Cultural Narrative in TAT Responses: A Thematic analysis of stories told by

Mamelodi adolescents

by

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that: *Cultural Narratives in TAT Responses: A thematic analysis of stories told by Mamelodi adolescents*, is my own work, that all sources used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references, and that this dissertation of limited scope was not previously submitted by me for a degree at another university.

Signed at .... on this, the .... day of ....

....

T G Vorster

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

"The past is never dead.

It's not even past."

- William Faulkner, *Requiem for a nun* (1951)

"But I, being poor, have only my dreams;

I have spread my dreams under your feet;

Tread softly because you tread on my dreams."

- William Yeats,

He wishes for the Cloths of Heaven (1899)

"Give a man a fire and he's warm for a day,

set a man on fire and he's warm for the rest of his life."

- Terry Pratchett, *Jingo* (1997)

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ABSTRACT

In South Africa, where a large portion of the population lives in townships, more often than not, the therapist and client do not share a similar cultural context. Cultural knowledge is therefore pertinent to generating a complex and thorough interpretation of any psychological assessments. This study aims to explore possible cultural narratives evoked in the responses to the Thematic Apperception Test so that cross-cultural use of the test would be more effective in the Mamelodi township. The research is done from a narrative point of view, where lived experience is understood by organising it into structured narratives or stories that repeat throughout a person's life. The pictures of the TAT were viewed as a context that could elicit such life narratives from respondents. TAT stories from five adolescent residents in Mamelodi were thematically analysed as a method of identifying common stories that could reflect the cultural narratives that young persons in Mamelodi draw from to make sense of their world. The results indicated common narratives concerning the following: the experience of violence and danger, the experience of close relationships, dealing with challenges, and the role that clothes play. These findings, and possible findings from similar future research, might aid psychologists towards a better understanding of the TAT in the township context.

Keywords: Thematic Apperception Test, TAT, cultural narratives, Mamelodi township, multicultural psychology, thematic analysis, narrative psychology.

CHAPTER 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction to the topic

Locally and internationally sufficient contextual knowledge is included in the criteria for competent multicultural psychological assessment. Pillay (2004) mentions that appropriate knowledge about context should be a prerequisite for professional and ethical psychometric practice in South Africa (SA). In the United States of America (USA), Dana, Aguilar-Kitibutr, Diaz-Vivar and Vetter (2002) concluded that without appropriate contextual knowledge, generating a complex interpretation of multicultural clients' test protocols becomes very difficult. In SA we have an incredible diversity concerning ethnicity, language, religion, economic status and sexuality (to name but a few). If we as mental health professionals are to deliver professional and ethical psychological services to the population, it is important that this issue be taken seriously.

In my experience as a student psychologist working at the Itsoseng Clinic in Mamelodi (2009-2010), the therapist or test administrator very often has a different cultural background to that of the client. And, since Mamelodi itself is a vast pool of ethnic diversity, the relationship between therapist and patient is not reduced to simply a matter of race (e.g. white versus black). Furthermore, diversity also extends to socio-economic status. As discussed in Bandini (2008) and Mailula (2009), this township includes formal housing as well as informal settlements – often right across the road from each other. This means that while some residents have a comfortable lifestyle, many others live in abject poverty.

Language diversity is also prevalent in Mamelodi. Ruane (2010) writes that "the residents form a cosmopolitan community of Sotho, Zulu, Tswana and other language speaking groups" (p. 216). At the Itsoseng Clinic we also encountered Xhosa speakers and many of the clients were also competent in English and Afrikaans.

Furthermore, in my contact with the adolescents from the area, I noticed that themes of Western living are incorporated into their own culture. During my work at the clinic it became apparent that without an appreciation for the complexities of the Mamelodi culture and a flexible approach to psychology, it can become very difficult to generate valuable and accurate assessment interpretations.

1.2 Rationale for study

Du Toit and Piek (1974) note that the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) delivers information about attitudes, worldviews, frustrations, conflicts, fears, defences, emotions, sexual behaviour and relationships to people and the outside world. The TAT can be applied to many different situations and can yield results useful to psychological formulation and therapy. Additionally, as stated in Dana (2007), narratives in the form of picture-story tests (like the TAT) are particularly sensitive to cultural contexts. Therefore it seems as if multicultural research surrounding the TAT would definitely be a useful endeavour in SA; especially since the review of the available literature shows a definite lack of recent, local research in this area. Specifically, no local research has been done concerning the use of the TAT in the light of cultural narratives present in South Africa.

Whilst I had found the TAT useful in my work in Mamelodi, it also became apparent that more information was needed if I was to understand specifically how the Mamelodi cultural background influences the stories that the client tells in response to the test stimuli; especially given the cultural differences between my clients and myself. I realised that without such information I might, for example, interpret a certain attitude that the client presents as overly negative while this is actually a reflection of the broader socio-cultural narratives to which s/he is constantly exposed. Such a misinterpretation would have a definite impact on the subsequent therapeutic strategy and process.

1.3 Aim and objectives

The aim of this study is therefore to explore how Mamelodi adolescents respond to the TAT stimuli with regards to the cultural narratives of their environment.

The objectives are as follows:

- To identify the themes prevalent in TAT responses gathered from Mamelodi adolescents.
- To discuss how these themes might be reflective of the cultural narratives present in Mamelodi.
- To possibly identify areas for future research in the field of TAT use among South Africans.

1.4 Mamelodi: The study context

1.4.1 Background.

The City of Tshwane tourism website describes Mamelodi as follows:

Situated some 20 km east of Pretoria, Mamelodi is one of the oldest

townships. It dates from the late 1950s and is the home of the original and

unique jazz style called Molomba jazz. Places of interest include the local

cemetery for the grave of freedom fighter Solomon Mahlangu who was

executed for his part in the Goch Street shooting on 13 June 1977, Solomon

Mahlangu Freedom Square, Moretele Park - famous for the annual SA Music

Heroes Concert and the Mamelodi campus of the University of Pretoria.

(http://www.tshwanetourism.co.za)

According to Ruane (2010), Mamelodi is home to approximately one million,

mostly black South Africans. Mailula (2009) writes that it was established in 1953

under the Group Areas Act of 1950, in an attempt by the previous nationalist

government to separate the different races present in South Africa. Mailula (2009)

notes that the name means 'mother of melodies' – a reference to President Paul

Kruger (1825 to 1904) who reportedly had a talent for whistling and imitating birds.

The township is divided into western and eastern blocks by the Moretele river. The

western section is mostly occupied by formal housing and the eastern part includes

many sections of informal settlements.

Eskell-Blokland (2005) writes that the forced relocation into townships

originally led to a disconnection from the traditional ways of life that black South

Africans were accustomed to. However, over the last half century a distinctive

township culture in its own right has developed among the population. Townships, like Mamelodi, have also become the destination of persons from rural South Africa in the hope of employment and a better future. The *Mamelodi Stories* website (http://www.mamelodistories.org) notes that many people from Zimbabwe have also made Mamelodi their home. However, South Africans in Mamelodi often have little compassion for other Africans; these so-called foreign residents are not eligible for the same benefits afforded South Africans (Mailula, 2009).

1.4.2 Socio-economic situation.

Bandini (2008) describes Mamelodi as a vibrant and complex community that houses people of many different cultures, income groups, language preferences and value systems. Mailula (2009) mentions that the infrastructure includes a taxi rank, train- and bus stations, as well as a semi-industrial area situated close to the township. Mamelodi also has both primary and secondary schools, as well as a campus of the University of Pretoria.

In my experience there are numerous challenges that the residents face by being innovative and joining forces. For instance, Timm (2007) describes how, during her research and work in the township, she was often impressed by how the schools tried to combat a narrative of negativism and disrepair.

Eskell-Blokland (2005) writes that some radical changes have also occurred in township life. Since South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, the new government has focused on improving the infrastructure of townships like Mamelodi, and bringing services to South Africans that were disadvantaged by the apartheid

regime. Since the political restructuring, SA has also been open to influence from international markets which has further effected the development of local culture.

According to Ruane (2010), Mamelodi is generally populated by a community of low socio-economic status. Mailula (2009) mentions that Mamelodi is still one of the poorest areas in SA, with only an estimated forty-five percent of the population being economically active. Bandini (2008) notes that, since the township is separated from some of the commercial areas of Pretoria by the Magaliesberg mountain range, residents have to travel some distance to find employment – therefore spending much time on the road.

It should be mentioned that this situation has improved somewhat in recent years, as the more affluent eastern neighbourhoods of Pretoria have developed up to the boundaries of the Mamelodi township. Large security complexes have sprung up close to the township, with rich and poor now living closer to each other. However, these developments are mostly residential areas and the types of jobs available for persons from the Mamelodi township might be limited.

As mentioned by Eskell-Blokland (2005), family construction in the township is incredibly varied. Children living with grandparents, or with non-relatives are common; their fathers or mothers often travelling far from home to find work.

Ragimana (2006) found a high prevalence of HIVAIDS associated stigma in the community of Mamelodi; even though the study also found that the participants were quite knowledgeable about the topic. The study concludes that the issues

concerning stigma had more to do with fear and blame than with ignorance. It appeared to be a topic that was actually open to discussion amongst residents. Additionally, many people chose not to follow prescribed treatment plans since they believe that traditional healers can be of more help. The personal experience of HIV and AIDS did mitigate stigma on a personal level, but Ragimana found that the overall feeling was that the community would not accept people who were tested positive.

Unfortunately, the mentioned socio-economic problems prevalent in the township also have definite negative impacts on the youth of Mamelodi. Mailula (2009) writes that some mothers cannot supplement breastfeeding with other forms of nutrition, leading to malnutrition, undernourishment and lack of growth. Many children often go to school without breakfast and to bed without dinner. Some schools have had to establish feeding schemes; and for many children, this is often the only meal of the day. There are also many parents (or parental figures) who cannot afford to register their children for school or afford school fees each year.

Citing Maisel's 2003 study, Mailula (2009) also mentions the prevalence of child-headed households. It sometimes happens that the 'caregiver' child has to resort to sex work in order to feed everybody. Children orphaned by HIV and AIDS, whether they themselves are infected or not, are sometimes ostracised by the family members who are supposed to take care of them. Mailula (2009) further discusses various forms of abuse, especially sexual abuse, which are perpetrated upon the vulnerable children of Mamelodi.

Additionally, according to Mailula (2009), sexual education is not common in all black communities. This is one of the factors which contribute to uniform sexual behaviour amongst children. Many children from the township are left to experiment with sex on their own before they fully understand what the consequences might entail or which methods are available to protect themselves. Moswang and Ruane (2009) noted that township girls often end up copying sexual behaviour from the role models they find in popular music, television and films, especially since these media do not usually depict negative consequences of sexual behaviour.

In her study of bullying in primary schools, Timm (2007) found various discourses from the community that influenced children in Mamelodi, as the schools in that area are closely linked to the community. Societal messages of "violence"; "not having enough to eat"; and "no supervision" (p.145) were found, which flowed from the community into schools. The study made apparent a need for governmental policy to address these problems, as they have manifested on an institutional level due to the country's political history.

Timm (2007) also discusses a lack of contact between schools and parents, making discipline a time-consuming process since parents and teachers cannot easily gather to discuss such issues. There is also no formal alternative effective means of discipline to corporal punishment. It appears that one of the only options left to authority figures is to shout at the child or make them perform chores such as cleaning. Without the boundaries that were previously imposed by the old discipline methods, it seems as if children now easily challenge teachers. The educators'

methods are again challenged by parents, some urging for them to return to the old systems such as corporal punishment.

Furthermore, Timm (2007) mentions that Mamelodi schools now have the problem of dealing with children from different language groups; with the necessary formal structures for multi-medium education still in developmental phases. This mixing of various ethnic backgrounds, without the structures to handle them, contributes to a loss of community. It should however be noted that Timm did also find more positive and hopeful discourses with some of the interviewed educators. Some of the difficulties described above, though very serious, do not seem to be unapproachable.

Lifshitz and Oosthuizen (2001) write that health care facilities and social institutions are quite limited in Mamelodi; a problem that impacts upon the township schools. With a definite lack of remedial schooling, learning problems are also common, and classrooms are filled beyond capacity. As noted in Timm (2007), parents often do not know what is going on with their children's education; report cards are not collected and children are allowed to hide them. Therefore, when a child fails, it may even be a shock to the parents.

1.4.3 Challenges of psychological work in Mamelodi.

In a study with adult black South Africans in the township, Ruane (2010) found that residents are often hesitant to utilise the offered psychological services. The stigma surrounding mental illness, the lack of knowledge about the process, and the lack of trust in mental health professionals were found to be factors of

discouragement. Additionally, one notable factor was that the respondents felt that white psychologists lacked the cultural sensitivity and knowledge needed to effectively work in a black community (Ruane, 2010). The respondents also indicated that, because of acculturation during psychological training, the black professionals were not necessarily better equipped.

Furthermore, Eskell-Blokland (2005) mentions that one of the challenges with regard to working in the township context is that residents sometimes find it difficult to reconcile the influences of Western culture with their traditional beliefs. Psychosomatic symptoms, spirit afflictions, and vague feelings of dis-ease are but some of the problems that health workers have to help persons deal with. The overwhelming nature of social problems is also usually present. There is apparent conflict that arises with township residents from having to deal with the clash of cultures. This has necessitated that health workers explore multiple descriptions of reality with clients; so that they may employ systems thinking in order to arrive at a point where problems can be understood and solutions can be found; according to Eskell-Blokland.

1.4.4 The Itsoseng Clinic.

The clinical setting from which my research was conducted was the Itsoseng Clinic, located on the University of Pretoria's Mamelodi campus, formally Vista University, a historically black institution. The campus is situated on the edge of Mamelodi East.

According to the University of Pretoria (UP) website, Itsoseng Clinic is a non-government organisation that was established by the Department of Psychology at the university, in order to offer comprehensive psychological services to the Mamelodi community (http://web.up.ac.za). Ruane (2010) notes that a large number of Mamelodi residents as well as students from the Mamelodi campus report to the clinic each year – the "only formal psychological service provider in Mamelodi" (p. 219).

The clinic is staffed by psychologists, MA students, intern psychometrists as well as volunteers from the Mamelodi community. As noted in the UP website, Itsoseng focuses on continued research specific to the context of Mamelodi, providing a training base for future psychologists, and therapeutic intervention for Mamelodi residents (http://web.up.ac.za).

1.5 Overview of study

The structure of this study is as follows. Chapter 2 gives an overview of the international and local literature on the TAT, focusing specifically on studies about the TAT in multicultural or cross-cultural settings. In Chapter 3 the theoretical point of departure is discussed. This study was undertaken from a narrative point of view. First, the narrative analogy is situated within social constructionism, and then the discussion moves on to describe the connection between a narrative approach and the TAT. In Chapter 4 the methodology which was used for this study is explained. The thematic analysis suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006) was the mainstay of the qualitative data analysis in this study. Chapter 5 presents and discusses the prevalent themes which were constructed by me during the thematic analysis. Finally, Chapter 6 concludes the study, entailing the limitations thereof as well as recommendations

for future research. This chapter also includes the intra-analysis reflection I considered necessary in order for me to deal with the narratives that I brought into the analysis. As will be noted by the reader, throughout this study I attempted to remain aware of my own influence on the analysis of the data and the construction of the themes with regards to my experience of Mamelodi, the relevant clients, my knowledge of the TAT and my understanding of narrative theory.

CHAPTER 2 Literature review

2.1 The TAT

2.1.1 Original development.

According to Morgan (2002), the TAT was originally developed in the 1930's to 1940's by a group of psychologists at the Harvard Psychological Clinic. The group's coordinator and chief theorist was Henry A. Murray (1893–1988).

Morgan (2002) cites the 1935 article by Morgan and Murray as the first published writing on the TAT, *A method for investigation of fantasies: The Thematic Apperception Test*. According to Morgan (2002), this article describes the TAT as a projective measure that presents the respondent with a set of black and white pictures and requires him or her to tell the test administrator what is happening in the depicted situation, for example Card 1 depicts a young boy staring at a violin placed in front of him. The basic premise was that analysis of this fantasy narrative will bring forth ideas about the person's personality and/or psychological functioning.

Morgan (2002) also writes that Murray describes the original theoretical basis for the TAT in his 1938 book, *Explorations in personality: A clinical and experimental study of fifty men of college age*. It was a needs-based theory of personality that Murray had developed during the 1930's. Herein emphasis was given to the role of individual needs as physiological and psychogenic motivational forces such as hunger, sex and shelter, as well as love, autonomy and achievement. Murray proposed that eliciting stories through certain stimuli could be a conduit to understanding these individual needs along with the person's interpretation of

environmental expectations. According to Morgan (2002), Murray also suggested a method of interpreting these stories – a narrative analysis that focussed on the hero (the main character that the respondent identifies with), themes, presses, conflicts, defences and outcomes of the stories. Different cards would evoke different themes around a specific set of needs (e.g. achievement, affiliation, autonomy and aggression), as well as relationship issues among peers, family members, and authority figures.

2.1.2 A different view on the TAT.

In their seminal text in South African TAT training, Du Toit and Piek (1974) explain that the TAT was initially referred to as a projective test because of the term projection. This term was coined by Sigmund Freud whilst describing a defence mechanism where a person attributes his or her own feelings, needs and motivations to others in order to conceal the negative aspects thereof from the self.

However, Du Toit and Piek (1974) further write that projection is an insufficient explanation of why analyses of the TAT responses allow insight into a person's personality and/or psychological functioning. Although projection is part of what happens, a person does not simply project undesirable aspects of his/her own feelings, needs and motivations onto the characters depicted in the TAT pictures. Contemporary authors like Dana (2000), Cramer (1996) and Esquivel and Flanagan (2007) therefore refer to the TAT as a storytelling technique as opposed to a projective one.

Du Toit and Piek (1974) further explain that a person necessarily communicates his or her needs, feelings, attitudes, preferences, fears, preoccupations – to name but a few psychological categorisations – whilst reacting to any situation. Such a situation can even be a picture like a TAT card. Therefore, when the person relates the fantasy that is elicited by the TAT card, the assessor notes how a person observes and gives meaning to their observation. Analysis of this fantasy tells us about his or her life narrative; the person's psychological functioning and the experiences that contributed to that unique way of functioning.

2.1.3 Different methodologies of interpretation.

Other theorists and researchers soon saw the value of the TAT and started using the measure according to their own views and methodological preferences. Shneidman (1951) discusses fifteen different methodologies used to interpret TAT responses for research as well as clinical use. Most of these employed strict quantitative scoring schemes and checklists for possible themes. However, Shneidman (1951) cites Arnold (1949), Holt (1949), Tomkins (1947), Lasaga and Martinez-Arango (1946), Rotter (1940), and Symonds (1948) who employed inductive methods of content and thematic analyses.

Despite these numerous other methodologies, Murray's initial analysis of the hero has prevailed. First, it was operationalised in a formal scoring scheme by Bellak (1954). Later, Murray's method became applied in a more qualitative manner, such as Aronow, Weiss and Reznikoff's (2001) suggestion of thematically analyzing the TAT stories according to the hero and his or her interaction with the self and the environment. This analysis is informed by what the assessor knows the stimulus

demand of each card is to be. The stimulus demand refers to the main themes that the picture suggests (e.g. achievement, peer relationships, sexuality). How the hero deals with the stimulus demand is then compared to normative data as presented by Aronow, Weiss and Reznikoff (2001) in qualitative form. A key component to the interpretation is that the assessor also considers unique themes brought into play by the respondent.

2.2 Multicultural research and the TAT

With regard to multicultural use of the TAT, the work of psychologist and anthropologist, George A. De Vos should be mentioned. In De Vos' method, content themes in the TAT responses are categorized into presumed universal categories of interpersonal behaviour (Church, 2001). This includes instrumental categories (such as achievement, competence or adequacy, responsibility, control and mutuality) as well as expressive categories (such as harmony-discord, affiliation-separation, nurturance-deprivation, appreciation and pleasure-pain).

Church (2001) notes that "a number of researchers have employed De Vos' categories to tally the frequency of various content themes across cultures in order to identify motivational themes, social attitudes, or interpersonal concerns salient in each cultural group" (p. 991). Ephraim (2000) writes that in these efforts, minimal emphasis is given to basic personality structure, because this psycho-cultural approach tries to address the experiential self of the respondent and not pre-defined personality traits or weaknesses. This is done by focusing on narrative content and not the structural features of the response. This system allows for the development of normative data relevant to the ethno-cultural group being supplied with psychological

services; this is the ultimate aim to which my study attempts to contribute suggestions.

2.2.1 Original lack of multicultural standardisation.

According to Bullard (2005), the participants in the original TAT studies were only white male college students, except for one group which consisted of unemployed white youth of similar age. Additionally, series A – D of the TAT pictures only depicted Caucasians. However, as will be seen by the literature discussed below, other researchers soon began exploring the use of the TAT in a multicultural setting. An overview of the literature suggests that such research usually falls under one of two major categories: (1) Developing culturally specific adaptations of the TAT; and (2) Multicultural use of the standard TAT.

2.2.2 Development of culturally specific adaptations of the TAT.

Bullard (2005) writes that as far back as 1947, William Earl Henry was working on an adaptation for Navaho and Hopi children. Bullard (2005) mentions Lee, who developed a Zulu version in 1953; Sherwood, who sketched a provisional TAT for the Swazi and other southern African peoples in 1957; and Gladwin and Sarason as well as Lessa and Spiegelman, who used William Lessa's Micronesian adaptation in 1953 and 1954 respectively. Bullard (2005) also mentions Chowdhury, who developed a TAT for use in Southeast Asia during the 1960's and early 1970's.

However, according to Dana (2000), these pioneering studies rarely progressed past the initial stages and the normative population for these adaptations remained Euro-American, college-age students or middle class people, since the

researchers could not make the shift from looking for person-centred needs to exploring culture-centred pressures.

Yet, the research and development of culturally specific TAT-type tests did not stop there. Bailey and Green (1977) created a Black TAT in the USA. This study focussed on the respondents' experience of relating to the pictures. The African-American participants did distinguish between so-called white and black cards and did attribute different meanings to them. In the conclusion, Bailey and Green (1977) suggested that both the foreground characters as well the background figures and decor should possess the attribute of familiarity, so that the testing stimuli can be relatable to test subjects.

The 1980's saw the development of the TEMAS (*themes* in Spanish). This was an adaptation of the TAT with which extensive research has been done – by its creators – to validate its use among the population it was intended for. According to Costantino, Malgady, Colon-Malgady and Bailey (1992), there were two versions. One for use among white children and another for use among children from Hispanic and Black minority communities in the US. The pictures were designed to pull for or elicit themes surrounding aggression, anxiety or depression, achievement motivation, delay of gratification, self-concept, sexual identity, moral judgement, and reality testing.

Another example is the adaptation, with an even more specific goal in mind, created by Nazarea, Rhoades, Bontoyan and Flora (1998). Their study was done in the Philippines, and it was aimed at using stimulus pictures to evoke the cultural

narratives concerning environmental features and agricultural practice among the local population in light of land development that was taking place.

The two aforementioned studies had taken the main concept of the TAT, but created completely different cards with the aim of eliciting narratives pertinent to the specific population. Alternatively, there were also those who believed that the original Murray TAT was still just as useful if only the characters were made more familiar to the respondents in question. For example, Nalkur (2009) used such an East African adaptation of the TAT to explore the narratives surrounding achievement among street children, former street children, and school-going children in Tanzania. The results showed that this adaptation was indeed useful and the different narratives identified from each group seemed congruent with that group's environment. Van de Vijver (2000) cites the 1997 study of Misra, Sahoo and Puhan, who created an Indianised version of the Murray TAT where the faces and dresses of figures in the cards were amended to achieve familiarity.

Finally, efforts were also made to create culturally neutral or unbiased storytelling stimuli. Hofer, Chasiotis, Friedlmeier, Busch and Campos (2005) designed eight cards and collected stories from respondents in Costa Rica, Cameroon and Germany. The stories were then coded for the themes surrounding affiliation and power motive. The statistical results showed that four of the cards (a couple by a river; trapeze artists; a nightclub; and men around a table) consistently evoked the hypothesised themes among the different respondents. The other cards (an architect at a desk; women in a laboratory; a man holding a cigarette; and a ship captain) did not; suggesting that culturally neutral stimuli are possible. Farideh (1996) also tried

to eliminate cultural bias by using word descriptions of the basic situation and asking Chinese and British students to elaborate on the story. The aim of the study was to explore the different ways in which each group dealt with achievement motivation.

2.2.3 Multicultural use of the standard TAT.

The second category of multicultural TAT research involves using the standard TAT cards. Some of these studies focused on the validation and standardisation of the TAT as a psycho-diagnostic tool among different cultural groups. Others, which are of particular interest to my study, focused on exploring the various ways in which one cultural group deals with the themes evoked by the cards; the assumption being that these themes are universal to the human experience and that the picture stimuli on the card are sufficient to evoke the theme in question. Some examples of such studies will be explored next.

Caudill and De Vos (1956) used the Murray TAT Card 1and Card 2 to explore how Japanese American students dealt with achievement motivation. Card 1 depicts a young boy contemplating a violin that is resting in front of him. Card 2 depicts a farm scene in which a young woman is standing with books in her hand, and in the background a man is working while an older woman looks on. According to Ephraim (2000), the thematic analysis indicated that the children of first generation Japanese immigrants displayed high levels of positive self-initiated motivation. Additionally, the students' TAT responses included a positive sense of competency.

Colby (1966) used Card 9BM (four men lying in the grass, resting) to gather data from Navaho and Zuni native-Americans. The subsequent semantic analysis

distinguished well between the two groups. The Navaho are semi-nomadic sheepherders and they generally interpreted the picture as men taking a rest whilst on a journey. The Zuni, on the other hand, are maize farmers and these respondents mostly described the men as shirking work.

Friedman (1992) did a quantitative study on the responses to Card 4 (a woman clutching the shoulders of a man who is trying to move away from her) from Arab women of different ages. The stories were coded for power security, inner strength, and interpersonal influence. The results indicated that young Arab women did not have the same sense of power security that the middle-aged and older women had. It also showed that although men were generally viewed as having more interpersonal power and security (which might be expected given their ethnic beliefs and customs), women had more inner strength.

Ephraim (2000) also mentions other studies where thematic analysis of TAT protocols was used to explore the different ways in which various cultural groups responded to the same thematic stimuli. In terms of the achievement theme elicited by Card 1, Ephraim (2000) cites De Vos and Vaughn, who reported that Japanese students' narratives contained dominant issues surrounding personal achievement and competence in a 1992 study. In comparison Vaughn (as cited in Ephraim, 2000), found that Japanese-American students gave more narratives about parental pressure in 1983. According to Ephraim (2000), similar comparisons where done in De Vos and Kim's 1993 investigation amongst Korean immigrants living in the US and those living in Japan. Once again Card 1 was used to test the respondents' reaction to the idea of achievement. The immigrants residing in Los Angeles viewed achievement as

positive self-initiation, whilst the Koreans living in Kyoto-Osaka displayed a lack of motivation to positively resolved achievement issues. Ephraim (2000) cites similar studies done with youths from Central-America and Venezuelan Rural Areas (Suárez-Orozco,1989), as well as with Mexican-American youths (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco,1995).

A more recent study (Thonney, Kanachi, Sasaki & Hatayama, 2006) used Cards 3BM (a figure huddled on the floor, leaning against a couch), 13MF (a young man with his head buried in his arm, behind him is a woman in bed), 17GF (a woman on a bridge, leaning over the railing), and 18BM (a man clutched from behind by three hands). The aim of the study was to determine whether Japanese respondents viewed guilt or shame as central to distressful situations. The results indicated that guilt was the central theme.

2.2.4 The issue of familiarity.

A key issue that is raised by Thonney et al (2006), alongside Nalkur (2006), Van de Vijver (2000) and Bailey and Green (1977), is that of familiarity. It is a concept present in both the categories of research discussed above. In the first category (see 2.2.2), the researchers tried to develop a TAT adaptation that the specific respondents would personally relate to more easily and find more cultural resonance with. At the very least, some of the studies tried to Africanise or Indianise the Murray TAT figures. In the second category (see 2.2.3), some of the authors state that the reason it seems appropriate to use the original western TAT cards, was because the target respondents are sufficiently familiar with the cultural elements in the pictures. Thonney et al (2006), for example, noted that the clothes worn by the

figures in the Murray TAT are closer in kind to what modern Japanese wear, and facial features did not matter because they only used cards where the figure's face was turned away.

2.3 Multicultural use of the TAT in SA

2.3.1 Use of TAT adaptations in multicultural SA research.

As noted in Bullard (2005), multicultural TAT research in southern Africa got off to an early start with the attempted development of TAT's for Zulu, Swazi and other indigenous ethnic groups. However, these efforts did not seem to amount to much, or yielded results heavily influenced by the dominant colonial, socio-political narrative of SA's past. The version of the Zulu TAT (TAT-Z), published by the Human Sciences Research Council (Erasmus, 1975), tried to provide the respondent with a traditional and urban version of a picture designed to evoke a certain theme. Unfortunately, these days most of the cards would be considered historically insensitive to use, for example, both the traditional and the urban version of Card 6 depict a white man giving a black man instructions.

Yet, at the time quite a few studies were undertaken to explore the applicability of the TAT-Z. Erasmus and Minnaar (1978) explored the discriminative ability of the TAT-Z with regard to hospitalised and non-hospitalised black males, and De Wet (1980) investigated this measure's ability to discriminate between potentially successful and unsuccessful employees in the bus transport industry.

Another adaptation is the African TAT that De Ridder (1961) used while investigating the "Personality of the urban African in South Africa"; the study's title.

This study was largely a socio-political investigation of how African persons deal with urbanisation and westernisation which the study suggests is in direct conflict with traditional African culture. Of particular interest though, are the pictures used in the African TAT. They do not precipitate a historically insensitive narrative like the later TAT-Z. Additionally, if familiarity is the issue that black people might have with the original TAT, some of these African TAT cards may be possible replacements. However, this version seems to have been discontinued completely.

Although Poonan's (1963) investigation of certain personality factors amongst Indian high school learners employed the Murray TAT, the same author later undertook a comparative study of responses to pictures from both the Murray TAT and Indian modifications thereof (Poonan, 1971). Once again these modified pictures are not readily available.

2.3.2 Use of the standard TAT in multicultural SA research.

Erasmus (1965) quantitatively investigated the psycho-diagnostic value of the TAT on six Zulu persons. This study found that the results of the TAT analysis largely corresponded with the history of each case. However, the author emphasised the importance of psychologists having sufficient cultural knowledge when working in a multicultural setting and discussed the limitations of using translated narratives. The issue of familiarity was also mentioned. It seemed that the more formally educated and urbanised the respondents were, the less meaning seemed to be attributed in the narrative to the fact that the figures are white.

Seventeen years later, Lourens (1982) did a comprehensive quantitative study with the Afrikaans speaking Coloured communities in the Cape Peninsula. Respondents were grouped in three different socio-economic classes and a fourth group was made up of Military personnel. Lourens (1982) compared tendencies to give positive, negative or ambivalent stories in TAT responses to results from the 16PF personality measure. The TAT stories were also compared with biographical questionnaires completed by respondents, and were then analysed according to the psycho-diagnostic indicators suggested by Du Toit and Piek (1974). The results indicated that the TAT could be used as a diagnostic aid among this population, that the pictures elicited fantasies from the respondents, and that the cards were not experienced as alien. The analysis of the TAT protocols corresponded positively with results from the 16PF personality measure as well as the respondents' clinical history. The results also distinguished between respondents from different groups, e.g. socio-economic status. While this study had positive results for the use of the TAT in a multicultural setting, Lourens (1982) acknowledged that that there was a definite need for more research against which his results could be compared.

2.4 Chapter Conclusion

It seems that, at least for now, the Murray TAT is the most widely used storytelling test available in South Africa. Multicultural research on the standard TAT in South Africa has been sparse and has only looked at the validity of the measure as a psycho-diagnostic tool. More research is needed in order to understand how SA's diverse population interacts with the TAT, and how observing such interactions might contribute meaningfully to the delivery of psychological services in

SA. The discussion now moves to the theoretical point of departure from which such research might be undertaken.

CHAPTER 3 Theoretical point of departure

3.1 Social constructionism

My study was approached from the perspective of narrative theory, the roots of which lie in social constructionism. First social constructionism will be discussed by elaborating on its definition, its processes, how realities are constructed through language, and how different analogies can be used to view and explore constructed realities. The discussion will then move on to specifically explicating the narrative analogy.

3.1.1 Defining social constructionism.

Freedman and Combs (1996) describe social constructionism as a postmodern view of reality. In this view, reality is considered to be socially constructed, constituted through language, organised and maintained through narrative, and cannot be considered in terms of essential truths.

Lock and Strong (2010) write that, because meaning and understanding is central to all activities humans take part in, we constantly engage in conversations with others and even with ourselves in an effort to reach agreement about what any "symbolic form" (p. 7) should be understood to represent. Symbolic forms refer to everything that we use to engage with others, the world we inhabit, or with ourselves. This includes the words we use, non-verbal gestures, beliefs, laws, social customs and societal norms. Through these continued conversations and interactions our ideas about what a specific symbolic form means, becomes clearer and stronger as more parties to the conversation find agreement. For this reason Freedman and

Combs (1996) note that the two key elements of the social construction of any specific meaning is (1) social interaction over (2) time.

Gergen (2003) writes: "From the constructionist position the process of understanding is not automatically driven by the forces of nature, but is the result of an active, cooperative enterprise of persons in relationship." (p. 15). Gergen (2003) holds that through the ages the social negotiation concerning the meaning ascribed to "forms of understanding" (p. 16) – what Lock and Strong (2010) refer to as symbolic forms – has been an integral part of human activity. Additionally, these descriptions and explanations of people's environment can be considered as social actions in themselves.

Lock and Strong (2010) write that who the participants are and where the conversation takes place has a significant impact on the social construction of that specific meaning, for example, in different parts of the world the meaning of 'motherhood' is different. In some the emphasis might fall on the activities of feeding and bathing children, while in other communities 'motherhood' might include working fulltime to support the children financially. Since the process of social construction is continuous, it also means that the agreed upon understanding we have about a symbolic form may change over time or as we move to a different community. In fact, as noted by Gergen (2003), the way in which the meaning of any form of understanding changes over time can be found in the exploration of social processes such as "communication, negotiation, conflict" or "rhetoric" (p. 16).

Gergen (2003) maintains that, as social relationships unfold over time, the interpretation of objects, events or human behaviour within those relationships is recommended, strengthened or abandoned as a process of negotiation or conflict; opposed to it being simply classified by what Lock and Strong (2010) refer to as "essentialism" (p. 7). The social constructionist view postulates that there can be no essential truths – as mentioned above – about the character traits displayed by people. Humans define themselves according to social constructs and in turn act as socially constructed participants in their collective lives. It is therefore not the role of psychology to uncover any pre-defined characteristics in people by means of positivistic enquiry. Rather, it is to explore how humans make sense and how these forms of understanding yield diverse ways of being; given the context, the era and the others inside the relationship. Lock and Strong (2010) suggest that commonalities in human activity be viewed as "propensities" (p. 7) rather than essential truths.

3.1.2 The processes of social constructionism.

To illustrate the process of social constructionism, a thought experiment from Berger and Luckman's 1966 publication, *The social construction of reality,* is cited in Freedman and Combs (1996). Berger and Luckman suggest a situation where a man and a woman from very different cultures are the sole survivors of an ecological disaster. While reconstructing ways of survival, they have to make decisions about how concepts like shelter, food, clothes and protection will now be approached. A shared language will also have to be constructed. Over time their social interactions will yield agreed-upon habits and distinctions, but the man and the woman would still be aware that these were decisions and might easily be changed upon mutual agreement. If they were to have children, these ways of doing things will no longer

have same amount of flexibility as before. For the second generation, these methods of survival and communication will hold a new importance because these were the ways their elders did it. In the third generation these methods will be described as the way in which things are done. More implicit meaning – that their ancestors have always done it like this – is added to how they think about and engage with these methods of survival and communication. The fourth generation will view these methods as the way the world is; as a matter of reality.

Therefore Berger and Luckman write:

A central tenet of the postmodern world view in which we base our approach to therapy is that beliefs, laws, social customs, habits of dress and diet – all things that make up the psychological fabric of "reality" – arise through social interaction over time. In other words, people together, construct their realities as they live them. (Freedman & Combs, 1996, p. 23)

Berger and Luckman (as cited in Freedman and Combs, 1996), then go on to describe three processes by which social realities are constructed. (1) *Typification* – the sorting of events and attributes into categories. Realities are constructed through networks of typification, e.g. in some cultures certain familial jobs or chores are usually done by women. (2) *Institutionalisation* – typifications are then placed into sets, e.g. all these chores preformed by women might be included in the institution of motherhood. (3) *Legitimation* – the formal publishing of typifications and institutions adds legitimacy to them, e.g. dishwashing and laundry detergent advertisements usually depict woman busy with these chores.

The term used to encapsulate these processes of reality construction is *reification*, which is described as the apprehension of human activities as if they are more than only human activities. With enough legitimation, write Berger and Luckman, "institutions are now experienced as possessing a reality of their own, a reality that confronts the individual as an external and coercive fact" (Freedman & Combs, 1996, p. 25).

3.1.3 Reality as constituted by language.

Freedman and Combs (1996) write that one of the main differences between the modernist world-view and that of postmodernism is that language is not viewed by the latter as a means to simply describe what we observe around us. In modernism, the knowable and observable objects and events in our world directly correspond with the words we use to describe them in a one-for-one way. But in a postmodern view, like social constructionism, language is seen as constituting the world that we live in. Freedman and Combs write that "the only worlds that people can know are the worlds we share in language, and language is an interactive process, not a passive receiving of pre-existing truths" (p. 28).

Freedman and Combs (1996) note that the processes of typification and institutionalisation are linguistic processes. Every time we use a word like 'motherhood' (an institution), we legitimate and reify the typifications that are currently associated with it within our specific social context. Whilst the modernist view is that language is the bridge between the real word and our own subjective worlds. Rorty (as cited in Freedman & Combs, 1996), reminds us that the world out there does not speak – we do. Our language does not exist outside of ourselves. Once

we are programmed with a language, the world can make us hold beliefs, but it cannot propose language – and therefore meaning – to us. Only other human beings can.

Wittgenstein (2003) describes how, when a person hears a word, he or she might first recall the image of that object, but that this is very likely not the intention of the person who first said it. The purpose of words is not only that we simply remember what they describe, but they are also a call to action for the person hearing them. The meaning of the spoken word is not in the connection to the corresponding object, but in the instruction to act which it now creates between the two parties.

Language constitutes the world, not vice versa. Language evokes reality, transcending the here-and-now of time and space, and allowing for the appreciation of meaning at a later stage (and in another place). It is the logic of language that makes it seem as if our perceptions are real (Freedman & Combs, 1996) and that affords us the opportunity to think and talk about our world. It is during these conversations with ourselves and others through the use of language, that we negotiate the reality we live in.

3.1.4 Analogies.

As also noted in Freedman and Combs (1996), words do not carry meaning in themselves. Meaning is created by the word in relation to the context and no two contexts can be the same. Freedman and Combs hold that words are also inevitably mutable. This means that conversation is also an opportunity for developing new meanings, negotiated between speakers or even between reader and text. New meaning can give legitimacy to new beliefs, feelings or behaviour.

White and Epston (1990) write that any statement which postulates meaning is interpretive. These statements are the outcomes of an inquiry that is determined by our interpretive maps or analogies; i.e. how do we examine our world. This includes the questions we ask, realities we construct, and the effects experienced by those who do the inquiring. They determine the very distinctions that we pull out from the world. Ideological and cultural factors largely determine which analogies we employ. White & Epston note six different analogies, namely: Positivist physical science, Biological science, Game theory, Drama analogy, the Ritual process, and the Text or Narrative analogy. Suited to this study is the narrative analogy.

3.2 The Narrative analogy

3.2.1 Defining narrative.

White and Epston (1990) describe stories or narratives as efforts to make sense of life by arranging certain instances of *lived experience* (deemed important by the individual) in sequence across time in such a way as to arrive at a coherent account of one's life and the surrounding world. This allows one a sense of continuity and meaning in life and provides a platform from which daily life is ordered and future experience is interpreted. According to White and Epston, over time the re-telling and re-performance of the stories that involve similar lived experiences, evolve into individual narratives or life stories that inform how one interacts with others and the meaning that is ascribed to daily events.

Murray (2008) emphasises that narrative is not simply a way of seeing the world. People actively construct the world by using narrative and live through the stories told by others and by themselves; i.e. narratives have ontological status.

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Murray (2008) defines narrative as "an organised interpretation of a sequence of events. This involves attributing agency to the characters in the narrative and inferring causal links between the events" (p. 113).

The attribution of agency and creation of causal links between events are necessary as a process of generating meaning and order in our lives. Murray (2003, 2008) makes reference to the French philosopher Paul Ricoeur, who described this necessity as a pre-narrative state that evokes a demand to create this order and meaning for our reality; lest we be "awash in a sea of time" (Murray, 2003, p. 98) that constitutes our daily experiences. Brunner (as cited in Murray, 2003), writes that this process is especially useful for integrating strange or unknown experiences that are a deviation from established cultural patterns. According to Becker, cited by Murray (2008), the function of the narrative is thus particularly pronounced in a person's understanding of everyday disruptions to his/her routine. These disruptions may include personal, family, health or financial problems. The creation of the narrative is an attempt to restore some sense of order to the account that we maintain about ourselves by plotting the events we live through in an organised and causal sequence of events.

Hiles and Čermák (2008) write that "Events do not present themselves as stories, but it is the experience of an event that becomes a story" (p. 149). White and Epston (1990) note that the construction of narrative is always done after the fact. The narrative is created through the continuous reflecting on or recollecting of past events. It is this continuous retelling of the narrative that reifies it. Yet, the meaning we evoke from it remains across time. Interaction among persons can thus be

considered as the interaction of readers around narratives. Furthermore, the meaning generated from past events is used to interpret future events or experiences.

3.2.2 The structure of narrative.

Stories or narratives, according to McAdams (as cited in Murray, 2008), can be viewed in terms of the tone, the imagery used, the themes and the ideology that underlies the story.

White and Epston (1990) go on to discuss how a story has a beginning, a middle and an end. Thus the interpretation of the present is future orientated as well as past-determined. The stories people live through determine their interaction and organisation, and that the evolution of lives and relationships occur through performance of such stories or narratives. Stories are full of gaps which persons must fill in order for the story to be performed. These gaps recruit the lived experience and the imagination of people. White and Epston (1990) write that with every performance, persons are "re-authoring their lives" (p. 13). The evolution of lives is akin to the process of re-authoring, the process of persons' entering into stories, taking them over and making them their own.

3.2.3 The function of narrative – constructing identity.

During social interaction with others, narratives help to construct a sense of identity or selfhood over time. Murray (2008) writes that a person may hold different narrative identities which are connected to different social relationships. In each specific interaction the dominant narrative identity provides us with a sense of localised coherence and stability. Moments of instability are handled by making

connections to aspects of the other narrative identities. This is to assert that our lives are not simply disconnected sequences of events and that we are in fact the narrators of our own lives.

3.2.4 The social dimension of narrative.

Murray (2008) further emphasises that narratives do not occur within a vacuum. The social context that we live in encourages and shapes our narratives. The character of the story largely depends on the audience, the relationship with the audience as well as the broader cultural context. It is through narrative then that the person also becomes an active agent that engages with that world. What is important to remember is that the audience to the narrative is also not a passive listener. The narrative is created and reified in the exchange between narrator and audience, and when the roles are reversed each party's narrative is still influenced by the other.

Additionally, according to Murray (2008), narratives may also be constructed and maintained by collectives. Communities of people often tell stories about themselves that describe their history, their values and aspirations. These stories distinguish one group from another, and overlap with the personal narratives of individual members, so that each person might also define him / herself as part of the group.

Murray (2003) writes that the cultural narratives or plots available to people actually give shape and structure to their interpretation of events. Some cultures have a larger repertoire of plots to draw from while others may only have a few. This will

influence to what extent persons from a certain culture give shape to the past and create projections about the future.

Another aspect of the social nature of narrative, as explained by Murray (2003), is the question of how these social narratives are constructed. Through the use of everyday language, the character of social narratives is conditioned. We reciprocally share stories about ourselves with fellow members, about everyday events and about events that affect others in our group. Thereby the social narratives we draw from are influenced not only by ourselves but also by others in the community. Our everyday experiences are also organised, in part, by others with whom we share the cultural context. In fact, the very creation of a story is done in the common language that we share with the community members, so that the story might also make sense to them. Language is also specific to the context; consider the use of slang, common phrases, idioms, dialects or colloquiums.

Drawing from the work of Foucault, Murray (2003) further writes that social narratives represent different power interests. It is a means of social discipline to adopt certain dominant social narratives, and people constantly negotiate the connection between their personal narratives and the dominant stories found within the culture.

3.3 TAT responses as narratives

3.3.1 TAT responses reflect narrative structure.

The story responses to the TAT stimulus card reflect this narrative understanding of reality. The responses have the same structure or shape of story or

narrative. They have a beginning, a middle and an end. It is communicated through language, both verbal and non-verbal. The responses contain characters that undertake actions in order to achieve certain goals, and casual links are drawn between events in a temporal universe.

3.3.2 TAT responses as narrative process.

One of the most important reflections of the narrative analogy is that the TAT responses are created as a result of an interaction between a storyteller and an audience – in this case between a respondent and a test administrator. During the administration of the TAT, respondents are instructed, and if necessary encouraged, to include what happened the moment before what is depicted in the stimulus and what will happen after. The demand placed on the respondent is to view the depicted situation as a moment in a temporal world where casual links need to be created, so that a coherent and ordered explanation of the depiction might be generated. By the same process, agency needs to be attributed to the characters depicted and sometimes even to characters that are not actually visible in the stimulus. This endeavour reflects to same processes that take place when, for example, a mother asks her child: "How was your day at school?" The child will not simply relate the observed events of the day but also attempt to explain the actions of others, the impact thereof on him or her, and how these events were causally connected to each other.

In addition, the situations illustrated in most of the TAT cards – at least in all of the common cards used in my study – depict some kind of difficult, ambiguous or even strange situation. From my study's theoretical perspective, the respondents therefore have to deal with pre-narrative demand that forces them to create a

meaningful and ordered narrative about the TAT stimulus. Some of the information in the TAT responses is usually pulled directly from the stimulus card. Respondents often start a story by describing simply what is illustrated. However, this still leaves gaps in the narrative that has to satisfy the demands of a casual temporal universe. As mentioned in the discussion about the narrative analogy, people will fill these gaps by drawing from their own lived experience, imagination and life stories.

Cramer (1996, 1999) writes that responses to the TAT cards may be viewed as reflections or expressions of such life stories. The important themes of the person's life are mirrored in the TAT stories, as seen in the concerns and conflicts of the central characters, the representation of interpersonal relationships, the sequencing of central episodes of the story, and in the story outcome. In my study, I propose that the thematic patterns contained in the TAT responses are closely linked to the interpretive patterns by which the respondents organise their actual experience of their world; and in turn these experiences organise the interpretive patterns.

Esquivel and Flanagan (2007) agree with this viewpoint and write: "The pattern of stories constructed by the examinee is a reflection of autobiographical accounts or styles of perceiving, interpreting, and resolving conflicts in everyday situations that tend to parallel the individual's life narrative process" (p. 274).

Furthermore, narrative theory also emphasises the importance of context. Cramer (1996) describes various levels of context that is present when using the TAT. First, there is the actual stimulus of the TAT cards; different cards evoke different narratives. The testing situation and environment, reason for testing and presence of

the test administrator are also included. Then there is the respondent's personal context which includes age, gender, level of education, socio-economic status, personal history and significant relationships; to name but a few of the main categories. The words that the respondent uses also exist within a linguistic context. Finally, the interpreter's context and narratives, as mentioned before, is also present and does influence the interpretation of the TAT stories.

3.3.3 The TAT interpreter – the importance of the interpreter.

Additional consideration need also be given to the interpreter. Cramer (1996) writes that a narrative sensitivity is required on the part of the interpreter. This includes the awareness that the story contains more than the concrete information or explicit meanings on the surface. Implicit meanings, sometimes unconsciously revealed by the respondent, should be expected. Stories should be considered reflective of process rather than accounts of historical experience. Cramer maintains that the need to order and integrate experience is a repetitive process. The interpreter should therefore be aware that the same story lines or thematic material will manifest in various forms and with different content as the storyteller's unique way of organising experience is expressed.

Cramer (1996) reminds that, from a narrative perspective, it is these repeated story lines that are of importance. TAT responses do not include observables and the stories are not simply reflective of historical truth. It should rather be considered as the storyteller's attempt at reworking experience into patterns that lends the stability of comprehension and meaning to experience. These constructed storylines are used

to explain new experiences (in this case the TAT stimulus) and to cope with these new experiences.

Furthermore, just as the respondent organises experience into meaningful patterns, so the interpreter constructs the meaning of the discovered storylines through interpretation. In other words, the meaning of a TAT story is connected to the narrative from which it is interpreted. The interpreter's narrative must therefore also be taken into account. Here Cramer (1996) mentions that the intention of the interpreter influences the way in which the TAT response is listened to. Ideally, the interpreter should try to listen with free-floating attention and without firm preconceptions so as not to miss storylines that are idiosyncratic to the storyteller. There should be no commitment to finding particular patterns in the TAT responses; rather storylines should be discovered as they occur. Storylines that are repeated will draw attention to themselves as important. In clinical work, the aim should be that the ultimate interpretation be mostly reflective of the narrator's storylines and only minimally of the interpreter's. In my study, this minimal influence was the goal.

Cramer (1996) does describe how the interpreter's narrative may sometimes be more defined. For example, in the more quantitative TAT studies – mentioned in the Literature Review – coding schemes for specific attitudes such as need achievement were used. These coding schemes may not be completely regarded as narrative material, but they do share some characteristics. In this case a shared characteristic is the way that casual links and character agency in the stories are understood from the perspective of motivation.

Although I attempted not to have such firm ideas about what the TAT stories will reveal, the fact that the interpreter cannot distance himself from all pre-conceptions, cannot be ignored. It is thus best to acknowledge pre-existing narratives on the part of the interpreter. The intention was of course to not have a formal interpretive scheme, but the general definition of what constitutes narrative material was kept in mind, especially during the coding stage. Reflection was constantly used as a method to stay aware of my interpreter's narratives (see 6.1.3).

3.3 Cultural Narratives in TAT responses

Freedman and Combs (1996) remind that an individual's life stories are created in relation to larger and dominant, culturally specific narratives that specify the preferred ways of believing and behaving in that culture. Therefore, when trying to formulate a comprehensive understanding of a person's experience of his or her world, not only should one be curious about the individual narratives which a person brings into a conversation, but also be cognisant of the relevant cultural narratives that will inevitably be present. Dana (2007) writes that narratives found in picture-story test responses are particularly sensitive to cultural context and allow for the exploration of cultural and / or racial identity.

Given the discussions above, the approach to TAT responses as narrative material will then include the concept that the stories will also be indicative of cultural narratives; especially if responses from multiple respondents with the same cultural background are analysed. Many of the studies mentioned in the Literature Review used this idea to investigate various aspects partial to cultural members' psychological

life, such as Nazarea, Rhoades, Bontoyan and Flora (1998), Nalkur (2009), Caudill and De Vos (1956), Colby (1966) and Friedman (1992).

3.4 Chapter Conclusion

Based on the above as well as the Literature Review, qualitative analyses of multiple respondents' TAT stories are thus called for in order to identify and explore the cultural components that are included in the themes reflected in the TAT responses of a certain cultural group; such as was done by Nalkur (2009).   The literature which was used for this chapter and for Chapter 2 emphasises context and the narratives of the interpreter. The Conclusion chapter includes descriptions of how I attempted to deal with my pre-existing narratives about Mamelodi, the respondents of this study, my presence as test administrator and counsellor with the respondents, the TAT, and with my understanding of what constitutes narrative material (see 6.1.3). The qualitative methodology used in this study is discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4 Methodology

4.1 Qualitative Research

According to Terre Blanche, Kelly and Durrheim (1999), qualitative social constructionist research is concerned with how people's understanding and experiences are derived from, and feed into, larger discourses. This type of research design seemed best suited to my study, because of social constructionist research's emphasis on language as a system of meanings where individual words only carry specific meaning when viewed in relation to each other. From this point of view, the culturally specific ways in which the respondents deal with the thematic stimuli presented to them by the TAT cards could be constructed from the thematic analysis that was planned. It was thought that the responses should also paint some picture about the ways in which these young people socially construct the world that they live in.

Throughout the study the criteria suggested by Yardley (2008) for qualitative research were considered. These were sensitivity to context, commitment, rigour, transparency and coherence. Sensitivity to context entails a clear understanding of the study's theory, the methodology and results of previous research, the socio-cultural setting, and the relationship between the researcher and respondents. Commitment involves spending significant time with the research topic, and rigour refers to whether sufficient data was collected and analysed. Transparency refers to detailing the data collection and analysis process, and coherence refers to how well the research question, the theoretical point of departure and method of data analysis fit together. The discussions below will illuminate the attempts of satisfying these criteria.

4.2 Sampling

During my practical work at the Itsoseng Clinic in Mamelodi-East during 2009 and 2010, I administered numerous TAT's to different clients as part of their therapeutic process. From these archived protocols, I extracted those that fit the following inclusion criteria:

- Respondents must be between the ages of 14 and 21. Louw, Van Ede and Louw (1998) refer to this age range as middle to late adolescence. This age range is significant, because we very often provide psychological services to high school learners and university students at the clinic. Knowledge that might inform the interpretation of TAT responses from this age group would be useful to all working at the clinic.

- Respondents must have lived in Mamelodi since at least age 14. As discussed before, narratives develop through social interaction over time. The relevant clients need to have been living in the area for a significant period if the results of the thematic analysis done on their TAT responses could be discussed as reflective of socio-cultural narratives present in the Mamelodi context. Since the focus of my study is adolescents, it was thought that the respondents should at least have lived in the township during this developmental phase.

- The respondents should have no history of mental illness. This is to contribute to the homogeneity of the sample. Significant emotional distress tends to colour our view of the world. TAT data from such clients would skew the discussion of the analysed themes as reflective of socio-cultural narratives present in the Mamelodi context. I met this criterion by going over the relevant clients' clinical histories as well as paying attention to the reason

they initially came to the clinic. Protocols will only be included in the data set if there is no evidence of maladaptive functioning as described by the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual for Mental Disorders IV − Text Revision.

Once the final selection of protocols was completed, what remained were protocols from four females and one male between the ages of 18 and 20. I decided to include the male's perspective, but it was also noted that a complete male to female comparison would not be possible. The participants' educational level ranged from Gr. 11 to first year university student.

Initially, it was proposed to analyse responses to cards which all or most of the selected protocols have in common. In our training we were taught to use the standard battery suggested by Bellak (1954, p. 100). Therefore, these common cards would most likely be Cards 1, 2, 3BM, 4, 6BM, 7BM, 11, 12M and 13MF for males. For females the same cards apply except that the GF version of Cards 6 and 7 were used. Card 9GF was substituted for 12M since Bellak described them as eliciting stories around the same theme; the relationship to another person of the same gender. According to Bellak, these two sets of cards collectively elicit responses to the same themes surrounding all of the basic human relationships.

However, during administration other cards were sometimes included to explore themes specific to the client. During the final analysis it was found that these auxiliary cards also contained some of the narratives constructed from responses to the main battery. In such cases these cards were included to maintain a rich description of the data set.

4.3 Data analysis

4.3.1 Thematic analysis.

On the topic of thematic analysis, Braun & Clarke (2006) write:

Thematic analysis can be an essentialist or realist method, which reports experiences, meanings and the reality of participants, or it can be a constructionist method, which examines the ways in which events, realities, meanings, experiences and so on are the effects of a range of discourses operating within society (p. 81).

The reason for choosing the thematic analysis as suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006) is because of the manner in which the authors explain such an analytic tool as being reconcilable with any theoretic framework. They maintain that this is possible as long as the researcher is clear about what it is that he or she is doing and why. Choices should be made about what exactly counts as a theme, and this may be connected to the theoretical point of departure. Emphasis is given to the role of the interpreter in constructing the themes; not simply discovering them or noting passively how they emerge from the data. Braun and Clarke (2006) write that thematic analysis is compatible with both essentialist as well as constructionist research, although they focus on the latter.

Braun and Clarke (2006) define thematic analysis as a way of identifying, analyzing and reporting themes or patterns from data. It is an attempt to, albeit minimally, organize and describe data in rich detail. Braun and Clarke feel that often not enough time is spent in qualitative research; describing the assumptions made about the data or the actual method of analysis. To combat this problem, they make

clear the specific choices which need to be made and reported on, so that readers of the research might later be able to evaluate and compare other studies on the topic. This aspect of Braun and Clarke appealed to me as a good way to conduct novice qualitative research, since it also helped to facilitate the thinking process; starting with the research question and then moving on to the coding and final analysis.

4.3.2 Making the important decisions.

The first concept that needed to be clarified was what counted as a theme. Braun and Clarke (2006) define a theme as capturing "something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of *patterned* response or meaning within the data set" (p. 82). In my study, I took the answer from the discussion on the theoretical point of departure. Data was considered to reflect a theme if it fit with the view of TAT responses as narrative material. The key element was data that reflected an attempt to attribute agency to the described characters and / or an attempt to organise events in a manner that inferred causal links between them. Such events could be external actions or internal psychological states. This can be considered a deliberate interpreter's narrative that I kept in mind throughout any handling of the data. As an interpreter I was looking for agency attribution and causal inference.

Braun and Clarke (2006) note that the method of determining the importance of a theme is not simply a matter of quantifiable prevalence. They suggest that thought should be given to how a theme's "keyness" (p. 82) is determined compared to that of other themes. What is important is the relevance that the theme has in terms of the research question. The research question of my study is about how cultural

narratives inform Mamelodi adolescents' responses to the TAT stimuli. Therefore, the assumption was made that if a theme appeared more than once in any data set, it would be considered as possibly reflective of a cultural narrative; given that all the participants share the context of Mamelodi and come from the same age group.

However, since the TAT stimulus is a very specific context, it was also decided that the importance of a theme would not simply be determined by how many times it occurred. What was also often considered was the uniqueness of a theme compared to what the researcher was trained to expect by the mostly Eurocentric literature. It is important to note that I attempted to only consider this uniqueness once a potential theme had been identified; the aim here was to minimise the impact that my existing TAT knowledge and expectations of typical responses would have on the analysis.

The second question that needs to be answered, according to Braun and Clarke (2006), is whether the analysis will be a rich description of the entire data set or whether it will be a detailed account of one particular aspect of the data. I followed Braun and Clarke's suggestion to focus on a rich description of the content of the entire data set in light of the fact that this is an under-researched area – judging by the review of available literature. Although the context of the TAT stimuli might be very specific, there was no specific question or area of interest to explore. Compare this to other TAT studies which focused solely on the theme of *need achievement* as a response to Card 1. It was decided that such detailed account of one particular aspect did also not fall within the scope of my study.

Thirdly, Braun and Clarke (2006) view it important to decide whether coding will be done from an inductive or deductive point of view. This study followed an inductive approach as the identified themes were closely linked to the actual data; as opposed to attempting a fit between the data and a pre-existing thematic coding framework or the interpreter's preconceptions. This choice to do data-driven coding turned out to be an important aspect of the research. As discussed in the chapter on the Theoretical Point of Departure, when viewing the TAT responses as narrative material, the interpreter's narratives also play a part. During the coding process every effort was made to let the themes / storylines of the narrator come to the fore, with as little influence as possible from the narratives of the interpreter. Especially, as will be discussed in section 6.1.3, since I felt that my narratives surrounding the context were not complex enough and possibly biased. As mentioned before, another aspect of the interpreter's narratives that had to be taken into account was the theoretical knowledge concerning TAT interpretation. The decision was made to only review the relevant literature after the coding and analysis had been done.

Finally, Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest making the choice between identifying themes at a semantic or a latent / interpretive level. This study aimed to only work with themes on the semantic level; identifying themes within the explicit meanings described by the respondents in their responses to the TAT stimuli instead of looking for underlying ideologies and assumptions beyond that. This was due to the fact that, as per the discussion of TAT responses as narrative material, the respondents' stories were already an interpretive act – their way of making sense of very specific stimuli. Furthermore, the focus of the study is restricted to exploring the common narratives found in TAT responses with the aim of understanding the TAT in

the context of Mamelodi, as opposed to using the TAT to explore the socio-cultural composition of Mamelodi. This decision was also a further attempt to distance the interpreter's narratives from the analysis by only concentrating on what is on the page as opposed to theorizing what it means during the coding process.

4.3.3 Coding and analysis of the data set.

According to Braun and Clarke (2006) the first phase of coding and analysis involves becoming familiar with the data. This means reading and re-reading the data and making notes on any initial ideas. All of the TAT protocols included in this study were administered by this researcher. The administration method used was as suggested by Du Toit and Piek (1974), the preferred method of TAT administration is to write down verbatim what the respondent says. Care should be taken to note significant moments of non-verbal behaviour. The time it takes for a respondent to start his or her story as well as significant pauses should be noted.

Administration was thus the first contact with the research data. Afterwards the verbatim stories were converted from short hand to long hand, which again offered the researcher an opportunity to become familiar with the data. Once the formal research process started and the data was read and re-read again, notes were taken on the initial ideas that came to mind. It was important that some time went by between visits to the data to prevent some of the preliminary ideas driving the coding. Throughout the coding process I also attempted to keep in mind that I knew the respondents in my capacity as a mental health care provider. It was important not to simply find codes that I might expect, given the knowledge I had about their personal

histories. At this point in time all the TAT protocols were in digital format on Microsoft Word. Notes were created using the comments tool.

The second phase, suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006), is to start generating the initial codes by highlighting interesting features of the data in a systematic way. This is done across the entire data set and data that fall under the same code are grouped together in this phase. Braun and Clarke (2006) note that codes identify a feature of the data – in this study's case semantic features – that appears interesting or relevant. It is the most basic segment of data that can be assessed in a meaningful way. The codes are later grouped into broader themes.

Since the coding in this study was decided to be data-driven, the entire data set was systematically worked through. As suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006), care was taken to give equal attention to each data item – in this case each TAT response. Practically speaking, the Microsoft Word files that contained the notes that were initially made, were read and re-read again. The notes were discarded, grouped together to form codes or, in other instances, codes had already been identified during the familiarisation with the data in phase one.

Once the coding was completed and re-visited, all the extracts that were connected to the same codes were digitally grouped together in a new file. Each extract was identified by the respondent's number and the number of the TAT card to which it was a response. When an extract was copied to the new files, all the comments indicating other codes for the same extract were copied with it, so that the subsequent refinement phases of the analysis would be easier. Yardley (2008) notes

that it is important to leave a "paper trail" (p. 243) so that there could be a clear link between the raw data, the coding process and the final analysis, satisfying the criteria of transparency. This was kept in mind while managing new digital files created during each phase of the analysis and storing the files from the previous phase. At this point in time extracts still consisted of the whole TAT response so as not to lose context and to also aid with the refinement process of deciding where an extract really belongs.

Possibly because I was working on the coding alone, I found it difficult not to think ahead to the possible themes I might construct. Therefore it was very important that as many patterns as possible be coded to keep my thinking as broad as possible at this stage. As suggested in Braun and Clarke (2006), extracts were chosen in such a way that context might not be lost. Once a code was identified for a certain extract it was visited again, so as not to miss any additional codes it might also fall under. During this phase the entire data set was coded for the following:

Being Alone	Education	Danger / Fear	Clothing
Frustrated Needs	Illness / Death	Available help	Romantic Relationships
Music / Creativity	Abuse	Crime / Violence	Family
Displaying emotions	Sinister motives	Dealing with challenges	Relationships with elders

According to Braun and Clarke (2006), the third phase of analysis is about searching for themes. Here the codes were organised into potential themes, and the

data relevant to each theme was gathered. During this phase some codes were folded into others, e.g. most of the Sinister Motives extracts were included with Danger / Fear. Numerous mind-maps were constructed to indicate how the different codes might be related to each other and how they could be used to construct a theme. What was important was to keep track of where the extracts for the different themes came from. During the familiarisation process in phase one it had become clear to me that some themes / narratives would be prevalent throughout most of the TAT protocols whilst others would be in specific reaction to certain TAT stimulus cards. These narratives would later be compared to the conventional knowledge found in literature about the specific cards which will be discussed in the chapter on Discussion of Results.

During the fourth phase suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006), the themes were reviewed by checking whether they work in relation to the coded extracts and then in relation to the entire data set. Although the aim was to provide a rich description of the data, some of the themes simply did not have enough data to support them and they were dropped from the analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006) cite Patton's concepts of "*internal homogeneity* and *external heterogeneity*" (p. 91) as worth considering during this phase. This means that all the data that supports a certain theme or sub-theme should form a meaningful interpretive unit, but that separate themes should be easily distinguishable from each other. Hence all the coded extracts that are used to construct each of the themes were re-visited to determine whether they formed a coherent pattern.

Once this process was completed, as suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006), the whole data set was re-read to consider the validity of the themes in relation to the data set as a whole. Additionally, it was important to give some thought to whether the thematic map which had been constructed, reflected the theoretical approach to the analysis. As mentioned in the discussion above – on decisions made before the analysis – I had attempted to provide a rich description of the data set and did not look for themes according to a specific theoretical approach. However, it was considered prudent that the constructed themes reflect some of the important characteristics of the TAT responses as narrative material. Aronow, Weiss and Reznikoff (2001) describe the TAT as eliciting narratives surrounding the character's relationship to the self, to other characters and to the environment. Therefore the themes were reviewed in order to determine whether they reflected this understanding and whether they could be viewed as narrative material (see section 3.3).

The next phase to be undertaken, in accordance with Braun and Clarke (2006), was to generate names and definitions for each of the themes while still refining the specifics of each one, as well as revisiting the overall story that the analysis tells. The names of the themes and particularly the sub-themes were created as such to reflect that they were representative of narrative material.

Braun and Clarke (2006) also maintain that during this phase the basic essence of what each theme is about, should by articulated. This is to explore whether a theme or sub-theme might be too complex or attempt to encapsulate too diverse an idea. This was done by going back yet again to the data extracts which were used to construct each theme and generate an accompanying narrative for each theme. As

suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006), what was of importance during this process was to describe what characteristic was of interest in the collated extracts.

As will be evident, this study made much use of sub-themes to give structure to the large and complex themes that were constructed. The following is the final thematic categorisation that was created for the analysis:

1. NARRATIVES ABOUT THE EXPERIENCE OF DANGER
Abuse as an explanation for emotional pain
The proximity of violent crime
Dangerous situations cannot be escaped

2. NARRATIVES ABOUT THE EXPERIENCE OF CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS
Education in relation to close relationships
Conflict present within romantic relationships
The presence of illness / death in the family or home environment

3. NARRATIVES ABOUT DEALING WITH CHALLENGES
Challenges are expected to be resolved
Involving others when facing challenges
Available institutional resources
Faith healing
Elders as the knowledgeable

4. NARRATIVE ABOUT THE MEANING OF CLOTHING (no sub-themes)

Once all these processes had been completed, it was time to move on to the final phase of producing the report, which is found in the following chapter on Discussion of Results. According to Braun and Clarke (2006) the most vivid and compelling extract examples of each theme have to be selected in order to illustrate the overall results of the analysis. Here, some of the longer TAT responses were finally cut into segments to avoid confusion and disruption when reading the findings. From the TAT protocols used in this study, it was noted that quite often respondents offered more than one story in response to the TAT stimuli. From the narrative point of view of this study, multiple storylines were seen as respondents drawing from a number of life and cultural narratives to make sense of the picture stimuli, to view it as a moment in a temporal causal universe, and to fill in the gaps. Therefore, all the narratives found within a response could be included in the analysis.

Since one of the goals of the analysis was to provide a rich description of the data set, as many extracts as possible were used in the final report on the results. Finally, although not all the material found in these TAT responses could be considered as narrative material, unique and interesting bits of information were also noted to include in the later recommendations on which future research might focus.

4.4 Ethical Considerations

Since archival data was used, the main ethical considerations were informed consent at the time of TAT administration and anonymity.

The appendices contain copies of the consent forms which were used at Itsoseng during my time there. All clients must sign an informed consent form before

any therapeutic or psychometric process is started. If the client is over 18 years of age

they are presented with Consent Form 1 (Appendix A). If the client is a minor then

Consent Form 2 (Appendix B) has to be signed by the parent(s) or legal guardian(s) of

the client. Additionally the consent form is also explained to the minor (in a manner

appropriate for their age) who then has to indicate their assent.

The forms specifically state that since Itsoseng is a teaching clinic, data which

are gathered from its clients might also be used in future research and that anonymity

is guaranteed in such research. Also attached, as an appendix, is a letter from

Dr. Linda Eskell-Blokland, the on-site supervisor of the clinic, granting permission to

use archival data generated during my practical work at the Itsoseng clinic.

The protocols, or extracts from these protocols, included in the final

dissertation, will be identified by numbers, e.g. Respondent 1, and the only biographic

information included in any discussion was age, gender and educational level.

CHAPTER 5 Discussion of results

In this chapter the results of the six phase analysis, as suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006), will be discussed. The four main constructed narratives will be explained by explicating the sub-themes that fall under each one. Each extract quoted will be identified by the respondent's number and the card number of the TAT stimulus. When a particular narrative was constructed using extracts from mostly one particular card, literature on that card will also be explained and compared to the narratives from the Mamelodi adolescents.

It should be noted that the sub-themes constructed during the analysis are only thought to reflect some aspects of a larger cultural narrative about close relationships. This is due to the fact that the stories gathered are responses to the very specific context of the TAT stimuli.

5.1 Narratives about the experience of danger

In a significant portion of the TAT responses, pieces of narrative were found that described some sort of danger as part of the described universe. Although this may be expected with some of the TAT stimuli which infer or explicitly depict objects and situations associated with danger, these narratives were also found in cards that cannot be said to clearly elicit themes of danger. Through the reviewing of data extracts that included narratives of some sort of danger, the following sub-themes were constructed.

5.1.1 Abuse as an explanation for emotional pain.

This narrative was constructed exclusively using extracts from Card 3GF and 3BM. Both these cards depict a figure who obscures their face from the viewer. In the 3GF version the person seems to be hanging onto a door for support, her face covered by a hand. On Card 3BM, Teglasi (2001) tables "Murray's Description: On the floor against a couch is the huddled form of a boy with his head bowed on his right arm. Besides him on the floor is a revolver" (p. 39). According to Aronow, Weiss and Reznikoff (2001), these cards have been found to elicit themes of sadness, hopelessness, unpleasantness, depression and even suicide. Bellak (1954) adds that responses to the card may illuminate how a person deals with aggression. Du Toit and Piek (1974) write that the presence or lack of aggression as a reaction to frustration may be elicited by Card 3BM. Groth-Marnat (2009) notes that both Card 3GF and 3BM usually evoke themes surrounding interpersonal loss and how the subsequent guilt might yield harm directed towards the self. Stein (1955) also writes that guilt is a prominent factor associated with both these cards.

In general it appears that the narratives which were constructed by the respondents mirror the literature about the two versions of card three concerning depression, grief or despair. The proposed focus on guilt does not seem to be present. Of particular interest though is the uniqueness to the way that they explain the emotional difficulty that the central character is apparently experiencing. In these extracts the inferred or explicitly stated reason for the sadness is some form of abuse.

Respondent 1 - Card 3GF

This man look like he's having a headache and he's stressed. It looks like he's been beaten. There are so many things that has happened so this man is confused. No, let's go to the next card.

Respondent 5 - Card 3BM

Ok, it looks like a girl, she look hurt, so she is probably maybe at home alone. And then, maybe somebody hit her and now she is crying, she looks very sad...

Respondent 3 - Card 3BM

I'm seeing a lady or a woman, but she is crying, she is hiding her face, she's the person who is really in pain... ...if you are a woman and you have been beaten you must do something about it, you can get help somewhere, either from the cops or where they deal with the abused (later explained as a crises centre). But she has to stop crying, crying is not going to help her.

Respondent 4 - Card 3BM

This is a young adult, I can say. 'Cause she doesn't look that old. She is depressed. Looking from the way she is sitting. By the way she is bending her head. She might also need some help through what she might be going through. She is looking lonely. 'Cause she wouldn't be sitting like that if she had someone she could look up to. I think that before, what had happened she might have been in some kind of abuse. Maybe by someone very close to her. The reason why I'm saying it is because, I can say, if she is in her house than what has happened might have taken place inside the house. Which might not have really been done

by a stranger. Afterwards, I think, the lady might look for help from someone she trusts with what initially happened to her, in order to get out of the situation.

It appears that there is a repeated narrative in these extracts. The reason why someone is seen to be in emotional pain is consistently described as abuse. In these extracts there is a focus on the intensity of the emotional difficulty that the character is experiencing. There are explicit descriptions of the character's apparently depressed and sad posture, and an inference that the emotional pain is causing physical pain. One might say that the reason for such pain would have to be a very troubling one; and with regularity it is identified as abuse.

The homogeneity with which this narrative appears could very well be an indication that there is a cultural narrative reflected here. As mentioned in the Introduction chapter, children and young people often fall prey to various forms of abuse. It seems that this is resonant with the respondents.

In the latter two of these responses, the narratives include the possibility that there is help for victims of abuse. Two of the extracts also include the idea that the abuse is perpetrated by someone close to the victim or inside the home environment. These are aspects of the cultural narrative connected to abuse that will be explored by later sub-themes.

5.1.2 The proximity of violent crime.

This narrative was constructed using mostly extracts from responses to card 8BM. Teglasi (2001) tables: "Murray's Description: An adolescent boy looks straight

out of the picture. The barrel of a rifle is visible at one side, and in the background is the dim scene of a surgical operation, like a reverie-image" (p. 41). Teglasi (2001) notes that this complex scene evokes a need to explain the relation between the boy in the foreground and what is apparently happening in the background. Du Toit and Piek (1974) note that in this card the representation of aggression is more direct in comparison with Card 3BM, because it is not in reaction to frustration. Aronow, Weiss and Reznikoff (2001) write that this card has been found to elicit stories surrounding ambition, war, death or illness, while Bellak (1954) notes aggression and hostility as common features in responses to this card. Stein (1955) also mentions ambition and aggression as common to responses about Card 8BM.

The first extract quoted here is an example of such a typical response. The situation in the background is often viewed as an operation, as discussed in Bellak (1954) and Stein (1955).

Respondent 5 - Card 8BM

I see a man lying on the bed, he could be, could be sick or dead. It looks like two other men are cutting into him, maybe doing an operation. And the boy on the side could be, maybe his son. It looks like he was shot, by the way he is lying down it looks like he was shot, and the two other men are operating on him, trying to get the bullet out. And him, outside, are waiting for them to finish the operation. Wondering if he will be ok.

Once this extract is juxtaposed with some of the other extracts of responses to the same card, it paints a more unique picture of violent crime being a common and

known phenomenon. On quite a few occasions the respondents explained a character's negative emotions as being the result of witnessing a violent crime and / or a significant other being the victim of a violent act.

Respondent 3 - Card 8BM

> Two men they have a knife, they are killing a person, one of them is standing in the door, he is so surprised, he is surprised, he doesn't even look at what is happening, he is so surprised, they stabbed one guy and they killed him, they look like they have been doing this a long time, they're used to killing people, it seems as if the person they are stabbing is a lady, cause she's wearing a dress, they are busy stabbing her...

Respondent 2 - Card 8BM

> This boy, he seems to be thinking about what happened, or what he has seen happening. Because, I see this man, they are killing him, I don't know for what reason, but these two people they seem to do it, and then it seems like this boy, maybe he walked into this room where this person is being killed, and then that thing, those four that are coming, they are stabbing him. Because he seems to think what happened here with the picture, he seems to be thinking about what he has seen. Maybe it might be different, it may be someone from the family, that they have killed or he is thinking that it is somebody that he knows. And then, he seems not to be comfortable with what is going on, or thinking about it, it seems not to be good at all.

In these two extracts we hear the narrative about people who apparently chanced upon a violent act. In addition:

Respondent 5 - Card 3BM.

...oh, and I see a gun on the floor so maybe someone was killed and maybe she witnessed it. And then, now she is crying, it looks like she is crying. Could be maybe her brother that was shot, a close relative or maybe a friend. And it looks like she is in grief. Yeah, that's what I see.

The same narrative was also found in this last extract from a response to card 3BM. It would appear that the repeated narrative is one of violent acts as being something the characters can easily come into contact with, either by witnessing such an act or by it happening to a significant other. As also seen in Respondent 5 - Card 3BM, the focus is very much on the effect that the violence has on the character. From within this frame, the first extract quoted in this section takes on a new significance. Although the naming of the situation as an operation is quite common, the reason for the operation is once again a violent act; the boy's father has been shot.

Two additional extracts from different cards indicate another dimension to this narrative; that violence might be present in the context of a significant relationship.

Respondent 3 - Card 4

I'm seeing a woman and a man, this man is seeing something outside and he wants to go outside, he's seeing something and he's not sure if its right, what he is seeing is very scary. The woman is saying he must go back inside. What he is

seeing is very dangerous, this man is very angry. The woman is scared, that is why she is saying he must go inside. The man is seeing another man outside, the woman is saying he must go inside, she will talk to him. The man is saying if he ever brings the fight into my yard I'm going to fight back. The woman does not have the respect for her man, the man wants to beat his wife because the wife knows something about this man. In our culture, the man is the head of the house, women have to respect them. And the woman has to give respect to her man. Not only respect but to obey and love her man.

Respondent 2 - Card 13MF

Seems like the guy has raped the wife. Or if he didn't rape the wife, he slept with the wife and the wife might be sick, maybe it's HIV. And he seems to be regretting it now, regretting of what he has done. Yeah, because the wife, she is on the bed, and it looks like they slept together...

In these extracts the possibility of violence against a partner or against a romantic rival is described. The perpetrator of the violence is someone close to the central character. During the analysis it was felt that this dimension of proximity could be reflective of a cultural narrative concerning the expectations that Mamelodi residents, as perceived by the respondents, have of being close to violent acts; either by an unknown person or by a significant other.

5.1.3 Dangerous situations cannot be escaped.

This was a sub-theme suggested most commonly by extracts from responses to Card 11. It depicts a road between a chasm and high cliff walls. In the picture there

is a shape that is often seen as a dragon. Aronow, Weiss and Reznikoff (2001) note that this card has been found to elicit stories about fear, escape from peril and aggression from others.

Whilst reading the extracts, it appears that the Mamelodi respondents reacted to this card as many others would. The common narrative is about characters being in danger from the dragon. However, there is an aspect of uniqueness in that it seems to be inferred or explicitly described that the characters who are trying to get away from the danger are unable to escape.

Respondent 2 - Card 11

> I think this might be a dragon, seems to fly. And there are people there, I don't know what they are pushing. They seem to go there, on the bridge, to the other side. I think they might be running away, from this, the dragon that flies, they might be running away from it. And the clouds are dark. The conditions are bad. Maybe this thing might be angry, and causing all the confusion and destruction. Because that stone is there, they seem to be falling from the mountain. Yeah. It seems to be an evil story this one.

Respondent 5 - Card 11

> Okay, this looks like something from a fairytale. Let's see, there's a dragon coming out from a cave. And it looks like there is two large animals from the wild. And they are terrified of the dragon, and they are trying to get away, but they don't know how to because the cave is disintegrating. So the only thing they can do is just to stand there. They are just waiting for him to approach, and they

are not moving. Either of them are looking at opposite directions. And they

can't go down because it looks like there is water down there. And they are up

high on this rock, and the exit is blocked by, by the rocks.

This narrative was also constructed from other extracts, indicating some

measure of prevalence.

Respondent 4 - Card 9GF

Here its two ladies. The one is hiding herself behind tree trunk. And the other

one is rushing off to some kind of vacation. Because of the classy looking dress

that she is wearing. The one who is hiding herself might be plotting something

very cruel against the one who is in a hurry, the one who is passing by. Because

of the way she is looking at her, it's not very pleasant [...] and she will be

successful in doing so because the one who's rushing off has not even noticed she

was standing there looking at her. And when you are in a hurry, and because

when you are in a hurry, you hardly notice or get a clear picture of what might be

happing around you.

It should be noted that cards 11 and 9GF have been reported, according to

Aronow, Weiss and Reznikoff (2001), to elicit similar stories. Therefore one should

be cautious when suggesting that the Mamelodi respondents reacted to the TAT

stimuli in a manner that reflects unique cultural narratives they encounter every day

concerning danger. However, there is a lack of agency and hope for escape that the

respondents seem to attribute to the characters. Especially when viewed in light of

Stein (1955), who specifically notes that the "techniques of defence are usually

described" (p. 17) in response to Card 11. This could be indicative of a cultural narrative; this sub-theme may bear some further investigation.

5.2 Narrative about the experience of close relationships

The thematic analysis on the data seems to indicate certain aspects of respondents' cultural narratives about close relationships available in their TAT stories. The narratives that seem unique to the Mamelodi adolescents' experience of close relationships are discussed below.

5.2.1 Education in relation to close relationships.

The narrative reflected in this sub-theme has to do with education. As can be seen from the quoted extracts, the most common responses used to construct this theme were from Card 2. Teglasi (2001) tables: "Murray's Description: Country scene – In the foreground is a young woman with books in her hand; in the background, a man is working in the fields and an older woman is looking on" (p. 39). Bellak (1954) writes that this stimulus often results in stories about family relations, and autonomy is the theme that occurs regularly. Aronow, Weiss and Reznikoff (2001) write that story responses to this card often centre on the young woman's desire to further her education as being in conflict with the family. According to Aronow, Weiss and Reznikoff (2001) it has been found that especially female respondents commonly respond with stories about aspiration, parental pressure and occupational concern. Groth-Marnat (2009) writes that respondents often describe the central female character as leaving the farm in search of opportunities not available to her in her home environment: actions regularly inferred as being against her family's values. Du Toit and Piek (1974) write that interpersonal relationships are

the stimulus demand from this card because of the way that the characters are looking at or away from each other.

In extracts from some of the Mamelodi respondents, a story of education was noted. What seems to be indicative of uniqueness are the ways that education influences the close relationships of the characters.

Respondent 5 - Card 2

It looks like it is a rural area and maybe she got a scholarship to study. And then she is holding books so she is going to study, given an opportunity. Then her mother, she does look like her mother, she looks sad. So I think she is going out of the community to go and pursue her education. So before I think she didn't have the opportunity. And after now she has it, she is going to study...

Respondent 4 - Card 2

This picture, I can say, this is a community. A society where cultivation takes place. There is rather, a promise of a good future because I can see a lady holding some books. It can actually tell us that the lady might be involved in some education […] I can also say that at the moment there might be poor people around the village because the lady, the pregnant lady in front of the tree, the tree trunk, looks rather vulnerable […] I see a really bright future for the village because there are people who involve themselves in some education, so meaning that this woman, she might be able to improve the live style of this village or society.

A similar narrative was found in a response to card 10 – showing two people in embrace.

Respondent 2 - Card 10

> ...there are two of them that are comforting each other that, no, things are going to be alright. But the other one is young, this one, she is young. Yeah, I believe they are hugging each other. Maybe she might be going to school and he is saying good luck.

The meaning constructed from these extracts is that education is important. It is an opportunity not available to anyone. And it may affect close relationships because it is described or inferred that characters have to leave their homes and communities in order to further their studies. Therefore having an impact on close relationships – the mother is described as sad over seeing her daughter leave.

Yet, the relationship with the community is also involved. In Respondent 4 - Card 2 it is told that the young woman's education may also be beneficial to the community. So, the cultural narrative that may be reflected in these extracts is one about the changes that education brings to the lives of a person and those around him / her. This sub-theme does seem to be the opposite of the common theme noted by the above literature. The young woman's desire to further her education is not seen in conflict with parental wishes but rather as a means for a better future.

5.2.2 Conflict present within romantic relationships.

In some of the responses, especially to Card 4, there appears to be a narrative about conflict in romantic relationships. Teglasi (2001) tables "Murray's Description: A woman clutching the shoulders of a man whose face and body are averted as if he were trying to pull away from her" (p. 39). According to Aronow, Weiss and Reznikoff (2001) this card regularly elicits stories about the woman trying to keep the male from hostile behaviour or about a love triangle. It is mentioned that this card can be used to explore male-female relations. Teglasi (2001) writes that there is a demand to explain the discrepancy between the two characters' emotions. Groth-Marnat (2009) notes that often the woman is described as the voice of reason, while the man is seen as more irrational and even impulsive. Stein (1955) mentions that the methods of "controlling the man or dealing with the situation" (p. 7) is often included in the stories.

The first extract might be considered as reflective of the above literature. In this extract the conflict between the partners is potentially resolved.

Respondent 4 - Card 4

What I see, is a young couple. Who might be in their late twenties. The husband looks rather fierce, maybe wanting to do something that the lady does not want him to. He looks like he wants to fight someone, might be a guy who I think might have offended him in some way. And he got very upset about it. Before, as I said, it might have been a guy who maybe could have made some nasty comments about his lady, so the guy got upset and wanted to fight him.

Afterwards I think the husband might calm down, 'cause it looks like the guy might be just willing to listen to the lady. Yeah.

Yet the stories given by other respondents to the same card indicate less willingness on the male's part to accommodate the feelings of his partner and an indication that female's are subordinate to males.

Respondent 1 - Card 4

This woman looks like she heard something, and she's trying to tell this man that something is going to happen but he can't even listen. Maybe she's asking for something. Maybe this man has found another girlfriend and this woman is no longer attractive to him.

Respondent 3 - Card 4

...the woman does not have the respect for her man, the man wants to beat his wife because the wife knows something about this man. In our culture, the man is the head of the house, women have to respect them. And the woman has to give respect to her man. Not only respect but to obey and love her man.

Respondent 5 - Card 4

Okay, looks like a couple. And I think she did something to upset him and then now, he looks angry or upset and he doesn't want to look at her. But she is trying to get him to talk to her, but he's not giving in. Looks like he is trying to go somewhere, away from her, she looks very upset and worried. She is trying to

prevent him from leaving because she is holding his right shoulder, preventing him from leaving but he is still turning in another direction.

Respondent 2 - Card 4

Okay, this man, it seems like the wife, she might be forcing him to kiss her, or to sleep with her but he is not interested. You can see her hands, this woman is trying to push him to her, to bring him back to her, maybe even to hug him, but this man, it shows that he doesn't care. Maybe the guy might have seen his wife cheating, or maybe suspecting, or this man he is not interested in her. Yeah. (Q: Afterwards?) This man I believe he is going to tell her no, I don't want to do what you're telling me to do, 'cause obviously it's a heartbreak he feels.

In the last three extracts the male is apparently responding to the female's initial actions; it is usually described or inferred as being some form of deceit such as infidelity. The male character cannot be swayed from leaving his partner, and it appears as if most of the agency in the narrative is attributed to him only. In an additional extract used to construct this sub-theme, the same attribution of agency to only the male is noticed. Here the male is not interested in intimacy.

Respondent 1 - Card 13MF

This man looks tired, it seems as if it is in the morning and he might be going to work alone. Or maybe he's from work and he wants to sleep. It seems as if the bedroom where he is going to sleep is not a friendly place. It seems as if something has happened to him and he doesn't like that. Or maybe it the wife, because maybe if they have to go to bed together and he doesn't want that again.

During the analysis, these extracts were considered as reflective of a certain aspect of the cultural narrative about who has the most power to resolve conflicts in an intimate relationship. It would appear as if the male partner in a heterosexual relationship is considered dominant in this regard. However, this sub-theme will have to be investigated further since the idea of male dominance might be part of a broader context then just Mamelodi or even townships life.

5.2.3 The presence of illness / death in the family or home environment.

This narrative was constructed in response to frequent descriptions of illness and especially death in the home environment. The relevant extracts were mostly responses to Card 13MF. Teglasi (2001) tables "Murray's Description: A young man is standing with downcast head buried in his arm. Behind him is the figure of a woman lying in bed" (p. 42). Bellak (1954), Stein (1955) and Groth-Marnat (2009) write that this card usually evokes stories with themes of sexual conflict. Du Toit and Piek (1974) write that there is an unavoidable sexual implication with this card. Aronow, Weiss and Reznikoff (2001) as well as Stein (1955) add that themes of aggression are also common, but that this card has also been found to elicit stories about death or illness of a partner. However, Groth-Marnat (2009) notes that the themes about illness or death are not as common as those concerning sexual activity.

The extract from the Mamelodi adolescents' responses do reflect the idea of death, but not always of a partner.

Respondent 5 - Card 13MF

> Okay, it looks like this man came from work, and he walked into the house, into the bedroom and fond his wife sleeping. And then he tried to wake her, and then it looks like she is not moving, she is completely still. And then now it appear that maybe she is dead and then he is mourning over her.

Respondent 3 - Card 13MF

> Oh, I see a dead body, and it's a lady, I see a guy he is crying, standing in front of the dead body, even the child he wants to go to the school and the father is telling he must go to school, but he is crying, wants the mother to wake up, if I was this boy I would go outside and call the neighbours and find out what is going on, I don't know what happened to my mother and my father doesn't want me to know, he believes that the mother is still breathing, he puts his hand to her chest to feel the heart, he wants to make sure she is not alive any more before he can take her away, if she still breathing and she's hurt she must go to the hospital […] you wake up in the morning, got dressed and ready to go to school but only to find out his mother's body is lying there, he discovered her, he is so surprised at what happened, now the father isn't in the house, the young boy believes that the mother is still alive, he doesn't want the cops to take her, his is crying, he doesn't even know anything...

What is notable from these two extracts is the discovering of the body and the attempts to wake the person or make sure that they are really deceased. The narrative in Respondent 3 - Card 13MF especially feels quite real and dramatic as the young

boy attempts to deal with the death of his mother. The story of a person dying in the home was also found in this extract from Card 3.

Respondent 3 - Card 3BM.

I'm seeing lady or a woman, but she is crying, she hiding her face, she's the person who is really in pain, someone has died in the house and now she has been crying...

And finally, although in this next extract the person is ill and not deceased, the idea of discovering someone immobile in bed is repeated. At the end of the story the discoverer stays with the sick person; possibly inferring that they intend to help.

Respondent 4 - Card 13MF

Here I think it's a lady who looks unconscious, the reason is because she looks unable to get up again. She might have, according to the situation at night, because the person who is standing looks like he was already ready to go out and was in the unconscious lady's room to greet her bye-bye. But only to find that the lady was not in a good condition. Which got him into tears, because of the palm she is holding against her face. So afterwards the lady (later clarified as the person standing) might not actually go off to where she was heading to.

As mentioned in the Introduction chapter, only a few medical facilities are available to people living in townships. Hence, it is a great possibility that people sometimes die at home. During the analysis, the reading of these extracts suggested a possible expectation to discover somebody deceased in bed. In especially the extracts

from Card 13MF, the character was doing something else like coming home from work, getting ready for school or going somewhere. The discovery then radically affected this person and disrupted what they had planned to do. It is this aspect of the narrative that seems to be prevalent, suggesting that it might reflect a cultural narrative about discovering somebody ill or deceased in the home setting and how that will affect the person.

Additionally, it should also be mentioned that sexual themes, in response to Card 13MF, were not as common as suggested by the literature. It is possible that some of the female respondents did not feel comfortable to mention sexual content to a male test administrator or that sexuality is only discussed in certain contexts; a possible avenue for future study. If either is the case the implication for clinical use of the TAT in the township setting might be that concepts of sexuality has to be explored in a different way among female adolescents.

5.3 Narratives about dealing with challenges

As mentioned before, the persons who are illustrated in the TAT stimuli are usually involved in sort of difficult, challenging or ambiguous situations. The manner in which the Mamelodi respondents had their characters deal with any problems was thought to be reflective of how they experience their world. The following sub-themes, which are closely linked, came out of the analysis.

5.3.1 Challenges are expected to be resolved.

This sub-theme was mostly found in response to Card 1. Teglasi (2001) tables "Murray's Description: A young boy is contemplating a violin which rests on a table

in front of him" (p. 39). Aronow, Weiss and Reznikoff (2001) note that this card has been found to usually evoke stories about parental pressure and aspiration. Stein (1955) and Groth-Marnat (2009) write that the most common stories are about parental demands, but that this card also often elicits themes about aspiration and fantasising about achievement. Bellak (1954) also writes that the relationship with parents may be explored by using this card. Other themes usually found include conflict between autonomy and compliance, as well as self-image. Du Toit and Piek (1974) mention that the response to this card suggests how a person approaches a novel situation.

There appeared to be a uniqueness to the way in which the Mamelodi respondents treated this stimulus. The boy was described as trying to solve a problem with little or no influence from another person; parental or other. Neither conflict between parental pressure and autonomy nor fantasies about achievement, as suggested by most of the literature, seems to be present.

Respondent 5 - Card 1

> I can't tell, looks like he's reading something, he seems confused. I can't tell what this object is, it looks like he's trying to figure out what to do. Now I see, it's a violin, yeah I think maybe he got it as a present and then he is trying to figure out how to play it. Yes, so he stares at it. Trying to figure out how it works, so he looks confused.

Respondent 4 - Card 1

I think it's a teenage boy. Um, I'm thinking, from the way it looks he, it looks like he is confused, I think, it might be about the things he, he want to use for his music lyrics, I think, cause he has a violin in front of him, basically telling us that all he is doing is about music. I can say he is not confused but deeply thinking about what he can come up with as music lyrics. Yeah. I think that's it. Okay, before, I think he was told to, to think of something to write for his music. Music lyrics or for the song that he'll be singing. Afterwards I think, he'll have to hand in the lyrics or what he has written to his instructor. That's all I can think so far.

Respondent 2 - Card 1

Okay this boy, he was trying to play this instrument, and then, he does not know how to play the instrument. But he is thinking, he wants to write a song, because there is a book there. And when he is thinking about how to write the song, he is still thinking, what can he write about. But when he is finished, to find a song, he is going to write it down and then he is going to play the instrument. But when he plays the instrument, something might be wrong. Can he really play the instrument? Because before when he played he had trouble, he was facing hardship of the instrument or the song, I'm not sure, but one of them is the problem, the instrument or the song that he can write, but the moment he finds it, he's going to play the song.

In these extracts it is described or inferred that the boy is somewhat confused. He would like to play the violin and / or write music, but he is having some trouble with it. In the last two extracts the boy seems to be equal to the task. On his own he

is able to figure out the solution to his problem. The key, according to my analysis, is that what is described in the stories is not so much about the process of solving the problem by yourself, but more about the expectation that it can be solved. During the analysis this was thought to be reflective of a cultural narrative. The same expectation of solving a problem was also found in another extract.

Respondent 2 - Card 3BM

> ...she might be facing a problem in her life, and be trying to kill herself, finding maybe no solution to solve her problems. Because it shows that she is a person who is facing problems. But I think that after she gets the solution, she will not be in the same situation, cause she is crying, she won't show her face. Yeah.

5.3.2 Involving others when facing challenges.

This theme was constructed using extracts from many different cards. It concerns the way in which serious challenges are faced with the help of other people. In the first quoted extract this is doubly present; the woman is going to need help delivering the child, who will later take care of his or her parents when they are old.

Respondent 3 - Card 2

> This girl is going to deliver the baby, the lady who's helping her with the child. I'm thinking that the child is going to have to give back, she or he is going to be her (pregnant lady) provider, 'cause they are living in the old days now.

In the next three extracts there is no designated person who might come to the women's aid but the idea is still mentioned that they need to find someone who can help them overcome the situation they are in.

Respondent 4 - Card 3BM

I think that before, what had happened she might have been in some kind of abuse. Maybe by someone very close to her. The reason why I'm saying it is because, I can say, if she is in her house then what has happened might have taken place inside the house. Which might not have really been done by a stranger. Afterwards, I think, the lady might look for help from someone she trusts with what initially happened to her, in order to get out of the situation.

Respondent 1 - Card 8GF

This one looks like she's stressed and it looks like she's not having parents. It seems as if she doesn't have pleasure. She doesn't even have a place to stay. She's thinking what she's going to do, so she can get help.

In this extract the neighbours are suggested to be called upon in case of domestic problems. The inference is that even very personal problems are not necessarily hidden from others. In this case it is very notable that it is the children who get others involved in the family's problem.

Respondent 1 - Card 9GF

I don't know if this one, if they're running away with each other. Because sometimes it happens that if the parents are fighting the children go out to the

neighbours to get help. Her clothes suggest that she is from a rich family. But her face looks like she's not happy. Maybe there's something in the house that she's running away from.

The next extract encapsulates best a certain aspect of this narrative; finding comfort in each other. There is no mention of the problem getting solved; the need that is expressed is for consolation. As with most of the previous extracts the focus is also not on defining the problem in the story. Rather, it is the importance of getting help, involving others that is in the fore.

Respondent 2 - Card 10

I can't see if it is a man or a woman but this other one might be facing something, maybe a problem, I don't know, but they are hugging each other, maybe because he is comforting her to be strong. There are two of them that are comforting each other that, no, things are going to be alright.

This is possibly reflective of a cultural narrative where a problem that is difficult to define, or maybe viewed as overwhelming, requires the involvement and support of others. This suggestion is made in light of the next three sub-themes which were identified during the analysis.

5.3.3 Available institutional resources.

In contrast to the previous sub-theme, sometimes the extracts did clearly indicate who should be involved in facing the problem. In these extracts the problem was clearly defined. As mentioned above the next three sub-themes are related. The

common thread is that the problems and the proposed problem solver are more clearly defined and / or described in the stories.

In this sub-theme, the narratives involve formal institutions in addressing the problems. This sub-theme was constructed from different extracts, although extracts from Card 8BM and Card 13MF were prevalent. This might be expected since these cards are known to elicit stories surrounding violence, illness and death. What was considered to be important during the analysis was the repeated inclusion of the institutional resource. The described institutional resources are the police, hospitals, a rape crises centre, and an HIV-AIDS counselling centre.

Respondent 2 - Card 13MF

...after, the guy, if he had raped the wife, then he thought, or the feeling in his heart will disturbed his mind, and if the wife, she was HIV, he is going to regret, or maybe spread the HIV. After that he is going to look for a counsellor, because he seem to be crying to be regretting this, to look for a counsellor that he can tell "I need help". If he had raped he will go after that, to get help, to get counselling.

Respondent 3 - Card 3BM.

...what has happened in her life, what has happened in her life is not the end of the world. She has to face the future, life goes on. If you are a woman and you have been beaten you must do something about it, you can get help somewhere, either from the cops or where they deal with the abused (crises centre). But she has to stop crying, crying is not going to help her.

Respondent 3 - Card 6GF

...the question I'm asking myself is what will the grandfather do to this lady, I don't even have an answer. This lady has to do something because she has rights, because she doesn't know this grandfather. She can go to the police and explain everything, that she is staying with the police and he is hiding something.

Respondent 3 - Card 8BM

Two men they have a knife, they are killing a person... ...those two guys must be arrested, because of what they did is very painful, nobody can watch this scene, this lady needs to go to the mortuary, I don't know where her family is, but the cops have to help the family and arrest those guys.

Respondent 3 - Card 13MF

...he believes that the mother is still breathing, he puts his hand to her chest to feel the heart, he wants to make sure she is not alive any more before he can take her away, if she still breathing and she's hurt she must go to the hospital...

During the analysis it was thought that this repeated mentioning of the institutional resources available to the characters in the stories was reflective of a definite awareness concerning these structures. As mentioned in the Introduction chapter, much has lately been done to improve the infrastructure in townships and awareness campaigns are regularly launched in these areas. An aspect that might further be investigated is whether this presence, that institutional resources are proposed to have in the cultural narratives of the respondents, is indicative of trusting them to aid Mamelodi residents.

5.3.4 Faith healing.

The second, clearly defined resource was found to be prevalent in the extracts concerning Card 12M. Teglasi (2001) tables "Murray's Description: A young man is lying on a couch with his eyes closed. Leaning over him is the gaunt form of an elderly man, his hand stretched out above the face of the reclining figure" (p. 42). Aronow, Weiss and Reznikoff (2001) write that this card commonly elicits storied about hypnotism, religion, illness and death. According to Bellak (1954) and Groth-Marnat (2009) it is an important card for exploring the relationship between older and younger males. Stein (1955) mentions that often the older man is described as asking about the young man's health, hypnotising him or waking him up.

The Mamelodi adolescents didn't necessarily view the person lying down as male and focussed much more on the situation as illustrating religion.

Respondent 5 - Card 12M

Okay, it looks like the man is sick, and I think then the family called a neighbourhood priest. And now the priest is leaning over his bed and he is about to lay his hand upon him and pray for him...

Respondent 4 - Card 12M

Here I think it's a priest, praying for a sick person in bed. The person who is resting in his death bed. He looks very unconscious, because of the way he appears, and the reason for him to be closing his eyes. What could've happened before this, is that the person might have got seriously ill and his family chose to call in the priest to pray for him. I think afterwards there might be some healing

over the person's illness. If only the person whose praying for the sick person might be doing it with all of his heart. And might be successful, though the sick person's believing in the priest's prayer. 'Cause it's not likely for people, the ones who are already dead. So his faith is also needed for the healing to be successful.

Respondent 3 - Card 12M

I see a lady she is sleeping, she is sick, she is in very bad pain, there is a pastor there, he is here to pray, the pastor believes he will heal the lady with the prayers, the lady is sleeping, her eyes are closed, she doesn't know where the pain is, but she feels them, she believes that God can do everything, the pastor is here because he believes that if he can lay his hands on her he can help her, the pastor earns respect, he is wearing pastors clothes you can see he is a good pastor, he is wearing the collar, he is starting to pray now and everyone believes this lady will be helped, now the pastor is saying to the lady she has to wake up, he believes the pain is gone, she has to wake up and focus on the future, and life for your kids, you have to grow up and be a grandma, thank you.

Respondent 2 - Card 12M

Ah, this man, he seems to go to the pastor. He is laying a hand, praying for this man, on the bed. Maybe he is sick or he is not feeling well. Yeah, he is praying for him. And I believe upon the prayer, this person is going to be well. Maybe healed, or what he was feeling will be removed from there, from his body. It's what I think.

What seemed to be of greatest importance in the analysis of these extracts was the homogeneity with which the narrative was repeated. The last three extracts included that the healing would be successful; possibly reflective of a strong communal trust in faith healing. It is described in the first two extracts that it is the sick person's family who called the religious leader. Another common aspect is the inclusion of how the process works. In the two centre extracts it is mentioned that faith is needed; from the person who is ill, their family and from the religious figure. This is perhaps the most homogenous storyline in the data set; it is thought to be clearly reflective of a cultural narrative.

5.3.5 Elders as the knowledgeable.

This sub-theme was constructed using extracts from mostly the responses to Card 6BM and GF as well as 7 GF and BM. According to Bellak (1954) these cards depict older and younger persons of the same gender as well as the opposite gender. It is used to explore the relationships that respondents have to parents of the same and opposite gender. The stimulus demand descriptions from Aronow, Weiss and Reznikoff (2001) and Groth-Marnat (2009) also reflect this understanding. Du Toit and Piek (1974) note that in responses to Card 6GF the male's age seems close to that of the female character and this card is usually only successful in eliciting stories concerning the role of men by female respondents.

The Mamelodi adolescents responded to these cards mostly with a narrative of children having to listen to the older person (not always identified as a parent). The characters in their stories had varied reactions to the older person, but the constant narrative that was constructed in the analysis was that the elder seemed to have

answers or needed to be taken seriously. The topics ranged from approval for marriage to discipline.

Respondent 2 - Card 6BM

Mmm, what I think about this man, he is wearing a suite maybe he is going to get married. And this woman seems to be his mother. And she is disappointed in something. Maybe about the marriage, she doesn't want him to marry that person he says he must marry. Yeah, because he is not even wearing the ring. And this woman she seems to be hurt, or maybe she might have told him, the son, about something, I believe it is the son. Maybe not to do it, she is not happy. This woman seems to be sad because, he wants to marry this person, she doesn't like the situation. But I believe if they can speak, then there might be a solution. Yeah.... ...he wants advice for the marriage, not here to fight. "Advise me for the wedding please." And I think a good solution for him, not to keep something in the heart, and you can see even the face, he is paying attention, to what the woman is saying. Or he might be thinking, she might be showing him the consequences of something. I think he'll know, I cannot do this I cannot do that. Yeah.

Respondent 3 - Card 6GF

I see a grandfather, the grandfather he stays with this young lady, he is smoking a pipe, he came back from the side and the lady was very scared, this young lady was looking at something outside, his grandfather scared the lady because she wasn't aware there was somebody there, if the lady has nothing to hide she will

sit down with the grandfather and say something (later clarified as having a conversation). But the grandfather saw she was hiding something.

Respondent 4 - Card 7GF

...but the little girl doesn't actually, looks like she is focussed on what her mother is telling her. The reason why the little girl is not listening to what her mother is saying is that the mother might be lecturing the little girl. Which most of the children who are just approaching the puberty stage might not be willing to listen to. Before this I think the little girl might have done something that her mother does not want her, want to see her doing. So afterwards I think, or later the woman might ask the girl is she was listening to what she was telling her cause it might be able for the lady to see the little girl is not focussed. And after that the little girl must take some time to talk to her mother again. Because most of the teenagers actually do such after being lectured.

In an extension to the idea that elders have knowledge about what is right and wrong, the Bible was often included as the moral code upheld by the elders.

Respondent 5 - Card 7GF.

Okay, it looks like a mother and a daughter, and it looks like she is holding a baby that could be hers. So she looks like she just come home with the baby and she told her mother about it. She is looking away from the mother and she is holding the child, and the mother is just staring at the baby. She looks at a loss for words, she looks disappointed. And she looks like she is in school. And she looks very young, so the mother must be disappointed that she had a child. But

she doesn't look angry at all, she just looks disappointed with her. But she is very concerned and caring. But it looks like she is sticking by her child, she's not cross. She looks like she is reading something to her, could be a verse from the bible. And then she is not listening. So it could be, by what she has in her hand, that she didn't listen to her mother and that is why she is in this situation.

Respondent 3 - Card 7GF

...I don't know why, this woman seems like she is very overprotective over her children, she is reading a bible or a magazine to them, but it looks like a bible, she is telling them how to treat their parents with respect, and how to respect other people and themselves, this young child she will grow up and help both the parents just like the young lady who grew up and helped both her parents (mother and grandmother). This mother (the older one) she grew up she was taking care of her mother and then the young mother grew taking care of her. It seems like there is no father inside the family. The older woman had to play both roles, father and mother.

Elders are also approached to get advice about whatever problem the child is facing.

Respondent 2 - Card 7BM

I see this old man. This gentleman seems to be looking for advice from this old man. His face shows that he is concentrating and he is listening to what the old man is saying. And it seems to be something serious because he looks worried.

But I believe after he has listened to the old man he would have got the solution or the advice that he is looking for. Yeah.

Respondent 3 - Card 1

I'm seeing a man and he is having a guitar, but the guitar is broken, and now he is worried what he will do about the music, because he wants to play the music. He enjoyed the music, he has to make a plan where he will get the other guitar, because he is still young he has to go to the parents, the parents will fix the guitar, the parents tried to fix the guitar, he was very excited, he went on and on about playing the guitar.

Respondent 5 - Card 10

Okay, it looks like father and a daughter. And it looks like maybe she hears some terrible news and then she went to confide in the father. And then now he is comforting her, yeah, and holding her. It looks like whatever happened was very terrible and she went to talk to her father.

Despite the fact that the characters in these narratives have such varied reactions to the older person, the constant theme appears to be that the solution to the situation lies within the elder's knowledge. During the analysis this was thought to be reflective of at least part of the cultural narrative that the Mamelodi adolescents drew from to construct these stories.

5.4 Narratives about the meaning of clothing

The final theme that resulted from the analysis was not as large or complex as the themes discussed above, hence no sub-themes. However, it was thought to be so completely different from the others that it was constructed as a separate theme. It was constructed using extracts from various responses, although Card 9GF did feature with some prominence. The card shows one young woman running somewhere and another watching her from behind a tree. According to Aronow, Weiss and Reznikoff (2001) this stimulus usually evokes stories about conflict, curiosity and jealousy.

Even though some of the Mamelodi adolescent did respond with similar narratives, the unique aspect to their responses involved the explicit inferences drawn from what the characters were wearing. During the analysis this same narrative was noticed in responses to other cards. The narrative concerns clothes, and the way in which meaning is ascribed to them. In the first extract the meaning reflects respect and status.

Respondent 3 - Card 12M.

> ...the pastor is here because he believes that if he can lay his hands on her he can help her, the pastor earns respect, he is wearing pastors clothes you can see he is a good pastor, he is wearing the collar...

Although the status may not always be a positive one.

Respondent 3 - Card 8BM

...the other guy he is wearing a suit, but I don't know whether he is with them or

if he is just watching, he called them and told them they must come and do what

they want to this lady, he is the boss...

In the following extract the idea seems to be that one has to at least dress

properly when going into public.

Respondent 2 - Card 2

And the guy seems not to bother himself because, he is with the horse, he is not

wearing a t-shirt to show that maybe he is going somewhere. And there is

another man there, who is holding another horse. I believe he is going to the farm

too.

One of the most common meanings ascribed to nice clothes was the idea of

ceremony.

Respondent 2 - Card 6BM

Mmm, what I think about this man, he is wearing a suite maybe he is going to get

married...

Respondent 3 - Card 9GF

Two ladies, beautiful ladies, the one lady is wearing a wedding dress, they are

near the sea, they are standing there and they are just relaxing, they are watching

the beach, one lady is standing under the tree the other is standing there wearing

high heels, they are standing there waiting for the groom to come, it's a wedding

because they are wearing nice dresses, they are so beautiful they even did their

hair, I think before they came to the beach they were preparing, somebody was

doing they're makeup, now the wedding is done, they have to go and eat and

drink and enjoy

In other instances clothes denoted economic status.

Respondent 4 - Card 9GF

Here its two ladies. The one is hiding herself behind tree trunk. And the other

one is rushing off to some kind of vacation. Because of the classy looking dress

that she is wearing...

Respondent 1 - Card 9GF. 10 sec

...her clothes suggest that she is from a rich family. But her face looks like she's

not happy...

The theme constructed from these extracts was felt to reflect a cultural

narrative about the awareness of clothes. It appears as if Mamelodi adolescents take

note of others' clothes as a means of making decisions or inferences about them.

5.5 Chapter conclusion

In conclusion, this study proposes that the cultural narratives about danger that

Mamelodi adolescents draw from to organise their lived experience, include the

aspects of abuse as an explanation for experiencing emotional pain; that violence

could occur in close proximity to them and their significant others; and that dangerous situations can often not be escaped.

In terms of the cultural narratives regarding close relationships, the aspects that seemed to be common amongst the respondents were the influence that education has on close relationships; the idea that the male partner is dominant in close relationships; and that illness or death in the home environment might be an expectation.

The largest theme of the analysis was concerned with the way in which challenges are experienced and approached. It is proposed that included within this cultural narrative are ideas that challenges can be overcome; that overwhelming or emotional challenges require help from others; that those others might be from formal institutions, from the health care or policing sector; that religious healing is an effective resource; and that elders have the knowledge which is needed to approach challenges and / or should be respected.

The final theme, somewhat disconnected from those already discussed, was with regard to clothing. It appeared that the Mamelodi cultural narrative surrounding clothes includes the aspect that clothing always communicate something to others, whether it be status, ceremony or wealth.

CHAPTER 6 Conclusion and recommendations for future study

6.1 Reflection

During my reading for the theoretical point of departure as well as the preparation for the data analysis, it became clear that I needed to incorporate myself in this piece of work. Here follow reflections that I undertook in an effort to become and stay aware of the impact that I would have on the coding process as well as the final construction of the themes with regard to Mamelodi as a whole, the clients at Itsoseng Clinic, and my presence as test administrator / counsellor among the clients. My pre-existing narratives, going into the analysis, also included my knowledge of the TAT and my understanding of narrative theory. In section 6.1.3 I discuss how I attempted to deal with these narratives throughout the entire research process.

It might be noted that these reflections (section 6.1) were difficult to place within this dissertation as it illuminates a process that started before I undertook the research and is currently continuing. It was part and partial to my reading of the literature, my thinking about the theoretical base of my study, as well as the data analysis and reporting of the themes. Ultimately I thought it best to try and consolidate these interpreter's narratives at the end, since many of the limitations of my study and recommendations for future study stem from this reflective process.

6.1.1 My experience of working in Mamelodi.

As mentioned by Eskell-Blokland (2005) the residential layout is unfamiliar to outsiders. Clients at the clinic gave their addresses by the extension they lived in, followed by the number of the house; no street names. When I first visited the

township I got lost because there were very few street names visible. It felt as if this was a place you really had to know to be able to function in. Noted in Timm (2007) is a description of how time spent in the township relaxes oneself; finding the discourses surrounding township life and crime to not be as prevalent as might be expected by outsiders. I also experienced this and enjoyed taking different routes to the clinic to see more of the township or buying lunch from the local shops or street vendors.

Most of the personal experience that I gained from Mamelodi was at the Itsoseng Clinic located on the Mamelodi campus of the University of Pretoria in Mamelodi East. I worked there as a student psychologist throughout 2009 and 2010. During my time at Itsoseng I worked mainly with adolescents and children from the community. The majority of cases referred to the clinic were with regard to children with behavioural problems, cognitive testing for children who struggled at school, trauma, family discord, and teens seeking career guidance and testing.

Going into the practical work at Itsoseng I was very weary of the differences in language between myself and my clients. I was raised in an Afrikaans home and had studied English at the North-West University. I knew a couple of SeTswana phrases, but that was the extent of my African language knowledge. Therefore I had initially hoped to do my practical work at the clinic in neighbouring Eersterust – the coloured community there speaks mostly Afrikaans. However, I was designated to report to Itsoseng; an assignment that I later began to relish as my understanding of and respect for the people of Mamelodi grew.

At Itsoseng we made do with the resources available to us; it was important that the residents were not denied psychological services simply because of a language barrier. Life Line had an office in the same building as the clinic and we often depended on their counsellors to act as interpreters. There were also some local counsellors and other volunteers working at the clinic who assisted with interpretation. Most of the adults and teenagers were proficient enough in English to continue with the service unaided; some of the more senior adults even preferred to speak Afrikaans to me. At times when no one else was available, the child's parent or caregiver was used to obtain information from the child. This was not ideal though and only used in cases where no other options were available.

In my work with the adolescents and young adults that were included in this study, English was mostly used as mode of communication. However, this presented a unique problem. Some of the clients could express themselves sufficiently but others could not. Very often these clients would still prefer to use English since, according to my understanding, being able to speak English is seen as an important feather in one's cap. It seemed to be connected to a larger discourse of not being bound by one's environment. English proficiency, together with education, appeared to be the ticket to the larger world outside the township.

In communicating with clients it also became apparent that understanding each other was not the only challenge I faced with regard to language. I became aware that the way that clients spoke to significant others and reportedly were spoken to by them, differed in significant ways from what I was used to. At times of stress or conflict there was an aggression to the words that were used. Children often reported

that they were shouted at after having done something wrong and the language used reflected threats on their person that did not simply imply corporal punishment. Also the parents and caregivers often reported using language like this. Withholding of food, being locked out of the home and – in one instance – aiming to throw the child with a brick, are just some of the examples.

Whilst threats like this might have been reflective of child abuse which – as discussed in the Introduction – is unfortunately a reality in township life, it also made me aware of how language is used in a violent manner. I found this mostly with single mothers of young or adolescent boys. In the absence of a father figure and disciplinarian these young males would act out. Violent language seemed to be a resort their mothers turned to in order to try and keep them in check. It also brought into the picture the idea that when a child or adolescent with low socio-economic status acts out, the authority figure has very few options other than threats of physical pain, isolation or hunger as a means of discipline.

Another aspect of working in this context was the way in which clients interacted with the clinic system. Very often a client would report to the clinic with a referral letter from school or from the local physician. In accordance with what I considered good therapeutic practice, I would use the first session to get a history and explore the problem. As my chosen paradigm for psychotherapy is usually psychodynamic, I initially tried to take care to not simply give advice; attempting to put forward the *tabula rasa*. In the beginning of my work at Itsoseng many clients did not return for their subsequent appointments.

Staying true to my paradigm, I tried to interpret this as resistance to therapy related to the specific problem. However, it quickly became apparent that there was a lot more going on. I learned how residents were used to interacting with other clinic systems. Persons that felt ill would show up at the medical clinic and simply wait for their turn, having to take off an entire day for the consultation. Sometimes they had to return the following day if the clinic's capacity had been reached. I began to think that the township residents needed much psycho-education about how psychotherapy worked, since they were not used to the idea of long term contact with a health professional. Also, my approach to psychotherapy needed to be adapted.

At first I tried to employ quite a broad systems approach, relating the problem to the socio-economic difficulties my clients were experiencing. Although this aided me in understanding the context better, it still seemed that my clients and I still had too much of a different idea about why they were coming to the clinic. One of the problems with my approach at that point was that one could easily become overwhelmed by the socio-economic difficulties. Even if I were able to convince a social worker to do a home visit, he or she would have little resources to address the problem with.

I started thinking that I had strayed from my scope of practice. The overwhelming feeling which was caused by socio-economic difficulties caused me to focus on the larger problems; hoping that if they could be solved, all would be well. I reflected that the reason I had felt overwhelmed was because I was from a significantly different, in fact a more privileged, socio-economic context. With the help of my supervisors I began to construct a more helpful picture of Mamelodi.

Many of the people in the township were quite used to hardship and used to surviving in spite of it. The clients that came to Itsoseng were adept at handling these social difficulties. The reason, I thought, they came to the clinic was because some personal problem had reached a critical point. They needed to address that problem, so that they could get on with the business of all the other challenges that they faced each day. Thus when a client reported to the clinic, the first interview was already geared towards helping them find a solution for their problem. The clients at Itsoseng seemed to respond to this.

However, with the problem-centred approach came other difficulties. Once some improvement occurred, clients would terminate therapy, often without making this known to the therapist. I thought this was a reflection on them not wanting to be seen as having problems by other community members; many clients reported that the presence of a problem (and by implication the need for therapy) was a source of embarrassment for them. Especially when children were misbehaving, parents and caregivers often reported conflict with neighbours who were negatively affected by the child's behaviour.

The initial discrepancy between what the clients and I expected of each other didn't seem to be the only reason for them not keeping appointments. As mentioned before, the idea of keeping clinic appointments might have been foreign to them, but often the lack of structure in other aspects of township life also played a part. Some clients that had to walk some distance to the clinic preferred not to come when it rained. Others cited difficulties with public transport as a problem when they were late or failed to attend. Mothers of young children sometimes mentioned that the

child hadn't arrived from school on time; many of these primary school learners walk to and from school on their own and especially the boys might find other things to do. Often there simply was not enough money to pay for the minibus taxis they rely on. Some households' only source of income was temporary jobs – usually menial or domestic work – and when these opportunities were available the parents could also not bring the children. With these realities it was important to be as flexible as possible and respect the client's time as much as I expected them to respect my time.

As a white Afrikaans male working in a township I was very aware that there would be broader cultural differences between my clients and myself. Initially I even expected some animosity or mistrust, since I thought that I represented the demographic of oppression. This concept of cultural difference would be present, but not in a way that I expected. I found most clients to be open with their problems and accepting my suggestions. When there was a lack in cultural knowledge on my part, they would quite simply educate me and I never felt that this was an annoyance to them. In fact, often I detected a sense of pride when clients started a sentence with "You see, in my/our culture...". What was interesting to me was that when I inquired about what culture this was exactly, clients would often hesitate to name it. It was not specifically the Zulu or Tswana culture they were defining. As mentioned in the sections above, township residents have had to deal with the disruption of Western influences upon their traditional views; most notably Christianity. In addition, the forcing together of different Black South African cultures has compounded the problem. I thought this was why the clients could not tell me of Pedi or Xhosa culture as a unifying concept; it does not exist in those terms. The clients were simply describing how certain things had always been done in their families and other

families they considered to be part of the same grouping. Phrasing it as "my culture" was an action of reifying the concept.

Mostly this cultural knowledge became explicit at times of bereavement, when burial rites were an issue. I would allow the clients to educate me and then use their belief system as a frame of reference. At times like this I felt it important to let them guide me towards the pertinent issues and possible conflicts with other members of the group / family / culture.

In my experience, there was rarely any serious clash between Western and African beliefs; or at least clients rarely discussed this with me, despite my asking. This was quite curious to me because I had at first approached the work at Itsoseng with the idea that I would have to deal with that quite a lot. Later it became apparent to me that the residents of Mamelodi who preferred the traditional African belief system would probably have gone to the *Sangoma* and given us a wide birth. There were those whose daily lives were more closely linked to Christian principles that preferred the advice of their priest or pastor. And then there were our clients who thought that the psychology clinic at the university might have the answers. I began to think of Itsoseng clinic as one of a few options that were open to those facing difficulty. It is very possible that those clients who didn't find what they were looking for at the clinic went searching for it somewhere else.

Whilst reading Timm (2007), many of the more personal and idiosyncratic discourses which she found resonated with my experience of the children and young people of Mamelodi. Discourses of blame were quite prevalent among different

parties in conflicts we addressed at the clinic. Aggression and argumentation were usually described in terms of the speaker, simply reacting to others and the actual act was rarely brought into awareness for scrutinising. There was also an experience that often children, especially the younger ones, felt they needed to pretend along the lines of what they perceived the situation called for and it was often difficult to believe them. And as noted by one of the teachers in Timm's (2007) study, I also sometimes felt that a child's lack of performance, silence or lack of initiative was due to them somehow being scared of me.

A discourse of undefined problems was further experienced in my work at the clinic. Mothers reported with their children in a state of helplessness where the expert was patiently waited for and his opinion accepted without challenge in the moment. However, little would then be done later to incorporate it in the daily routine.

6.1.2 Pre-conceptions going into the data analysis.

The narratives that I have identified in my thinking about the Mamelodi context are as follows. Mamelodi is a place that confronts its residents with great socio-economic difficulty, where people have to rely on their own initiative to survive; often only being able to focus on one problem at a time. There are many problems present such as violence, child abuse, poverty and lack of opportunities. It is often the case were one person has to make ends meet for multiple family members. Day to day living with minimal resources causes much frustration, and family members sometimes deal with each other in aggressive and unsophisticated language. Neighbours often have close knit relationships that may be a source of support as well as conflict or embarrassment.

Traditional nuclear families are not always the norm because of HIV and AIDS, migrant labour and polygamy. Social resources like health facilities are few and far between. Those living in Mamelodi often show incredible ingenuity to make it on their own. Traditional African culture has been mixed with urban influences both locally and internationally. Christianity plays a big part in many residents' lives, but may be mixed with traditional belief systems. Education and mastery of English are seen as a ticket out, although getting educated outside the townships will most likely also entail an expectation to contribute to the family. Although the cultural makeup of the township is varied and diverse, residents take pride in the culture which they are a part of.

It should be noted that these ideas and narratives which I have constructed about the Mamelodi context are not meant to be representative of the context as a whole. These narratives were based on my perceptions of the context and not on any form of formal research. Obviously they are more reflective of those Mamelodi residents who were experiencing difficulties. These narratives are only important insofar they illuminated my mental picture of the context going into the data analysis.

6.1.3 Intra-analysis handling of interpreter's pre-existing narratives.

The first interpreter's narrative that I constantly tried to stay aware of while working though all the TAT protocols – especially during the coding, analysis and construction of themes – was a definition of what constitutes narrative material. Therefore I tried to code sections of the TAT responses where casual links were inferred between events and agency attributed to characters.

This interpreter's narrative turned out to be the counterbalance for all the preconceptions I brought into the analysis, i.e. my interpretive biases in terms what I expected to find given my knowledge of the TAT, and my experience of Mamelodi, Itsoseng clients and the specific respondents. During all aspects of the research I tried to be vigilant about the influence my biases might have on the process. When I found myself interpreting the cart before the horse, I would remind myself what I wanted to focus on; finding narrative material in the TAT protocols.

Additionally, during every phase of the coding, analysis and eventual construction of themes, it was also viewed as prudent to take into account my narratives about the context that might influence this process. Once a theme was constructed that closely reflected either the preconceptions about Mamelodi as a whole, Itsoseng clients, the specific respondents or the common TAT responses, it was revisited and scrutinised to make sure that complexity had not been lost due to perceived familiarity with the topic at hand. These themes were also re-visited to make certain that they were sufficiently substantiated by extracts from the protocols. Despite this scrutiny many of these themes endured until the end of the analysis.

During the actual coding and analysis I also did not engage with any of the literature about the TAT until I started comparing the themes which I constructed with the literature. I obviously couldn't unlearn what I studied during my training or subsequent clinical use of the TAT, but I did believe that by distancing myself from the conventional TAT knowledge to the largest extend possible, at that time, could limit this particular bias.

6.2 Summary of the analysis results

I now present a summary of the results by discerning between the narrative components that appeared to be common in the responses to specific cards and those that were constructed using responses from various cards. It is important that the meaning of these results be explicated. The reader would have noticed that I refer to the constructed themes as aspects or components reflective of cultural narratives. This is because the TAT stimuli present the respondents with very specific contexts and cannot be considered an exploration of the total human experience of any given scenario. Each of the sub-themes that was explained in the previous chapter is really just some of the puzzle pieces that make up a much broader cultural narrative that could not be explored with just the TAT cards which were used. This also explains why some of the sub-themes seemed to only be loosely connected to the others they were grouped with.

Furthermore, the main aim of this study is moving towards a better understanding of the TAT in townships use. Therefore, the final summary of the results is presented in terms of the TAT cards in relation to which these themes were constructed. Unfortunately, since little to no research has been done on this topic, no relevant literature could be found about this context with which my analysis results could be compared. Only the differences or similarities between the themes constructed during the analysis and those that are usually expected by the conventional literature could be noted – as was done in the preceding Discussion of Results chapter. This situation actually mirrors the general developmental stage of this area of research; it is very much in its infancy. The results are summarised in a way that other clinicians might find useful when using the TAT in a township setting.

6.2.1 Aspects of cultural narratives predominantly evoked by specific TAT stimuli.

Most of the responses to Card 1 centred on the idea that the young boy in the picture had a problem to solve. In most instances the process of solving the problem was not clearly delineated, but the common theme seemed to be about the expectation that the problem would be solved. Very little references were made to any other characters, suggesting that the cultural narrative about solving a novel problem might also include strong notions of autonomy; having to do it by yourself.

The respondents gave quite homogenous responses to Card 3GF and 3BM. Their stories generally reflected the sad and negative themes proposed by the literature. However, when making the causal link in order to explain the central character's emotional state, the respondents seemed to draw from a cultural narrative about the commonness of abuse. The stories suggested that perpetrators might be known or unknown.

Card 8BM seemed to evoke stories about violence. The witnessing of a crime or a significant other being a victim of crime were common themes identified from the responses to this card. These themes were once again found in the respondents' explanations of the central character's thoughts or emotions. Responses to some of the other cards augmented and expanded this theme; the violence might happen in the context of a significant relationship.

The responses to Card 12M seemed especially homogeneous. The common narrative centred on faith healing as a solution to a person being ill. Often family

involvement and the importance of communal faith were emphasised in the respondents' stories.

Card 13MF evoked stories about finding somebody deceased or ill at home. In these responses the central character seemed to be definitely affected in some way by the discovery. Sexual content was not as common as suggested by the literature and it was considered that the presence of a male test administrator might have contributed to this, since most of the respondents were female adolescents.

The following components of cultural narratives are suggested more tentatively than the above themes. Although these themes did not seem to be supported as much by extracts from the TAT responses, it was still felt that they held some measure of prevalence.

Firstly the responses to mostly Card 2. This card seemed to elicit a common theme about education as being a way of bettering the lives of yourself and your family or community members, although it might put strain on significant relationships, since a person may have to leave home to further their education. Card 4 evoked stories about conflict within significant heterosexual relationships. The theme that was constructed from these responses centred on the male's dominance during moments of conflict. To Card 11 some of the respondents related stories of danger as being inescapable.

6.2.2 Aspects of cultural narratives evoked by various TAT stimuli.

A common theme that seemed to present itself in responses to various cards was one of support from family, friends and the community. In these stories the central characters were responding to challenges that seemed either ill-defined or potentially serious, such as child birth or domestic problems.

A second common theme was found in other responses to different cards. In these stories the challenges were more clearly defined and the respondents consistently included the institutional resources that could be approached for assistance, e.g. the police or hospitals. It was thought that awareness of these institutions could be very present in the cultural narratives in Mamelodi.

The third common theme constructed from the responses to various cards was one of elders being viewed as the knowledgeable persons in the community. In these stories it was notable that the younger characters had different attitudes or reactions to the older person, but consistently the older person's knowledge / opinion seemed to be regarded as the benchmark for normal or moral behaviour. In terms of morality, the Bible was also usually viewed as the source of the moral code.

Finally, a common theme was constructed during the analysis concerning the meaning that the respondents attributed to clothing. Characters' clothing was often described as denoting status, wealth, ceremony or occasion.

6.3 Limitations of this study

Given that this was a study of limited scope and since I attempted an exploration of a largely under-researched area, there are quite a few limitations that need to be taken into account. There were also some aspects of the original TAT administration that should be mentioned as factors that limit the conclusions that may be drawn from the results.

As mentioned in the Introduction chapter, at the Itsoseng Clinic we sometimes made use of volunteers to act as interpreters during assessments. Two of the five protocols were interpreted in this manner. This introduced two factors into the assessment situation. First, the respondents were actually telling their stories to the interpreter – in both cases a young woman from a similar ethnic and language background. As per discussion on the narrative analogy and the relationship between narrator and listener / interpreter, this might have influenced the construction of the narratives. Second, the interpreter then had to convert the story into English. Despite the fact that she was instructed to stay as close as possible to the source material, she was not a trained interpreter and also holds her own narratives from which she makes sense of her world. Therefore, it is conceivable that the story which was written down was not exactly the story initially told because of "omission, addition, condensation" or "substitution" of information (Swartz & Rohleder, 2008, p. 549).

Another limitation brought in by the language diversity of the assessment context was that some of the respondents who preferred to answer in English, although capable, were not thought to be that proficient in the language. Introducing the possibility that they could not express themselves as vividly as they might have

wanted and adding the idea that they wanted to be perceived in a certain light regarding their English use while constructing the stories.

In terms of methodology, there are some limitations that might have been avoided if this project was not undertaken by a sole researcher; as was the case with my study due to reasons of academic requirement. As suggested by Yardley (2008) the validity of qualitative research can be improved by using more than one person for coding or interpreting the data and effectively triangulating more accurate codes and themes. I would suggest that a more effective study might have included at least three coders / interpreters with varying levels of involvement with the Mamelodi context. Given that some of the themes constructed during the analysis reflect the pre-conceptions about the context that I held going into the analysis (see 6.1.3), it is important to consider that the analysis process might have been influenced by them despite my efforts to the contrary. If more persons were involved in the coding and theme construction process, it might have been easier to minimise this effect. Furthermore, Yardley (2008) also suggests respondent feedback as an added method of validation; which could not be undertaken since I was working with archival data.

Considering that I was researching a relatively unexplored topic within a limited scope, five respondents were considered to be sufficient. However, as per Yardley (2008), in qualitative research one needs to illustrate "rigour" (p. 248), which is a sufficiently broad or sufficiently deep investigation of the topic. In this study I aimed to compile a rich description of the entire data set, as opposed to thoroughly investigating one aspect. Therefore, with more respondents I would have been able to construct an even broader analysis and, as described in Eisner (2003), more instances

of homogenous responses converging on the constructed themes might have been present.

Finally, it is my opinion that whilst I learned a great deal while doing this research and will in the future, hopefully, function more effectively as a psychologist in the township context, I still have a lot to learn about the other cultures that co-habit my world. This research was effectively done by an outsider to the context and the results should be viewed as such.

6.4 Recommendations for future study

I now present some of the recommendations for future study that I generated throughout my involvement with the respondents, my reading of available literature, and my analysis of the TAT protocols and during the subsequent reflection on the results.

First of all, stemming from the limitations discussed above, a similar study might be undertook using more respondents and more people doing coding and analysis. Furthermore, any one of these suggested components of cultural narratives might be further explored, using the TAT or other investigative methods. The TAT also includes many other cards that might also be used in a similar study.

During my study I tried to give a broad description of the context as opposed to generating an analysis with a lot of depth; as was done by other studies that only explored responses to one or two cards. Such studies will be very useful for further research inside the township context.

The adolescents appeared to draw from cultural narratives about the commonness of abuse and violence in their context. Further study is necessary to elucidate how TAT protocols might differ, if at all, between actual victims of abuse or violence and those who are merely reporting something that happens often within their world. Related to this was the theme about danger as inescapable. All three of these aspects might be further investigated using a much larger sample of responses to TAT cards like Card 3BM, 8BM and 11.

The lack of stories about sexuality or sexual activity in response to Card 13MF might be indicative of a male test administrator's presence or possibly about a sense of propriety from the female respondents. A field for future study might therefore entail exploring how sexuality might feature in a therapeutic discussion or whether the TAT is able to elicit that exploration with female adolescents.

On the topic of familiarity, during administration some minor issues were noted. E.g. the violin in Card 1 was sometimes seen as a guitar and in other responses the respondents had trouble identifying the instrument. With Card 2 the building in the background was described as a church as opposed to a barn. During some of the stories the central character's gender was described as different from what is usually expected. However, the respondents did not seem to have trouble relating to these characters or responding with stories that generally mirrored the stimulus demand of the cards in question. So, in terms of developing new TAT cards or adaptations of the Murray cards that are more suited to township residents or even South Africans in general, it might be a situation of making some adjustments rather than re-designing everything. However, comparisons with studies using more African cards would have

to be done before such suggestions can be given serious consideration. Though, I would add that cards exploring relationships to those that differ culturally / racially from the respondent might be a useful tool in the South African context.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A – Consent form for adults

University of Pretoria	Hinterland Street
Department Of Psychology	Mamelodi East
Mamelodi Campus	Education Building
	First Floor

Clinic Hours: Monday to Thursday: 08h00 – 16h00

Consent Form 1
Client Agreement to Intervention

Name of Client: _____

Address of Client: _____

_____

Telephone Number(s): (1)_____   (2) _____

Date of Birth: _____ Identity Number: _____

Male / Female: _____ Supervising Psychologist: _____

Therapist / Assessor: _____ Intern / Student / Counsellor

Nature of Problem / Assessment need: _____

_____

_____

Nature of Intervention (include brief description):

Therapy:		Psychometric Assessment:	

Benefits of Therapy and Client Rights

Therapy can contribute towards the improved ability to cope with stress and difficult life situations, while possibly increasing one's understanding of oneself and others. Therapy can assist a person in developing new skills and can support one in changing negative behavioural patterns. Furthermore, therapy can facilitate a process where existing resilience and resources or strengths are identified and built upon.

The client has the right to mention any concerns or questions to the therapist at any time during the process of the therapy and be provided with a satisfactory answer.

Benefits of Psychometric Assessment and Client Rights

By means of psychometric assessment clients can gain a better understanding of their current functioning. The assessment can assist individuals in making better-informed decisions for the future and provide the assessor with information to make appropriate recommendations or plan future interventions. Through the use of a variety of assessment procedures Itsoseng Clinic will attempt to answer the questions relating to this assessment.

Throughout the assessment process the client has the right to inquire about the nature or purpose of all procedures. The client also has right to know the test results, interpretation and recommendations – within the limits of the ethical code for psychologists / psychometrists and the relevant legislation.

Confidentiality and Limits on Confidentiality

All communications between the therapist / assessor and the client and all records relating to the psychological services provided are confidential and may not be disclosed without the written consent of the client. However, the law places certain limits on the confidential nature of any psychological service. Typically these limits on confidentiality may arise if the therapist / assessor perceives that there is a risk of harm such as the following:

1. If the client presents an imminent danger to him/herself or another the law requires that steps be taken to prevent such harm;
2. If a child is in need of protection a report must be filled with the appropriate agency or authority;
3. If a vulnerable adult is abused or neglected a report may be filled with the appropriate government agency;

Additionally, if the court orders the disclosure of records the limits on confidentiality also apply.

Future research

Since Itsoseng is a teaching clinic, all data generated by the services offered here may be used for future research. In accordance with ethical research practices the copies of process notes or assessment protocols used for research will not contain any information that might personally identify the clients concerned.

Consent

By signing this document you acknowledge that you have had the opportunity to carefully read this document / this document was explained to you in a language of your choice ; and to ask any questions you have about it or arising from it. You further acknowledge that you understand the information contained in this document and that it records your consent.

*****

In knowledge and appreciation of all the information discussed in this document I, _____ hereby give consent to participate in the suggested therapy / psychometric assessment to address the issues already noted. I further acknowledge that my therapist / assessor must obtain my written consent before changing or altering the nature of the intervention or psychological service suggested. I also understand that it is my right to withdraw from the therapy / psychometric assessment at any time.

I also understand that it is my right to ask for a copy of this document.

Signed at _____ on this the _____ day of _____; year _____

Signature: _____

Therapist / Assessor who obtained consent

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX B – Consent form for minors

University of Pretoria   Hinterland Street

Department Of Psychology   Mamelodi East

Mamelodi Campus   Education Building

First Floor

Clinic Hours: Monday to Thursday: 08h00 – 16h00

Consent Form 2

Client Agreement to Intervention

Name of Minor : _____

Date of Birth: _____ Age: _____ Grade: _____ Male / Female: _____

School: _____

Nature of Problem / Assessment need: _____

_____

_____

Nature of Intervention (include brief description):

Therapy:		Psychometric Assessment:	

Name of Client: _____

Relationship to Minor: _____

Address of Client: _____

_____

Telephone Number(s): (1)_____   (2) _____

Date of Birth: _____ Identity Number: _____

Male / Female: _____ Supervising Psychologist: _____

Therapist / Assessor: _____   Intern / Student / Counsellor

Benefits of Therapy and Client Rights

Therapy can contribute towards the improved ability to cope with stress and difficult life situations, while possibly increasing one's understanding of oneself and others. Therapy can assist a person in developing new skills and can support one in changing negative behavioural patterns. Furthermore,

therapy can facilitate a process where existing resilience and resources or strengths are identified and built upon.

The client has the right to mention any concerns or questions to the therapist at any time during the process of the therapy and be provided with a satisfactory answer.

Benefits of Psychometric Assessment and Client Rights

By means of psychometric assessment clients can gain a better understanding of their current functioning. The assessment can assist individuals in making better-informed decisions for the future and provide the assessor with information to make appropriate recommendations or plan future interventions. Through the use of a variety of assessment procedures Itsoseng Clinic will attempt to answer the questions relating to this assessment.

Throughout the assessment process the client has the right to inquire about the nature or purpose of all procedures. The client also has right to know the test results, interpretation and recommendations – within the limits of the ethical code for psychologists / psychometrists and the relevant legislation.

Confidentiality and Limits on Confidentiality

All communications between the therapist / assessor and the client and all records relating to the psychological services provided are confidential and may not be disclosed without the written consent of the client. However, the law places certain limits on the confidential nature of any psychological service. Typically these limits on confidentiality may arise if the therapist / assessor perceives that there is a risk of harm such as the following:

4. If the client presents an imminent danger to him/herself or another the law requires that steps be taken to prevent such harm;
5. If a child is in need of protection a report must be filled with the appropriate agency or authority;
6. If a vulnerable adult is abused or neglected a report may be filled with the appropriate government agency;

Additionally, if the court orders the disclosure of records the limits on confidentiality also apply.

Future research

Since Itsoseng is a teaching clinic, all data generated by the services offered here may be used for future research. In accordance with ethical research practices the copies of process notes or assessment protocols used for research will not contain any information that might personally identify the clients concerned.

Consent

By signing this document you acknowledge that you have had the opportunity to carefully read this document / this document was explained to you in a language of your choice ; and to ask any questions

you have about it or arising from it. You further acknowledge that you understand the information contained in this document and that it records your consent.

According to legislation, both parents must consent to any intervention in the case of divorced parents.

*****

In knowledge and appreciation of all the information discussed in this document we / I hereby give consent that _____ may participate in the suggested therapy / psychometric assessment to address the issues already noted. We / I further acknowledge that our / my therapist / assessor must obtain our / my written consent before changing or altering the nature of the intervention or psychological service suggested. We / I also understand that it is our / my right to withdraw from the therapy / psychometric assessment at any time. We / I also understand that it is our / my right to ask for a copy of this document.

Assent from Minor:

Name:_____

Signature:_____

Date:_____

Consent from relevant parties.

Father	**Mother**
Name: _____	Name: _____
Signature: _____	Signature: _____
Date: _____	Date: _____

Legal Guardian

Name: _____   Signature: _____

Date: _____

Therapist / Assessor who obtained consent

Name: _____   Signature: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX C – Letter of permission to use archival data

2010-09-15

To Mr Theunis Vorster

Permission to use data from the Itsoseng Clinic files

Dear Theunis

Since there is a consent form in place which all new clients must sign on initiation of any psychological services and this form states that any data gathered during the service provision may be used for further research. The consent form also states that no identifying information will be used in the research process.

On condition that all your study participants signed this form, you may use the data collected for the study you have proposed for your mini-dissertation.

Yours sincerely
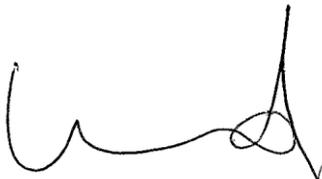
Dr Linda Eskell Blokland

OVERALL CO ORDINATOR