ARTICLE

DECOLONISING SOCIAL WORK RESEARCH WITH FAMILIES EXPERIENCING INTERGENERATIONAL TRAUMA

Shanaaz Hoosain
orcid.org/0000-0002-3288-7342
North-West University, South Africa
Shanaaz.Hoosain@nwu.ac.za

ABSTRACT

This article focuses on social work research with displaced families in the Western Cape, South Africa, who have experienced both the historical trauma of their slave past and the trauma of displacement during apartheid. In a similar context, aboriginal academic writers have found that initial studies of intergenerational trauma did not take into account the historical ordeal of colonialism which they believe has left its mark on aboriginal communities today. Intergenerational trauma has also been based on research with holocaust survivors. For this research paper, a postcolonial indigenous research paradigm was implemented owing to the colonial history of Cape Town. Collective narrative practice and participatory learning action techniques were used to decolonise the theoretical and methodological approach. Foucault's counter-memories and counter-histories were applied to critically engage with the research findings to include the "unofficial" stories of slave descendants in social work discourse where these stories have largely been ignored.

Keywords: decolonisation; intergenerational trauma; colonialism; slavery; participatory learning action; narrative practice

INTRODUCTION

South Africans are living in the aftermath of an oppressive and traumatic regime, not only from the legacy of the apartheid era, but also of colonialism. Colonialism has led to a history of violence and trauma, and in the Western Cape, South Africa, an additional slave past has had a profound impact on those affected (Hoosain 2014). The first slaves arrived in the Cape in 1652 and slavery was only abolished in 1834, spanning almost

Southern African Journal of Social Work and Social Development
https://upjournals.co.za/index.php/SWPR
Volume 30 | Number 1 | 2018 | #2471 | 18 pages

https://doi.org/10.25159/2415-5829/2471
ISSN 2415-5829 (Online) | ISSN 0520-0097 (Print)
© Unisa Press 2018

200 years of slavery (Mountain 2004). Although various social service professions, such as psychology, have recognised the impact of apartheid on South African families, social work, to a large extent in its practice and theory, has operated in an apolitical context regarding work with families (Abdullah 2015; Bozalek 2004, 2010). This article therefore focuses on the need to decolonise social work research (Gray et al. 2013; Rowe, Baldry, and Earles 2015).

Behind the call for decolonising social work research is the pursuit for theoretical and paradigmatic frameworks which are relevant to the unique histories and context of indigenous communities (Rowe, Baldry, and Earles 2015). In this research, a case study on intergenerational trauma in the Western Cape is used as an example. After providing a background to the project, the theoretical and methodological paradigms are presented to illustrate how decolonised research may look in practice. Narrative therapy theory and collective narrative practice are examined as a potential methodology to engage with participants who experience intergenerational trauma, and which respects indigenous ways of knowing and being.

Drawing from examples of the case study, I put forward Foucault's counter-history and counter-memory as a valuable contribution to decolonising social work research. Counter-histories are based on people's memories which do not fit the historical narratives that are available, or people who remember "against the grain" (Medina 2011, 12). The memories are therefore "counter-memories", because people remember despite the dominant society subjugating these memories. The concepts of counter-memory and counter-history are based on Foucault's discourse analysis and subjugated knowledge (Foucault 1972, 1977). Foucault (1972) believed that critical scholars must revive hidden or forgotten experiences and memories. He calls these counter-histories and counter-memories. The socio-historical context of slavery should be considered because the narratives represent the counter-hegemonic stories that have not been included in social work discourse.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF INTERGENERATIONAL TRAUMA

The problem that was investigated was the trauma of displacement due to forced removals during apartheid and the historical trauma of slavery experienced by families in Cape Town (Hoosain 2014). Slavery lasted for 176 years, producing deference, dependence and compliance within most slave psyches (Mountain 2004; Shell 2001). According to Shell (2001), the psychological implications, social costs and hidden wounds for future generations are incalculable.

To give examples of historical trauma, several writers (Brave Heart and DeBruyn 1998; Evans-Campbell 2008; Randall and Haskell 2009; Wesley-Esquimaux and Smolewski 2004; Whitbeck et al. 2004) refer to the trauma associated with the colonisation of the aboriginal people as "historical trauma". Slavery may also be viewed as one form of historical trauma, while another trauma of colonialism was segregation and the dispossession of land. This was introduced in the Western Cape in 1852 by the governor of the Cape, and in 1913 the Native Land Act was passed resulting in the first forced removals (Barbarin and Richter 2001). Black people could occupy only seven per cent of the arable land and white people 93 per cent. This gives an indication that the trauma of the Group Areas Act was not the first time black and coloured people in the Western Cape have experienced collective trauma.

The Group Areas Act of 1950 was one of the greatest tragedies of apartheid which forced and legalised segregation. It also left a legacy of townships and suburbs in Cape Town which were based on race. Between 1968 and the 1970s, black and coloured South Africans were forcibly removed from various areas in Cape Town. The aftermath of the Group Areas Act continues to shape identities, and the trauma of removals still has an impact on communities today (Trotter 2009). The displacement thus creates traumatic cultural dislocation and a loss of connection with family, friends and community (Alayarian 2007; Wade, Mitchell, and Baylis 2005; Walls and Whitbeck 2012).

The trauma of displacement may not have been dealt with by the social work profession in South Africa (Abdullah 2015; Bozalek 2010). Social problems such as substance abuse, family violence and community violence in displaced communities in Cape Town may be the results of intergenerational trauma which have been transmitted from previous generations who experienced the forced removals of apartheid and the historical distress of slavery (Brave Heart and DeBruyn 1998; Walls and Whitbeck 2012). Statistics indicate that the Western Cape has the highest levels of substance abuse compared with the national average and has the highest rates of violence, including the highest homicide rates in the world (Matzopoulos and Myers 2014).

The assumptions that these social problems in the Western Cape may be the result of unresolved trauma from the past are supported by research into aboriginal communities who have experienced similar social problems. Authors such as Bombay, Matheson and Anisman (2014), Brave Heart and DeBruyn (1998), Duran and Duran (1995), Evans-Campbell (2008), Gagné (1998), Poupart (2003), Wesley-Esquimaux and Smolewski (2004), and Whitbeck et al. (2004), believe that it is the unresolved trauma and grief of dispossession and the loss of land, culture and lives that are being transmitted from one generation to another. This then results in high levels of substance abuse and in family and community violence. It is therefore imperative that social workers deal with the inequities of the past and their traumatic impact on families and communities. The research project discussed in this article explored intergenerational trauma as the effects of displacement and slavery.

PROJECT BACKGROUND

The transmission of intergenerational trauma has been based on research on holocaust survivors (Danieli 1998). Aboriginal academic writers in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the US have also noted that intergenerational trauma theory did not take into account the historical trauma of colonialism, which they believe has left its mark on aboriginal communities today (Brave Heart and DeBruyn 1998; Duran and Duran 1995; Evans-Campbell 2008; Poupart 2003). South African writers from the Apartheid Archives Project (AAP) have started to focus on the intergenerational trauma of apartheid. However, these writers are mainly academics from psychology and not social work, and studies on the transmission of trauma in South Africa are limited. Furthermore, traditional theories on intergenerational trauma and trauma transmission do not take into consideration the dominant discourse of colonialism, where memory and knowledge of the past have been subjugated. This has resulted in a limited discourse on the historical trauma of slavery in social work. Reclaiming history is thus an essential part of decolonisation (Smith 2012).

A qualitative multiple case study consisting of seven families was conducted. The main means of data collection consisted of life histories, semi-structured interviews and focus groups using Participatory Learning Action (PLA) techniques. There were 21 participants consisting of three generations within each of the seven families. The families had typical slave surnames, and at least one generation was displaced between 1950 and 1985 because of the forced removals under the Group Areas Act. Ethical approval was obtained from the research institute (University of the Western Cape, Registration No: 12/5/10) and all the participants gave voluntary, informed, written consent. Confidentiality was assured by conducting interviews in private and by using pseudonyms. The six phases of Braun and Clarke’s (2006) thematic analysis were used. Thematic analysis, as adapted by Reissman (2008), focuses on the content of the narrative, namely “what” is being said.

The primary research question that the project attempted to explore was: How has the trauma of displacement during the apartheid era and historical trauma of slavery been transmitted intergenerationally? To answer the question, the analysis was guided by a postcolonial indigenous paradigm using narrative methodology based on the work of Foucault and Freire. Decolonising research is one approach to implementing a postcolonial indigenous paradigm (Chillisa 2012).

DECOLONISATION

Decolonisation can be defined as “the undoing of the more pernicious aspects of colonialism that resulted in unequal power relations between people and nations whereby one people or nation established and maintained dominance over another” (Gray et al. 2013, 334). Gray et al. (2013) believe that the relevance of decolonisation for contemporary social work involves not only regaining political rights, but it is also the long-term struggle to overcome the ideologies that have been used to exploit and oppress people. Some of these ideologies, such as racial oppression, may have become internalised as a result of historical trauma. In this study, the historical trauma includes both the trauma of slavery and displacement during apartheid.

In order to deal with inequities of the past, the current ways of research within social work need to be decolonised (Rowe, Baldry, and Earles 2015). Decolonising methodology means becoming consciously aware of the ways in which the dominant Eurocentric culture has influenced researchers and research on black families. The Western academy privileges Western knowledge over indigenous epistemologies, creating the need to decolonise research (Chillisa 2012; Rowe, Baldry, and Earles 2015; Smith 2012). A space, therefore, needs to be created for decolonising research, as it involves the complexity of voice and power. Decolonising methodologies are concerned not so much with the actual techniques of selecting methods, as with the context in which these research problems are conceptualised and designed (Smith 2012). The research took place in the Western Cape which has a history of colonialism. Colonialism is a practice of domination, which involves the subjugation of one group of people to another and also involves political and economic control over a dependent territory (Kohn 2014).

According to Fanon (1952), colonialism constructs its own discourse, and it has been sustained through unconscious and conscious ideology which was based on myths created by the coloniser. One of these myths is the belief that the black man has to be white and adopt white values to be human. What set Fanon apart from other psychiatrists at the time, other than being a black man, was the fact that he rejected the individualistic psychoanalytic view and focused on a more psycho-political view (Allesandrini 2005). Fanon (1952) analysed colonial discourse and the ways it sustained itself. He can therefore be viewed as an early influencer of the methodology of decolonisation, even though decolonisation finds its roots in the Critical Race Theory (Delgado and Stefancic 2001).

When decolonising the research, dramatic shifts need to be made in the paradigms adopted in social work research (Rowe, Baldry, and Earles 2015). Decolonisation is concerned with the values and practices in relation to power, thus situating research in its much larger historical, political and cultural context. A postcolonial indigenous paradigm was therefore chosen to understand the meaning participants gave to their slave heritage and their displacement during apartheid (Tamburro 2013). A postcolonial indigenous paradigm entails conducting research that does not perpetuate Western paradigms and views Western knowledge as superior (Chillisa 2012; Rowe, Baldry, and Earles 2015). Postcolonialism is thus about dealing with the legacy of colonialism (Kalua 2014). The word “postcolonial” is used in research as a “context to denote the continuous struggle of non-Western societies that suffered European colonisation, indigenous peoples, and historically marginalised groups to resist suppression of their ways of knowing and the globalisation of knowledge, reaffirming that Western knowledge is the only legitimate knowledge” (Chillisa 2012, 12). In order to advocate for indigenous knowledge, social work researchers should aim to create a context in which participants can come to their own understanding about their lives.

Indigenous research therefore means that the researcher should target local phenomena to identify and define a research issue. Indigenous research is context-sensitive and creates locally appropriate constructs, methods, and theories derived from local experiences and indigenous knowledge, and it can be integrative, combining Western and indigenous theories (Chillisa 2012). The research project on intergenerational trauma employed a combination of Western and Indigenous approaches informed by postcolonialism and poststructuralism. The theoretical framework based on a Western approach to intergenerational trauma theory was therefore critically examined as part of decolonising the research.

Smith (2012) suggests five conditions for decolonising research, namely (1) critical consciousness, (2) reimagining the world with counter-hegemonic stories or alternative stories, (3) intersections where ideas, concepts and historical events come together, (4) challenging discursive practice, and (5) challenging the structure of underlying power relations in society which maintains the status quo. Smith (2012) believes that these five conditions are the pathways to understanding decolonisation.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Intergenerational trauma can be defined as that which is transmitted to the next generation when the effects of trauma are ignored, unresolved and unsupported (Wesley-Esquimaux and Smolewski 2004). In trauma studies, intergenerational trauma is also termed "transgenerational" or "multigenerational" trauma. Using Freudian principles, Volkan (1996) coined the term "the transgenerational transmission of trauma", arguing that unresolved trauma of the past is transmitted from one generation to the next, thus developing the potential for fuelling future conflicts.

Understanding the transmission of trauma in families highlights what is being transmitted in families and how it is being transmitted, and this knowledge can contribute to interrupting trauma transmission. However, The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-5) describes a traumatic event as one which involves actual or threatened death or serious injury or threat to physical integrity of self or others (American Psychiatric Association 2013). This study focused on the trauma of displacement which can be described as what Kira (2001, 76) classifies as "disconnectedness trauma", where individuals are traumatised when their safety and security, which are made up of a network of social relationships, are threatened.

Walls and Whitbeck (2012) describe the trauma of displacement as the cultural dislocation and the loss of support networks, which includes the loss of land, culture and community. The other focus of this study was historical trauma which Brave Heart and DeBruyn (1998) described in their seminal work as the historical legacy of chronic trauma, which is the massive loss of lives, land and culture experienced through colonisation. Recent authors have included slavery as a form of historical and cultural trauma (Abdullah 2015; Mohatt et al. 2014; Walker 2012).

Traditional trauma transmission theories are based on the medical model of trauma which has not taken the socio-historical context into consideration (Bryant-Davis and Ocampo 2005; Holmes, Facemire, and DaFonseca 2016; Mattar, Droždek, and Figley 2010). This study proposes that Narrative Theory, based on Foucault's discourse analysis and subjugated knowledge, may allow social work researchers to explore the counter-hegemonic stories of individuals and groups (Garrity 2010; Mckenzie-Mohr and Lafrance 2017).

NARRATIVE THERAPY THEORY

Narrative therapy theory provides a model of how people construct their world. The broader social context is important, as gender, class, race and culture are powerful contributors to the meanings people give to their experiences. Within the context of Narrative Theory, stories are an essential way to understand how narratives work. A narrative is similar to a thread that links together the events of our lives to form a story. Stories can be viewed as "re-authoring" or "re-storying" conversations (Morgan 2000). White and Epston (1989, 1990), who developed "narrative therapy" in Australia, were largely influenced by the Foucaultian discourse analysis (Foucault 1972), where problems are socially constructed and people are influenced by the dominant discourse of a particular time or era. According to Garrity (2010), Foucault's discourse analysis can be a useful conceptual framework and methodology through which social work practice and research can be analysed, critiqued and interpreted. This is because people and communities will select particular events above others to fit in with the meaning they give to these events (Morgan 2000). The more events they link together in this sequence, the richer is the story which develops over time. In this way, it can even become the dominant story of the person's life.

For Foucault, discourse does not represent personal experiences, but the structural processes which enable people to take up a position within society. Foucault's discourse analysis may therefore be confusing as it focuses on power relations and not linguistics. Foucault (1978) believed power can be experienced within economic relations, political relations, knowledge relations or sexual relations. Power is the immediate embodied effect of divisions and inequalities as they occur in context (Medina 2011). What this meant for the research project was that traumatic events have happened to generations of families, and the way the families have responded was determined by the power relations within the dominant society at the time.

METHODOLOGY

An indigenous methodology emphasises a conversational means of gaining knowledge to ensure that there is a relational aspect between the participant and researcher (Kovach

2010). Through this method, a dialogue exists between the researcher and the participant with the intention of sharing a story to assist others. Life histories were therefore used in the research project as they also honour the oral traditions of indigenous communities.

LIFE HISTORIES

The first life history interview was unstructured and focused on participants' life growing up in Cape Town and also their family history. The second interview was semi-structured, focusing on the trauma of displacement, family life and what slave heritage meant to the participants (Miller 2000; Goodson 2012).

Life histories are a form of narrative biography and have been used in post-conflict societies to understand the life experiences of oppressed voices (Ssali and Theobald 2016). Life histories give participants the power to decide what to talk about and how to frame discussions, which is critical in contexts where people have been through extreme personal and social hardship. Life histories are therefore an ideal data collection method to create alternative stories. Counter-histories and counter-memories are experiences and memories or knowledge which have not been integrated into the social discourse of society. For social work research, counter-histories and counter-memories thus have an important role to play, to tell how people resist the harmful stories associated with their lives (Garrity 2010). The concept of the alternative story in narrative therapy is based on Foucault's (1972) concept of subjugated knowledge, counter-histories and counter-memories. Subjugated knowledge consists of an awareness of experiences which has been marginalised by hegemonic discourse. With the invisibility of subjugated knowledge, opportunities for resistance remain unnoticed. In order to make opportunities for resistance visible, counter-memories and counter-histories need to be produced (Medina 2011).

PARTICIPATORY LEARNING ACTION

PLA techniques were used to facilitate discussions in the focus groups, as these techniques decolonise traditional methodology by raising participants' awareness of their marginalisation (Bozalek 2011, 469). PLA techniques have been described as a "growing family of approaches, methods, attitudes and behaviours to enable people to share, enhance and analyse their knowledge of life and conditions and to plan, act and monitor, evaluate and reflect" (Chambers 2007, 3). This was achieved by using PLA techniques such as the River of Life and community and communication maps (Zaveri 2009). PLA techniques have previously been used by Bozalek and Biersteker (2010) to highlight power relations among social work students in the Western Cape, as well as forms of power and powerlessness in relation to their community. In addition, PLA techniques form part of a broader participatory research which allows researchers to critically view their own positionality (Bozalek 2011). I therefore engaged in a critical reflection of myself and the research process throughout the course of the research.

COLLECTIVE NARRATIVE PRACTICE

Denborough (2008), together with other narrative practitioners working in communities and countries experiencing war, developed a range of narrative methodologies for individuals, groups and communities who experience trauma and hardship. These were especially designed to be accessible and relevant in contexts of collective trauma and hardship. The collective narrative methodology chosen for this research project was the checklist of social and psychological resistance (Denborough 2008). This was used as an analytical and interpretive method in the research process.

According to Denborough (2008), community practitioners at the Khiam Centre in Lebanon revealed that the traditional trauma checklists only elicited a problem saturated account of an individual’s identity, and they did not resonate with non-Western communities. However, the alternative checklist created by Denborough (2008) and the Khiam Centre includes signs of social and psychological resistance, by enquiring about the prevalence of psychological and social resistance. Psychological and social resistance refers to the individual or group’s actions to protect themselves and others during and after a traumatic experience (Denborough 2008). The analysis therefore focused on how participants protected themselves and others during the displacement, as well as the actions they took to rebuild their lives. The analysis regarding their slave heritage was intended to link their individual stories of their slave heritage to a collective history of slavery in the Western Cape.

Collective narrative practice is based on Freire’s *Pedagogy of Hope* (1994), where he believes it is the task of the progressive educator to unveil opportunities for hope. Freire (1994) stated that any attempt to do without hope in the struggle to improve the world would lead to hopelessness and despair. Freire (1994) believed that hope is an ontological human need which demands being anchored in practice and he therefore advocated for an education in hope. Freire (1994) believed that human beings are constantly seeking truth or meaning when they experience despair, and it is out of this despair that hope is obtained. Hope therefore needs to be grown out of experiences of despair (Denborough 2008). Collective narrative practice was developed, where the aim was not to diminish or deny the effects of trauma, but to honour the resistance that individuals, families and communities showed in the midst of the trauma.

Similarly, McKenzie-Mohr and Lafrance (2017) discuss the usefulness of “narratives of resistance” in social work research, where the emphasis is not on pathology, but on the way people and communities resist harmful stories of their experiences. Narratives of resistance are important in social work research as they allow researchers to explore taken-for-granted assumptions about participants’ experiences (McKenzie-Mohr and Lafrance 2017). This process also causes the social work researchers to reflect on their ability to listen to stories beyond the dominant narratives of society. It requires critical reflection and forms part of reflexivity in the research process.

REFLEXIVITY

Reflexivity in research is a process of critical reflection, both on the kind of knowledge produced and how that knowledge is generated, and is an essential part of decolonising research (Rowe, Baldry, and Earles 2015; Smith 2012). Reflexivity involves looking critically at one's role as researcher throughout the research process, and it therefore involves self-reflexivity. "Reflexivity in research is not a single or universal entity but a process – an active, ongoing process that saturates every stage of the research" (Guillemin and Gillam 2004, 274). By reflecting on my own positionality during the time collecting the data, I was able to gain new insight into the real effects of trauma and the experiences of marginalisation.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

In order to critically engage with the research findings and to include the "unofficial" stories of slave descendants into social work discourse, Foucault's (1977) concepts of counter-memories and counter-histories were applied. The discussion includes verbatim quotes of participants regarding their slave heritage and the trauma of displacement.

SLAVE HERITAGE

The participants had to reflect on their slave heritage. In the comments below, a first-generation participant discusses his slave heritage:

> Hendrick yeah, my grandmother's husband. He was part of the historical events, the slavery part. How do I cope with it? I overlook it, I have to overlook it now. You see. Because there's better things to look at. Things to read, understand that's how I have to cope with it. It makes me stronger. I try not to, like I said I try not to fight them, always try to avoid an argument, if you say something then I say I sorry I didn't mean it. You know. Rather be the weak one. Or pretend to be the weaker. Rather be submissive, that's ok, you know you can be strong, just leave it. Prevent the argument from going further. There is times where you have to do something about it, you can just keep quiet or run away.

The excerpt also reflects how Mr Valentine (pseudonyms are used) has repressed and dissociated memories of his slave ancestors when he says, "I overlook it, I have to overlook it because there are better things to look at and that's how I cope with it". By "it", Mr Valentine is referring to remembering his slave heritage, giving an indication of the trauma he associates with memories of his slave heritage. Recalling the trauma of his slave heritage, even though he was born 200 years after slavery has ended, is a result of unresolved historical grief which has been transmitted intergenerationally through socialisation in the family and society (Hoosain 2014). Social historian Shell (2001) explains how damaging slavery has been to the psyches not only of slaves, but also of their descendants due to paternalism and compliance which have been transmitted to the descendants. According to Evans-Campbell (2008), the "colonial trauma response" focuses on both historical and contemporary trauma responses, where current discriminatory experiences can trigger the individual to connect or identify with a past collective sense of trauma as a member of an oppressed group.

The researchers at the AAP advocate an expansion of experiences of life under apartheid to include voices which had been silenced by society, because the dominant versions of history have silenced or undermined other experiences and memories of life under apartheid (Sonn 2010). The focus of the work at the AAP is on apartheid memory as a form of history. However, the historical trauma of slavery needs to be included in reclaiming and rearticulating history. The participants in the project were not only descendants of slaves, but they also experienced the trauma of displacement during apartheid.

TRAUMA OF DISPLACEMENT

Trotter's (2009) life stories of displaced adults in Cape Town were aimed at creating counter-transcripts or counter-memories in opposition to the "official story" of the dominant group at the time. Trotter (2009) states that the official government transcript to justify the forced displacement was based on the idea that the areas were slums with unhygienic conditions, and that the forced removals were necessary to halt urban decay and overcrowding. However, the comments below indicate that those who were forced to move believed that the Cape Town they remember was a place without racial conflict and that their former homes and lives had met their needs:

> Cape Town … the community out there they grew to know each other, they knew each other. They were always willing to help each other. And they didn't see each other as neighbours, they … I think they saw each other as a family. They lived in one street, if I'm not at home then that neighbour would look after my place, or my child is your child.
>
> Like the togetherness of people, the unity, if it were, no matter what religion you had. You understand. Like we used to go to Moslem school, we used to go to mosque. Our friends used to go with us to Sunday school. You know things like that, and there was no difference between us. We were just like one family as we were growing up. That was lost, when we started moving out of the area. And I miss that, even today I miss that.

The stories of the children who were displaced with their families have not been heard, and the participants making up the first and second generations in this research were the children who were displaced. The stories of the third generation of displaced families have also not been heard. The memories and stories of the third generation challenge discursive practice, because these do not fit in under apartheid experiences, since they were born after apartheid. Hence, the assumption is made that they were not affected by apartheid (Hoosain 2014). The following extract from Amanda, a third-generation participant of the Caesar family, illustrates how her narrative represents a counter-memory and counter-history. Amanda related this narrative when asked about how the displacement and Group Areas Act affected her family and herself. She explains:

> They moved around a lot. I heard from my grandmother and she used talk about how they used to struggle. We used to live by my grandmother until we had our own house. I was four years old when we still had an "upstairs" house and then my father [accidently] burnt me. So, my father came up the stairs and I ran into him ... I came down the stairs running and so the boiling water fell on me. I am now still … [She lifts her blouse and shows how her body was burnt] ... my whole body is burnt. I was in hospital for a year and six months.

Amanda's father is a second-generation participant, and as a third-generation family member, Amanda tells her family's story about how they often had to move around as her family did not have a house of their own. She was told this by her grandmother, as she lived with her grandmother; in fact all three generations lived with their grandparents, because they did not have a house of their own. The effects of the family's forced displacement from Wynberg have been transmitted to Amanda, and she has also experienced the trauma of displacement indirectly through getting burnt with boiling water. This incident occurred because people were moved to townships after being displaced. The houses were small and built without any running hot water, and families had to boil water in kettles or on the stove. The effects of the trauma of displacement (poor housing conditions) have therefore been transmitted to the third generation. Another third-generation participant reflects on the death of her cousin owing to living in a house with no running hot water.

> My cousin and brother were in the bath and there was a gas stove with the hot water on the stove to boil hot water for the bath. And I remember they were still singing and someone knocked on the bathroom door and my brother got out of the bath to answer the door and he knocked over the gas stove, the boiling water fell on my brother and somehow the gas came open and all I remember was that from the gas I think that came open my cousin died, they found him in the bath.

Counter-memories come from people whose memories do not fit the historical narratives. Counter-histories and counter-memories therefore have the potential to challenge and transform discursive practice (Medina 2011). The narrative challenges the discursive practice, because the families were forcibly removed and informed that it was in their best interest and that the housing was of a better quality (Trotter 2009). Another third generation's narrative challenges the discourse of reconciliation in the following excerpt:

> To me it's quite heartsore. I have so much white friends you know, but there's still that hidden agenda by each and every one of them, you know what I mean? They know. Their parents raised them to say ok you are white and that's a coloured and that's a black, so basically you should know that they are more on a lower level. To me it's messed up. I honestly think we're still living the same, we still getting treated the same, we haven't moved forward ever since. Although since

> the white man is not ruling, there's been so much changes but they still not enough for us for what our parents went through understand? So basically to me not a lot is being done about what happened. I still feel like we are still living the same. Cause like each and every white person has got their hidden agenda. They might not show it. They might not expose it, but deep inside when you around them and the area, you can feel this is for us and that is for you.

Ms Jacobs says, "I feel like we are living the same". She is referring to the post-apartheid era, where her expectation was that racism would end after apartheid. This resonates with the reconciliation ideology that existed after 1994. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission formed a large part of promoting this ideology. It contributed to silencing the vast majority of apartheid victims and rendered their trauma invisible because of its focus on human rights abuses and amnesty for perpetrators (Bowman, Duncan, and Sonn 2010; Lephakga 2012).

This excerpt also uncovers the invisible trauma of racism. It has become widely accepted that racism forms part of traumatic experiences (Carter 2007; Holmes, Facemire, and DaFonseca 2016; Sanchez-Hucles and Jones 2005). However, the updated version of the DSM-5 fails to include the trauma of oppression, such as racial oppression and historical trauma. How trauma is constructed and deconstructed in research has implications for practice and policies in relation to marginalised and oppressed groups. Holmes, Facemire, and DaFonseca (2016) advocate Kira's (2001) definition of trauma as more inclusive, as it recognises the effects of structural trauma such as poverty, unemployment as well as historical trauma of slavery and genocide. Facemire and DaFonseca believe that Kira's (2001) definition recognises the trauma of oppression which the DSM-5 has failed to do.

CONCLUSION

This research is based on historical traumatic events and knowledge and how they were remembered and experienced. Power relations are inherent in the ways people remember and what they do not remember. Researchers cannot start their critical work if they do not consider the past and ongoing debates of the lived experiences and memories of the marginalised people who have become the silent scars of forgotten struggles (Medina 2011). It was therefore important to decolonise intergenerational trauma theory to acknowledge the contextual nature and power relations involved in remembering the trauma of displacement, thereby decolonising the theoretical approach.

Traditional ways of defining trauma are focused on the individual and are based on a medical model of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms, rather than the meanings which people give to an event. Hence, the traditional definitions of trauma were not appropriate. The families in this research study did not present with classic PTSD symptoms, such as persistent re-experiencing of the event, hyperarousal and persistent avoidance. The traditional medical model of classifying trauma may therefore not be appropriate for families and communities who have experienced the historical trauma, as the DSM-5 excludes forms of oppression as trauma (Evans-Campbell 2008; Holmes, Facemire, and DaFonseca 2016).

The trauma related to slavery and displacement does not always fit into traditional trauma narratives. In order to understand how the families have responded to the trauma of displacement and made sense of their slave heritage, the networks of power relations they have been involved in needed to be understood. A Foucaultian genealogy (Foucault 1977) offers a critical approach to forms of remembering and forgetting, which is significant for resisting oppression and dominant ideologies. By integrating the marginalised narratives into the mainstream of society, counter-histories and counter-memories are created. This occurs because remembering the past and knowledge of the past are held within the knowledge framework of the dominant society. Knowledge of the past and knowledge of traumatic events in South Africa have been based on colonial society and Eurocentric epistemologies which have excluded indigenous ways of knowing and living. By decolonising social work research, we will be able to interrogate and challenge dominant epistemologies that do not bring healing to groups of people who have been excluded and those who also share a legacy of colonialism.

REFERENCES

Abdullah, S. 2015. "Multicultural Social Work and National Trauma: Lessons from South Africa." *International Social Work* 58 (1): 43–54. https://doi.org/10.1177/0020872812461019.

Alayarian, A. 2007. "Trauma, Resilience and Creativity." In *Resilience, Suffering and Creativity: The Work of the Refugee Therapy Centre*, edited by A. Alayarian, 1–15. London: Karnac.

Allesandrini, A. C. 2005. *Frantz Fanon: Critical Perspectives*. London: Routledge.

American Psychiatric Association. 2013. *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders DSM5*. 5th ed. Arlington: American Psychiatric Association Publishing.

Barbarin, O. A., and L. M. Richter. 2001. *Mandela's Children: Growing Up in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. New York: Routledge.

Bombay, A., K. Matheson, and H. Anisman. 2014. "The Intergenerational Effects of Indian Residential Schools: Implications for the Concept of Historical Trauma." *Transcultural Psychiatry* 51 (3): 320–38. https://doi.org/10.1177/1363461513503380.

Bowman, B., N. Duncan, and C. Sonn. 2010. "Editorial: Towards a Psychology of South Africa's Histories – Living with and through the Apartheid Archive." *South African Journal of Psychology* 40 (4): 365–69. https://doi.org/10.1177/008124631004000401.

Bozalek, V. 2004. "Recognition, Resources, Responsibilities: Using Students' Stories of Family to Renew the Social Work Curriculum." PhD thesis, Utrecht University.

Bozalek, V. 2010. “The Effect of Institutional Racism on Student Family Circumstances: A Human Capabilities Perspective.” *South African Journal of Psychology* 40 (4): 487–94. https://doi.org/10.1177/008124631004000409.

Bozalek, V. 2011. “Acknowledging Privilege through Encounters with Difference: Participatory Learning Action Techniques for Decolonizing Methodologies in Southern Contexts.” *International Journal of Social Research* 14 (6): 469–84. http://hdl.handle.net/10566/528.

Bozalek, V., and L. Biersteker. 2010. “Exploring Power and Privilege Using Participatory Learning and Action Techniques.” *Social Work Education* 29 (5): 551–72. https://doi.org/10.1080/02615470903193785.

Braun, V., and V. Clarke. 2006. “Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology.” *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3 (2): 77–101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa.

Brave Heart, M. Y., and L. M. DeBruyn. 1998. “The American Indian Holocaust: Healing Historical Unresolved Grief.” *American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research* 8 (2): 56–78.

Bryant-Davis, T., and C. Ocampo. 2005. “The Trauma of Racism: Implications for Counseling, Research, and Education.” *The Counseling Psychologist* 33 (4): 574–78. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000005276581.

Carter, R. T. 2007. “Racism and Psychological and Emotional Injury: Recognizing and Assessing Race-Based Traumatic Stress.” *The Counseling Psychologis*t 35 (1): 13–105. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000006292033.

Chambers, R. 2007. Whose Reality Counts? *Notes for Participants in PRA/PLA-Related Familiarisation Workshops in 2007*. Brighton, Institute of Development Studies. https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/handle/123456789/6825.

Chillisa, B. 2012. *Indigenous Research Methodologies*. Los Angeles: Sage.

Danieli, Y. 1998. “Introduction.” In *International Handbook of Multigenerational Trauma*, edited by Y. Danieli, 1–17. Boston: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4757-5567-1_1.

Delgado, R., and J. Stefancic. 2001. *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*. New York: New York University Press.

Denborough, D. 2008. *Collective Narrative Practice: Responding to Individuals, Groups and Communities Who Have Experienced Trauma*. Adelaide: Dulwich Centre Publications.

Duran, E., and B. Duran. 1995. *Native American Post-Colonial Psychology*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Evans-Campbell, T. 2008. “Historical Trauma in American Indian/Native Alaska Communities: A Multilevel Framework for Exploring Impacts on Individuals, Families, and Communities.” *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 2 (3): 316–38. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260507312290.

Fanon, F. 1952. *Black Skin, White Masks*. London: Pluto Press.

Foucault, M. 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. London: Tavistock.

Foucault, M. 1977. *Language, Counter-memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews /Michel Foucault.* New York: Cornell University Press.

Foucault, M. 1978. *The History of Sexuality: Volume 1*. New York: Random House.

Freire, P. 1994. *Pedagogy of Hope.* New York: Continuum.

Gagné, M. 1998. "The Role of Dependency and Colonialism in Generating Trauma in First Nations Citizens: The James Bay Creek." In *International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma*, edited by Y. Danieli, 355–72. Boston: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4757-5567-1_23.

Garrity, Z. 2010. "Discourse Analysis, Foucault and Social Work Research." *Journal of Social Work* 10 (2): 193–210. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468017310363641.

Goodson, I. F. 2012. *Developing Narrative Theory, Life Histories and Personal Representation*. London: Routledge.

Gray, M., J. Coates, M. Yellow Bird, and T. Heatherington. 2013. "Index." In *Decolonizing Social Work: Contemporary Social Work Studies*, edited by M. Gray, J. Coates, M. Yellow Bird, and T. Heatherington, 333–55. London: Routledge.

Guillemin, M., and L. Gillam. 2004. "Ethics, Reflexivity and 'Ethical Important Moments' in Research." *Qualitative Inquiry* 10 (2)): 261–80. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800403262360.

Holmes, C. S., V. C. Facemire, and A. M. DaFonseca. 2016. "Expanding Criterion A for Posttraumatic Stress Disorder: Considering the Deleterious Impact of Oppression." *Traumatology* 22 (4): 314–21. https://doi.org/10.1037/trm0000104.

Hoosain, S. 2014. "The Transmission of Intergenerational Trauma in Displaced Families." PhD thesis, University of the Western Cape.

Kalua, F. 2014. "Revisiting Postcolonial Theory: Continuities and Departures in the Twenty-First Century." *English Academy Review* 31 (1): 66–76. https://doi.org/10.1080/10131752.2014.909004.

Kira, A. I. 2001. "Taxonomy of Trauma and Trauma Assessment." *Traumatology* 7 (2):73–86. https://doi.org/10.1177/153476560100700202.

Kohn, M. 2014. "Colonialism." In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by E. Zalta. Accessed 28 March 2017. http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2014/entries/colonialism.

Kovach, M. 2010. "Conversational Method in Indigenous Research." *First Peoples Child and Family Review* 5 (1): 40–48.

Lephakga, T. 2012. "Reclaiming God and Reclaiming Dignity: The History and Future of Black Liberation from Internalised Oppression." *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 38 (2): 65–80. http://hdl.handle.net/10500/8114.

Mattar, S., B. Droždek, and C. R. Figley. 2010. "Introduction to Special Issue: Culture and Trauma." *Traumatology* 16 (4): 1–4. https://doi.org/10.1177/1534765610385927.

Matzopoulos, R., and J. E. Myers. 2014 "The Western Cape Government's New Integrated Provincial Violence Prevention Policy Framework: Successes and Challenges." *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 19 (6): 649–54. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2014.09.009.

McKenzie-Mohr, S., and M. N. Lafrance. 2017. "Narrative Resistance in Social Work Research and Practice: Counter-Storying in the Pursuit of Social Justice." *Qualitative Social Work* 16 (2): 189–205. https://doi.org/10.1177/1473325016657866.

Medina, J. 2011. "Toward a Foucaultian Epistemology of Resistance: Counter-Memory, Epistemic Friction, and Guerrilla Pluralism." *Foucault Studies* 12: 9–35. https://doi.org/10.22439/fs.v0i12.3335.

Miller, R. L. 2000. *Researching Life Stories and Family Histories*. London: Sage. http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781849209830.

Mohatt, N. V., A. B. Thompson, N. D. Thai, and J. K. Tebes. 2014. "Historical Trauma as Public Narrative: A Conceptual Review of How History Impacts Present-Day Health." *Social Science and Medicine* 106: 128–36. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2014.01.043.

Morgan, A. 2000. *What is Narrative Therapy? An Easy-to-read Introduction.* Adelaide: Dulwich Centre Publications.

Mountain, A. 2004. *The Unsung Heritage: Perspectives on Slavery.* Claremont: David Phillip Publishers.

Poupart, L. 2003. "In The Familiar Face of Genocide: Internalized Oppression among American Indians." *Hypatia* 18: 86–100. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1527-2001.2003.tb00803.x.

Randall, M., and L. Haskell. 2009. "Disrupted Attachments: A Social Context Complex Trauma Framework and the Lives of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada." *Journal of Aboriginal Health* 5 (3): 48–99.

Reissman, C. 2008. *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences.* Los Angeles: Sage.

Rowe, S., E. Baldry, and W. Earles. 2015. "Decolonising Social Work Research: Learning from Critical Indigenous Approaches." *Australian Social Work* 68 (3): 296–308. https://doi.org/10.1080/0312407X.2015.1024264.

Sanchez-Hucles, J., and N. Jones. 2005. "Breaking the Silence around Race in Training, Practice, and Research." *The Counseling Psychologist* 33 (4): 547–58. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000005276462.

Shell, R. C. H. 2001. *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652–1838*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Smith, L. T. 2012. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. 2nd ed. Dunedin: Otago University Press.

Sonn, C. 2010. "Engaging with the Apartheid Archive Project: Voices from the South African Diaspora in Australia." *South African Journal of Psychology* 40 (4): 432–42. https://doi.org/10.1177/008124631004000406.

Ssali, S. N., and S. Theobald. 2016. "Using Life Histories to Explore Gendered Experiences of Conflict in the Gulu District, Northern Uganda: Implications for Post-Conflict Health Reconstruction." *South African Review of Sociology* 47 (1): 81–98. https://doi.org/10.1080/21528586.2015.1132634.

Tamburro, A. 2013. “Including Decolonization in Social Work Education and Practice.” *Journal of Indigenous Social Development* 2 (1): 1–16.

Trotter, H. 2009. “Trauma and Memory: The Impact of Apartheid-Era Forced Removals on Coloured Identity in Cape Town.” In *Burdened by Race: Coloured Identities in Southern Africa*, edited by M. Adhikari, 49–78. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

Volkan, V. D. 1996. “Bosnia-Herzegovina: Ancient Fuel of a Modern Inferno.” *Mind and Human Interaction* 7 (3): 110–27.

Wade, J., F. Mitchell, and G. Baylis. 2005. *Unaccompanied Asylum Seeking Children: The Response of Social Work Services*. London: British Association for Adoption and Fostering.

Walker, T. 2012. “The Future of Slavery: From Cultural Trauma to Ethical Remembrance.” *Graduate Journal of Social Science* 9 (2): 153–78.

Walls, M. L., and L. B. Whitbeck. 2012. “The Intergenerational Effects of Relocation Policies on Indigenous Families.” *Journal of Family Issues* 33 (9): 1272–93. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X12447178.

Wesley-Esquimaux, C. C., and M. Smolewski. 2004. *Historic Trauma and Aboriginal Healing.* Ontario: Aboriginal Healing Foundation.

Whitbeck, L., G. Adams, D. Hoyt, and X. Chen. 2004. “Conceptualizing and Measuring Historical Grief among American Indian People.” *American Journal of Community Psychology* 33 (3–4: 119–30. https://doi.org/10.1023/B:AJCP.0000027000.77357.31.

White, M., and D. Epston. 1989. *Literate Means to Therapeutic Ends*. Adelaide: Dulwich Centre Publications.

White, M., and D. Epston. 1990. *Narrative Means to Therapeutic Ends*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Zaveri, S. 2009. “Communication Maps 2009.” In *Participatory Learning and Action 60 © IIED*, edited by H. Ashley, N. Kenton, and A. Milligan, 180–3. Nottingham: Russell Press.