were most likely in pursuit of more lucrative trade opportunities with the east coast in ivory, gold and copper. A significant part of their networks involved trade with the local Ngona and Sotho-Tswana inhabitants, believed to have only arrived in Southern Africa after AD 1400 (Loubser, 1991). These alliances centred on trade and inter-marriage among the ruling dynasties. Unlike previous interactions, wherein groups remained as separate entities, these networks resulted in the merging of languages, traditions and cultures into a single ethnic identity (Stayt, 1931). This constitutes a second period, when yet other Shona (Khami) and Ngona (Moloko) group dominate the Soutpansberg, but nevertheless develop the Venda (Letaba) identity which includes the original Shona and Ngona. The ceramic style ‘Moloko’ suggests a strong Sotho influence, since the name is

linguistically rooted in Sesotho. Loubser's theory effectively implies the emergence of a Venda identity in the 16th century.

The Singo subjugation of the original Vhavenda marks the third and final period described by Loubser. This is estimated to have started in the late 18th century, discounting accounts by early ethnographers who dated it at the late 17th century. The theory of a more recent Singo migration implies that this ruling dynasty may have played a less significant role in the emergence of early Venda culture than earlier ethnographers assumed. Contemporary historians also propose that instead of having East Africa as their place of origin, the Singo might have migrated from neighbouring Zimbabwe (Loubser, 1991).

The Singo under Dambanyika or Dimbanyika first settled at Lwandali or Tshiendeulu where they built their first Dzata. Led by Dyambeu, they later moved further down where they established another Dzata. Dyambeu was succeeded by Thohoyandou, who formed an empire-like monarchy. Oral traditions concur that a united Singo elite spread from Dzata to subsume virtually all earlier communities in the Soutpansberg region (Loubser, 1991). There is also consensus that after the death or disappearance of Thohoyandou, civil war broke out with a dispute over his succession (Kirkaldy, 2005; L'abbe, 2005; Loubser, 1991). There are indications that the Singo dynasty must have broken up between 1750 and 1800 (Loubser, 1991). The abandonment of Dzata led to the decentralisation of the monarchy, resulting in independent chiefdoms. A foundation was laid for the present situation with its 25 chiefs or local authorities. The area nonetheless came to be dominated by three main ruling houses of Singo royalty, led by *Khosi* (Ruler) Makhado (Ramabulana), *Khosi* Tshivhase and *Khosi* Mphaphuli (Kirkaldy, 2005).

2.2 Venda's political history, the establishment of white South Africa, and apartheid

The first white man to arrive in Venda, Coenraad Buys, a hunter and adventurer from the Cape Colony, did so with his black wife and their children between 1810 and 1820, and was allowed to settle at Mara (Kirkaldy, 2005; Bureau for Information and

Broadcasting (BENSO) 1979). Another significant milestone was the arrival of the *Voortrekkers* of Louis Trichardt and Hans van Rensburg in 1836 (BENSO, 1979). During the 19th century a significant number of people of Western European origin began to enter the area (Kirkaldy, 2005), primarily in pursuit of hunting and grazing land for their livestock. The first settlement was along the western slopes of the mountain, at the salt-pan after which it derived its name, Soutpansberg. The *Voortrekker*s later moved from here to a place they named Schoemansdal, which later became known as the present-day town of Louis Trichardt.

Finding the area highly abundant with game and suitable for pasturage, the Voortrekkers entered into serious contestation for land with Vhavenda. As Vhavenda ceded their land to the *Voortrekker*s, who had firearms, they were increasingly forced into providing them with labour or paying tax (Ibid), a new concept introduced by the newcomers. Known for its excess of elephants, the area grew into a major trade centre for ivory. Over time, attempts at collecting tax drew considerable resistance from Vhavenda, expressed through closures of hunting fields to the settlers. Faced with this, the settlers elected to force Chief Madzhie, who had a stronghold just above Schoemansdal, out of his territory. However, this failed since the settlers were much fewer in numbers - and also ran out of ammunition. Spurred on by this defeat of the *Voortrekker*s, Madzhie and Makhado's followers burnt Schoemansdal to the ground (BENSO, 1979). Following advice from Paul Kruger, Commandant-General (and later President) of the Republic of South Africa (which at the time referred only to the Transvaal Government), Schoemansdal was abandoned.

Following the retreat from Schoemansdal, several attempts were launched to bring Vhavenda under the control of the settlers (Kirkaldy, 2005). A number of these attacks were assisted by African auxiliaries and forces from neighbouring tribes, sponsored by the Boers (Afrikaans-speaking white farmers). Although none of these attempts succeeded, they were effective in placing the three main rulers (*Mahosi*) Tshivhase, Makhado and Mphaphuli under sufficient pressure to seek peaceful negotiations. These resulted in a fragile peace treaty of November 1869, which Paul Kruger presided over. Attempts to subjugate Vhavenda were lifted temporarily at this stage, which effectively meant that the Transvaal Government had lost jurisdiction

over that part of the Soutpansberg District (Ibid). The Boers retreated to the south and established the town of Pietersburg (present-day Polokwane) in 1885 (Kirkaldy, 2005; BENSO, 1979).

White settlers essentially failed to establish themselves in the northern part of the Soutpansberg District until they won over Mphephu's territory in the Boer-Mphephu War of 1898 (Kirkaldy, 2005). Mphephu was Makhado's son. A brave warrior, it is believed that his defeat by the Boers can be partly accredited to the famine that was ravaging the region at the time. Having subjugated all the other African groups by 1898, the Boers could devote their full attention to the conquest of Vhavenda. Winning over Mphephu alone, however, did not translate into placing the whole of Venda under central Transvaal governance. Territories under the other two *Mahosi*, Tshivhase and Mphaphuli continued to function as separate entities. Boer authority over the whole region was finally achieved with the help of British rulers, with their so-called Location Commission of 1906. Vhavenda were thus effectively the last of the African people in Transvaal to be conquered by the new settlers (Ibid). During this time, *Mahosi* were beginning to invite missionaries into their respective territories. A view held by many historians is that the intention for this was not to charter in foreign religious beliefs, but a strategic move to ward off the Boers. After the second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), Venda was fully incorporated into the Union of South Africa (L'abbe, 2005).

It is upon this history of dispossession and colonial occupation of the 19th century that a foundation was laid for the control of African people in South Africa under a separate legal and administrative system (Lahiff, 2000). Venda was redefined as one of the "native reserves" designated for black people. These reserves became important reservoirs of migrant labour with the explosion of minerals in the late 19th century. Black males who were drawn to the cities to seek employment in the mines met with repressive forms of labour practices. One of the key distinguishing features of this era was the notion of single-sex hostels (Crush, Jeeves and Yudelman, 1991), established in the late 1890s. Two pieces of legislation, the 'Land Acts' of 1913 and 1936, were critical in cementing the system of territorial segregation between the white and black populations, imposing severe restrictions on the property rights of black people. These

restrictions have continued to inform the pattern of land ownership across racial lines to this day (Lahiff, 2000).

As stipulated within the 1913 Natives Land Act, only 7% of the national territory was set aside for exclusive 'native' occupation (Ibid). Acquisition of land by Africans beyond these designated areas was prohibited. The black territory was extended to 13% when the Native Trust and Land Act was introduced in 1936. For Venda, this meant an effective reduction of an extensive surface area occupied before the 1900s, to 650 000 ha or 6500 km^2 (BENSO, 1979). With the establishment of the South African Native Trust, which later became the Development Trust, a highly authoritarian system was introduced under the guise of 'betterment' to improve soil erosion, in fact restricting the number of cattle owned by black people (Lahiff, 2000, p. 6). Short of land and capital, households increasingly battled to attain even partial subsistence (Levin & Weiner, 1996). By 1960, large numbers of Vhavenda (mostly males) were entering the migrant labour force in cities such as Johannesburg and Pretoria (L`abbe, 2005).

When the National Party came into power in 1948 with its apartheid regime, it ushered in a new era where the State pursued an overtly racist agenda, which dictated how South Africa's economic, and social environment was structured (Lahiff, 2000). Confronted with a growing influx of black people into the cities, and growing political consciousness among black workers facing oppressive labour practices, the Apartheid State introduced stricter measures to control the residence, movement, employment and educational rights of the black majority *(*Beinart, 1994).

Through the establishment of the Population Registration Act of 1950, the government classified South Africans as either 'White', 'Indian', 'Coloured' or 'African' (Lahiff, 2000), a mechanism which allowed for a tiered system of privilege and access to resources that favoured white people, and placed Africans at the bottom. Led by Verwoerd from 1958, the policy of separate development ensured that Africans were denied all political rights within 'white' South Africa. Together, the Urban Areas Consolidation Act of 1945 and The Pass Laws Act of 1952 made it a requirement for Africans to obtain a special permit or 'pass' book in order to access

the ‘white’ territory, ensuring that Africans were “tolerated only as long as they were deemed to be ‘economically useful’” (Lahiff, 2000, p. 5). Africans were confined to the reserves, governed by tribal chiefs who were appointed by the South African government. In order to push a separate development agenda, reserves were encouraged to establish their own administrative and political institutions, and to ultimately attain ‘sovereign independence’ from the South African State.

The Pass Laws were actively resisted by black people, culminated in both the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) planning separate protest campaigns in 1960. To disperse a crowd which had gathered at Sharpeville Township police station in protest, police fired indiscriminately, killing 69 people - many of whom were shot in the back - and wounding many more. The 1960 Sharpeville massacre, as it became known, marked a turning point in the history of apartheid South Africa. While anti-apartheid organisations such as the ANC and the PAC went underground after being banned by the State, the implementation of the policy of separate development was accelerated through the creation of homelands. The homeland or ‘Bantustan’ policy was opposed by the majority of the black people within and outside the reserves (Lahiff, 2000). However, through ‘courting’ often corrupt tribal chiefs, government officials and a growing number of business-astute individuals within the reserves, the State gained the necessary compliance.

In order to bring the Bantustan policy into effect, the State embarked on a massive forced removal campaign which led into almost 3.5 million ‘surplus’ people displaced (Ibid). Evictions were conducted from everywhere including white farms, mission stations and other homelands from the late 1960s into the 1970s (Platzky & Walker, 1985). Before this, Vhavenda and Ba Tsonga were more mixed than apartheid authorities realised (Kirkaldy, 2005). Originally from South Eastern Zimbabwe and Mozambique, trouble there had pushed Ba Tsonga into Venda. Additional numbers followed as a result of wars waged by Soshangane. Ba Tsonga refugees had settled peacefully among Vhavenda (BENSO, 1979). When the homeland policy was introduced, Ba Tsonga established their own chiefs and severed connections with Vhavenda rulers. The area they occupied became known as Gazankulu in 1962.

Approximately 3000 Vhavenda were moved from Bophuthatswana and Gazankulu between 1971 and 1973 (BENBO, 1976).

The first of the homelands or Bantustans to be granted the dubious status of 'sovereign independence' was Transkei in 1976. This was followed by Bophuthatswana in December 1977 and Venda in September 1979. Even the guise of statehood was not enough to conceal the substantial reliance of these 'republics' on South Africa or the nonsensical nature of their geographical location (Lahiff, 2000). The Republic of Venda was economically dependent to the extent that it received approximately 80% of its revenue from the South African government (Moody and Golino, 1984).

According to the 1970 Census, the total *de facto* population of people in Venda was estimated at 268 624 (BENBO, 1976). Of this figure, 241 620 were Vhavenda and 26 340 other African groups who somehow managed to evade forced removals. These were predominantly made up of Ba Tsonga (67, 1%) and Ba Pedi (North Sotho) (29, 2%). Only 38, 1% of these were males, suggesting that a large number of men were migrant labourers elsewhere in South Africa. Only 30% in total of all Vhavenda lived outside of the homeland. Of all the native reserves in South Africa, Venda retained the largest proportion of its people (BENSO, 1979). For the apartheid state Venda was thus a good example of the successful implementation of its separate development policy. It was only after the collapse of the apartheid government in 1994 that Venda was reincorporated into South Africa (L'abbe, 2005).

2.3 Religion, the missionaries and their impact on the local culture

Against the backdrop of conflict, labour-raiding, and the victory over the Boers at Schoemansdal in the mid1800s, missionaries started arriving and making their mark in Venda. Although there are discrepancies as to the date and exact location, the consensus is that Dutch Reformed missionaries (Kirkaldy, 2005; BENSO, 1979) built the first church. While Kirkaldy (2005) cites 1851 as the year the first church was built in Schoemansdal, BENSO (1979) gives 1863 as the year in which Goedgedacht became the first church. The Berlin Lutheran Mission was the first to establish itself

in the area in 1872, inducting the locals into Western ideology, mannerisms and lifestyle. Swiss missionaries followed suit with similar notions of converting, educating, healing and nourishing the souls of the locals from the mid-1870s (Kirkaldy, 2005; L'abbe, 2005).

Before the arrival of Christianity in the region, Vhavenda believed in a Supreme Being whom they called *Nwali*. A derivation of the same name can be traced in many language groups in Southern Africa. Other than being concerned with the individual's daily struggles to survive, this Supreme Being is said to be concerned with the welfare of the collective. It was the role of the shaman to intercede on behalf of the tribe, through communication with ancestral spirits (Stayt, 1931). The arrival of missionaries propelled the Venda culture into a period of transition, wherein local traditions and social systems slowly started eroding as they were replaced by Western European beliefs and values (L'abbe, 2005).

The quest by early ethnographers to document details on the way of life of Vhavenda during this period was due to the realisation that traditional ideologies and beliefs were under threat. Taking their cue from Stayt (1931), these writers published various works on the Venda legal system, music and folklore (Van Warmelo, 1932: Van Warmelo & Phophi, 1948, 1967; Blacking, 1967). L'abbe (2005) observes that most of the traditions and behaviours described by these early ethnographers have either disappeared or been substantively modified. Observable change was signified by Vhavenda wearing Western apparel, giving birth in hospitals, and carrying Western names by the 1960s (Kirkaldy, 2005).

Paternalism and fear were central to the way missionaries ensured that local converts adhered to their newly learnt Christian lifestyle. Lapsing into sin was severely punished through excommunication and expulsion from the mission station (Kirkaldy, 2005). This punishment could even be meted out against the missionaries themselves from the headquarters once they 'fell from Grace", as was seen with Wessman, who was believed to have entered into 'forbidden acts' with native women (Ibid). Wessman's actions were such a betrayal to Christian ideals that a farmer who had

taken him in after his banishment from the mission was put under pressure to evict him.

The dominant ideology of imperialism and colonisation of the time was driven by a belief that 'dark' Africa could only be saved by Europeans. Africans were viewed as dirty, disorderly and lazy. Transformation through Christianity had to affect the whole being, leading to industrious labour, and the embracing of Western European concepts of propriety and moderation (Ibid). Vhavenda Christians were thus expected to abandon nakedness along with ritual warfare, polygamy, and their 'satanic' dances (Kirkaldy, 2005, p. 159). Where they previously built round huts with naturally available mud and sticks, they had to start building rectangular houses from stones and bricks, using purchased iron equipment where possible. They were taught new hairstyles, and had to learn to use the Western clock so that they could distinguish between leisure and work. The meaning of space was reconstituted, laying emphasis on the difference between private and public spaces.

Through the church, the missionaries were also instrumental in influencing Christian children's cultural worlds. Proctor (2000) wrote extensively on the history of the Wayfarers, alongside their male counterparts, the Pathfinders. These two movements emerged as alternatives to the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides structures, which were reserved only for White Christian children at the time. Pathfinders started in 1922, initiated by native Christian children in the Western Cape, supported by Baden-Powell, a well known Boy Scout figure originally from Britain. While natives were initially allowed to operate this newly found structure separate from the mainstream Boy Scouting movement, church authorities became increasingly unsettled by the fact that such an unofficial structure did not fall under their jurisdiction and therefore could not be controlled. Native founders of the Pathfinder movement were described by some within the church fraternity as "both backward and vulgarly ambitious" (p. 616). With the support of the mining companies, the church then resolved to provide structural and material support to this movement as a way of paving avenues for its control. Part of this was facilitating the formation of a separate structure for female natives which led to the formation of Wayfarers in 1925. This separation of the genders fit the sex-specific training approach followed by the general Boy Scout and

Girl Guide movements. While there was the intended objective of teaching young people desirable feminine and masculine qualities separately, as far as natives were concerned there was additional anxiety that natives would 'typically' engage in inappropriate sexual activities.

While the natives seemed to welcome support from the church for their parallel structures, their mottos however signalled aspirations to be part of the mainstream Boy Scouts and Girl Guides movements. Pathfinders had 'Forward' as their motto, while Wayfarers had 'Upward' as theirs. These reflected a goal to be more civilized, a core element of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides movements. To appease the Pathfinders and the Wayfarers, the church indicated a vision for ultimate assimilation of these structures into the mainstream movements. In the meantime, the natives had to be content with a watered-down version of the civilising mission of Boy Scouting and Girl Guiding. This inferior positioning of the parallel structures was reflected in forbidding both Pathfinders and Wayfarers from carrying staves during parades.

Using Christian school masters and the clergy, laws instituted for both the Wayfarers and Pathfinders were a simplified version of those given to their mainstream counterparts. The adaptation of these laws was meant to match the 'mentality of the native' (Proctor, 2000, p. 620). In accordance with this mentality, emphasis was placed on unselfish service, self-control, cleanliness and obedience. While central in the teachings and training at Wayfarer and Pathfinder camps, the fact that these values were not paramount within Boy Scouting and Girl Guiding has led some to believe that the church, in collusion with the apartheid state, prepared native children for mining labour and domestic service (Gaitskell, 1984). Proctor also maintains that 'Independence', an important value within Boy Scouting and Girl Guiding, was non-existent in the teachings and training reserved for native children.

Oblivious to the ideology that may have been behind the formation and running of these structures, Christian African boys and girls were drawn into the fold of the Wayfarer and Pathfinder movements in numbers. Material support provided by the church, supported by the mining industry, ensured fun-filled activities at camps offered by these movements, many of them a novelty to the unexposed African child

and a successful draw card. At their peak, Proctor estimated a national membership of 20 000 Pathfinders, and 30 000 Wayfarers. With growing numbers, vociferous elements within these movements began to question church authorities about inconsistency between their preaching of Christian brother- and sisterhood and the seemingly perpetual racial separation between these movements and their mainstream counterparts. Struggling to justify this obvious contradiction, and responding to the added pressure from Britain for non-racialism in the church, the church authorities authorised initial processes for amalgamation in 1935. However, this attempt met with strong opposition from the state.

Non-racial Boy Scouts and Girl Guides movements were particularly threatening to Afrikaans parents, who viewed possible mixing between their children and natives as highly untenable. In view of its imperative to draw Afrikaans children into the civilising mission of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides movements, the church could not afford to temper with the relations it had with the Afrikaans populace. Interestingly, this tension coincided with the State's move to legislate racial segregation in the country. In fact, the day in 1936 that racial segregation became endorsed as a legitimate form of governance in South Africa is the same day that it was agreed that there would be racially segregated structures within the scouting and guiding movements. What any of these structures chose to call themselves was no longer strictly enforced, as long as there was no racial mixing. This lessening of restriction in naming served as a cue for some non-white structures to include the name 'scout' or 'guide' in whatever they called themselves. However, conflict arose within the Wayfarer movement at this point: while all other Wayfarer structures in the country chose to be called the Wayfarer-Guides, the Transvaal Wayfarers chose to maintain their name in its original form, a name they kept from 1936 until after 1994.

Racial segregation within scouting and guiding continued in different forms from 1936, mirroring the apartheid state. Attempts at non-racialism continued to spring up now and again. International interest in South Africa's internal affairs also continued to complicate things for church and state. In one such instance a number of British boys indicated an interest in becoming Pathfinders. Realising that clamping down on this would be viewed highly suspiciously, the church authorities decided to encourage

some international interaction by introducing pen-pal schemes. In 1945 a revolt almost ensued, sparked by the barring of one native South African scout from boarding a ship after being invited to Britain. This near-revolution brought about an "ALL race" declaration for scouts and guides - which subsequently turned out to be meaningless. Only in 1950 was a compromise in relation to race within the scout and guide movements reached; from this point onwards, all scouting and guiding structures had to have uniform preface to their constitutions. While all needed to be seen to strive for equality in things spiritual and paths to culture and knowledge, each had to pursue separatism socially and racially. The scouting and guiding movements thus brokered a post-colonial alternative to racial segregation, with separate branches for Indian, White, Native and Coloured children - each with their own council and autonomy.

2.4 History of Western education in Venda

Missionaries played an important role in the promotion and extension of Western education in Venda (BENSO, 1979). Education was an effective vehicle for evangelism, and all the different mission societies initiated their own education programmes. Until 1910, when the four colonies of Transvaal, Orange Free State, Natal and the Cape were reconstituted as provinces and amalgamated into the Union of South Africa, the mission stations carried the most responsibility for education in the various native reserves, including Venda. The State only supported them through subsidies. Consistent with the apartheid ideology of controlling the African population under a separate administrative system and ensuring effective repression, the Bantu Education Act of 1953 was passed. Through this Act the State was able to tailor the education of the African child to suit its labour needs, especially in the mines, on farms and in white households. The black child was forced to learn Afrikaans so that he or she could communicate effectively with future employers. Partial primary education was regarded as good enough. Even as Venda was declared a self-governing territory within South Africa in the 1970s, it retained the basic education programmes and systems launched in terms of the Bantu Education Act.

Even though education by the State was regarded by many as inferior to what the mission stations offered, school attendance became highly valued among Vhavenda. By 1979, 90% of all children between the ages of 7 and 11 were attending school (BENBO, 1976). The training of teachers to meet a growing demand for education was enhanced by establishment of a teachers' training school, followed by Venda's own university in the capital city, Thohoyandou, in 1982.

2.5 Local development and urbanisation

The name 'Venda' comes from the phrase "*Livhele-la-u fhedza-ndala*", which means 'The grain that ends famine', and which forms part of a Venda praise song. The song describes how Venda belongs to one who picks vegetables from the wild, and is a place where no child goes to bed hungry: *"ndi lone Venda la ha Nyatshikamuroho li sa ladzi nwana na ndala"* (Rakhadani, 2006, p.14). This song is fitting, since Venda was known for its fertile soils and perennial rivers, rare in any other territory in Southern Africa (BENSO, 1979). These factors, along with the subtropical climate, made this region suited to an agrarian economy. Subtropical fruit, citrus and vegetables were easily cultivated and farmed. For centuries the local people practiced subsistence farming. Occupations were fairly gendered, with men mainly tasked with preparing the fields, planting and harvesting the crops, and herding cattle while cultivation and hoeing were largely the responsibility of women. Men also hunted and practised carpentry and masonry. Household chores, including fetching water, collecting wood and decorating the hut, were the responsibility of women. Children helped in various ways in all occupations.

With the growing demand for agricultural land for either white farmers or black peasant producers with small agricultural units, ordinary subsistence farmers were persuaded to relinquish their land rights (Lahiff, 2000; BENSO, 1979). Those removed were relocated to newly developed villages on land deemed unsuitable for agriculture, and from where they could provide labour to white farmers (BENSO, 1979). In 1976, of all the classifiable economically active people living in Venda, 78, 4% were employed in the agricultural sector (BENBO, 1976). In 1979 the dawn of a new era after independence was accompanied by great anticipation of an industrial

revolution. Deposits of coking coal had just been discovered in the north-east parts of Venda, raising significant expectations of industrial and commercial development. This was seen as critical in curtailing the number of those forced to seek better employment prospects in white areas (BENSO, 1979). Due to the fact that the Republic of Venda was considerably distant from the major markets of South Africa, and the fact that it remained effectively dependent on the Republic of South Africa for its revenue, it could not effectively exploit the mining opportunities provided by the discovery of coking coal. The exodus of manual labour out of Venda and into the cities continued, significantly hindering local development (L'abbe, 2005).

Whether by design or default, the migrant labour system offered Vhavenda people who sought employment in the cities first contact with the Western economic system (BENBO, 1976). This was then slowly introduced into the Venda economy. Still, by 1970 Venda was regarded as far from modernisation (BENBO, 1976), with non-existent urbanisation. However, the population settlement programme, based on the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act, paved the way for the introduction of urbanisation. Alongside the removal of Vhavenda from white areas, and the 'villagisation' (De Wet, 1995, p.40) of black areas, this programme introduced the establishment and management of towns (BENBO, 1976). The chiefs' villages started emerging as the way black people live in Venda in the late 1970s. In 1976 there were 26 chiefs' districts in Venda, and each had to obtain a planned chief's village (Ibid). A village was made up of stands, each of approximately 2000 m^2 per household. Planning for a village included the provision of rudimentary services such as unpaved streets, water points at every 500 m, and the building of schools.

Electricity usage appears only to have emerged in the early 1970s in Venda (Ibid). From March 1973 to March 1976, consumption increased from 136 000 to 628 000 kWh. Telecommunication services were developed at the beginning of 1977, starting with five post offices and 338 telephones. In the same year the first newspaper, Mvelaphanda, was introduced. The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) also started running a shared Venda-Tsonga radio service from Pietersburg to Venda and Gazankulu. In order to retain Vhavenda in their designated area, industrial development had to be speeded up in order to provide employment. Urbanisation

through the development of towns was also seen as critical for those with raised aspirations through exposure to the cities.

In 1976 there were only two proclaimed towns, Makwarela and Shayandima. Both were in the Sibasa district, on either side of a town by the same name. Sibasa was the capital of Venda before independence. It accommodated whites attached to the Venda government service and political leaders. In 1970 and 1976, 0, 3% and 1, 1% respectively, of the de facto Vhavenda lived in proclaimed towns. By 1975, Shayandima and Makwarela had a total population of 3200 (BENSO, 1979). Shortly before independence the new capital of Thohoyandou was built close to these two towns, designed to eventually accommodate 125 000 people, with the promise of being the 'finest capital city in Black Africa' (BENSO, 1979, p.32).

The development of Thohoyandou was gradually phased in, starting with a police station, supermarket, cinema, library, hotel, municipal offices, market, crèche, beer hall, bus terminus, bank and petrol filling station (Ibid). This was followed by the addition of judicial court buildings, wholesale and retail stores, a fire brigade, museum and cultural centre, and office accommodation. The last phase made provision for extension of the commercial centres (which keep expanding to date).

The building and development of Thohoyandou facilitated establishment of the middle class among Vhavenda who took advantage of Western education and could be employed in retail, the bank and government offices. With the promise of a burgeoning middle class, the Venda Development Corporation introduced a system of private home ownership, and for the first time people paid mortgages. At this point (in 1979) the per capita income was R228 (BENSO, 1979), approximately $25. Against this background of massive urban development around the capital city, the Republic of Venda was generally ineffective in improving the physical infrastructure of its rural communities (L'abbe, 2005). Most of the funds were spent on social services, but they were not sufficient for essentials such as water, electricity and proper schooling. When Venda was reinstated into the Republic of South Africa in 1994, it was among many regions with underdeveloped infrastructure - although ranking highly as regards literacy among its populace.

CHAPTER 3
A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON CHILDREN'S PLAY

3.1 International studies on the evolution of children's play

Children's cultural worlds - as in their way of doing and being in the world, mostly in the form of play - have been scantily reflected in history and research (Barnes & Kihely, 2003; Wilkie, 2000). This is so across all disciplines. Adult activities took primacy whenever authors have documented human activity across time, even when the activity concerned has been play (Huizinga, 1955), now regarded a primary occupation of childhood (Parham & Primeau, 1997). When children's play gained presence in the literature, it was its evolutionary significance for ensuring human survival (Chick, 2001; Bock & Johnson, 2004) or its preparatory role for adulthood (Barnes & Kihely, 2003) that took prominence. This is consistent with the rhetoric of play as progress (Sutton-Smith, 1997); permeation of this throughout much thought and practice within psychology and education, as well as within professions epistemologically grounded on these disciplines, will be commented on later in this review.

Some of the earlier published work on children and their place in society first emerged from within sociology and anthropology. Aries, who traced the history of childhood from the Middle Ages to the end of the 18th century in his book *Centuries of childhood* (Aries, 1962), can be credited with having spearheaded the quest to recognise that children did exist in the past! Interestingly, however, his work also laid the foundation for the interrogation of childhood as a social construction, since a number of his accounts are now regarded as untenable (Corsaro, 2005; Hannawalt, 1993; Pollock, 1983). Aries and others who followed his lead constructed their writing on childhood history based on indirect evidence such as paintings, philosophical works, religious publications, notes from professionals, and letters. Later writers improved on this and sought evidence from more direct sources such as narratives, diaries, and autobiographies (Formanek-Brunell, 1992; Mergen, 1992).

The truth value of these methodologies have also been criticised since they often relied heavily on mostly selective or even faulty recollection of the author, and may also suggest biases reflecting their upper-class backgrounds (Corsaro, 2005). Moreover, most of the authors whose writings have been studied are of European descent. When non-European people have been studied, it has mostly been by European scholars. In the context of historical racial inequalities, the power relations between two different races may have played out in what information got shared by the 'subjects' and interpreted by the scholar (Wiggins, 1985).

When researchers in Britain started concerning themselves specifically with what happens within children's intimate play spaces, the motive was mostly anxiety over what might be disappearing of what adults knew of their own childhood games (Barnes & Kihely, 2003; Gomme, 1964; Opie & Opie, 1959). Whether this anxiety that spurred on initial efforts to study play as it happens in playgrounds is justified or not, is contested (Barnes & Kihely, 2003; Bishop & Curtis, 2001). Research which involves studying children's play and particularly folklore (Barnes & Kihely, 2003) in detail is said to be indicating that rather than total decline, there is "dynamic incorporation of contemporary images and experiences into historically embedded practices" (Barnes & Kihely, 2003, p. 23). Boyes (1995) is particularly cited for having illustrated how certain play forms in the everyday pursuits of British children can be traced from the evidence collected by the Opies in the 1950s to her own work in the 1990s.

What seems to be emerging from historical studies of childhood, and research which explores the evolution of play specifically, is that the notion of childhood as well as of children's play are together a co-creation of both adults and children (Corsaro, 2005; Grudgeon, 1988; Hannawalt, 1993; Wilkie, 2000). Hannawalt's rich description of children's play, games and participation in public rituals and celebrations, paints children as social actors among their peers, in their families, and in their communities as far back as the 14th century. Far from being passive, children are seen as active agents of social change and continuity as they create different versions of games and rhymes that often are a commentary on social and cultural trends (Barnes & Kihely, 2003).

Some have noted that in the choice, use, redesign, and handling of play objects, children also display their take on these societal trends and their personal status in society (Formanek-Brunell, 1992; Wilkie, 2000). In their use of dolls, Formanek-Brunell (1992) noticed that the girls she studied did not simply internalise their parents' values of mostly preparing for motherhood, but displayed their own agenda, demonstrating a dialogue of control and resistance (Grudgeon, 1988; Wilkie, 2000) with the adult world. The element of resistance as seen in children's folklore and games has been stressed by some, to the point that adults' roles in the continuation of these traditions have been underplayed. Barnes and Kihely (2003), for instance, even suggest that "The transmission of these playground songs and games from one generation to the next is initiated and mediated by children themselves, without adult intervention" (p. 25).

Perhaps it is the quest to find space for children in the creation of their own cultural worlds that brings about this undermining of how much adults continue to play a dominant role in the overall direction that children's activities take. The dominance of adults over children's cultural worlds is evident in the work that Bloch and Choi (1990) did when they took a historical perspective and traced the evolution of play within early childhood education programmes during the late 19th and early 20th centuries in the United States of America (USA). Although not acknowledged by the authors themselves, what is implicit in whatever direction play took within early childhood education is the dominant rhetoric of play in operation during specific periods. The dominant rhetoric of play is often constructed and perpetuated by adults, since they control the means by which such rhetoric can permeate society, for example through what is introduced or emphasised as play within education programmes. What Bloch and Choi uncovered very well is the interaction between childhood education and the socio-cultural context. They noted that even though free play was characteristic of all early childhood education in the early 19th century, it started disappearing towards the turn of the century. This is when a distinction could be noted between the types of play incorporated in the education of working-class urban children as opposed to those from upper-class families. What was constructed for children from low-income backgrounds, particularly ethnically different children, pursued the primary goal of Americanising them through highly structured,

cooperative play that emphasised discipline and orderly behaviour, and encouraged uniformity and control. These children only started tasting free play that encouraged independence, creativity, spontaneity and self-assertion after it resurfaced in more elite schools during the late 19th century.

How children play therefore seems to have a significant role in the understanding of society as a whole. As a starting-point, what is sanctioned as play and playthings within a given society may reflect what has been successfully constructed as the notion of childhood in that society. Documentation of children's activities contributes remarkably to our understanding of changing conceptions of childhood over time (Corsaro, 2005). In what adults create as playthings for children, much is said about how different sectors of society are viewed and valued. In her review of mail-order catalogues of the late 19th to early 20th century, Wilkie (2000) found that toys reflected societal ideals that emphasised Caucasian features and mirrored racial stereotypes; an example was a toy portraying a black man running away with a stolen chicken and a dog hanging from his pants.

In their choice, use, redesign and handling of these playthings, children participate with and make statements about their take on the dominant ideologies reflected. As their primary occupation in childhood, children have play as the main medium through which they find and define their own place within the dominant culture. If we carefully watch what happens in play, we could learn a great deal about what we as adults need to know about ourselves and our children. In societies that may be undergoing rapid social change, developments within children's play spaces may contribute to an understanding of how such societies are impacted on at the most basic human levels. Research looking at the evolution of childhood play within rapidly changing societies has unfortunately not yet surfaced.

3.2 Rapid social change as the backdrop to South Africa's transformation in the late 20th and early 21st centuries

Rapid social change has been defined in many different ways. Some authors have looked at it as it relates to human behavioural patterns, others have considered the time span within which it occurs, and yet others have referred to change within the macro-environment. Many seem to agree that rapid social change is accompanied by an observable alteration in the behaviour patterns of the majority of the population in question (Haste, 2001; Pridemore, 2006; Tan, 2002). Modernisation or Westernisation is central to the new patterns of behaviour (Boehnke & Bergs-Winkels, 2002; Dasen, 2000; Edwards & Whiting, 2004; Kyung-Sup, 1999). Time is of significance, with single events like the fall of the Berlin Wall serving to signify the rapidity of the change (Boehnke & Bergs-Winkels, 2002). Although rapid social change is often seen as occurring in one generation or less (Mathiason, 1972), or within a couple of decades (Tan, 2002), it does not necessarily lead to immediate behavioural changes in society. Boehnke and Bergs-Winkels (2002) suggest that people are able to handle feelings of insecurity for some time before societal irregularities start being evident in their individual lives. While there is a necessary time-lag before rapid change translates into societal behaviour, at the same time societies cannot sustain a prolonged state of rapid change (Boehnke & Bergs-Winkels, 2002).

In terms of the macro-environment, a measure of rapid social change requires at least three aspects: politico-ideological, macro-economic and macro-social (Boehnke & Bergs-Winkels, 2002; Edwards & Whiting, 2004; Finchilescu & Dawes, 1998; Haste, 2001; Moller, 1998; Pridemore, 2006). In the case of Eastern Europe during the 1990s, rapid politico-ideological transformations occurred during the change from a one-party government regime to a multi-party system (Boehnke & Bergs-Winkels, 2002; Haste, 2001; Pridemore, 2006), and in macro-economic terms, with the sudden departure from a planned to a market economy (Boehnke & Bergs-Winkels, 2002). These two aspects play a significant role on the third component of rapid social change. Large-scale fundamental politico-ideological and macro-economic changes have been seen to alter community and individual behaviour and interpersonal

relations in the former Soviet bloc communities (Boehnke & Bergs-Winkels, 2002; Pridemore, 2006) and south-east Asian countries like Thailand (Tan, 2002).

There was a time when social theorists generally believed in fairly consistent societal practices straddling generations. Gorer (1950), for instance, was quoted by Inkeles (1955) as saying "societies continue, though their personnel changes" just because it can be assumed that "the present generation of adults will be replaced in due course by the present generation of children who, as adults, will have habits very similar to their parents" (p.12). Inkeles then rightly read into this a further presupposition, that "the childhood learning of the contemporary adults was at least very similar to the learning which contemporary children are undergoing" (p.12). It can be assumed that for Gorer, these consistent socialising patterns would also operate within children's cultural worlds, including play. However, Gorer also recognised that this theory probably did not hold true in societies undergoing radical transformation.

The rapidly accelerated pace of modernisation, or the interruption of the simple recapitulation of 'life as we know it', seems not to be of the same magnitude across all societies. In North America particularly it seems that very little attention is afforded to social change and its consequences for societal behaviour. Boehnke and Bergs-Winkels (2002) speculate that what could explain this is that that part of the world could possibly be the only one not experiencing social change with the same rapidity as elsewhere. Boehnke and Bergs-Winkels also point out that even among American sociological writing, literature on the general effects of social change is rare, with Campbell and Converse's 1972 work on *The Human Meaning of Social Change*, Thomas and Znaniecki's 1918 *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* and Elder's 1974 *Children of the Great Depression* being the most salient. The latter two examples are related to structural societal changes that happened during the first half of the 20th century. It appears that the lack of such structural or sociopolitical changes during the second half of the 20th century may explain the paucity of interest in the effects of social change during that same period. Having said that, a paper by Dunning (2004), cited in the discussion section of this thesis, reflecting on changes in public funding for the education of young children in the USA, uses rapid social

change in recent years as a backdrop. This was, however, a rare find in the researcher's perusal of literature on rapid social change.

Given the dominance of voices from North America within sociology, and within literature on children's cultural worlds, it should not be surprising that adult anxiety around the changing nature of children's engagements is often brushed off as an over-reaction. However, it is not correct to single out North America as the only place where societal practices (including children's engagements) could have remained fairly stable across generations during at least the second half of the 20th century. Western Europe possibly falls into the same category, the only exception possibly being integrated Germany after the fall of the Berlin Wall (Boehnke & Bergs-Winkels, 2002).

Most literature concerned with the nature and consequences of rapid social change written within the past 17 years used countries in Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa as examples (Becker, 2004; Dasen, 2000; Tan, 2002; Edwards, 2002; Edwards & Whiting, 2004; Finchilescu & Dawes, 1998; Glatzer, 1998; Haste, 2001; Huschka & Mau, 2006; Kiodeckel, 1995; Kyung-Sup, 1999; Moller, 1998; Pavlova, 2005; Pridemore, 2006; Swader & Yuan, 2006; Van Hoorn, Komlosi, Suchar, & Samelson, 2000). These studies without exception found rapid social change to be associated with problematic social aspects, especially in countries where political and economic modernisation happened simultaneously (Glatzer, 1998). On the other hand, of the few studies that did explore social trends amid general rapid change in the world, using Western Europe and America as case studies, little was found to be of concern as a result of the change (Kain, 1990; Dasen, 2000). Kain found that contrary to speculations that the family was facing possible demise, it remained a strong institution, resilient through its ability to adapt to changing social and economic times.

Dasen (2000) cited a number of studies where adolescents in Euro-America were found not to be as problem-ridden as the often projected view would otherwise suggest. An example of these studies is one in which Galland (1991) uncovered a trend among French youth towards growing family solidarity, ideological congruence between them and parents, and a progressive approach to adulthood with a readiness

to test out changing lifestyles and adult roles. As Dasen (2000) suggests, there must be cultural issues that operate differently across contexts and thus result in varying responses to rapid social change.

South Africa in the 1990s became revered "as the land of miracles" (Moller, 1998, p. 27). Reviled in the past and barred from international participation by many states while under the apartheid regime for 40 years, South Africa was suddenly a shining example of how white minority rule can be abolished without bloodshed. For the first time its entire people could vote and a Government of National Unity was established in 1994. This marked a turning-point in South Africa's history, bringing forth elements which have led a number of social scientists to regard the country as going through rapid social change (Finchilescu & Dawes, 1998; Glatzer, 1998; Moller, 1998).

South Africa is of specific interest in that its transition in governance did not constitute merely a change in political leadership, but a radical shift to 'democracy' and the reinvention of citizenship and national and cultural identity. Coupled with this politico-ideological transformation, was what Van der Westhuizen (2007) termed the "clinching of the elite compromise" with regard to macro-economic developments. Having embarked on the liberation struggle to ultimately turn governance towards a socialist order, with the crumbling of the Eastern bloc the African National Congress was confronted with a challenge in convincing their apartheid counterparts within the Government of National Unity, local big business, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund that South Africa's economy would be in safe hands under their custodianship. Sacrificing the ideal of redistributing wealth in order to counter extreme levels of inequity, the new government pushed for macro-economic balance, essentially embracing a neo-liberal capitalist approach. Underlying this was an understanding that national autonomy over economic policy was no longer tenable as international imperatives increased their influence on domestic policy decisions. This stance paved the way towards a free market and internationally competitive economy. These politico-ideological and macro-economic reforms in South Africa provide a unique opportunity to study the impact of rapid social change on children's cultural worlds.

3.3 Documentation on South African indigenous play

Since its inception, this present research has drawn two enquiries from one of South Africa's national newspapers, *The Sunday Times* - which is indicative of possible public interest in what patterns of change can be seen in how children in South Africa engage in play.

There is little documentation on South African indigenous play. This is consistent with an overall lack in the documentation of indigenous knowledge in the country. As a result, in 2000 the National Research Foundation established a research programme to support and promote research in Indigenous Knowledge Systems nationally. The South African Sports Commission also commenced with the development of a database on indigenous games and resurrecting these as part of sporting events in all provinces.

Particularly missing in South African literature is how children's play has evolved across generations. Where research on indigenous play has been done, it has focused on games and looked at which games are played across several ethnic groups during a particular short period of time (Goslin & Goslin, 2002; Burnett & Hollander, 2004), or taken a general perspective and looked at all aspects of children's lives in a particular region of South Africa (Reynolds, 1989). The South African Sports Commission's efforts to promote indigenous games nationally are due to the recognition that South Africa as a nation has lost some of its traditional games that are indigenous to specific cultural groups and geographical areas. Although this initiative by the Commission is important, it might be a premature exercise if there is no understanding of the function that these games - or play in general - had in the different cultures, what the patterns of change are and are becoming over time, and what brings about such change.

A focus on games rather than play generally is not peculiar to South Africa. Schwartzman (1978), having noted that games have been the mostly researched subject, argued that without separating 'play' from 'games' we could never really fully understand play. Without understanding the past and its implications, it is

difficult to understand the present and to influence the future. With passing years, what could be learnt from children's play within indigenous cultures continues to recede into the unknown and inaccessible. If culturally relevant play has significance to society's health and well-being, we could be losing out on using play as a resource.

3.4 Children's play as viewed by professionals

Play is seen as important by many professions. For those professions that have particularly bought into the rhetoric of play as progress (Sutton-Smith, 1997), play is seen as a critical way in which a child can attain necessary developmental milestones (Rodger & Ziviani, 1999). Whether play is prevalent and serves the same functions across all cultures is beginning to be questioned (Bazyk, 2003). Bock and Johnson (2004), in their study of play among the Okavango peoples of Botswana, found that children in this population spent most of their time in play activities that reflected tasks related to their household subsistence economy. Much of play literature is derived from research on middle-class children in Western contexts (Fleer, 1996).

The appreciation of play, as pointed out in literature, partly stems from a recognition of its affective component, helping the child cope with difficult situations (Erikson, 1963; Freud, 1961), and its role in the construction of meaning (Vygotsky, 1967). From this, it can be inferred that play would have a significant role in a child's sense of well-being. A publication by the American Academy of Paediatrics highlighted the role of play in promoting healthy child development and parent-child bonding (Ginsburg, Committee on Communications & Committee on Psychosocial Aspects of Child and Family Health, 2006). The authors also noted a decline in active free play for a number of children in the American society as a result of busy and pressured lifestyles and an over-reliance on passive entertainment (e.g. television and computer games).

Psychologists, social workers, speech therapists and occupational therapists often use play to assess and remediate problems in the development and socio-emotional functioning of children. In these therapeutic interactions with children, therapists often bring into sessions props and games that they feel will appeal to the child and

foster engagement with the environment in the form of play. A question that could be asked is whether there are good as well as unhelpful ways in which a child can be enabled to engage in play, especially when one considers the role of cultural relevance. This question is critical for what happens both in therapeutic situations and homes or anywhere that children are raised.

Congruent with the origin of many professions and what informs training, what is brought into the therapeutic milieu is often Eurocentric in nature and approach (Fleer, 1996); the extent to which this is problematic has not yet been explored. It stands to reason though that therapeutic spaces meant to foster an understanding of the child by the therapist, help the child resolve emotional issues, or assist the child in attaining developmental milestones would be severely limited if they did not take into consideration where the child comes from, and what he or she finds familiar.

Although many cultures were previously undermined and disregarded by the apartheid regime, many professionals in South Africa, have yet to familiarise themselves with the myriad ways of being and doing, as experienced by the diverse people of the country. If these ways of being and doing around play are changing, it is useful to know what the general trends are, what informs these, and what emotions are attached to the changes.

An understanding of the general trends of change in children's play is not only useful in informing us on what to do in the therapeutic spaces we share with children that we work with as professionals; if children are seen as active members of society, and thus co-creators of social change rather than passive absorbers of what adults throw into their worlds, it stands to reason that we ought to understand what happens in the world most accessible to them - the world of play. This is especially critical against the backdrop of rapid social change as seen in South Africa.

3.5 Taking an occupational justice approach

As a practice profession, occupational therapy concerns itself with enabling daily occupations that are deemed vital for people, regardless of restrictions that arise from

a variety of factors, which include (but are not limited to) physical impairment, functional disability or participation limitation (Watson, 2004). It is a fairly new profession, having been founded in America only in 1917. In South Africa occupational therapy is still very much in its infancy, having been imported from England during the 1940s. Even more recent is occupational science, an academic discipline founded in order to inform occupational therapy practice (Clark, Parham, Carlson, Frank, Jackson & Pierce, 1991), as well as stimulate innovative practice from the direct study of the form and nature of that which occupies people's resources of time and energy, and uncovering how this influences their health (Zemke & Clark, 1996; Wood, 1996; Yerxa *et al.*, 1989). Occupational science was only formally created towards the end of the 20th century (Wilcock, 2007; Yerxa *et al.*, 1989), and its birth reminded occupational therapists of the vision of the founders of the occupational therapy profession, which was to share their expertise *"beyond the traditional limits of 'therapy' and adopt a perspective that embraces people's occupational needs"* (Watson, 2004, p. 63). The natural progression of this was a realisation that it was no longer sufficient to work only with individuals and groups of people, but to take a population approach in pursuing the realisation of human potential through what people collectively do every day.

Although still mostly an aspiration, a population-based approach to occupational therapy brought about a level of consciousness among occupational therapists and gave birth to new terminology that sought to describe and address conditions of occupational challenge at a population level - to the excitement as well as frustration of many. 'Occupational risk', 'occupational injustice', 'occupational deprivation', 'occupational alienation', and 'occupational apartheid' are just some of the terms that started springing up from all corners of the globe (Wilcock & Townsend, 2000; Kronenberg & Pollard, 2005; Whiteford, 2000). As different authors contributed to a collective understanding of many of these terms, a language emerged that has the potential to help describe long-standing as well as new instances of limitations in occupational engagements for certain populations, stemming from factors outside their control (Whiteford, 2000). These factors are mostly environmental, and often play out along unequal power dynamics within societies.

While many of these terms can also be used to describe occupational limitations at individual level, 'occupational apartheid' singles itself out as referring to the exclusion from meaningful and dignified occupations that operates primarily at a population level, affecting people who share certain attributes such as *"race, colour, disability, national origin, age, gender, sexual preference, religion, political beliefs, status in society, or other characteristics"* (Kronenberg & Pollard, 2005, p. 67).

In South Africa, the aspiration for occupational therapy to address occupational needs at a population level will remain a dream unless the profession engages with the consequences of our historical legacy of apartheid. As a profession that was imported to South Africa and that set its foundations in the country during apartheid, occupational therapy was not immune to the distortion and corruption of health professional education, research and practice that was pervasive in the health sector (Baldwin-Ragaven, London, & De Gruchy, 2000). Like all health professions at the time, occupational therapy did not openly condemn apartheid, nor did it address apartheid's consequences in limiting black people's occupational needs adequately. One of the direct consequences of the legacy of apartheid is poverty, which still plagues South African society, limiting black people from full participation in community life. Crowded homes, fragmentation of the family, inadequate employment and alienation from the community are just some of the many ways in which poverty is experienced by a considerable number of South Africans (May, 1998).

A population-based approach in occupational therapy is powerful mainly because it highlights how pervasive social, cultural and economic consequences of systemic political forces place the health and well-being of individuals, communities and populations at risk (Kronenberg & Pollard, 2005). This link between a population's social experience and environment and the health of its individuals is strongly acknowledged in contemporary World Health Organisation (WHO) policy documents (Wilcock, 2007). The challenge for the profession is to describe exactly how instances of occupational restrictions are experienced by particular communities or populations, and how ill-health manifests as a direct result of these. Part of this is understanding

how events targeted at whole communities in the past may contribute to current health conditions of individuals (Wilcock, 2003).

When Zeldenryk and Yalmambirra (2006) took a historical perspective and traced what happened to indigenous Australian children forcibly removed from their families through the Commonwealth policy of assimilation, they found that they were stripped of culturally significant occupations, which may explain their generally problematic health status as adults today. Apart from events that are externally imposed, societies are not static within them, and evolve with time. Careful analysis of the ways in which societies evolve, "the necessity for such evolution, and the intended and potential unintended consequences of evolutionary changes can enhance understanding of occupations and their impact on society" (Bonder, 2007, p. 19).

Gaining an in-depth understanding of societies, including how they evolve with time, requires that the profession broaden its epistemological basis to include knowledge that resides within indigenous communities (Turner, 2006). Where the profession has individual practitioners that are part of such communities, it ignores at its own peril the insights that can be gained when these therapists share their perspectives on occupational therapy constructs, as informed by their everyday lives (Mackey, 2007).

3.6 Attending to the rhetoric on children's play

There has been growing effort to conscientise occupational therapists to view play as the main occupation of childhood (Parham, 2008; Parham & Primeau, 1997; Yerxa *et al.*, 1990), and to start working towards enabling play engagement as a legitimate end of therapy in itself (Parham, 1996). Occupations are defined by occupational therapists as ordinary (Christiansen and Baum, 1997) and extraordinary things that people do every day and are central to the way people live – what they are, who they become and how they achieve their dreams and aspirations (Watson & Fourie, 2004). Occupations engage personal and contextual resources, and can be named within the culture they take place in (Christiansen & Baum, 1997). There is concern by some authors that underlying this understanding of occupation are Western values that are taken for granted as universal across different cultures (Iwama, 2003). Gaskins is

quoted in Bazyk *et al.* (2003) as indicating that it has not yet been examined whether play serves the same functions across different cultures.

Iwama (2003) points out that embedded in the understanding of occupation is a valuing of individuality and a conceptualisation of the human as a separate entity from the environment, with the latter there to serve the purpose of the human being to achieve agency and to self-actualise. This Eurocentric view of occupation extends into how play has been defined in literature across disciplines. Gardner (1982), a psychologist, writes that play in childhood culminates in the child's power to transform the environment. In their definition, occupational therapists Missiuna and Pollock (1991) describe play as involving mastery, achievement and competence. Psychologists Rubin, Fein and Vandenberg (1983) saw the child, not the stimulus, as guiding the play, leading the child to ask: 'What can I do with this object?' rather than 'What does this object do?' The child is seen as actively engaged in the play activity and never as a passive participant - and never as being guided by objects or the environment.

Iwama (2003) argues that this view of the environment is antithetical to the Eastern understanding, which does not regard the environment and circumstances as things to be subjugated to humans. He also sees an endorsement through this understanding of the celebration of the self, something a number of cultures may not subscribe to. It therefore appears imperative to seek an understanding of play from multiple cultural perspectives.

In his seminal work *The Ambiguity of Play*, Sutton-Smith (1997) demonstrated that by giving critical examination to rhetorics that on the surface seem peripheral to the enterprise of play, our understanding of it may be enhanced. By reminding us that those who study play often select only one aspect of its many complex elements (for example, the body, behaviour, thinking, groups or individuals, experience or language); Sutton-Smith effectively unmasked the bias with which many theorists have approached play. Rhetorics that are developed and maintained thus become means through which play phenomena are viewed through set ideologies and assimilated into pre-existing value systems. Sutton-Smith identified seven rhetorics:

progress, imaginary, self, power, identity, fate and frivolity. Not only did he expose the manner in which these rhetorics have become embedded within our understanding, values and explorations of play, and have permeated both scientific and social discourse on play, but he revealed how they have also been used by scholars to assert "their own authority over the kind of play with which they are concerned" (p. 217). Implying hegemony in scientific discourse is one thing, but Sutton-Smith goes further and suggests that rhetorics could at times mask more pervasive cultural systems through which other groups' play forms are denigrated by those who hold power in society.

Going back to scientific explorations of play, the main issue with which Sutton-Smith is concerned is whether rhetorics inevitably foster play theorists' preoccupation with "false explanations and grandiosities" (p. 9). Through the rhetoric of progress, for instance, play is regarded as subsidiary to the more 'important' process of adaptation or development due to adults' primary concern with socialisation and maturation. The rhetorics of self and imagination have led to the idealisation of those forms of play that foreground the individual qualities of the player, with individual freedom hailed in the former and imagination, creativity and innovation in the latter. These two rhetorics, along with that of progress, are individualistic in focus, mirroring the departure from a communal approach to living by humans across societies that started in the West 500 years ago. On the pursuit of freedom, perpetuated by the rhetoric of self, Sutton-Smith makes the important point that not only is freedom sought from work, but it is pursued for one to be a conspicuous consumer in order to access 'better' forms of play as an individual expression of self.

While the rhetorics of power, fate and identity appear to have had little impact on how the play of children is viewed and studied, the rhetoric of progress seems to have asserted its hegemony more explicitly. Sutton-Smith notes that as adults who have bought into play as progress seek to organise children's play, what they inevitably neglect, deny, trivialise or suppress are all other ways that children play. The rhetorics that have been particularly overlooked are those of power and identity, especially in their application to the play of children. This is so even though in many other parts of the world personal goals in play are subordinated to those of the collective.

In their study that looked at the play of Mayan children within families, Bazyk *et al.* (2003) found that in the Mayan culture, 'adult work' held primacy over play (p. 273). They also found that play was 'tolerated' if it prevented children from interrupting this work (p. 281). Adults were not found to encourage or provide structure for play engagement, but left children to independently seek out play opportunities. Adults were also not found to use strategies of inclusion to integrate play into other activities, as found by Primeau (1998). It therefore appears that there are assumptions regarding the value of play in occupational therapy which may not hold true across all cultures.

Although Bazyk *et al.* (2003) successfully argue for the need for occupational therapists to review their Western-based notion of play as "a child's major occupation" (p. 273) as universal, it is interesting that in some way they may also have continued to carry their own assumptions about work into their research fieldwork in Belize. Accounts like 'adult work', for instance, may be indicative of another embedded Western value base. To call household tasks 'adult work' is to project a view that regards household chores as only legitimate for adults to carry out. A view that may regard the participation of children in such occupations as meaningful beyond its work sense is immediately excluded. It is therefore not surprising that Bazyk et al (2003) described adults as 'tolerating' child playfulness as long as it did not interrupt work. Their view may reflect implicit assumptions about household chores being 'adult work'.

A useful observation by Bazyk *et al.* (2003) is that even though the Mayan children were found not to play much (according to the traditional definition of play as separate from work), playfulness was found to be interspersed throughout their daily occupations in the form of humour, smiling, social interaction, and a playful attitude. A very good point here is that the definition of play as a separate entity from all other occupations can be limiting. Playfulness, on the other hand, as a concept informing observations that explore the nature of play, is very useful. Although in itself an aspect of play, playfulness points to a disposition towards engagement with the environment that displays intrinsic motivation, suspension of reality, internal locus of control, and framing (Bundy, 1997). Taking playfulness into consideration, Bundy

defined play as a continuum of behaviours that are more or less playful, depending on the level to which the above four criteria are present.

Looking closely at the third criterion, internal locus of control, it is important to note that playfulness as a concept also reflects an embedded Eurocentric perspective to some extent. Defined as the ability of the child to determine exactly what happens in play (Neumann, 1971), it highlights the need for the child to be seen as one who decides with whom and with what he or she plays. The researcher is not convinced that this is a universal need.

As a consequence of rhetorics (whichever one or more of these a researcher or theorist is inadvertently persuaded by), play has become obfuscated in its definition. In the present study the researcher approached play with an acute awareness of how much of what she understood of it was informed by occupational therapy, which arguably is aligned in its theories on play with the more Western rhetorics of play, albeit unconsciously (Parham, 2008). What is apparent in occupational therapy literature on children's play is a general acceptance of intrinsic motivation as a key defining feature of play (Bundy, 1991, 1997; Canadian Association of Occupational Therapists, 1996; Rodger & Ziviani, 1999). Alongside intrinsic motivation, which emphasises the experience of the player as driving play rather than external factors (Rubin, Fein, & Vandenberg, 1983), occupational therapists also seem to highlight free choice, spontaneity and enjoyment or pleasure as important criteria in distinguishing play from work (Parham, 2008). These characteristics of play underscore the extent to which the rhetoric of play as self, alongside that of progress, has guided occupational therapists' views on children's play.

While the main culprit in the obfuscation of play has been the socialising influence of the larger culture through its rhetorics (Sutton-Smith, 1997), even among those who in their view of play may propagate similar rhetorics of play, there seems little agreement on how particular features of play are experienced by the player. Herein lies play's ambiguity. With regard to the extent to which all play is intrinsically motivated and to what end, many have (in sharp contrast) illustrated that rules imposed on players in fact often enhance the play experience (Sutton-Smith, 1997).

Also, while on the surface it seems undisputable that players are mostly persuaded into playing and into persisting with play because of the inherent fun element, some have recently conceded that emotions felt by players across different play acts or in various periods within a single play session may not always be positive (Sutton-Smith, 2003; Burghardt, 2005). Fear and anxiety are common elements of the play experience. Another issue of considerable contention is whether active engagement is a necessary factor in defining play. This is in light of some theorists propagating vicarious involvement (Martinez, 1977) in other(s)' active play as well as daydreaming (Sutton-Smith, 1997) as forms of playful engagement.

Responding to the challenges inherent in constructing a precise definition for play within occupational therapy, Parham (2008) offers useful insights, suggesting that an "all-purpose definition of play to suit the diverse needs of the entire profession may not be necessary, possible or even desirable" (p. 7). In this study, the researcher set out to be informed as much as possible in her view of play by the explanations of it that she found in context, although she felt rather 'rudderless' in the beginning. Engagement with the seven rhetorics as described by Sutton-Smith while in the process of collecting information from the families provided the necessary theoretical framework through which the researcher could approach play in context within a post-modern perspective. Within this framework there is an appreciation that play, as Bateson (1972) suggested and as quoted by Sutton-Smith , is a paradox because "it both is and is not what it appears to be" (Sutton-Smith, 1997, p.1). Schwartzman (1978) also writes: **"**Finally, play is also, and always, a definitive activity, which is perhaps why it is itself so difficult to define." (p. 329). Because of this quality, play requires *interpretation* and resists operationalisation. The study of play, perhaps more than any other topic, requires that researchers adapt themselves to the character of their subject and not the reverse. Researchers who have a compulsion for organization, predictability, and exacting definitions and methodologies produce illusory theories and explanations, which distort play and fool only researchers. On the other hand, investigators who are more tolerant of disorganization, unpredictability, and loose and fuzzy definitions and methodologies are more likely to produce theories that allude to play (and this is the *best* we will ever do) and help to elucidate the nature of foolishness."

Schwartzman further argues that ethnographies of children's play ought to be both textual and contextual in orientation, allowing particularly for the play of non-Western and non-middle-class children to inform variation in play styles, rather than to be seen as evidence of its deficiency. An approach to play that embraces its variability therefore seems desirable. Such a stance requires openness to the possibility that any number of rhetorics (even beyond those identified by Sutton-Smith) could be at play in any given context, influencing how the play of children in that context is viewed by adults and children and consequently valued.

From an occupational therapy perspective, Parham (2008, p. 18) suggested the possibility of the rhetoric of play as health, and that this could pave way to an understanding of play in relation to its contribution to an individual's "state of health characterized by vibrancy, optimism, and flexibility, regardless of the presence or absence of disability." Viewed from a collectivist perspective, the same rhetoric could highlight the impact that intergenerational issues around children's play within families and communities have on the health of the individual and the collective. Such an approach cannot be devoid of attention to contextual factors.

3.7 Sharpening critical inquiry into children's play across generations

An important question to ask of any research exploring the nature of occupational engagement over time is whether it is morally justifiable to end at a point where descriptions are made. Obviously there would be no concern if the researchers were to be content with what they found, that is, if the individuals, family or community were found to participate in occupations that appeared purposeful and from which they seemed to draw meaning and maintain health. This in essence would mean that the community concerned would be enjoying occupational justice. But what if the opposite were the case? For instance, what if Bazyk et al (2003) found that Mayan children were seriously lacking in opportunities to engage in play activities or to display a playful manner due to the demands of 'adult work' placed on them? Should the occupational scientist or therapist as researcher stop at merely describing this situation? Are there further questions to be asked? Occupational therapists taking an

occupational perspective, and who through their work strive towards meaningful and dignified occupation of communities and societies, should also ask themselves why things are the way they seem.

Adequate understanding of situations should mean that, with permission from communities, we explore reasons why things are as we find them. When certain critical questions are not asked, it is argued here that the picture cannot be regarded as complete. It is crucial to explore why the situation is the way it is, and how the participants view it. The point being made here is that what people do is always embedded in context, and often has an historical bearing. It is therefore important to explore whether the situation has always been like that, what the community's feelings and perceptions are about the situation, and implications thereof.

In concluding his analysis of historical and contemporary rhetorics of play, Sutton-Smith (1997) suggests adaptation to the current rhetoric of play as progress into that of play as the "potentiation of adaptive variability". He argues that when viewed from an evolutionary perspective, play may function as an exemplar of cultural variability, and as such helps sustain the variability of the human condition. From a collectivistic viewpoint, this gives rise to the question of whether play within families and communities across generations can be looked at in terms of how much adaptive variability is allowed against the backdrop of factors that may be beyond the control of those families and communities.

CHAPTER 4
METHODOLOGY

4.1 Theoretical frameworks underpinning this study

I will begin to articulate my stance as a researcher for this study by delineating it from what it is not. It is neither positivist, nor post-positivist. These perspectives typically include surveys, studies aiming to investigate hypotheses, measurement and scaling, statistical analysis, as well as qualitative studies that are primarily descriptive in nature (Henning, 2004). By distancing this study from such approaches the intention is not to cast them in a negative light - they are useful where absolute truth in our observable world, logic and mathematical equations may be attainable. Positivism holds the view that 'truth' can be measured and should be accurately described through data void of any subjectivity (Popper, 1972). The limitation of these approaches surfaces mostly where definitive truth and objectivity cannot be ascertained. Studying social conditions or phenomena often lends itself to a restrictive research stance in terms of uncovering objective realities.

I approached this study with a clear sense that understanding children's play and its evolution over time was going to be a complex affair. Part of this recognition was rooted in the fact that the concept of play itself is elusive, having been mostly contaminated by the theoretical lenses through which many professions and disciplines have tried to understand it (Sutton-Smith, 1997). Having been trained within occupational therapy, it is only logical that my perspective on play would have been strongly informed by the theoretical frameworks inherent in the profession, many grounded within education, psychology and, to a limited extent, anthropology. At the same time, having grown up partly in an under-resourced urban environment, as well as a rural context, I have been acutely aware of how examples used to support theoretical perspectives in my profession are limited to Western realities, with almost non-existent reference to experiences in developing countries.

Given all this, I found a comfortable epistemological fit for this research within the interpretive research paradigm, which recognizes foremost that although in research the aim is to represent reality truthfully, what cannot be overlooked is the fact that there are multiple views of what that reality is (Henning, 2004). This research therefore assumes polyvocality, asserting that there are many voices that can inform our understanding of any given phenomenon, and that all these voices have an equal right to be heard (Creswell, 1998). Included in this multiplicity of voices is the researcher's own sense-making.

Given the unequal power held by the different sources from which different perspectives on play come from, an interpretivist framework alone was not sufficient to inform the lenses through which the researcher chose to engage with literature, listen to participants, sift through information emerging from the research setting and context, ultimately determining how this research was to be presented. Critical theory seemed to offer a useful lens through which to deconstruct social and institutional structures that maintain and circulate oppressive ideologies (Henning, 2004) with relevance to children's play.

Critical theory has its roots in postmodernism. Postmodernism is a paradigm, ideological perspective or sensibility that uncovers and challenges meta-narratives or 'dominant meanings' attached to social conditions (Creswell, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). What is highlighted is that any phenomenon is understood through what are often taken for granted interests, perspectives or assumptions hidden to an uncritical mind. The fundamental premise in postmodernism is that knowledge assertions must be set within the current world and be informed by multiple perspectives, or different subjectivities such as race, gender, or any other group associations, and by different discourses. An important aim is to 'deconstruct' text in order to expose underlying hierarchies, dominations, inconsistencies, and contradictions (Creswell, 1998).

Critical theory does not aim to provide alternative ways of knowing the world, but freely enters critically into all discourse, while providing for the unprivileged quality of all discourses (Creswell, 1998, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). In using critical

theory, the researcher chose to hold on lightly to established theoretical frameworks on play and to elevate participants' perspectives. Three guiding objectives were: 1) to maintain an appraisal of arguments that claim authority over truth (relating to how children's play experiences should be understood across different cultures); 2) to maintain a commitment to bring formerly unheard voices (about children's play) into discourse; and 3) to maintain an appreciation of the instability that should characterise the understanding of the world and social phenomena or conditions. This research stance ultimately led to an inductive approach to methodology, employing an evolving design and logic grounded in context. Questions were revised as the research process unfolded.

4.2 Study design

This research initially sought to involve three families, and the overall methodology was to be a collective case study approach. Although information was collected from three families and transcribed, it became clear during in-depth analysis that for thorough understanding of the issues involved in the evolution of childhood play across three Venda generations, information from three families would produce an unwieldy amount of text. At this point it had taken me six months to transcribe information from all three families, and it seemed likely that I would spend at least three months analysing information from each. In consultation with supervisors and other scholars in qualitative research, a single case study approach was taken instead. One family, henceforth referred to as the Gudani family, was chosen for the purposes of this study. (How this was done is described in the next section.) Ethical issues relating to leaving out the other two families will be discussed under the section dealing with ethical challenges.

In this research, case study was approached with an understanding proposed by Stake (1998, 2008) and supported by others like Flyvbjerg (2006), who regard it not always as a research method but also the object of study, i.e. a bounded system. This contrasts with an alternative view that case study as a methodology follows clearly set out guidelines for information gathering, analysis, and reporting (Yin, 2003).

The case study approach used in the present study allows an overall narrative to emerge from a bounded system. The main aim of using this strategy is to inquire and provide insight into a phenomenon or issue (Creswell, 1998, 2007; Stake, 1998, 2008). The primary focus is on the issue/s that emerge, with the case used instrumentally to illustrate these (Stake, 1998). This involves an in-depth understanding of the context within which the case finds itself, uncovering of the issues, and drawing lessons from this (Creswell, 1998).

Having a primary issue of concern should not be confused with approaching a case study with a hypothesis. Although Yin (2003) strongly advocates definitive theoretical propositions that have been thought through *a priori*, a number of proponents of the case study approach are comfortable with a researcher approaching a case study without a theoretical proposition to prove or refute. They postulate that sometimes we have to be content with the fact that there are not yet hard theories to prove or contest, but lessons to be learnt (Eysenck, 1976 in Flyvbjerg, 2006).

Case study approaches seem well placed to explore complex real-life issues. Some contend that case knowledge is central to human learning (Christensen, 1986), and that knowledge and experience gained is always context-dependent. Flyvbjerg (2006) suggests that it is this kind of knowledge that is at the very heart of expert scientific endeavours. Citing Kuhn (1987), Flyvbjerg (2006, p. 219) proclaims, "a scientific discipline without a large number of thoroughly executed case studies is a discipline without a systematic production of exemplars, and a discipline without exemplars is an ineffective one. Social Science may be strengthened by the execution of a greater number of good case studies." When it is impractical to study a number of cases thoroughly, it makes sense to study one well.

What appears to have brought some discredit to the case study approach in research is the view by many that scientific progress is only attainable through possibility for generalisation from many data points (Denzin, 1998; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Yin, 1984). These social scientists have shown a lesser regard for study of the particular (Stake, 1998), and have underestimated the "the force of example" (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 228). Advocates for the case study approach maintain that it can serve as an

important basis for generalisation (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Stake, 1998) when the case/s have been strategically selected, although they also stress that this goal should not be emphasised since it detracts from the quest for "understanding the case itself" (Stake, 1998, p. 91).

Among proponents of the case study approach there are those who find little comfort in single case studies, regarding multiple cases as bearing stronger credibility. Central to this is concern at lack of possibilities for comparison. However, Stake (1998, p. 98) points out a contradiction between willingness to learn and a commitment to drawing comparisons between cases: "I see comparison as an epistemological function competing with learning about and from the particular case. Comparison is a powerful conceptual mechanism, fixing attention upon the few attributes being compared and obscuring other knowledge about the case." He further contends that there is much to be suspected about generalisations made by comparing two cases rather than those from a single case. A single case provides an opportunity to dig deep into underlying causes for a given issue and related consequences, a goal very different from describing general symptoms of a problem and their prevalence in society (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

Even while avoiding definitive theoretical propositions, in approaching a case with a preconceptualised concern or interest the danger remains that observations would be limited to those that are 'concern-related'. This may hinder the case from 'telling its own story'. Since case study can refer only to that which is studied, other methodologies can be employed for information gathering, analysis and reporting (Stake, 1998).

In this research, ethnography became the method through which the case was studied. An ethnographic approach calls for an interpretive stance that can draw out emic meanings from the case itself (Stake, 1998). In addition to examining how change in children's play has been happening, it was also important to explore what was happening in children's play at the time of information gathering. Looking at how things continue to happen in the here and now within the case helped the researcher to explore what continues to influence the pattern of change within children's play.

Cultural systems that govern the behaviours of family members around play were examined. Prolonged observation of the family was instituted with the aim of examining the members' observable and learned patterns of behaviour, customs and ways of life that relate in any way to children's play. Questions that were constantly asked were: 'What can be observed of children's play in this family right now?' and 'Why is this manner of playing occurring?' An ethnographic interpretive stance was also adopted while listening to descriptions of past play by participants.

4.3 Participants, setting and unit of analysis

Purposeful (Creswell, 1998, 2007) or intensity sampling (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Creswell, 2007) was used in this study to select information-rich cases. The choice was made because it was anticipated that the cases would advance an understanding of the evolution of children's play across generations within families. Access to families and the ability to engage with the culture as well as children in the local language were primary in deciding where this study was conducted. The research therefore focused on one South African language group, Vhavenda.

Vhavenda were chosen because the researcher herself is of Venda origin. The nature of the study being explorative, and pertaining to issues stemming from the fact that indigenous cultures often do not have a voice in research and literature, it was felt that limitations arising from being an 'insider' would be outweighed by the advantages offered by what Dilthey (quoted in Adler & Adler, 1998) calls "*Verstehen"* (understanding). *Verstehen* is strongly embodied within existential sociology, whose proponents argue that for one to understand reality as a researcher, one should be able to be immersed in the reality, so as to feel, see and hear it (Adler & Adler, 1998). A shared Tshivenda language between the researcher and participants and familiarity with some of the contextual factors in the region were viewed as critical for gaining some understanding of the family's realities.

Issues of misrepresentation of oppressed or marginalised groups by members of dominant groups are well documented within post-colonial black feminism (Collins, 1990; Hassim, 1991), as well as in queer theory (King, 1999). In this research the

researcher remained cognizant of the fact that the issue of legitimacy in representing others' realities would remain a dilemma, and that she would have to monitor instances of over-identification and avoid single essentialist perspectives (King, 1991) when making observations and interpreting data.

The unit of analysis in this study is three generations of a single family, as a case. After ethical approval was obtained from the University of Cape Town's Research Ethics Review Committee (Appendix III), the researcher initiated contact with key individuals in Venda. Venda is situated 2000 km away from where the researcher currently lives and works. Key contacts included the Vice-Chancellor of the local university (then called the University of Venda) as well as the Director of the Indigenous Knowledge Unit there. From these contacts it was confirmed that there would be local interest in what this study aimed to explore. The researcher had also identified people from the area who attended the First Indigenous Games Festival in Polokwane, Limpopo, in 2003.

From these sources, as well as key contacts from the University of Venda, four potential families who could participate in the collective case study that was originally planned were identified. Criteria for inclusion were: readiness to talk about issues relating to children's play - past and present; the presence of three generations living in the same region, of which the youngest generation included children between ages 6 and 13; and willingness to have the researcher come and visit the home every day for up to 25 days. Although gaining gender representivity among the third generation was desired, this was difficult to satisfy against the other three criteria. Only one family met this criterion. The first generation did not have to stay in the same household, and could consist of only one representative. From the initial four families, three were selected. The fourth was left out after several telephonic contacts failed and the researcher could not find anyone at home when she followed up with three consecutive visits.

After preliminary interviews with the three potential families, they were all selected. All three seemed promising as providing settings where the researcher could draw lessons on how play evolved and continues to do so across three generations. A case was everything that constituted 'family' as defined in the introductory chapter. After

the decision that a single case study might be more realistic, I needed to choose one family to analyse from the initial three. This was difficult, made more challenging by the fact that all three families had been highly accommodating. Apart from ethical issues arising from 'abandoning' families (discussed in depth in section 4.7), with which I had contracted with, a further dilemma was that even though there seemed to be some surface similarities around change in children's play over time, each family appeared to have its own differently nuanced story to tell. Selecting one of these required a strong rationale.

Bearing in mind that a case should be "chosen because it is expected that understanding (it) will lead to deeper insight, perhaps better theorizing, about a still larger collection of cases" (Stake, 1998, p. 89), it made sense to choose one family that went through processes that would most likely influence children's play, and that seemed to represent what typically happens in families that are part of a rapidly changing society. Central to these processes is a family's departure from a rural lifestyle to urbanised living within the last three generations. Of the three families initially included in the study, the Gudanis (Pseudonym, reasons for which are explained in section 4.7.2) had lived in the most diverse settings during its three generations. The grandparents had grown up in completely rural settings, while Mom and Dad, although growing up not far from each other, had a different upbringing; Dad's still comprised elements of rural living, while Mom's began to reflect some urban influence. The third generation of the Gudani family is currently growing up in the most urbanised section of Venda.

The Gudani family was therefore chosen for its exemplar potential. Others refer to this as a paradigmatic case, meaning one that highlights important characteristics that may be shared across institutions or organisations facing the same challenges (Courtright & Hearit, 2002). However, caution should be used in interpreting data from a paradigmatic case. As articulated above, emphasis in a case study lies in understanding the case/s, not generating theory or grand generalisations (Creswell, 1998, 2007; Stake, 1998, 2008). Direct comparison of the particular case under investigation to others like or unlike it is not the objective of a case study approach, since this compromises the opportunity to learn from the particular case (Stake, 1998).

The choice was ultimately influenced by the fact that given the diverse settings that the Gudani family's three generations had grown up in, much could be learnt about how contextual issues influenced the evolution of childhood play. Although not by design, the Gudanis also happened to be the family that had both genders represented in its third generation.

The three generations of the Gudani family refer to the maternal grandmother as representing the first generation, Mom and Dad as representing the second, and five children (Lugi, Funani, Koni, Mulisa and Duka) representing the third. As with the family name, pseudonyms are also used for family members, as well as for any other children referred to in this report. Lugi, the eldest son, was 28 years old at the time of this research; Funani, the eldest daughter, was 25, and Koni and Mulisa, both girls, were 17 and 12 years old respectively. Duka was the youngest son, at 9 years old. Nayo, the 6-year-old daughter of Funani, was essentially fourth generation and not the focus of this study. Noya's play engagements were included in this research as far as they influenced those of the third generation or could offer useful contrasts. Access to the paternal grandparents was not possible given the sensitive nature of issues inherent in how the Gudani family is constituted.

4.4 Information gathering procedures

Handling the Gudani family as a bounded system, information was gathered from multiple sources, situating the case within its context. Initial information collected was that which helped describe the family and contextualised it within its setting. This included attending to temporal aspects as well as the family's physical, social, historical and economic settings. Temporal aspects refer to the ages of the participants as well as the periods of the evolution of play that this study refers to. All contextual information is described in the context chapter of this report.

As informed by ethnography, the Gudani family was seen as a cultural system where the researcher studied the meanings of behaviour, language and interactions pertaining to children's play. The whole the Gudani family, consisting of the grandmother, the parents and children, were viewed as a culture-sharing group. As

indicated above, the question constantly asked was: 'What can be observed of children's play in this family now, and why?' which was further devolved into who engages in play; how; what structure does the play take; what maintains play activities; and what stops them? These questions were reviewed and refined based on what happened in the setting.

The 'Why?' part of the main question was of particular interest: it explored why play happened the way it did. In addition to allowing the researcher to infer explanations about what was observed, the question also guided the researcher to allow participants to comment on their own notion of what play was, and should be. This allowed for the juxtaposition of what actually happened, against what should ideally happen in play as described by participants, to be explored. This process is consistent with Creswell (1998) and Wolcott (1994), who suggest that the researcher not only look at what people do (behaviours) and what they say (language), but also tension between actual and 'ideal' behaviour, as well as what the people make and use. Inferences made by the researcher were important in that they enabled the ethnographer to work with what Altheide and Johnson (1998) call tacit knowledge about the cultural group. Tacit knowledge is often difficult to articulate for members of a cultural group as the meanings of behaviours are not objective and tangible (Creswell, 1998). As the researcher engaged in observation of the family, she began to see patterns of daily living, from which cultural meaning was inferred.

This process of information gathering and engaging with what emerged required prolonged observation of the family, interviewing in context, and recording of specific details. The researcher visited the Gudanis every day for 24 days, including weekends. For one week during this period, schools were on vacation. The researcher's visits were mostly guided by the presence of family members who were part of the third generation, because apart from Nayo (not directly linked to the study) all play interactions revolved around this generation. Most days the researcher arrived at the home as these children returned from school and departed when they went to bed, except on one Saturday when the children announced that they were going to a friend's party in the neighbourhood. The researcher did not follow the child participants when they visited friends, since consent was not sought to gather

information beyond the Gudani family. The latest the researcher stayed at the Gudani's house was 21h40, which happened towards the end of the information-gathering period. The earliest she got there was 09h00, during a weekend. The average time spent with the Gudanis per day was 5 hours. On two occasions the researcher followed the children as they visited the grandmother's home during the school vacation, which also allowed for the grandmother to be interviewed in her own context. Participants were regarded as co-researchers to the extent that they wanted to assume this role and that this did not compromise the research process or the information gathered.

The most crucial co-researchers in this study were the children around who play interactions revolved. Although Nayo was also important, Duka and Mulisa were central since their activities were directly relevant in this study. The researcher approached these children's cultural worlds with an acute awareness that access to them was privileged, and with an appreciation that a complete capturing of all meanings involved was impossible. Privileged access into the children's cultural worlds meant that the researcher had to be viewed differently from other adults, who do not often show obvious interest in them. Balancing this awareness against adults' expectations for some boundaries between adults and children was a delicate process. This was tangibly felt when, on arrival, all the children starting from Mulisa came forward to kneel in front of the researcher, and bowed their heads as a sign of respect in greeting. This is called u *'losha'* (to greet), and *'u loshwa'* (to be greeted). The researcher immediately felt uncomfortable but knew that expressing this right away would be seen as distancing herself from local traditions, and maybe even disapproval of the practice, which perception would not be conducive to her continued presence and could compromise further information gathering. Once sufficient rapport was built with the adults, and especially with the children, the researcher could indicate some discomfort with being greeted this way every day. Her approach was to ask Mulisa and Duka if she could negotiate around '*loshwa'*. After some deliberation both agreed that I could be exempt from this. From that day Mulisa never greeted me like that again; Duka continued, although it became part of his rituals with me that were hard to distinguish from his play manners. This is elaborated on in the third generation's play portrait.

What also needed careful handling was the children's availability at home once back from school; the researcher knew that it was possible to influence their presence. She initially became aware when on the second day Duka announced that he ran on his way from school after a neighbour told him she had seen the researcher's car parked at his gate. He had been walking home with a friend. At that point the researcher indicated to both Duka and Mulisa that they need not be at home on her account. The extent to which this continued to influence Duka's presence at home is unclear. It seems Mulisa continued to schedule her time regardless of the researcher's presence. On two occasions the researcher drove past her on her way from school, walking with friends and she did not change her pace. Duka, on the other hand, needed to be reminded that it was fine to go with his friends if they wanted him to join them. One day he asked Nayo to keep me company as he and his friends went on an excursion. On checking with Mom, she confirmed that of all family members Duka was the one mostly at home; his siblings also indicated that of all the children he was the one most comfortable around adults. Mulisa was observed to be most comfortable with the researcher when Duka was around. Duka always checked with the researcher what time she was planning to come the following day. He indicated when they would not be around like when they would be at church or visiting their grandmother.

Deciding on a departing time was also tricky as the researcher had to gauge what was the normal bedtime for the kids; her presence interfered with this arrangement as Mom's indication for sleep-time was always resisted if the researcher were still there. On asking what the usual bedtime for the children was, she was told 21h30 - following the end of the local television soap opera *Muvhango.*

Although participant observation was only able to be used in order to understand the third generation's play, it was the central information collection method in which the researcher immersed herself in the day-to-day lives of the family members (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1998; Creswell, 1998, 2007). One-on-one interviews with family members were also done. For the third generation interviews were often accompanied by reviewing materials used in engagements that could be regarded as play. The role of participant observer took various forms, from being passive to being an active participant. As Adler and Adler (1998) observed, from being a completely passive or

even hidden observer, one can move into being actively involved in the setting so much that one can be seen as a member. In her role as participant observer, these two extremes were both possible for the researcher. Active participation was aided by the ease with which Duka interacted with her. Often the researcher would be the object of Duka's usual 'jesting around'; however, she refrained from altering the flow of events. Notes were taken whenever possible, with as much as possible written down no matter how unimportant it seemed at the time. The researcher attempted to be as unobtrusive as possible in doing this. Checking and analysing these notes could only happen at the end of the day once the researcher was outside the family setting.

Harper (1998) writes that photographs can be regarded as part of culturally informed observation. In the present study, photographs and audio-taping were particularly helpful as part of a more general form of observation. Video-taping proved too disruptive and was abandoned as participants could not get past their curiosity as to how it worked and tended to 'perform' for the camera. This was exacerbated when Funani jokingly commented that through the video images, Duka would "be seen far." This appealed to Duka's aspirations to be a celebrity and fuelled his need to be video-taped doing particular 'stunts' or performing "his songs." As he did this, he would frequently ask whether indeed he would "be seen far." Correcting this notion did not seem to deter him. Duka also attempted to have me record his favourite cartoons on the camera. A photo camera was less of a novelty or interruption. The audio device was digital and minute and worn around the researcher's neck. After being shown to Duka because he was curious about how it operated and was allowed to record himself on it, the children all seemed to forget about its presence. Most of the information was captured through the audio device since it was kept on for the full duration that the researcher was with the Gudanis. Audio-taping and photographs enabled the freezing of play events in space and time, offering opportunities for repeated examination and scrutiny by participants and peer researchers. The myriad of information collection methods - photographs, field notes and audio footage - added to the ability to reflect a 'realistic' picture of what actually happened during play within the Gudani family.

Images captured by the camera as well as objects stimulated interviews and discussions around play. As the informant interpreted the image or object, the researcher listened, encouraging where necessary for the dialogue to continue. In this way the camera created a valuable means of collaboration between the researcher and the informants. Informants were also asked to point the researcher to instances of play as they perceived them, to be captured. On a number of occasions Duka pointed me to where Nayo and her friends were playing within the Gudanis' yard. He was especially proud to have me take pictures of his artwork and crafts, sometimes even posing with them. The fluidity of the observer-participant divide was most visible when on day 19 of the researcher's presence in the Gudani family, Duka decided to draw an image of the researcher. The final image he drew depicted the researcher writing in a notebook with a voice recorder around her neck.

Interviewing was an important part of this study. Participants were interviewed in their local language, Tshivenda, which was also the language they were most comfortable with. Apart from allowing observed material to be reviewed and commented on by participants, it also allowed access to information about play from the first and second generation that could no longer be observed directly. Primary informants were selected by the researcher on the basis of availability and willingness to be interviewed. These are individuals who were observed to freely share their views, thoughts and feelings around play in the family. Grandmother and Duka were readily available for interviews from the initial contact and throughout the study period. Due to her long working hours and other family commitments, Mom was only available for interviews at the beginning and end of the information-gathering period. She was unable to remember most of her play engagements as a child. As a result, and on her own initiative, she sought assistance from peers from her work setting, who grew up with her. Grandmother was interviewed at the beginning, as well as during the middle of the information-gathering period. During her interviews she got quite involved as she reminisced over her childhood days. She gave a comprehensive account of her family history and upbringing, indicating that none of her children knew these stories. Given Dad's living circumstances, access to him was limited during the actual information-gathering period, and it was only towards the end that adequate rapport was built with him to enable an interview, which happened

telephonically. He seemed keen to be interviewed and warmed up quickly; his voice became quite animated as he seemed to 'relive' how things were as he grew up.

Of the third generation, only Duka and Mulisa were interviewed. Although Mulisa was shy at the beginning, she was keenly interested in what Duka had to say, and often challenged him. She also indicated to the researcher when she was ready to be interviewed, having put time aside for it in-between her house chores. Their older siblings had almost no involvement in play interactions and were also often not available to be interviewed. Although Duka and Mulisa (as well as Nayo) were given opportunities to comment on their play in context whenever possible, formal interviews with Duka and Mulisa were scheduled during the last two days of the information-gathering period. These allowed the captured information to be reviewed, confirmed or discarded, also enabling a major juxtaposition between what was observed and what both Duka and Mulisa thought their play ought to be about. Given the rapport established with these two at this point, these interviews reflected the manner of play interactions often observed between them. It was difficult to determine whether Duka was play-acting or took the interview very seriously; leading Mulisa to comment that he looked as if he was on television.

Interviewing family members across the three generations allowed play experiences across them to be compared and contrasted to some extent. A careful line-by-line analysis of interview material was conducted. The researcher then asked of each noted input 'What is this about?' and 'How does this experience of play in this generation differ from the other two?' This kind of detailed work kept the researcher focused on context-grounded information rather than starting to theorise prematurely (Charmaz, 1990). Being close to the context herself by virtue of having partly been brought up in a rural setting, the researcher could not escape from asking herself how these experiences were either similar or different from her own childhood play experiences.

Although the researcher planned to interview one family member at a time, and in private, this did not always happen as planned with adult participants, who often sought verification from each other - and as seen with Mom, sometimes from people outside the family circle. Adult participants also chose to continue with the interview even when interrupted by visiting neighbours, who would also add some comments to

the interview. This will be further commented on later. One key informant outside of the family was also interviewed. He was suggested by one of the key contacts from the local university, described as a fervent scholar of Venda history and extremely passionate about Venda culture.

The review of materials deemed helpful for understanding of what happens with regards to play in the Gudani family was an important part of ethnography in this research. These materials included objects or tools observed by the researcher or described by participants as having a role in play, in the past or presently. No materials were found that could be linked to play in the past, all relating to the current playing generation. How the object was presently used enriched the ethnographic narrative. As Altheide and Johnson (1998) posit, objects give an alternative to gaining insight into how people perceive and fashion their lives. This linked very well within the ethnographic objective of this study; where there was a need to juxtapose what individuals say ought to happen in the children's play within the family and what they actually did. Conflicting voices and differing interpretations of what happens in play were thus given space by incorporation of mute evidence (Hodder, 1998). Just like photographs, this material evidence could also be revisited.

Hodder (1998) makes interesting suggestions on how material evidence should be viewed, suggesting that they bear symbolism that is both representational and evocative. This relates to how objects used in play may be attributed abstract meanings that may or may not actually have anything to do with play. Both components work in close relation to each other, and in turn influence practice. There is also a utilitarian versus conceptual dimension, neither necessarily in opposition to each other. For instance, a family member could talk about both how a particular object was used in play as well as how it could be used otherwise. Meanings could also be inferred by the researcher based on what she observed, grounding her understanding in the social and material implications of particular practices within the specific context.

4.5 Data transformation

4.5.1 Data management strategies

Information from the Gudani family was recorded, indexed and stored in preparation for analysis. Information emanating from the case included: 1) Raw material – composed of audio-tapes with recorded interviews; photographs; notes on objects or materials used in play and accounts by informants; the reflective journals; and field-notes. 2) Partially processed information – made up of transcriptions and all versions of write-ups (reflective accounts made by the researcher during and after information gathering). Transcriptions were all in Tshivenda, while reflective journals and field notes were in English. As analysis progressed, the researcher developed and retained all records detailing the process followed, including shifts taken and their reasons, and emerging theoretical frameworks. As suggested by Huberman and Miles (1998) and Creswell (1998), an index system was developed specifying all types of information gathered, with back-up copies in both electronic and written form.

4.5.2 Analysis procedures

Within the ethnography tradition, Wolcott (1994) proposed that data could be transformed within a process that can be divided into description, analysis, and interpretation of the culture-sharing group. However, Wolcott (1994) cautioned that these three processes were not to be viewed as mutually exclusive. In the same vein, LeCompte and Schensul (1999) describe a recursive process of constant questioning which starts when the ethnographer decides what of the cultural group will be observed, and continues throughout the research process as emerging formulations are continuously modified. Distinguishing between the three processes merely serves to vary the emphases placed on how data would be handled at different stages of the research process (Wolcott, 1994).

Description in the present study began with the context within which the Gudani family finds itself; this was done as comprehensively as possible, starting with a

historical account and ending with where the family is and how it was constituted at the beginning of fieldwork. This portrayal is consistent with the narrative of a case that would be given if a purely case story-based methodology was followed. As analysis progressed and themes were generated, what ended up as childhood 'play portraits' for each of the generations was aimed at allowing the data to "speak for themselves" (Wolcott, 1994, p. 10), mainly through vignettes which captured play interactions as they happened within the Gudani family, or interviews about past play.

Using NVivo revision 2.0.163, all transcripts were analysed following a coding structure grounded in the data. The first stage involved compiling a list of any text that was descriptive of play interactions within the Gudani family as the researcher read each transcript. Entire texts stored in NVivo were read several times as the researcher coded and re-coded until she felt she had finished representing what was captured of play during fieldwork, on tree nodes. NVivo organises tree nodes into a hierarchical structure with the 'parent' node at the top and multiple child nodes below (see Appendix IV, which depicts several tree nodes on Mulisa's singing). The first stage of coding led to an initial list of 10 242 tree nodes from a total of 251 pages of transcripts. During the process of coding the researcher translated research information captured from the Gudani family. All tree nodes in NVivo were captured in English. Only the sections of the transcripts later included in the play portraits as vignettes were translated into English as well. As a means of ensuring integrity of original meaning, a co-researcher well-versed in both English and Tshivenda, who has also conducted research in the Venda region, was employed to retrace tree nodes back to original transcripts. This was extremely time-consuming. After a month of fairly consistent agreement, this process was discontinued. The co-researcher had retraced 4000 of the tree nodes back to the original transcripts by this stage.

The initial list of 10 242 tree nodes was progressively collapsed as similar texts or meanings were identified, until 749 codes were developed. These were further collapsed into 239 categories. It was from these categories that 29 tentative themes emerged. The vast amount of themes was as a consequence of them being strongly grounded in raw material from the field, and the researcher's need to paint as truthful a picture as possible of each generation's play. The researcher's dilemma was to

honour the rich narrative of the Gudanis' play story, while also addressing research objectives that sought to understand why this story unfolded the way it did. At this point it seemed reasonable to partially separate themes that spoke to the childhood play of each generation from those that reflected the evolution of play across the three generations. Generation-embedded categories and themes resulted in three portraits of play, one for each generation.

As the researcher became familiar with each generation's play portrait during analysis, reflecting on contextual factors including the family's history, she could start engaging with issues that appeared to indicate why play might have looked the way it did in each generation, as well as why it changed from one generation to the next. This interpretation allowed "the researcher to transcend factual data and cautious analyses" so as to begin "to probe into what is to be made of them" (Wolcott, 1994, p. 36). The researcher followed an iterative process which involved continuously thinking about the data and constant reinterpretation as new insights arose (Creswell, 2007; Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

Interpretation also involved making some inferences. Huberman & Miles (1998) propose that qualitative studies are particularly well suited to describing relationships between different data. Instead of only observing that something occurred, qualitative researchers seek to understand how and why it happened. Paying attention to contextual issues is critical in this. In the current study, identifying key factors and relationships between generation-embedded categories and contextual factors led to the final themes describing the evolution of children's play across generations. Such theorising and sense-making was facilitated by using visual representation in the form of conceptual models that were often revised. Appendix VII shows three main conceptual models, each dealing with play as described or observed in one of the three generations. The centre represented play interactions in the particular generation, while subsequent circles helped identify influences, starting with those relating to the family and progressing to national then international influences. Although these models may resemble what Corbin and Strauss (2008) describe as a conditional matrix, which is sometimes used in Grounded Theory, the intention in the current study was not to follow a strict procedure described within that tradition of

inquiry. As she created the conceptual models, the researcher was careful not to force any data into the circles or to allow theorising to depend solely on what the model helped bring forth.

As an additional mechanism to ensure that theorising did not over-ride contextually based information, the researcher recruited a second co-researcher to review all research information from the initial list of tree nodes, to the eventual themes (which were two at the time). The co-researcher holds a Masters in anthropology and is experienced in social science qualitative research. Minor changes followed this review. At this point, what emerged as play portraits for each generation and the two themes were shared with the participants. Participants from all three generations confirmed that what was portrayed in their respective portrait represented their childhood play. The first and second generation had differing opinions regarding the two main themes representing how play evolved across the generations. While Mom agreed with what the first theme suggested, indicating some persistence in game features over time, grandmother and Dad disagreed, both being uncertain whether this was indeed the case. Grandmother surmised that without observing the third generation play their games herself, it was difficult to judge which game features from earlier generations had been retained. Grandmother, Dad and Mom agreed that the second theme (which at that stage read as the 'The complexification of childhood play', but was translated in Tshivenda to mean 'disagreement around what constitutes play') seemed to ring true.

Significant adaptations were made to the final themes after consultation with two independent reviewers, as well as the PhD supervisors or promoters. Appendix VII highlights these changes, which were mainly about selecting terminology that best represented interpretations the researcher made in capturing how play appeared to have evolved across the three generations. The two themes were also divided into three, allowing for better coherence in meaning. Further consultation with participants was not deemed necessary, since the translated meaning of the original themes matched the final three themes.

4.6 Provision for verification

After having followed an interpretive framework to arrive at the main themes, the researcher had to satisfy herself that she had managed to build a coherent picture of the evolution of play across three generations in the Gudani family as a case. Providing contextual information about the Gudanis, detailing a comprehensive account of the methodology, as well as portraying the Gudanis' play story in descriptive play portraits, was aimed at giving the reader a coherent narrative. Paying attention to the lens used in collecting information and approaching analysis, namely ethnography, and the fact that this is grounded in postmodernism, the approach to verification takes the premise that there can be no easy way of judging its findings (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). At the centre of this difficulty is scepticism that there can be any method or theory with a general claim to authoritative knowledge (Denzin, 1998). There are, however, principles that were followed in this research that are useful as a guide to pursuing ethnographic research so that the findings can be useful.

Emphasis was placed on presenting informants' cultural behaviour from their point of view. This was particularly important in the *description* phase of data transformation. The researcher made provision to verify her observations with participants (see Appendix V). Consistent with postmodernism as the philosophical framework, triangulation was not a primary focus in this research, although it was still offered. The researcher ensured that she was ready to engage fully during fieldwork. Being aware of her own assumptions, she avoided deliberately infusing these on what emerged from the setting. It was expected that the researcher would not be able to separate her assumptions completely from the research context and what eventually became the findings. Part of the researcher's story (Appendix I) specifies her broad perspective on play. Through stating assumptions upfront and honestly reporting on challenges confronted during information-gathering, she intends for the reader to be able to understand how she could have grasped what she did about what happened in play in the Gudani family. Reflexivity was an important part of the research, where the researcher reflected continuously on her evolving understanding of the object of study in reflective journals.

Altheide and Johnson (1998) add valuable insight into aiming to present participants' lives from their 'point of view', proposing that this will always be "as the ethnographer has come to understand it" (p. 305). Their position is that even though all effort is and should be expanded to collaborate with informants, if the researcher does the broad steering of the research process, it should be accepted that the 'point of view' is still as seen by the researcher. It was therefore important in approaching the research setting in this study that the researcher explored what was her vantage point, and came to recognise that this would set the tone to how she was present in the setting. In an attempt to demonstrate as much of a 'truthful' account of the 'point of view' as possible, some ethnographers have gone to the extent of aiming to present text 'uninterpreted' in order that it speaks its own voice. An example is cited in Altheide and Johnson (1998), where Mulkay describes a one-act play without interpreting it. Atkinson is quoted by Altheide and Johnson (1998) as urging caution here, postulating that it would be wrong and not advantageous to participating in the irony of rhetoric if researchers were to shun efforts at representation of 'others'. He suggests an acceptance by ethnographers of limitations in 'truthfully' representing people under study while expanding efforts to produce narratives that are coherent, methodical and plausible. It is thus accepted that any setting in life has many perspectives and voices.

For a reader who is concerned with triangulation and the 'truth value', however, the strength of verification in this study lies in having had multiple sources of information. This includes observation, interviews, photos and audio footage, as well as the reviewing of play objects. Mom sought verification from peers she grew up with, even when these were outside the family circle. The key informant as well as contextual information from early ethnographers (such as Stayt (1931), Van Warmelo & Phophi (1948) and Blacking (1964)) added to this multiplicity of sources. Looking for congruence and contradictions was not done to eradicate rival explanations, but to represent the multivocality of perspectives. Convergence of information was sought to provide as much as possible an 'incontestable description' of the evolution of play across the three generations. It is also suggested that observation, as part of information collection in ethnography, allows for the limiting of observer effects. Phillips, quoted in Adler and Adler (1998), argues that because of its naturalness and

the fact that it is non-directive, the observer role is the least conspicuous and intrusive research technique. Supporting the need to steer away from pre-empting responses from informants, Adler and Adler (1998) suggest that observers enter fieldwork without predetermined theories, and are free to alter the problems and questions they are pursuing as they gain greater knowledge of the participants.

Providing comprehensive contextual information about the Gudani family and giving detailed descriptions of play portraits across generations also fulfilled a requirement for thick description. This is so that a reader would be adequately informed about the particulars of this case before transferring lessons learnt here to any other family or context. Stake (1998) has important thoughts on the generalisation of findings beyond the particular case. He stresses that the objective of a case study is to illustrate how the phenomenon of interest exists within the circumstances of the particular, and that this in itself can be valued and trusted. Little, if any, interest lies in comparing across cases - since another case is expected to be different anyway. This is in complete contrast to those who tend to elevate generalisability as the main object of doing research. In Yin's (2003) view, for instance, there is no other point in doing research except to be able to compare with different realities in other contexts. Stake, on the other hand, finds the intention to study a case only to compare it with another as problematic in itself. He argues that when a researcher sets out to compare across cases, the focus is taken away from the nuanced detail that a particular case can offer to learn from, to the few comparable issues that can be gleaned from several cases.

Notwithstanding different views regarding the appropriateness of generalisation within the case study approach, some qualitative researchers argue that a case study (especially one with strong features of ethnography) provides a detailed description of the present case so that the reader can make good comparisons should they wish to do so. Evers and Wu (2006) strongly support this view, particularly as regards single case studies. Although they accept that generalising from a single case is a complex and difficult matter, they also maintain that there are factors that make it tenable. Firstly, they argue that these studies inherently have a comprehensive structure, shaped by contexts and practices, which provides a network of constitutive and regulative rules for a case, and can reasonably be applied beyond the particular case.

Secondly, they propose that the rich information about contextual factors that researchers bring with them into the research setting serves as a stringent filter for their presuppositions of inquiry. It is the researcher's view that this claim can be strongly supported by a good audit trail. In this study, an audit trail of the research process, documenting all sources of data, the evolving conceptual framework based on emerging information, as well as decisions made at critical points, was developed. Apart from this information having been infused into this research report as the researcher attempted to honestly report on her research journey, it is captured in additional documents that can be made available to interested scholars and practitioners.

4.7 Ethical challenges in cross-cultural research

Thomson (2002) identifies five critical aspects to ensuring ethical research: integrity of the researcher, independent review, beneficence, respecting persons, and justice. Although all of these were strived for in this research, the latter two were found to entail elements that were challenging to confront and manage effectively. 'Respecting persons' refers to respecting the perceptions, beliefs, customs and cultural heritage of the people being researched, while 'justice' refers to the obligation within research to ensure a fair share of burden and benefits.

What particularly made fulfilling these ethical obligations challenging for the researcher was the fact that the culture inferred in this research is not a dominant one in society or within intellectual discourse. Although she had grown up partly in the setting within which this research was conducted, the researcher was keenly aware of the fact that having studied within a fairly Eurocentric profession, and leading a mostly Westernised lifestyle, she was re-entering the setting mostly as an 'outsider' to the local culture (with culture viewed in its broadest sense as the "sum total of what binds individuals into a group with roots or into a community in which they think and will together" (Olweny, 1994, p. 12). Given her cultural 'distance' from how the local community as well as the Gudanis "think and will together", the researcher had to have the sensitivities required when approaching cross-cultural research, while

bearing in mind the dominant ideologies that have informed her being inducted and socialised within Western-led research.

Research that is insensitive to the 'cultural mores' of the people being studied is unethical (Olweny, 1994, p. 19). As regards justice within research, as described by Thomson (2002), unless local community priorities are paramount, cross-cultural research can even be viewed as perpetuating colonisation (Hodge & Lester, 2006). Tuhiwai Smith (1999) even suggests that the word *research* itself is problematic in the indigenous world's vocabulary: "When mentioned in many indigenous contexts, it stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile that is knowing, and distrustful…The ways in which scientific research is implicated in worst excesses of colonialism remains a powerful remembered history for many of the world's colonised peoples. It is a history that still offends the deepest sense of our humanity" (p. 1). This is because in many instances research endeavours have been experienced by indigenous populations as exploitative, with researchers more concerned about their own personal advancement, or stereotypes may have been reinforced from the data gathered.

Given that by the late 1970s about 90% of the world's countries already had diverse populations (Giordano, 1976), it is interesting that cultural differences are often only addressed when researchers cross boundaries and seas (Gormley, 2005) and not when they are from the same country as where the research is conducted, unless culture is a direct focus of the research (Tilley & Gormley, 2007). Research ethics review boards are also often not sensitive to the fact that they may embody dominant ideologies in their make-up, and that there is usually not fair representation of the people being studied. Institutional requirements for ethical research therefore often do not incorporate the subtle implications of our very diverse cultures. As custodians of ethical values, one can therefore ask of these boards on whose terms they aspire to protect communities who are studied.

Having undertaken a study that in retrospect bore highly sensitive ethical dilemmas that the researcher could not have foreseen nor addressed through the institutional ethical review process she strictly followed, she is of a view similar to that of Tilley

and Gormley (2007) that ethical issues should be addressed more within the research context and not only "outside the research context and before the research (even) begins" (p. 369). The researcher found that rather than just following 'rules' agreed to in order to secure institutional ethical approval, she had to constantly confront the question whether she was doing "the right thing", given the circumstances, in order to respect persons and to uphold justice. On completion of the study she realised that she had an obligation not only to her institutional review ethics board but to the communities whose cultural values are often under-represented in institutional reviews. The researcher therefore has the duty to use her experience to contribute to influencing the rules - or at least ensuring that they do not always go unchallenged.

4.7.1 Issues of privacy

During the ethical review process one aspect of the study that was highlighted was that of privacy. There was some concern that given the length of time the researcher aimed to be present within the living spaces of families within her study, research participants could experience the study as intrusive. The researcher paid unreserved heed to this concern, which made her extremely cautious when pursuing entry into the lives of the three families. Throughout the information-gathering period the researcher also stayed cognizant of the fact that she was a guest in the private spaces of the families she was with, and that there was always the risk that families might view the final research report as exposing or misrepresenting their lives and expressions. The unreserved manner in which the three families allowed the researcher into their living spaces was surprising given the institutional review board's concern. Added to this was that during time with two of the three families, neighbours had no difficulty seeing it fit to participate in the interviews if they came to visit and found me interviewing one of the adults. One neighbour who came to visit during my presence with one of the families asked me what made this family 'so special' that I would take time to study them. When I asked what she meant by this family being 'special', she answered that a number of households in the neighbourhood, like hers, would also like me to visit them. This level of interest in my presence in the community was highly intriguing - and contrasted with what the researcher was sensitised to by the university's ethics review board.

Allen (1999) identifies four aspects to privacy: physical, informational, propriety, and decisional. The first two were of primary importance in this study as they were found to be highly contestable. This is in agreement with Monshi and Zieglmayer's (2004) contention "that different cultures and epochs understand privacy in radically different ways" (p. 312). According to Allen (1999), privacy to space refers to spatial seclusion and solitude. Monshi and Zieglmayer (2004), however, found in their study in Sri Lanka that people preferred to be interviewed in open spaces, and seemed to view the private sphere as beginning only at the level of body and skin contact. For instance, their participants found handshakes uncomfortable. With regards to informational privacy, it seems that what can be regarded as private or not can never be taken at face value. The willingness by families in this research to have the researcher as participant observer in their space, and in some instances to share interviews with their neighbours, attests to the fact that within the local culture most of the information gathered in this research was not regarded as private. It may be that these families found the issues raised by this research with regard to children's play as requiring collective sense-making. Families in other cultures may have found the same process intrusive.

4.7.2 Obtaining consent and assent, and ongoing sensitivity to these

The researcher approached access to families in this research with the hope that those selected would come to view themselves as a valuable resource towards understanding how children's play evolves across three generations within families. The research started by providing potential families with clear and sufficient information on the purpose of the research, what information the researcher would be gathering while in the family setting, as well as what it was hoped that the final research document would report (see Appendix VII). Written consent was obtained from the designated head of the family (Appendix VIII), and assent in writing was also secured from all children referred to directly (through pseudonyms) in the raw research material as well as this report (Appendix IX). This meant that in the Gudani family, Nayo also needed to sign an assent form, even though her play engagements were not the focus of this research. Information on the research and all forms were presented to the participants in Tshivenda.

Showing respect to all individuals and collaboration between the researcher and informants within families was crucial in cultivating participants' view of themselves as having valuable contributions to offer towards fulfilling the study objectives. The researcher also did not 'impose herself' on individuals in the setting, but allowed interest from particular family members to emerge naturally. Although the fact that families could withdraw from participating in the research was communicated, the researcher still needed to be conscious of any indications of discomfort that could have arisen as visits to the families progressed. Disruption to family schedules was central to this, influencing sleep-times and the children's presence within the home being noted by the researcher as a concern, which she addressed as much as she could.

The researcher had to be constantly aware of how she contributed to the power dynamics at play, which also related to how she began to 'thank' the families for allowing her into their space while still in the setting. Again, her approach was to allow for opportunities to avail themselves, one being helping Mulisa and Duka with their homework whenever possible and offering information related to studying possibilities. This had to be done carefully so that the researcher did not take over these roles from the parents. As a token of appreciation on her last day, the researcher offered each of the families a 'treat' after consulting with older siblings within the family. For all three families, this was ordering a take-away meal for the whole family. As a final gesture of gratitude, the Gudanis will be presented with a copy of this research report after all university submission procedures.

4.7.3 The dilemma of prior disclosure

Another ethical review requirement that brought some ideological disjuncture into the ethics of this research relates to prior disclosure of the researcher's legal obligation to report any instance of child abuse. This researcher holds an unreserved view that in all instances where a child is hurt, appropriate authorities must be informed. What became a challenge for the researcher in this study was stating this legal obligation upfront while knowing that within the local culture this statement could be viewed as discourteous. It is difficult to refer to the 'possibility' of a crime without insinuating

criminal propensity. There is also the ongoing debate around the ideological basis on which some contentious human rights are rooted. Methods of disciplining children and child labour are highly contested areas within the human rights discourse, especially on the African continent, including South Africa. In this study the researcher found that she had to traverse this human rights terrain very carefully, bearing in mind that beliefs about childhood and the rights of children are not the same across different cultures, societies and times in history (Woodhead, Burr & Montgomery, 2003).

As regards prior disclosure of intent in the event of suspected child abuse, the researcher found the safest route to be open dialogue with adult participants. As soon as the designated heads of the families had read through the research information and indicated their understanding of the research process, the researcher asked them how they felt about the statement around child abuse. Although there were different nuances raised in each family, all adults confirmed the researcher's sense that there would be discomfort around this statement being stated upfront. The researcher found that she had to play mostly an educative role, explaining the role of government and social institutions as standard bearers for rights that protect children. She also had to be honest about her own discomfort in including a statement that could be seen as accusatory, given the local culture which often regards direct confrontation as disrespectful. In all three families this discussion led to conversation around what constitutes abuse, especially as regard disciplining children and child labour. In all three families the researcher allowed participants to describe what they would regard as child abuse. All viewed sexual abuse as the most abhorrent form of child abuse, followed by emotional abuse and neglect.

As the researcher anticipated, child discipline and child labour were contentious issues. All three families subscribed to corporal punishment as a means of enforcing discipline in children. Although there was never a single instance where an adult was seen striking a child throughout the information collection period, threats of 'a spank' were heard several times in all three families. These instances always brought about an ethical dilemma for the researcher. At the time of data collection in 2005 there was extensive public debate around the New Children's Act which was later passed in

November 2005. Although the Act prohibited corporal punishment only in public spaces, advocacy for this prohibition to extend into homes was growing, led by the Children's Bill Working Group, particularly its subgroup on Corporal Punishment (Bower, 2008).

The researcher herself had been brought up with 'spanking', and only learned alternative methods of disciplining a child through her professional education. Therefore, although the threats of spanking brought serious discomfort, she could not view them negatively in isolation. Assuming that alternative ways of disciplining children could be resourceful for parents, and can help safeguard children's rights according the 1995 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, the researcher felt strongly obligated to provide this education, especially after finding that there was not a single agency in the area offering the service. Although the researcher did not take on the role of teaching alternative discipline methods to the family for fear of complicating her role as a researcher, she has continued to wonder whether doing so would not have been imposing her own judgment on spanking. There appear to be no simple answers in this regard.

Child labour is another contentious issue. Although work is generally used to refer to paid employment, within occupational therapy that which cannot be deemed discretionary use of time often falls within the work category (Reed & Sanderson, 1999). Housework is one such activity. For a child, when is housework a chore and when is it child labour? This question becomes pertinent when a child is observed to spend a significant amount of time carrying out tasks that are in most cases done by adults, as was observed of Koni within the family. Already this statement is open for debate as 'most cases' is subject to context. Responsibility for household tasks is carried by adults in most developed countries. In underdeveloped contexts this responsibility is mostly shared by both adults and children. To this end, Nieuwenhuys (1996) writes: "Irrespective of what children do and what they think of what they do, modern society sets them apart ideologically as a category excluded from the production of value. The dissociation of children from the performance of valued work is considered a yardstick of modernity, and a high incidence of child labour is considered a sign of underdevelopment. The problem with defining children's roles in

this way however, is that it denies their agency in the creation and negotiation of value" (p. 237). One therefore has to study what happens in the research context in terms of what is reasonable for children to do as a contribution to their families, before labelling child work activities as child labour. Also, where families are pushed by non-equitable societal conditions into burdening their children with household responsibilities, advocacy should be focused on addressing those inequities rather than targeting the often powerless adults in those families.

4.7.4 Ensuring confidentiality

Although families unreservedly shared information relevant to this study, it was assumed that they would expect their privacy to be respected with regard to sensitive information such as family make-up, living conditions, and culture in detail. The possibility of identifying which family is portrayed in the research report was avoided as much as possible. Judging which specific details might make the family identifiable was done in consultation with the family. Direct reference to participants in this report was done through pseudonyms which do not correspond to their actual names in any way. No filed information collected from the three families refers to any participant's full name, their full date of birth, address or phone number. All documents are kept in a secure place and are only available for scrutiny by supervisors and examiners if deemed necessary. Co-researchers did not keep any copy of the raw material they were asked to either translate or co-analyse. The researcher obtained consent from the families, including children, for video material and photos to be made available for educational purposes only in institutions for higher learning or conferences. These materials are all stored and locked in a secure cabinet at the University of Cape Town.

4.7.5 Competing stories

Another ethical dilemma which the researcher confronted is that of attending to different stories from the family that may all need to be told. In a context where one may be researching people whose life stories and general history are not captured sufficiently or truthfully in mainstream historical books, pursuing a pre-set research

agenda to the exclusion of people's untold stories poses an ethical challenge. A significant amount of resources goes into supporting research conceptualised at institutions of higher learning, with communities often having little means to access avenues to tell their story of choice in ways that will receive broad coverage. Researchers are also contractually bound by funders to meet research objectives within specified time periods. At times the researcher found herself re-evaluating the primacy of the research agenda in the light of participants' need to tell their story of choice.

In the Gudani family this emerged when grandmother was being interviewed about her childhood play, and spent most of the first interview narrating the story of her family, starting with her paternal great grandfather. She gave an elaborate account of events in early Venda history that the researcher had seen generally covered in scholarly works. Her narrative was fascinating as she wove intricate links between key historical figures, known events, and their impact on people's everyday lives. She also named Venda kings and missionaries in chronological order, situating her family genealogy within this. Some of this information situates the family as a case within Venda's historical context. However, most of this information is not captured in this report. As it was made clear earlier that this information was told and captured for the first time, the researcher will make the audio footage available for the family's own historical records.

Another tangible instance of competing narratives was when a neighbour questioned the 'special' attention afforded families were selected for this study. When participants select a story to tell the researcher, which may not find another place to be heard, what obligation do researchers have?

4.7.6 Attending to emotional distress

Exposing people to issues of loss was a real risk that the researcher had to watch out for. In reminiscing about the past, it became evident in one instance that this raised concern about loss of cultural activities and the meaning derived. One adult in the three families became emotional when he surmised that loss of cultural identity could

be inferred from parents finding that they could no longer relate to their own children's play engagements. The researcher had to tap into her counselling skills to 'be present' in a different manner during this time. Instead of probing further in order to gain as much as possible regarding the extent and meaning of the emotions involved, she chose to let the participant share at will. The researcher also did not opt to redirect the interview to a different topic but allowed the participant to steer the conversation towards a lighter mood when he was ready to do so.

Spending considerable time with people often leads to the development of relationships, maybe even attachment for particularly vulnerable individuals. The researcher was cognizant of this and strove as much as possible not to replace family members in the supportive roles they give each other. An important skill developed by the researcher was redirecting any call for assistance (except for homework or career advice) to another family member. All participants, including children, were often re-oriented to the calendar to remind them of the last day of information gathering.

4.7.7 Honouring the families that were 'dropped'

Although the two families not included ultimately towards completion of this report were immediately informed of the decision and reasons for using only one family, the researcher feels ethically obliged to still honour their time and stories. Having given of their time and shared their stories, it appears prudent to ensure that the opportunity to learn from these families is not lost. To this end, the same process that was followed in analysing and making sense of findings as was done with the Gudani family, followed by cross-case analysis, will be done as part of the researcher's post-doctoral work. In addition, having maintained contact with all three families, it seems their main concern is that the researcher stays interested in their children's progress at school. There is always pride in the parents' voices as they share where each of the younger participants is in their schooling careers.

4.7.8 Limitations of the study

There are two main issues of concern that can be raised in this research. One relates to revising aspects of the research design in the middle of the research process, while the other points to the veracity of information gathered from the first and second generation. Having started out with the intention of studying three families, it is reasonable to expect that the researcher may have gone about collecting information from these families differently from how she would have done it had the initial plan been to study only one. Also, although the researcher chose the Gudanis on the basis that the three generations within it had been raised in most diverse settings, this also happened to be the last family from which information was collected. Since the researcher became progressively skilled in using ethnographic techniques as she moved from the first family to the third, information collected from the Gudanis could be more comprehensive than from the other two. If the order had been reversed, it may be that there could have been other features that might have emerged from the other two families, potentially rendering them more promising for learning than the Gudanis.

As regards to information gathered from the three generations, access to the third generation's play was extensive and offered most sources for triangulation. In addition to interviews, the observations, photos, audio footage and review of material culture could only be used with the third generation. Access to the first and second generation's play could only be gained through interviews, and relied heavily on autobiographical memory. Given their formalised character and definitive features, games were easily recalled by the first and second generations. It is accepted here that the more pervasive, spontaneous and unstructured forms of play that are not easily defined in these generations may have been lost in the interviews. There were also no play artefacts to complement accounts of these two generations. It was mainly through adult participants consulting with each other as well as information from the key informant that other perspectives could be given on these accounts.

Historical accounts of general Venda culture by early ethnographers were also helpful in providing contextual information to frame these accounts as plausible. Because

information across the three generations was not equally extensive and verifiable, there were limitations to how well play across the generations could be compared in order to give a more realistic picture of how play evolved. However, contextual information from the time periods within which these three generations played as children provided a strong background against which play portraits from each generation could be constructed and checked. The fact that the first generation is represented only by the maternal grandmother could be seen as a limitation in as far as it skewed this generation's play portrait towards the maternal side of the family. The impact of paternal grandparents on the later two generations is also not reflected. However, given the fact that there is almost non-existent contact between the paternal grandparents and the third generation, and that it is only just recently that Dad started making frequent visits, it can be suggested that much of the intergenerational influence from the first to the third generation is facilitated through the maternal side of the family.

CHAPTER 5
INTRODUCING THE GUDANI FAMILY

Members of the Gudani family were first introduced to the reader as participants in Chapter 4 when the research setting and the three generations within the family as a case were described as a unit of analysis. While Chapter 4 only mentioned the ages of the different family members and located them within their respective generations, this present chapter provides a detailed tapestry of each family member's character and, where possible, places them within the family's history. Given that personal character has some bearing on play interactions within the family, information in this chapter is intricately linked to that in Chapter 6, which describes the childhood play portraits for each generation.

5.1 The first generation

Grandmother

Due to sensitive issues surrounding Mom and Dad's marital arrangements, the researcher only had access to the maternal grandmother. She is sometimes referred to in this report as Gran. Born in 1928, her childhood spans the 1930s as well as the 1940s, although she described engaging in certain play forms until the 1950s. Grandmother detailed the family's history, starting with her paternal grandparents. Originally from Mukumbani, and a member of the Tshivhase royal family, her grandfather emigrated with his family in order to avoid succession battles. Once he settled in Lwamondo, his family in Mukumbani made arrangements for him to be allocated a village to rule over as chief. Having declined to be chief for the first village they chose for him, he agreed to rule over Phindula. This is where grandmother's father was born, to his father's first of four wives. Being the first son to his father meant grandmother's father was in line to be chief. Following custom, and also as a way to prevent him from possible assassination, he was sent away to grow up in a distant village, Mudunungwi. From here he left for the city, where he grew into manhood.

From the city, he was recruited into joining those who were sent to fight in the World War I in 1914. Grandmother maintains that it was God who protected her father during the war. On his return he was given a job as a Criminal Investigation Detective (CID) in Johannesburg. During his service as a CID he was called to the Lord. He left his job, and returned to Venda, to his parents' home in Phindula, where he found that his family had arranged a marriage for him with a local girl. Refusing to recognise this girl as his wife, he went back to Mudunungwi and married a girl he knew from his childhood, bringing her into Christianity. When his family insisted that he could also marry the girl they had chosen for him, he pointed out that polygamy was ungodly. With his wife he moved from his parents' home and settled at Maungani, where they could attend church.

Soon after the birth of their first daughter, grandmother's father was asked to lead a newly formed congregation in Ngovhela. Before taking on this higher calling, he went and bade farewell to his family in Mudunungwi, indicating that he could no longer be the designated heir to the chieftainship. Alongside his relinquishment of chieftainship, he asked that his family no longer contact him for traditional matters and obligations. This meant that his children could not go through initiations customary for the royal descendants. There were several attempts to get him to allow his daughters to go through these processes, which stopped only after his father passed away.

Grandmother seemed very proud of her father's exemplary stewardship of his Lutheran congregation, remarking that he was a true shepherd, "called from being a CID to the world, to being a church CID." Grandmother's father's story and how grandmother's family was one of the first converts into Christianity fits well within the history of how Christianity was introduced into the Venda region. On bringing back a new religion to their homes, their newfound ways often met with strong resistance from family, often necessitating complete severance of family ties and departure from homes of origin. Needing a place to establish a home while ensuring spiritual nurturance, it made sense that grandmother's father settled at Maungani, the second missionary station to be established in the Venda region (BENSO, 1979). Gran's home as a child constituted two detached brick houses with corrugated iron roofs. One of these had two rooms to accommodate the parents' bedroom and a

kitchen, while the other one-roomed house was the bedroom for grandmother and her two sisters. Except for the fact that she loved traditional beer, Gran did not say much about her mother.

Gran was married in 1954 during her mid-twenties. Her husband, a teacher who later ran a general trading store for a Portuguese merchant, died in 1987, leaving her with six children now all adult. She stays in her own house on an approximately 3000 m^2 plot, with a number of mango trees in the yard and an open field where she harvests maize annually. She always has one of her 24 grandchildren staying with her at any given point during the year. She also often visits one of her children, staying for one to two weeks at a time. She is mostly independent, and takes care of the house with minimal assistance. On the two occasions the researcher visited her, she was doing beadwork while listening to the radio. She listens mostly to news, obituaries and soccer matches, and is an avid soccer follower; the local soccer team, Black Leopards, is her favourite - she knows all the team players by name and has her specific preferences.

5.2 The second generation

Dad

Dad was born in 1962 and grew up during the 1960s and 1970s as South Africa entered its tumultuous history of an apartheid-led government and the underground liberation struggle. As a child and teenager, Dad lived through the implementation of the Bantustan policy (detailed in Chapter 2) when Ba Tsonga were forcibly uprooted from among Vhavenda. Dad grew up in a traditional household where his father had three wives. Throughout Dad's childhood, the family lived in thatched-roofed huts, drew water from natural fountains and had no access to electricity. Dad's father was a *Mukoma,* a tribal elder tasked with overseeing a section of the village on behalf of the chief. His responsibilities included allocating land to newcomers into the village, organising villagers for communal work on fields, and presiding over traditional ceremonies and judicial processes for non-serious offences under his area of jurisdiction.

Considered well off by the economic standards of the time, Dad remembers spending considerable time herding cattle with his siblings. As the youngest of 15 children in his family, he was easily relieved of herding duties so he could attend school. He was therefore able to go as far as he wished in education, ultimately earning a degree in science as one of the first graduates of the newly established University of Venda. He is currently a lecturer at the same university, and owns two businesses in the area, a bottle store and a mini-supermarket. Apart from the Gudani family, Dad has a second family which he created with his now deceased first wife. He lives most days of the week with the second family, and visits the Gudani family on some weekdays, often in the evenings and staying overnight. Due to these living arrangements the researcher only saw him twice during the 24 days on which she collected information from the family. He was interviewed telephonically after the researcher had completed on-site data collection. It appears that recently Dad's visits to the Gudani family have been increasing in frequency.

Mom

Mom was born in 1960, the year of the Sharpeville massacre. Slightly older than Dad, she grew up in the same period in a neighbouring village to where he grew up. Mom's family would have been regarded as fairly well educated at the time, the father having been a teacher. Mom and her five siblings completed high school and pursued professional careers. The family was one of very few households who built European-style houses with several rooms in their village in 1983. This was followed by plumbing for running water and cabling for electricity. Access to running water and electricity was achieved in 1985, after which the family bought their first television set, a novelty in the area at the time. (Applying for water and electricity remains a costly and long process in the area; once accessed, supply of these is often interrupted without warning.)

Never married, Mom worked in one of the local banks. During the 24 days of fieldwork Mom worked all weekdays and every Saturday morning, arriving home at 17h30 most days during the week. On Saturdays after work she often had social and family commitments, which mostly involved attending funerals or weddings. Being the parent most present at home she was the designated head of the family who gave

permission for this research to be conducted. A stylish dresser, she often looked younger than her actual age, and was often confused by people to be Nayo's Mom, not her grandmother. Some of Nayo's friends, however, thought Mom was also grandmother to Duka. Duka and Nayo often joked around this confusion. Mom did not recall much of her childhood play during her interview with the researcher, leading her to eventually consult with peers at work. One thing she remembered, however, was that she was very scared of strangers.

It is not clear when Mom and Dad met. The researcher was not able to ask questions regarding this as she perceived the living arrangements in the family to be a sensitive matter. However, Mom and Dad had the two youngest children between them, the oldest of which is Mulisa.

5.3 The third generation

The third generation includes all of Mom's five children, two of whom are adults. In chronological order they are Lugi, Funani, Koni, Mulisa and Duka. Mom still lived with her parents when she gave birth to her first four children, after which she moved to the capital city, Thohoyandou. Unable to secure a mortgage for a house initially, she lived with her children in an informal structure on a plot within the development site for a new suburb. This is where the youngest child Duka was born. From this home the family had access to running water through an outside tap. The structure was fully electrified, enabling ready access to television. The family moved into a mortgaged house in 2000, which has four bedrooms and a separate garage, on a 400 m^2 plot. At the back of the house there is a vegetable garden with a few spinach crops and tomato vines. The front yard has a well-manicured, sizeable lawn with three raised islands on which an assortment of flowers grows. Funani and Koni seem to take sole responsibility for the garden and yard, while Mulisa and Duka help with watering at times. Unlike the rural areas were Mom and Dad grew up, access to electricity is uninterrupted in Thohoyandou, while the water supply is guaranteed daily, only diminishing towards evening.

Although the family's house would fit within the middle-class range for the area, the family's lifestyle did not quite match this. Dad was the only one with a car, which served both his families. Mom used public transport to travel back and forth to work, while the children walked to school and back. The family had one television set and a music system, both kept in the lounge at all times. There was no DVD player, an item which most households in the area own. There was also no computer or Internet connection in the Gudani family. (A number of households in the area were beginning to acquire these.) Everyone in the family except Nayo had a cell phone, although Mulisa and Duka's were hand-me-downs from Mom and Dad. The only two bought toys that belonged to any of the children that were seen during this research were a balloon and a broken electronic game.

Lugi was born in 1977, when Mom was in her late teens. After graduating from high school in 1995 he struggled to find a steady job. When the researcher started visiting the family he was unemployed, but during this time managed to secure a short-term work contract with a road construction company building a new tarred road in the area. Lugi did not spend much time at home. He joined the rest of the family a few times to watch the local soap opera *Muvhango* during the 24 days the researcher was there. Although mostly quiet he was always pleasant and joined in the family commentary on local affairs. The researcher only saw him once at home during the day, when he joined Mom in reprimanding Duka and Nayo for making a noise as they ran around in the yard.

Funani

Funani was born in 1980 and was 18 when she had Nayo. She graduated with a degree in environmental studies from the local university in 2002, but was struggling to find employment. She tried to run a hair salon near Gran's house but found that customers often did not have the money to pay her. At the time of this research she had just started doing people's hair in their own homes, continuing to search in the newspapers for work in line with her studies. She was home the whole day a few times when the researcher was there. During these times she liked to chat to the researcher about general topics, including the local gossip. She also often had something to comment on about Duka and Nayo's play engagements and general

activities within the home. Her presence at home made participant observation easier for the researcher. Whenever Mulisa, Duka and Nayo went to visit grandmother, Funani made arrangements for their transportation.

Koni

Koni, the second oldest daughter, was in Grade 12 during data collection for this research. As it was during the fourth quarter of the academic year when data were collected, she was preparing for her final high school examinations. As the oldest child most available at home, she carried the highest responsibility for household tasks. During the time the researcher was at the Gudanis, she was often observed doing household chores, studying, or taking a nap. Of all the family members mostly at home, she was second only to Nayo in watching television the least. She was also the quietest in the family and spoke mostly only when directly addressed. She also commented least on Duka and Nayo's play engagements and was never seen playing. On one occasion she mediated in Duka and Nayo's favour when Mulisa forbade them from playing in the garage.

Mulisa

Mulisa, the youngest daughter within the third generation, was born in 1993, making her 12 years old at the time of this research. She was in Grade 7. Tall for her age and slim, she often drew comments that she could be a fashion model if she wanted to. Mulisa loved to sing, and was often heard singing when in other parts of the house except the lounge; she indicated that she would like to pursue a career in singing, although her Dad preferred her to pursue a 'real' profession like engineering or medicine. Although she seemed mostly self-conscious and shy, especially if Duka was not around, she asked the researcher a few directed questions about travelling and study options at the University of Cape Town. Mulisa also displayed a keen interest in South African politics and followed Mr Jacob Zuma's court battles closely. She would be tentative at first in her approach but progressively became confident in her conversations with the researcher about her take on this. As a younger child, before she could talk, Mulisa apparently loved to engage visitors, sometimes 'winking' at them from across the room. Mom says Mulisa's shyness crept in with age. If not helping Koni out with house chores, or watching television, Mulisa often took a nap

after school before she did her school homework. Several times during the researcher's visits she fell asleep on the couch while watching television. When the researcher inquired about this, Mulisa explained that the 30-minute walk from school in the sun made her tired.

Duka

Duka was in Grade 4 at the time of this research, and a very capable learner, with generally excellent school marks. He displayed both pride and modesty around this. Duka loved to dance and when younger would dance wholeheartedly, especially if adults were around to cheer him on. According to Mom, Duka's dancing skill and time spent dancing have diminished significantly with age. He also loved to sing, and sometimes joined Mulisa. Duka was highly inquisitive during the researcher's visits, making him a central collaborator in the research process. He was generally confident in his engagements with adults in the family, sometimes interacting in ways not easy to categorise as serious or playful, especially in displaying respect or affection. For his age, Duka generally displayed remarkable insight and had an impressive ability for satire, sometimes throwing in ironic statements or engaging through a play on words with adults or his older siblings. These kinds of interaction were sometimes directed at the researcher. What appeared as sibling rivalry between him and Mulisa was constant. Regarded a chatterbox, Duka was often reminded to keep quiet during conversations, and especially during the favourite soap opera on television. Duka's behaviour towards Nayo was generally protective. Not far apart in age, they sometimes played together, but Duka seemed very aware that he was her uncle, not her sibling.

5.4 The fourth generation

Nayo

This generation was not the focus of this research. The researcher decided from the beginning of the research process that she would pay attention to all instances where Nayo's presence or play engagement within the family, influenced that of the third generation in any way. A general description of Nayo's engagements, independent of the third generation, will briefly be captured here, and referred to in the rest of the

report only as background against which the third generation's activities can be contrasted and compared.

Nayo was in Grade R (the final year of preparatory schooling) during the information collection period. Before that she had attended crèche for two years. Of all the children in the family, Nayo was the least indoors after school. The minute her book-case hit the floor and her day clothes were on, she was out of the house. This earned her a nickname, '*Raluswielo*' from Duka, meaning 'the one with a broomstick'; viewed metaphorically, this could mean that Nayo sweeps across the whole neighbourhood, and it also means she has the ability to suddenly vanish. Sometimes the researcher would arrive at the house at the same time as Nayo, who, a minute later, would be nowhere to be found. Nayo's life after school revolved around playing with her friends, mostly away from the Gudanis, in the yard of one of her friends in the neighbourhood. Once as the researcher was driving towards the Gudanis' house, she saw Nayo and friends jumping over a fence into a neighbour's yard, with Nayo carrying a white doll on her back, which the researcher was later told belonged to one of her friends.

During the 24 days that the researcher was there, Nayo and her friends played in the Gudanis' yard four times, with Duka joining them once. Nayo also made friends easily whenever there was a child guest in the house, often constructing a game immediately on first encounter. She showed no interest in the television, choosing to play even when the rest of the family was watching their usual favourite soap operas. The only time the researcher ever saw Nayo in the lounge during the day was if she were passing to go elsewhere or looking for something specific. In the evenings she would sit in the lounge in order to have her dinner or do her homework. In one instance during the research period, Nayo initiated a game in the lounge with Duka, with his new balloon. When doing nothing she immediately fell asleep on or behind the couch, inviting nags from everyone, especially Mom, to go have a bath, or to bed if she had already bathed. Often very tired at the end of the day, Nayo was not especially fond of the bath, and instructions from Mom to bathe often drew tears. Only on one occasion during the research, when she shared her bath with a visiting child, was there laughter from Nayo around this time. Much noise and mischievous

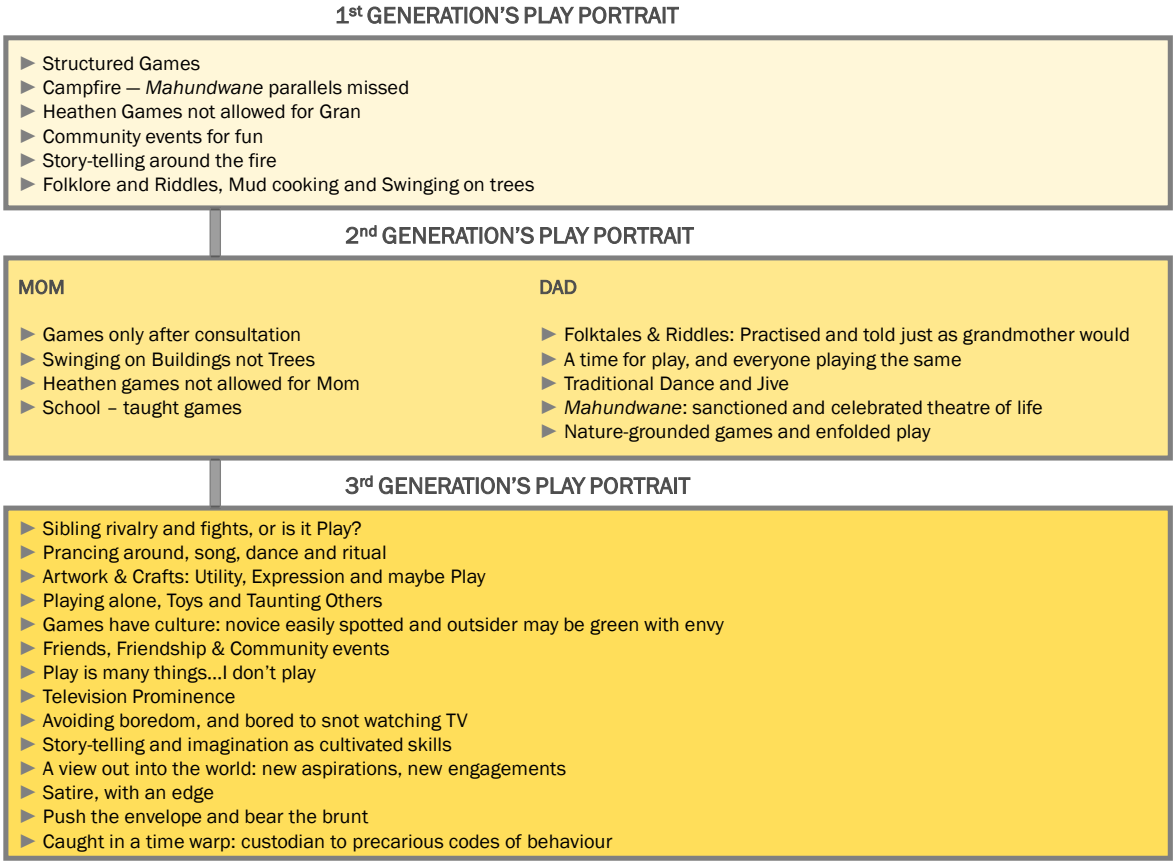
sniggers could be heard from the bath. Nayo and her new friend also ran around naked after the bath, much to Duka's "utter disgust", and the adults' amusement. Duka recognised Nayo's resourcefulness in games, and particularly admired a trick only Nayo could do: flattening her nose until the nostrils disappear and the whole nose is reduced into a small knob in the middle of the face.

CHAPTER 6

THE PLAY PORTRAITS OF EACH OF THE THREE GENERATIONS

This chapter presents the childhood play portraits of each of the three generations from the Gudani family that emerged from generation-embedded themes. Figure 6.1 is a schematic representation of the generation-embedded themes that informed the portraits. The play portraits, being strongly grounded in the data, allow the Gudani family as a case to 'tell its own story' on childhood play within the family. Vignettes capture play interactions as they happened within the family, or interviews about past play, which are taken verbatim and translated into English. Unless otherwise stated, all vignettes on actual play interactions are based on footage taken in the Gudani lounge. Gran was interviewed in her own house, while Dad was interviewed telephonically. In all vignettes, 'E' refers to the researcher.

Figure 6. 1: Schematic representation of the generation-embedded themes that informed the play portraits of the Gudani family.



6.1 Play portrait of the first generation

As depicted in the diagram above, six themes describe the first generation's play portrait, which are ordered according to the strength with which they represent grandmother's play engagements as a child, except in instances where a theme is directly linked to the one preceding it, as with the first two themes.

6.1.1 Structured games

The structured nature of Gran's childhood play engagements is captured in Vignette 1. 'Structured' here means to given form or arrangement by social institutions or factors beyond the direct control of the children. The church, school and family as social institutions collaborated in order to give form to what occupied grandmother's

time and energy as a child. This means that to a large extent these institutions determined the content, space and time for grandmother's childhood engagements, which included the games she played. As one of the first two families to convert to Christianity in the village (see Vignette 2), grandmother's parents ensured that she engaged in activities that fell within the bounds of what was proper for a Christian child. This required that she got together regularly with others were raised with similar values, and was separated from the 'heathens'.

Vignette 1: Interview excerpt with Gran

Gran: Wayfarer games were for girls only. The same way as there are youth activities now. Now, in our youth games we did not mix with boys. Boys had their separate games as Pathfinders. Girls were Wayfarers. All these were also school games. All these games like throw and catch with balls. We would also go on camps. We would go anywhere, to places like Tshakhuma, even Elim. This was the Christian way. There would be Wayfarers from all over. Now, the day before we went our separate ways, we had the campfire, *"Khemphe-ha, I khou swa"* [the camp is now burning], marking the end of the camp. We would pile up wood, very nicely. Now, fire would then be started. The wood would burn in a huge inferno. The same flame was on the Wayfarer flag. We would be singing as the fire burnt, saying, "Campfire is burning" [Original words]. The fire would be burning. We would be singing as we circled the fire, until the fire died down.

E: *Would you be singing in English?*

Gran: Yes

E: *What did the fire mean, especially the fact that it was even on your Wayfarer flag?*

Gran: It was our flag. Now, we were going our separate ways. The camp has ended, we are going home.

E: *Was this in any way similar to Mahundwane? I heard through someone that there used to be a bonfire at the end as well.*

Gran: A! [Exclamation signifying surprised horror] Did I go? I can only tell you of things I saw with my own eyes. Wood piled up nicely, and fire started.

It was really beautiful! As we sang and circled the fire. The fire would die down, and then the next day we would all go home. Some would go somewhere and others elsewhere.

E: *For how long did you stay at camp?*

Gran: I cannot remember how many days we stayed at camp. Did we spend a week, or a few days?...I cannot remember.

E: *Was this during school holidays?*

Gran: Yeees!

E: *How would you all get there?*

Gran: By cars…now, as we camped like we would at Tshakhuma, we would climb mountains and go play all the way at the top. It would be a lot of fun! Our games I think were more fun than Mahundwane. Wayfarer games were a lot of fun.

E: *Do you remember what you used to play on top of the mountain?*

Gran: I do not remember what it was we used to play. What I remember is that we did not swim. We also did not climb trees. We went up there to sing. Ours was to sing and dance. All that was done there was under Jesus' bidding. Yes, everything that was done was not from outside. Even Ndode [a game where one stone is thrown up in the air as the player takes other stones in a series of 1s, 2s etc. out of circle or hole on the ground, before catching the descending stone] was not played there. … Now, we would be singing there, enjoying ourselves. We would be singing only Christian songs, also dancing. In the mornings, as soon as we woke up, we would drill [march]. … Everything we did as Jesus ordered. There was no even dancing *Malende* [traditional dance where people sit in a circle and take turns to dance to a drum, accompanied by song, and sometimes hand-clapping]. We did none of that. No, Malende was not allowed there. Ball games were catching and throwing. We would be divided in groups…throwing to each other…and catching.

E: *Who would teach you all these?*

Gran: I think our lady teachers were taught all these things wherever they trained as teachers. You see, there were no outside teachers in our schools. School and Christianity went together. Christianity came first. After

Christianity came school. Missionaries are the ones who brought education. Missionaries are the ones who taught you all this, so you are like this, able to speak English. They do not release this part of the history.

In Vignette 2, grandmother tells of how she and her two siblings grew up like sisters with girls from the only other Christian family in the village, even though they belonged to very different churches. Sending children to school where all teachers were Christian was another crucial element in a family's attempt to ensure a consistent Christian upbringing for its children. School holidays - when continuity of doctrines and the Christian way of life could have been threatened - had to be planned for as well. Wayfarer camps ensured this continuity. 'Heathen' or, as grandmother put it, 'outside' games were not allowed at these camps, not even *Ndode*. To guarantee that 'heathen' games or activities did not infiltrate Wayfarer activities or the school, the church ensured that no 'heathen' teacher was allowed to facilitate engagements in these spaces. Games learnt there, from Christian teachers who also taught grandmother at school, became a resource to draw from when she played with others at home. In Vignette 2 grandmother shares that she was able to draw "the others" (non-Christians) into Christianity in this way.

Vignette 2: Interview excerpt with Gran

Gran: Now, I was the one in trouble, my older sister would nudge me so that I pretended to yawn. You see if a child yawns it is taken that he or she is sleepy …when I yawned...they would say the child is sleepy we should have the evening prayer so that she can go sleep. And so they would say, 'go fetch the book [Bible]'. I would go and fetch the book, knowing very well that it was all pretences. Once the prayer was done, we would then go sleep. Our [Gran and her sisters] sleeping room was separate…they had built a one room for us on the side of the main two-roomed house. We would open our door very quietly, on our way to *Tshinzerere* now.

E: *Were you sneaking out?*

Gran: Yes! We would sneak out to go, and also to return.

E: *Why did you have to sneak out?*

Gran: No…we were not allowed. Father would not allow us to go.

E: *Why was this?*

Gran: Because we belonged to the church. Don't you see when it is said that the child is sleepy let's have the prayer. In our family they did not allow just anything.

E: *As you say that you had to sneak out to Tshinzerere, what about other mitambo* [games or play forms]?

Gran: [With emphasis signaling mock surprise/horror/ being astounded] Which ones now? Played during the day? Nooo! We do not even begin to think to go there. Isn't it Tshinzerere is played at night. While people slept we sneaked out. No, now how can we leave when anybody can see, in broad daylight? No!

E: *Was there no playing at all, then?*

Gran: No! No! It was either that we did school related activities, or track-racing. Even the others (non-Christians) would join us. Our play was all about these. *E!* [Exclamation] Anything else? Our family had strict rules. It was just like that.

E: *What about Mahundwane?*

Gran: No, we did not go. They [non-Christians] played there by themselves. We would only hear that *Mahundwane* has been built over there.

E: *How did you feel about this?*

Gran: But one would find they wished they could be there. But you would say to yourself, but my family's rules are such and such. One aspired to go. There were only two Christian homes here. The other one belonged to the 'Church of the drum' (Apostolic Faith Mission). Even they did not go. We grew as siblings with them. So our big sister came from that family. She looked after my [real] older sisters. When she got married, my own sister was left in her place. My sister then also got married. I was then left to be big sister as the one just above me suffered ill-health.

Consistent with how Christian doctrine was interpreted in this context, genders were separated during childhood engagements. This also informed how the church-led scouting movements were formed. Girls could only be Wayfarers, just as boys could

only be Pathfinders. However, this separation did not always work in grandmother's case. Before other girls joined the church she was forced to befriend the Christian boys who were there, which is what, she says at another point in her interview, made her grow up "like a boy".

The scouting movements, funded by the church, introduced a youth activity that was a novelty during grandmother's time - camping. This activity was reserved only for Wayfarers or Pathfinders. Transported by cars - both a novelty and a treat especially for youth during those times - grandmother and other Wayfarers went camping. With activities strongly embedded in Christian principles, camping as an occupation for Christian youth was a practice that ensured consistency with regard to the values that newly converted families would have begun to adopt. Grandmother proudly shared the rules or pledges that bound her as a Wayfarer. Paramount to all was obedience and servitude, accompanied by a love for animals. Grandmother indicated that all Wayfarer rules were biblical. Even song and dance at camp fell within the parameters of what the church would sanction.

Time at camp also followed a defined schedule, with marches designated for the mornings, adult-led games like catch played in teams, and no space for unstructured play. Overlapping practices consistent with Christian doctrines across settings ensured a strong collective identity for grandmother, her siblings and peers from other converted families in the region. This identity was rooted in the Wayfarer movement, distinct with its symbol, the flame, to which there was a strong sense of collective ownership. This symbol had a concrete presence within Wayfarer engagements and games, represented through the campfire marking an end to fun-filled camps. Grandmother recalled these times fondly, remembering in detail how the fire was constructed, and how they sang and danced around it (Vignette 2). The collective identity around these engagements and the fun element accompanying them, seems to mask some similarities between Wayfarer activities and 'heathen' games, towards which Gran also appeared to hold conflicting sentiments (detailed in the next two themes).

6.1.2 The campfire – parallels with *Mahundwane* missed

The features grandmother described as parts of the campfire at Wayfarer camps were very similar to descriptions by others of *Mahundwane*. The researcher had heard numerous stories about *Mahundwane* from her own parents and older relatives. Dad also included *Mahundwane* in his descriptions of his childhood engagements. All narratives about *Mahundwane* include a bonfire as the last event, marking the end of this play form. As the fire burns, participants also dance, usually in a circle led by *Tshikona* (another traditional dance, mostly by men, involving the blowing of horns, reeds or pipes, accompanied by a drum). This event is called "*U swa ha Mahundwane"*, literally meaning "The burning of *Mahundwane*", signifying the end of this game. It was the usage of the same phrase "*u swa"* by grandmother in her description of activities at the end of the Wayfarer camp (see Vignette 1) that turned the researcher's attention to possible similarities between *Mahundwane* and the bonfire at the camp. As can be seen in the vignette, grandmother seemed oblivious to these similarities. It is also interesting that even though at another point in the interview (Vignette 2) grandmother admitted to wishing she was allowed to play *Mahundwane,* she was adamant that their games - especially those at the Wayfarer camps - were more fun than those of 'the others'.

6.1.3 Heathen games not allowed for Gran

Vignette 2 shows how grandmother's childhood activities were strongly influenced by the church as an institution, with the family playing a critical role in safe-guarding the extent to which grandmother and her siblings stayed loyal to Christian principles even in their play. Grandmother's contradictory sentiments about the others' games also come through here. With the 'invalid' sister as instigator, the three sisters tricked their parents, using a church-sanctioned activity (the family evening prayer) in order to participate in a 'heathen' game, *Tshinzerere.* Colluding with her sisters, grandmother as the youngest pretended to be sleepy - a ploy to speed up the family bedtime ritual, so they could sneak out to *Tshinzerere*. The three sisters had to 'play' their parents because if they had asked directly to participate in this 'heathen' game, they would not have been allowed to. Played by both boys and girls under the moonlight,

grandmother describes it as a lot of fun with lots of dancing and singing, even though she and her sisters did not quite know how to dance. *Tshinzerere* songs consisted of what grandmother thought was vulgar language, consistent with what the church and her family might have thought. This is one of the reasons grandmother's parents did not approve of her and her sisters participating. To grandmother's knowledge, her parents never got to know of their 'secret'. The sneaking out continued until 'the instigator' left home for marriage in the 1950s.

Grandmother and her sisters were able to participate in *Tshinzerere* only because they could get there undetected. Other games or play forms engaged in by "the others" during the day were too visible and hence risky. In the interview Gran implied that she wished she could have been part of these games, including *Mahundwane*. It seems that she did not even get close to where *Mahundwane* was built to be able to describe what happened there. She indicates in Vignette 2 that people would point to where *Mahundwane* was built as separate from her own play spaces. In Vignette 1 she also stressed that she could only describe things she saw with her own eyes. It is therefore not surprising that she could have missed possible parallels between the Wayfarer campfire and *Mahundwane*. Along with *Mahundwane*, *Misevhetho* (initiation for girls, brought into Vhavenda by Ba-Tsonga), *Mufuvha* (a variant of board games played with seeds on a wooden table or the ground), and *Malende* were not allowed for grandmother and her sisters, although all given space and form by the general local culture. General *babara-babara* (jumping around in a disorderly fashion) was also not allowed for Gran and her sisters.

6.1.4 Community events for fun

In addition to sneaking out to *Tshinzerere*, grandmother engaged in other activities which she knew her parents would not allow. She says engaging in these activities distinguished her from other girls in her village, and that because she had so many male friends she grew up like a boy. Although not generally regarded as games, grandmother recalls deriving a lot of fun from these activities. Baptisms organised by a local Apostolic Church were one of the communal activities grandmother often attended. She describes watching and listening to prophecies at these events as fun.

Another event she snuck out to attend was the *thwasa* ceremony, where individuals were initiated into becoming traditional healers.

6.1.5 Story-telling around the fire

Grandmother also remembers that evenings in her childhood were spent mostly around the fire, with story-telling an important part of this. This is when her Dad narrated stories from World War I, in which he participated. He also shared stories on his experience as a CID in the cities after this. As was customary in families during these times, *Ngano* or folk-tales were also told around the fire in grandmother's family; however, she does not remember any of these, giving the main reason for this as "having no head for them". The ability to remember detail when one tells *Ngano* is critical, since they have to be narrated the same way as they were heard. Grandmother's family being Christian, time was also set aside every evening for Bible reading and prayer.

6.1.6 Folklore and riddles, mud cooking and swinging on trees

The above were play engagements that, while also played by children outside the church, Grandmother was allowed to play - although they did not seem to have significant prominence in her overall childhood engagements. These play forms also happened outside of the spaces constructed through school or the church. As with folk-tales, Grandmother again indicated that she could not remember any riddles, or how another evening game around the fire called *Khube* was played.

What Grandmother remembered quite clearly was cooking with mud as a young child. She said although this was mostly tinkering, she remembers getting quite involved with her friends, even cooking mud on a real fire. She said the main aspect of this was copying what their mothers did in the kitchen, sometimes getting quite elaborate in creating *"mikonde"* and "*phethwa's"* - patterns made from cooked maize meal or corn meal, except in their case it would be 'cooked' mud, on plates. Grandmother added that this was how they learnt to cook.

Also outside of the spaces determined by school or the church, grandmother remembers playing *Madevhu*. Although she did not elaborate on this, what Dad said during his interview, where he mentioned playing this game as well is that *Madevhu* was a version of tag, played on trees. This is possible only where trees interlock as, in a jungle since the tagged player has to chase other players from tree to tree, with no player allowed to touch the ground. This requires the players to have the ability to swing on branches in order to jump from one tree to another.

6.2 Play portrait of the second generation

Although Mom and Dad grew up during the same periods, and in villages neighbouring each other, they had distinctly different play experiences as children. This necessitated separate descriptions of their play engagements.

6.2.1 Mom

6.2.1.1 Games listed only after consultation

During her interview Mom struggled to remember what she played as a child. She double-checked details about specific games and confirmed that these were played during her generation by people she grew up with, some of whom now also worked with her. This led to a list of games she developed with her peers at work. During a follow-up conversation on these, the researcher had to confirm whether Mom had actually engaged in the play form or game she was describing. What was also distinct in the interview with Mom was an absence of emotion as she described the games. This was different from Grandmother as well as Dad, who seemed to 'relive' their childhood experiences as they described what they did. Mom also confused certain games, at times giving descriptions meant for different ones. She could not remember how one of the only three games she was certain of playing as a child, *Gulukunwa*, was played. This apparent 'gap' in Mom's recollection of her childhood play engagements was complemented by what Grandmother had to say about Mom's upbringing, captured in Vignette 3, and the third theme. Including the researcher in her children's generation, Grandmother pointed out that it was this generation that first became 'lost' as far as play is concerned, leading to the third generation

becoming 'lost' as well. Continuing to speak in an indirect manner she implicated a Christian upbringing in this, indicating that it was when her generation, as parents, disallowed certain play engagements that the second generation became 'lost'. Grandmother could not remember if Mom even played *Ndode* or not.

Vignette 3: Interview excerpt with Gran

> **E:** *Now when you look at Mulisa and Duka's generation, what do you think about the way they play?*
>
> **Gran:** Is there any play with these ones? These ones are lost. Their *Ndode* has become *Masikitlane*. It is their *Ndode*, as they hit stones against each other.
>
> **E:** *How did they get lost?*
>
> **Gran:** Through your generation [which the researcher shares with her children]. It is you lot. You got lost. You became lost because you were born in Christian homes. We said to you, No…do not do this…that is not to be done…it is not allowed.
>
> **E:** *Are you saying Duka's Mom did not play Ndode?*
>
> **Gran:** Did she play? I think she did … [hesitates] …We played *Madevhu*. Now, these ones [second generation] did not play our games …they no longer played on trees. As you can hear I am telling you that these ones drew their friends to church. There was a huge show building not far from here. They [Mom and her friends] played tag, or was it 'racing'? I did not see them when they fell. Can you imagine people swinging on roofs just because they like to climb so much…? They used to climb and play there. Running like that, it's easy to slide and fall.

6.2.1.2 Swinging on buildings not trees

During a shift in her story-telling in Vignette 3 grandmother also narrates how Mom and her friends played on the roof of a show building newly constructed in the area, contrasting this with her own engagements, where tag was played on trees, not buildings. Elsewhere in the interview with grandmother, she spoke of how her children, including Mom, mostly played in the yard, under a tree which still exists today. According to grandmother, the fact that other children came into her yard,

rather than her kids going to join 'the others' outside, is to be credited for many of her children's friends joining the Presbyterian Church.

6.2.1.3 'Heathen' games not allowed for Mom

Just like her own mother, Mom also grew up under the church. Following church doctrine, grandmother married someone who was also converted, even though he was a Presbyterian. In keeping with how Christian children were to be raised, Mom was also kept away from the 'heathen' influence and also not allowed to play *Tshinzerere*. It appears that even though *Mahundwane* was still being played in other neighbouring villages (as learnt through the interview with Dad), Mom was not aware of this. Her recollection is that *Mahundwane* no longer existed when she was born. It is possible that having been kept away from play engagements regarded unfitting for a Christian child, Mom was oblivious to what her peers were doing. It is interesting that (although indirectly) grandmother admits in Vignette 3 that this barring of her children from 'heathen' games led to the second generation getting 'lost' as far as play is concerned.

6.2.1.4 School – taught games

Wayfarer activities alongside school informed most of grandmother's play engagements, while schooling alone seemed to play this role for Mom. The only two games Mom clearly recalls playing as a child, *Gulukunwa*, and 'tug-of-war', were both learnt at school. The extent to which schooling and the church collaborated in order to ensure that converted children's engagements fell within the bounds of Christian doctrine seemed to have diminished during the second generation. The only surviving remnant of the scouting movement during this period may be the drum majorettes. Although she did not indicate whether she participated in this, when commenting on the third generation's play engagements, Mom bemoaned the fact that drum majorettes was no longer played. Grandmother remembered that Mom and her siblings only sang school-related songs in their childhood.

6.2.2 Dad

Described what his play engagements were as a child in such detail that presenting this in any other form other than verbatim would have robbed the picture he painted of significant richness. The tapestry of Dad's play engagements as a child is therefore presented through his voice, in the next five vignettes. While very different from Mom's depiction of her play engagements as a child, what he described seemed in some cases to match what grandmother participated in, or play forms that non-Christian children of her time engaged in.

6.2.2.1 Folk tales and riddles: Practised and told just as grandmother would

Just like grandmother, Dad remembers evenings in his childhood spent around the fire accompanied by folklore. While for grandmother these occasions were a one-family affair, Dad describes a picture that included several homes, with groups of children circulating around different households and taking turns in telling stories. What is clear though is that as it was during grandmother's time, folk tales had to be narrated exactly as they were heard. From what Dad describes, it also seems it was the role of the grandmother to make sure that such folklore was passed on to grandchildren (Vignette 4).

Vignette 4: Interview excerpt with Dad

> **Dad:** From there, there would be activities such as *Khube*, riddles, and folk tales. In telling a folk tale, once they had said '*Salungano, Salungano'* you knew the story had begun. You would think they are talking about real living things, even a lion that can speak. These things had their own meanings.
>
> **E:** *Who would tell these folk tales, and who would be listening?*
>
> **Dad:** We would be many, at someone's home, passing time in the evenings. We could stay up until 1:00 a.m., taking turns. Both adults and children would participate. Adults would teach us. But we would also meet by ourselves. Each one of us would narrate a folk tale learnt from our own grandmother. It was fun. Day will break without us being aware. At the end we would accompany each other home, girls as well as boys.

6.2.2.2 A time for play, and everyone playing the same

Vignette 5 details how Dad's childhood play engagements were intricately linked to the local traditional culture, mostly dictated by the seasons, alongside obligations ensuring the community's sustenance. *Mahundwane*, one of the main play forms passed on from earlier generations, could only be played during winter as maize was being harvested, and livestock could be left alone to roam grazing land. Playing *Mahundwane* then meant there would be dried maize stalks available to build 'pretend' homes. Left-over crops could also be used as food in these households. According to Dad, when it was time for *Mahundwane*, it was played everywhere in Venda. This is consistent with what grandmother said of her time, where even though she and her siblings were not allowed to go, *Mahundwane* was where 'the others' would be. Apart from *Mahundwane*, there were a number of play forms within the local cultural rhythm, some played in the evenings and others in the day. As far as Dad was aware, everyone played the same game, with girls and boys playing together. Both adults and children played a role in ensuring that every child participated in these play engagements as sanctioned by the local culture.

Vignette 5: Interview excerpt with Dad

> **Dad:** During our time, if you would hang out with your mother, they would sing about you. Even if there was no goat or cattle at your home, you joined others to herd livestock.
>
> **E:** *Whose livestock would you herd?*
>
> **Dad:** The neighbours'. You would go with them because if you did not, they would sing about you until you realised that it was better to join and herd with others.
>
> **E:** *What happened if a child did not want to join others in play?*
>
> **Dad:** If a child did not play she or he would be taken to *Vho ri a divha* ['Those who know' or traditional healers] to check if anything was wrong. A child was expected to play, he was expected to take an axe and cut wood for *Gurukuru* [toy wooden cart in which children would push each other] with others. They were very quick to see a child who did not play. A child was expected to go draw termites like others. This was a clear sign he or she was like others. … In

the evenings we would all go catch flying ants. And these things are filled with nutrition. A child who did not play had to have something wrong with them, needing investigation.

E: *Were there different games across the seasons?*

Dad: Winter games were those where we built homes [*Mahundwane*], during summer we had to plough. There were no games as everyone had a spot they were responsible for in the fields, where you were told this is where you would harvest for your own roasted maize. Games that were played in summer happened while we herded cattle.

E: *Which ones were these?*

Dad: Swinging on trees, and ground tag. Many games were played in June, when cattle did not need herding. In summer we did not even stay late passing evenings at people's homes, as they did not want us struggling to wake up. We were used to this.

E: *Were there different games for evenings and daytime?*

Dad: Daytime games were those like tag, while evening ones were folk tales, *Khube* [where a seed is hidden in one of two hands, with others having to guess which one], and riddles. They used to say, 'Don't tell folk-tales during the day!'

E: *Why was this not allowed?*

Dad: There was really no reason except that we would do this at a specific time in someone's home. We used to circulate homes, sitting around the fire, telling these stories.

E: *If you came from a single-child-household could you be part of this?*

Dad: Yeees! Others would invite you to join them as they visit a particular home. Parents also allowed this because they knew the child would be returned. And you couldn't go there only to doze off! Others would pinch you if you did that. There was also a naughty trick that some would play on you if you fell asleep. They would tie one of your toes with a paper string and set it alight. You would wake up from the heat between your toes! You would never doze off again at these events.

6.2.2.3 Traditional dance and jive

As Dad's father was a *Mukoma*, expected to organise *Tshikona* as well as *Domba*, in assistance to the Chief, these two traditional art forms served as Dad's first exposure to dance. *Tshikona* ensembles often congregated at Dad's home before they toured the whole village or visited other villages. At these occasions, Dad's father as *Phangami* would be the first to stand up in order to enthuse the ensemble into starting the music and dance. *Tshikona* was also part of the celebrations marking *"u swa"* (the end) of *Mahundwane*. *Tshinzerere* or *Tshifase* [in Shangaan or ShiTsonga] was another play form to which dance was central, in which Dad participated as a child. Dad remembers following older kids as *Tshinzerere* tournaments were held in neighbouring villages. Gradually as people went to the cities through the migrant labour market system, Westernised music and dance started filtering into Dad's childhood engagements. In Vignette 6 Dad details how jive became part of his dance repertoire as a child, as well as how he and his peers somehow had innate capabilities to excel in this. Also introduced by migrant workers from the cities was money and gambling. Dad recalls playing cards and dice - and the excitement that the prospect of winning money brought to him and his peers.

Vignette 6: Interview excerpt with Dad

> **E:** *I heard from someone that passing the evening also included dancing to music systems. Is this true?*
>
> **Dad:** No, that was not common. Actually, you are talking about gramophones. It was very difficult to come across even these during those times. Only when some started going to the cities, they returned with them.
>
> **E:** *What kind of music was played on these?*
>
> **Dad:** Music from records [vinyl records], with artists like Spokes Mashiana … Albert Ralulimi, and other such artists. This is the time of the penny whistle.
>
> **E:** *Would people dance to this?*
>
> **Dad:** Very much!
>
> **E:** *What kind of dance?*
>
> **Dad:** Anything.
>
> **E:** *What would inspire these dances?*

Dad: We used to jive a lot, and I knew how to dance! Jive was somehow within us. It was not something you had to go to school to learn or first watch on television. There were no such things. The television did not exist then. And then came amplifiers, these were battery-operated. These were followed by breakable records, which were also succeeded by plastic ones. Now you have CDs. These did not exist back then.

6.2.2.4 Mahundwane: Sanctioned and celebrated theatre of life

One of the main culturally sanctioned and celebrated play forms during Dad's early childhood was *Mahundwane*. Noting that his generation found this play form in place from earlier generations, Dad describes it in Vignette 7, in a manner that evidences its attempt to portray real life, and how adults played both a mediating as well as a supporting role. Oblivious to what happened in Christian homes, Dad points out that no parent sought to block their child from attending *Mahundwane.* At the end of *Mahundwane*, the structures built to house 'families' would be set alight, creating a bonfire, the *"u swa"* of *Mahudwane*. This ritual would be accompanied by singing and dancing, with *Tshikona* playing a central role. As people dance *Tshikona,* they arrange themselves in a line, which moves in a circle. These celebrations marking the end of *Mahundwane* were joined by adults. As Dad notes, traditional beer drinking was a significant part of this event. At another point (not captured in any of the vignettes) Dad indicates that relationships formed at *Mahundwane* were facilitated by adults beyond the actual event. Parents would visit their children's 'in-laws', bringing gifts with them.

Vignette 7: Interview excerpt with Dad

E: *So when you used to play this [Mahundwane], what age groups would be involved?*

Dad: There would be quite a mix. I was very young as I did not even yet start school. But there were also mature young women, because when we did *Mahundwane* there would even be a wife, with a husband and kids. There would even be a room for the mother and the father. There would also be one

for the kids. There would be cooking…we would even slaughter a chicken and have it cooked there.

E: *A real chicken, brought to Mahundwane?*

Dad: Yes! It was exactly like a real household, although we went to our separate homes after sunset.

E: *You did not sleep there?*

Dad: During our time we did not sleep there. I don't know about earlier days. I guess they were worried we would get up to naughty things. We would accompany each other home every evening.

E: *What role did adults play with regard to Mahundwane?*

Dad: Sometimes they would even visit, if they were passing through. They would come in and be served food if they arrived as food was being prepared.

E: *Was it adults who initiated Mahundwane?*

Dad: This is how we found things - as soon as it was harvest time, *Mahundwane* would start. As they harvested they would leave some crop behind intentionally for us, knowing we would need to harvest this for *Mahundwane*. If we did not have enough maize we would be supplied with top-up maize meal from home. By the time I went to higher primary school *Mahundwane* no longer existed.

E: *How did Mahundwane come to an end?*

Dad: [With detectable emotion] Through all these changes! I guess too much education also did not help. One cannot really know. I remember at the beginning going to school and coming home to go to *Mahundwane.* But then there were suddenly changes… [again, with emotion] I really cannot tell you where they came from.

E: *Is there no one who suddenly said from this year onwards there will no longer be Mahundwane?*

Dad: No, I think drought may have played a role. Or maybe as people were pushed off their land by the State, and forced onto smaller, crowded areas. We are talking about the 1960s, into late 1960s. These things eroded [with emphasis] gradually until there was no longer even a trace of them! People have changed.

E: *Someone told me there were political systems at Mahundwane? Is this true?*

Dad: Yes! Some boy would be made Chief. He would even preside over misdemeanors. He also had certain entitlements. He could suddenly declare that on a particular day he wants wild meat… there were many rabbits during those times. Or he could say he wants locusts. Anything he said was law. For a misdemeanor one could be fined a whole chicken! You would have to go home and report that you had committed an offence and were fined a chicken. They would have to provide you with one…they understood these things. The Chief was assisted by elders who would also advise him on these things. We learnt a lot through *Mahundwane.* Adults knew that this was our game. It was a known game; no parent questioned why his or her child went. They even supplied us with food when we ran out. *Mahundwane 'a tshi ya u swa'* [When *Mahundwane* came to the end] they would make traditional beer. Adults would come. *Mahundwane* structures would be set alight; creating a huge bonfire, signaling that *Mahundwane 'o swa'* [has ended]. We were all going home.

6.2.2.5 Nature-grounded games and enfolded play

In both Vignettes 5 and 8, Dad describes play forms that were played away from home, and were mostly grounded in nature. Many of these were engaged in as children and young people herded cattle or goats. Getting dirty or apparent danger did not appear to deter Dad and his peers as they played *Thedelie* or *Tserere*, *Ndode*, climbed trees or swam in rivers with natural traps or possibly even crocodiles. The only toy Dad mentioned is *Gurukuru* (see Vignette 5), which children made themselves from wood. Other play forms mentioned by Dad but not captured in the vignettes are hide-and-seek, *Openi*, and *Tjaka*. *Openi* is a variant of hopscotch, while *Tjaka* has similar characteristics to cricket except that it is played with a bare hand and anything that can be hit with a fisted hand. These games are fun-filled and involve some innovation, for example creating something that could be hit safely and could go far in *Tjaka*. Ball games including soccer were only introduced at school. A number of play engagements Dad described as having had while growing up were enfolded in chores, like herding livestock, or activities for self and family sustenance, such as

drawing termites from the ground or catching fly-ants. In Vignette 5 Dad described the latter two as if they were only a play form, the kind through which a child was regarded by the community as like all the other children.

Vignette 8: Interview excerpt with Dad

Dad: *Thedelie* was a game involving sliding down a slope from a hill. We would pour water over the slope so we could slide down.

E: *How is this different from Tserere?*

Dad: It is exactly the same as *Tserere*. Somehow the name changed along the way.

E: *Is Thedelie Tshivenda?*

Dad: I am not absolutely sure, but it could be Tshivenda. Afterwards we would look as red as the soil itself. From there we would go swimming. Even there, we would be together with girls. There were no problems. Part of it was because we had girls that could beat up a boy real good! [We both laughed.] A boy could not just say whatever he wanted. No, they would give you a good hiding. It is really just that we played very differently from how they play now. Nowadays there is no more playing. Children often play alone indoors, like white children. Where we played *Ndode*, they now play *Masikitlane*. One cannot understand how one can talk alone, are they sick? We played *Ndode* from a hole we dug in the ground. Cards were also popular during our time, like *Tshikutu*. It would be a whole day's job. You would even cry if it was said that you 'slept with *Tshikutu'*. All that is now gone. Even that there were different forms of tag is no longer known. There was underwater tag, and tree tag. Underwater tag meant you swam underwater, which could be dangerous at times. Like at *Ngwedi* [name of a river], you could not really see under there, especially if you could not swim. It was also possible to get your head stuck between rocks. Nowadays they do not swim. They tell them there is cholera, or crocodiles [again with detectable emotion]. There were always crocodiles. What we knew was that crocodiles do not come where there are crowds. For tree tag we would swing on branches like baboons. Now, branches can break too!

E: *Until what age did people engage in the kinds of play you describe?*

Dad: We played until we were young men. You would stop only when you got married.

6.3 Play portrait of the third generation

When grandmother was asked by the researcher what she thought of the third generation's play, she said: "These ones, no, these ones belong to dance…I am not lying". Through this statement Gran was referring to how the third generation's play was mostly around dance.

The third generation's play portrait was informed mainly by Mulisa (12 years old) and Duka (9 years old); of this generation, only these two were observed engaging in what participants within the family described as play during interviews or on reflection with the researcher thought could be viewed as play. Other participants, especially Nayo (6 years old), are only mentioned where their actions or behaviour relates in any way to Mulisa and Duka's play engagements. The researcher also included here engagements and behaviour which from her own reflections seemed to contain elements of play, or had some bearing on Mulisa and Duka's general play repertoire.

6.3.1 Sibling rivalry and fights, or is it play?

One of the main engagements between children in the Gudani family was in the form of mild rivalry and fights which were difficult to classify as either serious or otherwise. This behaviour was observed mainly between Mulisa and Duka, and at times included Nayo and Koni (17 years old), and even Funani (25 years old) on two occasions. Displayed in Vignette 9 are two instances of such behaviour between Mulisa and Duka observed on the same day. Duka was usually the instigator of these 'play fights', and much of what he said involved an element of satire which was often lost on Mulisa, who tended to take offence. Duka would then also often attempt to draw an adult into these engagements. The interaction around the 'kitchen party' or 'tea party' was highly amusing for the researcher, as neither Duka nor Mulisa were correct in the name they gave the event they saw depicted on the soap opera, which

was in fact a kitchen tea party (party held for a bride before the wedding, by her friends), a concept completely foreign in their context. Although they often sang together, Mulisa and Duka also often criticised each other's singing. Mom would sometimes be at the centre of Mulisa and Duka's rivalry as they both jostled for her attention, with tattle-telling on each other a significant component of this.

Vignette 9: Examples of behaviour between Mulisa and Duka

*{*Day 21}

[Television sound in the background, 'The Bold and the Beautiful' (an American soap opera) comes to an end, followed immediately by a 'Sunsilk' hair product advertisement showing a model with straight hair. Duka sings along the advert jingle]

Duka: Is this what grandmother wants [for her hair]?

Mulisa: Yes.

Duka: But, is this person old? But…this person's hair is better. Have you noticed Mulisa's hair at the back? [He laughs] *E! e! e!* [exclamation]…it's very little [continues to laugh]…it's like this [pinching his own hair at the back].

Mulisa: [With indignation] It is not true! My hair has been relaxed!

Duka: You should have relaxed so it looks like that [Pointing at the model on television] … [singing along with the jingle] …Sunsilk, you are beautifuuul!

[Later on as they watch Generations, a local soap opera]

Mulisa: (Referring to the show) This one (a character) always agrees with everything that Anne (another character) says…she is not smart. Did you see at the kitchen tea?

Duka: (Correcting Mulisa) Tea party! Not "kitchen Tea" (laughs)…you mean to say 'tea party'.

Mulisa: O! (Exclamation) No! 'Kitchen tea' as in when a woman is about to get married! Do you think I am stupid?

Duka: Is she right? (Addressing the researcher)…what is a 'kitchen tea'?

E: *I thought Mulisa was telling you what it is.*

Duka: (Looking at Mulisa daringly) What is it?

Mulisa: Kitchen tea…is ….kitchen tea…you think we are referring to a bachelor party… (Duka laughs) It is not a tea party-wee (with emphasis!)

Duka: (Shifting his attention to Mom) Mom…what is a 'kitchen tea?

Mom: No. I am not getting involved!

Mulisa: Tea party is for *Stokvel* (a micro-lending scheme mostly run by women from their homes where they often meet and share a cup of tea)…you don't know anything?

Duka: (Accusingly) You think I don't know what a tea party is…I know it!

6.3.2 Prancing around, song, dance and ritual

Prancing around, song, dance and ritual had significant prominence in the third generation's engagements, although none of the children included these in their initial descriptions of what play entails. It was only towards the end, as the researcher reviewed what she had captured with each of the child participants, that Duka and Mulisa confirmed that these engagements were part of their play. Prancing around was the most difficult to capture and describe. While walking from one part of the house to the other, or whenever in the yard, Mulisa would suddenly voluntarily change her movements, and behave in a manner that was not a necessary part of whatever she was doing. This often involved irregular skips while walking, or gesturing with her hand, the whole arm or leg, often accompanied by a high vocal note. This behaviour fits the universal definition of play which has also been observed in animal behaviour (Barnard, 1983). Appearing frivolous and carefree, this behaviour does not have a name in the local Tshivenda language. The researcher captured behaviours that she classified as 'prancing' only in retrospect. For Mulisa, this behaviour turned out to be common. The vocal note accompanying prancing was usually part of a lyric to one of the popular songs she was often heard singing. Prancing behaviour was observed once with Duka, where he capered around the house carrying a piece of stick and shouting *"Vha mu suma, vha mu suma!"* (made-up words with no known meaning in the local language).

Consistent with grandmother's pronouncements on this generation's play engagements, song and dance featured prominently. Although Mulisa was not seen

once dancing, and Duka was observed dancing only a few times by the researcher, the story in the family is that as a younger child Duka loved to dance and was very good at it. Duka's dance was contemporary and consisted mainly of 'moves' he learnt from television music videos featuring local *Kwaito* (local popular music genre said to merge house with African sounds) stars. He was very keen to show these to the researcher, prompting her to record him on video. In her interview Mulisa mentioned that Duka's play was dance, often getting Nayo to join him. Duka reportedly also danced a lot at a party the children attended in the neighbourhood, where the researcher could not observe them.

Singing was a constant feature in Mulisa and Duka's observed engagements, particularly for Mulisa. Mulisa sang often, mostly alone. She sang as she did house chores, and even as Duka and Nayo engaged in physical games. She was also easily prompted into singing, especially by songs on television. She sang almost anything: opera, gospel, popular American (see Vignette 10) and South African songs, television programme theme songs and advertising jingles. She sang extremely well, and would even tackle songs by local opera singer Sibongile Khumalo. Although Duka, like Mulisa, also sang across different music genres, he hardly ventured into opera. While Mulisa and Duka's singing consisted mainly of popular contemporary music, the only instance where Nayo introduced a song to Duka, it was folklore, which she indicated she had learnt from crèche (preschool).

Vignette 10: Singing along popular lyrics

*{*Day 3}

[The song 'Get down on it – Remix' starts. Mulisa sings the first few words. Then there is silence as both she and Duka listen, and then Mulisa starts singing again, as Duka leaves the room]

Mulisa: *Get down on it… If you really want it…How are you gonna do it, if you really don't wanna dance, by standing on the wall? How are you gonna do it, if you really don't wanna take a chance, by standing on the wall?* [She suddenly stops when Duka reappears in the lounge]

Mulisa: Go and wake her [Koni] up!

Duka: I woke her up! [Silent listening as the song continued]

Mulisa: Is there a lady rapping in the background?

E: It does appear so.

[The song is quite pleasant to listen to; Duka also sings along softly, and laughs]

Both Mulisa and Duka often showed excitement whenever a song they knew was played on television, and they would sing along. Although they often sang together, on one occasion Mulisa and Duka sang different songs at the same time. Singing together was often accompanied by robust debate on who sang better than the other. In an interview with Mulisa, she declared that she loved singing. Whereas she sang songs that were generally known, Duka also 'composed' his own, although he always downplayed his creativity. Vignette 11 illustrates one such 'composed' song. However, the researcher later heard a song composed by Hugh Masekela (a renowned jazz artist) for a promising young local singer that had some lyrics that sounded similar to 'Duka's song'.

Emulating studio recording, Duka directs Nayo to join him in Vignette 11. Distinct from Mulisa, who would often sing alone, Duka seemed to prefer duets. Another element to Duka's singing was that he appeared to like an audience. At one point he told the researcher how two strangers on his way from school eavesdropped on his singing and complimented him on it. In addition, although Mulisa's singing was often serious, Duka's at times involved apparent jesting around. One day after church there was some discussion around Duka's singing at the service. Apparently Duka stood up to deliver a solo in front of the church congregation, and after several failed attempts to clear his voice, proceeded to sing with a voice which, according to Mulisa, was hoarse. Mulisa thought Duka did this deliberately, while he maintained that his voice simply failed him.

Vignette 11: Composing song

{Day 10}

(*Footage from grandmother's yard. The song is in its original language, while the conversation is translated from Tshivenda into English)*

Duka and Nayo sing together:

*Take me to Soweto (*2x), *Take me* (2x), *Take me to Soweto*

Do you want to go, Do...do...do do you want to go? To Soweto (2x*)*

That's a good arena/reason (2x)

Duka: Sing, Nayo!

[Nayo sings the song alone, dancing/gesturing, with Duka interjecting with 'Hola! Hola!' Nayo says 'arena' not 'reason'. She is breathless at the end]

Duka: [Instructing Nayo] Say 'Cut!' Nayo.

Nayo: Cut! Now you sing!

[Duka sings, starting by counting 1, 2, 3…, Nayo interjects with 'Yes!' Duka says 'reason', not 'arena']At the end Duka adds 'Oh oh Ma... ooh ma … ooh …ma oooohh ma ….ohhhh! Do you get the message?' in Rhythm and Blues style, and then he says 'Cut!' and laughs breathlessly]

With Duka, another prevalent engagement that was elusive, defying easy classification as a play form or general interactive behaviour, was observed. The reason that this behaviour became noticeable to the researcher was its markedly ritualistic element. Towards the end of the study period, Duka had devised a set of procedural steps that he followed closely, constructed around the researcher's arrival into the family's home and her departure. On seeing the researcher arrive, he would immediately run from the house to the driver's side of the researcher's car. As soon as the car was unlocked, he would open the driver's door, keeping it open for the researcher to step out. He would keep a formal posture as he did this, gesturing with his hand. Duka would repeat these steps as the researcher left the house and entered her car. Duka would also help the researcher carry her bags, and always opened the door into the house for her. The researcher first noticed this ritual on the 17th day of information gathering. While this welcome and farewell routine could be regarded

solely as courtesy, Duka's actions, as portrayed in Vignette 12, seemed to suggest a playful element.

Vignette 12: Ritual

{Day 17}

(Raw audio-footage, starting out in the family's yard, then in the lounge)

[Having had Duka open the car door for me, and help me carry my bags, we both enter the lounge, finding the television on as usual, and Mulisa inside]

E: (Greeting) *Aaa!*

Mulisa: *Aaa!*

E: *How are you?*

Mulisa: I am fine.

Duka: [With some urgency, and looking at the researcher as she prepared to sit down] E! haaaa! Get up! Get out!

Mulisa: [Horrified] *E*!...Duka! I will tell Mom when she returns!

Duka: [Daringly] Do tell her! [He laughs]

[Having obeyed Duka's instructions, I find myself outside again, with the door closed in my face. Then Duka opens the door, ushering me in, gesturing with his hand as a butler usually does. Everybody laughs.]

Duka: [Laughs, and then mimics Mulisa] She says, 'I will tell Mom when she returns!'

Mulisa: [Having realised what had happened, laughs as well]

[We sit down and Mulisa and Duka continue to watch Hamtaro, a cartoon on television]

E: [During an advertisement] *Now, Duka, what does it mean when you open and close doors for me?*

Duka: [He laughs, and decides to comment on my laptop which was plugged in to boost the battery] Are you scared the battery will run flat …is that why you have the laptop plugged in?

E: *Yes… but I was asking, what does it mean when you open and close doors for me, is it playing?*

Duka: No, it is not playing.

E: *What?*

Duka: It is being a gentleman…I am showing you that I am grown up.

E: *You are showing that you are grown up?*

Duka: Yes [and laughs].

E: *I must ask because I was really not sure... I do not want to make things up.*

6.3.3 Artwork and crafts: Utility, expression and maybe play

Artwork and crafts were also difficult to fit into a particular category, with the third generation appearing to embrace this ambiguity. These occupations were engaged in mostly by Duka, who took a lot of pride in his creations. In Vignette 13 it is evident that Duka's artwork took much preparation, and he often had a clear goal in mind of what the product ought to look like. At one point this led to him conceding that what he was doing was 'too much work'. Later on as Duka speaks about avoiding boredom in Vignette 21, he identifies doing artwork as play. Artwork within the family's third generation also served a utility function. Both Duka and Mulisa used art to make something special for someone else. In Vignette 13 Duka made a photo-frame for Nayo, while Mulisa made a card for her friend (see Vignette 17). Duka also created word and people puzzles and finger puppets, which he later used for play. He also knitted a belt for himself, and liked to help Gran with beadwork whenever he visited and found her engaged in this. Artwork for Duka also served as a medium for self-expression. His artwork always bore his full signature, sometimes accompanied by a statement about who he is, as described in Vignette 13.

Vignette 13: Photo-frame for Nayo

{Day 14}

Duka: [Talking to the researcher] We came home and then went to look for leaves. Today I want a big flower.

E: *Okay, is this to place in your book?*

Duka: No, it is not a book! It is a frame that I made. I made it for Nayo.

E: *When did you make the frame?*

Duka: A long time ago. Now I am melting the paint. I have to put it in hot water so that it works.

E: *Oh ok, is it now melted? [On getting close, the researcher notes what is written at the back of the frame] Oh I see, 'By Duka'.*

Duka: *A hee!* [Exclamation signalling reserved showing off] Read all!

E: *Oh, ok* [reading*] 'by Duka. My name is Duka. My surname is …* [his surname]. *I am so special like other people. I love you guys'. Whom do you mean by 'guys'?*

Duka: Ooh, I mean just all people in the world.

E: *I had to ask, because you could be referring to particular people.*

Duka: Or I could be talking about those on TV?

E: *Yes.*

Duka: [Tracing around a flower with paint and a brush] *E*! This is too much work!

E: *Why do you say so?*

Duka: Because what I had in mind is not working. [He proceeds to finish the flower outline, and then paints inside the flower outline] The flower is not as yellow as this.

Whenever both Mulisa and Duka were engaged in some form of artwork, all family members became involved. Once as Mulisa made sketches to represent different religions as part of her homework, everybody including Mom and Lugi had some suggestion to make. Duka's involvement in Mulisa's artwork often had a satirical edge. (See Vignette 33, which also illustrates how artwork often brought forth disputes over material ownership; at times this was expressed through Mulisa and

Duka's play fights, but could also include the other older siblings. The ownership of the paper on which Mulisa was drawing was at the centre of the dispute in Vignette 33.) Conflicts around artwork, especially for Duka, also often involved space. Towards the end of the research, Duka had taken to doing his artwork on the floor, indicating that Lugi had forbidden him from painting on the coffee table.

6.3.4 Playing alone, toys and taunting others

Playing alone featured prominently in Duka's repertoire of engagements, which includes those occupations not easily defined as play. When the researcher visited Gran at the time that both Duka and Nayo were there, she found Duka swinging on a homemade swing on a mango tree, alone. The only time that a commercially bought toy was used in play within the family also involved Duka playing mostly alone. Toys were rarely seen. Vignette 14 captures how a balloon, though readily accessible for purchase at school, seems to be quite a treat and almost a novelty. Aware of this, Duka taunts Mulisa and Koni, enticing them by showing off what he could do with the balloon, yet unwilling to share it with them. While Duka was keen to involve Nayo in his play with the balloon, he was easily distracted by conversation about money and a birthday scene on television.

Vignette 14: The balloon

{Day 21}

Mom: Where did you find the balloon?

Duka: At school.

Mom: Did you buy it?

Duka: Yes.

Mom: For how much?

Nayo: They cost R1 each… [Poking at the balloon point] Why doesn't it go flat? It never goes flat!

Mom: Who blew it up?

Duka: I did.

Mom: I think if you tie it on both sides it does not easily deflate.

Nayo: No, you tie it where there is a round ring.

[Duka starts throwing the balloon to Nayo, and they start throwing catch in the lounge. At some point Mulisa stands between them, and takes a swipe at the balloon]

Nayo: [Protesting] *E*, Mulisa!

Duka: [Adding protest] Mulisa *we e*!

Nayo: It is fun, right?

[Mulisa sings some song]

Mom: [Addressing all] Is it long that water has been gone? [Referring to the household water supply from the local municipality]

Mulisa: Not long ago.

[Duka and Nayo continue to play]

Mom: Vho-Ramasheleni ['Owner of shillings', referring here to Duka], give us some money.

Mulisa: Mom, I am going to bank my money…I am telling you.

[Duka suddenly stops playing with Nayo, and interjects into the conversation]

Duka: I will also bank my money.

Mulisa: At the end of the year … I want to have a big party at school.

Mom: What are you going to have?

Mulisa: Big party!

Duka: Mom … me too! ... I am going to bank my money … you will hear she [Mom] will say bring me the money and I will bank it for you, *Iyo*! [Exclamation]

Nayo: [As she continues to play with the balloon alone] Duka! Look! This is fun.

Duka: [To Nayo] make it bounce.

Mulisa: The balloon will hit the picture and you…

Duka: What?

Mulisa: The picture? It (The balloon) has already hit it… [Trying to catch the researcher's attention] hasn't it already hit? Ahhh.

[A birthday scene is portrayed on Days of Our Lives (an American soap opera) playing on television; Duka seems distracted as Nayo demonstrates a game where she bounces the balloon between her legs]

Nayo: [In protest] Duka-*vho*!

Duka: I want to see 'Happy Birthday'.

[The playing stops. Nayo leaves the lounge leaving the balloon behind as Duka watches the birthday scene on Days of our Lives. After the scene, Duka resumes playing alone with the balloon, at which point Nayo returns to the lounge]

Duka: [To Nayo, as he bounces the balloon on the floor] This is a bouncing one [game].

Nayo: No it is not; let me show you what I was talking about.

Mulisa: Mother, why….

[Duka and Nayo continue to play, with Nayo continuing to demonstrate how to bounce the balloon between her legs]

Mom: [Addressing no one in particular] Why is cooking happening only at this time? Is it because it is so hot? [Turning to Duka and Nayo] Have you bathed?

Mulisa: [Adding to Mom's comment] Water is getting cooler in the buckets, it will get cold. No one will reheat the water for you again.

[Both Duka and Nayo go into the bathroom. It is quiet in the lounge as Mom and Mulisa watch Days of our Lives. After 10 minutes Duka returns, and exclaims in relation to a scene on the soap opera playing on television. When the show ends, he resumes playing with the balloon, alone. He unties the balloon, and blows into it]

Duka: *Hiiii*! [Showing the researcher the flattening point at the top of the balloon] Look! This point will eventually disappear as I continue to blow into it.

E: *It has grown big.*

Duka: [Referring to something on television] Look Mulisa, you were telling the truth [bouncing the balloon] Mulisa…do you think it [the balloon] can grow beyond this?

Mulisa: [First makes a sound or tune to some song as she pounces for the balloon] Let me hold it!

Duka: [Swiftly turning away from Mulisa] Hold where?

Mulisa: [Giving up] *Ag*! Leave it!

Duka: I am asking ... [Addressing the researcher] she [Mulisa] has long-long nails, she wants to prick it.

Mulisa: You Duka! [pleading] You are just refusing me as I only want to see? Let me see, it will burst on you!

[To avoid Mulisa, Duka runs away into the kitchen, from there he cries/laughs]

Duka: No!... o! o! [someone chases him around in the kitchen]

Mulisa: [Jumping around and clapping] It will burst!

Duka: [Addressing the researcher, laughing breathlessly] It almost burst!

E: *What happened?*

Duka: [Excitedly] I bumped into Koni while Mulisa was chasing me…and I took it [the balloon] and did like this…I was running and…

E: *Why were you running?*

Duka: They were chasing me. Mulisa was chasing me!

Mulisa: [With mock disbelief] Duka-*hae*!

Duka: *Hi!* [Exclamation signifying marvel as he holds the fully blown up balloon high] Nayo look!...Koni look!

Nayo: Who blew it up for you so big?

Duka: I did it! *Axaeeee*! [Exclamation accompanying laughter signaling mock disbelief at someone's actions] Listen to her saying that she wishes it would burst.

E: *Who wishes that?*

Duka: Koni.

E: *What did she say?*

Duka: She said, 'I wish it would burst'.

[Silence in the lounge with television the only sound as Duka, Nayo, Koni and Mulisa are in the kitchen. After about a minute in the kitchen Duka sings a popular local Pop/Kwaito song 'Your life, it's like a rainbow'. He sings it extremely well]

6.3.5 Games have culture: Novices easily spotted and outsiders maybe green with envy

This theme captures the extent to which games observed within the Gudani family seemed to have their own culture that is almost impermeable, unless one is willing or able to adopt the implicit codes of behaviour.

Displayed in Vignettes 15 and 16 are two instances on two separate days when third-generation Duka was observed engaged in a group game. The presence of child guests in the family seemed to prompt these games. On such occasions, Nayo always played. Nayo was also often instrumental in inviting friends over. Games would come to an abrupt end when these guests left.

Vignette 15: The children play

{Day 3}

[Nayo and friends playing in the garage, while Duka and Mulisa are in the lounge, talking about how Duka often approaches Nayo and her friends when he wants to play]

Mulisa: You, when you want to play with them, you arrive and just tell them what they should play.

Duka: [Starting to be defensive] *E!*

E: *Does he do that, really?*

Mulisa: Yes

Duka: [Defensive] *A!* She is lying!

Mulisa: [Accusingly] That day, that day when we came back from school didn't you, after finding them playing *'Ulu'*, and then you said, 'Guys, I want to play tennis'.

Duka: *Iyaaa* [Exclamation signifying admission of 'guilt'], [Addressing the researcher] And they refused, you know.

E: *They refused?*

Duka: Yees!

E: *And today, have you asked them?*

Duka: I am going to ask them.

Mulisa: [Horrified] *E!*

[This seems to stop Duka from going outside to join Nayo and his friends. At this point an eTV jingle plays, and Mulisa sings along parts of it, emphasising the 'ahhhhhh' part]

[Later on]

[Duka is where Nayo and her friends are playing in the garage. He throws the tennis ball against the wall, and as it bounces back, heads it]

Duka: [Asking the girls] Guys, can you do this?

[The girls continue to play. Back in the lounge, after the song, a soap opera starts playing on one of the SABC channels. It is Days of our Lives. Mulisa watches. A tennis ball is heard hitting against the wall]

Mulisa: [Poking her head out into the garage] You Duka, I told you not play in the garage. Who is going to scrub the floor tomorrow?

Nayo: We will scrub!

Koni: [Contradicting Mulisa] Play there.

Mulisa: [Sings a line from the earlier song] Play but you will scrub.

[During an advertisement Mulisa sings the song again, but when a jingle for a diaper ad goes on, Mulisa sings along, 'Be what you are'. At this point Duka comes back into the lounge. He and Mulisa start commenting on the soap opera. [After a while, Duka goes outside again. I follow him. Duka laughs when he sees me. The others pay no attention]

Nayo: The one who touches the ground, right, like this, must then walk.

Duka: [Looking at the researcher] Is that true?

E: *A (*Exclamation*), I am only here to watch; I cannot suddenly come and influence your rules.*

[Laughter, mostly the girls - seems there are two other girls in addition to Nayo]

[It is a chasing game. As they play they keep shouting on top of their voices. They are playing tag, to avoid tagging you need to squat. Duka leaves the others to come and ask me a question]

Duka: Did you ever see the movie called *Do not look under the bed*?

E: *No.*

Duka: It will be shown today during the day.

E: *Can all ages watch?*

Duka: Yes, it is a movie for all ages.

[Duka then decides to join the game again, and he immediately gets tagged]

Duka: No! I said 'Stay' [what a player says to be immune against being tagged if they took a break]

Nayo: We did not hear you say so… they [Maria and Khathu] are leaving anyway… Khathu is left with 'it' [whatever is passed on when one is tagged, to be avoided as best as possible] …Khathu is 'boogeyman'.

Duka: How can she be left with 'it' if she is going?

Maria: [Defensive] O! We have to go; otherwise Mom will leave us behind.

[They leave with their Mom; Duka and Nayo go to the lounge]

Nayo: It [the game] was fun, right?

Duka: [Fiddling with a cell phone] Look at this *konzhe konzhe* [scrap] of a cell phone. [Laughs] It does not work!

E: *Is it your phone?*

Duka: A hand-me-down from Mom.

The engaging nature of games is seen throughout Vignettes 15 and 16. Almost all were physical, accompanied by significant animation, especially around suspected cheating. Singing also accompanied many of the games, especially those introduced by Nayo. These games also seemed to illustrate some form of evolution over time, with foreign languages having been adapted somewhere along the way. Adaptation happened even during the same game episode, as with the singing of '*Tikili ga'* which later becomes just *'ga'*, in Vignette 16.

Nayo, as a regular player, seemed to understand game culture. She easily joined others in games, and was observed playing a role that appeared to ensure that the game continued. In Vignette 16 Nayo appeared to take on the role of maintaining the game momentum by initiating games, being open to games Duka suggested, and co-operating even after an 'accident'. Nayo also often checked whether everyone had fun (Vignette 15) or was still having fun during the game (Vignette 16). She also appeared most knowledgeable about the form that particular games ought to take.

Vignette 16: Duka, Nayo and Taki playing in the garage

{Day 23}

[An orientation book from the Foundation Phase of the school curriculum is open and Duka keeps looking at it and gives instruction to the other two. The game they are simulating is frog-jump. One player squats as other players jump over them, and they take turns doing this. As there are three players, the procedure to follow would have been that two players jump a squatting player, before the latter gets up. This does not seem clear to Duka as the picture in the book only shows two players, one squatting, and the other jumping.]

Duka: [As he gets up from squatting [I made my hands dirty. Nayo, squat!

Nayo: You must squat over there. Do not get up before everyone has jumped over you. Move a bit further.

Duka: Is my turn up? *Hola*! I am going back! It is my turn, Nayo!

[They continue playing]

Nayo: This is fun right?

Duka: [As Nayo is about to jump over him] It is my turn, Nayo…

Nayo: No Duka [as Duka is almost half-kneeling and his head is upturned] you do not squat correctly. [Showing Duka how to squat] you need to do it this way. Do it so...

Duka: [Duka ignores Nayo, and turns to the researcher] Can I go fetch you a chair?

Before I can stop him, Duka goes to fetch me a chair. When he comes back the other two are still playing]

Duka: Nayo, Taki, are you done? …who is going next? This is beginning to be boring. Come let's play something else. This is boring as only two people can play at a time. Let's play race…Taki you cannot complain because you are not the one waiting around.

Nayo: Let us start all over again…let us do it this way.

[When no one seems to want to start the game over, Nayo spontaneously starts running, Taki and Duka following. The three then chase each other around the house, laughing and shouting. At some point a voice is heard coming from the house: Lugi reprimands the three for making noise. A minute later Mom also

asks them to keep it quiet from somewhere else in the house. The three then stop running, and stand around in the garage.]

Nayo: Duka let us play "father…mother"

Duka: Let us play *Tshidula* ['frog' in Tshivenda]. And I am going first.

[Duka then goes first. He jumps like a frog twice, and then falls]

Nayo: There, you are out!

Duka: Let's play the first game we played again…where we jump over each other…it is fun. [As Taki continues to jump like a frog] Taki, come on!

[Taki and Nayo agree to play the game Duka suggests]

Duka: [To Nayo] Can't you go to the back? Nayo, what are you doing? I must jump over Nayo…and then she must jump over me… come Taki.

Taki: Am I going next? Must I now jump over Nayo?

Duka: Yes... [Taki jumps over Nayo, but then finds himself too close to Duka, with no space for Nayo to land if she jumped over him] No! Let's do this over… [to Taki] Move backwards a bit.

Nayo: No, I must jump over Taki, then you. I must jump twice before I squat again.

Duka: No, Nayo. You must come… [As Nayo jumps over Taki, Duka also gets up to move behind Taki, causing Nayo to bump hard into him] Nayo!

[Nayo starts crying]

E: *Nayo, are you not hurt?*

Duka: She likes things too much…Nayo, Nayo…how do you play? Does it mean one cannot play with you? *Haa*, Nayo [As Nayo continues to sob with her face hidden in her lap in a squatting position] Please get up. Let me carry you on my back. Should I pick you up? Pick her up Taki [As Taki tries to lift Nayo up and she resists] *Aa!* She likes this.

E: *She would not be crying if she was not hurt.*

Duka: It is all pretence. She wants us to plead with her. Nayo, should I go and have a bath or you want to go first? Should I play alone with Taki?

[Duka goes into the house. It is quiet outside as he is gone. He comes back after 4 minutes, finds Nayo standing]

Duka: Let us play 'I am so happy Nayo'.

Nayo: Can three people play?

[The game involves a song accompanied by clapping and jumping to a pattern drawn on the ground. Two people play at a time, keeping to the pattern, and making sure they do not bump into each other. The one who misses a step has to get out. In the case of these three, the third person claps and helps with the singing.]

'I am so happy' 2x; 'Tikili ga' 3x

[Duka goes first and explains it to Taki who seems unfamiliar with the game. Duka then directs were everybody should stand. Nayo and Taki make the first pair to play]

Duka: [To Nayo] You are out...you guys are boring…sit down…[Duka then joins Taki, but they both struggle to follow the pattern, Taki sits down when it is clear he has missed a step]…I am going again [Nayo laughs very hard as Duka fails to follow the pattern. Taki joins him again]

Nayo: You guys are cheating!

Duka: No one is out….

[They continue to play, with Nayo picking up the rhythm well at some point. Duka keeps saying the other two are boring, while Nayo repeats that the other two are cheating. After 5 minutes of playing this game, they abandon the first part of the song, and only sing the 'ga' part. This carries on a further 2 minutes, at which point Duka suggests a different game.]

Duka: Let us play *Tshandzunguluwe* [*where one twirls around with arms outstretched, leading to dizziness and consequent falling*].

Nayo: No, let us do ringa ringa rose.

[They play and sing ringa ringa rose once. At this point Mom walks out of the house]

Mom: Have you been here long?

E: *Maybe 30 minutes.*

Mom: Really?

E: *Yes.*

Mom: Oh [laughing self-reproachfully], when I reprimanded these children as they ran around the house, you were here?

E: *Yes, Lugi reprimanded them first.*

[As Mom continues to engage in conversation about local events, the three continue to sing as they play. They play two other games accompanied by singing. The first song goes:

Matataisane, the East, the West, the East my boyfriend]

Duka: Let us play…what do they call it? This one…

Nayo: Let us play *Muravharavha* [A board game indigenous to South Africa]

Duka: No…the other game [Duka starts singing] *Inti da…inki Dad a... sitting on the wall… try to make a dollar...o tshila.*

[They play this twice, until Duka gets ousted]

Duka: *Ag*, I am out!

[Nayo starts playing Tshandzuguluwe, Duka and Taki join her. The song accompanying the twirling was: Li khou mona (It is turning), Li khou mona, Shango li khou mona (The world is turning),

Marasta vha tshantsa marasta (Rastafarians take chances), Ndi rine marasta (We are the Rastafarians). The volume picked up as they went, prompting Mulisa to shout at them]

Mulisa: Duka! You guys are making noise!

[They play this for about 5 minutes, and all of a sudden Duka decides to narrate a Venda movie he had seen on DVD while visiting his cousin in the neighborhood, as portrayed in Vignette 26]

Duka, on the other hand, who was observed playing a group game only twice during data collection, seemed oblivious to the 'unspoken' codes of behaviour whenever he wanted to join others in games, or was engaged in a group game. Vignette 15 depicts Duka's lack of sensitivity in disrupting the flow of the game as he plans to join Nayo and her friends. During games he often displayed some element of self-centredness, often choosing to go first and adverse to waiting turns (Vignette 16). Several times during a game he either engaged the researcher, or started doing something else. In Vignette 16 games come to an end because Duka decided to start narrating a movie.

Also in Vignette 16, while Nayo always seemed to pick up steps involved to execute a game fairly quickly, Duka seemed to suggest games he did not know how to play. He often tried to simulate games he had seen in a book or on television. These contrasts

between Duka and Nayo are not surprising given Duka's apparent infrequent and incidental participation in games. The only time Duka initiated a game with Nayo during this research was indoors, with a balloon. The bouncing attempts he made in Vignette 13 were part of trying to play basketball, which he had only seen played on television. This game never really got off the ground.

'Maybe green with envy' in the theme refers to a possibility that Mulisa sometimes got envious over others' (especially Duka's) involvement in games. Although Mulisa referred to her and Koni participating in a game once in a while, both were never observed engaging in a structured game during this research. In contrast to Duka's attempts to be included in games with Nayo and her friends, Mulisa made attempts to stop games, especially if Duka was involved. In Vignette 15, even though the girls were already playing in the garage, it was only when Duka joined that Mulisa took issue with the fact that someone would have to scrub the floor after them. While it is unclear why Mulisa does not participate in structured games, Duka in Vignette 19 suggests age to be a factor, while Mulisa herself blames fatigue. Mulisa's interview in the same vignette seems to suggest her and Koni's wish to play. Judging by Mulisa's interference in Duka and Nayo's game with the balloon and both her and Koni's pursuits of Duka in Vignette 13, this wish to play appears to be there. Mulisa and Koni's desire for Duka's balloon to burst may also suggest some element of envy.

6.3.6 Friends, friendship and community events

Friends played a significant role in the third generation's engagements. While Mulisa had fewer friends than Duka, hers were very close to her; they were all girls, and only from her school. This became evident when, while on school vacation, she noted that the reason she was bored was because she missed her friends from school. Mulisa also seemed to appreciate that long-term friendship required nurturing; hence she exchanged cell phone numbers with one very close friend to ensure regular contact and made a card for her (see Vignette 17). Duka, on the other hand, had many friends from a variety of contexts; at Gran's, at school, and in his neighbourhood. Duka was not always consistent on who constituted a friend. Although he spent time with a boy from the neighbour's, he did not always consider him his friend. At times some of

Nayo's acquaintances were his friends, at other times not. He also regarded Nayo and his own half- brother as friends at times. Both Mulisa and Duka indicated that friends were important in knowing what was 'in', and also played a role in what they decided to watch on television. A local soapie, *Muvhango*, was a constant subject at school, prompting them to watch every day in order to always have something to contribute.

Vignette 17: Mulisa's friend

{Day 22}

[With 'All you need is love' (a series to inspire love) playing on television]

Mulisa: Mom, my friend and I, the one I am very close to, we will exchange numbers.

Mom: Are you going to keep the same numbers until you finish school?

Mulisa: Yes, we will both keep the same numbers

Mom: That is better. Now, what did you pledge for?

Mulisa: What do you mean?

Mom: I am asking whether, as you exchanged those phone numbers, you also pledged, and said, 'I pledge that I would…'

Mulisa: Yes, I pledged that I would be successful.

Duka: So Mom, what did you pledge?

Mom: [Laughing] Pledged what? I did not pledge.

Mulisa: I am also making a card for her. (Showing the card to Mom) It is a good attempt, right? At the bottom I will make this…like this…I will decorate it like this.

Community events in the neighbourhood drew a lot of interest from the third generation. Road construction in the area was reason enough for Duka and his friend to arrive home late from school (Vignette 18). Adding to the excitement about the roadworks was the fact that Lugi had gained contract employment with the construction company involved. On his first day at work, Duka and friend tracked him down.

Vignette 18: Duka watches roadworks

{Day 17}

Mulisa: What were you doing at school?

Duka: I stopped by on the way to watch as they were digging the road [Referring to road construction to a major road in the area]

[Later on, with Ricki Lake on television]

Duka: [Complaining] *Haa*! Now they are only going to play this kind of music.

Mulisa: This is what they play all the time.

Duka: No, there are times when they play better music.

[Later on…]

Duka: Mulisa, you know what they said at the construction site… about Lugi? They said, 'No…he is not working with us here. He is working at Block F.' Did you hear me?

Mulisa: [Commenting on what was shown on Ricki Lake] When a person is in the cubicle they do not even have to block their ears because they cannot hear anything.

Duka: [With conviction] It is not true!

[Silence for 7 mins 10 seconds as Ricki Lake continues]

Mulisa: [As Duka leaves through the door] Where are you going Duka?

Duka: I am going over there [the construction site]. I will come back.

Duka: Over there where?

Duka: I am going to see Lugi.

Mulisa: [Duka having left the door open behind him] Come back and close the door first!

[Duka leaves. Mulisa continues to watch Ricki Lake and advertisements in between quietly for 19 minutes. After this time Nayo walks into the lounge]

Mulisa: Did you find Lugi?

Nayo: I did not go. Duka went with his friend.

[At the end of Ricki Lake's show, Mulisa switches channels to a soap opera Days of our Lives. She is still very quiet, except if asked a question. After this programme she changes channels to eTV for Backstage. Duka is not yet back. Koni and Mulisa watch the whole of Backstage (30 minutes long) without

saying a word. Towards the end, Funani joins them. Mulisa changes channels to SABC 3 for yet another soap opera, Isidingo.]

Mulisa: [Referring to someone on *Isidingo*] *E!* [Exclamation] Is this one now in *Isidingo*?

E: *Where was she before?*

Mulisa: In 'Generations' [then laughs at some scene on *Isidingo*].

[At this point Duka comes back, having been gone for 1hour 2 minutes.]

Mulisa: Did you find him?

Duka: I found him very far…at Block F…it is far, close to David's house.

Mulisa: [Surprised] *Ha*! Really?

Duka: They [Lugi's co-workers] told us that the road will not go all the way to our school because they have to first do the one that goes to the hospital.

In Vignette 19 Duka also mentions casually that he attended a wedding with friends, to which they were neither invited nor knew the bride or groom.

Vignette 19: The wedding crashers

{Day 10}

Duka: One day on a school trip on a Saturday, right? We were coming from a funeral, travelling by bus, we saw it. A girl from Grade 4 had died, and all of us from our class went. She had passed and was going into Grade 4. We went to her funeral on Saturday. When the bus dropped us at the school, there was a wedding going on, we all then went to the wedding as well.

6.3.7 Play is many things… I don't play

There were many engagements that Mulisa and Duka described as fitting in with what could be regarded as play, and they both described identifiable features that real play entails, conceding that Mulisa did not play (see Vignette 20). Earlier in the interview, when Duka was asked to list what he considered to be real play, he listed only the games he was observed playing with Nayo. Mulisa also highlighted physical involvement as a distinct feature of play in her description. In vignette 20, when asked about the last time she participated in a physical game, Mulisa mentioned that this had

happened when a family from the rural areas had moved into their streets. She said that the girls in that family would often organise games that everyone from that street played. This apparently stopped when the family relocated again. Mulisa also mentions playing with a homemade ball with a friend, and with a tennis ball that Taki had brought into her home, but was vague about when this was.

Vignette 20: Interview with Mulisa and Duka

{Day 24}

E: *What can you tell me about Mulisa's play engagements?*

Duka: That one never plays.

E: *Mulisa does not play? Okay. What do you think are the reasons why she does not play?*

Duka: [Rhetorically] Is it not age?

E: *Age? In what way?*

Duka: Maybe she is too old to play.

E: *Okay. I will ask Mulisa to also comment on your play. [We both laugh] Alright, your interview has come to the end now. Thank you*

Duka: Oh, I forgot to *losha* [He laughs, and then greets in the manner customary to showing respect in the local culture.] *Ndaa!*

E: *Aaa!!*

[A few minutes later, Mulisa comes and takes Duka's place in order to be interviewed]

E: *What would you say are play forms that you participate in?*

Mulisa: I play things like…on weekends…there is a certain kid, a friend of mine. Her name is Masho who stays not far from here. She comes over sometimes…or I go over to her house, and we play with the ball. We make a ball from plastic bags or play with a tennis ball, right here. Or we play '24-Back'. We play different things.

E: *I am asking because I have not seen you play these things.*

Mulisa: It is true, I have not played some of these things since last year…Okay, it is long since I have played.

E: *When do you think you last played?*

Mulisa: I have forgotten…I cannot remember…Well, once we had a family from the rural areas staying on our street. The girls used to organise games for all of us in the street. Then they moved.

E: *Then what happened*?

Mulisa: People stopped playing on the street.

E: *What do you think of what Duka says, saying that you do not play?*

Mulisa: Yes, he is correct. But I do play at times right here. Sometimes it is Koni who feels like playing with the tennis ball…okay, okay…not long ago Taki came over with a tennis ball, and we played, he even left us with the tennis ball.

E: *Okay. Why do you think it is that you seem to be able to count the number of times you have played recently?*

Mulisa: It is because a long time can pass without me playing.

E: *Why do you think this is so?*

Mulisa: Why a long time can pass without me playing?

E: *Yes.*

Mulisa: I am often tired when I come back from school. And then I eat, and then take a nap. Sometimes I watch TV. Actually, the way I play mostly…what I enjoy the most is singing. There are times when I sing that I really enjoy it. Even when coming from school with my friend. At times we sing. Even acting, I enjoy drama a lot.

E: *What do you think of Duka's playing?*

Mulisa: Duka's playing, right? He loves to dance. Sometimes he even invites Nayo to join in. Duka enjoys dancing.

During a separate chat with Duka, after the researcher's observation that Nayo was almost always playing, Duka's response was that this was because Nayo was taught games at school in Grades R and 1.

6.3.8 Television prominence

Television had significant presence within the Gudani family. It was always on in the background even as family members were not watching directly. Evidence of this can be seen in many of the vignettes. When the researcher visited Gran, she had both the television and the radio on, even when it seemed she was concentrating on the radio. Television, especially cartoons, dictated Duka's sleeping schedule. He was an early riser, waking up at 05h30 in order to see cartoons before school on weekdays.

Duka and Nayo were expected to go to bed at 21h30, at the end of *Muvhango*. Much of television watching in the family involved soap operas, as is also evident in many of the vignettes. Everyone, including Lugi, watched *Muvhango*, a local soap opera typifying a modernised Venda culture, often playing out conflicts that arise when Venda individuals confront other cultures in the city of Johannesburg. Generations, another local soap opera, was also watched daily. Like *Muvhango*, Generations has an all-black cast. The first black soap opera, and created after 1994, Generations aimed to characterise black people as successful and sophisticated.

American soap operas also featured prominently and were faithfully followed by Mulisa and Koni. Mulisa, always in possession of the television remote control, navigated between channels in order to stay abreast of the storylines in Passions, Days of our Lives, and The Bold and the Beautiful. Passions was Mulisa's favourite. She would always get excited whenever the theme song came on, calling both Koni and Duka to come and watch.

Of everyone in the family, Mulisa got most involved in the drama of whatever soap opera she watched. She was familiar with all characters and understood the plots, often showing strong emotion as she imitated lines. Duka, on the other hand, displayed inconsistent involvement in soap operas. While he had particular favourites - Passions, *Muvhango*, and Generations - he often mocked what was going on in the story. Unlike Mulisa, who watched intently, Duka often did other things at the same time. He would sometimes chat in the background, often annoying Mulisa. On two occasions he complained about boredom as he watched television, once as Passions

was on. On the day that he made the attempt to join Nayo and friends in play, he left as Days of our Lives was about to start. Mom also showed a conflicting stance towards soap operas. Although she always watched whenever she was home, and asked Mulisa and Koni what she missed, she often criticised them, particularly denouncing their inclusion of magic. Nayo, on the other hand, showed complete disinterest in soap operas.

Television advertisements drew significant interest from the third generation, particularly Mulisa and Duka. These two often imitated and sang along with especially catchy jingles. Mulisa and Duka would also get quite involved if they saw through an apparent 'exaggeration'. Programmes designed specifically for youth, for example 'School TV', were not evident in the third generation's list of frequently watched shows.

6.3.9 Avoiding boredom, and bored 'to snot' watching TV

Boredom was mentioned several times by Mulisa and Duka. While Mulisa found vacations particularly boring because she was away from friends, Duka found sitting with nothing to do boring. In Vignette 21, Duka mentions that doing artwork and crafts helps him avoid boredom.

Vignette 21: Artwork as play

{Day 16}

E: *Oh okay! So, you are saying that when you do your artwork it is play?*

Duka: Yes.

E: *Okay, it is play.*

Duka: Yes, because otherwise I get bored.

E: *You get bored. Do you play because you are bored?*

Duka: Yes, or else I watch TV.

E: *When you are bored? Does watching TV also constitute playing?*

Duka: No.

E: *Okay, so when you watch TV you are not playing*?

Duka: I am not working when I watch TV.

E: *Okay, you are not working either?*

Duka: No, because it is just sitting.

Although Duka used television in order to deal with boredom, paradoxically it often became the cause of it (see Vignettes 22 and 23). Both Mulisa and Duka concurred that watching television with others was preferable to watching it alone.

Vignette 22: Watching television

{Day 1}

[Passions is playing on TV. Mostly silence, with Duka commenting softly, sometimes using gestures – often pointing with an upturned hand and pulling the corners of his lips down signaling either disbelief or disapproval.]

E: *What does your hand mean, Duka?*

Duka: This is really boring!

Mulisa: [With some indignation] How is it boring?

[Duka continues to watch and at times mockingly imitating some of the characters. He also comments when there seems to be suspense. The others are completely quiet. At some point he starts explaining the story-line to the researcher]

[Long silence by ALL watching]

Vignette 23: More boredom

{Day 3}

Duka: [During the moment at which Pinocchio turns into a real human boy] He is becoming a real person, look! He is becoming a real person. Or maybe he has just grown up [After the transformation, and there was jubilation in the movie, Duka claps his hand as a sign of marvel] *Haee*!

Mulisa: [With singing in the movie, she starts her own song] Oh my lo... ha… ha... ve!

Duka: [Protesting] This movie is only about singing! No…You [Mulisa] have a book that has a story like this.

Mulisa: Who? Me?

Duka: You…Yes, a book with songs.

Mulisa: Stop lying!

Duka: [As the movie ends] Yes! It is finished!

Mulisa: [Recognising one of actors on the movie] Hey! Usher Raymond!

Duka: [Excited] Is it Usher for real?

E: *Ah! Were you really not convinced initially?*

Duka: That one that has a black person in it, what is it called?

Mulisa: Which one?

Duka: This one...You [Mulisa] you are really somehow, how can you refuse us from playing with the tennis ball?

Mulisa: To play where, Duka? Go and play out there where there is no *stoep* [cemented floor].

Duka: What kind of a tennis ball bounces on soil? It is only a soccer ball that bounces… we are so bored… so bored that we produce snot!

6.3.10 Story-telling and imagination as cultivated skills

Stories were important within the Gudani family. Whenever Mom told a story about an event in the neighbourhood, everyone listened. On one particular evening she told a story about how they were punished at school, capturing a lot of interest, especially from Mulisa and Duka. Duka also took an active role when others told their stories, often verifying, and pointing out contradictions and discrepancies (see Vignette 24).

Vignette 24: Duka questions Nayo's story

{Day 21}

[Duka is playing with a balloon; Isidingo is on television]

Nayo: [Referring to a flat soccer ball she was playing with outside] I will eventually be able to play with that ball, like before.

Duka: Was this after it had been pumped up?

Nayo: No, she blew into it.

Duka: Who?

Nayo: Maria...and I had brought it flat.

Duka: Who? First you said Indi.

Nayo: Maria and I. Others bring theirs already blown up.

Duka: Who? Who was all there?

Nayo: We were all in the garage, when Indi and Maria blew into their balls.

Duka: You initially said it was you and Maria. And you said Maria blew up a ball, alone…you did not mention Indi.

In the third generation story-telling and imagination appeared to be cultivated skills, requiring one to be creative. Duka's creation of imaginary worlds is depicted in Vignette 25. These worlds at times seemed to depict Duka's wishes.

Vignette 25: Duka's imagination

{Day 22}

Duka: We will dig a hole and pour in paraffin, or is it petrol, or oil?

Mom: Why would you do that?

Duka: To bring out a river

Mom: With water?

Dad: Yes, we will make a river.

Mom: Eyaa! [Oh really!]

Mulisa: [Exclaiming over something on television] *E!*

Duka: People will be surprised to suddenly see a river in our home.

['All you need is Love' is on television]

Duka: I will make all other homes run out of water. Everybody will have to come to our home to swim. There will even be no cars on the streets. We will pour thick petrol, having dug out the tar, so that there is a swimming pool. Even in our classroom there would be water. There will no longer be writing there, there will only be teaching. They will have to give us orals.

E: *You would be swimming while answering questions on the orals?*

Duka: Yes, we will also remove tiles from the floor…they are only paper tiles anyway…we would remove them…and dig…and dig. There will only be soil on the ground…and will pour the necessary….and close all windows. We will

also close all holes in the doors. By the way there are no air bricks. There are no air bricks.

Mulisa: [Comments about something on the show]

Duka: Mom, at our school there is no….what is it called…eh…air bricks in any of the classes. Only offices have them.

[From this point Mulisa talks to Mom about her and her friend, portrayed in Vignette 17]

Duka was also a skilled narrator, adept at role-playing and able to capture an audience. This is evident in Vignette 26.

Vignette 26: Duka narrates a story

{Day 23}

[Duka suddenly starts narrating a Venda movie he saw on DVD in the middle of a game with others. As he tells the story, Duka role-plays all three protagonists in the story: the father, mother, and a child. It starts off with the child having just returned from school and the father asking him what they did at school that day. The child then listed all the games he played. After this the child asks for money which the father did not have. He then says harsh words to the child]

Duka: [In a drunken voice, mimicking the father] 'This is my house. It is my house!' prompting the mother to get involved. She shouted: 'You go on shouting at the child….I will show you. I will show you!'

[The family in the story lives in a rural area. Duka mentions that the mother used cow-dung to polish the floors. Taki and Nayo are completely silent as they listen to Duka]

Duka: The mother threw water on the cooking fire. Father got very angry and left on a bicycle…Oh there is something else I did not tell you from earlier on in the story. The boy ate a sweet potato when he came back from school. As he was eating…right…the father asked him for a piece and the boy said 'No, I don't want to give you *baba* [daddy]'. The father then said the boy will see – 'Ha! You will see'. The boy said his father is lying. When he looked again in

his plate he noticed that his Dad had stolen his sweet potato, and he said, 'You took my sweet potato!' The mother heard the altercation, and she asked what was going on, and she came to reprimand the father. Now during the night the father [Using a prefix to portray the father as a clown] needed to use the toilet [outhouse]. He was suddenly heard saying out loud, 'Get out of here! Go play elsewhere!' He was talking to a huge bird that had come and was flying above his head, going 'Huuuu…..huuuu'. He was scared! When the mother heard, she said to him 'You are such an embarrassment! What fear you have…when did you ever see such a coward!' From fear, the father dropped whatever he was holding into the toilet pit. When the things were fished out they smelled of *makaka* [excrement]. To calm his nerves, the father drank traditional beer. The wife then threw the traditional beer on his face. The man then climbed up a paw-paw tree. The wife then said, 'I will kill you…I will kill you!'…Hey! I cannot remember other details…hey! This film was funny!

[The story has taken 14 min 16 seconds, non-stop]

6.3.11 A view out into the world: new aspirations, new engagements

Through television mostly and sometimes school, aspirations were cultivated within the third generation - and being the outspoken one, Duka was not shy to articulate what he wished for. For Mulisa, expressions of wanting were often reserved but nonetheless cropped up now and again (see Vignette 14). Mulisa's interests in singing and acting (see Vignette 20) are possibly nourished by what she sees on television. The greatest influence which television seemed to have on the third generation, however, was their fascination with technology, especially cell phones. Wishes in Duka's imaginary worlds also appeared to mirror what he saw on television. In his biography, described in Vignette 27, Duka mentions swimming and basketball as hobbies, although he does not know how to play either of these.

Vignette 27: Duka's biography

{Day 10}

Duka: Hello. My name is…. [His name]. My surname is … [His surname]. I live at Thohoyandou Block … [name of his suburb]. My hobbies are swimming. I like playing basketball. But I do… I can't play basketball. My sister's name is Mulisa. My big sister's name is Funani. She has a daughter. Her daughter's name is Nayo. Her daughter's surname is … [Nayo's surname]. My mother's name is … [Mother's first name, middle name, and surname]. I am sorry, [Mom's surname] is her surname. My father's name is…. (Dad's English name). I …Yo! …and his other name is … (Dad's Tshivenda name). Her… His surname is [Dad's surname].Thank you! [And laughs]…Xe xe! Yoweee!

[He then breaks into song]

Through his aspiration to a role characterised by television, Duka even assumed a new name. In Vignette 28, Duka explains how by adopting 'Jack' (character on Generations) as his middle name, his initials could be DJ. Money also carried strong relevance in the third generation's aspirations (see Vignette 28). Winning commodities through competitions advertised on television was also a preoccupation, with Duka somehow convinced that this was easy. His incessant plea for Mom to enter a cell phone text message competition is evidence of this. In Vignettes 28 and 29 it is clear that Duka saw it as an injustice that such contests were held in cities and big towns, and never in his area.

Vignette 28: New identities, and winning

{Day 22}

[An advertisement on television shows a shopping contest]

Mulisa: Oh, they are given a few minutes to fill up a shopping trolley!

Duka: [Disbelief] *Ehee*! How can they give people…?

Mulisa: [In awe] *E…hee*!

Duka: This is happening at Shoprite, right? …is this our own Shoprite?

E: *I am not sure.*

Mulisa: It is not here.

Duka: *Ha*! Why does it only happen only so far away?

[Silence, as the television programme continues]

Duka: [Directed at the researcher] Didn't I tell you? Even in my book I have written Jack … [His surname]

Mulisa: It is not your name!

E: *When did Jack become your name?*

Duka: That day when I first told you, my name changed.

E: *Please remind me, where does the name Jack come from?*

Mulisa: So that he is called DJ.

Duka: Yes.

E: *Oh I see.*

E: *What does it mean to be called DJ?*

Duka: *Ndaa?* [Respectful way of asking 'What?']

E: *How is it like to be called DJ?*

Mulisa: [Referring to a news clip showing Jacob Zuma and people supporting during one of his court appearances] He really has many followers!

E: *Why do you want to be called DJ?*

Duka: It just appeals to me.

Mulisa: He is just crazy... there is no real gain from being called a DJ... it is just a silly name…he is just after popularity.

[At a later stage in the evening, the conversation shifts to jobs]

Mom: Is it because this one [Funani] is just sitting at home?

Duka: She does not want to braid hair? [Everybody laughs]

Funani: Duka, how can you call that a job? One that you only do once a month?

Duka: Lugi is better than you.

Funani: [Laughing] He earns better than me?

Duka: He will earn better than you. He will earn in thousands! You only make R50 a month.

[Everybody laughs]

Duka: Lugi...you will buy us a DVD right?

[Lugi laughs, then everybody except Mulisa]

Mulisa: You [Duka] speak too much!

Duka: What did I say?

Everybody but Mulisa is breathless with laughter]

Mulisa: [Redirecting everyone's attention, and pointing to someone on television] Mom, you know this girl's brother, right? Do you know him?

Mom: [Ignoring Mulisa's question] If he [Lugi] has promised people a DVD he will have to buy it.

Lugi: You Mom will have to buy it.

Duka: [Gesturing with an upturned open hand] This one will never buy it. She does not even enter a competition that is not even expensive, requiring only an sms [sending text message via cell phone]!

Mulisa: Which one is not expensive?

Duka: People are winning …on Backstage

Mulisa: You need money for that.

Duka: [Insisting] No! You do not even have to pay anything!

Mulisa: [Insisting] People have to take money out of their pocket to pay!

Mom: Does entry guarantee a win?

Duka: Yes.

Mom: Really!!

Duka: No, what I am talking about is not where you enter. You just sms

Mom: And then you win?

Funani: [Amused] *E he!* So when you sms you are not entering? [And laughs]

Duka: If I sms Mom does it mean I have entered a competition?

Funani: Isn't that another way of entering, Duka?

Vignette 29: More competitions

{Day 13}

Duka: Koni!

Mulisa: She is working [house chores].

Duka: The Backstage Superstar Search has started! [on eTV]

Mom: [Laughing] They will come here one day.

Duka: Really! They will come here?

Mom: Well, maybe they will come as close as Pietersburg.

Duka: Why wouldn't they come right here, to Thohoyandou?

Mom: Pietersburg is still in our province, if they reach there it would be regarded as them having come to us.

Duka: Why don't they come here, to Venda?

Mash: You want them to come to the jungle?

Duka: [Protesting] No, we do not live in the jungle here!

Mash: [Laughing] Hee! Where exactly would you like to come here?

Mulisa: They would come here to visit Duka especially.

Duka: [Noticing a local Kwaito star on television] Look, Arthur!

Through technology and television, new literacies were introduced. In Vignette 30 it is also clear that Mom was not always able to keep up with cell phone developments. While both Mulisa and Duka were mostly up to date with the latest feature on cell phones, Mulisa often educated Duka on subtle aspects to stories and advertisements on television. Both seemed unfamiliar with musicals and the format they take (explaining Duka's exasperation in Vignette 23). Television seemed to be a considerable learning medium for language. Mulisa expressed that she learnt many new English words through television, and the researcher often heard them debate their understanding of a concept, as displayed earlier in Vignette 9.

Vignette 30: Mom and mms

{Day 21}

Duka: The journey to Pietersburg [now Polokwane] was tiring. Even my legs are sore. [A few bounces with the balloon]

Mulisa: [Irritated] You-weee!

Duka: What did I do! [Heads the balloon as if it were a soccer ball] Hey! I was able to head it! [To the researcher] Did you see it go all the way up?

Mulisa: Koni can you mms?

Koni: I don't know how to.

Mom: What is to mms?

Mulisa: It is when you send a photo?

E: *What is it called?*

Mulisa: MMS

Duka: [Reference to Spur advertisement on television) People stay here.

Mulisa: [Directed at Mom] That day when you were sending to Funani? On the 25th of September, what were you sending her?

Mom: Was it an mms?

Mulisa: Yes. If it is a picture you send, it is an mms. What were you sending her?

6.3.12 Satire, with an edge

Coupled with his noteworthy skill at story-telling, Duka also displayed remarkable artistry at satire. He easily picked up on opportunities to have a play on words, often stopping just at the edge of ridicule or even disrespect, depending on the outlook of the audience. In Vignettes 28 and 31 Duka makes light of Funani and Lugi's jobless situations. A sensitive matter which no one else in the family talks about, Duka seems to manage to bring laughter out of everyone except Mulisa through this.

Vignette 31: Jobs

{Day 10}

[Grandmothers' lounge. Duka was helping Nayo with homework. Nayo was cutting pictures out from a newspaper and writing a story about them]

Nayo: Where did you say I should cut?

Duka: On the newspaper. Do not cut out job advertisements as your Mom is looking for a job!

In Vignette 32 he picks up on Mom's mention of 'pizza' and relates this to when Gran mistakenly called a pizza, '*Tsipa*'. *Tsipa* is a dance where the dancer stands still with his or her backside to the audience, twitching the buttocks in rhythm with the music. Regarded as crass and inelegant, most people would not even mention the name of the dance, hence Mulisa's strong response to Duka.

Vignette 32: The naughty dance

{Day 21}

Mom: When we arrived at Louis Trichadt we had Pizza.

Duka: (Imitating Mom, but replacing "Pizza") Tsipa!

Mulisa: You (Duka) are a "dabadaba!" (someone who is rude)

Duka: It is true, Gran did say that when we ate at the hotel, at Tusk. And she said, "Is this what they call "Tsipa"? (He laughs)

[Everybody laughs, except Mulisa]

Duka: (Insistent) she did say so!

Appearing to be aware of Mulisa's sensitivities over decorum, Mulisa was often at the receiving end of Duka's banter (see Vignettes 11 and 33).

Vignette 33: Duka teases Mulisa

{Day 14}

[Seems to be a play fight argument between Mulisa and Duka; Duka wants to show the researcher Mulisa's drawing, while she seems shy to have her work viewed]

Mulisa: I am not finished yet!

Duka: [Looking at the paper he grabbed from Mulisa] *E*! What have you done to whose paper…hmmm?

Mulisa: [Defiant] Your paper!

Duka: [Showing the paper to the researcher] Look what Mulisa did for me! Doesn't she just love me!

Mulisa: [Annoyed] Bring back, Duka! Bring back that paper!

[Duka shows Mulisa's artwork to the researcher and Mom]

Duka: Look! She loves me lots! [Shifting his attention to Mulisa] And…do complete this for me please!

Once during this research Mom was at the receiving end of satirical commentary by both Mulisa and Duka (Vignette 34).

Vignette 34: Teasing Mom

{Day 22}

Duka: Mulisa's Mom can look good! She can really look good! Duka's Mom…yo! I meant Mulisa's Mom. She knows how to dress up nicely.

E: [Laughing] *How is that?*

Duka: So that people can notice her.

E: *Which people?*

Duka: People, generally.

Mom: I will come to your school one day wearing that black skirt

Mulisa: [With emphasis] With that white blouse! [Adding a prefix to 'blouse' in order to exaggerate its size or ugliness]

Mom: Yes.

Duka: [Horified] *E! e!* Mo...ther!

Mulisa: But it could work!

Duka: Yes! Especially if she wears those brown high-heeled shoes of hers! Yes…those brown ones…I have seen them!

Mulisa: [With emphasis] Yes!

Duka: [Demonstrating how Mom would walk] And this is how she would enter…like on that movie… [Looking at the researcher] don't you know it?

E: *No.*

Mulisa: Which movie, Duka?

Duka: That one…'Naked…'

Mulisa: [Before Duka could finish] Yees! 'Naked Gun'!

6.3.13 Push the envelope and bear the brunt

While Duka often managed to have everyone (except Mulisa) in uncontrollable bouts of laughter, he also was the one family member who was reprimanded the most. While this is well illustrated in Vignette 35, it is also evident in many of the other vignettes.

Vignette 35: Uncomfortable questions

{Day 2}

Duka and Mulisa: [Complaining as Mom changes channels on television] *Ha*! Mother!

Mom: Oh! Did you all want eTV? I want to watch 'S*ewende Laan'*.

Duka: [Pointing to a character on '*Sewende Laan'*, surprised] Does this one already have a child?

Mom: Yes, she had a baby a long time ago.

Duka: Whose child is it?

Mom: It is her child

Duka: *Ndaa?*

Mom: I said it is her child.

Duka: *Ndaa?*

Mom: [Losing patience] Yo!

[Everybody except Mulisa laughs]

Duka: [With emphasis] Her child with whom?

Mom: [Showing some discomfort] How am I supposed to know?

[Silence from everyone for 4 minutes as 'Sewende Laan' continues in the background; K and a visiting girl can be heard playing in the bathroom]

Duka: People say when I grow up I will be like Tau.

E: *Who is Tau?*

Duka: Tau in Generations...they say my nose looks like his.

E: *And when you look at it, are they telling the truth?*

Duka: Why do you ask?

E: *Well, when you look at your nose, and his, do they look alike?*

Duka: How can I tell? How can I see it?

E: *Well, maybe on a mirror?*

Duka: Can a person see it?

Mulisa: You are crazy.

Duka: A mirror, just to look at your nose? Just the nose?

E: *Hmmm…*

Duka: Mom...you would have to do this [pushing his nostrils out with his fingers]

Mulisa: [Irritated reprimand] This one! [Duka]

Mom: [Irritated reprimand] Duka-*wee*! No man!

Duka: I wanted you to hold so you can see [turning to the researcher]. Hold, and you will see!

E: *Oh, I think I am as squeamish as your Mom.*

Mulisa: [Referring to sitcom]: *E!* Oh!

[Mom then starts to tell me about a funeral in the neighborhood. At some point during the conversation, the balloon broke with a noise, startling everybody]

Duka: Heeey!! …Mom did you hear that?

Mulisa: You [Duka] are irritating!

Mom: [Reprimand] No man!

Duka: [Coming to the researcher, taking her hand and placing it on the right side of his chest] Feel my heart, I am scared!

E: *Is your heart on the right?*

Duka: Feel it, here.

[Everybody laughs]

Mom: Now if you were playing nicely with it, it would not have burst.

6.3.14 Caught in a time warp: Custodian to precarious codes of behaviour

Of all the family members, Mulisa for some reason appeared to have adopted the role of sanctioning what was appropriate behaviour within the family. She always had something to say whenever Duka seemed to err in this regard. Although Mulisa's reprimands pepper many of the other vignettes, in Vignettes 36 and 37 they are in response to behaviour that seems to suggest unchartered territory, where no clear guideline had been mapped out, or at least discussed before within the family. In Vignette 36, self-praise appears to be such territory. Mulisa seems to see through Duka's thinly veiled attempt at self-promotion.

Vignette 36: Duka self-praises

{Day 14}

Duka: [Trying to catch some attention from anyone in the lounge] When I sing 'If you want me…' [Lyric from a local popular Kwaito song]

[Duka seems to need back-up for his singing, and having no response, he shifts his attention to the researcher]

Duka: I sang this song one day as I was walking from school. When I reached a certain area I found people standing, and I quickly stopped singing! I did not know there were two other people behind me who then said, 'This child sings very well'.

Mulisa: *E!* Do you not have shame at all…praising yourself like that?

Vignette 37 illustrates how Mulisa takes on the task of educating Duka on issues of privacy and propriety. Mulisa also calls Duka to order for manipulating the researcher to get a chance to 'work' the researcher's cell phone.

Vignette 37: Mulisa reprimands Duka

{Day 22}

Duka: [Referring to a scene in a local soap opera, 'Backstage'] Did he take an injection out? [Backstage ends - Duka sings along the closing tune, and then turns his attention towards me] Does your phone have a calculator? … [Before the researcher could respond] Do you not even know what games you have in your phone?

E: *I know.*

Duka: Did you actually check… did you read the manual?

E: *I checked.*

Mulisa: [Accusatory] This is just a ploy for you to get to play on it!

Duka: [Shifting his attention] Koni! Koni! Can I please play Snake on your phone?

Mulisa: Just as I thought!

[Silence in the lounge for a while except for the television, another soap opera is on;

Mulisa claps her hands at some point]

Duka: Does it [Koni's cell phone, after Koni gives it to him] do speed dial?

E: *What does that mean?*

Duka: You press maybe '2', and that is how you dial someone's number.

E: *Okay.*

Duka: That is speed dial… on Koni's phone Mulisa is '1'. [Asking himself] And then who next? And then there is Connie, then Thuli… and then Diza…and also daddy.

Mulisa: [Horrified] Duka, why are you looking up those things? Aren't those things private?

Duka: No.

Mulisa: They are private.

Duka: [With disbelief] *Haa!* Just people's numbers?

Mulisa: They can even arrest you for what you are doing. What you are doing is criminal.

CHAPTER 7

EMERGING THEMES IN THE EVOLUTION OF PLAY

This chapter presents the final three major themes that emerged through analysing generation-embedded themes (informing the childhood play portraits of each generation) in relation to contextual factors, thus reflecting the evolution of play across the three generations. These themes are:

1. Persistent elements in play across generations;
2. Shifts in play across generations; and
3. Complexification of the play rhetoric.

The three themes are a result of the iterative process of collapsing data from Nvivo and exploring relationships between generation-embedded categories, and contextual factors using conceptual models (see Appendix VII). Games feature prominently in the first two themes that emerged. With reference to the definition of games provided in the introductory chapter, games here pertain to formalised, institutionalised forms of play characterised by clearly articulated rules (Schwartzman, 1978), within which one or more players can participate.

7.1 Theme 1: Persistent elements in play across generations

This theme highlights that even as the frequency of games has diminished across the three generations, interestingly some elements appear to have persisted. Table 7.1 illustrates the categories and sub-categories gained from the data, which support this theme.

Table 7. 1: Persistent elements in play across generations

Categories	Sub-categories
Games have own culture	Wayfarer collective identity and fun (first generation) Everyone played the same (second generation – Dad) Games have culture: novice easily spotted (third generation)
Persistent game features	Numbers dictate and steer games Games involve all players Animation Song accompaniment Non-literal language
Community events for fun	Baptisms and *Thwasa* ceremonies for fun (first generation) Folk tales and riddles/evening pass-time with groom (second generation – Dad) Traditional dance/*Tshikona* every weekend (second generation – Dad) Weddings and roadworks (third generation)

7.1.1 Games have own culture

Regardless of what generation engages in them, games seem to generate patterns of behaviour and attitudes among children who frequently play together. It is these predominant yet tacit codes of behaviour that bind the players together, cultivate shared values, and make it difficult for a newcomer to join unless properly inducted into the culture. This tendency permeates games from the first to the third generation.

In the first generation this is seen in the way that the maternal grandmother was able to distinguish between the games that the 'heathens' played, as opposed to the games she played as part of the Wayfarer movement. The values and symbols shared by the Wayfarers were so distinct and strong that even though the 'heathens' sometimes joined their games, it did not lead to the games themselves being seen as no longer

belonging to the Wayfarers alone. Grandmother continued to talk about 'our' games, and 'their'games.

One could think that grandmother's distinction of Wayfarer games from 'heathen' ones stemmed from the fact that the former were informed by the Christian cultural system that newly converted families adopted, which dictated the way their children were allowed to play, in contrast to non-converts. What is interesting, however, is how even when Wayfarer games may have adopted some elements from the 'heathen' game, *Mahundwane*, an example being the bonfire built at the end of the Wayfarer camp, around which they danced, this was not acknowledged.

Dad, as part of the second generation, spoke of how during his upbringing everyone played the same, oblivious to the fact that his future wife who was growing up at the same time just a few kilometres away was playing differently as a child growing up in a Christian home. Those with whom he played made up the majority of society at the time, and they all played in the same manner. He spoke of how from village to village the same games were played, following the same patterns. He also referred to *Mahundwane* and *Tshinzerere*, games Grandmother associated with heathens quite frequently. It is quite possible that these could have retained significant elements from their earlier versions played during Grandmother's time.

For the third generation it becomes even clearer how almost impermeable game culture is, unless one is willing to be acculturated into the implicit codes of behaviour, and is able to adopt the attitudes required to demonstrate internalisation of shared values. Nayo, as the expert player, is the most literate as far as game culture is concerned, compared to Duka. She easily moves in and out of games because she is readily accepted by the in-group. With the amount of time she spends playing games (with more or less the same group of children); she has mastered the codes, and has contributed to the game culture as it evolved over time. Duka, on the other hand, had not invested enough time to either picking up the accepted code of behaviour and attitudes or being part of developing these. As a result, each time he joined or was part of a game, he was either clumsy in his approach or flouted the same codes that would make him part of the in-group.

7.1.2 Persistent game features

Some game features across the three generations seem to transcend time, and can be traced throughout. Five features in particular stood out and could be identified in the games that the first and second generation described, and in those that were observed with the third generation: numbers of players dictating and steering games, games involving all players, animation, song often accompanying games, and use of non-literal language within games.

Numbers dictate and steer games

For all three generations, the number of children or potential players seemed to be critical in determining whether a game could be played, as well as what type of game would be played. Grandmother spoke about how when it was the three of them at home (before any of her sisters got married) they would sneak out at night to go join the 'heathens' as they played *Tshinzerere*. The game started while they were still at home. The youngest sister would pretend to be falling sleep, prompting the parents to commence with the evening prayer in preparation for bed. While the parents were asleep, the three would sneak out. Only when one of the older sisters got married did this practice stop. It could be that being three in number allowed the sisters to pull off the initial deception, or it provided them with a sense that they would be able to bear the consequences collectively if their 'scheme' were uncovered.

Dad, of his generation, told of how summer was a time for growing maize, and as a result games did not happen except for those herding cattle or goats. Herding livestock was one of very few opportunities during summer that would bring children and young adults together in one place. Herding was a whole-day task, creating ample space for games to be constructed and to be engaged in by large numbers of children and young adults. Dad describes various fun and innovative games he played during this time of the year.

With the third generation, the critical role of numbers of players for game enactment continues. Almost all games observed during this research with either Nayo or Duka occurred when there was a visiting child. The only times that Duka was outdoors

playing a game were also when there was a child guest at his home. From what Mulisa related, she and Koni played the game 24-back only when a family from the rural areas stayed not too far from them, or another friend came over to their house. In addition to determining whether a game would be played, and which game it would be, it appears numbers also dictate how the game would be played, and for how long. This was mostly evident whenever Duka argued for a game to be replaced if it could not involve every player.

Games involve all players

The second game feature that persisted throughout the generations is that it seems effort is always made to involve all potential players whenever a game is played. Of the Wayfarer games at camp, grandmother told how everyone there was involved in singing, marching or ball throwing. Dad spoke of how everyone took turns when it was time for folk tales and riddles. Even children who accompanied older siblings were not allowed to doze off. He tells of a practice to discourage sleeping, where paper would be stuffed in-between toes and set alight. In observing third generation participating in games, care was always taken to ensure that everyone had a turn, leading to games being adapted or replaced to ensure that all could participate. Nayo often checked on whether a suggested game could involve all available players.

Animation

Animation is another feature within games that has stood the test of time. When both grandmother and Dad told of their engagement in games as children, they seemed to relive the excitement characteristic of those times. Grandmother's eyes would light up as she gestured and mimicked how they would dance around the raging bonfire at the Wayfarer camp until the fire died down. Dad's voice came alive as he told of how they played tag on trees, jumping from one to another like 'baboons', or as he related how the animals in folk tales seemed real. The most noise I heard during my visits at the Gudanis was when Nayo and her friends (either with Duka or not) were playing a game somewhere in the yard. Gleeful laughter and excited screams often accompanied games with chasing involved. Loud arguments characterised real or imagined cheating within games.

Song accompaniment

Song accompanying games is the third persistent feature identified across the three generations. Although grandmother spoke of only singing church songs, singing was a common accompaniment to the games she played. She tells of enjoying singing at camp, including when they circled the bonfire. With regard to the second generation, one of the only two games Mom described as having played as a child, *Gulukunwa*, is accompanied by a song which narrates how the big animal swallows children one by one. One of the prominent games during Dad's time, *Tshinzerere*, is characterised by song and dance. Many of the games observed with Nayo and Duka were accompanied by song.

Non-literal language

The fifth game feature persistent across the three generations is the use of non-literal language. Grandmother indicated that one reason she and her sisters were not allowed to play heathen games was because the language used was usually vulgar or lacked real meaning. Dad described a game played in the evening while people sat around the fire, where people would sit with their legs outstretched and have them counted alongside a song that went:

Amathuthu banga, banga mangongori, Mangongori awe…

When I asked him what the song meant, his answer was that nobody knew. Non-literal use of language was also observed in third-generation games. One song that I saw Duka and another boy participating in referred to a '*boyfriend*'. I did not ask the two boys about how they felt singing about a boyfriend out of respect for the ongoing game at the time this happened. When I did enquire later, their response was only self-conscious giggling. I would not have been surprised if the boys only became conscious of what they were singing then. For some of the games that were imported from the West through schooling, like '*Humpty Dumpty sitting on a wall'*, the original words which may have been meaningless to the children were altered into a form that held another meaning, albeit non-literal. For example, Nayo's version of '*Humpty Dumpty'* went like this:

"Inti inti danda sitting on the wall ['*Inti inti'* bears no literal meaning],

Try to make a dollar … O Tshila, Tshila la do" [no known literal meaning].

7.1.3 Community events for fun

An interesting trend viewed as constituting play within the Gudani family and traceable throughout the generations is participation in community events. Two events grandmother derived fun from as a child - to the extent that she sneaked out against parental approval to be part of them - we apostolic church baptisms and *Thwasa* ceremonies where a traditional healer was going through initiation. With the baptisms, she found the special attire worn by members of the church group and particularly the prophecies entertaining.

Dad told of how weddings were fun-filled occasions in his childhood; during this time evenings were spent with the groom and bridesmaids, and characterised by folk tales, riddles and other round-the-fire games. *Tshikona*, a traditional dance that involved the whole community, was also a source of fun for Dad. Within the third generation, Duka also appeared to find community events valuable. The only time he was away from home for hours during this research was when he went to watch roadworks happening in his neighbourhood. A tar road was being constructed and Duka and his friends found this worth watching. Duka also related attending a wedding nearby without knowing who was getting married.

7.2 Theme 2: Shifts in play across generations

The second theme reflects three major changes in the evolution of children's play in the Gudani family. Table 7.2 is a representation of the sub-categories that were collapsed into categories, and subsequently into the theme. An interesting fact to be highlighted is that as the first two categories point to shifts within play across the three generations, they also simultaneously signify consistency in the way that change in play often came about.

Table 7. 2: Shifts in play across generations

Categories	Sub-categories
Evolving language	Tshivenda and Tsonga shifts (second generation – Dad) Shifts during game sessions (third generation) English and Tshivenda combination (third generation) Foreign concepts (third generation)
School-influenced games	Same games at school, camp and home (first generation) School – taught games (second generation – Mom) School-influenced games (third generation)
From institutionalised to incidental games	Institutionalised games (first generation) A time for play, and everyone playing the same (second generation - Dad) Folk tales and riddles: practised and told just as grandmother would (second generation - Dad) *Mahundwane*: sanctioned and celebrated theatre of life (second generation - Dad) Games only after consultation(second generation - Mom) School-taught games (second generation - Mom) Games have culture: novice easily spotted and outsider maybe green with envy (third generation) Games incidental or non-existent (third generation)

7.2.1 Evolving language

An interesting shift that is also a persistent feature in games across the three generations is that of evolving language within games. From what the first and second generation narrated, names of games would change over time, sometimes even within the same generation. Dad told of how *Tshinzerere* used to be called *Tshifase*. He also spoke of how one of the games he played was initially called *Thedelie*, and then later became known as *Tserere*. This change seems to have been informed by change in the broader Tshivenda language, which for the most part seems to have stemmed from local population migration or interaction with neighbouring language groups.

While observing the third generation in games, there were many concepts that seemed to have been recently incorporated into certain games. One song they sang as they twirled around until they got dizzy and fell referred to 'Rastafarians'. When they

played tag, the person whose turn it was to chase others was referred to as the 'boogeyman'. English was infused in many of the games that the third generation played. During one particular game observed, the language seemed to change within one episode. This is a game where they jump following a pattern on the floor. The song accompanying the game had a chorus, '*Tikili ga'*, which would be sung towards the end of every jumping cycle. At some point, as Nayo was playing, she started omitting the first part of the chorus, only saying '*ga*' as she landed safely on the designated spot.

7.2.2 School-influenced games

Throughout the three generations, another interesting, consistent shift within games is the growing influence of schooling on games played at home. This started during grandmother's childhood. The games played as part of Wayfarer activities, especially at camp, were taught by lady teachers who also taught them at school. Gran told how some of these games informed what she played at home with her friends. Continuing with this trend in the second generation, the songs Mom sang at home as a child were school-related, and the only three games Mom described (*Gulukunwa*, tug-of-war and drum majorettes) were also learnt at school.

During one observation Duka and Nayo were playing word quizzes, showing off new words they had just learnt in school. On yet another occasion, as they played with another friend, they enacted different games as described in a Life Orientation schoolbook. Duka's explanation of Nayo's constant playing and resourcefulness in games was that she was taught indigenous games in crèche and as part of Life Orientation in Grade 1. Across the three generations, although the games differed, a consistent factor is the strong influence that schooling exerted on what was played.

7.2.3 From institutionalised to incidental games

'Institutionalised' in this case refers to the way games are given space and form mainly by factors beyond the control of the children engaged in the games. These factors are usually social institutions such as family, schooling, religion, or even the

broader local culture. The extent to which these social institutions seem to have played a role in the games mentioned by the first and second generations and observed within the third generation is not the same. Except for schooling, which consistently had a strong impact on play, the influence of other social institutions appears to have tapered off significantly within the third generation.

Almost the entire games grandmother mentioned as significant during her youth centred on her family being one of the very first few Christian converts in her village, and her consequent involvement in the Wayfarer movement. These two elements played a critical role in informing with whom, when, and what grandmother played. Being a child from a Christian home, she was discouraged from joining 'heathens' in their games. Only selected games from what 'heathens' played were allowed at home, i.e. story-telling and other evening games played around the fire, in which the parents also participated.

In accordance with the church's stipulations, girls and boys played separately. As a girl, grandmother could only be part of the Wayfarer movement, not one of the Pathfinders, reserved only for Christian boys. Assisted by the broader Girl Guide and Boy Scout movements, the church ensured that resources were made available for the Wayfarer camps to take place during school holidays. These included vehicles to ferry the children to far-away camps. Christian teachers accompanied children to these camps to ensure that activities there were embedded within Christian principles. Grandmother tells of only playing Christian games at camp, and only dancing in a way acceptable to the church. Activities at the camp also followed a prescribed routine, with time set aside for mountain hikes or the morning march. Wayfarer rules and pledges, and having a structured place and time where they were brought together for fun, probably helped instil a strong sense of collective identity in grandmother and her Christian peers. They could then easily separate their games from those of 'heathens', and this in turn would have made it easier for the same games that grandmother played at camp and school to find their way to her home.

The influence of social institutions on the frequency and the form that games take continued to be strongly in effect in the second generation, albeit more so for Dad

than Mom. During his time, as far as Dad knew, play had a distinct time and place within society's stream of time, and everyone played the same. The seasons as well as the agrarian farming lifestyle of the general population played a critical role in determining where and when children played, and in turn what they played. Similarly to grandmother's time, evenings (especially during winter) were structured, characterised by sitting around the fire, at which time folk tales and riddles took centre stage. According to Dad, these had to follow a prescribed structure in the way they were engaged in, under the elders' guidance.

Mahundwane, a prominent game during Dad's youth, was also highly structured. Similarly to grandmother's Wayfarer camps, *Mahundwane,* a sanctioned game within a greater part of the society, was significantly resourced by adults. Maize was left behind intentionally during harvest time to make sure that children would have crops to 'harvest' afterwards in order to stock their 'households'. Adults made sure that food was adequately replenished when these 'households' ran out of sustenance.

The influence of the broader traditional culture became somewhat limited when it came to Mom's games, although she grew up at the same time as Dad and was a few months older. It is of little surprise that the broader socio-cultural context would not have had much bearing on what games Mom played, given the continuing Christian values that grandmother carried from her youth into her own family. In accordance with her Christian upbringing, grandmother also married within the Christian faith. She tells of how her children were, like herself, not allowed to play 'heathen' games. Instead, according to grandmother, Mom and her siblings lured their friends into the church through Christian games which they played within their home. Interestingly enough though, Mom did not mention the role of Christianity in the games she played as a child. During Mom's youth the Wayfarer wave had died down. The fact that despite her Christian upbringing, Christianity seems to have played a lesser role in determining the games Mom played, or how she remembered them, might partly have to do with the disappearance of structures such as the Wayfarer movement, which instilled a strong collective identity around which particular games were constructed and maintained. Of the games Mom recounted, school instead seemed to have taken

over the role of informing new games. The Christian dominance in schools prevalent during grandmother's time seemed to have diminished slightly at this time as well.

In stark contrast, for the third generation the role of social institutions, except schooling, in creating space and informing the nature of children's games seemed to have eroded completely. This appears to have coincided with the diminished frequency with which games feature in the lives of children in the third generation, especially the older they are. During the time that information was collected within the Gudani family, not once was Mulisa (12 years old at the time) observed engaged in a structured game. On recounting her activities, she was unable to recall when she last engaged in a game. Duka was observed engaging in a game with others three times during this research. His infrequent participation in structured games singled him out as a novice each time he joined others at play, or rendered him clumsy when he tried to construct a game in which he and Nayo could engage.

From the first to the third generation, it seems that owing to the progressively diminishing role that social institutions play in defining spaces and boundaries within which games are constructed, children's games within the Gudani family have become merely incidental. In the third generation games happen mainly because Nayo happens to be in the yard, along with her friends. Adults are not involved in creating space or providing structure that promotes participation in games. In fact, adults were observed stopping children from playing a game twice during this research.

7.3 Theme 3: Complexification of the play rhetoric

Theme 3 is a key finding in this study. This theme points to the seemingly precarious place in which children's play finds itself with the passing of time within the Gudani family, at many levels. With the influence of family, religion, and the local culture having diminished over time, children's play in the third generation seems to have become generally unstructured. As articulated in Chapter 3, Sutton-Smith (1997) views rhetorics of play as an expression of the manner in which play is placed within the broader value system. The previous theme, through the category 'From institutionalised to incidental games' described how for the first and, to an extent, the

second generation, social institutions and adults were instrumental in giving space and form to the nature of children's games in the family. Much of the influence of institutions and adults on children's games centred on collective identity, whether the Christian identity (grandmother and Mom) or the broader Vhavenda cultural identity (Dad). This links strongly with Sutton-Smith's description of the rhetoric of play as identity. Sutton-Smith viewed this rhetoric as occurring when play serves to confirm, maintain or advance the identity of a particular community.

Table 7.3 shows categories and sub-categories of factors that have led to the complexification of the play rhetoric in the Gudani family during the third generation. 'Complexification' captures how, with new developments in children's cultural worlds, on one hand there is apparently unlimited scope to what play could be, while on the other there is uncertainty as to what it ought to be. As the rhetoric of play shifts away from being mainly about identity, play becomes increasingly misunderstood, particularly by adults within the family.

Table 7. 3: Complexification of the play rhetoric

Categories	Sub-categories
A view out into the world: New aspirations, new engagements	From traditional dance to jive (second generation – Dad) Money and gambling (second generation – Dad) School-influenced games New technologies New aspirations New engagements
Is it Play?	Sibling rivalry and fights, or is it play? Artwork and Crafts: Too much effort to be just play Play is many things, and television is not always play Avoiding boredom, and being bored by watching TV
No more real play	Play is many things…I don't play Mom bemoans the demise of drum majorettes No more real games Mulisa does not play like Duka Children now often play alone Third generation is 'lost'
Possible reasons for change	Heathen games not allowed for Gran and Mom Origin of change unknown Many possible reasons for the demise of *Mahundwane* Maybe too much education No more nature-grounded chores Home and school are different now Every family does its own thing nowadays Television prominence Adult intervention in games
Ambiguity in play	Prancing around and ritual Story-telling and imagination as cultivated skills New literacies Satire, with an edge Push the envelope and bear the brunt Caught in a time warp: Custodian to precarious codes of behaviour

7.3.1 A view out into the 'developed' world: New aspirations, new engagements

This category refers to the way the world invites the child to witness what is progressively becoming a way of life for the majority of those in the 'developed' or 'developing' parts of the world. Within the Gudani family, as the world so exposes itself at different paces to the different generations, the way children play becomes a mirror reflecting what of this new exposure is absorbed, and becomes infused in the way these children 'are' in their own cultural worlds.

From what grandmother recounted of her childhood, nothing significant from the 'developed' world had a bearing on her play except Christianity, brought in directly by her own family when her father returned from migrant labour in the cities. For the second generation, external influences included 'jive', which Dad spoke about, introduced by migrant labourers who brought back the first gramophones into the village. From this point onwards, dance for Dad no longer only constituted traditional dance within which his own father was a central figure. Increasing migrant labour and the gradual departure from subsistence farming also meant that money began to play a progressively significant role within the society that the second generation grew up in. This meant that gambling for money with cards and dice could easily become attractive play engagements for Dad and his peers.

For all three generations, schooling also played a role in exposing children to different concepts that often then became integrated into their play. In some instances entirely new games were introduced at school, and absorbed into what was then played at home. Examples include playing with balls during the first generation, drum majorettes for Mom in the second, and puzzles in the third.

Given the gradual uptake of technology by South Africa across time, the third generation was poised from birth for the full onslaught of technological developments characteristic of the late 1980s into the 1990s. This spelled a different childhood era, with effective communicative modes through which children could be exposed to a fast-developing world. Television and cell phones were readily available for the third

generation in the Gudani family. These two devices seem to have had a powerful influence on the way these children engaged within their cultural worlds. Seeing what others are able to access and be in the broader world has led to new aspirations for material acquisitions and new ways of 'being' in the world for these children. This was observed more so with Duka, who was not hesitant to voice his interests and wishes. He also displayed the most fascination with technology. Consistent with the television constantly being on in the home and frequent exposure to advertisements, Duka and Mulisa's engagements were centred on television and cell phones, bringing about new literacies that their mother often could not grasp.

In the last category of the second theme, **'**From institutionalised to incidental games'**,** social factors with some influence on the way children engaged or continue to engage in play relate mainly to those still within the relative control of the family. This can be observed in how Mom and Dad, who grew up during the same period, engaged differently in play owing to the role Christianity played within Mom's family. While the rhetoric of play as identity may have been solely in operation during the first and to some extent the second generation, other rhetorics of play probably became relevant in the third generation.

Although the focus in the present category is not so much on the extent to which the family is able or unable to filter what the children are exposed to, it is still interesting to note the diminishing power that this family seemed to have on the play of their children, as the global context progressively opened itself up to them. Another element to be noted is that with the third generation, adult involvement in their play engagements also appeared to diminish, perhaps reflecting a growing influence of the technologically developed world, and shifting rhetorics of play.

7.3.2 Is it play?

As the rhetoric of play as identity found easy expression through institutionalised games in the first two generations, parents and their children probably shared an understanding of what constituted play. As the third generation in the Gudani family increasingly became exposed to the 'developed' world, questions emerged around

what constitutes play. Owing to my theoretical understanding of play as an occupational therapist (but particularly from review of Sutton-Smith and Schwartzman's works on play), I entered fieldwork in this research with a growing appreciation of the ambiguous nature of play. While I expected that what I would identify as possibly play or not within the family would be variable, I was careful not to impose this view on participants. I was curious about how participants made distinctions between play and not-play events, if they did at all. I was particularly interested in finding out what would be regarded as valued play.

Even as I attempted to foreground participants' views on what constitutes play, the first point of uncertainty still stemmed from my observations as a researcher, noting sibling dynamics between Duka and Mulisa. A difficulty to be noted here, however, is that one cannot compare whether these dynamics carry more significance with this generation than with the first or second since the latter were not accessible for direct observation. It was, however, interesting to watch how Duka and Mulisa related to each other, and to reflect on whether what I was observing was play, or not. I also wondered about how much the prevalent rivalry had a bearing on the physical environment, and how they filled their time while at home. The rivalry between Duka and Mulisa (which was often serious and non-serious at the same time) centred on criticism, tattle-telling, competing for their mother's attention, disagreements, and teasing. There were also physical play fights at times.

The relation of this behaviour to the physical environment and the presence of technology emerge as one takes note of how much these two (compared to everyone else in the family) spent their time at home. Because the lounge was the place where the only television set in the house was situated, it inadvertently became where these two spent most of their time while at home. This meant they spent most of their time at home in close proximity to each other. The siblings usually criticised each other in light of what was observed on television. An example of this was when Duka compared Mulisa's hair to a model's in a television advertisement. Another point of disagreement was the latest information on cell phones. The extent to which these exchanges were play or not was always difficult for the observer to discern accurately and legitimately.

As far as the participants are concerned, the variable nature of play seemed to come through with the children, particularly Duka and Mulisa. Adults, specifically grandmother and Dad, appeared to have a distinct notion of what constituted play. Duka's involvement in artwork and crafts was a particular point of ambiguity. Duka, the main 'actor' in these engagements, when asked by the researcher how these activities could be classified, pointed out that they could be both play as well as work. For Duka the fact that these activities contained a significant element of planning and personal effort, often tiring, meant they could not only be viewed as just play. In addition, a number of Duka's crafts bore some utility value, as when he knitted a belt; this also extended to other things he made, such as puzzles and finger puppets, so that he could play with them later. One could ask whether creating something in order to play with it later actually constitutes play.

Much of Duka's exposure, which furnished him with skills in crafts and artwork, happened through schooling. This, as well as television, also exposed Duka to things that constitute toys for other children, and possibly inspired him to want to create similar playthings which he otherwise could not access. One can imagine that for the second and third generations, there were instances where they also created playthings. Dad mentioned building a cart that he and his friends used to slide down slippery slopes with when it rained. In Dad's narrative the fun element in creating this cart was emphasised more than the effort it took or the utility value. One wonders what elements in Duka's art and craft bring about more ambiguity; is it perhaps that these engagements for Duka are so solitary? Dad mentions creating the cart with other boys, after which much fun was derived from sliding on it.

Although Duka was observed engaging in arts and crafts on several days during data collection, none of the other family members mentioned this as part of his play repertoire. Nayo and Mulisa joined Duka in these activities only once during fieldwork, when they made cards for friends, an activity greatly imbued with utility value, especially for children who otherwise would have no ready access to cards.

Much of what both Duka and Mulisa spent significant time on while at home can be viewed as bearing significant ambiguity when it comes to categorisation as play, or

not. These include singing, dance, Mulisa's prancing and Duka's story-telling and satire. Most of these engagements again centred on exposure to the 'developed' world through technology, with television playing a prominent role. Both Duka and Mulisa were undecided on whether these activities indeed constituted play. Only when directly asked by the researcher, on reviewing what they spent most of their time doing, did both Duka and Mulisa indicate that they viewed imitation and discussion of television, indirect television watching, spontaneous singing, non-serious talk, debating within a group of friends, and sitting and bragging with friends, all as play. (These were all cited by adults in the Gudani family at different times as non-representative of play.) One wonders whether these activities would be viewed differently if the rhetorics of play as self, imaginary or frivolity were prevalent in this family. Within the first two rhetorics, play is idealised for advancing the individualistic characteristics of the player, such as affinity for peak experiences and creativity respectively (Sutton-Smith, 1997). Frivolous play reverses the classic 'work ethic' view of play (p. 11), and play is valued for its spontaneous, playful character and inversion of the established world.

For both Duka and Mulisa, direct television watching was imbued with the most uncertainty in relation to whether it constituted play or not. Both indicated that it was fun, while at the same time suggesting that it was not play, especially when engaged in alone. The subcategory, 'Avoiding boredom, and bored 'to snot' watching TV' is based on a direct translation of a quote from Duka. It captures many instances wherein both Duka and Mulisa watched television, even though it was boring. Considering that the option to watch television was always available since it was constantly on, and that television often held a promise of showing something exciting, it makes sense that it would be the first thing to go to in order to avoid boredom. What is interesting is that this easy option to fight boredom, having failed to fulfil its 'promise', seemed to entrap the person watching it into continuing to do so to the point of producing 'snot'!

7.3.3 No more real play

Despite the difficulty that Duka and Mulisa experienced when trying to categorise activities as play or not, they both concluded unequivocally that Mulisa did not play. This admission echoes sentiments expressed by the adults in the Gudani family, especially grandmother and Dad, on the dearth of real play within the third generation. While Mom particularly bemoaned the demise of drum majorettes, which were played during her childhood, grandmother suggested that riddles and folk tales were now contaminated, and Dad noted that the third generation often played alone indoors, "like white children". The strongest statement in relation to the disappearance of real play as observed by the adults in the family came from grandmother, who surmised that in essence, the third generation was 'lost'.

7.3.4 Many possible reasons for change

The change in children's play over the three generations, or what Gran and Dad viewed as the complete disappearance of 'real' play during the third generation, can be attributed to many factors. Although some of the reasons arose from the researcher's interpretation of various contextual issues, many referred to in this category were expressed directly by the adults in the Gudani family (notably Dad and grandmother). From the researcher's perspective, parental disapprobation of 'heathen' games during grandmother's (and consequently Mom's) childhood set a particular trend for both their play engagements, although only grandmother made this link.

Dad's reflection on possible reasons for change in children's play over the generations carried with it an element of anger. He pointed out that there was no singular explanation, and cited many 'culpable' factors. For the gradual erosion and finally the complete demise of *Mahundwane,* he offered drought in the 1960s and a growing commitment to Western education of the children as possible 'culprits'. Western education, according to Dad, also bears direct 'blame' for the radical shift in the third generation's play, for a number of reasons. He suggests that through this education, children began to face new warnings associated with the natural environment. These included warnings against swimming in the river for fear of disease and crocodiles,

and a general fear of dirt. He suggests that these were not concerns during his childhood; and also observed that with the disappearance of nature-grounded chores like herding livestock and ploughing the fields, children were no longer exposed to settings conducive to unlimited exploration of the natural environment and adventure-filled engagements with others.

Consistent with what was mentioned in the first category in relation to the declining influence of social institutions like schooling, grandmother noted that for the third generation, what happens in school no longer filters down to what happens at home in terms of play. Here grandmother was specifically referring to riddles and folk tales, which are part of the present foundation phase school curriculum. One reason she cited for this is that adults do not make themselves available to engage in these with their children at home. Dad also mentioned another trend within families which also underscores the limited role that social institutions currently have on children's engagements at home. He observed that nowadays families tended to stick to themselves, and to independently decide on what is sanctioned or not permitted as play within their individual homes. While this is an important point, a question that continues to arise is whether family as a social institution itself really has any power in informing changes that occur in the nature of its children's play from one generation to the next.

An observation I made as a researcher as the first and second generations reflected on possible reasons for change within children's play over the generations, was omission of the role of technology (especially television) as a possible reason. This was interesting in view of the fact that television watching was a prominent engagement within the Gudani family, including grandmother's house. One wonders to what extent adults are aware of the bearing that television watching (which they invariably sanction) has on their children's play engagements.

Another observation I reflected on with regard to adults' awareness of how their own behaviour plays a role on children's play engagements, was how adults sometimes directly stopped 'real' play as it occurred. This happened twice during the three instances where Duka was observed engaging in games with Nayo and others. On the

first occasion Mom instructed games to stop because it was bath time. It made sense for Mom to indicate that it was time to bath; it was consistent with what she did on days when there were no games, when Duka sat and watched television and Nayo was dozing off on the sofa. On the second occasion, Mom and Lugi, the eldest son, scolded Duka, Nayo and their friends for making noise as they ran around the yard. This was promptly responded to by the children, who chose a less raucous game. Direct adult intervention becomes a real threat to children's play engagements when (as Dad noted above) children no longer have access to the natural environment, but are limited to playing in the yard or even just indoors. The threat amplifies when what play ought to be is debatable.

7.3.5 Ambiguity in play

This category refers to the extent to which children's play appears to have become more ambiguous in the third generation compared to the first and second. Observing closely what children in the third generation engage in, and listening carefully to their own reflections on these engagements, it appears that what adults simply view as a dearth of 'real' play, is in actual fact an undefined space within children's cultural words. While institutionalised games may have advanced the rhetoric of play as identity (Sutton-Smith, 1997) in the first and second generation, unstructured play influenced by external factors in the third generation seems to have paved the way for other rhetorics of play to operate. The play terrain has thus become filled with a vast magnitude of potentialities, with children being the sole pioneers in crafting new engagements and new literacies that constantly emerge.

Within the third generation Duka and Mulisa often found themselves as solitary players, just as Dad accurately observed, and self-amusement became inevitable. For Mulisa this was mostly in the form of what I described as 'prancing'. While walking from one part of the house to the other, or whenever in the yard, she would suddenly skip, or make some arbitrary gesture with one or more of her limbs. For a 12 year old who was usually self-composed and even quite conscious of onlookers, this behaviour often seemed out of character. When asked to detail her activities which she would describe as play, she did not include this behaviour. Towards the end of fieldwork, as

I sat down with each participant to reflect on what I had observed, and asked Mulisa how she would explain this behaviour, she said it was play and that she quite enjoyed it.

When engaged in by only one child within the family, ritual can also miss being interpreted as a play form. Duka picked up one such ritual during the 17th day of fieldwork - the greeting and leaving activities - which he carried through until the last day I was there. The interesting part of this ritual was that the seriousness with which it was handled by both Duka and I seemed to perpetuate its continuation. There seemed to be an implicit understanding between the two of us that pointing out the frivolous nature of this engagement could easily pronounce its abandonment. On the last day of fieldwork, when I asked Duka to explain his actions around this ritual, his response was that it was about 'being a gentleman, not playing'. The slight amusement on his face as he said this made things clear to me that to pursue the explaining further could both be futile to my investigations as well as spoiling something fragile.

I still do not know for sure if one would be absolutely accurate to regard this as play, although I am inclined to think that the possibility that it *is* play is there given one incident. One day Duka forgot to close the front door to his house behind him as he came to meet me at my car. On returning to the house, I happened to be walking slightly in front of him and therefore did not give him the opportunity to hold the door open for me. As I prepared to sit down, he quickly indicated for me to leave the house. Confused, I still obliged him. As soon as we were both outside, he promptly opened the door for me and cordially invited me in, gesturing with his hand like a seasoned butler. I do not think 'being a gentleman' would include making people retrace their steps for particular rituals to be observed. Duka had a clear ritual, needing to be played out in its entirety. The obscurity of this ritual was most evident by Mulisa's response to it. For some reason she had not followed what the whole thing was about and got quite upset at Duka's utter 'disrespect', vowing to tell Mom on her return from work.

Contrary to the folk tales that were told 'just as grandmother would' with the regular participation of adults during the third and second generations, story-telling observed within third generation bears individual idiosyncrasies based on a number of the child's own personal characteristics. Adults were also not observed to play a significant part here. Of all the children in the Gudani family, Duka is the only one whose engagement with stories translated into his own brand of story-telling. This is a skill he seemed to have cultivated to proportions unparalleled by his immediate peers, with highly creative, imaginative overtones. His ability to draw in and maintain an audience saw him bring a game to a halt on one occasion during this research. His particular attention to logic and coherence in a story also made Duka a crucial member of the audience when others told their stories. Duka's story-telling also seemed to create a space within which he could interrogate complex real-life situations. One life situation he often included in his narrations involved his father's first family, often using satire to negotiate around the discomfort arising among other family members as he did so. Personal wishes also found expression in Duka's imaginary stories, one relating to the ongoing South African challenge of violent crime, where he wished my car would have the capability to electrocute potential car hijackers. Playing basketball was also revealed as a desire when he recited his partly 'made up' personal biography. His use of imagination was not always easy to follow for those in his audience, especially adults. Mom once failed to comprehend his location of South African cities on his hand when Duka transformed his palm into an imaginary map.

Through targeted advertising focused mostly on young people, the third generation faces an unprecedented volume of new information through ever-advancing technologies. This requires of them constant development of new literacies with which to decipher and incorporate some of this into their own cultural worlds. There is also the added pressure of the fear of being 'left out' if not conversant with the current trends. Being the first to have learnt about new functionalities on a particular cell phone brand was important for Duka and Mulisa. Since his own cell phone, handed down from Mom, was mostly non-functional, Duka kept himself informed about new developments by exploring any cell phone that entered his home, including mine. New cell phone features and games informed many of the debates I witnessed

between Duka and Mulisa and their friends. Both Duka and Mulisa displayed mastery of cell phone technology to the extent that they would show their mother certain features on her cell phone of which she was not aware.

New literacies also seemed to emerge from Duka and Mulisa watching their favourite television shows. For Duka this was mainly from cartoons, while Mulisa displayed a nuanced understanding of soap operas. Whereas both Duka and Mulisa were apt at detecting chronological mismatches in events or stories, Mulisa often needed to explain props that enabled implausible action to Duka, who was often inclined to uncritical belief. This was also often so for advertisements, where Duka was observed as often gullible.

Satire is another element within children's engagements that seems to have introduced ambiguity. Similar to story-telling, the child's own personality appeared to play a significant role in informing certain idiosyncrasies where satire was used in the many engagements I observed within the family (with Duka again displaying a particular aptness). It is difficult to make an absolute claim that satire did not play an equally important role in children's engagements during the second and third generations, although its presence did not emerge in conversations I had with grandmother, Dad or Mom. Given the often subtle nature with which satire weaves itself across everyday human interactions, it is also possible that within the two older generations its place and function could not be captured in memory.

However, inferences can be made around the nature of interactions between adults and children during these generations. From both grandmother and Dad's accounts, it seems that except for the evenings, which were structured by adults for story-telling, children mostly engaged in activities away from home, by themselves. With children spending more time indoors during the day and a lack of adult-led activity in the evenings, in the third generation more opportunity seems to arise when the child becomes the one setting the tone for human interactions. It is in this space within which Duka was observed displaying poignant skill at satire.

The third generation's exposure to the global context adds another dimension to satire, given the unlimited access to content for possible parody or ridicule. Through exposure to new words and concepts through television, Duka could display wit in his play on words and add subtleties to his dry humour. Television content was also often subject to mockery. On one occasion Mom's style was the object of banter, with both Duka and Mulisa collaborating to create an imaginary outfit which would make her resemble a character straight out of the movie 'Naked Gun'.

Taking centre stage in steering conversation in the lounge, Duka was often the one talking the most within the family. Apart from his usual banter; he would also often make comments during television shows. Some of these were regarded a disturbance or even inappropriate, and he would often be reprimanded. Duka was also often told off for fiddling with other people's cell phones. The boundaries within which behaviour is deemed acceptable while handling someone else's phone often seemed tenuous, and were often devised arbitrarily. While everybody seemed fine with Duka displaying his curiosity as he marvelled at the latest features on a cell phone, or helped the owner discover the phone's hidden capacities, now and again he would be accused of infringing others' privacy. Duka's curious nature placed him at the forefront of testing the unchartered terrain characteristic of an ever-expanding world pregnant with new ways of engaging. Like a pioneer entering new territory or soldiers at the front-line of an army, the first arrows are often directed at those seen first. Duka often found himself at the receiving end of reprimands, especially from Mulisa.

A distinct area wherein acceptable behaviour is still obscure relates to managing the tension between displaying humility, and 'blowing one's horn'. Within the Venda tradition one is not encouraged to indulge in self-praise. This cultural stance generally informs behaviour within the Gudani family, including what may be regarded as play engagements. This was observed when Mulisa engaged in an art activity where she made a card for a friend. Throughout the process she took great care to hide her work, getting annoyed at Duka who frequently wanted to see what she was doing and announced to others. When the card was complete, Mulisa left it to others to comment on the work, and 'as expected' seemed uncomfortable when she received compliments. This behaviour mirrors the typical response of a 'cultured' Venda

person on receiving compliments for a job well done. Duka, on the other hand, often displayed contradictory behaviour: many a time as he engaged in his crafts or artwork he would explicitly state that he did not possess much talent, sometimes using facial gestures to underscore this. However, it was still Duka who would proudly show me articles that he had completed in my absence. One card which he made for Nayo had a short biography he wrote of himself on the back, wherein he indicated that he was special. Also, in his imaginary stories Duka was always one up on others so that he was the one who had most resources or supernatural powers.

With the third generation's exposure to other cultures, longstanding traditions suddenly find themselves in competition with other ways of being. It seems that children's play is not exempt as an important space within which this competition could play out.

Of particular interest when it comes to uncustomary behaviour within the Gudani family is the manner in which the responsibility to sound the alarm when 'boundaries' were crossed came to lie with Mulisa. Of all the family members Mulisa was observed to be the one who always berated Duka when he flouted some indistinct code of behaviour. It was infrequent for others to join Mulisa in the reprimand. Also, not once did I observe Mulisa receiving a counter-reprimand for calling Duka to order. It appeared as if Mulisa's role as the custodian of acceptable behaviour had been sanctioned within the family. This role often extended beyond Duka's actions. Mulisa also dictated where games happened, when they did infrequently occur within the home. She disapproved when Duka or Nayo with their friends wanted to play in the garage. Duka's jumping around in the lounge was also left for Mulisa to address.

It is worth noting that a child, Mulisa, seems to have taken charge of forging some boundaries to define what is and is not acceptable play behavior in the Gudani family. How did this child come to be in this position? Is it her age, her personality, or a combination of the two that renders her unable to emulate her younger sibling, leaving her envious or offended? Is it the limited adult presence that lands her with a supervisory gap to fill? Is she carrying out a mandate somehow bestowed upon her by the adults in the family? I doubt that these questions can easily be answered. What

seems probable is that the rapidity of change in context from the second to the third generation, and the diminishing control exerted by local social institutions, including families, on children's play engagements, translates into an incoherent management of play potentialities. Adults' lack of awareness of their own role in the changing cultural worlds of children, and their lack of dialogue about the changes occurring within and across the generations, adds to the ambiguity of play in the third generation.

CHAPTER 8
DISCUSSION

8.1 Overview

Sudden disruptions in old and established traditions introduce a schism between constancy and variability that is complex and difficult to conciliate conceptually. When change is the result of events far from the local points of influence, conceptual frameworks used to explain change processes need to draw from both local and distant phenomena. In this study, complexity theory served as a basis through which the complexification of the play rhetoric in the Gudani family over time could be understood in the context of rapidly shifting contextual factors. This framework allowed for both microscopic and macroscopic dimensions of play to be explored in relation to factors in the external environment. The outcome is a detailed and hopefully refined analysis of the impact of rapid social transformation on children's play, especially within the home during postcolonial transition.

An occupational justice approach to health helped illuminate how powerful social structures have created conditions within which the Gudanis were denied the power with which to orchestrate their own unfolding play narrative. Occupational consciousness is then introduced as a concept that describes a mindset that may hold potential for the empowerment of individuals, families and maybe even communities faced with occupational injustices.

8.2 Rapid social change as context for third generation's play

Although children's games across generations in the Gudani family show some persisting features that many child folklore researchers have described in Western countries (Bishop & Curtis, 2001; Boyes, 1995; Grugeon, 2001), this family's play reflects significant change within a very short time frame, evidenced by the third generation's play engagements compared to earlier generations. It appears that the change in children's play in this family is a result of rapid change in South African

society in general, described in Chapter 3. Should we then be surprised that across just three generations in one family, children's play has transformed to such an extent that even parents cannot relate to what their children do as play? What happened in children's play within the Gudani family in the third generation seems to reflect the changing cultural and social scene of a rural family as it adapted to the transforming post-apartheid society, as this played out in what children do every day.

As far as macro-economics are concerned, the Gudanis' first and second generations grew up within mostly agrarian farming communities. Although an option already, wage earning was not necessarily the only way a family could stave off starvation. The third generation, however, is growing up in a fully fledged wage-earning economy. The pattern of rural life, which the majority of the population in Venda experienced in the first generation, has been drastically reduced in areas such as that where the Gudanis are situated through rapid infrastructural development and proliferating economic activity. Growing transportation and communication systems have increased opportunities for mobility and fuelled aspirations. Although hugely welcome, these factors also seem to have brought about significant changes in macro-social terms. In many ways these have meant the undermining of traditional collective values, with a consequent shift to more individualistic values and the pursuit of Western education as the central means towards economic self-sufficiency. Also clearly evident in the third generation's upbringing (in complete contrast to grandmother's) is decreased emphasis on regimented conduct based on Christian beliefs. Under the impact of Western education and urbanisation, Mom and Dad have clearly shifted toward an emphasis on more secular values.

The family's third generation can be considered to represent the 'alpha generation' of the great social, political, and economic changes that occurred during the early 1990s in South Africa. 'The complexification of the play rhetoric' as the main statement of what has become of their play, can be viewed as an inevitable consequence of the dramatic and sweeping political, ideological, economic and social changes that this country has seen in the last decade, and continues to experience into the new millennium.

The rest of the discussion will unpack the processes through which rapid social change has made the play rhetoric within the Gudani family complex, as well as possible implications for the family.

8.3 Children's play framed within complexity theory

Complexity theory offers a useful framework in order to understand how the play rhetoric within the third generation in the Gudani family became complex against the backdrop of rapid social change in South Africa. Contrary to reductionist approaches, complexity theory takes the relational character of the components of a system into account. (Such relational attributes would otherwise be disregarded were a system analysed in a reductionist manner.) Within a complex system, each individual component, given its idiosyncrasies, has the freedom to act in ways that are not always predictable, and all components' actions are intricately linked so that one component's actions change the context for others (Pisek, 2001). Because of this web of interconnections, individual elements are also dynamic, changing over time (Stroebel, McDaniel, Crabtree, Miller, Nutting & Stange, 2005), as the whole system's patterns 'co-evolve'.

This dynamic co-evolution contributes further to the complexity of the interactions through a network of feedback loops. As a result of this, complex systems cannot act in accordance with a particular *telos* (Mahoney, 2007). Small changes within complex systems can have enormous and surprising effects. The number of constituent elements that can be considered to make up a complex system, and the number of possible interactions between these different elements, sets the scene for countless possible gestalts and probable future states of the system. In this discussion, a system refers to both the rhetoric of play as well as the family as a whole. There is also an understanding that these two systems are interconnected.

Complexity theory is strongly embedded within the Second Law of Thermodynamics, which, as Rudolf Clausius articulated in 1850, states that in closed systems energy will be dispersed more and more evenly, leading eventually to its uniform distribution within the system. At that point no further exchange of energy can take place, and

absolutely nothing more can happen. Distribution of energy within natural systems occurs similarly, the difference lying in that natural systems are never closed (Skar, 2004). A complex system is an open system and is therefore intimately connected with its environment, which also needs to be taken into account. The environment generally influences a system by affecting which of its potential forms is actualised. The attributes of the entire system are a function of the interaction between constituent elements among one another and with the environment. The basic instability of such systems enables them to change their internal structure spontaneously and in order to cope with their changing circumstances (Pisek, 2001; Stroebel *et al*., 2005; Skar, 2004). The Second Law of Thermodynamics cannot therefore inevitably force them into either complete disorder or entropy as it does closed systems (Skar, 2004).

The notion of emergence is pivotal to the theory of complexity (Morowitz, 2002), the assertion being that there is more to a certain system than can ever be predicted on the basis of its constituent parts. As an example, Skar (2004) cites a famous process named after the French scientist who first studied it: the 'Bénard convection'. This process involves subjecting a container filled with water to even heat. As the water heats up, the warmer particles move to the top as colder ones descend to the bottom. If this process is allowed to continue undisturbed, it eventually leads to the particles forming a structure mimicking that of a honeycomb. This pattern neither resembles the form of the container nor the manner in which it was heated. It is, rather, an emergent property brought forth by the dynamic of the system itself.

Similarly, novel tendencies can emerge from within a natural system that could not be anticipated by knowing the component parts separately. Consequently, the whole system is qualitatively different from the sum of the individual parts that constitute it. This something 'more' is what Morowitz calls 'novelties' (Morowitz, 2002, p.13). Emergents have tendencies unknown in systems preceding them because new types of organisation now typify their constituent ingredients. This process essentially constitutes dynamic complexification (Albright, 2006), as the entities that emerge are truly new and more complex than their precursors.

It must be stressed that complexification does not characterise systems where either order or chaos dominate (Gell-Mann, 1994; Kauffman, 1995). Excessive order results in stagnation, while too much chaos creates unconstructive anarchy. Within complex systems there is always tension between the status quo and the need to adapt to changing circumstances. A related assertion is that complexification may only be one of several possibilities of punctuated change that is the hallmark of natural evolution (Gould, 2002). Gould's view is that until they are pushed over the edge, systems stay relatively constant amid changing conditions in their environment. After that critical push, change occurs relatively quickly.

While complexification is one possibility, 'horizontal' change and actual 'de-complexification' may also result. Developing theory, however, seems to suggest that systems "at the edge of chaos," i.e., on the cusp of equilibrium at one end and complete disorder on the other, may in fact be the most adaptive and creative (Gould, 2002; Innes & Booher, 2000; Kauffman, 1993) - hence they have endured and proliferated, in evolutionary terms. Some of the fundamental aspects of this kind of adaptive behaviour are aptly captured in the analogy of an ant colony. Ant colonies are comprised of thousands of tiny creatures which alone can easily be squashed even by a toddler, yet they organise themselves into complex social systems with hierarchies and specialisations of function. Each agent (ant) has a particular role to play, and the colony persists and proliferates, exhibiting remarkable flexibility in its interaction with changing conditions in its environment and demonstrating emergent behaviour which by far surpasses that of the individual agents (Holland, 1998).

The first critical step in applying complexity theory to the nature of the third generation's play in the Gudani family is to establish that both the rhetoric of play and the family itself are indeed complex systems. If the way in which the third generation plays presently was the result of random chance, then applying complexity theory would offer little insight. Complex systems do not exist as a result of random circumstances. Their outcomes are thus not accidental, but rather the result of complex interaction among the system's constituent parts and the environment. While these outcomes cannot be predicted beforehand, the process that yields them should not be impossible to understand. The main theme emerging from this study, 'The

complexification of the play rhetoric,' clearly demonstrates how different components that inform play in the family have led to play in the third generation being more ambiguous.

The changing role of social institutions in influencing what happens in families, a widening window into what happens globally, the space that television takes within the home, the frequency of change in cell phone technology, the parental role in influencing how children spend their time, and different roles that each child plays within the family's living space - all have contributed towards play becoming more ambiguous than it was just one generation earlier. All these factors, which arose as part of general rapid change in South Africa, constitute the critical push "over the edge" that Gould spoke about. A question to consider is whether complexification of the play rhetoric in the Gudani family has been dynamic enough to be deemed adaptive. As indicated earlier on, adaptability requires that a system demonstrates both some level of order and an openness to change.

It is clear that all elements that make up third-generation play in the family are in interaction with each other and with the environment, contributing to and influencing the nature and direction of continuous change. Were this a different family in a different environment, play could be very different from what it is in the Gudani family. Differences would be informed by the nature of the interactions between family members and the various choices the particular family makes. These in turn will depend on restrictions or opportunities within which a particular manner of playing is constructed within the family: family history, collective and individual memory, socio-economic status, physical location - the list is infinite.

What may be inferred within the Gudani family is that the interactions among all the elements informing childhood play in the third generation are insufficiently coordinated. Disparate engagement with external influences is evident between adults and children, with adults expressing mostly negative sentiments about what the third generation's play has become. Mulisa's mediating role over acceptable behaviour is at times uncertain, implying some incoherence regarding how play is negotiated across generations within the family. It would be presumptuous to view the adults' limited

engagement with children's play as a desperate attempt to hold onto the status quo rather than adapting to change, what some proponents of complexity theory would call a non-adaptive system. An alternative interpretation is that adults find themselves unable to effectively engage with the undefined contextual changes and shifting play rhetorics that are rapidly emerging around them. The consequence is that the third generation's play becomes imbued with ambiguity and ambivalence as adult expectations and child engagements are often contradictory.

The concept of coherence offers another way to interpret the adaptive value of the complexification of play across three generations of the Gudani family. We could start here by viewing coherence in children's play as a particular manner of playing that is recognisable as belonging to the same family over time, within one generation or even across two. Considering the vast potentialities open to children's play within the Gudani family during rapid social changes in South Africa across the past 17 years, it seems unlikely that play would demonstrate much, if any, coherence over time. In contrast, grandmother was able to speak of her play during her childhood, when the rhetoric of play as identity seemed to dominate. There was a clear manner of playing which grandmother could depict as belonging to "them," distinct from that of "heathens," and continuing to some extent in the way her own children played. Dad, as well, spoke of how during his generation, "everybody played the same." What makes it possible to account for such coherence, distinguishable as 'the same,' over time and through various circumstances and experiences? Complexity theory suggests that the concept of self-organisation may account for such continuity, while still allowing for profound changes to occur (Kelly, 1994).

In a self-organised system such as the ant colony, a network of agents, each responding to information and using resources accessible to it locally, can produce outcomes that are coordinated and that demonstrate more adaptability collectively than any individual agent (Kelly, 1994; Holland, 1998). The relational nature of complex systems sets the parameters within which change can occur in a system. Self-organising systems can thus be regarded as self-referential (De Villiers & Cilliers, 2004). The system's own internal structure makes provision for a selection process which functions to maintain and develop the system. A particular manner of playing

within a family, being nested within the family, is subject to the contextual limitations within that family. In this way the organisation and characteristics of the family itself both initiate *and* modulate the development of a particular manner of playing. Coherence in narratives of children's play within a family over time is a function of such self-referentiality.

Feedback and communication are critical aspects of self-referentiality within complex systems of cultural behaviour. These are mechanisms through which individuals within a system operate and provide information about the environment to the individual and the collective (Innes & Booher, 2000). Provided that individuals share a general purpose, give and receive feedback, and then act accordingly, the system to which they belong can become adaptive and sustainable in the face of unpredictable futures. The picture of the individual or the collective points of reality that inform the general purpose of a system is narrative in nature. Whether this narrative is consciously available or not may vary from system to system. In the case of the Gudani family, it appears that no such narrative was consciously available until family members participated in this study and began to discuss with the researcher the changing nature of children's play across the generations. Furthermore, although Grandmother and Dad readily accessed memories related to their childhood engagements during interviews, Mom first had to consult with peers because she could not recall what constituted her play as a child, another indication of lack of a conscious narrative about play.

In conversations with Dad and Grandmother about the changing nature of children's play across the second and third generations, no reference was made to television as a factor, even though television occupies a prominent space in the family's daily routines. Neither was reference made to any instances where adults effectively stop or limit children's play. Grandmother was the only one who indicated that adults' own availability at home had a bearing on children's engagements. One could argue therefore that in the Gudani family, the complexification of play that arose during the third generation is partly couched within a web of information that is largely unconscious.

Perhaps if awareness of children's play over time became relatively conscious within the family, the adult narratives of play and context would become more coherent, comprehensible, and consistent in terms of chronology and form. In other words, the Gudanis, especially the adults, would be able to offer a more or less similar account of events that unfolded in context, and how these impacted on children's play**.** To this end, Mattingly, Lutkehaus and Throop (2008) suggest that narrative is culture-specific and thus relies on material availability of symbolic aspects deeply embedded in culture and language, providing a "repertoire of possible, tellable tales" (p. 15). A narrative therefore offers certain logic, allowing for inferences, based on past experience - and a means through which the individual or the collective can tell a plausible and relatively consistent story about itself. For Grandmother, playing the Christian way and how this was informed by her family's Christian inclinations is plausible. For Dad, everybody playing the same within a specific context is logical. Yet, with regard to how the third generation plays currently, there seems to be no general descriptor agreed to by all within the Gudani family. Also, there is a lack of chronology and morphology in recounting how the third generation's play came to be what it is. What does a family lose if unable to construct a coherent narrative around how its children play within a particular generation and across generations? What are the factors that influence the achievement of coherence?

8.4 Continuing childhood play narratives: Vehicle for collective story-making

The continuation of particular childhood play narratives across generations seems to influence the ease with which coherence can be achieved, as the different generations find some common ground. Human beings seem to have a need to see some of their past experiences re-enacted in the lives of their descendants. This is demonstrated through the following excerpt from a local soap opera, taken from a repeat episode of the South African Broadcasting Corporation's '*Isidingo*', recorded on 10 June 2007. It is a conversation within the Matabane family, between the mother (Mme Matabane) and her adult daughter (Lettie), who has a pre-school-aged son (Neo).

Mme Matabane: *"It was like… it was like that whole communal thing when there was still story-telling. You remember your grandmother telling you all those folk tales?"*

Lettie: *"Ooh Mme [mother], and I would be there 'le' [with] Parsons [her brother], and some of the kids from the village, all of us huddled around the fire. I remember…ooh… that wet dust smell after the rain."*

Mme Matabane: *"Oh, it was so good."*

Lettie: *"There's lots of things I don't miss about Thabantshu [name of village], but that, I miss a lot - the sense 'ya' [of] community."*

Mme Matabane: *"Yes, that…that communal sense of knowing 'go re' [that] you belong to something bigger than you are."*

Lettie: *"And to think that Neo is going to grow up with none of that."*

Mme Matabane: *"Oh no…no...no, we have to keep the stories alive for him. We have to create the same environment. When he looks back at his childhood, he must remember all those folk tales."*

Lettie: *"That's what we need, family…hmm."*

The need to see parts of our past stories reconstructed in generations that come after us is not surprising. Our personal identities and individual narratives do not come about "ex nihilo, nor do they represent idiosyncratic interpretations of unique historical experiences" (Hogue, 2006, p.226). They are instead embedded in broader social narratives (McAdams, 1993). Memories of multiple past experiences that we maintain are often based on images that are recalled or re-enacted within our social and cultural milieu. As we are reminded of stories of ourselves from the past, we gain a sense of who we are (Peters, 2006), and who we are becoming over time. The stories we tend to tell of ourselves are also often in relation to that of the group we identify with (Watts, 2006), whether it be family, community or nationality. It is in these narratives that we gauge and resolve tensions between personal and collective forms of understanding (Mattingly, Lutkehaus & Throop, 2008). It also appears that as a collective within any cultural grouping, humans have a need for what Bruner (2008) calls "shared ordinariness", with the principal function of narrative being to render deviations from the ordinary, both conventional and manageable. Bruner argues that a story often starts "with some presupposed version of shared ordinariness,

then moves on to its violation (what Aristotle refers to as its peripeteia), then recounts actions taken in the interest of restoring initial ordinariness or creating a new version, and finally offers a resolution" (p. 36). In this manner, the narrative serves to shield the collective from the undesired intrusion of the unexpected into shared ordinariness.

Hogue (2006), citing 21st century North America as an example, contends that a major challenge facing pluralistic and postmodern cultural settings is the absence of a unifying meta-narrative that could ensure "shared and accepted qualities of effective participation in the culture" (p. 226). The disparate views and experiences of the third generation's play within the Gudani family, across the three generations currently, seem to display such lack of a unifying narrative. Contestation around what constitutes play, adults' inability to identify with the third generation's play, the children's engagement in play which is mostly unmediated by adults, and the lack of collective reflection on this, in a world that's becoming smaller with globalisation, leaves the family unable to coherently negotiate the future of its children's play.

New insights in sociology point to the undue importance inherently placed on adult guidance with the use of the concept of 'socialisation' (Corsaro, 2005). This realisation has lead to construction of a new concept, "interpretive reproduction" (Corsaro, 2005, p. 4), which emphasises children's active engagement in social reality. I see this move from 'socialisation' to 'interpretive reproduction' as a pendulum swing, which unfortunately sacrifices child-adult co-creation of social reality. I also view the notion of adults in every society as being equally powerful and dominating the course of development for children as a myth. Some adults are more powerful than others. Later on in the discussion we will consider factors that indeed make some adults more powerful than others. For now, I would only go as far as to suggest that in rapidly changing societies, and in families not in control of the factors bringing about the change, adults can be disempowered. In some instances, children can even be more powerful than their parents. They can be the ones with more ready access to technology and Western education, rendering them more knowledgeable than their parents.

It is my contention that continuing childhood narratives across generations can serve as a powerful means to maintain 'shared ordinariness' as they provide space for collective story-making. Collective story-making within children's play would mean both adults and children playing a part in constructing the meta-narrative informing what children's play is and what it becomes over time. Managed play spaces within the Gudani family would entail co-creation, with children steering what of the outside world they incorporate into their own cultural worlds, and adults, while having some sense of what is going on and literate with the engagement of the children, mediating where necessary.

In South Africa it appears that adults and children are crafting future trajectories about their realities that run parallel to each other. Amid rapid social transition it seems adults are mainly preoccupied with their own sense-making of their new realities, unable to link these with the changing nature of their children's cultural worlds. There are many dominant discourses prevalent within current South African society. One that stands out is around power – who is now in charge in the new South Africa - who is crafting the unfolding story? There are in turn many manifestations of this rhetoric – who should be included or excluded as formerly disadvantaged within the Black Economic Empowerment Policy? Whether (and which) names for towns, streets and schools should be changed, and to what? All these discourses are mainly about adult concerns, and are adult-led. Where are children's voices in all of this? With regard to children's own cultural worlds, is it unrealistic to expect that adults could be co-creators? Would this be happening for the first time in history? A careful analysis of literature on children's engagements over time elsewhere seems to suggest that when societies are relatively stable, or mainly in charge of their unfolding futures, co-creation seems to be the order of the day.

Tracking the development of moving-picture arcades in the USA during the first two decades of the 20th century, Nasaw (1992) describes how both adults and children played a crucial role in determining the nature of this development. The children, while the main source of profit for the growing industry, could not be given carte blanche to watch whatever they liked. At the same time, producers did not relent to pressure from reformers to substitute educational material "for trashy crime

melodramas and slapstick comedies" (p.17), which they knew very well were a draw-card for their mainly young but profitable audience. While reformers were successful in passing legislation on attendance, content and images displayed for children, producers and owners "carefully and successfully walked the fine line between offending the reformers and boring the children" (p.17).

Mergen (1992), in his investigations of the meanings of toys to American children from the early 19th to the mid-20th century, also paints a picture reflecting an interplay of adults' wishes and children's wills. As adults began to 'realise' the value of toys for their children's development and amusement in the 1870s, there was a sudden increase in toy manufacturing and an accompanying rising culture of present buying for children. The word 'toy' was also redefined to include sporting equipment formerly reserved for adults, such as baseball bats. Adults invented, and published for children's amusement and described how to make or play with particular toys. A particular story of adult-child co-creation involved the Wright brothers inventing the first aeroplane after they were supposedly inspired by what they saw kids do, thus opening "the skies to children's playthings" (Mergen, 1992, p. 97).

There are also contemporary examples of adults intervening when convinced that it is their duty to protect their children's well-being. With the rising bombardment of children's cultural worlds with media and technology, there have been different responses from adults across different societies. Some have remained fairly quiet, with little activism from adults. Others have voiced their discontent, but have not been able to take any visible action. Yet some countries have instituted bodies tasked with monitoring and devising policy on content, and education of the public. South Africa is in the process of passing the Films and Publications Amendment Bill whose sole purpose is to protect children against child pornography (Republic of South Africa, 2003). It has proven to be a long process to effect this bill into law.

One example which demonstrates effective co-creation between adults and children is playing out at the Institute of Education, University of London, where children are enabled to create their own computer games, with the mediation of adults knowledgeable in the subject. Not only is 'game literacy' for both adults and children

enhanced, but the social practices and contexts within which computer games are developed and engaged in are critically explored by both (Buckingham & Burn, 2007).There are grounds to conclude, therefore, that the influence of large-scale social change occurring at any one time may be reflected in the character of the *next* generation because of mediation by parents living under and experiencing the change. However, this only seems to happen when parents in a given society are able to exercise choice and demonstrate some agency in what unfolds of their children's play stories.

Unfolding childhood play stories are intertwined with broader narratives emerging within families. Radical transformation within a family is often a product of contact between local and exogenous knowledge. Local knowledge would constitute everyday knowledge that operates from within the close-knit family. This includes integrative frameworks or collections of ideas and assumptions that guide, control and explain behaviour within the family, as a community of practice. Essentially, 'The complexification of the play rhetoric' involves the meeting of the local knowledge with exogenous knowledge, constituted in 'A view out into the world', manifesting in new aspirations, engagements and literacies within the third generation's play. Geertz (1983) contended that local knowledge could be viewed as common sense functioning as a cultural system. His main argument was that common sense could not be understood simply as what anybody "in their right mind knows", but rather as a constellation of deliberated thought. It "is not what the mind cleared of cant apprehends: it is what the mind filled with presuppositions concludes" (p. 84).

Local knowledge within any community of practice cannot be equally distributed (Gilbert, 1997). Learning relies on active social participation. A person's mastery of local knowledge relies on his or her participation in a particular socio-cultural activity within a community of practice (Ibid). Both adults and children in the Gudani family can be either neophytes or experts, depending on which socio-cultural activity is being considered. As regards the workings of family, adults can safely be assumed to be experts. Similarly, children can be viewed as experts with regard to their own cultural worlds. Vygotsky (1976) made the point that human beings arrive at knowledge through engagement in social practices that provide them with thinking

frameworks, opportunities for practice, and tools for problem-solving. This process is mediated by those more competent in a particular social practice since they provide the novice with the means to surpass his or her current capability – the central tenet of Vygotsky's 'zone of proximal development'.

For both the third generation's play and general behaviour within the family, mediation by 'the expert' or the actors with central participation in a particular socio-cultural activity is required. As much as the third generation could have something to gain from listening to adults' perspectives on their play, the adults have much to benefit from becoming familiar with how the children are incorporating exogenous knowledge into their everyday cultural worlds. Furthermore, doing things together often or ritual functions to build and preserve communal memory (McCauley & Lawson, 2002), which in turn contributes towards ongoing collective story-making.

Situating knowledge construction within family as a community of practice or complex system means that as environmental circumstances or social imperatives change, so will the local knowledge. As already established in section 8.3, complex systems are dynamic in nature. It is more fitting therefore to refer to *local* knowledge, as opposed to *traditional* knowledge. As external factors change and press for emergent behaviour, so will the community of practice be modified and, in turn, the local knowledge. The term traditional knowledge does not capture this flexibility for it implies a certain level of orthodoxy (Gilbert, 1997).

Societies undergoing rapid change have been consistently found to employ strategies and understandings that defy the often ill-defined and affect-laden *traditional-modern* dichotomy (Strathern & Stewart, 2005). A more helpful approach in studying these societies is exploring how they manage to accommodate exogenous knowledge without losing their own histories. For families, the revision and recreation of such histories are informed by the nature of the interactions between family members and the various choices the particular family makes to meet immediate challenges. The seemingly ambivalent exercise of humility within the Gudani family is an attempt at such situated reconstruction.

There are a number of questions one can raise about the loss or perpetuation of humility as a way of being within any community of practice. On one hand, if modesty and meekness are conflated, what is the effect on the development of self-confidence and agency for the child, in the global context of competiveness and putting one's best foot forward? Does this limit the development of self-reliance, self-advancement skills and ambition for the child? On the other hand, what does a child lose out on when he or she internalises the self-focused individualism of Western society without appreciating the wisdom in seeing all humanity as equal? What does family and society as a whole stand to lose with abandonment of ancient practices and adoption of new generations' practices? One possible consequence is a total surrender to other cultural surrogates such as the mass media, or a borrowing and general inept application of some prefabricated set of rules. This ineptness is perhaps what is observed in Mulisa's actions when she adjudicates others' behaviour without the assistance of adult mediation.

Perhaps an ideal situation would be where joint activity generates new knowledge that draws on both past and current generations. Adults may learn what may be crucial lessons from their children's experiences under conditions of rapid social change. This learning may influence them to seek purposefully to engage with children in ways better suited for these uncertain social conditions. This certainly seems to be what enabled family solidarity and ideological congruence between parents and children amid rapid social change, that Galland found in France (Dasen, 2000). Should the joint action across the three generations in the Gudani family result in an adaptive community of practice in the face of rapid social change, then a solid foundation for further co-creation of knowledge is established. This in essence constitutes collective story-making, which will extend into the evolving narrative of children's play.

8.5 Fragmented story-making and play anomie: Consequences for health and well-being

Literature has not focused much on the interactional nature of play between parents and their children (Davies, 2007). Davies alluded to the fact that in their engagement with disabled children, adults also have play needs that often need to be met. What this current study highlights is that even when there is no impairment, children's play engagements should not be seen as separate from adults' own play stories, past or on-going. Also suggested in this study is that an intergenerational perspective is critical in exploring and articulating factors that enable or act as barriers to children's play.

It has been suggested earlier that the nature of the childhood play narrative across generations emerging from the Gudanis may not be a coherent one. This fragmented story-making may constitute occupational alienation, especially for the family's adults. Occupational alienation has been defined by Townsend and Wilcock (2004) as "prolonged experiences of disconnectedness, isolation, emptiness, lack of a sense of identity, a limited or confined expression of spirit, or a sense of meaninglessness" (p. 80). Disconnectedness between children and parents or grandparents through occupations that are not shared or at least mutually understood and valued within a family may contribute to a sense of meaninglessness, particularly for the adults.

Occupational well-being is another recently proposed concept that provides a useful guide to frame the Gudanis's experience of childhood play transformation across generations in relation to health and well-being from an occupational perspective. Defined as "the extent to which the occupations that [people] choose, engage in, and have orchestrated into their occupational lives generate meaning and satisfaction" (Doble & Santha, 2008, p. 185), occupational well-being highlights people's need for agency in crafting their evolving occupational identities, in a manner that allows for adequate sense-making. Coherence in particular - one of the aspects of occupational well-being, alongside accomplishment, affirmation, agency, companionship, pleasure, and renewal - implies that as people's occupational identities evolve with time, their occupational experiences should "generate evidence that confirms who they are and want to become" (p. 187). Doble and Santha (2008) also suggest that individuals

attain a sense of coherence when their occupations "provide them with connections between their pasts, presents, and futures" (p. 187).

As suggested in section 8.4, continuing childhood play narratives across generations may serve as a vehicle for collective story-making. This in turn offers adults in particular opportunities to straddle their pasts, presents and futures. Given that within the Gudani family such collective story-making is lacking, adults' occupational well-being may be at risk. However, since personal narratives are never constructed in isolation, but instead embedded in broader social stories, children in the Gudani family may not be spared from consequences stemming from fragmented story-making. Their occupational well-being may also depend on the extent to which experiences in the immediate context generate evidence that confirms who the family as a collective is and wants to become.

Coherence has also long been associated with health. In 1979 Antonovsky introduced the concept of 'sense of coherence' (SOC) in an attempt to better our understanding of personality-related factors likely to protect people from falling ill (Antonovsky, 1979, 1987). He defined SOC as a broad concept that expresses the extent to which an individual has a pervasive, persistent though dynamic sense that: first, stimuli that derive from his or her internal or external environment are structured, predictable, and explicable, defined as 'comprehensibility'; second, appropriate resources are accessible to the individual in order to meet the challenges posed by the situation, amounting to 'manageability'; and third, these demands are meaningful challenges, worthy of investment and engagement, which essentially constitutes 'meaningfulness'. Antonovsky also devised a scale that measures SOC along these three components - comprehensibility, manageability and meaningfulness - high scores on the scale signifying a high SOC. An important contribution of the scale has been the generation of substantive evidence for high correlations between SOC and good subjective health (Suominen, Helenius, Blomberg, Uutela & Koskenvuo, 2001) as well as resilience (Lundquist, 1995; Johansson, Larsson & Hamrin, 1998; Poppius, Tenkanen, Kalimo & Heinsalmi, 1999).

Although the SOC scale was not administered to individuals in the Gudani family, it can be deduced that the disjointed unfolding childhood play narrative emerging across the three generations amounts to poor comprehensibility, manageability and meaningfulness. This stems mainly from the subordination and destruction of local knowledge as the children's cultural worlds increasingly absorb what the media and technology exposes them to. With the gradual loss of familiar metaphors, models and tools for thinking, it can be inferred that adults in particular not only become limited in their capacity to make sense of this new world, but experience undermining of their self-confidence and self-esteem, which in turn can have adverse effects on mental health. Many of the sentiments expressed by the adults point to an environment that is at best inexplicable and not structured enough for comprehensibility around what children's play has become over time. Seeing that the third generation as no longer experiencing 'real' play, to an extent that grandmother concludes that they are 'lost', implies that if it were within their power, they would change the situation. The fact that they are unable to do so points to lack of manageability. Adults' inability to make sense of the third generation's engagements, Mulisa's awkward position of mediating 'unfitting' behaviour, limited adult participation in the third generation's cultural worlds and non-existent collective reflection on the unfolding change in children's play all point to problematic meaning-making.

Powerlessness has long been implicated in high rates of ill-health and psychological suffering. This has led some to conclude that "in the long run, prevention through social change that gives people more security and more power over their lives is our best hope - a faint but persistent hope" (Albee, 1985, p. 60). Inequitable distribution of power and economic and social resources in society is central to why certain groups are more able to demonstrate agency in orchestrating occupations and occupational narratives that bring them a sense of coherence and thus health.

An occupational justice perspective highlights the existence of hierarchical social structures and how a person's position in relation to these influences his or her access to power and control in order to influence health (Wilcock, 2006). This kind of framework towards the understanding of health promotes a view of people's personal

resources and difficulties in the context of their social circumstances. Furthermore, it challenges the assumption of individual responsibility for bringing about change. For a context such as South Africa, where the legacy of apartheid still plays out in different forms, significance can be placed on inequitable historical legacies impacting on individuals' abilities to exercise choice in accessing occupations that promote health. Being black, for instance, historically meant having inadequate access to means that could improve social status and personal resources, thus making it impossible to engage in health-promoting occupations, and influencing one's unfolding occupational narrative.

In their 2002 study on the prevalence of social anomie in South African society, Huschka and Mau (2006) found widespread feelings of disorientation, powerlessness and estrangement, suggesting high levels of social anomie. Conceptualised by scholars such as Durkheim and Merton, social anomie pertains to a state in which societal norms and values are confused, unclear or entirely absent (Huschka & Mau, 2006). The prevalence of social anomie in South Africa was also reported on by Glatzer, 1998. Rapid social change in society has often been implicated for social anomie (Glatzer, 1998; Huschka & Mau, 2006). This should not be surprising, given that significant social change requires change within the macro-environment, which ultimately translates into change within institutional and social structures. Without a sense of continuity within these structures as centres of social organisation and integration, there is a likelihood that difficulties may be felt even at an individual level "resulting in a loss of general social orientation, the development of feelings of insecurity and marginalization, uncontrolled rising expectations, feelings of relative deprivation and the questioning of the legitimacy of core social values" (Orru, 1987, p. 215).

Given the vast degree of change that South African society has been facing, it follows that Huschka and Mau (2006) could uncover prevalent anomic tendencies among South Africans. Although many in South Africa welcomed the change as the apartheid regime was dismantled, it seems change came at a cost. It has been suggested by some that it is when societies like South Africa attempt paradigmatic political, economic and social change simultaneously that they risk burdening their

population excessively (Britan & Denich, 1976; Dasen, 2000; Glatzer, 1998; Pridemore, 2006).

Social change is inevitable; it certainly has occurred in all societies at all times, but at varying paces and magnitudes. It also appears that within the same society, consequences of rapid social change may not be felt equally across different societal groupings. Consistent with Antonovsky's SOC, social change is manageable for affected populations "as long as patterns of interpretation of the change are available which enable the altered reality to be understood again and again in meaningful ways" (Atteslander, 1999, p. 9). What is of particular interest as well as concern from Huschka and Mau's report on social anomie in South Africa, is that among black people the highest score of all anomie questions related to "life being too complicated" (p. 481). Huschka and Mau surmised this to be an indication that black people had not yet learnt to navigate through the new political, administrative, social and judicial systems effectively. Low literacy levels, one of the worst legacies of apartheid prevalent among black people, played a significant role as a factor limiting "quick and successful integration of the black population into the new institutional framework as active citizens" (p. 481). Another interesting finding in Huschka and Mau's study was that socio-economic variables did not explain variance of intra-racial anomie for the black population. This suggests that among black people in South Africa, socio-economic gains do not necessarily wipe out feelings of powerlessness, disorientation and estrangement.

Adverse social conditions accompanying rapid social change in spite of increased socio-economic development have also been reported by Kyung-Sup (1999), with respect to the compressed modernity that South Korea went through during the last few decades. Kyung-Sup reports: "There seems to be a sober awakening about their own miracle of achieving over a mere few decades what took Westerners two or three centuries. Such *compressed modernity* now turns out to be full of unexpected costs and risks that threaten the sheer sustainability, not to mention the further development, of the current social and economic conditions. A most unnerving realization in this regard is that what they have built up in such a hurry turns out to be a highly collapse-prone economic, political and social system. They are also realizing

that the very mechanisms and strategies for achieving rapid national development now function as fundamental obstacles to current and future development" (p. 31). In order to achieve remarkable economic success over a relatively short term period, South Korea adopted foreign values from Japan and the USA in particular, which they further reinterpreted into an institutional culture marked by patriarchal political authoritarianism, monopolistic business practice, abusive labour practices, disregard for basic welfare rights, and ideological self-negation. On the other hand, societies that manage to maintain some continuity, strong cultural identity, and at least part of their core value system, often also succeed in avoiding pronounced social crisis and disintegration despite social change (Dasen, 2000; Weintraub & Shapiro, 1968). Weintraub and Shapiro stress the important role played by the structure of the change itself in maintaining continuity, by allowing a high degree of social familiarity and making possible a gradual process of transition.

It is worth noting that when children's play is looked at carefully and in relation to how different family members' autobiographical selves share in an unfolding collective narrative, what starts off as mere children's play possibly has a bearing on the whole family's health and well-being. In this way children's play operates as a mirror of what is happening at a broader societal level. What is seen as social anomie could very well be reflected in what I suggest to be a condition of 'play anomie' that could be found within a family. In the same way that social anomie describes a normless society, play anomie points to a state of play where terms of engagement are breaking down and different generations do not know what to expect from one another. The Gudanis' difficulty in agreeing on what constitutes play, disparate sentiments regarding the current nature of children's engagements, as well as adults' inability to participate effectively in the rapidly changing character of children's play that has left Mulisa awkwardly positioned as custodian to precarious codes of behaviour, indicate that play norms have become confused, unclear or absent.

8.6 Social institutions: Constructing the master narrative, and creating unequal adults

Findings emerging from studying the Gudanis point to how local institutions provided structure that defined the space, time and content of children's activities during the first and to some extent the second generation, while this role diminished significantly during the third generation, along with parents' ability to influence their children's play. It might well be that on-going feelings of disorientation, powerlessness, and estrangement of black people in South Africa played out at a small scale in the emergence of play anomie in the Gudani family, lie not in black adults' inability to adapt to a rapidly changing world, but in the adverse nature of action possibilities that this world presents to them. Disadvantaged adults in black families are therefore not victims of their own making but of their unfavourable position in an unequal world. Even though apartheid - colonialism and racism as ideologies of the state – was eventually defeated in South Africa, it nevertheless succeeded in structurally differentiating people across racial lines, with concomitant differing notions of entitlement and access to resources.

Many are sufficiently conscientised to recognise more explicit forms of oppression, while tacit and possibly more damaging forms often function at psychological levels. Among these is the injustice that arises when different systems of influence collide and are contested, but not on an equal basis (Gilbert, 1997). Scholarship in critical organisation has shown how institutionalised structures and cultures exert powerful control over discourse and social change, as well as in leveraging particular actors to effectively act as ideological gate-keepers (Mumby, 2004). This kind of domination has been a central focus in many of the revolutionary movements within the African context. In founding the Black Consciousness movement in South Africa, Biko (1978) argued that apartheid as an instrument of oppression was effective not because of its impact on the political or economic lives of black people, but their psychological and spiritual worlds through the erosion of the black identity and traditions. Fanon (1963) proposed a corresponding argument in relation to the Algerian War of Liberation against French colonisation. Dangaremga (1989) through her novel, *"Nervous*

Conditions" also offers remarkable insight into the quandary that postcolonial identity and the lived experience of blackness can be (e.g. Dangaremga, 1989).

Westernisation implies a change in values (individualism, competition, and consumerism) usually brought about by the church, school and media. Zornado (2001) called these perennially influential ideologies that are constructed, mastered and manipulated by those central within powerful institutions or cultural frames, "master narratives" - from which children's cultural worlds are not exempt. Zornado asserts: "Yet even the postmodern intellectual perspective remains caught up in an ideology of obfuscation that blinds even the brightest scholar to the most obvious truth: there remains a master narrative to the story of childhood that continues to play out in and through the dominant culture, through the stories the culture tells about itself to itself and through the lived relations that result between the adult and the child" (p. xiv). A slight amendment I would make to Zornado's assertion is that the lived relations through which the master narrative plays out are between the child and two different kinds of adults - those with power, and those with less influence. I would argue that adults within developing and underdeveloped contexts often have little power over what happens to their children.

Within modern sociology of childhood, adults are often framed as 'all powerful', and thus by implication expected to relinquish this power so that children can continue to orchestrate their engagements without adult interference. However, earlier we established that when major changes have confronted societies in the so-called First World countries, adults have not stood by and allowed whatever arose in the name of development to filter through into their children's everyday engagements. Adults in these countries used whatever power was available to them to guide and protect their children against whatever they perceived as threatening to their livelihoods or future development. Of course, it cannot be assumed that all adults in these settings had exactly the same power, but it is safe to suggest that where dominant master narratives are experienced as fitting within a context, most will live more or less at peace with them.

One such example of unconscious sharing in the dominant ideology of childhood, and the role of institutions in perpetuating this, is well demonstrated by Dunning (2004). Comparing public funding of kindergartens in the USA in the last two decades of the 19th century and of pre-kindergarten towards the end of the 20th century into the new millennium, Dunning found that these periods illustrate corresponding examples of education's adaptation to rapid social change through agreement in the logics of two institutional domains - public education and the care of young children. She argues that the addition of two new grades to American public schooling was an institutional response to disruption in the social order mostly associated with women's role in society, and that the catalyst for this response was an ideological alignment sanctioning the care of children to be viewed as an appropriate function of public schools. Citing Tyack (1995), Dunning makes the point that education facilitated public embracement of the role of women as 'teacher-mothers' (p. 2) tasked with the moral training of children as virtuous citizens in the late 19th century through the adoption of kindergartens.

Similarly, with brain science acting as a catalyst, education acted to validate the role of women as workers as they returned to the economic domain in the late 20th century. Sending children to pre-kindergarten was seen as making the most of children's brain development, when in fact it freed women to contribute towards a growing economy. In the USA such an unconscious sharing in the dominant ideology may have left most citizens unperturbed and very well able to adapt and thrive within the system. Given its rootedness in local culture and the pace through which it effected change in the lived experience of families, the master narrative may be central to why there may not have been massive social change casualties. The nature of the relationship between the so-called developed and developing or under-developed countries, on the other hand, actively prohibits the growth and development of the latter, except along the lines of the more "civilized" worlds (Zornado, 2001, p. 2). This is so even as the world is always presented as "neutral" and "obvious", as reified by the master narrative constructed elsewhere.

The pervasive character of master narratives from the developed world relies on what Foucault (1977, 1983, 1991) termed the panoptic schema. Foucault argues that

"Whenever one is dealing with a multiplicity of individuals on whom a task or a particular form of behaviour must be imposed, the panoptic schema may be used" (1977, p. 205). Foucault later described governmentality as a related phenomenon (Foucault, 1980). These two mechanisms are facilitated by the manner in which global information has become faster, intense and vast (Fong, 2001).

The terms 'development' and 'modernisation' often endorse assumptions about a desirable process towards progress that may be damaging to populations in various contexts (Di Leonardo, 1998; Ferguson, 1999; Ong, 2006). Developing countries have very little chance of succeeding in promoting evolutionary trends that are counter-hegemonic and may suit them better locally. In their quest to join the developed world, Third World countries often have to embrace unexamined assumptions. One cannot even speak of choice, because there is no choice. When change requires Third World nations to depart from their previous patterns, it is often not as a result of considered alteration of value systems, but rather of action alternatives. As Zornado (2001) points out: "the rich and the poor, the weak and the strong, and the powerful and the marginalized unconsciously share and participate in the dominant ideology" (p. xvii).

Pavlova (2005) suggests four processes through which social change is enacted, reflecting the extent to which societies are often passive participants in a global wave of change which is mostly commercially driven. Firstly, Pavlova (2005) describes the process through which societal members are engaged with primarily as consumers and no longer as producers. Secondly, she points to how cognitive and moral spheres of human life become colonised by the aesthetic sphere. The third process involves the integration of people into the technological world. Fourth and lastly, Pavlova describes how societies are moved from the Welfare State to the Competition State. These processes are intertwined. The first process operates in a manner wherein images inside the consumer-driven society become judged according to their level "of attractiveness, pleasure-potential and interest-arousal" (p. 202). In such a society the major focus of business becomes creating a void in people's lives as they discover 'needs' and 'wants' that they never thought they had. How this plays out in families

was observed within the Gudani family, many of the aspirations expressed emanating from what the children saw on television advertisements.

The second process of social change builds on the first one, rendering human beings essentially 'sensation-gatherers' or 'goods-consumers'. Action no longer follows cognitive processes of matching intended ends with available means or vice versa, but rather on judging whether the experience will be interesting or boring. It is this fact that perhaps explains the ambiguity with which Duka and Mulisa define television watching. With television having become the main source of experience in the Gudani family, and with it being continuously on in the background during general family life, it probably has become difficult to separate watching it from any other activity. Also, family members no longer have to make a decision to watch television for a specific reason. The subcategory, 'Avoiding boredom, and bored 'to snot' watching TV' is a strong indication of how much Duka and Mulisa have become sensation-gatherers, and also of how little their actions rely on the cognitive process of matching intended ends with available means. As sensation-gatherers, life at home has become mainly about avoiding boredom. Television as the 'only' available option to occupy their time has also become the 'only' tool through which to fight boredom. However, not only does television often fail in helping them avoid boredom, it also sometimes becomes the cause of it.

As 'goods-consumers', Pavlova (2005) argues, people have come to a point where they are measured through things they share the world with. As a result, their identities (which are constructed through commodities) are often shifting. Again, big business understands this. For example, Nokia and Samsung invest significant amounts of money in changing minute details on cell phones, and in so doing are able to maintain a competitive advantage over each other. The extent to which either of these companies succeeds in staying on top relates to how long they are able to maintain brand loyalty among users. Users, on the other hand, often 'augment' their own personal status by upgrading to a particular cell phone package within a particular brand. Duka and Mulisa's fascination with cell phones was particularly fuelled by how television advertisements successfully marketed yet another tune, game or gadget to add to one's cell phone. Alongside cell phone manufacturers'

frequent adaptations of virtually the same product is the power of media imagery, especially when targeted at young people. The youth has been found to be particularly susceptible to media imagery (Becker, 2004), which works because it stimulates young people's desire to develop and project a particular identity.

Television characters and celebrities are particularly powerful in influencing what young people view as desirable social status. Duka's adoption of 'Jack' as a second name, emulating a character from the soap opera Generations, and in order to have the initials 'DJ', may be driven by the prospect of desirable social status. Amid a rapidly changing social environment, media imagery may be used by young people to navigate emerging opportunities and conflicts that emerge (Ibid). Understanding their vulnerability to images and values imported from the media is critical to understanding young people's aspirations and evolving occupational identities. It is not surprising that Duka, as a boy, would anchor part of his identity in a widely recognised cultural symbol of social status popularised by the media, the disk jockey (DJ). At the same time, living far from a city and therefore not having watched the life of a real DJ, Duka has no reference to compare the image he aspired to with the realities it portrays, and thus to critique and deconstruct it. Also, his parents may not have the means to help him navigate his way through opportunities and challenges that may be presented by identifying with this image. Not only did their own childhoods lack DJs, they may also not have ways to access information that they could use to assist Duka in realistically challenging potential illusions presented by the televised image of a DJ.

There is also the matter of media and technology having the potential to expose children to unsafe material, in particular content of a sexual nature. Although this did not emerge as an issue within the Gudani family during this study, exposure of children to pornography is a growing societal concern in South Africa. South Africa registers the highest level of sexual assault on children world-wide (Moffett, 2006), while early exposure to pornographic material is often singled out as the most likely trigger (Marshall, 1988). The advent of MXit - a virtually free messaging system for cell phones and personal computers - in 2003, introduced yet another avenue through which children could be accessed by potential paedophiles (Wales-Smith, 2008). This

means that not only children with independent access to computers can be reached by potential offenders, but anyone with a cell phone. Although it is acknowledged that the distribution and display of sexually explicit material on a cell phone should be declared a criminal offence, difficulty in regulating this is well recognised (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2008).

The Film and Publications Amendment Bill (Republic of South Africa, 2003), which would cover such issues as well as the regulation of television and newspaper content, is still being debated. Until this bill is adopted and the community is educated about it, many parents in South Africa will remain oblivious to their rights and responsibilities in protecting their children against sexually offensive material. Once educated about their rights and responsibilities, parents would also need to be technologically literate to monitor their children's engagement with the technological world effectively. In the Gudani family it is the children that are most advanced with regard to cell phone technology; Duka and Mulisa are first to alert everyone else to the latest cell phone features and how to use them.

All modern technologies that the third generation within the Gudani family engages in are produced elsewhere other than South Africa, which is consistent with most Third World countries. The late 1990s saw the emergence of foreign-led economies in most developing countries. State strategies within these nations have been reoriented towards distinctive types of the competition state, aimed at upgrading the industrial base by attracting direct foreign investment. This requires local political and institutional support of the competition state, which ultimately leads to globalising capitalism - often an uneven process of Third World internationalisation into the First World periphery. Because it is an essentially dependent modernisation paradigm that South Africa (like many developing countries) pursues – or is forced to pursue (Kyung-Sup, 1999) - foreign elements have permeated the local ideological, institutional and even cultural core of state and social organisations. Those most familiar with these First World materials easily adopt gate-keeping and intermediary functions, reinforcing "their dominant position over grassroots citizens" (Kyung-Sup, 1999, p. 34).

Economic factors are often seen as a major stumbling block to enriching children's quality of life (Corsaro, 2005). Corsaro argues that many of children's social problems in Third World countries are linked to poverty. His view is supported by many, as demonstrated by the fact that eradicating poverty is the very first Millennium Development Goal (United Nations, 2009). The argument that economic empowerment could eradicate many of the adversities faced by children in Third World countries is logical. However, the extent to which this is realistic is questionable. It is doubtful that sufficient amounts of money will ever be injected into poverty-stricken states, and that this would bring about financial sustainability. While a major hindrance remains the ongoing legacy of colonisation, access to economic currency for a large part is the domain of those in favourable political positions, or those quick enough to attain skills and values foreign to most parts of the continent. Western education is central to these values. Compounded by capitalism, which essentially rewards people fast on the uptake of Western ideals, many in Africa will take time to compete on an equal footing globally. Capitalism relies heavily on unequal skill – and those with valued skills by Western standards have better access to saleable commodities. This essentially renders the majority of Africans perpetually poor.

Economic empowerment mostly accessible only to a few has far-reaching social consequences, which a story by a key informant in this research illustrates quite well. He tells of when he bought bicycles for his kids - the first bicycles to be seen in his village. The moment he bought them, they elevated his sons to a level unattainable by their friends. Competition was no longer on a level playing field. One could argue that this could perhaps be an incentive for the other children's parents to work harder. However, this argument becomes unsound given a context providing unequal access to employment or business opportunities. These 'created' inequities and their social consequences are often not interrogated by communities and professionals working with them. What also seems evident is that if it is always foreign ideologies that inform commodities that people aspire for, there can never be winning for Third World citizens. Itemised individuality, which thrives within a competitive state and is a foreign concept that South Africa (like many developing counties) has bought into, serves as modern-day colonisation.

An occupational perspective of justice may allow occupational therapists who seek to work with people at a population level to understand how inequities come about. This perspective has as its focus the elements of equity that the 'master narrative' denies marginalized populations: "occupational equity; occupational fairness; occupational empowerment; occupational rights and responsibilities; occupational enablement, expression and opportunity; occupational satisfaction; and occupational well-being" (Wilcock, 2006, p. 247). Key to the detrimental effect of the master narrative is its success in pushing an ideology of sameness - with global aspiration for commodities often inspired by the West. This is anathema to diversity and the "justice of difference" (Ibid), which acknowledges that different populations may have different needs, aspirations and means to achieving their goals. Communities can only truly succeed and be sustainable in the face of globalisation if they are able to determine what suits them locally, select what of external origin they will absorb, and identify ways to participate effectively in influencing global change.

8.7 Occupational consciousness in children's play: A starting-point for family and community empowerment

Community sustainability must start with family integrity. Perhaps play in the third generation offers an opportunity for the Gudani family to learn about itself and how it is managing within a rapidly changing world. In one of the families that I collected data from but was not chosen for full analysis for this thesis, the father explicitly stated how change in children's play could have something to say about general society. As he reflected during an interview I had with him, he noted gravely that a generation of adults who identified with none of their children's activities should realise that what was at stake was loss of cultural identity. His reflections are consistent with the rhetoric of play as identity (Sutton-Smith, 1997).

Throughout my engagement with adults in the three families I spent time with during this research, this was the only instance that the threat to society as mirrored in children's cultural worlds was articulated so aptly, and with palpable emotion. Although adults within the family did not express their sense of change in children's play over time similarly, what the complexification of the play rhetoric in this family

seems to demonstrate when explored thoroughly is cultural domination, with media and technology playing a central role. These have both made the third generation's childhood play more difficult to fathom for adults, by making change within it fast-paced and unpredictable.

Understanding children's play as a complex system may be of benefit in relation to what happened in the Gudani family. A starting-point would be to comprehend how children's play has evolved, and the role that different agents within the family and the environment have played this far, as completely as possible. This is not for predictive power, but to make sense of what has happened already, what may happen in the future, and how the family might respond. This research already appears to have given space to adults in the Gudani family to reflect on the extent to which play has changed, and possible reasons for this. Grandmother and Dad in particular explored several reasons for the changes. What I noted throughout my time with the Gudanis, however, was the rarity with which stories spanning generations were shared. In the 24 days that I spent with the family there was only one instance when this happened: the shared story was around how discipline was instituted at school during mother's childhood compared to during the third generation's time. All the children seemed to find what mother said about discipline during her time fascinating, and asked questions to understand why things happened as they did then. Sharing stories across generations may carry with it the potential for families to understand their evolving stories. When space for such sharing is eroded by non-reflective doing, it is inevitable that families will progressively become distant from self-knowledge. Self-knowledge enables an understanding of how external factors impact on the family and its evolving story.

An intergenerational perspective on children's play in the present study highlighted the need for families to be able to make sense of the manner in which hegemonic ideologies and entities impact on their everyday lives, including how children occupy their time. Occupations are not always enactments of conscious choice. Even when individuals within a family may be aware that they are not coping as well as they ought to, they may not make the necessary link between their everyday struggles and context as well as what they do. It is not surprising, therefore, that none of the adults

in the Gudani family made mention of the television that is constantly on within the household in relation to what has changed about the third generation's play. Hegemonic influences are unmasked and perhaps even curtailed only when individuals become conscious of how their own actions perpetuate dominant ideologies.

I propose the term occupational consciousness to refer to ongoing awareness of the dynamics of perpetuating hegemonic practices, including personal and collective contributions through the occupations of daily life, and how all this impacts on individual and collective well-being. While dependent on feedback and communication as mechanisms ensuring self-referentiality within the family as a complex system, this kind of consciousness is heavily rooted in notions of political consciousness advanced by Karl Marx (1938), Fanon (1963), and Biko (1978). Marx described consciousness in relation to an individual's political sense of self linked to his or her authentic position in history. He laid the foundation on which Biko saw the interrelationship between the consciousness of the self and the liberation of black people in South Africa. Central to Biko's Black Consciousness movement was a call for black people to seek their own interpretations of their situation. Unconscious existence of a colonised people seems to lead to the "nervous condition" which Fanon (1963) suggests is maintained by the settler with the consent of the colonised people (p.17).

Without understanding how media, technology, and family members' everyday occupations enable and sustain the role of cultural domination in the complexification of the play rhetoric, the Gudanis will struggle to make sense of what and how to initiate changes that will promote child and family health. The inability of adults within the family to construct a coherent logic related to how children's play came to be what it is in the family, may not be unique to this family. Marginalised communities generally struggle to adequately discriminate 'cause' and 'effect' when attempting to make sense of their situations (Mathiason, 1972). This inability to organise reality into a coherent pattern, decipher causes of the problem, and consequently plan a solution is the source of powerlessness.

On the other hand, communities that are able to explain their situations are truly empowered. On her work within the Sarvodaya movement in Sri Lanka, Ariyaratne said: "We don't believe the global system can help the people…We help people to understand themselves and the situation they are in first" (Svensson & Jackson, 2002, p. 48). Given that many efforts to attain community empowerment fail worldwide, although this example is focused on economic development, it demonstrates very strongly that the most effective way starts with communities being able to make links between various factors in order to explain their situations. This explication of their collective situation gives communities the foundation from which to analyse how their situations engender distress, and to decide on action for change.When power and ideological dominance are central to communities' struggles, people need to be able to explicate how power has operated and continues to operate in their lives.

Occupational therapy practitioners taking an occupational justice approach to health must include in their practice efforts to increase people's awareness of socio-economic and political conditions that explain their lived realities, so that they can be active participants in their own doing, being and becoming (Wilcock, 2006). To be effective in doing this, the practitioners themselves will have to be politically competent (Pollard, Sakellariou & Kronenberg, 2009). Ability to respond to community needs that are invented politically requires an astute capacity to understand how power dynamics operate, as well as skill in engaging with people at different levels of the power differential.

With regard to children's play and the role the media and technology have played in bringing about change in the Gudani family, occupational consciousness will include understanding the pervasive impact of the socio-economic context. This is the context within which television (with its central role in the lives of the third generation) sends an unambiguous message: be a consumer (Pavlova, 2005). In this vein, 'watching and wanting' becomes a logical consequence of the current socio-economic climate. Money, which was not relevant in children's play during the first and second generations, suddenly becomes central. Duka and Mulisa, who are the most exposed to the message but also the least economically active, are in a vulnerable position. Watching and wanting things that are mostly unattainable has disturbing

consequences for children's well-being (Nairn *et al*., 2007), and carries serious implications for South African children in a society known for its unequal distribution of wealth.

Ultimately, occupational consciousness of children's play means a higher level of discernment and integration of information from the family and the environment to make sense of cross-generational transformations. When families cannot make these kinds of links, many communities within rapidly changing societies will increasingly become more vulnerable as younger generations' ways of being and doing radically transform, and traditional values are debased (Swader & Yuan, 2006). This is particularly so when agents of change introduce systems of knowledge external to the local milieu (Gilbert, 1997). An example of this is what Dad says about how the fear of dirt and disease introduced by Western education means children are now less willing to engage with the natural environment. In contrast, it is possible for old ways and values to not be debased, but rather creatively adapted (Swader & Yuan, 2006). Dislocations occur when people have no choice but are forced to engage in activities whose origins lie outside the local context (Gilbert, 1997). The extent to which these dislocations provide opportunities for creating new ways of thinking is mostly dependent on the power differentials between those involved, and whether marginalised communities have access to resources to enable their active participation.

In the course of constructing their own life stories, families can also influence communities' collective story-making. What may start off as matters of immediate concern for one family can extend into community interests, with long-term projections into the future. Communities can thus ask: "What will it be like here for our children, now preschoolers, by the time they are in high school? Will this be a good place to live?" (Boulding, 1983, p. 266). Boulding argues that it is social invention at this level that may prove most valuable to societies. A further critical question based on occupational consciousness is 'What should my actions be, if we are all to limit hegemonic influences that impact negatively on our children's futures?' For societies undergoing rapid social change this may be an appropriate way

to deal with such intimate challenges as feelings of disconnection from one's own offspring and their evolving stories.

8.8 Families alone cannot change the patterns: The role of media and education

Even though families are the grassroots of society wherein new social orders may emanate (Boulding, 1983), without supportive social institutions their influence will be limited. In South Africa, the State through its government departments and commissions and national research institutions, has initiated several projects aimed at effecting transformation at various levels. One such initiative is aimed at changing people's activity levels, specifically at schools, where the main goal is to include physical exercise in daily educational programmes. The ultimate intention is to create a more active South African society, and significant amounts of money and resources have been invested in this initiative. What the government has not yet done through its intermediaries and agencies is to understand what has successfully made communities less active, and how.

Findings from this research clearly identify particular institutions as having played significant roles in progressively robbing the third generation of significant influence from earlier generations as far as its play engagements (specifically games) are concerned. The church, schooling, and in particular the media and technology have all played a part. They provided a means for an important interface between foreign knowledge systems and local everyday practice – through which local knowledge and practices started to face their progressive demise.

It would be unrealistic to imagine that technology and the media could ever be removed from society - and this would also disregard the constructive role these agents of change play in society. The question is whether these agents can be effectively used to effect desired, focused change. Communications theory has suggested that mass media plays only a minor role in bringing about social change, at best only planting a seed of awareness or alerting individuals to a situation with which they must cope (Mathiason, 1972). However, a strong argument can be made that the

media play a powerful role. By focusing on political powerlessness among urban poor, Mathiason showed how the media could serve to alter cognitive criteria for processing information. Citing Johnson (1970), he indicated that soap operas depicting how ghetto people deal with social and institutional problems have had some success in altering social orientations and behaviour in minority areas of Los Angeles and Denver. What Mathiason found to be particularly powerful about soap operas is that rather than focusing on institutional perspectives of a phenomenon, they pay more attention to the viewpoint of the individual trying to make sense of his or her world. In South Africa this role of soap operas is slowly being recognised. *Isidingo*, for instance, regularly portrays challenges faced by the Matabanes as they straddle different cultures within a country in transition.

Helping people cope at individual level through the media does not mean that change cannot happen at bigger picture level as well. The Pili International Multimedia Company's 'digital video knights-errant puppetry' serials are an example of how media and technology can be used to reverse hegemonic trends usually started in the West (Silvio, 2007). A cultural genre unique to Taiwan, these serials illustrate how digital technologies established elsewhere can be absorbed within a different cultural milieu in a way that allows them to be exemplars of how globalisation could be envisioned. Through the specific manner in which they fuse digital technologies with a traditional Taiwanese art form, the Pili producers help create a picture of what globalisation could look like if Taiwan were in the driving seat.

Like the media, schooling plays an important part in changing society. Inkeles (1973), through his study of several developing countries where formal Western education was introduced, found that even though the schools themselves were deficient and the teachers often ill-equipped, pupils still did learn. In this case valued learning was restricted to those aspects of human development constituting 'modernity,' such as reading, writing, valuing science, and limiting the number of children a family should have. Children's cultural worlds are not exempt from such change. Edwards (2002) found that in Kenya, as communities adopted Western education children attending school increasingly displayed higher levels of playful aggression and competitive behaviour. Within the Gudani family, schooling was found to introduce concepts that

became integrated into all three generations' play engagements. Dad's reflection on the role Western education played in reducing the third generation's willingness to engage with the natural environment may be a strong example of the influence schooling has on what children do. Grandmother's account of what they were allowed or not allowed to do as part of play at school and who could be a teacher shows how schools during her time were ideologically complementary to the church. Because of overlapping practices, they served to ensure continuity in her exposure to dominant ideologies, guaranteeing that she and her friends from 'converted' families would see the Christian way of playing as the only acceptable one. During grandmother's time schooling therefore played a powerful role in assisting exogenous knowledge, which came through missionaries, to undermine local knowledge.

Can the same institution that helped further hegemonic cultural trends conceived of in the West be used for counter-hegemonic influences? Nayo's engagements within the Gudani family seem to suggest that this is possible. She is the only child who attended crèche and Grade R after the Education Department in South Africa had introduced indigenous games into the foundation phase of the schooling system. As she was observed to be the most active, it seems that exposure to these games might have provided her with a better repertoire to draw from. Certainly her age plays a role, and how she is able to maintain her level of activity into adolescence will indicate how much exposure at school can influence a child over time, especially against the background of television prominence in children's lives. Haste (2001) suggests that education can be a critical element of reinvention for developing countries aiming to set their own agendas. He also points out that as children in these nations grow, their participation in the community "is both a crucible and a mirror of such changes" (p. 375).

CHAPTER 9
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A key finding of this thesis is that across three generations in the Gudani family, the rhetoric of play shifted from being mainly about collective identity to being about idiosyncrasy, and variation, and has thus become more complex. Boundaries that define what counts as play have become increasingly blurred, with technology and the media appearing to be the most influential agents of change.

The powerful influence of social institutions in what becomes of children's play over time was pronounced in this study. Intact local institutions during the first and second generations' childhoods ensured strong continuities, particularly in games. Their breakdown or replacement as a consequence of rapid social change played a crucial role in the diminished presence of structured games in the third generation. Schooling alone as a social institution continued to influence children's games into the third generation. Of particular interest is that even as games became less frequent and more incidental in the third generation, they maintained some key elements. Games continued to display a distinct culture shared by those who frequently play together. Persistent game features such as the significance of numbers of players, animation, song, and non-literal language have continued. Community events have also remained important as occasions imbued with fun for children. Shifts in games across generations include evolving language and reflect the critical role played by schooling in influencing children's cultural spaces.

The diminished presence of structured games within the general repertoire of children's engagements in third generation paved the way for ambiguity in what constitutes play, especially for adults. Unstructured play, as well as the ever-expanding view into the globalized world through technology and the media, led to an unlimited scope to what play could be.

The story of children's play across three generations in the Gudani family is the story of family, and perhaps even of the community of which the Gudanis are part. Within the family, this story speaks of intertwined realities, interwoven sense-making, and

collective story-making. This collective story-making, at least as adults told stories about their childhoods in retrospect, seems coherent during the first and second generation. Rapid social change experienced during the third generation's upbringing led to the collective story being fragmented. Children and adults within one family were suddenly rendered unable to share collectively in orchestrating and authoring the family's unfolding play narrative. For adults this proved alienating, leaving them only able to judge the third generation as no longer engaging in real play, and essentially 'lost.' This intergenerational disconnection also rendered adults unable to play a facilitatory role in their own children's play engagements. The story of children's play, being also the story of family and maybe society, therefore signals anomie, bringing with it feelings of disorientation and possibly powerlessness.

In this study occupational consciousness emerged as a concept holding potential for realizing an occupational justice approach to health. With its roots grounded within political consciousness, and particularly Black Consciousness as espoused by Steve Biko (1978), occupational consciousness highlights the need for individuals and communities facing occupational injustices to find their own interpretations for their situation based on an understanding of how cultural domination operates, and how they may be sustaining hegemonic influences through their own actions.

9.1 Recommendations

There are a number of possible actions that can be pursued to address issues raised in this research. These recommendations are aimed at different stakeholders interested in enabling meaningful play among children. These include educators and researchers interested in furthering our understanding of how families and communities can understand what their children's play engagements are and are evolving into, or maybe even play an active role in informing change.

9.1.1 Recommendations for future research

Findings from this research were based on an in-depth study of one family, as a single case. Much of what was speculated on beyond the family, into the local community and even society, is merely tentative. The single case study in this instance served as an exemplar, from which much was learnt about how change occurs in children's play across generations in one family in the context of rapid social change, and how the family as a whole might experience this.

There are two avenues of research that can now be immediately followed: other families in the same context can be recruited to be studied as single case studies, to test how much they share similar trends. Information from the two families initially included in this study, but put aside due to its volume, will be analysed. The only cautionary note here is that of paramount value is the unique story that each family has to tell, comparative analysis playing only a secondary role. The second research avenue is quantitative in nature, where different aspects of what emerged from the current study can be tested at broader community and societal levels. Examples include the following:

1) Investigating use of out-of-school time by pre-teens;
2) Plotting the prominence of television and cell phone technology in children's lives;
3) Measuring the amount of soap opera as well as cartoon content watched by pre-teens;
4) Gauging adult sentiment on children's play engagements;

5) Investigating parents' level of awareness with regard to their children's play engagements; and
6) Investigating parents' sense of efficacy in influencing their children's play engagements.

Informed by data from examples of quantitative research above, participatory action research at community level could be the next step. After sharing the findings with different stakeholders within a community, a focus group could drive action-led research aimed at responding to community-identified needs. It is envisioned that through the focus group, occupational consciousness around children's play could be explored further.

9.1.2 Recommendations for occupational therapy practice

Theoretical frameworks on children's play have not yet taken an intergenerational perspective in articulating factors that enable or act as barriers to play. Part of this stems from the fact that the interactional nature between adults and their children during play has never been the focus (Davies, 2007). When this is addressed, both the adult and the child may benefit in ways that enable further and meaningful engagement.

What emerged strongly from this study is that through rapid social change and shifting rhetorics of play, adults may feel alienated from children's engagements. Technology and the media have introduced new ways of engagements into children's worlds that are not always accessible to adults. This is accompanied by values coming mostly from the West, which often strip the local context of long-standing traditions. Compounding the situation is the lack of reflection within families and communities on factors bringing about change in children's play and how these operate, as well as how this process impacts on individual and collective well-being.

An occupational justice approach to practice is imperative if all these issues are going to be addressed. Creating reflective spaces for adults to reminisce on their own childhood play seems to be a powerful point from which to start, when aiming to

address dissatisfaction or puzzlement around children's engagements. As observed in this research, these spaces allow adults to contrast their own childhood engagements against current play possibilities, prompting them to confront the change that might have occurred. Through this process, rapid social change and its consequences become an explanation for possible feelings of disorientation or alienation, the cause of which may not have been exposed before. The political dimension of what makes it possible for local knowledge and traditions to be replaced by external values and practices should not be avoided. From this point onwards, individuals, groups or communities can decide for themselves what needs to be done, seeking assistance where necessary.

This kind of practice was piloted with aftercare staff at Grandparents Against Poverty and Aids (GAPA) in Khayelitsha, Western Cape, South Africa. The occupational therapist working with the staff approached me, indicating that she had been unsuccessful in getting the staff to see themselves as enablers of play for children. She indicated that although a programme with activities was drawn up, this was never implemented. On consulting with her further, she admitted that she had prescribed the activities on the programme informed mainly by her understanding of developmental needs for the age-groups cared for by the aftercare centre. She invited me to work with her and the carers in putting together a programme which carers would implement.

The first workshop held with the carers was to give them space to reminisce on their own childhood play engagements. The process was mainly led by the carers themselves, and was filled with nostalgia but also a realisation that their childhoods had many similarities in spite of their various places of origin. During the second workshop, carers began to contrast their childhood experiences against current play possibilities for children. Framing play within the seven rhetorics of play (Sutton-Smith, 1997) introduced a political dimension into the discussions. For example, carers were able to see how the rhetoric of play as development was imposed on what they traditionally valued play for. An emphasis on play activities that were directly linked to schooling had led to an undervaluing of activities they grew up with, which professionals often knew very little about. The rhetoric of play as identity resonated

very strongly with what they saw their play engagements to have been about. They also began to understand how a number of their childhood games fostered development in many ways. Further workshops were aimed at getting these kinds of insights into structured play activities, where the carers will be central in planning and implementation.

Given the hegemonic influence that social institutions potentially hold, it is suggested in this study that the same agents could be utilised to help families and communities, once enabled to correlate undesirable change in children's play to relevant factors, to effect the change they may wish for. Practitioners need to engage with what education, the media and technology bring into children's worlds. As far as games are concerned, for instance, this study showed how schooling was critical in helping maintain some of the key elements across the three generations. Grandmother's family also used the church to influence most of what her childhood games were about. Families may need to be reminded of the power they hold in the choice of institutions they ultimately allow their children to associate with, to the extent that children find value in the same institutions.

Where change at an institutional level has begun to occur, occupational therapy practice must play a supportive role. With the introduction of indigenous games in the foundation phase of education, occupational therapists working with children of this age group should be tapping from such games in their use of play as ends or means within the therapeutic space. Occupational therapists should also be involved in advocating for children's safety against exposure to sexual and violent content through media and technology. Practitioners should also be involved in developing parents' technological and media literacies for them to be better equipped to monitor their children's engagements. These skills would also promote parents' participation or facilitatory role in their children's play activities. A parent able to understand how a particular technology works is more likely to join his or her child in engaging with it. Parents who frequently participate with their children in activities are in a better position to regulate access when issues of safety emerge.

The notion of occupational consciousness introduced in the current study highlights individuals' own contribution to furthering hegemonic practices. Occupational consciousness may be a state that precedes the ability to access occupational justice as defined by Wilcock (2006). Although Wilcock mentions the need for communities to have awareness in relation to occupational justice, it is unclear what it is that these communities need to be aware of. In her examples of practices that seek to advance occupational justice, she highlights the importance of providing communities with education about the relationship between what they do and their health, as has been shown through occupation-based community projects and research run by the Australasian Occupational Science Centre at the University of Woolongong. Occupational consciousness seems to call for complementary action by occupational therapists as they educate communities on the relationship between what they do and their own health. Individuals and communities need to be able to explicate how instances of occupational injustice come about, particularly their own contribution in perpetuating hegemonic ideologies and practices through what they choose to engage in that is brought about by technology and the media.

9.1.3 Recommendations for occupational therapy education

Given that occupational therapy is a Western, imported profession that largely draws from Eurocentric values and views of occupation, it is imperative that indigenous and local knowledge begins to inform curriculum content if practice is to reflect the recommendations outlined above. An important step would be to strengthen the occupation focus of occupational therapy curricula in South Africa.

Although a relatively new discipline within South Africa, occupational science seems to have much to offer in this country. Due to the legacy of apartheid, which promoted a view of Africans as primitive and inferior, indigenous knowledge and practices were undermined. As a profession in South Africa, occupational therapy has not yet embarked on dedicated efforts to study diverse ways of doing that are culturally informed. Alongside anthropology, occupational science offers a unique contribution in that it allows for micro- and macro-analyses of what people do.

Indigenous knowledge systems and their protection is a key area within government institutions, including research funding bodies. Universities would do well to introduce modules or whole postgraduate programmes offering occupational science wherein "the form, function and meaning" (Zemke & Clark, 1996, p. vii) of occupations across diverse societies in South Africa is studied. This may be an important key to drawing students from South Africa's diverse populations, a challenge for all occupational therapy programmes in the country. A diverse student profile stands a better chance of driving curricula that are responsive to different population needs, capacities and occupational trends.

The notion of occupational consciousness calls for occupational therapy graduates that can engage with individuals or communities who experience occupational injustice as a result of cultural domination or other hegemonic influences, in a manner that helps them make the necessary links, including the role of their own participation in advancing the same hegemonic practices. Such graduates require a high level of political competence in order to understand how power operates, as well as astute and sensitive ways of asking probing questions that allow individuals to arrive at appropriate conclusions themselves, and that should not allow communities to feel blamed for their own circumstances.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Researchers' personal stances

Accounts on both the experience of play and assumptions were continuously revisited and reflected on.

A. Researcher's Experience of Childhood Play

1. As a child

I spent my first eight years (1970 to 1978) as a child in a township called Mamelodi East, just outside Pretoria (Now called Tshwane). I am the last-born and the only girl in a family of four children. My eldest brother is 20 years older than I, second one 10 years older, and the third one 3 years older. My father was 50 years old when I was born, and my mother 43. I was what in Afrikaans is called a 'laat lammetjie'.

My first recollection of play is with a number of girls from the same street as our house. I must have been very young as I remember carrying a baby bottle in my hand. I cannot remember what kind of play I was engaged in at that time. I just remember coming back into the yard from the street, with my friends behind me, and feeling quite content.

As I grew up, I maintained the same group of friends, whose parents were friends of mine. My friends were Keagile; Mabel; Joyce; and Fridah. Mabel and Joyce are sisters. I remember that I was discouraged from playing with boys, particularly by my brother, Thabelo. He is the one that is 3 years older than I am. He would play with me alone only if his friends were not there. I remember playing soccer and throwing the tennis against the wall (A variety of squash although we did not know this at the time). He always won. Thabelo and I always had plenty of tennis balls because my Dad would pick up 'stray' balls from the university were he worked as a gardener. He sometimes brought equipment we did not know how to use. One of them was a tourniquet, including the bats.

As a group, we never played at Keagile's place. She, her sister and her Mom stayed with their grandparents whom we regarded as very strict. They also had a big house. All our houses were the 'so-called' matchbox houses. We probably would have laughed if anyone told us this during those days. To us they seemed big enough. We played at my house, Mabel's, Fridah's, and sometimes at Mamma Mapatjie's house. By my 'house' I really mean the yard. We were never allowed to play inside the house. There was very little space to play in the house anyway. I do not remember ever wanting to play in the house. At my house we were never allowed to play on the 'stoep'. My Mom would complain that we were making it dirty. Only Mamma Mapatjie did not mind for us to play on her stoep.

Mamma Mapatjie did not have a daughter, only sons. There were three of them. I sometimes played with Eric, the youngest one. He was the only boy no one seemed to mind for me to play with. Our families were very close. Our parents belonged to the same community organizations, mostly, and often planned functions together.

At my house we played on the lawn, on the concrete and the cement driveway (Funny to call it this because we did not own a car), and we climbed trees. Our yard had the most trees in the whole street. We had mostly fruit trees. The two peach trees in the front yard were the easiest to climb. I remember really enjoying climbing the trees. We also played Hide –and –seek, Masikitlane (A game where you enact social situations using stones); 'Tennis' (A game where you bounce a tennis ball between your legs without hitting them or letting the ball go; Diketo (Throwing a stone up in the air while counting out stones from inside a circle); and Mgunu (A variety of patterns with some similarities to hopscotch). I was very good at Masikitlane. I would play for hours, with my friends as the audience. I also enjoyed listening and watching the as story unfolded when one of my other friends played. Another related play activity we had was ' War movies'. It involved using plastic soldiers as actors behind a candle and a sheet. What the audience would see would be shadows cast on the sheet, and they would hear the 'director's many voices as he directs and plays different actors. Thabelo was very good at this. He would sometimes charge a small amount for a show.

By today's standards, we had very few toys. They seemed adequate then. Thabelo had a bicycle and I a tricycle. It was very unusual for kids to have these. I must say it was quite something for my family to think it was important for us to have toys, as our socioeconomic status was just average compared to families around us. Thabelo also had a couple of cars. I had two dolls during the time we were in Mamelodi. Because the other kids did not often have these things, my Mom discouraged us from taking these toys out when our friends were around. Except for the bicycle and the tricycle, playing with the toys was a lonely affair. We were at least allowed to ride the bicycle up and down the street, taking turns with our friends. I could understand why my Mom would not let us take the toys out while our friends where there. It would be like showing off. Getting things damaged was also a real worry. That is what happened to my first doll. It was a white doll. It was not possible during those times to get a black doll – it was not even something one would expect of shops to make available. It is still not possible today to find a black doll that looks like a real person.

I loved my white doll. What was particularly special about it was that on being tipped backwards, it gave a 'real' cry. We had family visitors soon after I got the doll. They had a son, whom I showed the doll to. He unfortunately, probably out of curiosity, decided to pull the doll apart! I was devastated to say the least. My doll was never able to cry from that day.

I got a second doll, a nice 'cushion' type doll, from my mother's madam. I kept this doll for a very long time.

The other place we played often was on the street. There were not many cars then. I do not remember ever feeling in danger of being run over. We played many group games on the street. I do not remember being particularly good at games including running and catching the ball. I do not remember being left out of a team, though. The games we played on the street included Mgushe (Skipping in different manners, with an accompanying song, across old stockings suspended between two people); and Rounders (A variety of games with similarities to cricket).

There are two other places I remember playing at. The river, and a wasteland between the end of our township and the railway station. I remember playing at these two places only once. I know why we never went back to the river. I got a nasty deep cut under my right foot and my Mom made it very clear that I was not to ever go back. That was a pity, because I remember the adventurous mood we were in that day. We went out to 'hunt' for anything we could find. In the end, we did not catch anything, just me and a big cut under my foot. I recall on coming back, trying to hide the injury from my Mom. Unfortunately, the red bloody mark I made with every step gave me away. What a pity we could not go back to the river! Talking about the cut makes me remember that we were often bare-foot when we went out playing.

I do not remember why we never went back to the wasteland. I remember being there only once actually. We had a great time playing 'house', with older girls as our 'moms'. We built our 'houses' using grass. We also cooked! Our 'mothers' sent us to our real houses to ask for things to include in our recipes. I remember the play activity as one of very few that we played as a big group, including kids from another street.

Another such event was 'the wedding'. I do not remember how I came to be the bride. I remember being pampered in my role. We of course had to have boys as there had to be a groom and the best man. There was also parent involvement, as they ululated and danced around us, as the procession moved along the street. That is the last memory I have of my playing in Mamelodi.

Venda was quite different. The first thing I remember is the vastness of space. Our family yard seemed huge. It also offered many opportunities to get 'lost' in a fantasy world. Times after harvest were one of the best. We would build huts using dried maize plants, and look for harvest leftovers to 'provide' for our 'families'. Although we played mostly as girls, boys, mostly younger, were included. What we also had during these times were long evenings sitting around the fire as a whole family. Usually we would be eating roasted nuts and popcorn – from real maize, very hard to pop and chew. Accompanying this would be storytelling and the sharing of jokes. I remember these as fun-filled evenings, with lots of laughter.

The driveway was also much wider. There were also many more trees to climb, a variety. A number of them where those found already on the plot, when we moved there. Most of the games we played on the driveway were similar to the ones we played in Mamelodi, with slight variations. What I imported was Masikitlane, which became a hit! I gained many friends through playing this to my friends. I do not remember ever playing with dolls in Venda. What I also remember is how our playing happened amidst house chores that I took more of, as I grew older. As we went to fetch water, collect dung, collared soil and wood, we played. I cannot remember what we actually played, but I remember making fun of situations around us, and telling each other fun stories.

There were also lots of mischief and dares. I recall one particular day we decided to help ourselves to mangoes from some trees that were said to belong to an unfriendly old man. To discourage theft, the old man had placed snakeskin shedding at strategic points along many of the mango trees. We decided to climb the trees anyway. The unfortunate thing for me was that I was stung by a wasp during my climb. Within minutes, my one eye was swollen closed. I looked such a funny sight; my friends could net help but tumble over each other, laughing. Even though I was in pain for a while, I could eventually join in with the laughing. When we speak of the 'good old days' with my old friends today, this event is one of those that put us in a fit of laughter.

A particularly fun event was going to the river to do washing. This was a whole day affair as the rivers were far. The one river we frequented, Mbwedi was approximately 5 km away, and we had to go through two mountains. We set off in the morning, usually just before sunrise. About three families would coordinate and take the trips together. We children would walk in front, often making sure we leave the adults behind, giving us plenty of time to play in the river before the adults arrived. At some point during the washing, especially while waiting for the clothes to dry, we would swim. There were games associated with swimming including diving, 'Tshinwi' – where one goes under water and others count to see how long one would hold their breath, and 'Bune la madini' – Hide and seek in the water. The last game was very popular and would be played by many people. There were also other games that we

played on the vast grounds surrounding the river. A favourite was 'Tjaka'. This is played almost exactly like cricket, using a tennis ball and fists instead of bats.

Opportunities to play dwindled over time, as more time was taken over by increasing demands at school, while continuing to contribute to chores at home. My Mom, as I look at it now, struggled to reconcile these demands, as she felt pressured not to 'spoil' me as the only daughter, but to ensure that I was prepared to fulfil the roles of being a mother and a wife one day.

2) As an occupational therapist

I went into paediatric occupational therapy immediately after graduation in 1992, by default. I received a service bursary from the former Venda 'Bantustan' administration. On qualifying, a post was created at Tshilidzini School for Special Education. I worked there for three years, mainly with children with cerebral palsy, before leaving for North America. While in America, I worked mostly in mainstream education, with children with barriers to learning. I worked there for two years.

During the five years of clinical practice, I used play mainly to reach therapeutic gains. This is how I understood my role, and the institutions I worked within encouraged it.

I only became to appreciate play as a therapeutic goal in its own right, while studying towards an MSc in occupational therapy. Part of the curriculum was a module on human occupation. In joining the University of Cape Town, as a lecturer, I had taken a direction out of clinical practice. I however continued to look for opportunities to work as a clinician.

In 1999, I started getting involved at an outpatients' clinic at Groote Schuur Hospital. The clinic was set-up to provide follow-up care for children living with HIV/Aids. The initial push was for an occupational therapy that investigated and plotted a developmental profile of the children.

Luckily, it did not take me long to realize that even though important, normal development should not be the emphasis in what I contribute to the clinic. This realization came as I noticed how little children in the clinic appeared playful. They would make little effort to engage with their environment, and received, mostly, no encouragement from the caregivers, especially those children that were with their biological mothers. Exploring the reasons for this, and intervening as required to enable play engagement, became the focus of my contribution. There were times when I worried that I was not doing what was expected of me. A quote from one mother, helped lessen this concern. She said, "I get it. When my child plays, she looks happy. And when she is happy, I am happy"

This led me to believe very strongly in that most children with HIV/Aids could be at risk of occupational deprivation. This awareness was brought on by an appreciation of play as the main occupation of childhood, as occupational science has increasingly impressed upon us. I became increasingly concerned with children who are affected, in the community. The quote above made me also appreciate how play could have an impact on both the well-being of the child, as well as that of the mother.

This led on to a project in the communities of Gugulethu, Nyanga and Crossroads, geared at exploring caregiver-child interaction and play, and to intervene as required. The project was funded by Secure the Future, of Bristol, Myers and Squibb. The reason that there was a place to pursue this project was affirmed by what another mother said in the end, "Seeing my child play, has helped me find my son again, and has helped me rediscover my role as a mother".

During the workshops that my partner, and I Peliwe Mdlokolo ran, I became aware of the different ways caregivers of different ages viewed play. When asked whether a child that is sick should play or not, there was a difference of opinions. The older caregivers, who were mostly grandparents, voiced that it was important for a child to play regardless of level of sickness. One grandmother indicated that the body, just like that of an adult, knows when to lie down so that if a child who had been lying from not feeling well suddenly wanted to join others in play, it was an indication that the body could cope with it. The adult had no right to stop the child. Younger caregivers,

who were mostly biological mothers to the children, were mostly adamant that a child who was sick should not play, stating reasons that included; “The child needs to be protected from bad winds” and “The child needs to rest”. It was also older caregivers who brought up the notion of playfulness, although that is not what they called it. One such caregiver spoke of how play does not always involve running around, but also giggling. Older caregivers also saw themselves as having an active role in enabling play in a child.

This observation in the way play is viewed differently across the two generations is what sparked the interest to pursue this research on the evolution of play across generations, exploring factors that influence the change, and the feelings, thoughts and perceptions associated with the change.

Other events have encouraged the researcher to continue with the research. One will be detailed here. The first one happened at a home for abandoned children. On one of my visits there a seven-year-old boy had just arrived from a very poor wine - farming community. His parents, who were farm workers, were alcohol dependent and could not adhere to a TB treatment he had been placed on. On this first day of his stay, the boy was invited to join others for a toy library visit. I went with.

The experience of watching this boy in the toy library left me quiet disturbed. For a child who was familiar with half the contents in the library, this was probably like visiting a ‘fantasy’ world. The children were left to engage with whatever they found appealing in the room, with the adults making sure they take turns as needed, use the toys safely, and do not hurt each other. Toys included video game machines, dollhouses, ‘fantasy’ clothing, dolls and doll clothes, cars and such like things. All the other children seemed to get on all right even though I noted that a number were not using the toys conventionally (Of course not a problem for me), regardless of age.

It was almost painful to watch the seven-year-old boy. He kept moving from one toy to another, barely staying for more than 30 seconds at each point. His manner of approach to the toys was also atypical, almost needing to touch everything, and bang whatever he wanted to examine lightly against the floor. His facial expression all the

time was difficult for me to read. I could not tell whether he was subdued or just plain nonchalant. Given his physical effort to approach everything, it was worrying that his facial expression did not match the apparent curiosity.

At the end of the session I spent some time with the staff member that had planned the library visit. Her tentative assessment of the boy was that he was showing distractibility, and could have an attention deficit disorder. I shared my reflections and offered that given his circumstances at home and possible unfamiliarity with the toys in the library, it was more probable that the boy was overwhelmed. I suggested that before a firm diagnosis was made, it was crucial that information regarding his play behavior at home, as well as on what would be familiar to play with for him, be gathered. On reflecting on this event further I was struck by how easy it is to stick children with labels, while we as therapists should actually confront the fact that we often know very little about where the children we work with come from. It is highly likely that the seven year old was demonstrating one form of occupational alienation, defined by Townsend and Wilcock (2004) as the experience of meaninglessness in engagement. What is even painful to acknowledge is that unless the boy is asked about his experience, it may never be known exactly to what extent the experience was unpleasant to him, maybe even detrimental.

This experience has also helped me reflect on what I do during the opportunity I have to interact with children as an occupational therapist. This is mostly in my continuing involvement at the outpatients' clinic mentioned above, also called the kidzpositive clinic. I have had to look closely at what, in trying to encourage play, I bring to the setting, as well as how best to gather information regarding opportunities and the nature of play, from where the children come.

An interesting point to bring up is that it took a colleague, who later became my husband, Frank Kronenberg, who allows himself to think beyond boundaries, for me to feel comfortable with being known as the ‘one who plays with the children’ or being asked by a child, ‘when are we going to play?’ in the clinic. I struggled for a while with the need to portray the ‘serious’, and ‘professional’ façade while ‘consulting’ with a caregiver, assessing performance components needed for play

engagement, or facilitating transitional movements during play. Frank visited us at the kidzpositive clinic, and through his ability to enable truly enjoyable play with groups of children; I realized that I could be limiting what could be achieved in the children's play behavior. In addition to consulting with caregivers, and doing what needs to be done with individual children, I have started to provide space for children to engage together in a group. This has been a lot of fun, also providing a lot of fun for the staff and caregivers who sometimes join. A critical question I have started asking myself is, in striving to appear 'serious', or 'professional', was I serving the child?

B. Assumptions

- Play is a fundamental need for a child
- Play is fun filled
- Children know when they are engaged in play
- Play does not necessarily require bought toys
- Play is valued for different reasons in different cultures
- There are gender differences in the nature of play children engage in.
- Play is seen as an important part of growing up in Vhavenda culture
- Parents within the Vhavenda culture expect children to engage in play, without necessarily providing structurally for it
- Play within Vhavenda families has changed over time
- Older generations had more opportunities for play engagement compared to now.
- Varied experiences of play exist in rural areas, though mostly embedded within household chores
- Changes within play are influenced by amongst other factors, Western education and religion, and technology
- The structure, essence, nature, role and meaning of play continue to change
- Play in the past, used to require more physical activity

Appendix II: Glossary for some of the Non-English Terms

***Aa*!** – a greeting in *Tshivenda,* said by females. Also used as a respectful manner of asking, 'What?

Ba Tsonga – People who speak Shi – Tsonga or Shangaan. They share their lineage with Zulu-speaking people. Due to civil strife led by Shaka Zulu, a section of the Zulu's went into Mozambique for refuge. Some groupings from this original group immigrated back into South Africa, settling near Vhavenda in the early 19th century

Boers- Afrikaans speaking white farmers. They are descendents of mainly the Dutch people who settled in South Africa after 1652.

Domba – also called "The Snake dance", is part of the initiation of Venda maidens where they are taught cultural mores including how to look after a husband, and family. Danced in traditional clothing that covers mainly the loin area, maidens stand behind each other, interlock their arms by holding each others elbows, creating a 'caterpillar' formation, and dance to a beating drum, swirling their arms, mimicking the snake movement.

Dzata – first and second royal kingdoms of the *Singo* after they had crossed the Limpopo or *Vhembe* River.

Gulukunwa – a game where players hold hands forming a long train, and then go under a tower (Made up of two players who stand opposite each other with their arms held up, and holding hands). As the train passes through the tower, the last player is 'detained', and asked a question which entails choosing between two options. Depending on the answer, the detained player has to stand behind either of the two players forming the tower. '*Gulukunwa'* is accompanied by a song which narrates how a big animal swallows children one after another. After all players from the train have been captured and allocated to the players forming the tower, the two groups would then play tug-of-war.

Hola – an exclamation often indicating a player or dancer enjoying their own performance, or vicarious participation

Inti…inti danda – no literal translation in the local language

Khube - an evening game played around the fire. The main player hides an object, often a seed, in one of their hands, and other players have to guess which hand it is.

Ulu – a game played mostly by girls where two players stand opposite each other, about two metres apart, inside a circular strand of wool or old panti-house. The wool or panti-house strand sits anywhere from the ankles to the waist of the two players, while other players jump to a song while they make patterns by wrapping the strand around their legs.

Madevhu - a version of *Tag*, played on trees, possible only where trees interlock like in the jungle. The *Tagged* player has to chase other players from tree to tree, with no player allowed to touch the ground. This requires the players to have the ability to swing on branches in order to jump from one tree to another.

Malende - Traditional dance where people sit in a circle and take turns to dance to a drum, accompanied by song and hand-clapping. The songs are often satirical commentary on everyday events. Danced mostly by women in settings where people indulge in drinking traditional beer, both males and children are not excluded from participating, mainly as spectators or accompaniment to singing and clapping.

Mahundwan*e* – a play form that appears to have disappeared during the late 1960s. With some characteristics to 'playing house', this play form however has very distinct features. It was seasonal, played during winter as maize was being harvested, and livestock could be left alone to roam grazing land. During this time there would be dried maize stalks available to build 'pretend' homes. Some crop would be left behind intentionally in the fields so that children could forage, in order to use as food in their 'pretend' households. Much of what happened at *Mahundwane* mimicked ordinary life, including a political system with chiefs and elders to preside over judicial

matters. While children would sleep-over at *Mahundwane* for the whole season in earlier days, this changed with time and children went to everyday from home. Although in its description *Mahundwane* may sound like a camp, those who participated in it talk about 'playing *Mahundwane*'.

Masikitlane - A game where players enact social situations using stones. One or more stories that are intertwined usually unfold with the stones playing different characters.

Mikonde - patterns made with cooked maize meal or corn meal as it is served on a plate. This is an elaborate art form requiring skill, as the maize meal used to cook would often be very fine, and so would be the consistency of the cooked mixture. Mothers took pride over how well their daughters could create these patterns, also called '*Phethwa*'.

Matataisane – part of a lyric to a song accompanying a game. It has no literal meaning but sounds like a derivative of 'u tataisa', which means to bid someone farewell.

Misevhetho – plural for *Musevhetho,* an initiation process for pubescent girls, brought into *Vhavenda* by *Ba-Tsonga*.

Mufuvha - A variant of board games played with seeds on a wooden table or the ground. Traditionally played by men, both young and old.

Mungona – Singular for *Vhangona*

Mvelaphonda – name of newspaper and means 'Progress'

Phangami – a person tasked with starting *Tshikona,* a traditional dance, much like a conductor of a choir would do. In *Tshikona, Phangami* would be the first person to stand up in order to enthuse the ensemble into starting the music and dance.

Phethwa - patterns made with cooked maize meal or corn meal as it is served on a plate. This is an elaborate art form requiring skill, as the maize meal used to cook would often be very fine, and so would be the consistency of the cooked mixture. Mothers took pride over how well their daughters could create these patterns, also called '*Mikonde*'.

Salungano – accompaniment to folk story telling, said by the audience. The storyteller says "*Salungano, Salungano*" to indicate the beginning of a folk-tale. Intermittently, as the story continues, the storyteller will say '*Zwino*', which means 'Now', to which the audience would respond by saying, '*Salungano'*.

Thedelie - a game involving sliding down a slope from a hill. Players sometimes pour water over the slope to make the slope slippery in order to facilitate the sliding. Also called '*Tserere*'.

T*hwasa* – a term with *Nguni* (Linguistic root for Zulu, Isixhosa, Ndebele) origins, describes a process undergone by individuals being initiated into becoming traditional healers.

'***Tikili ga'*** – part of a lyric to a song accompanying a game.

Tserere - a game involving sliding down a slope from a hill. Players sometimes pour water over the slope to make the slope slippery in order to facilitate the sliding. Also called '*Thedelie*'

Tshidimela – literally means 'Train', and involves players picking other players one at a time, holding hands to form a long train. It is accompanied by a song '*Tshidimela haka matorokisi, haka!*' which means, 'Train, pick up a carriage, pick up!'

Tshikona - a traditional dance, mostly participated in by men, and involves blowing horns, reeds or pipes, accompanied by a drum. This dance is often performed at formal events related to the Kingdom or chieftainship.

Tshikutu – a card game where cards are laid out face down in a circle with players picking one at a time, and revealing the card by placing it face up in the middle of the circle. A tagged card, usually an 'Ace', once picked up would mean the player would have to collect the pile of cards accumulated in the middle. Once the circle is depleted, all players with cards in their hands will then try to out play each other by taking turns to stack another pile, making sure whatever card they place on the pile does not match the one on top. On condition that the player cannot avoid this, having only cards that are similar to the one on top left in their hands, they would have to collect the accumulated pile. The loser is thus left with '*Tshikutu*', the pile of cards at the end of the game.

Tshifase - a play-form to which dance is central. Played by both boys and girls under the moonlight, with a lot of dancing and singing. Players would make a circle, inviting anyone to dance in the middle. Whoever is dancing in the middle had the privilege of picking a dance partner from the group. The 'couple' would then dance in the middle, accompanied by song and clapping from the rest of the group. It was understood that the dancer in the middle would choose a girl or boy they fancied, although skill at dance would be often be an advantage. Sometimes dance groups across different villages would hold competitions and the best dance troupe would be selected. This play form is also called '*Tshinzerere*'.

Tshinzerere - a play-form to which dance is central. Played by both boys and girls under the moonlight, with a lot of dancing and singing. Players would make a circle, inviting anyone to dance in the middle. Whoever is dancing in the middle had the privilege of picking a dance partner from the group. The 'couple' would then dance in the middle, accompanied by song and clapping from the rest of the group. It was understood that the dancer in the middle would choose a girl or boy they fancied, although skill at dance would be often be an advantage. Sometimes dance groups across different villages would hold competitions and the best dance troupe would be selected. This play form is also called '*Tshifase*'.

Tshivenda – the native *Vhavenda* language

Voortrekkers - Pioneers, mainly of Dutch descent, who emigrated from the Cape Colony into the interior of present day South Africa during the 1830s and 1840s, the time at which the British had taken over the administration of the Colony (Kirkaldy, 2005).

Xe – exclamation for shock, surprise or amusement

Appendix III: University Research Ethics Review Committee Approval

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

Research Ethics Committee
E53 Room 44.1, Old Main Building Groote
Schuur Hospital, Observatory, 7925
Queries : Xolile Fula
Tel : (021) 406-6492 Fax: 406-6411
E-mail : Xfula@curie.uct.ac.za

20 July 2004

REC REF: 302/2004

Ms EL Ramugondo
Health and Rehabilitation Sciences

Dear Ms Ramugondo

THE EVOLUTION OF CHILDHOOD PLAY ACROSS THREE GENERATIONS, WITHIN ONE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIGENOUS GROUP

Thank you for submitting your study to the Research Ethics Committee for reviewal.

It is a pleasure to inform you that the Research Ethics Committee has formally approved the above mentioned study.

Please quote the REC. REF in all your correspondence

Yours sincerely

PROF T ZABOW
CHAIRPERSON

Appendix IV: Tree nodes on Mulisa's singing

NVivo revision 2.0.163

Project: FamilyC~REAL 6 User: Administrator Date: 2008/02/19 - 11:19:57 AM

NODE LISTING

Nodes in Set: All Tree Nodes

Created: 2008/01/24 - 04:41:38 PM

Modified: 2008/01/24 - 04:41:38 PM

Number of Nodes: 10242

1 (1) /T sings as she does chores
2 (1 1) /T sings as she does chores/Dz support T singing - Kitchen
3 (1 37) /T sings as she does chores/T sings Doo bee dooo fr kitchen Back
4 (1 40) /T sings as she does chores/T sings fr kitchen
5 (1 41) /T sings as she does chores/T sings fr kitchen w intonation
6 (1 42) /T sings as she does chores/T sings from kitchen
7 (1 43) /T sings as she does chores/T sings from kitchen aft B S S
8 (1 45) /T sings as she does chores/T sings in kitch - English Gospel
9 (1 46) /T sings as she does chores/T sings in Kitch-cld b gospel
10 (1 48) /T sings as she does chores/T sings Kwaito fr kitchen
11 (1 49) /T sings as she does chores/T sings longer English fr Kitchen
12 (1 63) /T sings as she does chores/Back - T sing as collect tap water
13 (1 66) /T sings as she does chores/Balloo D & K - T sing fr kitchen
14 (1 74) /T sings as she does chores/Days - T sing in kitch
15 (1 80) /T sings as she does chores/Freakin - T sings R'nB style fr kitc
16 (1 88) /T sings as she does chores/Muvhango - T sing fr kitch - short
17 (2) /T sings as play
18 (2 1) /T sings as play/T - sing is play 4 me because I love
19 (2 2) /T sings as play/T - sing is play as we give it time
20 (2 3) /T sings as play/T - often I sing w D, I feel it's pl
21 (2 5) /T sings as play/T - often I sing w D, it's play
22 (2 6) /T sings as play/T - what I play & love most is sing
23 (2 7) /T sings as play/T - what I play & enjoy most is sing
24 (3) /T sings often
25 (3 1) /T sings often/T sing - Be what u are - diaper ad
26 (3 2) /T sings often/T sing 3 differ songs in succession
27 (3 3) /T sings often/T sing along - Be what u are - diape
28 (3 4) /T sings often/T sing along diaper ad - 1st part
29 (3 5) /T sings often/T sings with days in background
30 (3 6) /T sings often/T sing along Ellerines jingle
31 (3 7) /T sings often/T sing along eTv jingle
32 (3 8) /T sings often/T sing along Sibongile Khumalo - Jok

(3 9) /T sings often/T sing along Sibongile Khumalo - J 2
(3 10) /T sings often/T sing along Sibongile Khumalo - J 3
(3 11) /T sings often/T sing Doo bee fr kitchen Backstage
(3 12) /T sings often/T sing Get down on it xtreme well
(3 13) /T sings often/T sing initial part Get down on it
(3 14) /T sings often/T sing initial part Get down on it 2
(3 15) /T sings often/T sing Get down on it xtreme well 2
(3 16) /T sings often/T sing pop like jingle 2 cartoon
(3 17) /T sings often/T sing Sibongile Khumalo - Joko ad
(3 18) /T sings often/T sing then compromise re garage pla
(3 19) /T sings often/T sing then offers compromise re gar
(3 20) /T sings often/T singing in background
(3 21) /T sings often/T sings
(3 22) /T sings often/T sings ~We are the World' from kitc
(3 23) /T sings often/T sings 3 different songs in success
(3 24) /T sings often/T sings a kho tetemedza ipfi
(3 25) /T sings often/T sings along ad
(3 26) /T sings often/T sings along advert jingle
(3 27) /T sings often/T sings along advert jingle 2
(3 28) /T sings often/T sings along Gimme gimme yo ho ho
(3 29) /T sings often/T sings along Keloggs advert
(3 30) /T sings often/T sings along Liqui Fruit jingle
(3 31) /T sings often/T sings along Passions theme song
(3 32) /T sings often/T sings along Spur advert
(3 33) /T sings often/T sings along Sunsilk advert
(3 34) /T sings often/T sings along Sunsilk jingle
(3 35) /T sings often/T sings Bold in background
(3 36) /T sings often/T sings diff song aft Sunsilk
(3 37) /T sings often/T sings Doo bee dooo fr kitchen Back
(3 38) /T sings often/T sings during AMC
(3 39) /T sings often/T sings during Days
(3 40) /T sings often/T sings fr kitchen
(3 41) /T sings often/T sings fr kitchen w intonation
(3 42) /T sings often/T sings from kitchen
(3 43) /T sings often/T sings from kitchen aft B S S
(3 44) /T sings often/T sings high pitch
(3 45) /T sings often/T sings in kitch - English Gospel
(3 46) /T sings often/T sings in Kitch-cld b gospel
(3 47) /T sings often/T sings initial part of ~get down on
(3 48) /T sings often/T sings Kwaito fr kitchen
(3 49) /T sings often/T sings longer English fr Kitchen
(3 50) /T sings often/T sings opera style
(3 51) /T sings often/T sings own song - song on Pinno dif
(3 52) /T sings often/T sings own song during Days
(3 53) /T sings often/T sings part of eTv break jingle
(3 54) /T sings often/T sings Passions song again w intona
(3 55) /T sings often/T sings R ~n B or gospel
(3 56) /T sings often/T sings some song in lounge
(3 57) /T sings often/T sings R 'n B style
(3 58) /T sings often/T sings We r the world unprompted

83 (3 59) /T sings often/T sings with days in background 2
84 (3 60) /T sings often/T sings, D sing a different song
85 (3 61) /T sings often/T sings, then offers compromise re g
86 (3 62) /T sings often/All need love - T sing song
87 (3 63) /T sings often/Back - T sing as collect tap water
88 (3 64) /T sings often/Back - T sing Brenda's song
89 (3 65) /T sings often/Back - T sing Brenda's song - Sabela
90 (3 66) /T sings often/Balloo D & K - T sing fr kitchen
91 (3 67) /T sings often/Balloo D & K - T sing Get down on it
92 (3 68) /T sings often/Balloo D & K - T sing some song
93 (3 69) /T sings often/Day 19 Omini - T sings
94 (3 70) /T sings often/Day 19 Omini - T sing Kwaito short
95 (3 71) /T sings often/Day 19 Omini - T sings short while
96 (3 72) /T sings often/Day 19 Omni - T sing Doo bee doo bee
97 (3 73) /T sings often/Day 22 New - T sing English song, T
98 (3 74) /T sings often/Days - T sing in kitch
99 (3 75) /T sings often/Gen 21 - T sings a line
100 (3 76) /T sings often/Gen 22 - T sing Ga re sa tshetshela
101 (3 77) /T sings often/Dur comedy T sings operaish
102 (3 78) /T sings often/During ad T sings unrelated song
103 (3 79) /T sings often/Emzini - D & T sing now & again in k
104 (3 80) /T sings often/Freakin - T sings R'nB style fr kitc
105 (3 81) /T sings often/J A - ad T sings Tsetsela morago, D
106 (3 82) /T sings often/J A - D & T sing ~You got it bad~
107 (3 83) /T sings often/J A - D critisizes T 4 singing You g
108 (3 84) /T sings often/J A - D sing You got it bad T joins
109 (3 85) /T sings often/J A - Lewis ad T sings ~We are famil
110 (3 86) /T sings often/Muvhango - T sing wed tune softly la
111 (3 87) /T sings often/J A - ad TsingTsetsela morago, Djoin
112 (3 88) /T sings often/Muvhango - T sing fr kitch - short
113 (3 89) /T sings often/Zulu new 22 - T sing opera now & aga
114 (3 90) /T sings often/T humms a song
115 (3 91) /T sings often/T accompanies me out, singing
116 (3 92) /T sings often/T - walk fr school w friend - sing
117 (3 93) /T sings often/Day 21 - T sings now & again
118 (3 94) /T sings often/Day 22 New - T sing English song, 2
119 (3 95) /T sings often/T's draw done - T sings
120 (3 96) /T sings often/Mutswako - T sing some song
121 (3 130) /T sings often/Muvhango - T sing wed tune softly 2
122 (3 184) /T sings often/2nd cart - T singing in background
123 (4) /T sings along catchy frequent TV ad
124 (4 1) /T sings along catchy frequent TV ad/T sing - Be what u are - diaper ad
125 (4 2) /T sings along catchy frequent TV ad/T sing - Be what u are - diaper a 2
126 (4 3) /T sings along catchy frequent TV ad/T sing along - Be what u are - diape
127 (4 4) /T sings along catchy frequent TV ad/T sing along diaper ad - 1st part
128 (4 5) /T sings along catchy frequent TV ad/Day 21 - T repeats jingle
129 (4 6) /T sings along catchy frequent TV ad/T sing along Ellerines jingle
130 (4 7) /T sings along catchy frequent TV ad/T sing along eTv jingle
131 (4 8) /T sings along catchy frequent TV ad/Day 21 - T repeat jingle played earl
132 (4 17) /T sings along catchy frequent TV ad/T sing Sibongile Khumalo - Joko ad

(4 25) /T sings along catchy frequent TV ad/T sings along ad
(4 26) /T sings along catchy frequent TV ad/T sings along advert jingle
(4 29) /T sings along catchy frequent TV ad/T sings along Keloggs advert
(4 30) /T sings along catchy frequent TV ad/T sings along Keloggs advert 2
(4 31) /T sings along catchy frequent TV ad/T sings along Liqui Fruit jingle
(4 32) /T sings along catchy frequent TV ad/T sings along Spur advert
(4 33) /T sings along catchy frequent TV ad/T sings along Sunsilk advert
(4 34) /T sings along catchy frequent TV ad/T sings along Sunsilk jingle
(4 85) /T sings along catchy frequent TV ad/J A - Lewis ad T sings ~We are famil
(5) /T sings with soapie background
(5 5) /T sings with soapie background/T sings with days in background
(5 35) /T sings with soapie background/T sings Bold in background
(5 38) /T sings with soapie background/T sings during AMC
(5 39) /T sings with soapie background/T sings during Days
(5 41) /T sings with soapie background/T sings during AMC 2
(5 52) /T sings with soapie background/T sings own song during Days
(5 59) /T sings with soapie background/T sings with days in background 2
(5 64) /T sings with soapie background/Back - T sing Brenda's song
(5 65) /T sings with soapie background/Back - T sing Brenda's song - Sabela
(5 69) /T sings with soapie background/Day 19 Omini - T sings
(5 70) /T sings with soapie background/Day 19 Omini - T sing Kwaito short
(5 71) /T sings with soapie background/Day 19 Omini - T sings short while
(5 76) /T sings with soapie background/Gen 22 - T sing Ga re sa tshetshela
(5 88) /T sings with soapie background/Muvhango - T sing fr kitch - short
(5 330) /T sings with soapie background/Gen 21 - T sings a line
(6) /T sings along theme songs of fav pro
(6 1) /T sings along theme songs of fav pro/T sang along tv song, D join
(6 2) /T sings along theme songs of fav pro/T own song soon aft Passion theme so
(6 3) /T sings along theme songs of fav pro/Day 22 - T sing along B S S
(6 16) /T sings along theme songs of fav pro/T sing pop like jingle 2 cartoon
(6 28) /T sings along theme songs of fav pro/T sings along Gimme gimme yo ho ho
(6 31) /T sings along theme songs of fav pro/T sings along Passions theme song
(6 53) /T sings along theme songs of fav pro/T sings part of eTv break jingle
(6 54) /T sings along theme songs of fav pro/T sings Passions song again w intona
(7) /T sings popular songs
(7 1) /T sings popular songs/T heiiii! attempt sing Mushini wam,
(7 2) /T sings popular songs/T heiiii! attempt Mushini wam, mushi
(7 11) /T sings popular songs/T sing Doo bee fr kitchen Backstage
(7 12) /T sings popular songs/T sing Get down on it xtreme well
(7 22) /T sings popular songs/T sings ~We are the World' from kitc
(7 37) /T sings popular songs/T sings Doo bee dooo fr kitchen Back
(7 45) /T sings popular songs/T sings in kitch - English Gospel
(7 47) /T sings popular songs/T sings initial part of ~get down on
(7 58) /T sings popular songs/T sings We r the world unprompted
(7 64) /T sings popular songs/Back - T sing Brenda's song
(7 65) /T sings popular songs/Back - T sing Brenda's song - Sabela
(7 67) /T sings popular songs/Balloo D & K - T sing Get down on it
(7 70) /T sings popular songs/Day 19 Omini - T sing Kwaito short
(7 72) /T sings popular songs/Day 19 Omni - T sing Doo bee doo bee
(7 76) /T sings popular songs/Gen 22 - T sing Ga re sa tshetshela

183 (7 81) /T sings popular songs/J A - ad T sings Tsetsela morago, D
184 (7 82) /T sings popular songs/J A - D & T sing ~You got it bad~
185 (7 84) /T sings popular songs/J A - D sing You got it bad T joins
186 (7 85) /T sings popular songs/J A - D sing You got it bad T join 2
187 (7 87) /T sings popular songs/J A - ad TsingTsetsela morago, Djoin
188 (8) /T sings with intonation
189 (8 24) /T sings with intonation/T sings a kho tetemedza ipfi
190 (8 41) /T sings with intonation/T sings fr kitchen w intonation
191 (8 44) /T sings with intonation/T sings high pitch
192 (8 54) /T sings with intonation/T sings Passions song again w intona
193 (8 281) /T sings with intonation/Gen 22 - T sing w intonation
194 (9) /T sings with Opera touch
195 (9 1) /T sings with Opera touch/Day 22 - T sing one line opera
196 (9 8) /T sings with Opera touch/T sing along Sibongile Khumalo - Jok
197 (9 17) /T sings with Opera touch/T sing Sibongile Khumalo - Joko ad
198 (9 24) /T sings with Opera touch/T sings a kho tetemedza ipfi
199 (9 41) /T sings with Opera touch/T sings fr kitchen w intonation
200 (9 44) /T sings with Opera touch/T sings high pitch
201 (9 50) /T sings with Opera touch/T sings opera style
202 (9 54) /T sings with Opera touch/T sings Passions song again w intona
203 (9 77) /T sings with Opera touch/Dur comedy T sings operaish
204 (9 89) /T sings with Opera touch/Zulu new 22 - T sing opera now & aga
205 (10) /T sings extremely well
206 (10 12) /T sings extremely well/T sing Get down on it xtreme well
207 (11) /T prompted to sing
208 (11 1) /T prompted to sing/upcome show ad - D sing jingle, T jo
209 (11 2) /T prompted to sing/upco show ad - D sing jingle, T join
210 (11 3) /T prompted to sing/T imitates R n B song, D follows, T
211 (11 36) /T prompted to sing/T sings diff song aft Sunsilk
212 (11 37) /T prompted to sing/T own song soon aft Passion theme so
213 (11 43) /T prompted to sing/T sings from kitchen aft B S S
214 (11 78) /T prompted to sing/During ad T sings unrelated song
215 (11 81) /T prompted to sing/J A - ad T sings Tsetsela morago, D
216 (11 84) /T prompted to sing/J A - D sing You got it bad T joins
217 (11 85) /T prompted to sing/J A - Lewis ad T sings ~We are famil
218 (11 86) /T prompted to sing/Muvhango - T sing wed tune softly la
219 (11 130) /T prompted to sing/Muvhango - T sing wed tune softly 2
220 (12) /excitement with song identification
221 (12 3) /excitement with song identification/Tsha tsha - T exci as preempt song

Appendix V: Excerpts from fieldwork notes, showing verification of observations

[Initially typed for purposes of Analysis – updated to insert pseudonyms for the purposes of the thesis (Orginal document used initials)]

13 October 2005

Arrived at 14h00 and found Koni, Duka, and Nayo. Koni was doing chores in the kitchen. Duka and Nayo were in the lounge. Duka was watching TV (Cool Catz on e) – Nayo went on to take a bath. She was going on a visit – with Koni accompanying.

I wanted to clarify some questions I had around indepth comments I had made in relation to photos.

DAY 3

Game board no longer there. Was bought for Koni by Mulisa in Cape Town on a school trip. Cannot remember when but last year – maybe in Aug. Duka checked with Duka on some of the detail e.g Name of the game. Koni does not remember ever being told the name of the game. Duka said everybody played with it as it is not possible for anyone to play on it alone. Had to think about the rules of the game. He closed his eyes to try to remember. They made their own rules. You had to drop a 6 before you were allowed to play. Four people at a time – most of the time although there were times when two people played. When I asked about how he felt when playing, he 1st laughed and asked me to clarify the question, then said they played to relieve boredom. Nobody knows where it is now. May be that someone put it away and does not remember where they put it. He remembers playing it everyday when the game was around. I told him I remember only seeing it twice when I was here. He said, "Impossible!" He remembers playing it much more often. He cannot remember the last time he saw it. It bores him that they cannot find it anymore but it is ok as Nayo is around, as she helps to keep the boredom at bay.

Cannot remember the cartoon they were watching that day – cannot recognise the scene on the photo.

DAY 10

Cartoon was "Wings". That was nice. They started changing things – now it does not play anymore on SABC1 except on weekends. This is boring as on weekends Duka watches the ones on SABC3 fro 7H00. They follow each other until 10:00. The last one is Tracy Beaker even in on Sunday. Duka listed them in sequence. They repeat what was played during the week. Duka says, "I watch other shows like "generations" if there are no cartoons to watch".

Duka laughed when he saw the swing. He said it was made by Tuki and Tsire. Tsire is his cousin - older even than Tuki – maybe he is even finished high school. He does not remember when the swing was made. He found it there. He does not remember playing much on it. [He was concentrating on the cartoon as I was talking to him]

DAY 13

Duka said he also drew with Red – on the face. He said he was taking chances without thinking much about it. The other thing I thought was the sun was actually a flower. The other two was "love" not a heart – and he says, "it is like when you want to say, "I love you" and want to abbreviate. The other one is a ball. I traced these from somewhere".
He said no one taught him to make the puzzle – he just copied from the 'real' puzzles he saw at his friends' house. He has never had a commercially bought puzzle. The choice of the boxer was random. No one else does puzzles at his house. He laughed when I asked whether puzzles is play. He said, "Art is to be looked at, while puzzles are played with".

DAY 14

Duka laughed when he saw the photo frame. He said the idea came after someone took them photos and he thought making a frame for the pics would be nice. He made two. One for Nayo and one for him. The sequencing in size and the different forms was done to make this nice. He said "Thank you" when I complemented him. He said he used pink on the flowers because the other colours were running out.

The other flowers were to accompany a song he wrote on a separate page. He composed the song. He has composed four songs. "Everybody stand up"; "Taxi to SOWETO", "If you want me", and "Selimathunzi". He says others helped him. "The tunes are all mine – the others helped with adding words". He went outside to sing, as he was shy to sing in front for me. He started with "Selimathunzi". I have actually heard him sing "Taxi to SOWETO". "These songs all just come to my head". He is not sure what inspires them. He forgot "If you want me". And he says "Everybody stand up" is nicer when someone is playing instrument for me". The three songs are all distinctly different in tune and words.

DAY 18

It is the same photo frame as for DAY 14.

Concerning usually wearing school uniform after school, he says he is just often lazy to change from uniform – no other particular reason. He does not know about Mulisa.

DAY 19

It is Duka's book. He used it when in grade 3. It had left over pages, which he recently drew in. The 1st pic depicts a lounge - this is Art – he says– those drawings are of sofas of different sizes and a coffee table. The 2nd pic is I (The researcher) with a fan in front of me. He laughed when he told me this. 3rd pic is a face of a person.

DAY 21

Balloon came from school – Duka bought it for R1.

Mom bought Duka the brick game – does not remember when but it was last year. It ran out of batteries. "But when I needed to play with it I used batteries from the remote. It is around somewhere, just not sure where. It is broken". Does not remember when he last played with it. He does not remember playing much with it. "One can only play on it one at a time. I used to give it to Nayo at times. I played with it to stave off boredom"

Day 22

Plastic thing was found in a packet of sweets "Lucky Packet". Duka found it. He cannot discern what the figures on it are. It does not have a name. Only Duka played with it. Duka finally threw it away– all you could do is open-and-close it. "U sokou nga u ya penga". Duka did not stay long with it – just a week.

He lies on the sofa from tiredness – walking from school. It takes takes 15 minutes to get to school at a brisk walk.

Day 23

The book came from school with Duka – grade 4.

Day 24

Duka - "This is not a necklace – but a doillie"

"A thi neti nga u dzula ndi tshi khou vhona TV. I ya takadza ngamaanda TV. Hu takadza zwipopai. Moby Dick ndi the most favourite popai yanga. I sumbedzwa nga 15h30 kha SABC 3 vhukati ha vhege. A thi pfuki u I vhona. Arali nda sa I vhona ndi I vhona nga Sondaha."

"I never get tired from watching TV. TV is a lot of fun. Cartoons are the best. "Moby Dick" is my most favourite. It is shown on SAB3 at 15h30 during the week. I never miss it. If for some reason I miss it I watch it the following Sunday."

"A no funesa u tamba nnda ndi Nayo. Mulisa na Koni vhone a vha tambi na luthihi."

"Nayo plays all the time. Mulisa and Koni never play"

Duka agrees that he likes cartoons where there is a character with Super Powers. He said Moby Dick is like that, as well as Totally Spies. He does not know why he prefers this. "Ndi ngauri nne ndi vhona zwi tshi khou ntakadza, sa nwana-vho. Tshinwe tshifhings ndi a ita ndi

tshi di lora ndi na magic". "Even with soapies I like the ones where there is magic – except for Generations."

15 October 2005 (Two days after scheduled data collection)

I went back to Duka to record the songs he composed. Just in case the recorder does not capture all, I decided to write the lyrics down:

Taxi to SOWETO

Taxi to SOWETO
Taxi to SOWETO

Take me, Take me
Take me to SOWETO

Do you want to go, do do
Do you want to go, to
SOWETO
SOWETO

1. Everybody Stand-up

Everybody stand-up
Everybody sit down
Listen to the music right now
2X

Listen to the music, it's rocking right now
Listen to the music right now

Everybody stand-up
Everybody sit down
Listen to the music right now
2X

Come to the neighbourhood
Can't you see the roof
It's going up and down

Everybody stand-up
Everybody sit down
Listen to the music right now

(Needs accompanying sounds – like drums - anything. He says it is very nice when he sings and there is this background music)

2. Selimathunzi (Needs mubvumeli)

Selimathunzi. Ha ya ya

Selimathunzi. Ha ya ya
Selimathunzi. Ha ya ya

Umama wakho

U zo hamba
U zo hamba wa ye Selimathunzi

Seli, Se se Seli

Selimathunzi. Ha ya ya
Selimathunzi. Ha ya ya
Selimathunzi. Ha ya ya

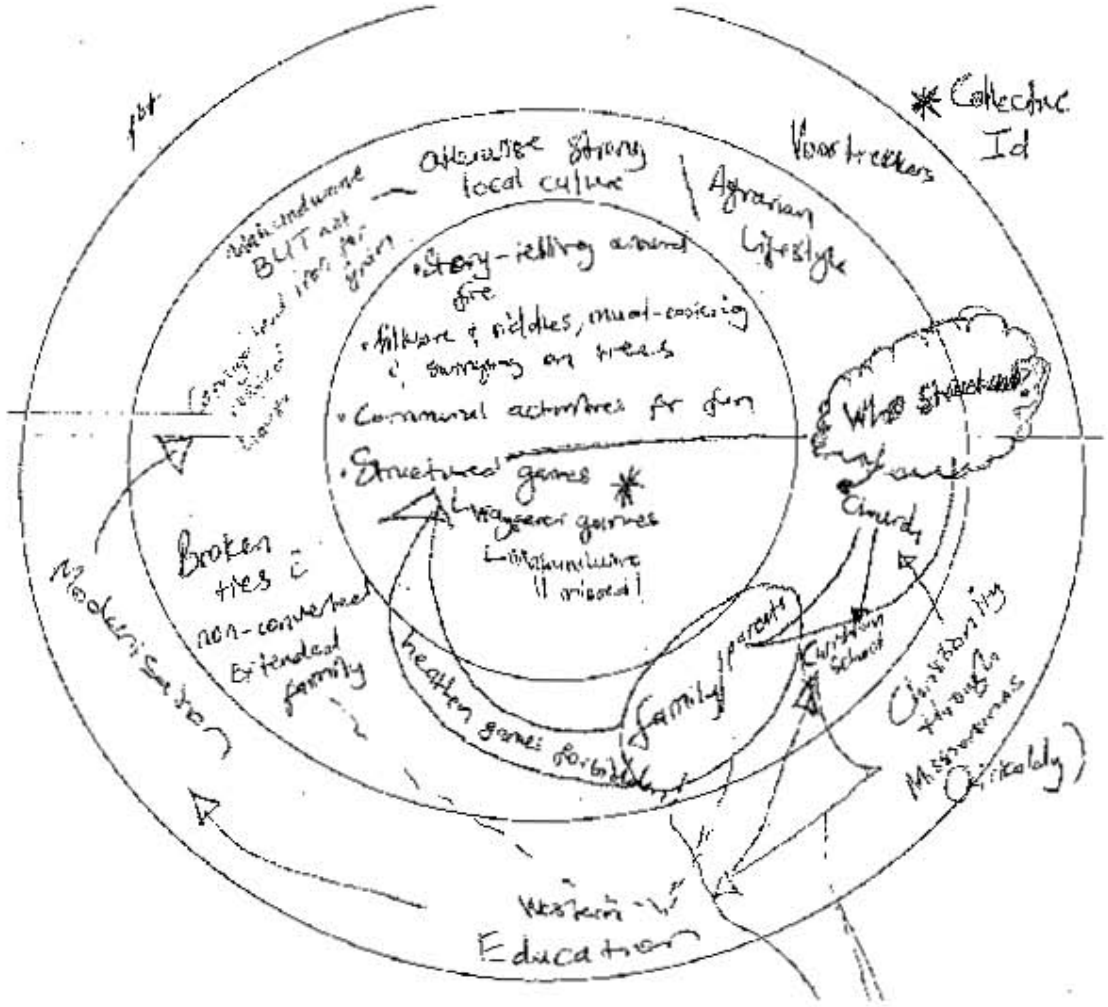
REPEAT

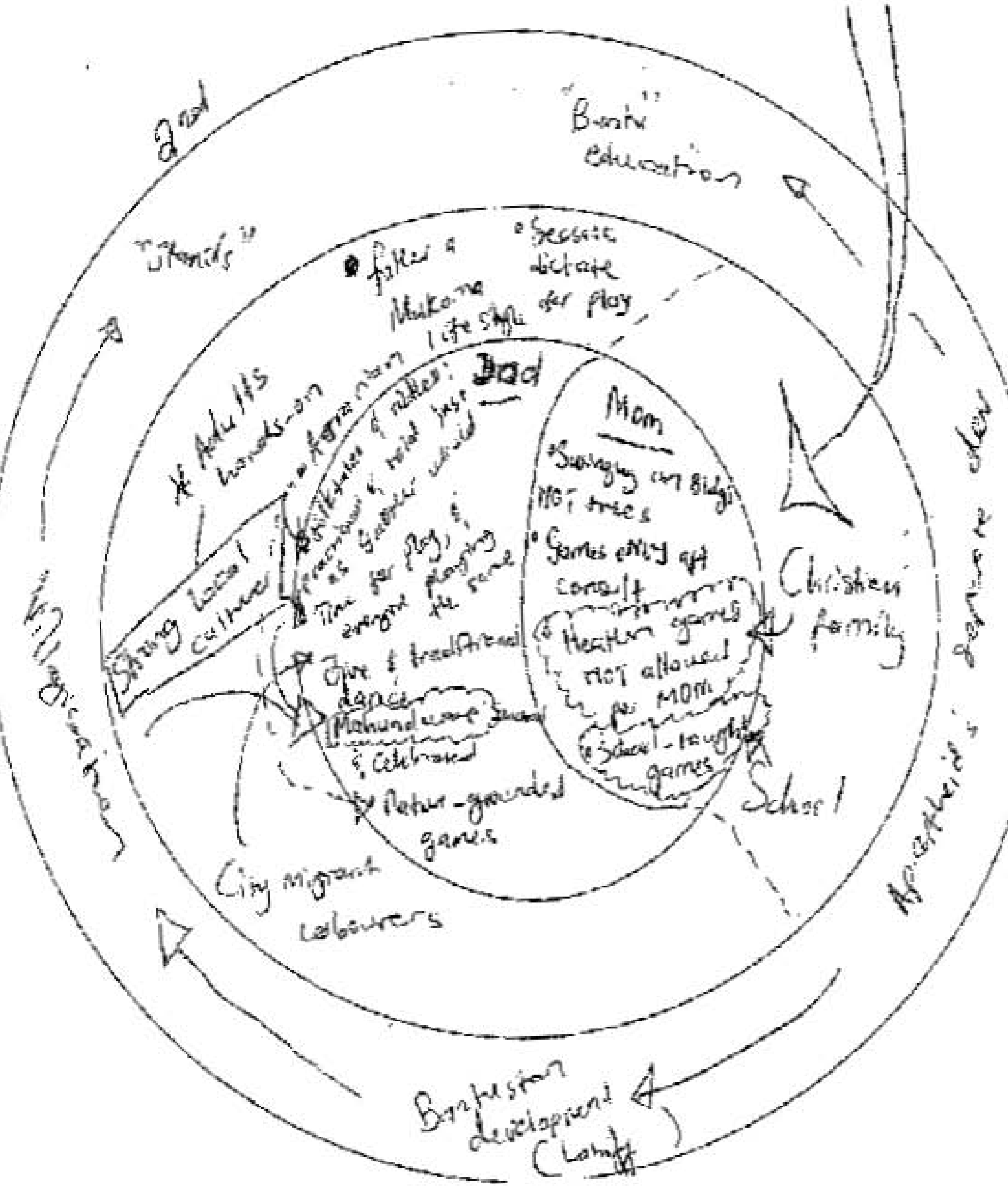
Duka admits today that he is tired from watching TV. He has been watching TV alone since 8H00 when Koni left him to go to Winter School. It is now 16h00 and he left the house only three times. To accompany Koni, to fetch the paper (Classified ADS), and when he went to buy bread.

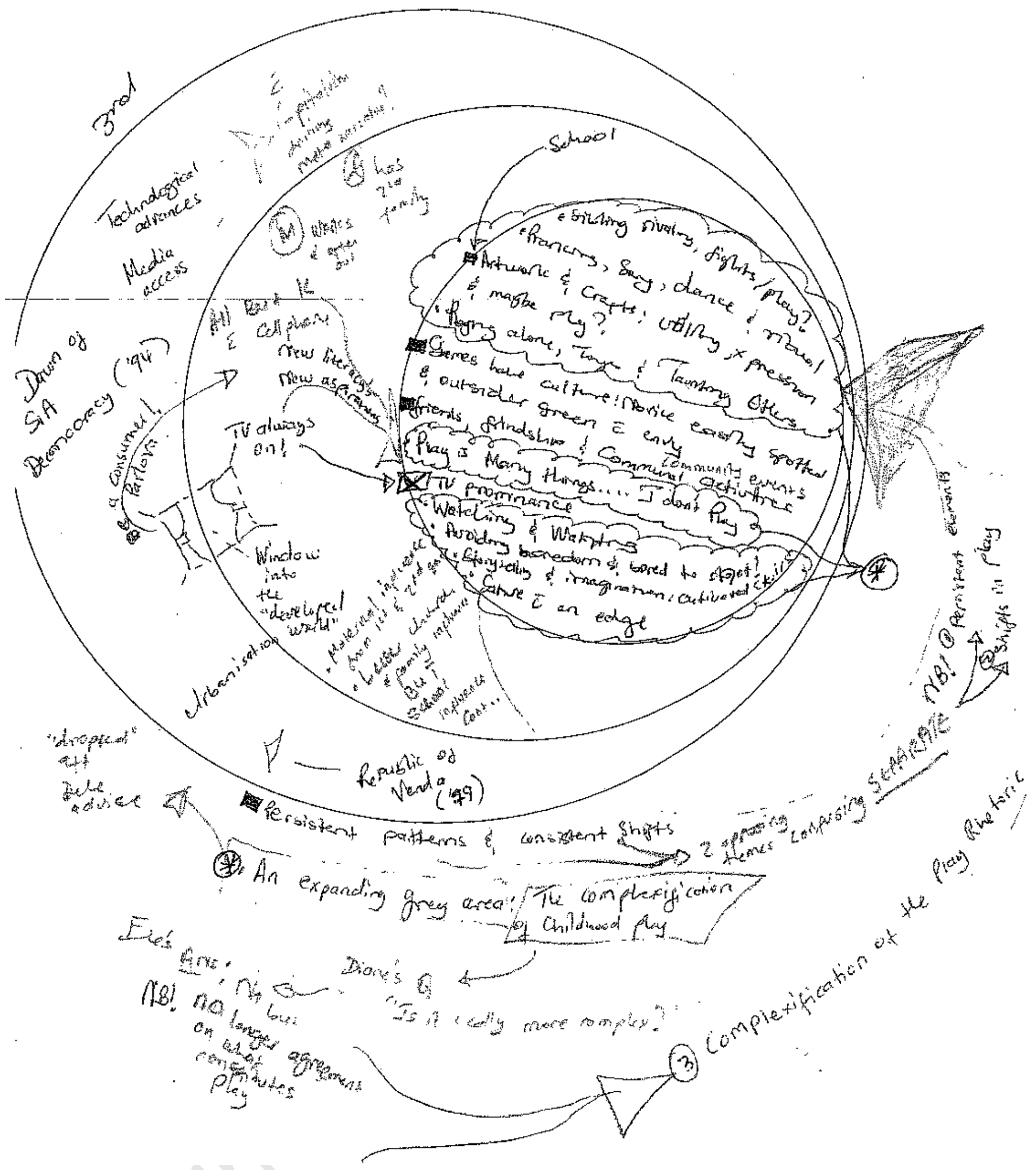
THE END

Appendix VI: Conceptual models on the evolution of play

[Scanned from original document]




Dad
Mom
Christian family
School
Strong local culture
City migrant labourers
Bantustan development
Heathen games
NOT allowed
School-taught games
Nature-grounded games


3rd
Technological advances
Media access
Dawn of SA Democracy ('94)
School
TV always on!
TV prominance
Play is Many things.... I don't Play
Window into the "developed world"
Urbanisation
Republic of Venda ('79)
Persistent patterns & consistent shifts
An expanding grey area!
The complexification of Childhood play
Complexification of the Play Rhetoric

Appendix VII: Research Information given to the family

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

SCHOOL OF HEALTH AND REHABILITATION SCIENCES
DIVISION OF OCCUPATIONAL THERAPY
Zone F56, OLD MAIN BUILDING
GROOTE SCHUUR HOSPITAL
OBSERVATORY
7925

ENGLISH VERSION

Greetings!

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO EXPLORE CHILDHOOD PLAY WITHIN YOUR HOME

There are indications that the way children play are changing with time. This can be seen if one were to consider what our grandparents tell us about the way they used to play, and how our children play today. These things come with the passing of time. Even though many people may agree with this, there is unfortunately no research that looks at it closely enough. This is especially true for the African continent, including South Africa. What concerns the researcher (Elelwani Ramugondo) is that there seems to be very little that we know about childhood play of the past. This is particularly true for Vhavenda. Because such knowledge is not written anywhere, society is forgetting, as the years go by. If we do not do anything now, we may miss what our grandparents who are still alive, can still tell us.

What the researcher wishes for, is to spend time with three families, looking at childhood play. Everyday, for a month will be spent with one family at a time. During this month, the researcher will look at how children play within the family, as well as spend time talking with individual family members (Including children that can talk),

about childhood play, in the past, and currently. The researcher will particularly like to spend time with grandparents in the family, listening to what they say about their own experience of play as children in the past, as well as their views on what they see children in the family play currently. If they see change, they will be asked to talk about what they think brought this about. Videotaping and taking photographs will be an important part of the research as it captures play as it happens. Family members will be shown everything that is captured. Availability of these to anyone outside of the family setting will be discussed with everyone in the family.

As a member of the family, I request your help in talking to the rest of your family on my behalf, asking them to allow me to visit them everyday, for the whole day for a month, as one of the three families. Members of the family are also asked to assist the researcher as much as possible, in pursuing an understanding of childhood play as it happened, and happens, in the family. The researcher commits to ensuring that the manner in which the research is done does not disrupt the way things are done in the family. It is not the aim of this study to look at how the family lives in general. If it so happens that at any point a member were uncomfortable, the researcher would welcome any indication of this. If it is felt by the family that the research should not continue, the researcher will comply. It also needs to be stated here that as a member of the health profession, if it so happens that the researcher observes any instance of child abuse, she is obliged by law to report it to the authorities. The researcher would like to assure the family that should such an unfortunate instance occur; she would inform the family of her actions. Nothing will happen without the family being notified.

The researcher hopes to obtain a PhD from this research. There will be a report at the end of the research process that will be available for anybody interested, to read. Journal articles may be produced during the research process. It is not envisaged that newspapers, magazines or television will be used to communicate findings from this research. The researcher will welcome, and encourages members of the family to read her accounts on what she observes while she is still within the family, and to add comments. On all documents, actual names of family members will not be used.

The researcher regards the permission that may be granted, highly. She would like to leave the decision on how the family wishes to be compensated for the members' time and energy, for the family to make. The researcher can show her appreciation by helping with homework, and by providing advise on careers to the older children within the family. If it is the wish of the family to permit the researcher to visit them for the purpose of the research, there is a consent form to read and sign. Yourself, as well as any other member deemed appropriate to sign on behalf of the family, can sign. There is also an assent form, to be signed by each child that participates in the study. The assent form will be signed only after the adults have given consent. The address, to which the signed consent form should be sent, is included above. If there are questions that you wish to ask the researcher regarding this research, you can reach her on the following numbers: (Cell) – 0824113879; (H) – 021 – 406 6655; and (W) – 021 – 406 6382.

Thank you, Greetings!

Appendix VIII: Copy of the consent form

CONSENT FORM

In signing below, this family of…….grant permission for ELELWANI RAMUGONDO, of the University of Cape Town, to visit us everyday, for the whole day for a month, conducting research on how childhood play happens in this family. Questions will explore how grandparent(s) and parents experienced play in their childhood as well as what happens currently in the children's play. We have read and understood the purpose and aims of the research. It is also agreed upon with ELELWANI that if any point it is felt that the research must be terminated, she will be told, and the process will end.

Name and position in the family_____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix IX: Copy of the Assent form

ASSENT FORM

In signing below, I…….agree for ELELWANI RAMUGONDO, of the University of Cape Town, to watch me play, take pictures or videotape me as I play, and ask me questions about the way I play or my thoughts about it. I have the right to stop ELELWANI from watching me, taking pictures, videotaping, or asking me questions, if any of these make me feel uncomfortable or unhappy.

Signature: _____

Date: _____