

‘Where My Dad Was From He Was Quite a Respected Man’

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The aim of this article is to analyze the operation of nostalgia in the Apartheid Archive Project narratives. In total, a corpus of 138 narratives was read with nostalgia as a frame and 23 narratives were selected for further analysis in which the relationship between Black subjects and parental figures were the focus. Themes that emerged were the role of silences, apartheid’s spatial configurations, transferred humiliation, parent’s powerlessness, and postapartheid efforts to undo the past. The article delves into children’s traumatic remembrances of parental authority figures being addressed by representatives of the apartheid state and the resulting cognizance of themselves, as racialized subjects materialize. To make a postapartheid self, the article shows, the memory of subjection appears to rely on an ambivalent identification with the parental figure and becomes the object of a nostalgia that oscillates dialectically between the dystopian realities of apartheid racism and utopian remembrances of the family.

Keywords: apartheid, childhood, nostalgia, parent, racism

Apartheid memories pose an entangled, impossible problem for Black subjects who can rarely return to the past without complication, pain, or anger. To remember racialised subjectification within the postapartheid present is to rouse feelings of abjection, humiliation, emasculation, voicelessness, and alienation. Furthermore, where the present is burdened by a past

constituted through impotent rage, misrecognition, shame, and disrespect, memory can be quite uncomfortable. To be sure, unsettling memories are not the total condition for all Black subjects, as apartheid memory is countered by acts and stories of triumph marking a postapartheid self that has overcome apartheid conditioning. Jacob Dlamini (2009) reminds us in *Native Nostalgia* that the ‘master narrative of black dispossession . . . blinds us to a richness, a complexity of life among black South Africans that colonialism and Apartheid at its worst could not destroy’ (pp. 18–19). Though Black subjects’ nostalgias for the past invariably also contain multiple pleasures and banal everyday normalcy as Dlamini (2009) so poignantly points out, it was underwritten by the psychosocial weight of racism and the humiliations of interracial encounters for most Black subjects. Narrativizing the apartheid past in the present for Black subjects, then, contains a nostalgic potency that perforce infuses everyday lived experience with the psychopolitical traumas of racialised interpellation.

To perform a postapartheid subjectivity through narrative and to demonstrate distance from Black apartheid subjecthood, thus, necessitates resituating oneself within the past so as to inhabit the possibilities of the present and in so doing generate a desirable future. Nostalgia for a future provides a means to produce social relations in the present; but lapses in memory

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are productive too, overriding powerful realities to imagine a new future and to connect differently in the present (Battaglia, 1995). According to Agamben (1999), remembrance is about the potentialities the past bears, promises about the present, and therefore, an act for a usable future. Utilizing the possibilities inherent in the past, and the potentialities engendered by the sociopolitical transition in the present, Black subjects remember to make postapartheid selves and therefore a future that disavows internalized racism.

To be nostalgic, and more so for Black subjects, becomes an active way of mourning the present through revisiting the landscape of the past (Strathern, 1995). For Black postapartheid subjects, the transition to a postapartheid self might be fraught with memories of complicities with the ideological apparatus of the apartheid state. Pickering and Keightley (2006), however, assert that nostalgia is productive and is 'both melancholic and utopian' and provides multiple ways of 'orienting to and engaging with the past' (pp. 921–926). Using nostalgia's multiple potentials, it is therefore possible to prevent the collapse of memory into trauma that Huysen (2003) warns against, as it is public memory's function to avoid traumatic repetitions. Remembering an apartheid self in the present therefore contains the possibility of altering one's relationship to the past and therefore remake the imaginary of a future in which past traumas, such as internalized racism, have little possibility of flourishing. Thus, in the process of remembering, nostalgia's capacity 'to engender its own ironies' (Battaglia, 1995, p. 78) enable what Brink (2007) calls a 'redemption from memory' (p. 39). Redeeming the self in the past, through repressing the period before the development of a postapartheid subjectivity, enables dystopian memories of internalized racism to be disavowed in favor of liberated subjectivities. The production of redemptive memorialisations is our point of departure to consider the spaces between the dystopian and utopian recollections of the past and the usable futures it invokes for the present through the lens of the Apartheid Archive Project (AAP).

This article traces moments of trauma underpinning Black subject formation in apartheid South Africa by surfacing an economy of affect between children and parental figures. It is in the earliest traumatic moments when Black

children view parental authority figures being addressed by the apartheid state that they perceive and begin a struggle about their place in South Africa's future. The early memories of the self as an apartheid subject produces a breach between the parental authority figure and child, which the child will seek to escape to come to terms with her own condition of subjection. Because this subjection relies on ambivalent identification with the parental figure, it becomes the object of a nostalgia that oscillates dialectically between the dystopian realities of apartheid racism and utopian remembrances of the family without apartheid's racist wounding. These reconfigurations of the past(s) where silences, conflicting memories, apartheid's spatial and behavioral paradoxes, and opposing attitudes to that of the parent abound, are psychologically necessary to craft a liberated self. Re-orienting the past, enables a rewriting of Black postapartheid subjects' own experiences with internalized racism through the figure of the parent. The parental figure becomes an instantiation of the temporal, signifying the apartheid past and enabling Black subjects' repression of internalized apartheid mores so as to generate a postracial self. The figure of the parent is utilized to signify an anachronistic subject position to demonstrate generational change. It enables Black subjects to disavow their own internalized racisms and therefore claim a postapartheid subjectivity through marked opposition to that of parental figures.

Method

The analytical material for the article comes from the corpus of narratives submitted to the AAP. Constituted as an international research network with the aim of remembering apartheid, the AAP centralizes narratives and memories of apartheid to ground investigations into 'the nature of the experiences of racism of (particularly "ordinary") South Africans under the old apartheid order and their continuing effects on individual and group functioning in contemporary South Africa. The project is fundamentally premised on the understanding that traumatic experiences from the past will constantly attempt to reinscribe themselves (often in masked form) in the present, if they are not acknowledged, interrogated and addressed' (Apartheid Archive Project, 2010, n. p.). The

overall aim of the AAP is to build an archive of narratives of the daily experiences of mostly “ordinary” South Africans during apartheid, rather than simply focusing on the stories of well-known figures such as Eugene de Kock, the Cradock Four or Nelson Mandela, and grand narratives of the past. The goal is to plug the glossed gaps interspersed between the better known stories captured by mechanisms and archiving projects such as the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and others. The AAP argues that: ‘Admittedly, the TRC has already made a critical contribution to this process. However, given its tendency to focus on the more “dramatic” or salient narratives of apartheid atrocities and the fact that it thereby effectively (albeit, perhaps, unintentionally) foreclosed the possibility of an exploration of the more quotidian but pervasive, and no less significant, manifestations of apartheid abuse means that much of the details of apartheid racism had not been publicly acknowledged or assessed [. . .]. In effect, this study will attempt to fill the gaps interspersed between the “grand” narratives recorded by the TRC’ (Apartheid Archive Project, 2010, n. p.).

Reading across the AAP archive, with nostalgia as a frame, narratives that featured Black parental figures and children experiencing overt encounters of racism called for close examination. The theme of Black subject formation and parental figures emerged out of the four available AAP data sources: Narratives Compendium (N1-N66), Student Narratives Compendium (SN1-SN38), Portal Narratives Compendium (Portal N1-N24), and Student Interviews (S1-S10). From an initial total of 138 narratives, 23 narratives were selected as exemplars of nostalgia and the family in the production of postapartheid selves, and subjected to a critical reading informed by, among others, Fanon (1963, 1967). The narratives were considered to be located within sociopolitical histories of the present and approached as temporally situated artifacts that conflate narrators’ past, present, and future selves (see Hook, 2001; Lawler, 2002). As narratives and therefore partial accounts of the self that are storied (see Lawler, 2002) through the AAP, the subjects who are brought into view are discursively construed through a primarily racialised lens.

There is an over articulateness of moments of direct interracial encounter in the narratives,

thus paradoxically pointing to an inarticulability, impossibility, wrought as these moments are with weighted absences, silences, disruptions, and a fatigued and yet excessive disbelieving remembering (Krog, Zantsi, & Ratele, 2009). It is these moments where children witness elders or parents, social or biological, becoming subject to apartheid’s abjections that our analysis explored. Though subject positions are invariably multiple, contingent and contradictory (Mouffe, 2005), the article attempts to point to the narratives as technologies of Black subject formation in South Africa through surfacing economies of affect between children and parental figures. The selected AAP narratives were read repeatedly to gain a fuller appreciation of the manner in which a group of Blacks understand their becoming racialised subjects. The narratives were read in relation to the sociopolitical changes underpinning contemporary South Africa to respond to the question: What makes it possible for these acts of memory to come into being? The inconsistencies, abrogations, economical remembering, and the near perfect mirroring (a)symmetries of a dystopian apartheid past and the psychically liberated postapartheid zones alerted us to nostalgia in operation. In the narratives, the racialised aspects are highlighted while the intimacies between parental figures and children through which they relate their coming to an understanding of their subjecthood is murky, deflected, and underplayed. Thus, the analysis unfolded through considering individual narratives of the past as well as the contemporary possibilities that filter their positioning as postapartheid Black subjects. While different readers might group the stories of racial subjectification differently, our interpretation, decomposition, and refiguration of the narratives coalesced into the following nostalgic rearticulations of the past—speaking into the abjections created by silence so as to remake the past to ground a contemporary subject; locating paradox, the powerlessness of the parent; transferred humiliation, and undoing the past in the present.

Postapartheid South Africa partly came into being through the powers of testimony at the TRC. To break the silence through which apartheid functioned and flourished was about crafting public memory toward reconciliation (Gibson, 2004). More importantly, in promoting a proto human rights discourse, the TRC engen-

dered the notions that to speak in public was also about the significances and capacities of speaking truth about violence to power and that it was freeing to hear oneself talking about what matters to oneself, even if the subject of the public speaking was not chosen willingly. This national reconciliatory-therapeutic act was meant to bring a new moral public and new personhood into being as a route to justice and act as a conduit of recognition (Andrews, 2003). Of the many TRC metanarratives, the ones we are concerned with are that speech heals (certainly incompletely), brings reconciliation (if not justice) and unshackles one from the burdens of the past (if not poverty) when stories are public and transparent (see Andrews, 2003; Wilson, 2001). To (be) allow(ed) to speak without censorship became an act of unmaking the repressed silence of the past in the present, a means to resignify and understand the past and to recodify the present. Public sharing of individual political violence-related victimization and perpetration became a passage to a democratic sensibility that would incorporate victims and victimizers (see Wilson, 2001). Speaking signified the European ideal of overcoming antagonisms (Kuhling, Keohane, & Kavangh, 2003), rendering ambivalences mute so as to produce consensus and unity. In bridging the apartheid past with the present, and negotiating a peaceful multicultural settlement, the TRC mobilized hegemonic ideas of addressing power through authorizing local traditions of ubuntu and *makgotlaliinkudla* (traditional courts) to legitimate itself as a materialization of the new discursive order. Thus, African traditions were also mobilized to interpellate the historically voiceless subjects into the new order.

Analysis and Discussion

Silent Abjection

For Black apartheid subjects or victims, claiming the right to speak engendered by the TRC became a means to suture affective bonds between intimates, parents and children, husbands and wives, and the living and the dead (Krog et al., 2009) sundered by apartheid's repressions and brutality. Thus, it is that the right to speak acquired an emancipatory weight through which to interrogate the past. It is through this lens we should understand the nar-

ratives of the AAP: the right to speech as an exemplar of freedom and democracy, individual repressions as significant of subjectivities that cannot be overturned unless they are made visible and more so the realization that new subjects were ushered in for whom the right to speak publicly would make silences pregnant with significance. Thus, it is that narrators have to contend with the silences of their parents to remake themselves as postapartheid subjects in the present. The silences, or rather, the memory of silence enforced by subjugation, shaped relationships, and circumscribed the circulation of oppressive discourses through the ambivalences inherent in silence. As a narrator stated:

We also learnt of the frequently unarticulated rules or regulations that superseded those that existed to make our community work, namely the written and unwritten sociopolitical rules and injunctions engendered by the Apartheid system . . . In keeping with the silences that shrouded all matters political in this community at the time, we also learnt not to speak about these rules, except furtively and out of the earshot of adults . . . if there was one constant that characterized the communities I grew up in (other than the omnipresent poverty and social chaos) then it was the silence or evasiveness of most adults about all political matters, even matters that threatened them directly. (N4)

The narrator is pointing to the foreclosing of a certain kind of intersubjective exchange within families during apartheid as well as a coming to being through the conditions imposed by apartheid silence. Kristeva (1982) informs us that the state of abjection requires conditions of unfamiliarity, multiple exclusions, and above all ambiguity. Though ambiguity is not always unproductive (Douglas, 1966/2006), being left to interpret the rules of apartheid without adult guidance was fertile ground for abjection to flourish if apartheid's facticities were shaped by children's negotiations of the rules. In its remembrances, the informal inculcation of apartheid rule cultivated an ambiguous place for subjects in the state, excluded the children from the confidences of the parents, and consequently obstructed the formation of an intimacy centered on political solidarity. Ordering experience and consigning unpleasant social circumstances to silence as a measure to disavow the contradictions (Douglas, 1966/2006) of apartheid personhood by parents, would become an abjection in need of excoriation. Filling in or excavating the silence then becomes a means to reclassify and order one's place

(Douglas, 1966/2006) within the life of the new South-African nation state. Becoming an apartheid subject was therefore not only to be Othered sociopolitically but also to experience oneself as Other *within* the family for demanding the right to know and daring to speak outside the private realm of the family.

Thus, framing it a political consciousness or questions about the injustices of apartheid, frowned upon by parents, was something children were forced to nurture furtively as the parents became antagonists in the making of a liberatory political consciousness. To become politically conscious required breaking or imagining oneself having broken with the attitudes of the family and in some ways to oust oneself from a shared affective life within the family. A narrator whose incensed account of her family's humiliations under apartheid and her reaction to their "slave mentality" (as she terms it), did just that: kept her burgeoning political consciousness from her immediate family. She informs us that her parents "worshipped" Whites and thought of 'Whites as being protectors rather than oppressors' (N21). After becoming involved in competitive swimming and her first attendance of a swimming event outside of her home province without her parents, she became aware of the racial inequities. She relates the following experiences as a primary school student:

When I got home I was very excited about all the new things I had learnt and decide (sic) to share this (new-found awareness of racial inequality) with my family. My parents were horrified and forbade me to discuss the matter again. They tried to stop my further participation in the sport, but were unsuccessful because my world revolved around swimming and I would have died before I gave it up. I also got some support from my dad's cousin who taught me to withhold my attitudes, feelings and new political insights from family discussions . . . [T]he status quo as interpreted and practiced by my family network was equally oppressive. (N21)

The narrator ends her narrative by stating that her family would eventually follow her example of antiapartheid opposition by attending rallies and community meetings with her. Her silencing by the family is not interpreted as a protective means to survive the inequities of the sociopolitical, but rather as repressive and as a personal betrayal. The child cannot share the burgeoning awareness of apartheid's injustices as it is in the family that affect is regulated and

suppressed for the apartheid subject. To protect a moral universe that finds apartheid repugnant, she too has to cultivate a partial silence and yet it is against the family's mental slavery that she has to build resistance. The parents' silences generate her silence and turn memories of the family into oppressive objects of anger, suspicion, and pity. These multiple silencings portray a breach between the child and the family; and Fanonian-like (Fanon, 1967) in her remembrance, family becomes a microcosm of the state and thus the primary instrument of state oppression.¹ It is the family's complicity with the state that needs to be disavowed and not acknowledged in the self to protect a postapartheid future. The object of nostalgia is the natural sense of justice played through the innocence of childhood that is figured as a natural a priori moral repugnance for apartheid's injustice. Further, the redemptive moment at the end of the narrative where the narrator leads her family out of their "slave mentality" as a high school student, mobilizes her potential as a catalyst for change signaling an early mastery of an imagined postapartheid subjectivity. To do this though, the postapartheid subject then has to nostalgically reconstitute their childhood within the liberal subjecthood of the present, thus, always circumventing the trauma present in that remembering.

Locating Paradox

Apartheid South Africa produced spaces of exclusion that guarded White privilege in White-controlled heterotopias while limiting and circumscribing the circulation of Black bodies. The circulation of Black people occurred in more or less totally racialised spaces

¹ In *Black Skins White Masks*, Fanon (1967) states that there are ' (c)lose connections between the structure of the family and the structure of the nation' (p. 141). For Fanon, the family is complicit with state control as it is within the family that children are disciplined into internalizing White culture and Black inferiority, through for instance being ridiculed for not using the language of the oppressor. However too, in contexts of oppression like apartheid South Africa, Fanon (1967) avers that normalcy within the oppressed family is rendered abnormal when in contact with the world of the oppressor.

within South Africa's multiple city models² and thus minimized and regulated direct interracial interaction. Therefore, it was possible for a particular kind of raced body to have very limited contact with an Other, as the following narrator point outs:

In some ways we were sheltered from (interracial interactions) in our segregated suburbs. But this was a direct encounter, one that I remember vividly. I remember how I felt. And I remember I think now how that man just assumed his power. This is one of many experiences and realizations I had at that time about living safely in a segregated space. Once you were out of that space, and moved into contexts where you mixed across race lines, whiteness dictated the terms of interaction. (N5)

The narrator is referencing an apartheid paradox wherein the ordinary rules of courtesy between adults and children were dislocated. To understand the desire for the certainty of segregated spaces and infrastructural institutionalization of race, we draw upon Agamben's (2003) states of exception that are exclusionary spaces produced by law but in which the ordinary rule of law is suspended. They are paradoxical states in that 'law encompasses living beings through its own suspension' (Agamben, 2003, p. 3). Apartheid racialised spaces also produced moments of exception or suspension of law even as it placed its subjects in seemingly normative sociojuridical encounters. We make a distinction here between the spatial and material ordering of apartheid with the sociojuridical that produced affective and behavioral facticity, a regulated mode of inhabiting the world in seeming natural ordinariness or a materialization as it were of legal norms. The naturalized way in which movement was produced by the infrastructural facticity of apartheid spaces made engagements with others outside of apartheid's prescribed normative sociojuridical norms contain an excess that produced moments of exception. The narrator of N5 makes apparent the unbearable weight that, as he terms it, direct encounters bore for apartheid subjects.

When I was still quite young, I don't remember how old, but in the 70s. I was walking in the main shopping area, past a number of shops, including Clicks and Shoprite. It was busy. I lost sight of my mother and looked out ahead. Then, suddenly, I had to move sideways to get out of the way of another pedestrian. But I couldn't avoid brushing against a big White man. I apologized for making contact with him. He stared accusingly and bellowed: 'Kyk waar jy stap jou donder

... Wie dink jy is jy?' [*Watch where you step, you bastard* ... Who do you think you are?]. There was no politeness. I guess he could have tried to avoid making contact with me. I don't remember what else was said. But I do remember wanting to swear at this man who made me feel so intimidated, powerless. I felt intimidated not because he was a man or an adult, but [*I think more so*] because he was a White man. For him it was his footpath, his space—I didn't belong in that part of the town or on that footpath. I had to give way ... Perhaps, I was just too young and if I was older I would have said something or responded differently. But I didn't. I couldn't even look at this person because I was too scared. How do you challenge an adult man with this sense of entitlement? (N5)

For the postapartheid Black subject who circulated primarily in totally racialised spaces, memory of apartheid interracial encounters is overly freighted by enfolded uncertainties, with 'ifs,' 'perhapses,' "I thinks" and the nostalgic entanglements of remembering—"I felt intimidated not because he was a man or an adult, but [*I think more so*] because he was a White man." The affective traces these fearful encounters leave behind are rationalized in the present where one imagines the present self's response to a similar incident. It is in direct engagements of racism, like these where an adult is reduced to his Whiteness and the norms of respect do not pertain to him because of the lack of reciprocal respect, that the paradoxes of separate development become apparent; and it is the shock of these formative moments that are the subject of memory for some of the narrators.

One of the narrators recalls his family being asked to leave the Wimpy restaurant. Despite his father's protestations the Black family was forced to leave. Seeing his father's humiliation resulted, the narrator writes, in his 'sense of being protected within and by my family ... (being) unhinged by the experience' (N6). It is the shock of two kinds of law coming into conflict—the one of the family where the father or parent is the maker of law and that of the state where the father is subjected to law and rendered powerless (Fanon, 1967)—that pro-

² Though Black is meant to draw together it also erases the apartheid hierarchisation of race. The country was organized according to multiple city models that occupied differential access to organs of the state and thus despite the structural violence imposed on Black people according to racial category, direct experiences of racism were limited. For White people, this would not apply as the White city was dependent on Black labor, therefore, most White people would have more direct experiences of interracial contact.

duces the paradox of the moment of exception and breaks down meaning, thus, making their future of subjection visible or palpable. The totalized racial spaces of the Black zones—including townships, bantu homelands, and villages—produced by apartheid laws meant that most parents could enact law-giving and making. However, in direct contact with White rule this capacity, the father’s “no” was superseded by the state’s laws. In that sense apartheid was the forbidding patriarchal father to all Black men, women, and children (just as it was to all Whites, though in a fundamentally different way). In enacting apartheid biopolitical expectations, Black parents and White adults suspended the “ordinary rule of law” with which children (and themselves) were familiar and brought into question the rule of the father and the role of adults through which narrators experienced their relationships to the world at large.

Transferred Humiliation: Witnessing the Deferential Father

Narrators identified with their parents, specifically their fathers, and so it was through attachment to their parents that the humiliations inflicted by apartheid became internalized. Apartheid’s biopolitical disciplinary regime enforced over identification within a racial group to produce its Others, which on the contrary was extreme dis-identification. However, as has been noted before this is a split (over- dis-)identification of sorts. The identification had to be both racial and personal—specifically for Black subjects, as for some White subjects—but because it was never completely possible to identify with all of the race or with one’s parents or children, the self was forever divided.

The projection of an earlier figure by an analysand onto an analyst so as to repeat an interchange of affect is what psychoanalysis refers to as transference. However, this process of turning others into fathers or mothers cannot be exclusive to the psychoanalytic relationship and indeed can occur in a relationship where one person has authority over another in a threatening situation and is heavily influenced by context (Patterson, 1959). Interracial contact during apartheid produced these effects. However, rather than the projection being displaced outward onto an authority figure, displays and experiences of humiliation were introjected and

thus the process of (mis)identification became a repeat of the affective exchange.

This memory brings back my maternal grandfather holding his hat in his hands, and uttering “ja baas” continuously. In terms of this experience, I learned that the world I inhabited required that I stay out of the way of a White person, almost becoming invisible, until he needed something from me. Second, at that young age, I became exposed that the way of interacting with a White person involves never contradicting him, no matter how well you knew work. (N31)

Narrators learnt to reenact the behavior of their elders and transferred humiliation to themselves. Becoming invisible was effected through transference and enabled a distancing from the self that allowed for them to be used instrumentally by Whites. Subjects internalized parents’ humiliations as they became aware of their place in the sociopolitical order. It was through attachment and identification with the parent that they were disciplined into the biopolitical rationale of apartheid.

To humiliate is to inflict a deep psychic wound (Galtung in Lindner, 2001) and is ‘the enforced lowering of a person or group, a process of subjugation that damages or strips away their pride, honor or dignity. At its heart is the idea of pinning down, putting down or holding to the ground’ and ‘as a process is that the victim is forced into passivity, acted upon made helpless’ (Lindner, 2003, pp. 2–3). Lindner (2001) argues that experiencing humiliation as trauma is sociohistorical as human rights discourse advocates that everyone is equally entitled to respect, dignity and has the right to recognition. Narrators whose subjectivities were formed through human rights discourse (see Wilson, 2001),³ and witnessing their parent’s humiliation and reconstructing it, retrospectively, may differ markedly from their parent’s experience of the humiliating acts. This enraged narrator remembers a humiliating shopping experience in which she was ‘diminished, treated like a Black person’ (N41). In the same sentence she goes on to project the humiliation onto her father:

³ Wilson (2001) details the use of human rights discourse in combination with the precepts of ubuntu during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and how it became part of the process of restorative justice that disallowed punitive measures.

I had seen—no, felt—this sense of humiliation whenever my father was treated like a Black person by young white police officers—that is to say treated with disrespect, less human, almost as if he was invisible. (N41)

The humiliation of the parent was embodied and had an affective force. For this narrator too it is within invisibility that racism's effects are manifested. The humiliation is to be categorized as an inferior subject that always precedes the parent and by extension the child. Lowering the raced subject is to trap them within a classificatory regime and thus negate ideas of individualism and the right to dignity that is part of a human rights discourse. The humiliation comes with the incongruence of the parent's servitude and humbling, the demeaning of someone who is larger than life. However, unlike her father she escapes this condition within the narrative by recounting acts of resistance, and like some of the other narrators, projecting her own humiliations onto her parent enables her to demonstrate a postapartheid subjectivity.

Powerlessness of the Parent: Loss of Certainty, Insecurity, Emasculation

The narrator of SN10, who inspired the article, starts off by informing us that the 'year is a bit scratchy' and thus alerts us to the bricolage of apartheid memory through temporal conflation. He tells a long tale of being stopped by White policemen, two White and a spectral Black man, on the liminal space of the road. The White police officers humiliate his father who the narrator found unexpectedly meek. He says:

I was thinking why would people disrespect my father like that. Yes they're police man, whatever, but I had a lot of internal conflict. Because I didn't understand, 'cos where my dad was from he was quite a respected man. A good citizen, a good member of the tribe and everything you know? Very, very well respected and a good member of the community in his village. . . . But when we got home, I remember everything was sort of back to normal. . . . but that experience, seeing your father being disrespected and humiliated in front of his family in that way, it's pretty hectic. But it's one of those things that we kept silent about. . . . I questioned my dad's manhood in a way, like what sort of man is he. Okay I can understand that he had to be subordinate to the police officials. But for me, during that time there was always that thing of we must fight back somehow, somehow. So I don't know if I would of actually liked my dad to actually stand up to the police officers. Because I know that would have been a mistake, they would of really gotten even physical with

him. I did sort of question his manliness in a way. . . . that night it did make me question his manhood. . . . I was really angry AT HIM, the police officers, the whole situation actually. . . . Because that's when I realized that there is this difference between the black community and the white community. That we live separate lives, but our lives are still connected in some ways, somehow, whether through work or just because we share the same country. (SN10)

Witnessing the interpellation of his father by the state disrupts the certainty of identity this narrator's youthful self had, and brings his father's masculinity into question. It is not that his father is not a man but what the limits in a Black masculinity are that becomes apparent. The experience shows him that respect for his father is not universal and his father's manhood is not a constant. His father was unable to avert being verbally abused, and could only protect his family by accepting a subordinate demeanor and was thus shown to be a powerless subject when confronted by agents of the state. The dissonance between the respect for his father's position in the family and the value accorded to him by intimates of their community and the disrespect by arbitrary agents of the state introduces him to his own future subject position. It is a moment of meeting a real that collides with the real of everyday life out of the view of the apartheid state. The collision of "reals" is the moment he is brought into the state as a subject and the betrayal comes from the father who, despite the virtue of necessity, does not fight for the narrator's future manhood.

His anger is produced by not just the past humiliation of his father but also the future threat of humiliation (Lacan, 2001) as it shows him that he will never fully attain manhood regardless of the respect he attains in the circumscribed spaces of Black life. Thus, he is emasculated before he has entered manhood because, despite separate racial spaces, he is always connected to apartheid South Africa's sociojuridical norms. It is anger that differentiates but also connects him to his father, and is a formative stage that begins to make the father an Other, as the father cannot integrate himself into a symbolic order because of the incongruent relationships with the intimate community where he is respected and the apartheid state that owns the rights to humiliate at will.

The narrator also states he forgave his father but still feels anger toward anyone in a uniform. This is a defensive measure to protect his man-

hood, taking the right in the present to defend his manhood and making full claim to his masculinity. To do this, he must have an ambivalent remembrance that his father never fought for his own ego-ideal demands; that in counterpoint to his father he constitutes himself through a hegemonic idea of tough, vigilant, and readily belligerent manhood. The father's conduct, his apparent acceptance of humiliation, grounds the narrator's trauma. The excess in the moment of exception is what his masculinity in the present is made through. Not for him the logical, reasonable survival strategies or tactical humiliations that might have spelled manhood for his father, but the willingness to resent and be uncooperative with people in uniform. Cooperating with agents of the state, that is, people in uniform are reminders of the trauma that destabilized his identity and the (un)certainly of his future and therefore he must bring his willingness to resist them to bear on his memory. His defiant attitude toward policemen in the present is the nostalgic as it enables him to reimagine his relationship to the state. The capacity for noncompliance inscribes an imaginary of an unsubjected future self.

Although the narrator *knows* it would have been a mistake for his father to respond violently, he cannot help but fantasize a violent response. The shift to the present tense in his narration where he avers that 'we live separate lives, but our lives are still connected in some ways' retains the affective force of apartheid's inescapable inequities and entanglements in the present. In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon (1963) theorizes that for the colonized to gain self-respect and repudiate conditions of subjugation they know that the only response to the state's founding violence is a cleansing revolutionary violence. To own the right to imagine violence for a previously subjugated subject, is then the means in which to reclaim a positive relationship to the contemporary South African nation-state.

This need for a redemptive violence and uncooperative citizenry, however, has implications for the conditions under which peace could flourish in postapartheid South Africa. Because the originary relationships for Black subjects to the state was founded in and constituted through violence and the structural violence in the present have not been ameliorated, then some South African imaginaries will con-

tinue to be haunted by the potentials of violent interventions as a productive force to assert their right to belonging in the postapartheid state.

Undoing the Past: Returns

Among several strategies, Black postapartheid subjects remake themselves through the repudiation of their parents' attitudes to apartheid and the willingness to nurture political consciousness against the family's silences. They can almost never become new subjects except through feeling anger, perhaps even overt (but also unexpressed) violence at their parents and White subjects, at being made invisible. To actualize their Blackness they must refuse to cooperate with uniformed agents of the state. Return for a moment to the narrator of SN10, who doubted his father's manhood, angry at mainly him, he stressed, for not fighting the policemen who were disrespecting him but also the police.

Here, however, we are mostly interested in how postapartheid subjects are compelled to remake themselves through literally and figuratively revisiting and reclaiming sites of trauma. The invisibilities and servitude of the parents are negated by confronting these spaces with opposing attitudes. One of the narrators returned to the farm where his father had worked and narrates the following occurrence as he stood there in reflection with his father:

And into this moment there boomed a voice from the left, 'Waarmee kan ek julle help?' Kleinbaas ! Oubaas' son. Oubaas incarnate. As old as I, more or less, but there—right in front of me—he became Oubaas for my dad; right there, in front of me, my Dad became 19 again, his shoulders fell, he awkwardly said something like 'nee ons praat maar met oom piet.' But I – I grew big, my shoulders swelled, my legs grew legs, my spine straight and tall, as I turned and met Kleinbaas' eyes with a glorious and beautiful hate. I towered over him, over my dad, over the landscape, and he saw, kleinbaas saw—saw in that moment that this land that was his land was mine (too); that we—sons, both—stood to reckon for our fathers. In a moment, a brief moment, the longest of moments, a moment still. And then he turned his eyes to the ground, that beautiful, aw(e)ful bokkeveld ground, slowly and softly said 'nee maar dis reg so,' turned around and walked away. (N10)

This reclaiming, it needs underlining, constitutes a betrayal of the parent: but right in front of my eyes and the eyes of this Other man who

could be his son the man who bore me became a 'boy,' servile, ill-at ease, a caricature, and perhaps, the narrator does not so much say as suggest, embarrassing to my politically conscious self. It is a form of reclamation of space but also a self-renovation, of physical space and interiority that requires a refusal of the parent's subject positions to become a postapartheid subject.

There is a near-perfect oppositional symmetry in the narratives of the narrators to parents' attitudes that become the conditions for apartheid's inheritors to redress. The enactments of entitlement entail the marshalling of hate—'glorious and beautiful hate'—as a conduit to abjure the attitudes of deference in direct contradiction to the parent. We see here how affect becomes lodged in the body's responses to be distinguished from the humiliated abject stance of the parent in response to the threat of humiliation. This new habitus of postapartheid becoming is a counter mimetic refiguration worked through refusing multiple Others: the parent as generational Other and the White body as the raced Other. In these reclaiming encounters hatred becomes the emboldening force that destroys the object of displeasure (Freud, 2001a) that has created dissonance in the love for the parent. To hate is to desire control, proposes Nagle (1989), and when a vitalizing force, is a 'crucial element for psychical survival' (Sonntag, 2007, p. 101). Undoubtedly, this hatred is fused with anger, shame, pity, and of course, most importantly, love for the parent. In reclaiming the former apartheid spaces and encounters, the parent is redeemed. The tropes of return whether to spaces of trauma like the farms where the father worked or figures of trauma like the disrespectful policeman in the previous narrative are the invocations of nostalgia's productive aspect and desire for a usable future. Returning to locations and traumatizing events of the past where the paradox(es) that disrupted and distorted the affective certainties of everyday life is therapeutic in the sense that apartheid's traumatic subjugations become overridden and the parent is redeemed through the betrayal.

Conclusion

Having analyzed the narratives collected by the AAP one conclusion we come to is that the

project, without deliberate intention, becomes not so much about the past (even though its aim is explicitly that), but rather about subjects trying to live with the memory of apartheid in the present while trying to imagine a future where the wounds of racism are sutured. The pervasive silences in the narratives and nostalgia's temporal connotations demonstrates the pains of returning home with its multiple and contradictory meanings. Particularly when its stated focus is a traumatic remembering, nostalgia cannot exist without silences. Ironically, even when the intent is to rearticulate the silences of the past, there needs to be a repression of living with the self as a subjectified apartheid subject.

For these adults now, children then, they appear to remember the powerlessness of their elders and saw not only their own future of abjection but experienced a paradoxical suspension of the ordinary social norms that pervaded their lives. The rules of respect for elders and common courtesy, the belief in the omnipotence of their "protectors" or microcosm of law-givers and -makers as it were, were suspended in direct encounters of racism through the law-making violence of the apartheid nation-state. Abjection's breakdown of meaning (Kristeva, 1982) in these moments of exception would become the object of a dystopian nostalgia that needed for some to be rewritten in the present, and act as a guide for a more usable or desirable future. These moments would be rematerialized to be overwritten in the present. It is thus that we might claim that apartheid created a breach between parents and children, but subject to a redemptive nostalgia for some in their present relations. This of course is not an absolute state but rather, in some ways the memorialisation of the AAP might instantiate this breach as subjects narrativise and objectify themselves through the available apartheid master narratives.

We should be mindful though that these shocking formative moments would eventually become for some the ordinary, the mundane, the lived with, till the banality of living in an unequal society would produce its own defenses. That is, the child would inhabit the deference of the elders to the big White Other and what we tend to call commonly, internalized racism—that state of being where racist facticity becomes not only the habitual but rooted in the psyche to be deployed as an affective and be-

havioral structure of interaction in moments of encounter as a means to survival. Understanding the repetition of the deferent behavior of the self becomes the trauma (Lacan, 2001) to be avoided and converted into memory (Huysen, 2003). Nostalgia oscillates between the traumatic memory of the past through the parent that is only trauma because the subject has taken the parent's abjection upon/within herself and the present as a measure of removal or disavowal from that subject position. In other words as Stewart (1988) asserts 'nostalgia sets in motion a dialectic of closeness and distantiation, it's goal is not the creation of a code based on empty distinctions but the redemption of expressive images and speech' (p. 228). The bittersweet return home to a past too well traveled is one where desire for redemption must be sought in the present. It is through the betrayal of the parent by consciously refusing the parent's subject position that redemption is found.

Huysen informs us (Huysen, 2003): memory is a 'mode of representation and as belonging ever more to the present. After all the act of remembering is always in and of the present, while its referent is of the past and thus absent. Inevitably every act of memory carries with it a dimension of betrayal, forgetting and absence' (pp. 3–4). To produce themselves as postapartheid subjects, and constitute the self through the memorialisation of racial oppression, Black subjects are required to imagine themselves in a before and after. Whether this temporal conflation that enforces (or relies on) the psychic breach between parent and child is real, is not really germane, for it is effectively real. What is of interest is the way in which, drawing from Freud's (2001b) discussion of derealization, memory becomes falsified to disavow the in-betweenness and thus the messy contradictions in the trajectory to a postapartheid self. Intergenerational difference is mobilized as a means to imagine a transformed liberated psyche that has sloughed off its own complicities and acceptance of banal humiliations. To imagine this transformed self through the wounded parent is to overwrite the shameful intimacy of internalized racism, disavow the apartheid self and its alienations, to assert a right to belonging and recognition in the postapartheid state. Parents become a means to marking time and enable the potentials for becoming a postracial subject

who is able to claim the attitudes necessary for navigating the new sociopolitical imaginary.

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